THE

PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQVES AND DISCOVERIES of the *Engliſh Nation*, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and fartheſt diſtant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compaſſe of theſe 1600 yeres:

Diuided into three ſeuerall Volumes, according to the
poſitions of the Regions, whereunto they
were directed.

The firſt Volume containeth the worthy Diſcoueries,
&c. of the *Engliſh* toward the North and Northeaſt by Sea, as of
Lapland, *Scrikfinia*, *Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicolas*, the Iſles of *Colgoieue*, *Vaigatz*,
and *Noua Zembla*, toward the great Riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Ruſsia*,
the *Caſpian* Sea, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Boghar* in *Bactria*,
and diuers kingdomes of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and teſtimonies
of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other
ſhipping of this Realme of *England* in former ages.

VVhereunto is annexed a briefe Commentary of the true ſtate of Iſland,
and of the Northren Seas and lands ſituate that way: As alſo the
memorable defeat of the *Spaniſh* huge *Armada*, Anno 1588.

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¶ The ſecond Volume comprehendeth the principall
Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and diſcoueries of the *Engliſh*
Nation made by Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-eaſt
parts of the World, as well within as without the Streight of
Gibraltar, at any time within the compaſſe of theſe 1600.
yeres: Diuided into two ſeueral parts, &c.

¶ By RICHARD HAKLVYT Preacher, and ſometime Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

¶ Imprinted at London by *George Biſhop*,
Ralph Newberie, and *Robert Barker*.
ANNO 1599.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGVLAR GOOD LORD, THE LORD

Charles Hovvard, Erle of Notingham,

Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order
of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England,
Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Maieſties
moſt honourable priuie Councell.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long ſince publiſhed in Print many Nauigations and Diſcoueries of Strangers in diuers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir *Edward Stafford* your brother in lawe, her Maieſties moſt prudent and carefull Ambaſſador ligier with the French King: and had waded on ſtill farther and farther in the ſweet ſtudie of the hiſtorie of Coſmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with diligent obſeruation, ſome thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and ſingular actiuitie in the Search and Diſcouerie of the moſt vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, ſeeing no man to ſtep forth to vndertake the recording of ſo many memorable actions, but euery man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a ſharpe goad prouoked me and thruſt me forward into this moſt troubleſome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I haue collected three ſeuerall Volumes of the Engliſh Nauigations, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries, to ſtrange, remote, and farre diſtant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compaſſe of things onely done in theſe latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the ſpace of many hundred yeeres, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miſerably ſcattered in muſtie corners, & retchleſly hidden in miſtie darkeneſſe, and were very like for the greateſt part to haue bene buried in perpetuall obliuion. The firſt Volume of this worke I haue thus for the preſent brought to light, reſeruing the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they ſhall come to the Preſſe. In the meane ſeaſon bethinking my ſelfe of ſome munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honorable Lordſhip, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and alſo in reſpect of the ſubiect and matter, might iuſtly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For firſt I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongeſt brother *Edmund Hackluyt*, to whom for the ſpace of foure whole yeeres your Lordſhip committed the gouernment and inſtruction of that honorable yong noble man, your ſonne & heire apparant, the lord *William*

liam Howard, of whoſe high ſpirit and wonderful towardlineſſe full many a time hath he boaſted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your moſt deare ſiſter the lady *Sheffield*, my ſingular good lady & honorable miſtreſſe, admoniſhed me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the *Howards*. Thirdly, when I found in the firſt Patent graunted by Queene *Marie* to the Moſcouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the firſt fauourers and furtherers, with his purſe and countenance, of the ſtrange and wonderfull Diſcouerie of Ruſſia, the chiefe contents of this preſent Volume, then I remẽbred the ſage ſaying of ſweet *Iſocrates*, *That ſonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers ſubſtance, but alſo of their commendable vertues and honours*. But what ſpeake I of your anceſtors honors (which to ſay the trueth, are very great, and ſuch as our Chronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue ſhewed themſelues ſo admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haſte (I thinke) performe the like. To come to ſome particulars, when the Emperors ſiſter, the ſpouſe of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. ſailes, ſtoutly and proudly paſſed the narow Seas, your Lordſhip accompanied with ten ſhips onely of her Maieſties Nauie Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in moſt ſtrange and warrelike ſort, enforced them to ſtoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderſtand that olde ſpeach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi ſæuumq; tridentem,
ſed tibi ſorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordſhip on her Maieſties behalfe conducted her ſafely through our Engliſh chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princeſſe. At that time all England beholding your moſt honorable cariage of your ſelfe in that ſo weightie ſeruice, began to caſt an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordſhip, and deeply to conceiue that ſingular hope which ſince by your moſt worthie & wonderfull ſeruice, your L. hath more then fully ſatiſfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thriſe-happy victory atchieued againſt that huge and haultie *Spaniſh Armada* (which is notably deſcribed in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and ſole Commander vnder her ſacred and roiall Maieſtie, your noble gouernment and worthy behauior, your high wiſedom, diſcretion and happineſſe, accompanied with the heauenly bleſſing of the Almightie, are ſhewed moſt euidently to haue bene ſuch, as all poſteritie and ſucceeding ages ſhall neuer ceaſe to ſing and reſound your infinite prayſe and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto *Cadiz*, the vanquiſhing of part of the king of Spaines *Armada*, the deſtruction of the rich Weſt *Indian* Fleete, the chaſing of ſo many braue and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, ſacking, and burning of that almoſt impregnable citie of *Cadiz*, the ſurpriſing of the towne of *Faraon* vpon the coaſt of *Portugal*, and other rare appendances of that enterpriſe, becauſe they be hereafter ſo iudicially ſet downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witneſſe in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I truſt (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly depriued no man of his right. Vpon theſe and other the like conſiderations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this firſt part of our Engliſh Voiages & Diſcoueries vnto your Honors fauourable cenſure and patronage.

And here by the way moſt humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes ſubmitting my poore opinion to your Lordſhips moſt deep and percing inſight, eſpecially in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the Engliſh Nauigation, I truſt it ſhall not be impertinent in paſſing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordſhip is not ignorant, that ſhips are to litle purpoſe without skilfull Sea-men; and ſince Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of skill in much leſſe time (as it is ſaid) then in the time of two prentiſhips; and ſince no kinde of men of any profeſſion in the common wealth paſſe their yeres in ſo great and continuall hazard of life; and ſince of ſo many, ſo few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and ſuch like inſtructions, theſe ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wiſe men may eaſily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ſhips haue bene loſt, how many worthy perſons haue bene drenched in the ſea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoueriſhed by loſſe of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wiſhed there were a Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the baniſhing of our former groſſe ignorance in Marine cauſes, and for the increaſe and generall multiplying of the ſea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raiſed ſo generall a deſire in the youth of this Realme to diſcouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuiſe of mine, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to vnderſtand, that the late Emperour *Charles* the fift, conſidering the rawneſſe of his Sea-men, and the manifolde ſhipwracks which they ſuſteyned in paſſing and repaſſing betweene *Spaine* and the Weſt *Indies*, with an high reach and great foreſight, eſtabliſhed not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of ſuch as ſought to take charge of ſhips in that voyage, but alſo founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation houſe at *Siuil*. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and inſtructed the *Spaniſh* Mariners by word of mouth, but alſo haue publiſhed ſundry exact and worthy treatiſes concerning Marine cauſes, for the direction and incouragement of poſteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of *Alonſo de Chauez*, of *Hieronymo de Chauez*, and of *Roderigo Zamorano* came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the ſtraight and ſeuere examining of all ſuch Maſters as deſire to take charge for the Weſt *Indies*. Which when I firſt read and duely conſidered, it ſeemed to mee ſo excellent and ſo exact a courſe, as I greatly wiſhed, that I might be ſo happy as to ſee the like order eſtabliſhed here with vs. This matter, as it ſeemeth, tooke no light impreſſion in the royall breſt of that moſt renowmed and victorious prince King *Henry* the eight of famous memory; who for the increaſe of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three ſeuerall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at *Deptford* here vpon the *Thames*, the other at *Kingſton* vpon *Hull*, and the third at *Newcaſtle* vpon *Tine*: which laſt was eſtabliſhed in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wiſedome hereunto, himſelfe expreſſeth in maner following. *Vt magiſtri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarij nauium, iuuentutem ſuam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium tranſigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio caſu in paupertatem collapſi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum ſuſtentationem habeant, quo non ſolùm illi reficiantur, verùmetiam alij iuuenes moueantur & inſtigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs vaſis noſtris & aliorum quorumcúnque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus poſtulet, &c.* To deſcend a litle lower, king *Edward* the ſixt that prince of peereleſſe hope, with the aduiſe of his ſage and prudent Counſaile, before he entred into the Northeaſterne diſcouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent *Sebaſtian Cabota* to be grand Pilot of *England*, allowing

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him a moſt bountifull penſion of 166.li.vj.s.viij.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be ſeene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt moſt royally in eſtabliſhing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miſerably turned to other priuate vſes) ſo his princely Maieſtie would haue ſhewed himſelfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of *Spaine*, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And ſurely when I conſidered of late the memorable bountie of ſir *Thomas Greſham*, who being but a Merchant hath founded ſo many chargeable Lectures, and ſome of them alſo which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine cauſes; I nothing doubted of your Lordſhips forwardnes in ſetling and eſtabliſhing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordſhip ſhall ſee the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily ſory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increaſed vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordſhip; ſo if this one thing be added thereunto, together with ſeuere and ſtraight diſcipline, I doubt not but with Gods good bleſſing it will ſhortly grow to the hieſt pitch and top of all perfection: which whenſoeuer it ſhall come to paſſe, I aſſure my ſelfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the proſperous and ſpeedy diſcouery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknowen, to the honeſt employment of many thouſands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confuſion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beſeech you ſpeake vnto your Lordſhip, as in times paſt the elder *Scipio* ſpake to *Cornelius Scipio Africanus*: *Quo ſis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, ſic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conſeruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum eſſe in cœlo, ac definitum locum, vbi beati æuo ſempiterno fruantur.* It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordſhip from time to time vnder her moſt gracious and excellent Maieſtie, haue ſhewed your ſelfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conſeruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; ſo at length you may enioy thoſe celeſtial bleſſings, which are prepared to ſuch as tread your ſteps, and ſeeke to aſpire to ſuch diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I ſurceaſe, wiſhing all temporal and ſpirituall bleſſings of the life preſent and that which is to come to be powred out in moſt ample meaſure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordſhip, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and thoſe two rare iewels, your generous off-ſprings, but alſo vpon all the reſt whereſoeuer of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this preſent October 1598.

Your honours moſt humble alwayes
to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

* * *

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¶ A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and diſcourſes in this firſt part.

HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey *zealouſly beſtowed ſo many yeres, ſo much traueile and coſt, to bring Antiquities ſmothered and buried in darke ſilence, to light, and to preſerue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our* Engliſh *nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring iawes of obliuion: to gather likewiſe, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and ſcattered limmes of our ancient and late Nauigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandiſe by both: and hauing (ſo much as in me lieth) reſtored ech particular member, being before diſplaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all hiſtory) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this ſecond time (friendly Reader, if not to ſatisfie, yet at leaſt for the preſent to allay and hold in ſuſpenſe thine expectation) preſume to offer vnto thy view this firſt part of my threefold diſcourſe. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen ſhape, which here thou ſeeſt; what reſtleſſe nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue traueiled; how many famous libraries I haue ſearched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue peruſed; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obſcuritie and periſhing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entred; what expenſes I haue not ſpared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and eaſe I haue neglected; albeit thy ſelfe canſt hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and ſome of my entier friends can ſufficiently teſtifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the firſt) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties ſeeme eaſie, all paines and induſtrie pleaſant, and all expenſes of light value and moment vnto me.*

For (to conteine my ſelfe onely within the bounds of this preſent diſcourſe, and in the midſt thereof to begin) wil it not in all poſteritie be as great a renowme vnto our Engliſh *nation, to haue bene the firſt diſcouerers of a Sea beyond the* North cape *(neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient paſſage into the huge Empire of* Ruſſia *by the bay of* S. Nicolas *and the riuer of* Duina; *as for the* Portugales *to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of* Buona Eſperanza, *and ſo conſequently a paſſage by Sea into the Eaſt* Indies; *or for the* Italians *and* Spaniards *to haue diſcouered vnknowen landes ſo many hundred leagues Weſtward and Southweſtward of the ſtreits of* Gibraltar, *& of the pillers of* Hercules? *Be it granted that the renowmed* Portugale Vaſquez de Gama *trauerſed the maine Ocean Southward of* Africke: *Did not* Richard Chanceler *and his mates performe the like Northward of* Europe? *Suppoſe that* Columbus *that noble and high-ſpirited* Genuois *eſcried vnknowen landes to the Weſtward of* Europe *and* Africke: *Did not the valiant* Engliſh *knight ſir* Hugh Willoughby; *did not the famous Pilots* Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, *and* Charles Iackman *accoaſt* Noua Zembla, Colgoieue, *and* Vaigatz *to the North of* Europe *and* Aſia? *Howbeit you will ſay perhaps, not with the like golden ſucceſſe, not with ſuch deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conqueſts. True it is, that our ſucceſſe hath not bene correſpondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of ſearching was no whit leſſe. For hath not* Herodotus *(a man for his time, moſt skilfull and iudicial in Coſmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called* Melpomene,

pomene, *ſignified vnto the* Portugales *in plaine termes; that* Africa, *except the ſmall* Iſthmus *between the* Arabian *gulfe and the* Mediterran *ſea, was on all ſides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one* Neco *an* Ægyptian *King, who (for trials ſake) ſent a Fleet of* Phœnicians *downe the Red ſea; who ſetting forth in Autumne and ſailing Southward, till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their ſterbourd (that is to ſay, hauing croſſed the* Æquinoctial *and the Southerne* tropique) *after a long Nauigation, directed their courſe to the North, and in the ſpace of 3. yeeres enuironed all* Africk, *paſſing home through the* Gaditan *ſtreites, and arriuing in Ægypt? And doth not* ‖Plinie *tel them, that noble* Hanno, *in the flouriſhing time and eſtate of* Carthage, *ſailed from* Gades *in* Spaine *to the coaſt of* Arabia fœlix, *and put downe his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of* Auguſtus Cęſar, *the wracke of certaine* Spaniſh *ſhips was found floating in the* Arabian *gulfe? And, not to be ouer-tedious in alleaging of teſtimonies, doth not* Strabo *in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with* Cornelius Nepos *and* Plinie *in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one* Eudoxus *fleeing from king* Lathyrus, *and valing downe the* Arabian *bay, ſailed along, doubled the Southern point of* Africk, *and at length arriued at* Gades? *And what ſhould I ſpeake of the* Spaniards? *Was not diuine* ‖Plato *(who liued ſo many ages ago, and plainely deſcribed their Weſt* Indies *vnder the name of* Atlantis) *was not he (I ſay) in ſtead of a Coſmographer vnto them? Were not thoſe* Carthaginians *mentioned by* Ariſtotle lib. ‖ de admirabil. auſcult. *their forerunners? And had they not* Columbus *to ſtirre them vp, and pricke them forward vnto their Weſterne diſcoueries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore theſe two worthy Nations had thoſe bright lampes of learning (I meane the moſt ancient and beſt Philoſophers, Hiſtoriographers and Geographers) to ſhewe them light; and the load-ſtarre of experience (to wit thoſe great exploits and voyages layed vp in ſtore and recorded) whereby to ſhape their courſe: what great attempt might they not preſume to vndertake? But alas our* Engliſh *nation, at the firſt ſetting foorth for their Northeaſterne diſcouery, were either altogether deſtitute of ſuch cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as miſty as they found the Northren ſeas, and ſo obſcure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to giue them encouragement.*

‖Lib 2. nat. hiſt. cap. 67.

‖In Timæo.

‖ περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων.

But beſides the foreſaid vncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themſelues, Animus meminiſſe horret, *I tremble to recount. For firſt they were to expoſe themſelues vnto the rigour of the ſterne and vncouth Northren ſeas, and to make triall of the ſwelling waues and boiſtrous winds which there commonly do ſurge and blow: then were they to ſaile by the ragged and perilous coaſt of* Norway, *to frequent the vnhaunted ſhoares of* Finmark, *to double the dreadfull and miſty North cape, to beare with* Willoughbies *land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of* Lapland *and* Corelia, *and as it were to open and vnlocke the ſeuen-fold mouth of* Duina. *Moreouer, in their Northeaſterly Nauigations, vpon the ſeas and by the coaſts of* Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, *&c. and their paſſing and returne through the ſtreits of* Vaigatz, *vnto what drifts of ſnow and mountaines of yce euen in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke miſtes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were ſubiect and in danger of, I wiſh you rather to learne out of the voyages of ſir* Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet *and the reſt, then to expect in this place an endleſſe catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great induſtry and magnanimity of the* Hollanders, *who within theſe few yeeres haue diſcouered to 78. yea (as themſelues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with thus prouiſo, that our* Engliſh *nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoiſe vp our ſailes, to get cleare of theſe boiſtrous, froſty, and miſty ſeas, and with all ſpeede to direct our* courſe for the milde, lightſome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made ſo many pleaſant proſperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their Eaſt and Weſt Indian Nauigations haue indured many tempeſts, dangers and ſhipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; firſt that a great number of them haue ſatisfied their fame-thirſty and gold-thirſty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and miſaduentures ſeeme tolerable vnto them; and ſecondly, that their firſt attempts (which in this compariſon I doe onely ſtand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeaſt. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with yce, miſt, or darknes, but was at all ſeaſons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the moſt part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or moleſt them, but their owne Townes, Iſlands, and maine lands to ſuccour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Iſles: and ſo had the Portugales the Iſles of the Açores, of Porto ſanto, of Madera, of Cape verd, the caſtle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Iſle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently ſituated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in ſome one part or other of Africa, for getting of ſlaues, for ſugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, ſiluer, gold, and other precious wares, which ſerued as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to ſtay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto our ſelues.

In this firſt Volume (friendly Reader) beſides our Northeaſterne Diſcoueries by ſea, and the memorable voyage of M. Chriſtopher Hodſon, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ſhips onely, they tooke fiue ſtrong and warrelike ſhips of the Freebooters, which lay within the ſound of Denmark of purpoſe to intercept our Engliſh Fleete: beſides all theſe (I ſay) thou maieſt find here recorded, to the laſting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduauncing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Ruſſia: as namely Richard Chanceler his firſt fortunate arriuall at Newnox, his paſſing vp the riuer of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the ſpace of 1100. verſts, and from thence to Yaruſlaue, Roſtoue, Peraſlaue, and ſo to the famous citie of Moſco, being 1500. verſts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou haſt his voiage penned by himſelfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my ſelfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he deſcribeth in part the ſtate of Ruſſia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maieſtie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himſelfe. But if he being the firſt man, and not hauing ſo perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie ſatiſfie your expectation in deſcribing the foreſayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinſons diſcourſe as touching that argument, to the ſmooth verſes of M. George Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent diſcourſe ſet downe, pag. 475. of this volume, and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you pleaſe) you may adde Richard Iohnſons ſtrange report of the Samoeds, pag. 283. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Ruſſia, I ſuppoſe (among the reſt) that difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, vp the great riuer of Onega, and ſo by other riuers and lakes to the citie of Nouogrod velica vpon the Weſt frontier of Ruſſia, to be right woorthy of obſeruation; as likewiſe that of Thomas Alcock from Moſco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 304. & that alſo of M. Hierome Horſey from Moſco to Vobsko, and ſo through Lieſland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Pruſſia and Pomerland to Roſtok, and ſo to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to ſearch into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Weſterne frontiers, but alſo by the riuers of Moſcua, Occa and Volga, to viſite Cazan and Aſtracan, the fartheſt Eaſterne and Southeaſterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themſelues within all that maine circumference, they haue adventured their perſons, ſhippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, fourteene times ouer the vnknowen and dangerous Caſpian ſea; that valiant, wiſe, and perſonable gentleman M. Anthonie Ienkinſon being their firſt ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. ſailing from Aſtracan towards the Eaſt ſhore of the Caſpian ſea, and there arriuing at the port of Manguſla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and Shelisur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer deſert and waſt countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, diſmiſſed, and ſafely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murſes. Then haue you a ſecond Nauigation of his performance to the South ſhore of the foreſayd Caſpian ſea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding vnto Shamaky, the great curteſie vouchſafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yauate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the ſeate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Perſia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue ſet downe in fiue ſeuerall voiages the ſucceſſe of M. Ienkinſons laudable and well-begun enterpriſe, vnder the foreſayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and laſtly our traffique with Oſman Baſha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreouer, as in M. Ienkinſons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are moſt liuely repreſented vnto you: ſo likewiſe in the ſixe Perſian Iournals you may here and there obſerue the ſtate of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his ſubiects, together with their religion, lawes, cuſtomes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and meaſures, the diſtances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and diſcommodities of the ſame.

Furthermore in this firſt Volume, all the Ambaſſages and Negotiations from her Maieſtie to the Ruſſian Emperor, or from him vnto her Maieſtie, ſeemed by good right to challenge their due places of Record. As namely, firſt that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Ienkinſon 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commiſſion and ambaſſage 1582. and laſt of all the Ambaſſage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours firſt Ambaſſador Oſep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his moſt honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his diſmiſſion into Ruſſeland. In the ſecond place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and laſtly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phiſemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commiſſions, Letters, Priuileges, Inſtructions, Obſeruations, or any other Particulars which might ſerue both in this age, and with all poſteritie, either for preſidents in ſuch like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wiſe to bee buried in ſilence. Finally, that nothing ſhould be wanting which might adde any grace or ſhew of perfection vnto this diſcourſe of Ruſſia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Ruſſian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of thoſe partes: as likewiſe about the concluſion, I haue ſignified in the branch of a letter, the laſt Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man ſhould imagine that our forren trades of merchandiſe haue bene compriſed within ſome few yeeres, or at leaſt wiſe haue not bene of any long continuance; let vs now withdraw our ſelues from our affaires in Ruſſia, and aſcending ſomewhat higher, let vs take a ſleight ſuruey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. Firſt therefore the Reader may haue recourſe vnto the 124 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, conſider out of the iudicial Hiſtoriographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was moſt famous for multitude of merchants and concourſe of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almoſt 900. yeeres paſt, in the time of the Saxons, the ſaid citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the moſt renowmed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the ſayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all Engliſh merchants which in thoſe dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly ſee in an auncient teſtimonie tranſlated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques ſake, ſo many hundred yeeres ſince, to croſſe the wide Seas, and how their induſtry in ſo doing was recompenſed. Yea, there mayeſt thou obſerue (friendly Reader) what priuileges the Daniſh king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our Engliſh merchants Aduenturers of thoſe times. Then if you ſhall thinke good to deſcend vnto the times and ages ſucceeding the conqueſt, there may you partly ſee what our ſtate of merchandiſe was in the time of king Stephen and of his predeceſſor, and how the Citie of Briſtol (which may ſeeme ſomewhat ſtrange) was then greatly reſorted vnto with ſhips from Norway and from Ireland. There may you ſee the friendly league betweene king Henry the ſecond, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbaroſſa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchāts to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable ſafe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the ſame priuileges here in England, which our Engliſh merchants enioied abroad in their ſeuerall countreys. Or what ſhould I ſignifie vnto you the entercourſe of league and of other curteſies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewiſe of the free trade of merchandiſe between their ſubiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hanſe-townes obtained of king Edward the firſt; or to what high endes and purpoſes the generall, large, and ſtately Charter concerning all outlandiſh merchants whatſoeuer was by the ſame prince moſt graciouſly publiſhed? You are of your owne induſtry ſufficiently able to conceiue of the letters & negotiatiōs which paſſed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king, of our Engliſh merchants and their goods detained vpon arreſt at Bergen in Norway; and alſo of the firſt ordination of a Staple, or of one onely ſetled Mart-towne for the vttering of Engliſh woolls & woollen fells, inſtituted by the ſayd K. Edward laſt before named. All which (Reader) being throughly conſidered, I referre you then to the Ambaſſages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, repriſals, arreſts, complaints, ſupplications, compoſitions and reſtitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the ſaid kings and their ſubiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen, and Vlricus de Iungingen, three of the great maſters of Pruſſia, and their ſubiects, with the common ſocietie of the Hanſ-townes on the other partie. In all which diſcourſe you may note very many memorable things; as namely firſt the wiſe, diſcreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foreſaid nations, and their manifold and moſt vſuall kinds of wares vttered in thoſe dayes, as likewiſe the qualitie, burthen, and ſtrength of their ſhipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at ſea, the number and names of the Engliſh townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coaſt of Notway, as euery where within the ſound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanſe. And becauſe the name, office, and dignitie of the maſters generall, or great Maſters of Pruſſia would otherwiſe haue bene vtterly darke and vnknowen to the *greater part of Readers, I haue ſet downe immediatly before the firſt* Pruſſian *ambaſſage,* pagina 144 *a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the firſt originall and inſtitution of themſelues and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increaſe of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in* Italy *and* Germany *and the great conqueſts which they atchieued vpon the infidels of* Pruſſia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, *&c. alſo their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Caſtles vnder their iuriſdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of* Poland.

After all theſe, out of 2 branches of 2 ancient ſtatutes, is partly ſhewed our trade and the ſucceſſe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry *the ſixt.*

Then followeth the true proceſſe of Engliſh *policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatiſe* de politia conſeruatiua maris: *which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of* Ruſſia *his palace called the golden Caſtle, and deſcribed by* Richard Chanceller *pag. 238. of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correſpondent to the name, yet was it within ſo beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maieſticall preſence, with the honourable and great aſſembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualuable and huge maſſe of gold and ſiluer plate, & with other princely magnificence, that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations aſtoniſhed thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our* Engliſh *politician, to wit, the harſh and vnaffected ſtile of his ſubſtantiall verſes and the olde dialect of his wordes is ſuch, as the firſt may ſeeme to haue bene whiſtled of* Pans *oaten pipe, and the ſecond to haue proceeded from the mother of* Euander: *but take you off his vtmoſt weed, and beholde the comelineſſe, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward ſenſe and ſentence; and you ſhall finde (I wiſſe) ſo much true and ſound policy, ſo much delightfull and pertinent hiſtory, ſo many liuely deſcriptions of the ſhipping and wares in his time of all the nations almoſt in Chriſtendome, and ſuch a ſubtile diſcouery of outlandiſh merchants fraud, and of the ſophiſtication of their wares; that needes you muſt acknowledge, that more matter and ſubſtance could in no wiſe be compriſed in ſo little a roome. And notwithſtanding (as I ſaid) his ſtile be vnpoliſhed, and his phraſes ſomewhat out of vſe; yet, ſo neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue moſt religiouſly without alteration obſerued the ſame: thinking it farre more conuenient that himſelfe ſhould ſpeake, then that I ſhould bee his ſpokeſman; and that the Readers ſhould enioy his true verſes, then mine or any other mans fained proſe.*

Next after the concluſion of the laſt mentioned diſcourſe, the Reader may in ſome ſort take a view of our ſtate of merchandiſe vnder K. Edward *the fourth, as likewiſe of the eſtabliſhing of an* Engliſh *company in the* Netherlands, *and of all the diſcreet prouiſoes, iuſt ordinations, & gratious priuileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the ſame purpoſe.*

Now beſides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeaſt regions of the world, and our ancient traffique alſo to thoſe parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (ſo farre as the hiſtories of England *and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke thoſe forren conqueſts, exploits, and trauels of our* Engliſh *nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the firſt place (as I am credibly informed out of* Galfridus Monumetenſis, *and out of* M. Lambert *his* ἀρχαιονομία) *I haue publiſhed vnto the world the noble actes of* Arthur *and* Malgo *two* Britiſh *Kings. Then followeth in the* Saxons *time* K. Edwin *his conqueſt of* Man *and* Angleſey, *and the expedition of* Bertus *into* Ireland. *Next ſucceedeth* Octher *making relation of his doings, and deſcribing the North Countreys, vnto his ſoueraigne Lord* K. Ecfrid. *After whom* Wolſtans *Nauigation within the Sound of* Denmark *is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes* Edmund *and* Edward *into* Sweden *and* Hungarie *is recorded, as likewiſe the mariage of* Harald *his daughter vnto the* Ruſsian *duke* Ieruſlaus. *Neither is* that Engliſhman forgotten, who was forced to traueile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And becauſe thoſe Northeaſterne Regions beyond Volga, by reaſon of the huge deſerts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly traueiled by any of our Nation, nor ſufficiently knowen vnto vs; I haue here annexed vnto the ſaid Engliſhmans traueile, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were ſome of the firſt Chriſtians that trauailed fartheſt that way, and brought home moſt particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had ſeene. Theſe Friers were ſent as Ambaſſadours vnto the ſauage Tartars (who had as then waſted and ouerrunne a great part of Aſia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and ſword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Goſpel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whoſe iourney, becauſe he road ſixe moneths poſte directly beyond Boriſthenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre ſurpaſſe that of Alexander the great, vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1246 ſent with the authoritie and commiſſion of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who paſſed through more garriſons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vaſt, barren, and cold deſerts, then (I ſuppoſe) an army of an hundred thouſand good ſouldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253 by the way of Conſtantinople, of the Euxin ſea, and of Taurica Cherſoneſus imployed in an ambaſſage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then againſt the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach ſent him forthwith vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue ſo well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their firſt arriuall, what cold intertainment they felt in traueiling towards the great Can, and what ſlender cheere they found at his Court; that they ſeeme no leſſe worthy of praiſe then of pitie. But in deſcribing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in ſetting downe the baſe and ſillie beginnings of that huge and ouerſpreading Empire, in regiſtring their manifolde warres and bloody conqueſts, in making relation of their hords and moueable Townes, as likewiſe of their food, apparell and armour, and in ſetting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond ſuperſtitions, their beſtiall liues, their vicious maners, their ſlauiſh ſubiection to their owne ſuperiours, and their diſdainfull and brutiſh inhumanitie vnto ſtrangers, they deſerue moſt exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man ſhall obiect that they haue certaine incredible relations; I anſwere, firſt, that many true things may to the ignorant ſeeme incredible. But ſuppoſe there be ſome particulars which hardly will be credited, yet thus much I will boldly ſay for the Friers, that thoſe particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet further imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whoſe names you may ſee about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more ſtrange things then the Friers betweene them both. Nay, there is not any hiſtory in the world (the moſt Holy writ excepted) whereof we are preciſely bound to beleeue ech word and ſyllable. Moreouer ſithens theſe two Iournals are ſo rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do teſtifie) were many yeeres very inquiſitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and ſithens they haue bene of ſo great accompt with thoſe two famous Coſmographers, that according to ſome fragments of them they haue deſcribed in their Mappes a great part of thoſe Northeaſtern Regions; ſith alſo that theſe two relations containe in ſome reſpect more exact hiſtory of thoſe vnknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could ſet mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the tranſlation ſhould chance to ſwerue in ought from the originals (both for the preſeruation of the originals *themſelues, and the ſatisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely ſtile wherein they were firſt penned. And for theſe two rare iewels, as likewiſe for many other extraordinary courteſies, I muſt here acknowledge my ſelfe moſt deepely bounden vnto the right reuerend, graue, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *and L. high Almner vnto her Maieſtie, by whoſe friendſhip and meanes I had free acceſſe vnto the right honor. my* L. Lumley *his ſtately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuſcripts, theſe two iournals and ſome others alſo.*

After theſe Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a teſtimonie of Gerardus Mercator, *and another of M.* Dee, *concerning one* Nicholas de Linna *an Engliſh* Franciſcan *Frier.*

Then ſucceedeth the long iourney of Henry *Earle of* Derbie, *and afterward king of* England *into* Pruſſia *&* Lithuania, *with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits againſt the Infidels there; as namely, that with the helpe of certaine his aſſociates, he vanquiſhed the king of* Letto *his armie, put the ſayd king to flight, tooke and ſlew diuers of his captains, aduanced his Engliſh colours vpon the wall of* Vilna, *& made the citie it ſelfe to yeeld. Then mention is made alſo of* Tho. of Woodſtock *his trauel into* Pruis, *and of his returne home. And laſtly, our old Engliſh father* Ennius, *I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound* Geffrey Chaucer, *vnder the perſon of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Coſmographer, make report of the long voyages and worthy exploits of our Engliſh Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.*

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but alſo haue ſcattered here and there (as the circumſtance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the claſſical and warrelike ſhipping of this Iſland: *as namely, firſt of the great nauie of that victorious* Saxon *prince king* Edgar, *mentioned by* Florentius Wigornienſis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph *of* Cheſter, Matthew *of* Weſtminſter, Flores hiſtoriarum, *& in the libel of* Engliſh policie, *pag. 202. and 203. of this preſent volume. Of which Authors ſome affirme the ſayd Fleet to haue conſiſted of 4800. others of 4000. ſome others of 3600. ſhips: howbeit (if I may preſume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, ſtrength, building, or nimble ſtirrage vnto the ſhips of later times, and ſpecially of this age. But howſoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the ſayd huge Fleet he was a moſt puiſſant prince; yea, and ſome of them affirme together with* William *of* Malmesbury, *that he was not onely ſoueraigne lord of all the Britiſh ſeas, and of the whole Iſle of* Britaine *it ſelfe, but alſo that he brought vnder his yoke of ſubiection, moſt of the Iſles and ſome of the maine lands adiacent. And for that moſt of our Nauigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practiſe that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meanely ſkilfull, in the true ſtate of the Seas, Shoulds, and Iſlands, lying between the North part of* Ireland *and of* Scotland; *I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action ſhall hereafter chance to drawe them into thoſe quarters) tranſlated into Engliſh a briefe treatiſe called,* A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. *Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and doleful hiſtorie of thoſe parts, for the ſpace almoſt of 300. yeeres, as alſo the moſt ordinarie and accuſtomed nauigations, through thoſe very ſeas, and amidſt thoſe Northweſterne Iſles called the* Hebrides, *ſo many hundred yeeres agoe. For they ſhall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in ſea-cauſes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) firſt* Godredus Crouan *with a whole Fleet of ſhips, throughly haunted ſome places in that ſea: ſecondly, that one* Ingemundus *ſetting ſaile out of* Norway, *arriued vpon the Iſle of* Lewis: *then, that* Magnus *the king of* Norway *came into the ſame ſeas with 160. ſailes, and hauing ſubdued the* Orkney *Iſles in his way, paſſed on in like conquering maner, directing his courſe (as it ſhould ſeeme) euen through the very midſt, and on all ſides of the* Hebrides, who ſailing thence to Man, conquered it alſo, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and laſtly croſsing ouer from the Iſle of Man to the Eaſt part of Ireland. Yea, there they ſhall read of Godredus the ſonne of Olauus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80 ſhips againſt Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ſhips againſt him; of Godred his flight and ſecond iourney into Norway; of Sumerled his ſecond arriual with 160. ſhippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coaſt of Man, and of many other ſuch combates, aſſaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon thoſe ſeas & Iſlands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But ſithens we are entred into a diſcourſe of the ancient warrelike ſhipping of this land, the Reader ſhall giue me leaue to borrow one principall note out of this litle hiſtorie, before I quite take my leaue thereof: and that is in few words, that K. Iohn paſſed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. ſailes; ſo great were our ſea-forces euen in his time. Neither did our ſhipping for the warres firſt begin to flouriſh with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confeſſor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the reſt, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant ſeruice at ſea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may ſee recorded, pag. 17. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentiſh Cinque ports, which of the ſea-townes they were, how they were infranchiſed, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchſafed vpon them, and what ſeruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ſhips, how many ſouldiers, mariners, Garſons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furniſh for the kings vſe; and laſtly, what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewiſe againſt the Welſhmen, vpon 200. French ſhips, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 117. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the firſt, vpon the foreſayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of ſeuen hundred ſhips which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the ſiege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obſeruation. Firſt, that theſe ſhips, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. perſons, ſeeme to haue bene of great burthen; and ſecondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) ſet foorth almoſt twiſe as many ſhips and mariners, as either the king did at his owne coſts and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England beſides. Howbeit Tho. Walſingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the ſame king; namely, of 1100. ſhippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them ſufficiently well furniſhed. Moreouer, the Reader may behold, pag. 186. a notable teſtimonie of the mightie ſhips of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certaine Spaniſh and Italian ſhips and forces, & had vnited their owne ſtrength vnto them) ſent his brother Iohn duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking ſome of their ſhips, and ſinking others, and putting the reſidue to diſhonorable flight. Likewiſe comming the next yeere with ſtronger powers, and being then alſo ouercome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naues (ſaieth mine Author) that is, for the reſiſtance of their ſhips, the ſayd king cauſed ſuch huge ſhips to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world beſides.

But to leaue our ancient ſhipping, and deſcend vnto later times; I thinke that neuer was any nation bleſſed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquiſhing of the dreadfull Spaniſh Armada, 1588. But why ſhould I preſume to call it our vanquiſhing; when as the greateſt part of them eſcaped vs, and were onely by Gods out-ſtretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, daſhed in pieces againſt the Rockes, and made fearefull ſpectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all

Chriſtendome. An excellent diſcourſe whereof, as likewiſe of the honourable expedition vnder two of the moſt noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renoumed Erle of Eſſex, *and the right honorable the lord* Charles Howard, *lord high Admirall of* England, *made 1596. vnto the ſtrong citie of* Cadiz, *I haue ſet downe as a double* epiphonema *to conclude this my firſt volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to ſatiſfie the importunitie of ſome of my ſpecial friends, and partly, not longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two ſuch woorthy and long-expected diſcourſes; I haue made bold to ſtraine a litle curteſie with that methode which I firſt propounded vnto my ſelfe.*

And here had I almoſt forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philoſophical treatiſe of the true ſtate of Iſeland, *and ſo conſequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meaneſt Hiſtoriographers and Coſmographers of later times, as namely,* Munſter, Gemma Friſius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus *and others, are by euident arguments conuinced of manifold errors: that is to ſay, as touching the true ſituation and Northerly latitude of that Iſland, and of the diſtance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and ſea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in thoſe Seas, of the firſt Diſcouerie and inhabiting of that Iſland, of the firſt planting of Chriſtianitie there, as likewiſe of the continuall flaming of mountains, ſtrange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which thoſe authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatiſe ought to bee the more acceptable; firſt in that it hath brought ſound trueth with it; and ſecondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which moſt men would ſuppoſe could not affoord any one ſo learned a Patrone for it ſelfe.*

And thus (friendly Reader) thou ſeeſt the briefe ſumme and ſcope of all my labours for the common-wealths ſake, and thy ſake, beſtowed vpon this firſt Volume: which if thou ſhalt as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I ſhall bee the better encouraged ſpeedily to acquaint thee with thoſe rare, delightfull and profitable hiſtories, which I purpoſe (God willing) to publiſh concerning the Southerne and Weſterne partes of the World.

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¶ *Poſtſcriptum.*

Not knowing any other place ſo conuenient, I am here to aduertiſe the friendly Reader of certaine faultes eſcaped in the printing of this booke, and to requeſt him that in the Page 54. and in the laſt line ſaue two, hee would in ſtead of Kine, read Swine, and he ſhall thereby auoid a great contradiction: likewiſe pag. 187. that hee would vnto the ende of the ſecond verſe of the Prologue to the Engliſh Policy, make ſupply of the word Reſt, which is there wanting: alſo pag. 221. lin. 29. for woorthineſſe read woorthies, &c. Other faults (if there bee any) are (I doubt not) eaſily corrigible.

ΕἸΣ ἈΠΟΔΗΜΊΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΩ͂Ν

ΠΟΊΗΜΑ ῬΙΧΆΡΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ͂ [illegible]

[illegible]

Ὅσσοι γαίας ἔχουσι βροτοὶ [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] χάρμα φύσει.
Οἱ δ᾽ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] ἀξιόλογοι ἔσαν.
Ἔξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ᾽, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] φῦλα [illegible].
Γαλλίας [illegible] καὶ [illegible], [illegible] τε,
καὶ Μόσχους, καὶ πάντ᾽ [illegible] [illegible].
Τούτων δ᾽ [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Ἀκλούϊτος
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

In nauales RICHARDI HAKLVYTI Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum fœcunda puerpera rerum,
ſiue ſolum ſpectes nobile, ſiue ſalum;
Quæ quantum ſumptis ſe nobilitauerit armis,
ſiue domi geſſit prælia, ſiue foris;
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tanta
Inſula materiem paruula laudis alit.
At ſe in quot, qualéſque, & quando effuderit oras,
qua fidit ignotum peruia claſſis iter,
Solius Hakluyti *decus eſt, prædiuite penna*
oſtendiſſe ſuis ciuibus auſa mari.
Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,
Oceani triſtes ſpernere docta minas,
A prima generiſque, & gentis origine geſſit,
qua via per fluctus vlla patere poteſt,
Siue decus, laudémque ſecuta, vt & hoſtibus alas
demeret, atque ſuis læta pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; *cui debet patria multum,*
cui multum, patriæ quiſquis amicus erit.
Qua re námque magis ſe noſtra Britannia iactat,
quàm quòd ſit præter cætera claſſe potens?
Quam priùs obſeſſam tenebris ſic liberat, vt nunc
quiſque ſciat, quàm ſit nobile claſſis opus.
Quam ſi Dædalicè vtemur, ſurgemus in altum,
ſin autem Icariè, quod voret, æquor habet.

RICH. MVLCASTER.

Eiuſdem in eundem.

QVi grauis primus cecinit camœna
Aureum vellus, proceréſque Græcos,
quos ſibi adiunxit comites Iaſon
Vectus in Argo
Naue, quam primùm ſecuiſſe fluctus
prædicant ſalſos, ſibi comparauit

Inde non vnquam moritura magnæ
præmia famæ.
Tanta ſi merces calamum ſecuta
Vnica nauis referentis acta,
Quanta Richardum manet Hakluytum
gloria? cuius
Penna deſcripſit freta mille, mille
Inſula noſtra celeres carinas,
Quæ per immenſi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi.
Senties gratam patriam, tuæq;
Laudis æternùm memorem, & laboris:
Quæ tua cura, calamóque totum
ibit in orbem:
Quam doces omni ſtudio ſouere
Nauticum robur, validámq; claſſem.
Hac luet quiſquis violentus Anglos
vſſerit hoſtis.

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad diſiunctiſsimas regiones nauigationibus Gulielmi Camdeni Hexaſtichon.

Anglia quæ penitùs toto diſcluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm ſepoſitos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid *Haklute* tibi monſtranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

DI MARC' ANTONIO PIGAFETA Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

IGnota mi ſtarei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oſcure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con ſpeſa & arte
Non haueſſe hor ſcoperto il mio ſplendore.
Ramuſio pria pieno d'ardente amore
Manifeſtò le mie piu ricche parte,
Che ſon là doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange ſcorre.
Hakluyto *poi ſenza verun riſguardo*
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà inſieme,
Ciò c'hà potuto hauer da typhi Ingleſi.
Onde vedraſſi e doue bella ſguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l'Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben paleſi.

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THE

THE FIRST VOLVME OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the North and Northeaſt quarters of the World, with the directions, letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes, and obſeruations incident to the ſame.

Certeine teſtimonies concerning K. *Arthur* and his conqueſts of the North regions, taken out of the hiſtorie of the Kings of *Britaine*, written by *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, and newly printed at Heidelberge, *Anno* 1587.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

ANno Chriſti, 517. Arthurus, ſecundo regni ſui anno, ſubiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, claſſem ſuam direxit in Iſlandiam, eamque debellato populo ſubiugauit. Exin diuulgato per cæteras inſulas rumore, quod ei nulla Prouincia reſiſtere poterat, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltro venerunt, promiſſoque vectigali ſubiectionem fecerunt. Emenſa deinde hyeme, reuerſus eſt in Britanniam, ſtatúmque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of Chriſt, 517. king Arthur in the ſecond yeere of his reigne, hauing ſubdued all parts of Ireland, ſailed with his fleet into Iſland, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his ſubiection. The rumour afterwards being ſpread thorowout all the other Iſlands, that no countrey was able to withſtand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promiſing to pay him tribute. The Winter being ſpent, he returned into Britaine, and eſtabliſhing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the ſpace of twelue yeres.

Lib. 9 cap. 12.

MIſſis deinde in diuerſa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Inſulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò poſt: Ex collateralibus autem Inſulis, Guillaumurius rex Hyberniæ, Maluaſius rex Iſlandiæ, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnaſius rex Orchadum, Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aſchilius rex Danorum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

AFter that king Arthur ſending his meſſengers into diuers kingdomes, he ſummoned ſuch as were to come to his Court, aſwell out of France, as out of the adiacent Iſlands of the ſea, &c. and a little after: From thoſe adiacent Iſlands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluaſius king of Iſland, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnaſius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aſchilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 cap. 19.

AT reges cæterarum Inſularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quiſque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex ſex Inſulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Iſlandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, ſexies viginti millia eſſent annumerata.

The ſame in Engliſh.

But the kings of the other Iſlands, becauſe it was not their cuſtome to breed vp horſes, promiſed the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to ſend: ſo that out of the ſix Iſlands, namely, of Ireland, Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had ſixe ſcore thouſand ſouldiers ſent him.

A teſtimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of *Britaine*, taken out of M. *Lambard* his Ἀρχαιονομία, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytiſſimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animoſus, & miles illuſtris. Paruum fuit ei regnum iſtud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Subiugauit igitur ſibi ſtrenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes inſulas vltra Scantiam, ſcz. Iſlandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ ſunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suethordiam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & inſulas Orientalis Oceani vſque Ruſſiam (in Lappa ſcilicet poſuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas inſulas vltra Scantiam, vſque dum ſub Septentrione, quæ ſunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Chriſtiani occultè. Arthurus autem Chriſtianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Chriſti ſemper inuiolatam cuſtodire, & ſuſcipere. Ceperunt vniuerſi proceres Norweiæ vxores ſuas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienſes dicunt ſe exijſſe de gente & ſanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata ſit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britanniæ in augmentum regni huius, vocauitque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britanniæ. Hac verò de cauſa dicunt Norwegienſes, ſe debere in regno iſto cohabitare & dicunt ſe eſſe de corpore regni huius, ſcilicet de corona Britanniæ. Maluerunt enim manere in regno iſto, quàm in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida eſt, & montuoſa, & ſterilis, & non ſunt ibi ſegetes niſi per loca. Iſta verò opulenta eſt, & fertilis, & creſcunt hic ſegetes, & cætera vniuerſa. Qua ex cauſa ſæpius per vices geſta ſunt bella atrociſſima inter Anglos & Norwegienſes, & interfecti ſunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt verò Norwegienſes terras multas & inſulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam poſtea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confœderati ſunt nobis fide, & ſacramento, & per vxores ſuas, quas poſtea ceperunt de ſanguine noſtro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum conſtituit, & eis conceſſit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noſter (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune conſilium totius regni. Qua de cauſa poſſent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiſcum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, ſicut coniurati fratres noſtri.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ARthur which was ſometimes the moſt renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly ſubdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Iſlands beyond Norway, to wit, Iſland and Greenland, which are apperteining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Iſlands of the Eaſt ſea, euen vnto Ruſſia (in which Lapland he placed the Eaſterly bounds of his Brittiſh Empire) and many other Iſlands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. Theſe people were wild and ſauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbours, becauſe all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Chriſtians liuing in ſecret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Chriſtian, and cauſed them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worſhip one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Chriſt onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norſes ſay, that they are deſcended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforeſaid king Arthur obteined alſo in thoſe dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway ſhould be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cauſe the Norſes ſay, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natiue countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increaſe: for which cauſe many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Engliſhmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene ſlaine, & the Norſes haue poſſeſſed many lands and Iſlands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe poſſeſſe, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and ſacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For ſo the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall conſent of the whole kingdome, ſo that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing & ſworne brethren.

A teſtimonie out of the foreſayd *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, concerning the conqueſts of *Malgo*, king of *England*. *Lib. 11. cap. 7.*

Vortiporio ſucceſſit Malgo, omnium fere Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulſor, robuſtus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Inſulam obtinuit, & ſex conprouinciales Oceani Inſulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Iſlandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit dirisſimis prælijs poteſtati ſuæ.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Malgo ſucceeded Vortiporius which was the goodlieſt man in perſon of all Britaine, a prince that expulſed many tyrants. He was ſtrong and valiant in warre, taller then moſt men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king alſo obteined the gouernment of the whole Iſland of Britaine, and by moſt ſharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the ſixe Iſlands of the Ocean ſea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conqueſt of the Iſles of *Angleſey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of *Northumberland* written in the ſecond Booke and fift Chapter of *Beda* his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of the Engliſh nation.

Eduinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id eſt, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnon & Menauias Britonum inſulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam ſitæ ſunt, Anglorum ſubiecit poteſtati.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Edwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to ſay, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Iſle of Britaine, bare rule aſwell ouer the Engliſh as the Brittiſh nation, except onely the people of Kent: who alſo brought in ſubiection vnder the Engliſh, the Iſles of Man and Angleſey, and the other Northweſterne Iſles of the Britons, which are ſituate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another teſtimonie alledged by *Beda* to the ſame purpoſe. *Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

Anno ab incarnatione Domini ſexcenteſimo viceſimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc eſt, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege ſuo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius ſupra meminimus) ſuſcepit: cui videlicet regi in auſpicium ſuſcipiendæ fidei, & regni cœleſtis poteſtas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipſorum vel Britonum Prouinciæ habitabantur, ſub ditione acceperit. Quin & Meneuias inſulas (ſicut & ſupra docuimus) imperio ſubiugauit Anglorum. Quarum prior quæ ad auſtrum eſt, & ſitu amplior, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fœlicior, nongentarum ſexaginta familiarum menſuram, iuxta æſtimationem Anglorum, ſecunda trecentarum & vltrà ſpatium tenet.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, ſixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, thoſe Engliſh people which inhabit on the North ſide of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Chriſtian preaching and perſwaſion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Goſpel. Vnder which king, after he had once accepted of the Chriſtian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; inſomuch, that he (which no Engliſh king had done before him) brought vnder his ſubiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the Engliſh men themſelues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he ſubdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue ſignified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Weſterne Iſlands. The principall whereof being more commodiouſly and pleaſantly ſeated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the reſt, conteineth according to the eſtimation of the Engliſh, roome enough for 960. families, and the ſecond for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of *Bertus*, generall of an armie ſent into *Ireland* by *Ecfridus* king of *Northumberland*, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of *Beda* his Eccleſiaſticall Hyſtorie.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis ſexcenteſimo octogeſimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, miſſo Hiberniam cum excercitu duce Berto, vaſtauit miſerè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum ſemper amiciſſimam, ita vt nec eccleſijs quidem aut monaſterijs manus parceret hoſtilis. At inſulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus ſe vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus poſtulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei poſſidere non poſſint, creditum tamen eſt, quòd hi qui merito impietatis ſuæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas ſui reatus luerent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland ſent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miſerably waſted that innocent nation being alwayes moſt friendly vnto the people of England, inſomuch that the fury of the enemy ſpared neither churches nor monaſteries. Howbeit the Iſlanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curſes, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit curſed ſpeakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithſtanding, that they which were accurſed for their impiety did not long eſcape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of *Octher* made to the Northeaſt parts beyond *Norway*, reported by himſelfe vnto *Alfred* the famous king of *England*, about the yere 890.

Finnes liue by hunting & fiſhing.

OCther ſaid, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furtheſt North of any other Norman. He ſayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the Weſt coaſt: and affirmed that the land, notwithſtanding it ſtretcheth maruellous farre towards the North, yet it is all deſert and not inhabited, vnleſſe it be very fewe places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coaſt, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fiſhing in Summer. He ſaid that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantaſie and deſire to prooue and know how farre that land ſtretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the deſert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coaſt, hauing vpon his ſteereboord alwayes the deſert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his courſe for the ſpace of 3. dayes. In which ſpace he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vſe to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his courſe ſtill towards the North ſo farre as he was able to ſaile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coaſt turned towards the Eaſt, or els the ſea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wiſt and remembred, that he was faine to ſtay till he had a Weſterne winde, and ſomewhat Northerly: and thence he ſailed plaine Eaſt along the coaſt ſtill ſo far as he was able in the ſpace of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he

The place whither the whale hunters trauelle.

was compelled againe to ſtay till he had a full Northerly winde, forſomuch as the coaſt bowed thence directly towards the South, or at leaſt wiſe the ſea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: ſo that he ſailed thence along the coaſt continually full South, ſo farre as he could trauile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he diſcouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which riuer he ſtayed his courſe, and in concluſion turned backe againe, for he durſt not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiuing that on the other ſide of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the firſt peopled land that he had found ſince his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage, he had euermore on his ſteereboord, a wilderneſſe and deſert countrey, except that in ſome places, he ſaw a few fiſhers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithſtanding he was afrayed to go vpon ſhore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waſte, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue ſayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fiſhers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of ſtories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth: forſomuch as he was not vpon land, nor ſaw any himſelfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes ſpeake but one language. The principall purpoſe of his trauelle this way, was to encreaſe the knowledge and diſcouerie of theſe coaſts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fiſhing of ‖ horſewhales, which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought ſome at his returne vnto the king. Their ſkinnes are alſo very good to make cables for ſhippes, and ſo vſed. This kinde of whale is much leſſe in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length aboue ſeuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of moſt and beſt hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof ſome be 48. elles of length, and ſome 50. of which ſort he affirmed that he himſelfe was one of the ſixe, which in the ſpace of 3. dayes killed threeſcore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in ſuch riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth conſiſt. At the ſame time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were ſtall Rane Deere, a beaſt of great value, and marueilouſly eſteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. ſwine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horſes. Their principall wealth conſiſteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in ſkinnes of wilde beaſts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for ſhippes made of Whales or Seales ſkinnes. Euery man payeth according to his abilitie. The richeſt pay ordinarily 15. caſes of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere ſkinnes, and one Beare, ten buſhels of feathers, a coat of a Beares ſkinne, two cables threeſcore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales ſkin, the other of Seales.

The riuer of Duina as it is ſuppoſed.

A Deſert countrey.

Fynnes.

Biarmia.

Terfynnes.

The Fynnes and Biarmes ſpeake one language.

‖ Or, morſſes, their teeth cōmended.

Vſe of yͤ Horſefiſh ſkinne for cables.

Sixe hundreth tame Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales ſkins.

He ſayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and ſmall. So much of it as either beareth any good paſture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coaſt, which notwithſtanding in ſome places is very rockie and ſtonie: and all Eaſtward, all along againſt the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in ſome places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadeſt toward the South, & the further it ſtretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore ſmaller and ſmaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threeſcore miles in breadth or broader in ſome places: about the middeſt, 30. miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is ſmalleſt, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of ſuch quantitie, as a man is able to trauelle ouer in a fortnight, and in ſome places no more then may be trauelled in ſixe dayes. Right ouer againſt this land, in the other ſide of the mountaines, ſomewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and againſt the ſame towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Queenes ſometimes paſſing the mountaines, inuade and ſpoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewiſe ſometimes ſpoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in ſundry places of freſh water, into the which the Queenes vſe to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer land, and thereby inuade and ſpoile the countrey of the Normans. Theſe boats of theirs be very little and very light.

A deſcription of Norway.

The bredth of the mountaines of Norway.

Swethland.

Queeneland.

Boats caried on mens backs.

The voyage of *Octher* out of his countrey of *Halgoland* into the ſound of *Denmarke* vnto a port called *Hetha*, which ſeemeth to be *Wiſmer* or *Roſtorke*.

OCther ſayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the

|| Or, ſtreight. It ſeemeth to be about Elſenborg.

The deſcription of the ſound of Denmarke.

Gotland.

Vandals.

Hetha but two dayes ſayling from Seland. It ſeemeth to be Wiſmer or Roſtocke.

South, there is a certeine || port called Scirings hall, whither, he ſayth, that a man was not able to ſaile in a moneths ſpace, if he lay ſtill by night, although he had euery day a full winde. And he ſhall ſaile all the way along the coaſt, hauing on his ſteerboord, firſt Iutland and the Iſlands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, ſtill along the coaſt of this countrey, till he come to Scirings hall, hauing it on his leerboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is ſo broad, that a man cannot ſee ouer it: and on the other ſide againſt the ſame, is Gotland, and then Silland. This ſea ſtretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. From Scirings hall he ſayd that he ſailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of || Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is ſubiect. And as he ſailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his ſteerboord Denmarke, and on his leerboord the maine ſea, for the ſpace of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha, he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with diuers other Iſlands. In that countrey dwelt Engliſh men, before they came into this land. And theſe 2. dayes he had vpon his leerboord the Iſlands that are ſubiect to Denmarke.

VVolſtans nauigation in the || Eaſt ſea, from *Hetha* to *Truſco*, which is about *Dantzig.*

|| Within the ſound of Denmarke.

Bargenland, or Borneholme.

Wixel is the riuer that falleth into the ſea by Dantzig.

|| Or, Pruſſia.

Fruſo.

|| Or, Liuonia.

WOlſtan ſayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Truſco, in the ſpace of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his ſhippe kept her courſe continually vnder ſaile. All this voyage Wenedland was ſtill vpon his ſteerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falſter, and Sconie: all which countreyes are ſubiect to Denmarke. Vpon his leerboord alſo, was Bargenland, which hath a priuate king, vnto whom it is ſubiect. Hauing left Bargenland, he paſſed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreys are ſubiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his ſteerboord, vntill he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Eaſterlings: and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of || Wenedland into Eaſtmeere, which Eaſtmeere is at the leaſt 15. miles in breadth. There runneth alſo another riuer called Ilſing from the Eaſt, and falleth into Eaſtmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is ſituated Fruſo. So that Ilſing comming out of || Eaſtland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eaſtmeere, and there Wixel depriueth Ilſing of his name, and runneth thence Weſt & North into the ſea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

The deſcription of Eaſtland.

Eaſtland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great ſtrife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fiſh.

Mares milke a chiefe drinke.

The wealthieſt men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and ſlaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Eaſterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The nauigation of King *Edgar*, taken out of *Florentius Wigornienſis*, *Houeden*, and M. *Dee* his diſcourſe of the Brittiſh Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I Haue often times (ſayd he) and many wayes looked into the ſtate of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Chriſtian men commonly) being a ſtudie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpoſe ſomewhat anſwerable to a perfect Coſmographer, to finde himſelfe Coſmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one myſticall citie vniuerſall, and ſo conſequently to meditate of the Coſmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, paſſing on very ſwiftly toward the moſt dreadfull and moſt comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (ſayd he) that if this Brittiſh Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, yer this, haue ſurpaſſed by iuſtice, and godly ſorte, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth ſince mans creation: and that to all ſuch purpoſes as to God are moſt acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, moſt honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (ſayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occaſion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly paſt, and for euer) diſcreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittiſh monarchie, yet at the leaſt ſome ſuch notable portion thereof, as (al circumſtances duely and iuſtly appertaining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vſed) this may become the moſt peaceable, moſt rich, moſt puiſſant, & moſt floriſhing monarchie of al els (this day) in chriſtendome. Peaceable, I ſay, euen with the moſt part of the ſelfe ſame reſpects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by ſundry ſuch meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vſe triumphantly, whereupon his ſurname was Pacificus, moſt aptly and iuſtly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about ſix hundred yeeres paſt, the repreſentation of a great part of the ſelfe ſame Idæa, which from aboue onely, & by no mans deuiſe hath ſtreamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a ſubiect carefull for the godly proſperitie of this Brytiſh Empire vnder our moſt peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni ſui proſpiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas ſibi robuſtas cōgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Auſtrali, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago cōſtituit, vt ad defenſionem regni ſui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ diſcrimina ſuſtinerent.

Flores Hiſtoriarum.

O wiſedome imperiall, moſt diligently to be imitated, videlicet, proſpicere, to foreſee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and alſo the peaceable enioying therof. O, of an incredible maſſe of treaſure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, ſeeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is hiſtorically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himſelfe flouriſhed ſo wealthily: O maruellous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foreſee, and preuent, (and that moſt puiſſantly, and inuincibly) all poſſible malice, fraude, force, and miſchiefe forrain. O moſt diſcreet liberalitie to ſuch excellent vſes, powring out his treaſure ſo abundantly. O faithfull Engliſh people (then,) and worthy ſubiects, of ſuch an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and bleſſed ready hands (then,) ſo to impart ſuch abundance of victuals for thoſe huge Nauies maintenance: ſo (I ſay) as neither dearth of famine, ſeemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to enſue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreaſonable enhaunſed by you, finding for their great ſales ſo good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this Brytiſh Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

> Anglici orbis Baſileus, flos, & Decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Perſis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arſaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni ſui cum fratre, & poſt 23. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glaſcon ſepelitur.

Charta Regia, Henrici ſecundi.

O Glaſtonbury, Glaſtonbury, the treaſurie of the carcaſes of ſo famous, and ſo many perſons (Quæ olim mater ſanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus ſanctorum, quam ab ipſis diſcipulis Domini, ædificatam fuiſſe venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy caſe nowe? howe hath hypocriſie and pride wrought thy deſolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mightie princes, whoſe carcaſes are committed to thy cuſtody, yet that Apoſtolike Ioſeph, that triumphant Brytiſh Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine ſorrowfull reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progreſſes, and yerely chiefe paſtimes were, the ſailing round about this whole Ile of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. ſaile at the leaſt, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ſhips, for ſo it is anciently recorded.

> Idem quoque Ædgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, poſt feſtum Paſchale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem ſtatuit, ſic, æſtate Inſulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad ſui exercitium, & ad hoſtium fecit terrorem.

Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis.

COuld, and would that peaceable & wiſe king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithſtanding miſtruſting his poſſible enemies, make his paſtimes ſo roially, politically, and triumphantly, with ſo many thouſand ſhips, and at the leaſt with ten times ſo many men as ſhips, and that yerely: and ſhall we being not aſſured of ſuch neighbors friendſhip, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mightie princes, as neuer king Edgar doubted the like, ſhall we (ſaid he) not iudge it ſome part of wiſdome, to imitate carefully in ſome litle proportion (though not with ſo many thouſands) the proſperous paſtimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, proſperous paſtimes theſe may bee iuſtly counted, by which he alſo made euident to the whole world, that as he wiſely knew the ancient bounds and limites of this Brytiſh Empire, ſo that he could and would royally, iuſtly, and triumphantly enioy the ſame, ſpite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, ſo highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to paſſe, as the wiſeſt and godlieſt Prelates and counſellors of thoſe dayes (ſo counted of and recorded) could beſt aduiſe and direct him, or perchance, but ſincerely commend and dutifully incourage him in, he being of himſelfe ſo bent, as purpoſing firſt inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and vttermoſt walles of his Iſlandiſh Monarchie, againſt all forreine encombrance poſſible. And in that fortification furthering and aſſuring to truſt beſt his owne ouerſight and iudgement, in yeerely viewing the ſame in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his paſtime Imperiall, alſo in Summer time, to the ende that afterward in all ſecuritie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient leiſure on land, chiefly to ſet foorth Gods due honour, and ſecondly to vnderſtand, and diligently to liſten to the cauſes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

> Habebat autem præterea conſuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias tranſire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum, à principibus obſeruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur, diligenter inueſtigare ſolebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iuſtitiæ ſtudens, & Reipub. regníque vtilitati conſulens in vtroque. Hinc hoſtibus circunquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat ſubditorum.

Thus we ſee how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire ſuch proſperous ſecuritie, that his true and faithfull ſubiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and alſo at ſea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, ſafely and ſecurely employ their wits and trauels for the marueilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleaſuring very many other, carying foorth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our neceſſary vſes (and due ſtore reſerued) and likewiſe againe furniſhing the ſame with all neceſſary and not ſuperfluous forreine commodities, ſet from farre or forrein countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regníq; vtilitati conſulens, &c. beſides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreſeene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himſelfe vſed moſt gladly the aduantage of that ſecuritie, in miniſtring of iuſtice, or cauſing the ſame to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not ſquemiſhly, frowningly or ſkornefully ſhunning the ragged and tattered ſleeue of any ſuppliant, holding vp to him a ſimple ſoiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afrayde at, and timerouſly haſting from the ſickly pale face or feeble limmed ſuter, extreemely conſtrained ſo to ſpeake for himſelfe, nor partially ſmoothering his owne conſcience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and treſpaſſe vnlawfull of any his ſubiects, how mightie or neceſſary ſoeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made ſearch, leaſt Pauperes à potentibus præiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique ſecuritie frō forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne ſubiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly ſpirit directing all his good purpoſes, cauſe iuſtice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flouriſh. For which his peaceable and proſperous benefits at the eternall kings his hand obteined, hee became not inſolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as ſome princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foreſaide inuincible Sea force, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with ſecuritie and Iuſtice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and moſt zealouſly bent to ſet foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlaſting king, by ſuch principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God moſt acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly teſtifie: As this, for one.

Ex charta fundationis Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

> Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui eſt rex Regum, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Baſileus omniúmq; Regum, Inſularum, Oceaníq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum quę infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipſi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium ſic ampliauit, & exaltauit ſuper regnum patrū meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt à tempore Athelſtani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quę Britanniam incolunt, ſibi Armis ſubegit) nullus tamen eorū vltra eius fines imperium ſuum dilatare aggreſſus eſt. Mihi autem conceſſit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Inſularum Oceani, cum ſuis ferociſſimis Regibus, vſq; Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum ſua nobiliſſima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno ſubiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla ſubdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Chriſti gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius ſeruitium amplificare deuotus diſpoſui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunſtanum viz. Archiepiſcopum, Athelwoldum, & Oſwaldum epiſcopos (quos mihi patres ſpirituales, & Conſiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, ſecundum quod diſpoſui, effeci, &c.

And againe this in another Monument.

Fundatio Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Elienſis.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipſius nutu & gratia ſuffultus, Ego Ædgarus Baſileus dilectæ Inſulę Albionis, ſubditis nobis ſceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, ſtudioſus ſollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, noſtríſq; diebus (plus ęquo) ſeruitus eius tepeſcere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Baſileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all theſe rehearſed Records, it is moſt euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of thoſe Monarchs, in whoſe handes (if life had ſuffiſed) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this Brittiſh monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchaſed in ſuch ſort, as the very bleſſing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our induſtrie to attaine to, and enioye the ſame by.

And though ſundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times paſt haue either by intent gone about, or by wiſe and valiant exploit, haue meetely well proſpered towards this Iſlandiſh appropriate ſuppremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reaſonable meanes was vſed, or by humane wit, or induſtrie can be contriued, to al purpoſes ſufficient, but only by our ſea forces preuailing, and ſo by our inuincible enioying al within the ſea limites of our Brittiſh royaltie contained.

To which incredible political myſterie attaining, no eaſier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the preſent and continuall ſeruice of threeſcore good and tall warlike ſhips, with twentie ſmaller barkes, and thoſe 80. ſhips (great and ſmal) with 6660. apt men furniſhed, and all ſingularly well appointed for ſeruice both on ſea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in ſuch circumſpect and diſcreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occaſion offered) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of ſo many thouſand ſhips, and they furniſhed with an hundred thouſand men at the leaſt, with all the finall intents of thoſe ſea forces, ſo inuincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their ſeruice, the godly and Imperial ſucceſſe thereof, are in a maner kingly leſſons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique ſecuritie as he was, to be as ſkilful of our ſea right and royal limites, and wiſely to finde our ſelues as able to recouer and enioy the ſame as he was, who could not chuſe, but with the paſſing and yeerely ſayling about this Brittiſh Albion, with all the leſſer Iſles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuſe I ſay, but by ſuch ful and peaceable poſſeſſion, find himſelfe (according to right, and his hearts deſire) the true and ſoueraigne Monarch of all the Brittiſh Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the leſſer Iſlands next adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the teſtimonie annexed of the ſtates and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the ſtile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before alſo remembred.

Note the auncient Maieſties royaltie ouer the Brittiſh Ocean ſea, round about the Brittiſh Empire.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Baſileus, omniúmque Regum, Inſularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the ſonnes of King *Edmund Ironſide* into *Hungarie*, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by *Florentius Wigornienſis* pag. 391.

An. Dom. 1017.

DEdit conſilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus ſibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapſo tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos miſit. Qui, licèt fœdus eſſet inter eos, precibus illius nullatenus voluit acquieſcere, ſed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine miſit nutriendos vitæque reſeruandos. Quorum vnus ſcilicet Eadmundus proceſſu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Chriſtinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum ſuſcepit.

The

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDric counſelled king Kanutus to murther the yong princes Edward and Edmund the ſonnes of King Edmund. But becauſe it ſeemed a thing very diſhonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee ſent them, after a ſhort ſpace, vnto the king of Sweden to be ſlaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no caſe condeſcend vnto Canutus his bloody requeſt, but ſent them vnto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nouriſhed and preſerued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in proceſſe of time there deceaſed. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Chriſtina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of *Man*, taken out of M. *Camdens* Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceaſed, whom Harald ſonne of Godwin ſucceeded in his kingdome; againſt which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the Engliſh winning the fielde put all the Noruegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus ſirnamed Crouan (the ſonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Iſland) repaired vnto Godred ſonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably entertained by him.

Fingal.

In the very ſame yeere William the Conquerour ſubdued England, and Godred the ſonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceaſed, after whom ſucceeded his ſonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066, Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ſhips, and ſailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquiſhed and put to flight. The ſecond time alſo hauing gathered his armie and ſhips together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, loſt the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time he aſſembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramſa, hid 300. of his men in a wood ſtanding vpon the ſide of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no ſooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themſelues and with great furie ſet vpon Godred. And in the midſt of the ſkirmiſh, the foreſaid 300. men riſing out of their ambuſh, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, moleſted them ſo ſore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they ſaw ẏ they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the ſea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramſa) and ſeeing the enemie ſo fiercely purſuing them on the other ſide, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beſeeched Godred to ſpare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compaſſion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, becauſe hee had bene of late ſuſtained and nouriſhed among them, ſounded a retreat and forbad his ſouldiers to make any longer purſuit. The day following Godred put his ſouldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themſelues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and ſo returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleaſed them better to waſte the whole Iſland and to enrich themſelues with the commodities thereof, and ſo to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himſelfe with a fewe Iſlanders which had remained with him, tooke poſſeſſion of the South part of the Iſland, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them ſhould at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the ſaid ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that vnto this day the whole Iſland is the kings owne Fee-ſimple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Alſo Godredus ſubdued Dublin vnto himſelfe & a great part of Laineſtir. And he ſo tamed the Scots, that none of them durſt build a ſhip or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Iſland called Yle. He left behinde him three ſonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldeſt chalenged the kingdome and reigned ſeuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled againſt him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquiſh his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the croſſe, he went on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, in which iourney alſo he died.

Boats hauing not paſt three yron nailes in them.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Iſlands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, ſent meſſengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requeſting him that hee would ſend ſome wel-diſpoſed perſon of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus ſonne of

Godred were come to full age. The king moſt willingly condeſcended vnto their requeſt, and ſent vnto them one Dopnald the ſonne of Tade; charging and commanding him that with all meekeneſſe and modeſtie, hee ſhould gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commandement of his lord, vſurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and ſo he reigned very diſorderly for the ſpace of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Iſlands making a generall conſpiracie, banded themſelues againſt him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Ireland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was ſent from the king of Norway, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdome of the Iſlands. And being come vnto the Iſland of Leodus, hee ſent meſſengers vnto all the princes of the Iſlands to come vnto him, commanding them to aſſemble themſelues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane ſeaſon he and his companions ſpent their time in robbing and rioting, rauiſhed women and virgines, and addicted themſelues to filthy pleaſures and to the luſtes of the fleſh. And when theſe things were reported vnto the princes of the Iſlands, who had aſſembled themſelues to chuſe him king, being mightely incenſed thereat, they made haſte towards him, and comming vpon him in the night, they burnt the houſe wherein hee was, and ſlue both him and the reſt of his company, partly with ſword, and partly with fire. Lewis.

In the yeere 1098, the abbey of S. Maries at Ciſtertium was founded. In the ſame yeere alſo Antiochia was taken by the Chriſtians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer, the ſame yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were ſlaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The ſame yeere Magnus king of Norway, ſonne of Olauus, ſonne of Harald Harfagre, being deſirous to view the corps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commandement that his monument ſhould be opened. But the Biſhop and the Clergie withſtanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, cauſed the coffin to be opened. And when hee had ſeene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foreſaid King and Martyr, a ſudden feare came vpon him, and he departed with great haſte. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a viſion, ſaying: Chuſe (I ſay) vnto your ſelfe one of theſe two, either within 30. dayes to loſe your life with your kingdome, or elſe to depart from Norway and neuer to ſee it againe. The King ſo ſoone as he was awaked out of ſleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foreſaide viſion vnto them. And they alſo being aſtoniſhed thereat gaue him this counſell, that with all ſpeed he ſhould depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay cauſed a Nauie of 160. ſhips to be prouided, and ſo ſailed vnto the Iſlands of Orkney, which hee preſently ſubdued, and paſſing along through all the Iſlands and conquering them, at length he came vnto the Iſle of Man, where he was no ſooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Iſle of S. Patric to ſee the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, becauſe many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And ſeeing that it was a moſt beautifull Iſland, it pleaſed him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne ſelfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in ſuch awe, that he conſtrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his ſhore for the building of his fortes. Hee ſailed on further vnto the Iſle of Angleſey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he ſlue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and ſo ſubdued the Iſland. But the Welſhmen preſented many gifts vnto him, and ſo bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he ſent his ſhooes, commanding him that he ſhould cary them on his ſhoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midſt of his Palace, in the ſight of his Embaſſadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was ſubiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Iriſhmen heard, they tooke it grieuouſly and diſdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduiſed, I had rather (ſaid he) not only beare his ſhooes, but eate his ſhooes, then that king Magnus ſhould deſtroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commandement, and honourably entertained his Embaſſadours. Many gifts alſo he ſent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the meſſengers returning vnto their lord, told him of the ſituation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile, and of the holeſomneſſe of the aire. Magnus hearing theſe things was fully reſolued to conquer all Irland vnto himſelfe. And for the ſame purpoſe he commanded that a Fleet ſhould be made ready. But he taking his voyage with ſixteene ſhips, & being deſirous to view the land, when he had vndiſcreetly departed from his Nauie, he was ſuddenly inuironed by the Iriſh, and was himſelfe ſlaine, together with all that were with him almoſt. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned ſixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Iſlands ſent for Olauus the ſonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England ſon vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102, Olauus ſonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Ferguſius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of ‖ Herergaidel, which afterward occaſioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Iſlands. He begat foure ſonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olauus.

‖ Argile.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Ruſſin. Alſo hee inriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his Iſlands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus þ ſon of Olauus ſailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably entertained. The ſame yere the 3. ſonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome reſorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the ſaid king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Iſlands. Which thing when the king heard, being deſirous to pacifie them, he anſwered that he would conſult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the conſultation ſhould bee kept, in the meane time thoſe miſcreants cõſpired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies aſſembled themſelues vnto the hauen towne called Ramſa, and they ſate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one ſide, and they with their confederates on the other ſide. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to ſlay the king, ſtoode a-ſide in the midſt of the houſe talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himſelfe about as if hee would haue ſaluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. 1143. Nowe hauing committed this outragious villanie, within a ſhort ſpace they diuided the Iſland betweene themſelues, and gathering an armie together ſailed vnto Galway, intending to ſubdue that alſo; howbeit the people of Galway aſſembled themſelues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confuſion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the ſaid Iſland, ſome of them they ſlue, and the reſidue they baniſhed.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus ſonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds ſonnes and ſlue the third.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the third yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin ſent for him and created him king of Dublin, againſt whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himſelfe at the citie called Coridelis, he ſent his brother Oſibel with 3000. horſemen vnto Dublin, who was ſlaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the reſt of his company being put to flight. Theſe things being thus finiſhed, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exerciſe tyrannie, diſinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the ſonne of Oter, being mightier then the reſt, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the ſonne of Sumerledus, king of the Iſlands, and ſubdued many of the ſaid Iſlands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming againſt him with 80. ſhips: and in the yeere 1156. 1156. vpon the night of the feaſt of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being ſlaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Iſlands among themſelues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this preſent time. And this was the cauſe of the ruine of the monarchie of the Iſlands, from which time the ſonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ſhips, putting Godred to flight and waſting the Iſland: and Godred ſailed vnto Norway to ſeeke for aide againſt Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ſhips together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, intending to ſubdue all Scotland vnto himſelfe: howbeit, by Gods iuſt iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his ſonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was ſlaine. The very ſame yere there was a battel fought at Ramſa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the ſtratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vſurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The ſame yeere deceaſed Malcolme the king of Scots, and his brother William ſucceeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of Auguſt, before the riſing of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke ſailed into Ireland, and ſubdued Dublin with a great part of Ireland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlſter vnto himſelfe. And at the ſame time alſo Viuianus legate frō the ſea of Rome came into Man, & cauſed king Godred to bee lawfully married vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen ſon of Murkartac king of Irlād, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very ſame day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mireſcoge, where he built a Monaſterie: howbeit, in proceſſe of time, the ſaid land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Ruſſin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the ſon of Eacmarcat (a man deſcended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the abſence of the king, at the firſt conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the ſhoare, & ſlue about 30. perſons. Whereupon the very ſame day the Mannians arranging themſelues put him, & almoſt al his folowers to the ſword.

In the yere 1183. O. Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipſed vpon the feaſt of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceaſed Godred king of the Ilands, vpō the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next ſommer his body was tranſlated vnto the iland of Hy. He left 3. ſonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he appointed his ſonne Olauus to be his heire apparant, becauſe he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was ſcarce ten yeeres olde, ſent vnto the ilands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the ſonne of Godred to reigne ouer the ilandes: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the ilands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two ſonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The ſame yere was the abbey of Ruſſin remoued vnto Duſglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Ruſſin.

In the yere 1203. Michael biſhop of the ilands deceaſed at Fontanas, and Nicholas ſucceeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlſter with an armie and encountred with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him priſoner & ſubdued Vlſter vnto himſelfe. Afterward he permitted the ſaid Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably entertained by him, becauſe he was his ſonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de iugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the ilands inuading Vlſter with a hundreth ſhips at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently beſiege the caſtle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy cōming vpō them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the ſon of Sumerled & his 3. ſonnes were ſlaine.

At the ſame time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ſhips into Ireland, and ſubdued it vnto himſelfe: and ſending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the iſle of Man, his ſouldiers almoſt vtterly waſted it in the ſpace of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time abſent from Man.

King Iohn paſſed into Ireland with 500. ſailes.

In the yere 1217. deceaſed Nicolas biſhop of the ilands, and was buried in Vlſter, in the houſe of Benchor, whom Reginald ſucceeded.

I thinke it not amiſſe to report ſomewhat more concerning the two foreſaid brethren *Reginaldus* and *Olauus*.

REginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the iland called Lodhus or Lewes, which is ſaide to be larger then the reſt of the ilands, but almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, becauſe it is ſo full of mountaines & quarries, being almoſt no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the moſt part vpon hunting and fiſhing. Olauus therefore went to take poſſeſſion of this Iland, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he ſaw that it would by no meanes ſuffice for the ſuſtentation of himſelfe & his ſouldiers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who at then remained in the ilandes, & ſpake on this wiſe vnto him. My brother (ſaid he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the ilands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit becauſe the Lord hath choſen you to beare the ſcepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doth it any whit grieue mee that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beſeech you to prouide mee ſome portion of land in the ilands, whereby I may honeſtly liue.

For the Iſland of Lewis which you gaue me is not ſufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing ſaid that he would conſult about the premiſſes. And on the morow, when Olauus was ſent for to parle, Reginald cõmanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine priſoner: and Olauus remained in priſon almoſt for the ſpace of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceaſed, and Alexander his ſonne reigned in his ſtead. The foreſaid William, before his death, commanded that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald cauſed the ſaid Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, couſine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the poſſeſſion of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the biſhop of the Iſlands hauing gathered a Synod, ſeparated Olauus and Godred his ſonne, and Lauon his wife, namely becauſe ſhee was couſin german vnto his former wife. Afterward Olauus maried Scriſtina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Roſſe.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Iſlands being incenſed, ſent letters vnto the Iſland of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her ſonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which cõmandement Godred putting in practiſe, & entring the iſle of Lewis for yͤ ſame purpoſe, Olauus fled in a litle ſkiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Roſſe, & in the meane time Godred waſted the iſle of Lewis. At the very ſame time Pol the ſon of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the Iſlands, becauſe he would not conſent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Roſſe, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ſhip vnto Sky. To be ſhort, ſending certaine ſpies, they were informed that Godred remained ſecure with a ſmal company in a certaine Iſle called yͤ iſle of S. Columba. And vniting vnto themſelues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ſhips from the next ſea-ſhore, which was diſtant about the ſpace of 2. furlongs from the foreſaid Iſland, they enuironed the ſaid Iſland on all ſides. Now Godred and his company riſing early in the morning, and ſeeing themſelues beſet with their enemies on all ſides, they were vtterly aſtonied. Howbeit arming themſelues they began ſtoutly to make reſiſtance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foreſaid vicount Pol, with al their ſouldiers, entred the Iſland, and hauing ſlaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his cõſent, neither could he withſtand it, by reaſon of the forenamed vicount the ſon of Boke. This was done in the yere of Chriſt 1223. The next ſommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Iſlands, with a fleet of 32. ſhips ſailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht. At the ſame time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Iſlands betweene themſelues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & beſides his portion the name of a king alſo. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Iſlands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his ſubiects of Man, ſailed vnto the Iſlands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and ſubdue it vnto himſelfe. Howbeit, by reaſon that the people of Man had no liſt to fight againſt Olauus or the Iſlanders, becauſe they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpoſe, returned home vnto their owne. Within a ſhort ſpace after Reginald, vnder pretenſe of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, inſomuch that they ſent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

The Iſle of Man aduanced to a kingdome.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to ſay the kingdome of Man and of the Iſlands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the ſpace of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in ſafetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the ſtronger part of his people, ſailed vnto the Iſlands. A ſhort ſpace after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and waſted all the South part of Man, ſpoiled the Churches, and ſlue all the men whom they could take, inſomuch, that the South part of the ſaide Iſland was brought almoſt into deſolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and ſubſtitutes in Man, which ſhould gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came ſuddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, began to vnite themſelues, and to inhabite without feare. The ſame yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the ſudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue ſhips, and burnt all the ſhips of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Iſle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himſelfe all the Iſlanders vpon the South part of Man, who ſware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywiſe Olauus ioyned vnto himſelfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualla, a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine ſouldiers ſlaine without the knowledge of his brother. Alſo certaine pirates comming to the ſouth part of Man, waſted & ſpoiled it. The monkes of Ruſſin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne ſelfe had choſen for the purpoſe. After theſe things Olauus trauelled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the ſon of Owmund, to be king of the Iſlands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the ſaid Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the ſon of Reginald, and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the iſlands: and while they were giuing an aſſault vnto a caſtle in the iſland of Both, Haco being hit with a ſtone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus, with Godredus Don, & certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themſelues, Olauus ſtil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the iſlands, was ſlaine in the iſle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the iſlands alſo.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the Kalends of Iune, Olauus ſonne of Godred king of Man deceaſed in the iſle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Ruſſin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his ſonne being of the age of 14. yeres, ſucceeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The firſt yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the iſlands, he appointed one Loglen his kinſman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus ſent the three ſonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioſeph vnto Man, that they might enter into cõſultation together. Wherfore the 25. day they aſſembled themſelues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the ſonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and ſkirmiſhed ſore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foreſaid Ioſeph being all ſlaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the iſle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himſelfe, together with Godred the ſonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by ſhipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Goſpatricius and Gilleſcriſt ſonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the ſaid iſland, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, becauſe the ſaid Harald refuſed to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Goſpatricius deceaſed and was buried in the abbey of Ruſſin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and ſucceſſors, vnder ſeale, all the iſlands which his predeceſſors enioyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man, and being honourably receiued by the inhabitants, he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yeere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father alſo before him) was knighted by the king of England, and ſo being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The ſame yere he was ſent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempeſt.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the ſonne of Olauus, and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the Nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the ſame moneth he was ſlaine by Yuarus a ſouldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow, neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Ruſſin.

The ſame yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ſhips, that he might conquere the iſlands vnto himſelfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the iſle of Kerwary, he deceaſed.

Then Haraldus the ſonne of Godred Don vſurped the name of a king ouer the iſlands, hee baniſhed alſo all the princes of Harald the ſonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their ſtead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the ſon of Godred Don being ſummoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway, who deteined him in priſon becauſe he had vniuſtly poſſeſſed the kingdome. The ſame yeere Magnus the ſonne of Olauus, and Iohn the ſonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwaht, which Iohn named himſelfe king; but the Manniãs taking it grieuouſly, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their ſhoare, and many of the company periſhed by ſhipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the ſonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the ſonne of Olauus king of the Iſlands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In ẏ yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Ruſſin was dedicated by Richard biſhop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his courſe towards the Orcades he there deceaſed at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the ſonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Iſlands died at the caſtle of Ruſſin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Ruſſin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Iſlands was tranſlated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. vpon the ſeuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the Sunne riſing there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were ſlaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine verſifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are ſlaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your ſelues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beſieged the caſtle of Ruſſin, which Dingawy Dowil held againſt him, howbeit at the laſt the king tooke the caſtle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feaſt of Aſcenſion, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great perſonages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money miniſtred vnto them, becauſe they had bene ſpoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians anſwered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded againſt them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the ſide of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Iriſh ouercame the people of Man, and ſpoiled the Iſland and the Abbey of Ruſſin alſo: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Iſland, lading their ſhips they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of *Harald*, ſlaine by *William* the Conquerour, vnto *Ieruſlaus* duke of *Ruſſia*, taken out of the 9. Booke of the *Daniſh* hiſtorie written by *Saxo Grammaticus*. An. D. 1067.

1067. HAraldo cæſo, filij eius duo confeſtim in Daniam cum ſorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus conſanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipſe Iariſlaus a ſuis eſt appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem poſtmodum noſtri temporis dux, vt ſanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous ſanguis in ſalutarem noſtri principis ortum confluens communem ſtirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HArald being ſlaine his two ſonnes with their ſiſter ſped themſelues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deſerts receiued in moſt kinde and friendly maner, and beſtowed the yong damoſell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Ruſſia who was alſo called by his ſubiects Iariſlaus. Afterward the ſaid Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this preſent, who ſucceeded his predeceſſour both in lineal deſcent and in name alſo. Wherefore the Engliſh blood on the one ſide and the Ruſſian on the other ſide concurring to the ioyfull birth of our prince, cauſed that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The ſtate of the ſhipping of the *Cinque ports* from *Edward* the Confeſſour and *William* the Conquerour, and ſo downe to *Edward* the firſt, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. *William Lambert* in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the moſt ancient Records of England.

The antiquitie of the Ports.

1070.

I Finde in the booke of the generall ſurvey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour cauſed to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domeſday, becauſe (as Matthew Pariſe ſaith) it ſpared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confeſſour, diſcharged almoſt of all maner of impoſitions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in conſideration of ſuch ſeruice to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their ſpecial titles ſhall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reaſonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the ſame Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the firſt after the conqueſt (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of ſundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the ſame reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my ſelfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, ſeeing thoſe which were benefited, were wiſely contented (as the caſe then ſtood) to like better of his confirmation (or ſecond gift) then of K. Edwards firſt graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in ſome maner of array, I will firſt ſhewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the ſame number: ſecondly, what ſeruice they ought, and did in times paſſed: and laſtly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what perſons they haue bene gouerned.

Which be the Fiue Ports.

If I ſhould iudge by the common, and rude verſe,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I muſt ſay, that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelſey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I ſhould be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that ſend Barons to the Parliament, I muſt then adde to theſe, Haſtings and Hyde, for they alſo haue their Barons as well as the other: and ſo ſhould I not onely, not ſhew which were the firſt Fiue, but alſo (by addition of two others) increaſe both the number, and doubtfulneſſe. Leauing the verſe therefore, for ignorance of the authour and ſuſpition of his authoritie, and forſaking the Rolle (as not aſſured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres ſince) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme. 1250.

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

He (I ſay) in the third booke of his worke, and treatiſe of the Crowne, taking in hand to ſhewe the articles inquirable before the Iuſtice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, becauſe they vſed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for adminiſtration of iuſtice) ſetteth forth a ſpecial fourme of writs, to be directed ſeuerally to the Bailifes of Haſtings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they ſhould cauſe twentie & foure of their Barons (for ſo their Burgeſſes, or towneſmen, and the citizens of London likewiſe, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iuſtices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accuſtomed to do) there to enquire of ſuch points, as ſhould be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forſomuch as there was oftentimes cōtention betweene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke and Donwich in Suffolke, there ſhould be ſeuerall writs directed to them alſo, returnable before the ſame Iuſtices at the ſame day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs ſommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the ſame townes had cauſe to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the ſaid Ports) he ſhould be at Shipwey to propound againſt him, and there to receiue according to law and Iuſtice.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Fiue Ports.

1250.

Antiquitie of Yarmouth fiſhing.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to ſhew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firſts time, the place of aſſembly for the Plees of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuerſie that long time ſince was betweene theſe Ports, and thoſe other townes: But purpoſely, and chiefly, to proue, that Haſtings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the ſame ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that ſoone after, Winchelſey and Rie might be added to the num- 1268.

ber. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelſey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monaſterie of Feſcampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Glouceſterſhire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneſhire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the ſecret affaires of his Realme, and partly becauſe of a great diſobedience & exceſſe, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelſey, againſt Prince Edward his eldeſt ſonne. And therefore, although I can eaſily be led to thinke, that he ſubmitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I ſtand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no puniſhment vnto them: but I ſuſpect rather, that his ſonne king Edward the firſt, (by whoſe encouragement and aide, olde Winchelſey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the firſt that apparelled them with that preeminence.

Winchelſey firſt builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Haſtings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the firſt Ports of priuiledge: which (becauſe they were 5. in number) both at the firſt gaue, and yet continue, to all the reſidue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelſey and Rie, be (ſince that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places alſo (for the eaſe of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the ſame.

Now therefore, ſomewhat ſhalbe ſaid, as touching the ſeruices that theſe Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of veſſels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long ſeaſon, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) ſhall partly appeare by that which we ſhall preſently ſay, and partly by that which ſhall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other ſhall bee made manifeſt by examples, drawne out of good hiſtories: and they both ſhall be teſtified by the words of king Edward the firſt in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domeſday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie veſſels at the ſea, whereof eche to be furniſhed with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and ſaith further, that Rumney and Sandwich anſwered the like ſeruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderſtoode of the like altogether, both in reſpect of the number and ſeruice, or of the (like) in reſpect of ſeruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not here by take vpon me to determine. For on the one ſide, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the reſidue, ſhould likewiſe finde twentie veſſels a piece, then (as you ſhall anone ſee) the fiue Ports were ſubiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the firſt layd vpon them: And on the other ſide, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, ſeeing the Record of Domeſday it ſelfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it, I muſt elſewhere make inquiſition for more lightſome proofe. And firſt I will haue recourſe to king Edward the firſt his Chartre in which I read, that At ech time that the King paſſeth ouer the ſea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and ſeuen ſhips, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed ſouldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne coſtes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes together.

1278. And thus it ſtoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the firſt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre ſealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue ſeene two diuers teſtimonies, of which the firſt is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the ſame king, by Stephan Pencheſter, then Conſtable of Douer Caſtle, in which the particular charge is ſet downe in this maner.

The Port of Haſtings ought to finde three ſhips.
The lowie of Peuenſey, one
Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, ſeuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ſhips of Haſtings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the firſt.
The towne of Winchelſey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, ſeuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkeſtone, ſeuen.
The towne of Feuerſham, ſeuen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

Theſe ſhips they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes ſummons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, beſides the Maſter of the Mariners: all which they ſhall likewiſe mainteine fiue dayes together at their owne coſts, giuing to the Maiſter ſixe pence by the day, to the Conſtable ſixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after thoſe fiue dayes ended, the King ſhall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Cuſtumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not ſo great antiquity as the firſt, yet ſeemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It ſtandeth thus.

Theſe be the Fiue Ports of our ſoueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Haſting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The ſeruices due by the ſame.

Haſting ſhall finde 21. ſhips, in euery ſhip 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seaſhore in Seford, Peuenſhey, Hodeney, Winchelſey, Rie, Ihame, Bekeſbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ſhips, in euery ſhip 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eaſtweſtone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ſhips, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Weſthethe.

Douer 21. ſhips, as Haſting before. To it perteine, Folkſtane, Feuerſham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ſhips, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the ſoile, but for the goods.

Summe of ſhips 57.
Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This ſeruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon ſummons yeerely (if it happen) by the ſpace of 15. dayes together, at their owne coſts and charges, accounting that for the firſt day of the 15. in which they ſhall ſpread their ſailes to goe towards thoſe parts that the King intendeth: and to ſerue ſo long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of theſe ancient notes, whereby your ſelfe may eaſily diſcerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reaſon of ſome latter diſpenſation) neither of theſe, haue place at this day, I muſt referre it to them that be priuie, and of counſell with the Ports: and ſo leauing this alſo vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being deuiſed for the honourable tranſportation, and ſafe conduct of the Kings owne perſon or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely moſt diligently euer ſince that time performed, but furthermore alſo valiantly behaued themſelues againſt the enemie from time to time, in ſundrie exploits by water, as occaſion hath bene profered, or the neceſſitie of the Realme required.

The good ſeruice of the fiue Ports.

1217.

And amongſt other feats not vnworthy perpetuall remembrance, after ſuch time as Lewes (the eldeſt ſonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbiſhop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had ſent into France for new ſupply of ſouldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themiſtocles in the expoſition of the oracle of the wodden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ſhips, and meeting with eightie ſaile of French men vpon the high ſeas, gaue them a moſt couragious encounter, in which he tooke ſome, ſunke others, and diſcomfited the reſt.

1278.

King Henrie the third alſo, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the ſeruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the firſt in his Charter, maketh their continuall faithfull ſeruice (and eſpecially their good endeuour, then lately ſhewed againſt the Welſhmen) the principall cauſe, and motiue of that his liberall grant.

1293.

Furthermore, about the midſt of the reigne of the ſame king, an hundreth ſaile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithſtanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and ſlew, and ſunke ſo many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long ſeaſon after) in maner deſtitute, both of Seamen, and ſhipping.

1406.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the nauie of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, ſurpriſed one hundreth and twentie French ſhips, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no worſe merchandize.

The priuiledges of the fiue Ports.

The priuiledges of theſe Ports, being firſt granted by Edward the Confeſſour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increaſed by William Rufus, Henrie the ſecond, Richard the firſt, Henrie the third, and king Edward the firſt, be very great, conſidering either the honour and eaſe, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reaſon of the ſame.

Part of an Epiſtle written by one *Yuo* of *Narbona* vnto the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, conteining the confeſſion of an Engliſhman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the *Tartars*, which had liued long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition againſt *Hungarie*: Recorded by *Mathew Paris* in the yere of our Lord 1243.

The Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reaſon of this and other ſinnes committed among vs Chriſtians, is become, as it were, a deſtroying enemie, and a dreadfull auenger. This I may iuſtly affirme to be true, becauſe an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whoſe law is lawleſſe, whoſe wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly waſteth infinite countreyes, cruelly aboliſhing all things where they come, with fire and ſword. And this preſent Summer, the foreſayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had ſurpriſed by treaſon, layd ſiege vnto the very ſame ‖ towne, wherein I my ſelfe abode, with many thouſands of ſouldiers: neither were there in the ſayd towne on our part aboue 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. croſbowes, the captaine had left in garriſon. All theſe, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaſte armie, and abhorring the beaſtly crueltie of Antichriſt his complices, ſignified foorthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Chriſtian ſubiects, who ſuddenly being ſurpriſed in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference or reſpect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them deſtroyed: with whoſe carkeiſes, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutiſh and ſauage followers, glutting themſelues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a ſtrange thing it is to conſider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures diſdeined to praye vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gaue, as it were, for dayly ſuſtenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but ſmothered them lamenting and ſcritching, with forced and vnnaturall rauiſhments. Like barbarous miſcreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to preſent for deinties vnto their magiſtrates, they engorged themſelues with their bodies.

‖ Neuſtat.

Howbeit, their ſpials in the meane time diſcrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Auſtria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as ſome report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accurſed crew immediatly vaniſhed, and all thoſe Tartarian vagabonds retired themſelues into the diſtreſſed and vanquiſhed land of Hungarie; who as they came ſuddenly, ſo they departed alſo on the ſudden: which their celeritie cauſed all men to ſtand in horrour and aſtoniſhment of them. But of the ſayd fugitiues, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Auſtria knew to be an Engliſh man, who was perpetually baniſhed out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the moſt tyrannicall king of the Tartars, had bene twiſe, as a meſſenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling thoſe miſchiefes which afterward happened, vnleſſe he would ſubmit himſelfe and his kingdome vnto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confeſſe the trueth, he made ſuch oathes and proteſtations, as (I thinke) the deuill himſelfe would haue beene truſted for. Firſt therefore he reported of himſelfe, that preſently after the time of his baniſhment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing loſt all that he had in the citie of *Acon* at dice, euen in the midſt of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a ſhirt of ſacke, a paire of ſhooes, and a haire cappe onely, being ſhauen like a foole, and vttering an vncoth noiſe as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and ſo traueiling many countreyes, and finding in diuers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a ſeaſon, albeit euery day by raſhneſſe of ſpeech, and inconſtancie of heart, he endangered himſelſe to the deuill. At length, by reaſon of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in *Caldea*, he fell into a grieuous ſickeneſſe, inſomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and ſtaying there a while to refreſh himſelfe, he began (being ſomewhat learned) to commend to writing thoſe wordes which hee heard ſpoken, and within a ſhort ſpace, ſo aptly to pronounce, and to vtter them himſelfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that countrey: and by the ſame dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the *Tartars* hauing intelligence of by their ſpies, drew him perforce into their ſocietie: and being admoniſhed by an oracle or viſion, to challenge dominion ouer the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull ſeruice, by reaſon that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and ſuperſtitions, of the diſpoſition and ſtature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he proteſted the particulars following to be true; namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, haſty, deceitfull, and mercileſſe: notwithſtanding, by reaſon of the rigour and extremitie of puniſhments to be inflicted vpon them by their ſuperiours, they are reſtreined from brawlings, and from mutuall ſtriſe and contention, The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine ſet times they doe celebrate ſolemne feaſts vnto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themſelues alone. They eſteeme it none offence to exerciſe cruelty againſt rebels, They be hardie and ſtrong in the breaſt, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-ſhouldred, hauing flatte and ſhort noſes, long and ſharpe chinnes, their vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noſes, their eies inconſtant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts ſtrong with bones and ſinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and ſhort legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in ſtature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is ſupplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land vtterly deſert and waſte, ſituated far beyond *Chaldea*, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, & ſuch like vntamed beaſts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beaſts being tanned, they vſe to ſhape for themſelues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride faſt bound vnto their horſes, which are not very great in ſtature, but exceedingly ſtrong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vſe to fight conſtantly and valiantly with iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and ſwords. But ſpecially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are ſlightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themſelues from the combate, till they ſee the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquiſhed, they aske no fauour, and vanquiſhing, they ſhew no compaſſion. They all perſiſt in their purpoſe of ſubduing the whole world vnder their owne ſubiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being ſent before vpon light horſes to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the ſpace of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And ſuddenly diffuſing themſelues ouer an whole prouince, and ſurpriſing all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, diſperſed, they make ſuch horrible ſlaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people ſufficient to wage battell againſt them, and to withſtand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cauſe, which indeed is no cauſe. Sometimes they ſay, that they will make a voyage to *Colen*, to fetch home the three wiſe kings into their owne countrey; ſometimes to puniſh the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppreſſed them in times paſt; ſometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; ſometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildneſſe; ſometimes to learne warlike feats and ſtratagems of the French; ſometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to ſuffice their huge multitudes; ſometimes againe in deriſion they ſay, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. *Iames* of *Galicia*. In regard of which ſleights and colluſions certaine vndiſcreet gouernors concluding a league with them, haue granted them free paſſage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithſtanding being violated, were an occaſion of ruine and deſtruction vnto the foreſayd gouernours &c.

Libellus hiſtoricus *Ioannis* de *Plano Carpini*, qui miſſus eſt Legatus ad *Tartaros* anno Domini 1246, ab *Innocentio* quarto Pontifice maximo.

Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præſenti, & gloriam in futuro, & de inimicis ſuis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato ſedis Apoſtolicę iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & ſciremus Domini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficiſci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo eccleſiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamuis a Tartaris & alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, ſiti,

algore, æſtu, contumelia, & laboribus nimijs, & quaſi vltra vires affligi (quæ omnia multo pluſquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter euenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipſis, vt voluntatem Dei ſecundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere poſſemus, & vt proficeremus in aliquo Chriſtianis, vt ſaltem ſcita veraciter voluntate & intentione ipſorum, poſſemus illam patefacere Chriſtianis, ne forte ſubito irruentes inuenirent eos imparatos, ſicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam ſtragem in populo Chriſtiano. Vnde quæcunque pro veſtra vtilitate vobis ſcribimus ad cautelam, tanto ſecurius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipſi vidimus oculis noſtris, qui per annum & quatuor menſes & amplius ambulauimus per ipſos & cum ipſis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audiuimus a Chriſtianis qui ſunt inter eos captiui, & vt credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a ſupremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta perſcrutaremur & videremus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quàm frater Benedictus eiuſdem ordinis qui noſtræ tribulationis fuit ſocius & interpres fecimus ſtudioſe.

Annus & 4. menſes & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra *Tartarorum*, ſitu, qualitate & diſpoſitione *aeris in eadem.* Cap. 1.

Volentes igitur facta ſcribere Tartarorum, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula deſcribemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipſorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio ſubiugauerunt. Octauo quomodo Bello occurratur eiſdem. De terra poſſumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de ſitu ipſius: ſecundo de qualitate: tertio de diſpoſitione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta eſt in ea poſita parte Orientis in qua oriens ſicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem eſt terra poſita Kyraiorum & etiam ‖ Solangorũ: a meridie ſunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem & Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente prouincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua eſt nimium montuoſa, & in aliqua eſt campeſtris, ſed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argilloſa, plurimum eſt arenoſa. In aliqua parte terræ ſunt aliquæ modicæ ſyluæ: alia vero eſt ſine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem ſua decoquunt & ſedent tam imperator quàm principes & alij ad ignem factum de boum ſtercoribus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non eſt in parte centeſima fructuoſa: nec etiam poteſt fructum portare niſi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur. Sed aquæ & riui ibidem ſunt pauci: flumina vero rariſſima vnde ibidem villæ ſunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ eſſe dicitur ſatis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, ſed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam eſſemus, quæ curia eſt maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet aliàs infructuoſa ſit, quamuis non multum, tamen competenter eſt alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipſa eſt mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam ęſtate quando in alijs partibus ſolet calor maximus abundare; ibi ſunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi ſunt etiam frigidiſſimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempeſtates, quod cum labore vix poſſunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum eſſemus apud ordam (ſic enim ſtationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti proſtrati, & propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nuſquam pluit, ſed in ęſtate: & tam modicum, quod vix poteſt aliquando puluerem & radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi ſæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in ſede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia exiſtentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex ſubita reſolutione, ſicut plenius intelleximus, pluſquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt ſubmerſi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi eſt etiam in ęſtate ſubito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna eſt, ſed aliter, ſicut vidimus oculis noſtris, (quia per ipſam circuendam quinque menſibus & dimidium ambulauimus) multo vilior eſt, quàm dicere valeamus.

‖ Al. Sclangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in æſtate in Tartaria.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex ſubita grandinis reſolutione.

Iter quinq; menſium & dimidij.

De formis *Tartarorum*, de coniugio, veſtibus *& habitaculis eorum.* Cap. 2.

Dicto de terra, de hominibus eſt dicendum. Primò quidem formas deſcribemus perſonarum. Secundò de ipſorum coniugio ſupponemus. Tertio de veſtibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma perſonarum ab hominibus alijs eſt remota. Inter oculos enim & genas pluſquam alij homines ſunt lati. Genæ etiam ſatis prominent a maxillis. Graciles ſunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibuſdam paucis. Pene omnes ſunt mediocris ſtaturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime creſcit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure vna vſque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum ſimiliter omes radunt. Quæ raſuræ coronæ prædictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum ſimiliter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui ſunt inter coronam & prætaxatam raſuram creſcere vſque ad ſupercilia ſinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo pluſquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt creſcere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnamquamque poſt aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxores vero habet vnuſquiſque quot poteſt tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel ſorore ex eadem matre, ſororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & vxores patris poſt mortem ducere poſſunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior poſt mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes ſine vlla differentia ducunt in vxores, & emunt eas valde pretioſè a parentibus ſuis. Poſt mortem maritorum de facili ad ſecunda coniugia non migrant, niſi quis velit ſuam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Veſtes autem tam virorum quàm mulierum ſunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A ſupremo vſque deorſum ſunt ſciſſæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero ſiniſtro vna, & in dextris tribus ligaturis nectuntur, & in latere & in ſiniſtro vſque ad brachiale ſunt ſciſſæ. Pellicia cuiuſcunque ſunt generis in eundem modum formantur: ſuperius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, ſed a poſterioribus eſt apertum. Habet autem caudulam vnam vſque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ ſunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & vſq; ad terram ante ſciſſam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longũ protenditur ad vnam vlnam, & in ſummitate deſinit in quadrum: & ab imo vſque ad ſummum in amplitudine ſemper creſcit, & in ſummitate habet virgulam vnam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento ſeu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & eſt aſſutum ſuper vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vſque ad humeros. Inſtrumentum prędictum eſt tectum de buccaramo, ſiue purpura vel baldaquino: ſine quo inſtrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, & per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoſcuntur. Virgines autem & iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris ſuis poſſunt diſcerni: quum per omnia veſtiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter deſcribere non valemus. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis & baculis ſubtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent feneſtrã vnde lumen ingreditur, & vt poſſit fumus exire: quia ſemper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro ſunt cooperta. Oſtia etiam de filtro ſunt facta. Quædam ſtationes ſunt magnæ, quædam paruæ, ſecundum dignitatem & hominum paruitatem. Quædam ſoluuntur ſubito & reparantur, & ſuper ſomarios deferuntur. Quædam diſſolui non poſſunt, ſed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod eſt magis, ſufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt ſiue ad bellum, ſiue aliàs, ſemper illas deferunt ſecum. In animalibus ſunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, & equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias beſtias minime habent.

Veſtes.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

De cultu & de hijs quæ credunt eſſe peccata, & de diuinationibus & ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus ſuorum peccatorum. Cap. 3.

DIcto de hominibus, dicendum eſt de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: ſecundo de hijs quæ credunt eſſe peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt eſſe factorem omnium viſibilium & inuiſibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum eſſe factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipſum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex vtraque parte oſtij ſtationis, & ſubtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, & illa credunt eſſe pecorum cuſtodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præſtare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis ſericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante oſtium ſtationis: & quicunq; aliquid de illo curru furatur, ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur.

Duces,

pudicitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in ioco ſatis habent turpia & impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamuis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate ſua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt.

Inſolentia aduerſus exteros.

Nunc de malis moribus eorum eſt ſupponendum. Superbiſſimi alijs hominibus ſunt, & deſpiciunt omnes: ideò quaſi pro nihilo reputant, ſiue nobiles ſint, ſiue ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Ieroſlaum, magnum Ducem Ruſſiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis aſſignati, quantumcunq; erant viles, antecedebant eos, & ſemper primum locum & ſummum tenebant: immò ſæpè oportebat eos poſt eorum poſteriora ſedere.

Iracundia. Mendacitas.

Iracundi multum & indignantis naturæ ſunt: & etiam alijs hominibus plus ſunt mendaces, & ferè nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem ſunt blandi, ſed in fine pungunt vt ſcorpio.

Fraudulentia, Sordes.

Subdoli ſunt & fraudulenti, & ſi poſſunt aſtutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines ſunt immundi, ſumendo cibum & potum, & alijs factis ſuis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuidere non poſſint, vel contra eorum aſtutias remedium inuenire.

Temulentia.

Ebrietas honorabilis eſt apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem reijcit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat.

Extortio, Crudelitas.

Valdè ſunt cupidi & auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenaciſſimi retentores, & parciſſimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occiſio pro nihilo eſt apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatē in ſcripto redigi non poſſunt.

Cibi.

Cibi eorum ſunt omnia quæ mandi poſſunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in neceſſitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnauerunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum, vbi morabatur imperator ipſorum; eam obſederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipſis Tartaris omninò expenſæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Abluuiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Menſalibus & manutergijs non vtuntur: panē non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud niſi carnes: & tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere poſſent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas ſuas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiā honeſtiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum vnus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morſellos, & vnicuiq; præbet, quibuſdā plus, quibuſdam minus, ſecundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, & ſi aliquando cum brodio lauant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiā vel caldaria, vel alia vaſa ad hoc deputata ſi abluunt, ſimili modo lauant. Apud eos eſt magnum peccatum, ſi de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde oſſa, niſi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Veſtes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec deſinant. Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate ſi habent: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, ceruiſiam, & medonem non habent, niſi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eiſdem. In hyeme, niſi diuites ſint, lac iumentinum non habent. Milliū cum aqua decoquunt, quod tā tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere ſed bibere poſſunt. Et vnuſquiſq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die māducant. In ſero vnicuiq; parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æſtate autem, quia tunc habent ſatis de lacte iumentino carnes rarò māducant, niſi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam beſtiam ceperint, ſiue auem.

Pœna adulterij.

Legem etiam ſiue conſuetudinē habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio inuenerint manifeſtè. Similiter & virginem ſi fornicata fuerit, mulierē occidunt & virum.

Furti, Arcani euulgati.

Si aliquis inuenitur in præda vel in furto manifeſto in terra poteſtatis eorū ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Item ſi aliquis eorum denudat cōſilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centū plagæ dantur ſuper poſteriora, quanto maiores dare cum baculo magno vnus ruſticus poteſt. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à ſuis maioribus non parcitur eis, ſed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ & vxoris nulla eſt differentia, ſed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, etſi eſt de genere ducum, ita eſt dux filius concubinæ, ſicut filius legitimus.

Πολυγαμία.

Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vnaquæq; per ſe ſuam ſtationem, & familiam habet: & cum vna comedit, & bibit, & dormit vna die, & altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipſis maior eſt inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commoratur. Et cum tam multæ ſint inter ſe tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis ſagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam *habent* curam, ſed venantur, & exercent ſe ad ſagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vſque ad magnum ſagittarij ſunt & boni. Et ſtatim pueri eorum, cum ſunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt & currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus ſecundùm ſuam ætatem, & inſtruunt ad ſagittandum. Agiles enim ſunt & audaces valdè. Virgines & mulieres equitant, & agiliter in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare. Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando poſſunt durare. Breuiſſimas habent ſtrepas: equos valdè cuſtodiunt: imo rerum omnium ſunt magni conſeruatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, veſtes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera quæ de corio fiunt. Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velociſſimæ ſunt & ſtrenuæ in omnibus operibus ſuis: fœmoralibus omnes vtuntur: aliquæ, ſicut viri, ſagittant.

Fœminæ Merę incognitæ eodem modo veſtiuntur.

De ipſorum Imperio. *Cap.5.*

DIcto de eorum conſuetudinibus, dicendum eſt de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipſius principio. Secundò de principibus eius. Tertio de dominio Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam eſt in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum eſt ſuprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id eſt, magni Mongali vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id eſt Aquatici Mongali. Ipſi autem ſeipſos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnam formam perſonarum, & vnam linguam habebant: quamuis inter ſe per principes & prouincias eſſent diuiſi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iſte incepit eſſe robuſtus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoſcunque potuit capere, & ſibi aſſociare non demittebat: homines verò ſuæ gentis ad ſe inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipſum ſequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, ſiue Tartaris, poſtquam homines aggregauerat ſibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros ſibi ſubiugauit & in ſuam ſeruitutem redegit. Poſt hæc cum omnibus his pugnauit, cum Merkat, qui erant poſiti iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello ſibi ſubiecit: Inde procedens pugnauit contra Metritas, & etiam illos deuicit. Audientes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter eleuatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipſi enim habuerunt Imperatorem, qui fuerat ſtrenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum vniuerſæ carnis exſoluens, filij eius ſucceſſerunt loco eius: ſed iuuenes erant & ſtulti, & populum neſciebant tenere: ſed inuicem diuiſi erant & ſciſſi: vnde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus inſultum faciebant in terras ſuperius annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes ſibi ſubiectos homines aggregauit. Naymani & Kara Kitai, id eſt, nigri Kitai, ex aduerſo in quandam vallem ſtrictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum tranſiuimus, ſimiliter conueniunt: & commiſſum eſt prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis ſunt deuicti, & maior pars eorum occiſa: & alij qui euadere non potuerunt in ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, poſtquam poſitus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam ‖ Omyl appellauit. Propè quam ad meridiem eſt quoddam deſertum magnum, in quo ſylueſtres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: & ſi quando cadunt, per ſe ſurgere ſine adiutorio aliorum minimè poſſunt, aliquantam tamen habent diſcretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes ſe contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui caſtra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt. Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu ſuo; & commiſſum eſt prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongalli fuerunt deuicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occiſi vſque ad ſeptem. Cyngis verò & alij qui remanſerunt in terram ſuam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuiſſet Cyngis, præparauit ſe rurſus ad prælium & contra terram Huyrorum proceſſit ad bellum. Iſti homines Chriſtiani de ſecta Neſtorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius ſcripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde proceſſit contra terram Saruiuorum, & contra terram Karauitarum, & contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comania, quas terras omnes deuicit. Inde eſt in terram ſuam reuerſus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuiſſet, conuocatis omnibus gentibus ſupradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum proceſſit, & cum diu contra eos pugnaſſet magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluſerunt in ſua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obſiderunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expenſæ, & cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos ſagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, & maximè liqueſactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuitijs erat plena. Et cum diu pugnaſſent, & eam bello vincere minimè poſſent, fecerunt vnam magnam viam ſub terra ab exercitu vſque ad mediam ciuitatem, & aperientes ſubitò ter-

Tartariæ populi.

Tartar fluuius.

Cyngis ortus & res geſtę.

Naymani.

Fratres diſcordantes oppreſſi.

Kara Kitai.

Occaday can.

‖ Vel Chanyl.

Homines ſylueſtres.

De mutua victoria Mongalorum & Kytaorum.

Tartarorum Kytaina clades.

Noua victoria literæ.

Vel Saruiur.

Vel [illegible]

Vel Hudirat.

Argentum loco lapidum in hoſtem proiectum.

ram, eis neſcientibus proſilierunt in medio ciuitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, & illi qui erant extra ſimili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, ciuitatem poſſidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes diuitias abſtulerunt. Et cum terræ prędictæ Kytaorum ſuos homines præfeciſſent, in terram propriam ſunt reuerſi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuicto factus eſt Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ poſita eſt in mari, vſque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt. Kytai autem, de quibus ſuperiùs diximus, homines ſunt Pagani, qui habent literam ſpecialem: & habent nouum & vetus Teſtamentum; & habent vitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quaſi Eccleſias factas, in quibus orant temporibus ſuis: Et dicunt ſe quoſdam ſanctos habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum honorant, & credunt vitam æternam, ſed minimè baptizantur. Scripturam noſtram honorant & reuerentur: Chriſtianos diligunt, & Eccleſias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani ſatis videntur: barbam non habent, & in diſpoſitione faciei ſatis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen ſunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inueniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus ſolent homines exercitari. Terra eorum eſt opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, & ſerico, & omnibus rebus in quibus ſolet ſuſtentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuiſſent, ſuos exercitus diuiſerunt. Vnum de filijs Toſſuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id eſt Imperatorem, miſit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: & poſtquam vicerat eos in terram ſuam reuertebatur. Alium etiam filium miſit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri ſunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Chriſtianos, qui ſint in India maiori in pugnam proceſſit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Præsbyter Iohannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in ſella poſuit ſuper equos, ponens ignem interius, & poſuit hominem cum folle poſt imaginem cupream ſuper equum: & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij perueniſſent, iſtos equos vnum iuxta vnum præmiſerunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, poſuerunt neſcio quid ſuper ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum follibus fortiter ſufflauerunt. Vnde factum eſt, quod de fumo illo aer eſt denigratus. Et tunc ſuper Tartaros iecerunt ſagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati fuerunt. Et ſic cum confuſione eos de finibus ſuis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuimus, quod vltra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deſerta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monſtra fœmineas imagines habentia reperierunt. Et cum interrogaſſent eas per multos interpretes vbi eſſent viri terræ illius, reſponderunt quod in illa terra quęcunque fœminæ naſcebantur, habebant formam humanam: Maſculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in vnum: Et dum eſſet hyems aſperrima, ſe omnes proiecerunt in aquam: & poſt hæc incontinenti in puluerem mouebantur, & ita puluis admixtus aquæ ſuper eos congelauit: & dum ſæpè hoc feciſſent, glacies denſa facta eſt ſuper eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum ſagittas ſuper eos iactabant, ac ſi ſuper lapides ſagitaſſent, retro ſagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò inſultum facientes in eos morſibus vulnerauerunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita eiecerunt eos de finibus ſuis. Et dum reuerteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui ſunt Pagani. Qui conſuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miſerabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum ſuorum humanæ naturæ debitum exſoluit, omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum. Iſti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam ſemper depilant, ſi fortè aliquis crinis creſcit in ipſa: & multum etiam deformes ſunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram ſuam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuiſit exercitus illos, miſit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit: & vſque ad Caſpios montes peruenit, montes autem illi ſunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum ſagittas & arma ferrea ad ſe traxerunt. Homines inter Caſpios montes concluſos viderunt, qui iam montem fregerunt: ſed nubes quædam erat poſita ante ipſos, ad quam accedere non poterant vllo modo, quia ſtatim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem pluſquam per menſem vaſtam ſolitudinem tranſierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem pluſquam per menſem per magnum deſertum iuerunt. Et peruenerunt ad quandam terram, vbi viderunt vias tritas, ſed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæſiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum vxore ſua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogaſſet, vbi eſſent homines terræ illius, reſponderunt quod in terra ſub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta vxore miſit virum

illum

Kytai victi.

Cyngis ſalutatur Imperator.

Kythaię pars in mari poſita.

Kytaorum literæ, & religio.

Opificiorum laus.

Thoſſuch can Cyngis filius Comanos deuicit.

India minor debellata.

Presbyter Ioannes: eiuſdem ſtratagema.

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monſtroſis mulieribus & canibus monſtroſa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

Nota iter duorum menſium verſus Orientem.

Troglodytæ.

illum cum nuncijs ſuis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipſius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui reſponderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum ſuum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt ſe per vias occultas ſub terra, & venerunt contra iſtos ad pugnandum: & irruentes ſubitò ſuper eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & ſui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam, Illos tamen homines, virum ſcilicet & mulierem ſecum duxerunt, qui vſque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare ſub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum ſol oritur, tantus ſonitus eſt, quod homines nulla ratione poſſunt ſuſtinere, Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis & tympanis, & alijs inſtrumentis, vt illum ſonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia, & habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius beſtiæ eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depoſitis tamen ſtercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can portantes cum ſuis illa comedit. Et ex hoc ſtatutum fuit ab eo, vt nec ſanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de beſtia quod manducari poteſt, exceptis ſtercoribus, proijciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam eſt reuerſus: & ibidem leges & ſtatuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obſeruant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus, Vnum eſt, quod quicunque in ſuperbia erectus, propria authoritate ſine electione principum eſſe voluerit imperator, ſine vlla miſeratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipſius Cuynch propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipſius Cyngis can fuit occiſus, Volebat enim ſine electione regnare. Aliud ſtatutum eſt, quod ſibi debent ſubiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, niſi prius eis ſubdatur, quo vſque veniat tempus occiſionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetatum eſt eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt, Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Poſt hoc ab ictu tonitrui eſt occiſus, peractis ſuis ordinationibus & ſtatutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, ſecundus Toſſuch can, tertius Thaaday: & nomen quarti ignoramus. Iſti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem iſtius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc eſt imperator, Cocthen & Cyrenen. Et ſi plures habuerit filios ignoramus, Filij autem Toſſuch can Bati: iſte eſt ditior & potentior poſt imperatorem: Ordu, iſte eſt ſenior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Toſſuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaaday ſunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum neſcimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen neſcimus, filiorum nomina ſunt hæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater eſt Seroctan, Iſta domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, eſt magis nominata: & potentior eſt omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, ſed eorum nomina ignoramus, Hæc ſunt ducum nomina, Ordu: iſte fuis in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes iſti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan, iſte eſt adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damaſci. Iſti remanſerunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Seremum, Synocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, ſenex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: ſed iſte inter alios eſt minimus. Alij verò duces ſunt plures, ſed eorum nomina ignoramus,

Videtur hic ſonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & niuium de montibus.

Cyngis lex.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperator autē Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium ſuper omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, niſi ipſe aſſignet ei. Ipſe autem aſſignat vbi maneant duces; millenarij centenarijs, Centenarij decanis. Inſuper quicquid pręcipitur in quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, ſiue ad bellum, ſiue ad mortem, ſiue ad vitam, ſine vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam ſi petit filiam virginem vel ſororem, ſine contradictione dant ei. Aut ſingulis annis, aut intermiſſis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipſe vult ſibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat ſuis hominibus, ſicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoſcunq;, quotcunq; & vbicunq; tranſmittit, oportet quod dent ei ſine mora equos ſubdititios & expenſas. Vndecunq; venerint ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet quod equi, currus, & expenſę ſimiliter dentur eis. Nuncij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miſeria ſunt in victu pariter & veſtitu: quia expenſę viles ſunt & paucæ: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, & ibi debent morā contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix poſſint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, niſi ſemel in die, & ſatis parum. Inſuper ſi aliquæ iniuriæ ſibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè poſſunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare, Inſuper multa tā à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus & minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & ſi non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quaſi pro nihilo habent eos. Et ſi à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: ſed dicunt: A magno homine veniſtis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et ſi nuncij benè volunt facere facta ſua, oportet eos dare maiora, Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de neceſſitate muneribus dare. Et

Imperatoris Tartarorum ſeruile in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

ſciendum, quod ita omnia ſunt in manu Imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc eſt meum vel illius; ſed omnia ſunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, & homines. Et ſuper hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris ſtatutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces ſuper homines ſuos. Diuiſi enim ſunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocunque eos tranſmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quàm alij omnes equos ſubditios & expenſas, & qui equos cuſtodiant, & etiam nuncijs ſeruiant ſine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, ſicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis ſuis. Inter eos enim nullus eſt liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantũ volunt de rebus ſuis accipiunt. De perſonis etiam eorum diſponunt per omnia, ſicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt, conuenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito conſilio principum diuiſit exercitus. Bati, qui in ſecundo gradu attinebat ei, miſit contra Altiſoldanum, & contra terram Biſerminorum. Hij erant Saraceni, & Comanicum loquebantur. Et cum intraſſet terram illorum pugnauit contra eos, & bello eos ſibi ſubiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas quæ ‖ Barthra dicitur, diu reſtitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cadebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas repleſſent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur ‖ Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, ſe ſponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat deſtructa, ſed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios tranſtulerunt. Et accepto ſpolio ciuitatis, ipſam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Iſta ciuitas erat nimium populoſa: Chriſtiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alij: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Eſt enim poſita ſuper fluuium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde eſt quaſi portus: & forum maximum habebant de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non poſſent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluuium, qui currebat per ciuitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus ſubmerſerunt. Quo facto: poſtea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui ſimiliter ſunt Pagani: quam deuincentes, iuerunt contra Ruſſiam, & fecerunt magnam ſtragem in terra Ruſſiæ, ciuitates & caſtra deſtruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouiam quæ erat Metropolis Ruſſiæ obſederunt: & cum diu obſediſſent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando deſtruxerunt totam Ruſſiam. De Ruſſia autem & Comania proceſſerunt duces prædicti, & pugnauerunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et ſi non fugiſſent, ſed viriliter reſtitiſſent Hungari exiuiſſent Tartari de finibus ſuis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis reſtitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia ſi fugitis nullus euadet: Et ſi debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum eſt, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus: Et ſi nunc eſt tempus, ſuſtineamus. Et ſic animati ſunt & remanſerunt, & Hungariam deſtruxerunt. Inde reuertentes iuerunt in terram Morduanorum, qui ſunt Pagani, & bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id eſt, Bulgariam magnam, & ipſam deſtruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Baſcart, id eſt, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes iuerunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Paroſſitas qui habent paruos ſtomachos & os paruulum, nec manducant, ſed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt ſe inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc ſolo reficiuntur: Sed etiamſi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum eſt. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hij autem homines tantùm de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula & veſtes habent tantummodo de beſtiarum pellibus. Inde vltra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram ſuper Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monſtra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, ſed pedes deſinebant in pedes bouinos, & faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant vt canis: & ſic per interualla temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam ſuam redibant: & ſic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & vſq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore miſit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines ſunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum conſuetudo eſt talis. Cum pater moritur alicuius, præ dolore quaſi vnam corrigiam in ſignum lamenti ab aure vſq; ad aurem de facie ſua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deſerta tranſiret, etiam quædam monſtra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: ſed non niſi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant: & duo ſagittarunt

Occoday ſecundus Imperator Tartarorum.

‖Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

Vel Sarguit.

Orna ſuper Don fluuium.

Kiouia ciuitas.

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitæ.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Frobiſheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hij videntur ſagittaſſe baliſtis.

tarunt cum vno arcu, & illi ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos inueſtigare non poterant. Currebant enim ſaltando ſuper illum vnum pedem, & cum eſſent feſſi taliter eundo, ibant ſuper manum & pedem, remouendo ſe quaſi rota; & ſic cum eſſent feſſi iterum currebant ſecundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiæ: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum ſingulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat ſatis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnauerunt & deuicerunt. Inde procedentes vltra debellando & vincendo vſq; ad terram Soldani Halapiæ & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec poſtea vſque in hodiernum diem in terram ſuam fuerunt reuerſi. Alius exercitus iuit contra terrā Calif de Baldach, quam ſibi etiā ſubdiderunt: Et quadraginta biſantia exceptis Baldachinis & alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributo: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans vt eū ſupportent. Ipſe vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo.

Georgia.

Terra Soldani Deurum.

Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

Qualiter Tartari ſe habent in prelijs. *Cap.* 6.

DIcto de imperio, dicendum eſt hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de aſtutijs in congreſſione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione caſtrorum & ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui ſe reddunt eiſdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: & ille ſecundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis pręponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero expercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant reſpectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes ſunt in bello ſi de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, niſi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item ſi vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alij non ſequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item ſi vnus de decem vel plures capiuntur, & alij ſocij ſui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de ſagittis & vnam ſecurim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnuſquiſque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quaſdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnius manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor ſimul, & ligant illas corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia ſuperiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & ſic faciunt vſque ad finem. Vnde quum ſe inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ ſuperiores aſcendunt & ſic duplicantur ſuper corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda vſq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad ſellam, & poſt ſellam in dorſo & etiam in collo, ſuper renes etiam partē aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponunt etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vſque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à fœmore vſque ad collum; ſed eſt facta ſecundum diſpoſitionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus eſt ſtricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vſque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem iſtæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet & poſterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ ſunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur vſque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius ſunt apeę. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ peciæ omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem ſuperius eſt ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio fit. Et omnes iſtæ peciæ de corio ſunt formatæ ſecundum modum ſuperius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ ſuperius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnius digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ vnius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: & in vnaquaque lamina octo foramina paruula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias ſtrictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas vnam ſuper aliam ponūt, quaſi aſcendendo per gradus: & ligant laminas prędictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mittunt

tunt per foramina ſuperius annotata: Et in ſuperiori parte conſuunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant ſibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quaſi corrigiam vnam, & poſtea ligant per pecias per omnia, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt. Et iſta faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod poteſt homo in eis faciem ſuam videre. Aliqui eorũ lanceas habent: & in fine ferri lanceę vnum habent vncũ, cum quo trahunt hominem de ſella ſi poſſunt. Longitudo ſagittarum eſt duorum pedum & vnius palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diuerſi ſunt pedes, menſurã pedum geometricã ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis tranſuerſio eſt. Sexdecem pollices tranſuerſi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta ſagittarum ſunt acutiſſima, & ex vtraq; parte incidentia quaſi gladius biceps, & ſemper portant limas iuxta phatetram ad acuendum ſagittas, Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem vnius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum, Scutum habent de vimінibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad ſagittandum aues beſtias & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuerſimodas ad aues & beſtias ſagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcurſores præmittunt, qui nihil ſecum portant præter filtra ſua, equos & arma. Iſti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, beſtias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & ſi non poſſunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, poſt iſtos ſequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quę inuenit accipit, & homines etiam, ſi inueniri poſſunt, accipiunt & occidunt. Quum autem ad flumina perueniunt, hoc modo tranſeunt illa etiamſi ſunt magna. Maiores vnum rotundum & leue corium habent, in quo in ſummitate per circuitum crebras faciunt anſas, in quibus funem imponunt, & ſtringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent veſtibus, & alijs rebus, & fortiſſime comprimunt ad inuicem: poſt hoc in medio ponunt ſellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio ſedent: & ligant ad caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, & vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant vltra aquam, & ſic tranſeunt fluuium, Equos vero pellunt in aqua, & vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quẽ regit, natat: & alij equi illum ſequuntur. Et ſic tranſeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam burſam de corio bene conſutam vnuſquiſq; tenetur habere: in qua burſa vel in quo ſacco veſtes & omnes res ſuas imponunt; & in ſummitate ſaccũ fortiſſime ligant, & ſuſpendunt ad caudam equi, & tranſeunt, vt ſupradictum eſt, Sciendum eſt, quod cum vident hoſtes tunc vadunt ad eos, & vnuſquiſq; iacit tres ſagittas vel quatuor contra aduerſarios: Et ſi vident quod eos ſuperare non poſſunt, retro gradiuntur ad ſuos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduerſarij eos ſequantur ad loca vbi inſidias parauerunt: Et ſi inimici eorum ſequuntur ad prædictas inſidias, circundant eos & ſic vulnerant & occidunt. Item ſi vident quod magnus exercitus eſt contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, & aliã partem terræ inuadunt & ſpoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terrã deſtruunt & deuaſtant. Et ſi vident quod hoc etiã facere non poſſunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duodecem dietas: aliquando etiã morantur in loco tuto, quouſq; aduerſariorũ exercitus ſeparetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totã terram. In bellis etiam aſtutiſſimi ſunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant ſicut deberẽt pugnare. Duces ſiue principes exercitus bellũ non intrant, ſed ſtant à longe cõtra inimicorũ exercitum, & iuxta ſe habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt ſuper equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium eſſe credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum & aliarum gentium quæ ſunt inter eos tranſmittunt: & forſitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis, Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextris & à ſiniſtris, vt non videantur ab aduerſarij ſuis: & ſic circundant aduerſarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum ſunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduerſarijs qui circundati ſunt, eſſe multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui ſunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, vt dictum eſt ſupra: quos credunt eſſe pugnatores: & per hoc terrentur & confunduntur. Et ſi forte aduerſarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: & ſtatim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem ſeparati inſequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare poſſent in bello, Sciendum tamen eſt, quod ſi aliud poſſunt, non libẽter cõgrediuntur, ſed homines & equos ſagittis vulnerant & occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si eſt talis munitio ipſam circundant, immo aliquando ita ſepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire poſſit, Expugnant fortiſſime machinis & ſagittis: & nec die nec nocte ceſſant a prælio, vt illi qui ſunt in munitionibus non quieſcant, Ipſi Tartari quieſcunt: quia acies diuidunt & vna ſuccedit alteri in pugnã vt non nimiũ fatigentur. Et ſi eam taliter habere non poſſunt græcũ proijciunt ignem. Imo ſolent aliquando accipere aruinã hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum proijciunt

Mos tranandi flumina.

Qualiter munitiones obſident.

ſuper domos: Et vbicunque venit ignis ſuper pinguedinem illam, quaſi inextinguibiliter ardet. Et ſi ita non præualent, & ſi ciuitas illa vel caſtrum habeat flumen, obſtruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alueum & ſubmergunt illam munitionem ſi poſſunt. Si autem non poſſunt ſuffodiunt illam, & ſub terra armati in ipſam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec ſic illam vincere poſſunt, caſtrum vel munitionem ſuam faciunt contra illam, vt ab Inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, & contra illam multo tempore iacent: niſi forte exterius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi remoueant ipſos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem blande eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc vt ſe in eorum manus tradant: Et ſi illi ſe eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt ſecundum morem noſtrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui ſunt artifices inter eos, & illos reſeruant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro ſeruis cum ſecuri occidunt. Et ſi aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum eſt, nobilibus & honeſtis nunquam parcunt. Et ſi fortè aliquo caſu contingente reſeruant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate poſſunt exire. In bellis autem quoſcunque capiunt occidunt, niſi forte velint aliquos reſeruare vt habeant eos pro ſeruis, Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipſi vero poſt hoc diuidunt captiuos, & vnicuique ſeruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, ſecundum quòd maioribus placet.

Punica fides.

De terris quas eorum dominio ſubiugarunt. *Cap. 7.*

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum eſt de terris, quas eorum dominio ſubiugarunt. De quo iſto modo ſcribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas ſibi ſubdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter reſtiterunt. Sciendum eſt quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, niſi ſubdentur eis: quia, vt dictum eſt ſupra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cunctas ſi poſſunt ſibi ſubijciant nationes. Et hæc ſunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus, Computant enim decem, & vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro ſeruis: reliquos numerant & ordinant ſecundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium ſuper eos, ſi aliquid promiſerunt eis nihil obſeruant: ſed quaſcunque poſſunt congrue occaſiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum eſſemus in Ruſſia, miſſus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuyrhcan vt dicebatur & Bati: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: & quicunque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quę viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando ſuum victum quærebant ſimiliter deportabunt. Reliquos autem ſecundum eorum conſuetudinem numerauit, præcipiens vt vnuſquiſq; tam paruus quam magnus, & infans vnius diei, ſiue pauper ſiue diues eſſet, tale tributũ præberet: vt ſcilicet daret vnũ pellem albi vrſi, & vnum nigrum caſtorẽ, & vnum Zabulum, & vnam nigram pellem cuiuſdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen neſcio in latinum transferre, ſed Teutonice dicitur illit: Poloni autem & Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: & vnam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque iſta non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in eorum redigi ſeruitutem. Mittunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant ſine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, ſed habentur vt aliæ viles perſonæ: & oportet vt eis munera magna præſentent, tam ducibus quàm vxoribus eorum, & officialibus, millenarijs & centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipſi etiam ſerui ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non ſolum ab ipſis, ſed etiam à nuncijs eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occaſiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & alijs actum eſt. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos etiam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio eſt, vt ipſi ſoli dominẽtur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occaſiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vlterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum eſt de filio Ieroſlai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & alijs plurimis. Et ſi moritur pater vel frater ſiue heres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt ſibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus eſſe factum. Baſchathos ſuos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam duces quàm alij debeant obedire. Et ſi homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, iſti Baſchathi imponunt eis, quod ſunt Tartaris infideles: & ſic ciuitatem illam vel terram deſtruunt, & homines qui ſunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis neſcientibus, & ſubito irruunt ſuper eos; ſicut nuper contigit cum in terra

Vrſi albi.

Vel illis.

Dochon.

Solangi.

Baſcha, vox Tartarica, quæ vertitur Turci.

Tartarorum eſſemus de quadam ciuitate. Quod ipſummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non ſolum princeps Tartarorum qui terram vſurpauit, ſed præfectus ipſius, & quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam ſiue terram tranſit quaſi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui maior eſt apud eos. Inſuper aurum & argentū, & alia quæ volunt & quando libet ad imperatorē vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgiæ. Vnus enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipſum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius ſcilicet Melic regina Georgiæ, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio ſuo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero reſpondit: Licet ſim filius concubinæ, peto tamen vt fiat mihi iuſtitia ſecundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: vnde fuit data ſententia contra filium legitimum, vt ille Dauidi qui maior erat ſubeſſet, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: & ſic donaria quæ dederat, & cauſam quam contra fratrem ſuum Dauid habuerat, amiſit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe ſunt ab eis, & coniunctæ ſunt alijs nationibus quàs aliquo modo timent, quæ non ſunt eis ſubiectæ, tributū accipiunt & quaſi miſericorditer agunt cum eis, vt non adducant exercitum ſuper eos, vel etiam vt alij non terreantur, ſe tradere eis. Sicut factum eſt de Obeſis ſiue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, vt dictum eſt, yperperorum ſiue Byſantiorū accipiunt pro tributo: aliâs ad hoc in pace eſſe permittunt. Tamen, ſecundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt ſunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, ſiue nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Baryhryur, Goſmit, Saraceni, Biſermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baſchare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Paroſſiti, Saſſi, Iacobiti, Alani, ſiue Aſſi, Obeſi ſiue Georgiani, Neſtoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui ſunt Iudæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perſes, Thoas, India minor ſiue Æthiopia, Yrchaſi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ ſunt plures, ſed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris ſupra nominatis. Hæc autem ſunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter reſtiterunt, nec ſunt adhuc ſubditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum: Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obſederunt & debellare tentauerunt. At ipſi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & baliſtas. Tandem vnā viam ſub terra fecerunt, & proſiluerūt in ciuitatē, & alij tentabant incendere ciuitatē, alij pugnabant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnam partem populi ad extinguendū ignem poſuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum hijs qui intrauerunt ciuitatem, & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulnerauerunt, cōpellentes eos ad ſuos redire. At ipſi videntes quod nihil poſſent facere, & multi homines morerentur, receſſerunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorū & aliorū vbi ſunt quaſi inter eos domini, accipiūt omnes artifices meliores, & in omnibus operibus ſuis ponunt. Alij autē artifices dant eis de opere ſuo tributum. Segetes omnes condunt in horreis dominorum: & vnicuique vnum pondus ſatis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud niſi ter in ſeptimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, & poſt ſe cum omnibus famulis ſuis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo ſunt numero Tartarorū; immo potius de numero captiuorū: quia etſi inter ipſos ſunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia ſicut Tartari; ſed habentur pro ſeruis, & ad omnia pericula vt alij captiui mittuntur. Ipſi enim in bello ſunt primi: Etiam ſi debet palus vel aqua periculoſa tranſiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipſos eſt etiam neceſſe operari omnia quæ ſunt facienda. Ipſi etiam ſi in aliquo offendunt, vel ſi non obediunt ad nutum, vt aſini verberantur. Et vt breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & peſſime induuntur; niſi forte aliquid poſſunt lucrari, niſi ſunt aurifabri & alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, vt ſibi aliquid operentur, niſi furentur ſibi tempus, quando forſitan debent quieſcere vel dormire. Et hoc ſi vxores vel propriam ſtationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro ſeruis omni miſeria ſunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in bracis ſæpiſſime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo ſolis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidiſſe. Audiuimus etiam alios eſſe mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quaſi in omnibus membris inutiles eſſe factos.

Samogedi aquilonares.

Mangia.

Quomodo

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

Dicto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, ſupponendum eſt quomodo bello occurratur eiſdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicẽdum. Primo ſcribendum eſt quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione acierũ. Tertio quomodo occurratur aſtutijs eorum in congreſſione. Quarto de munitione caſtrorum & ciuitatũ. Quinto quid faciendum ſit de captiuis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum eſt ſubijcere ſibi totum mundum ſi poſſunt. Et de hoc Cyngiſchan habent mandatum, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt. Idcirco eorum imperator ſic in literis ſuis ſcribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium Imperator. Et in ſuperſcriptione ſigilli ſui hoc habet.

Dominus in cœlo, & Cuyuch Chan ſuper terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris ſigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibns faciunt pacem, vt dictum eſt, niſi forte ſe in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Chriſtianitate nulla eſt terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco ſe ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuerſi quod nobis exiſtentibus in terra eorum in ſolenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in præſentia noſtra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra eccleſiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Chriſtianorum & populos occidentis, niſi forſan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Chriſtianorũ populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum eſt: tum propter nimiam ſeruitutem & intolerabilem, quæ eſt hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis noſtris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes ſibi ſubiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis eſt fides: nec poteſt aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obſeruant, quando vident ſibi tempora fauere: & ſubdoli ſunt in omnibus factis & promiſſis eorũ. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt ſuperius dictum eſt: ſed hoc faciunt ſubdole & artificioſe in ſubditos ſuos: Tum etiam quia indignum eſt quod Chriſtiani ſubdantur eiſdem, propter abominationes eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora vltra quã credi poſſit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem ſunt blandi, ſed poſtea vt ſcorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores ſunt numero, & corpore debiliores quã populi Chriſtiani. In prædicta autem curia ſunt bellatores & principes & exercitus aſſignati. De decẽ hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorũ, de omni terra poteſtatis eorũ. Vnus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: ſecundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tẽpus eſt etiam eis aſſignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247. ſi de terra ſua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor ‖ annis vſq; ad Comaniã. De Comania autẽ inſultum facient in terras ſuperius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma ſunt & vera, niſi Dominus aliquod impedimentũ pro ſua gratia faciat eis. Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariã & Poloniã. Debebãt enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorũ veneno: & propter hoc quieuerunt à pręlijs vſq; nunc. Sed modo, quia poſitus eſt imperator de nouo, iterum ſe de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc ſciendum eſt, quod imperator dixit ore ſuo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam & Pruſſiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in ſeruitutem redigere, quæ ſeruitus eſt intolerabilis noſtræ genti, vt ſuperius dictum eſt: Occurrendum eſt igitur eis in bello. Sed ſi vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram; & in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipſos cum promiſſis adulationibus tenent: & etiam vt ab ipſis non fugiant promittunt eis quod facient eos dominos magnos: & poſt hoc quando ſecuri eſſe poſſunt de ipſis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infœliciſſimos ſeruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro ſeruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ deſtruunt aliam terram. Nec eſt aliqua prouincia quæ per ſe poſſit reſiſtere eis: quia de omni terra poteſtatis eorum, vt dictum eſt, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde ſi Chriſtiani ſeipſos & ſuã terram, & Chriſtianitatem volunt ſeruare, oportet quod in vnum conueniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de cõmuni conſilio homines contra eos ad pugnã, antequam ipſi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam poſtquam incipiunt ſpargi per terras, vndiq; homines quærunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri poteſt præbere: quoniam ipſi cateruatim vndiq; quærunt homines & occidunt. Et ſi claudunt ſe in caſtris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra caſtrum vel ciuitatem, qui obſideant eam; & ipſi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & baliſtas, quas multũ timent, & ſagittas ſufficientes: & bonum dolabrũ de bono ferro, & ſcutũ cũ longo manubrio. Ferramenta ſagittarũ de arcu vel de baliſta debent,

‖ Forte menſibus

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam & Pruſſiam.

Temperamentum ferri.

Speculatores.

Obſidio 12. annorum.

vt Tartari, quando ſunt calida, temperari in aqua cum ſale mixta, vt fortia ſint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de ſellis; quia de eis facillime cadunt: ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum ſagittæ non penetrant: & galeā & arma alia ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & ſagittis eorum. Et ſi aliqui non ſunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent [illegible]e poſt alios vt faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & ſagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt poſſint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conſeruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipſi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, ſicut nec duces eorum, ſed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legemquè debent ponere vt ſimul incedant ad bellum, ſiue aliâs, ſicut ſunt ordinati. Et quicunque relinquit alium ſiue ad bellum procedentem, ſiue pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, niſi omnes cōmuniter cedant, grauiſſime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium ſequitur fugientes & ſagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum hijs qui remanēt pugnant, & ſic confundūtur & occiduntur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicunq; conuerſus fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omnino ſit exercitus contrariorū deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum eſt eligendus, ſi fieri poteſt vt campus ſit planus, & poſſint vndique videre: & ſi poſſunt habeant ſyluam magnam a tergo vel a latere. ita tamē quod non poſſunt intrare inter ipſos & ſyluam: nec debent ſimul omnes conuenire in vnum, ſed facere acies multas, & diuerſas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum diſtantes. Et contra illos qui poſt veniunt debent vnam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et ſi Tartari ſimulant fugam, non multum vadant poſt eos, niſi forte quantum poſſunt videre, ne forte ipſos ad paratas inſidias trahant, ſicut facere ſolent: Et alia ſit parata ad iuuandum aciem illam, ſi fuerit opportunum. Inſuper habeant ſpeculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à ſiniſtris: & ſemper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipſi enim ſemper nituntur concludere aduerſarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelā debent habere ne hoc facere poſſint, quia ſic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant poſt eos, propter inſidias quas ſolent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus ſemper debent eſſe parati ad mittendum adiutorium, ſi neceſſe eſt, illis qui ſunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium curſum poſt eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam noſtri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non aſcendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus poſt hoc. Vnde non curant ſi fatigentur equi eorū propter multitudinem quam habent. Et ſi Tartari cedunt, non tamen noſtri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem ſeparari: quia ſimulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & poſt hoc terram libere ingrediantur, & eam deſtruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expenſas, vt ſolent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, vt ipſos & alios occidant, & deſtruant omnem terram; & propter eorum ſuperfluitatem nomen Domini blaſphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt ſi contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum ſuccedant. Duces etiam noſtri debent die noctéque facere exercitum cuſtodiri, ne repente & ſubito irruant ſuper ipſos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte ſemper debent eſſe parati: ſed nec ſpoliati debent iacere nec delicioſe ad menſam ſedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari ſemper vigilant, vt poſſint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel ſuper ſe timent venire, occultas foueas debent habere, in quibus ſagittas, & alia debent reponere, propter duo: vt videlicet Tartari non poſſint ea habere; & ſi propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea poſtea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum & ſtramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem & caſtra ſi volunt munire, videant prius qualia ſint in ſitu. Situs enim talis debet eſſe in caſtris, quod machinis & ſagittis expugnari nō poſſit; & aquā habeant ſufficientem & lignū, & ſi fieri poteſt, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non poſſit: & quod habeant homines ſufficientes qui poſſint viciſſim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua aſtutia poſſint caſtrum furari. Expenſas ad multos annos debent habere ſufficientes: cuſtodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in menſura manducent, quia neſciunt quanto tempore eos in caſtris oportet eſſe incluſos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obſident vnum caſtrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obſederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter reſtiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem caſtra & ciuitates, quæ talem ſitum non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & ſagittas ſufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas ſuas; & ſuis machinis debent eos repellere. Et ſi forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt

Tartari machinas ſuas, debent eas deſtruere machinis ſuis ſi poſſunt. Baliſtis etiam, fundis & machinis debent reſiſtere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Aliàs etiam debent eſſe parati, vt ſuperius dictum eſt. De caſtris & ciuitatibus, quæ ſunt in fluminibus poſitæ, diligenter debent videre ne poſſint ſubmergi. Sed ad hoc ſciendũ eſt, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant ſe in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cũ eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos eſſe ſuos porcellos in hara concluſos. Vnde ponunt eis cuſtodes, vt ſupradictũ eſt. Si autẽ aliqui Tartari de equis ſuis in bello proijciuntur, ſtatim ſunt capiendi: quia cum ſunt in terra fortiter ſagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et ſi ſeruantur tales, poteſt eſſe, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniã ſe adinuicem ſatis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoſcantur, ſuperius dictum eſt vbi forma eorum fuit expreſſa. Tamen quando capiuntur, ſi debent ſeruari, ne fugiant diligens eſt cuſtodia adhibenda. Sunt etiã aliæ multę gentes cũ eis, quæ per formã ſuperius annotatã poſſunt ab ipſis cognoſci. Eſt etiam hoc ſciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum ſunt, qui ſi viderent tempus, & haberẽt fiduciam, quod noſtri non occiderent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, ſicut ipſimet nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cũ eis, & plura mala facerent ipſis, quàm alij, qui ſunt eorum aduerſarij manifeſti.

The long and wonderful voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, ſent ambaſſadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246. to the great CAN of Tartaria; wherein he paſſed through Bohemia, Polonia, Ruſſia, and ſo to the citie of Kiow vpon Boriſthenes, and from thence rode continually poſt for the ſpace of ſixe moneths through Comania, ouer the mighty and famous riuers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic, & through the countries of the people called Kangittæ, Biſermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, & ſo to the natiue countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, ſituate in the extreme Northeaſterne partes of all Aſia: and thence backe againe the ſame way to Ruſſia, and Polonia, and ſo to Rome; ſpending in the whole voyage among the ſayd Tartars one whole yeere & aboue foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacenſis his Speculum hiſtoriale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima miſſione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

HOc etiam tẽpore miſit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Aſcelinũ de ordine Prædicatorũ cũ tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuerſis ordinis ſui conuentibus ſibi aſſociatis, cum literis Apoſtolicis ad exercitũ Tartarorũ, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominũ ſtrage deſiſterent, & fidei veritatẽ reciperent. Et ego quidẽ ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorũ, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ab illo itinere regreſſo, geſta Tartarorũ accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ ſuperius per diuerſa loca iuxta congruentiã temporũ huic operi inſerui. Siquidẽ & eo tempore quidã Frater ordinis Minorũ, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano carpini, cum quibuſdam alijs miſſus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipſe teſtatur, per annum & quatuor menſes & amplius cum eis manſit, & inter eos ambulauit. A ſummo namq; Pontifice mandatũ, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter ſcrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipſe, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus eiuſdem ordinis, qui ſuæ tribulationis particeps & ſocius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Ioannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis proprijs vidit, vel à Chriſtianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum hiſtorialem conſcripſit, qui & ipſe ad manus noſtras peruenit. De quo etiam hîc quaſi per epilogum inſerere libet aliqua, videlicet ad ſupplementum eorum, quæ deſunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis hiſtoria.

Aſcelinus.
¶ Vide Mechouiũ lib. 1. cap. 5.
Simon Sanquintinianus.
Ioannes de Plano Carpini.
Benedictus Polonus.
Libellus hiſtorialis Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De ſitu & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

ESt in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal ſiue Tartaria dicitur, in ea ſcilicet parte ſita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & etiam Solangorum, à meridie verò terrã Sarracenorum. Inter ‖ Orientẽ & meridiem terram Huynorum, & ab Occidente prouinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium eſt montuoſa, & in aliqua campeſtris, ſed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenoſa, nec eſt in centeſima parte fructuoſa. Nec enim poteſt fructum portare, niſi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur, quę ibi ſunt rariſſimę. Vnde nec villę nec aliquę ciuitates ibidẽ reperiuntur,

Tartariæ deſcriptio.
‖ Vel Occidentẽ

Syra orda.

Aëris intemperies

Orda quid.

excepta vna, quæ Cracurim appellatur, & ſatis bona eſſe dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, ſed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum eſt, eſſemus. Licet autem aliâs infructifera ſit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus eſt apta. In aliqua eius parte ſunt aliquę ſyluæ modicæ, alia verò ſine lignis eſt omninò. Itaque tam Imperator quàm Principes, & omnes alij ſedent, & cibaria ſua decoquunt ad focum, de boum & equorum ſtercoribus factum. Ipſe quoq; aër inordinatus eſt ibidem mirabiliter. In media ſiquidem æſtate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximę niues. Sunt & ibi ventorum frigidiſſimorum tam maximę tempeſtates, quòd aliquando vix poſſunt equitare homines. Vnde cùm ante ordam eſſemus (ſic enim apud eos ſtationes Imperatoris & Principum appellantur) præ venti magnitudine in terra proſtrati iacebamus, & videre propter pulueris magnitudinē minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, ſed frequenter in æſtate, & tam modicum, vt vix poſſet aliquando puluerem & radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit ſæpè. Vnde cùm Imperator electus in ſede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc exiſtentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex ſubita reſolutione pluſquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt ſubmerſi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam eſt in æſtate ſubitò calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

Tartarorum ſpecies.

Tonſura.

Habitus,

Veſtes retro caudatæ.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore,

Victus,

MOngalorum autem ſiue Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus eſt remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati ſunt plus cæteris, genæ quoq; ſatis prominent à maxillis. Naſum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam paruos, & palpebras vſq; ad ſupercilia eleuatas, ac ſuper verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis tondendo, pluſquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem ſicut mulieres creſcere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & vnamquamq; poſt aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Veſtes tam virorum quàm mulierum vno modo formatæ ſunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel caputijs non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccaramo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, ſed apertum eſt à poſterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam vnam vſq; ad genua retrò. Veſtes ſuas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vſquequo deſinat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis & baculis ſubtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundam habent feneſtram, vnde ingrediatur lumen, & fumus exire poſſit: quia ſemper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro ſunt operta. Oſtia quoq; de filtro ſunt facta. Harum quędam ſubitò ſoluuntur, & reparantur, & ſuper ſummarios deferuntur: quædam verò diſſolui non poſſunt ſed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; ſiue ad bellum ſiue aliâs vadunt, ſemper illas ſecum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites ſunt, vt in Camelis & bobus, capris & ouibus. Iumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi reſiduum habere. Porcos autē & alias beſtias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro & argento ac ſerico & gemmis abundant. Cibi eorū ſunt omnia, quæ mandi poſſunt. Vidimus eos etiā manducare pediculos. Lac bibūt animaliū, & in maxima quantitate, ſi habent, iumentinū. Porrò in hyeme, quia niſi diuites ſint, lac iumentinū non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, vt illud bibere valeant. Vnde quilibet eorū ſcyphum bibit vnū vel duos in mane, & quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In ſero autem vnicuiq; datur de carnibus modicū, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æſtate quando ſatis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, niſi fortè donētur eiſdē, aut venatione beſtiā aliquam ceperint vel auem.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

πειθαρχία.

Abſtinentia,

Comitas.

Temperantia.

HAbent autem mores quoſdam quidem commendabiles, & quoſdam deteſtabiles. Magis quippe ſunt obedientes Dominis ſuis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo ſint homines, ſiue religioſi ſiue ſeculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factiſue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, belláq; vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prędones etiam ac fures rerum magnarū ibi nequaquā inueniuntur, ideoq; ſtationes & currus eorū, vbi theſauros habent, ſeris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua beſtia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc poſiti ſunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius eſt beſtia, illam requirit, & abſq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium ſatis honorat, & familiaritatē ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos ſint pauca, liberaliter ſatis communicat. Satis etiā ſunt ſufferentes, nec cùm ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omninò ſine cibo, videntur impatientes, ſed cantant & ludunt, ac ſi bene comederent. In equitando multum ſuſtinent frigus, calorem quoq; nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quaſi nulla placita ſunt, & quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate ſua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium ſpernit, ſed iuuat & promouet, quantum congruè poteſt. Caſtæ ſunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipſarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia ſatis habent & impudica. Porrò erga cæteros homines ijdem Tartari ſuperbiſſimi ſunt, omneſq; nobiles & ignobiles quaſi pro nihilo reputantes deſpiciunt. Vndę vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Ruſſię ducem, & filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eiſdem aſſignati, quantumcunq; viles eſſent illos antecedebant, ſemperq; primum locum & ſummum tenebant, imò etiam ſæpè oportebat illos poſt eorũ poſteriora ſedere. Præterea iracundi ſunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, & vltra modum erga eoſdem mendaces. In principio quidẽ blandi ſunt, ſed poſtmodum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulenti ſunt, & omnes homines ſi poſſunt aſtutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt ſibi non poſſint prouidere, vel contra eorum aſtutias remedium inuenire. Immundi quoq; ſunt in cibo & potu ſumendis, & in cæteris factis ſuis. Ebrietas apud illos eſt honorabilis: cumq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidemq; reijcit, non ideo ceſſat, quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi ſunt exactores, tenaciſſimi retentores, parciſſimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occiſio apud illos eſt pro nihilo.

Caſtitas.

Inſolentia aduerſus cæteros.

Iracundia.

Fraudulentia.

Sordes.
Temulentia.

αἰσχροκέρδεια.

De legibus & conſuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

HOc autem habent in lege ſiue conſuetudine, vt occidant viros & mulieres, ſi quando inueniantur in adulterio manifeſtè. Similiter etiam virginem, ſi fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea ſi aliquis in præda vel furto manifeſto inuenitur, ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Item ſi quis denudauit conſilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei ſuper poſteriora centum plagæ, quanto maiores vnus ruſticus cum magno baculo poteſt dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus ſuis parcitur, ſed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter coniunguntur omnibus, etiã propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & ſorore ex eadem matre. Nam ſororem tantùm ex patre, & vxorem quoq; patris, poſt eius mortem ſolent ducere. Vxorẽ etiam fratris alius frater iunior, poſt eius mortem, vel alius de parentela, tenetur ducere. Vnde dum adhuc eſſemus in terra, Dux quidam Ruſſiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Baty, quòd equos Tartarorum de terra educeret, & alijs venderet, accuſatus eſt: quod licet non eſſet probatum, occiſus eſt. Hoc audiens iunior frater, & vxor occiſi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, ſupplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eiſdem. At ille paruo præcepit, vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, ſecundum Tartarorum conſuetudinẽ. Quæ reſpondit, ſe potius occidi velle, quàm ſic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerent, quantum poſſent. Itaq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantẽ ſuper illam poſuerunt, ipſoſq; commiſceri pariter coëgerunt. Deniq; poſt mortem maritorum, vxores Tartarorum non de facili ſolent ad ſecunda coniugia tranſire, niſi fortè quis velit ſororiam aut nouercam ſuam ducere. Nulla verò differentia eſt apud eos inter filiũ vxoris & concubinæ, ſed dat pater quod vult vnicuiq;. Itaq; ſi ſunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, ſicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper, vnum ſcilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, morienſq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquiſſet, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obuenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datiſq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, vt fieret ei iuſtitia ſecundum morem Tartarorum. Dataq; eſt ſententia contra Melich, vt Dauid, qui maior erat natu, ſubeſſet, ac terrã à patre ſibi conceſſam quietè ac pacificè poſſideret. Cumq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquæq; per ſe ſuam habet familiam & ſtationem. Et vna die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quã cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum eſt, ſint multæ, nunquam tameu de facili contendunt inter ſe.

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.

Arcani euulgati.

Leges matrimoniorum.

Andreas Dux Ruſſię.
¶ Vide Herberſteinium de rebus Moſchoui. pag. 8. b.

Melich & Dauid fratres Georgiani.

πολυγαμία.

De ſuperſtitioſis traditionibus ipſorum. Cap. 7.

QVibuſdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quędã eſſe peccata dicunt, quas vel ipſi vel anteceſſores eorum confinxerunt. Vnum eſt, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum ſecuri

ἀδιαφορία.

iuxta

Cultus lunæ.

Luſtrationis ritus

Ignis ſuperſtitioſa efficacitas.

iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd ſic auferri debeat caput igni. Aliud eſt appodiare ſe ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipſi enim non vtuntur calcaribus. Item flagello ſagittas tangere, iuuenes aues capere vel occidere, cum freno equum percutere, os cum oſſe alio frangere. Itemq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum ſuper terram effundere, in ſtatione mingere. Quod ſi voluntariè facit, occiditur, ſi autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multã incantatori ſoluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt ſtatio cum omnibus, quæ in ipſa ſunt, inter duos ignes tranſeat. Antequam ſic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea ſi alicui morſellus imponitur, quem deglutire non poſſit, & illum de ore ſuo eijcit, foramen ſub ſtatione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Iterum ſi quis calcat ſuper limen ſtationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his ſimilia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, ac res illorum diripere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos eſt peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil ſciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd poſt mortem in alio ſeculo viuant, gregéſque multiplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hîc à viuentibus fiunt. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipſamq; Lunam Imperatorem magnum appellant, eamq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in ſtationibus ſuis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ ſcilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas haſtas iuxta eos, vnamq; cordam in ſummitate haſtarum ponunt. Ligantq; ſuper cordam illam quaſdam de Bucaramo ſciſſiones, ſub qua ſcilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes tranſeunt homines, ac beſtiæ ac ſtationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum ſi aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes tranſire omnes illos, qui in illis ſtationibus morantur. Statio ſiquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & veſtes, & quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, ſed ab hominibus tanquam immunda reſpuuntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nuncij, vel Principes, aut qualeſcunq; perſonæ, oportet ipſos & munera ſua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, tranſire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum ſeu aliquid mali attulerint.

De initio imperij ſiue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartarici populi.

Chingis ortus & res geſtæ.

Naymani. Infra cap. 25.

Fratres diſcordantes oppreſſi.

Occoday Cham.

Homines ſylueſtres.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum eſt ſuprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuiſſe populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id eſt, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id eſt, aquatici Mongali, qui ſeipſos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorum terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam perſonarum formam & vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter ſe per Principes ac prouincias eſſent diuiſi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iſte cœpit robuſtus venator eſſe: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoſcunque poterat, captiuabat, ſibiq; aſſociabat. Homines quoque ſuæ gentis inclinauit ad ſe, qui tanquam Ducem ſequebantur ipſum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, ſiue cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multoq; bello ſibi Tartaros omnes ſubiecit, & in ſeruitutem redegit. Poſt hęc cum iſtis omnibus contra Merkatas, iuxta terram poſitos Tartarorum pugnauit, quos etiam bello ſibi ſubiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnã exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter eleuatus eſſet, indignati ſunt. Ipſi enim habuerant Imperatorem ſtrenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctę nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm eſſet mortuus, filij eius ſucceſſerunt loco ipſius. Sed quia iuuenes ac ſtulti erant, populum tenere neſciebant, ſed ad inuicem diuiſi ac ſciſſi erant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant inſultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes ſibi ſubiectos congregauit. Naymani & Karakytay ex aduerſo ſimiliter in quandam vallem ſtrictam conuenerunt, & commiſſum eſt prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti ſunt. Qui etiam pro maiori parte occiſi fuerunt, & alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. In terra prædictorũ Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingiſcham, poſtquã imperator fuit poſitus, quandã ciuitatem ædificauit, quã Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem eſt quoddã deſertum magnũ, in quo pro certo ſylueſtres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec iuncturas in cruribus habent, & ſi quando cadunt, per ſe ſurgere non valent. Sed tamen diſcretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus veſtiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et ſi quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos ſagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipſos fugiunt.

De mutua victoria ipſorum & Kythaorum. Cap.9.

MOngali autem in terram ſuam reuertentes, ſe contra * Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, & caſtra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu ſuo contra illos, & commiſſum eſt prȩlium durũ, in quo Mongali ſunt deuicti, omneſq; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter ſeptem occiſi ſunt. Vnde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionẽ, minatur aliquis ſtragem, adhuc reſpondent: Olim etiam occiſi non niſi ſeptem remanſimus, & tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideoq; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alij, qui remanſerunt, in terram ſuam fugerunt. Cumq; quieuiſſet aliquantulum, præparauit ſe rurſus ad prælium, & proceſſit contra terram Huyrorum. Iſti ſunt homines Chriſtiani de ſecta Neſtorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorumq; literam acceperunt; prius enim ſcripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Karanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat proceſſit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram ſuam redijt, & aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus ſuis, contra Kythaos pariter proceſſerunt, diuq; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorumq; Imperatorem in ciuitatem ſuam maiorem concluſerunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obſederunt, quod exercitus expenſæ omninò defecerunt. Cumq; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, pręcipit Chingiſcham ſuis, vt de decẽ hominibus vnũ ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de ciuitate machinis & ſagittis viriliter contra illos pugnabãt, & cùm deficerent lapides, argentũ & maximè liquefactum proijciebant. Ciuitas ſiquidẽ illa multis erat diuitijs plena. Cumq; diu Mongali pugnaſſent, & eam bello vincere non poſſent, vnam magnã ſub terra viam ab exercitu vſq; ad mediũ ciuitatis fecerunt, & proſilientes in mediũ eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanſerant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem poſſederunt, aurumq; & argentum, & omnes eius diuitias abſtulerunt. Et cùm illi terrę ſuos homines præfeciſſent, in terrã propriam reuerſi ſunt. Tunc primum Imperatore Kythaorum deuicto, factus eſt Chingiſcham imperator. Quandam tamen partẽ illius terræ, quia poſita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vſq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam ſpecialem, & etiam, vt dicitur, veteris & noui Teſtamenti ſcripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrũ & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus ſuis, ad modum Eccleſiarum factas. Quoſdam etiam ſanctos habere ſe dicunt, & vnum Deum colunt. Chriſtum IESVM Dominum venerantur, & credunt vitã æternam, ſed non baptizantur. Scripturam noſtram honorant ac reuerentur. Chriſtianos diligunt, & eleemoſynas plures faciunt, homines benigni ſatis & humani videntur. Barbam non habent, & in diſpoſitione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores artifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum eſt opulenta nimis in frumento & vino, auro & ſerico ac rebus cæteris.

** Haythono & Paulo Veneto ſunt Cathay.*

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Nouæ victoriæ.

Litera.

Argentum loco lapidum in hoſtem proiectum.

Chingis ſalutatur Imperator.

Cathaynorum literæ & religio.

Opificiorum ἐξοχή.

De pugna ipſorum contra Indiam minorem *& maiorem.* Cap.10.

CVm autem Mongali cum Imperatore ſuo Chingiſcham poſt pręfatam victoriã aliquantulum quieuiſſent, exercitus ſuos diuiſerunt. Imperator ſiquidem vnum de filijs ſuis nomine Thoſut, quem etiam Can, id eſt, Imperatorẽ appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos miſit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, & poſtmodum in terram ſuam redijt. Alium verò filiũ cum exercitu contra Indos miſit, qui & minorem Indiam ſubiecit. Hi ſunt nigri Sarraceni, qui Æthiopes ſunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Chriſtianos, qui ſunt in India maiori, proceſſit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò * Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquamq; poſuit in ſella ſuper equum. Poſuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum folle ſuper equum poſt imaginem. Itaq; cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos ſeu Tartaros proceſſerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælij perueniſſent, equos iſtos vnum iuxta alium pręmiſerunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, neſcio quid ſuper ignem, qui erat intra imagines, poſuerunt, & cum follibus fortiter ſufflauerunt. Vnde factum eſt, vt ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aër ex fumo denigraretur. Túmque ſuper Tartaros ſagittas iecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sícq; eiecerunt illos cum magna confuſione de ſuis finibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipſos vltra redierint audiuimus.

Thoſut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis maioris Indiæ ſtratagema.

** Vide ſcolion in lib.1.cap.51. M. Pauli Veneti.*

Victoria.

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulſi, Buri*thabethinos vicerunt.* Cap.11.

De monſtroſis mulieribus & canibus monſtroſa narratio.

¶ Forſan autem videri allegorica alluſio poſſit ad Canibales de quibus Petrus Martyr Mediolan. de rebus Oceanicis.

CVm autem per deſerta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, ſicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipſos, firmiter aſſerendo referebatur, mõſtra quædam, imaginem fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogaſſent, vbi viri terræ illius eſſent, reſponderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunq; fœminę naſcebãtur, habebant formã humanam, maſculi vero ſpeciẽ caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cùm eſſet hyems aſperrima omnes ſe in aquam proiecerunt, Poſt hæc incontinenti ſponte in puluerẽ voluebañtur, ſicq́; puluis admixtus aquę ſuper eos congelabatur, & vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie ſuper eos depreſſata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi ſagittas ſuper eos iaciebant, ac ſi ſuper lapides ſagittaſſent, retrò ſagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorũ in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipſi verò Canes inſultum in Tartaros facientes, morſibus vulnerauerunt multos, & occiderunt, ſicq́; illos de ſuis finibus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos eſt prouerbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occiſus. Mulieres autem illorũ, quas ceperant, ad terrã ſuã duxerunt, & vſq; ad diẽ mortis eorũ ibidẽ fuerunt. Cùm autẽ exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani ſunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi conſuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miſerabilem. Cùm enim alicuius pater humanæ naturæ ſoluit debitum, congregant omnẽ parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, ſicut vidimus, portant, cum quo ſemper barbam, ſi forte crinis aliquis in ea creſcit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes ſunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram ſuam eſt reuerſus.

Burithabeth regio.

Incolarum mores

Qualiter à montibus Caſpijs, & ab hominibus ſub*terraneis repulſi ſunt.* Cap.12.

Alia Chingis expeditio.

¶ Vide an Harnſem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap.10.

CHingiſcham etiã illo tẽpore, quo dimiſit alios exercitus contra Orientẽ, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & vt nobis dicebatur, ibidẽ vſq; ad montes Caſpios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino ſunt: ideóq; ſagittas & arma ferrea illorũ ad ſe traxerunt. Homines autẽ inter Caſpios montes concluſi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cùm alio tempore poſt decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cumq́; ad illos accedere attentaſſent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quędam erat poſita ante ipſos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omninò quippe viſum amittebant, ſtatim vt ad illam perueniebant. Illi autem ex aduerſo credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, inſultum contra eos fecerunt, ſed ſtatim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter cauſam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt, Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, pluſquam per menſem per vaſtam ſolitudinem tranſierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, pluſquàm per menſem per magnum deſertum perrexerunt. Itaq́; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, ſed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quęrentes, vnũ hominem cum vxore ſua repererunt, quos in pręſentiam Chingiſcham adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogaſſet illos, vbi homines illius terræ eſſent, reſponderunt, quòd in terra ſub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingiſcham retenta vxore, miſit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipſius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingiſcham eis mandauit. Illi verò reſpondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipſum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipſi medio tempore per vias occultas ſub terra ſe congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & ſubitò ſuper eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque ſonitus in ortu ſuo ſuſtinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vnam aurem ad terram ponere, & ſuperiorem fortiter obturare, nę ſonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec ſic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de cauſa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingiſcham & ſui, quòd nihil proficerent, ſed potius homines ſuos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore ſua ſecum deduxerunt, qui etiam vſque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione ſua ſub terra ſoleant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore anni, cùm oritur Sol, tantus fit ſonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant ſuſtinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæteriſque muſicis inſtrumentis percutere ſolent, vt ſonitum illum non audiant.

Troglodytæ.

Fabuloſus Solis orientis ſonitus.

De ſtatutis Chingiſcham, et morte ipſius, et filijs *ac Ducibus.* Cap. 13.

CVm autem de terra illa reuerteretur Chingiſcham, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius beſtiæ recentia caſu inuenerunt: quæ accipientes, depoſitis tantum ſtercoribus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingiſcham deportata pariter comederunt. Ideoq; ſtatuit Chingiſcham, vt nec ſanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de beſtia, quæ manducari poteſt, proijciatur, exceptis ſtercoribus. Inde ergò in terram propriam reuerſus eſt, ibiq; leges & ſtatuta edidit, quæ Tartari inuiolabiliter obſeruant, de quibus ſcilicet iam aliâs ſuperiùs dictum eſt. Poſt hoc ab ictu tonitrui occiſus eſt. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocabatur primus, Thoſſut Can ſecundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iiij. deſcenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday eſt Cuyne, qui nunc eſt Imperator. Huius fratres Cocten & Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thoſſut Can ſunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy poſt Imperatorem omnibus ditior eſt ac potentior, Ordu verò omnium Ducum ſenior. Filij Thiaday, ſunt Hurin & Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingiſcham, cuius ignoramus nomen, ſunt, Mengu & Bithat & alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan eſt, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibusq; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem ſunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoq; & Huryn & Cadan & Syban & Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed & Cyrpodan, qui adhuc eſt vltra mare contra quoſdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alij verò remanſerunt in terra, ſcilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Correnſa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures ſunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota ſunt.

Chingis lex.

Interitus.
Liberi.
Nepotes.

Duces.

De poteſtate Imperatoris & Ducum eius. Cap. 14.

POrrò Imperator eorum, ſcilicet Tartarorum, ſuper omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, niſi vbi aſſignauerit ipſe. Et ipſe quidem aſſignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs aſſignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs, & Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, ſiue ad bellum, ſiue ad mortem, vel vbicunque, ſine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etſi petit alicuius filiam virginem, vel ſororem, mox ei ſine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & ſi vult aliquas retinere, ſibi retinet, alias verò dat ſuis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoſcunq; & vbicunq; tranſmittat, oportet quòd dent ei ſine mora equos & expenſas. Similiter vndecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos & currus & expenſas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miſeria, & victus & veſtitus penuria ſunt. Maximeq; quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde poſſent duo viuere. Inſuper & ſi aliquæ illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile poſſunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ ſi non dederint, vilipenduntur, & quaſi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expenſis à fidelibus erant datæ, de neceſſitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique ſic omnia ſunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum eſt vel illius, ſed omnia, ſcilicet res & iumenta ac homines, ſunt ipſius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit ſtatutum eiuſdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces ſuper ſibi ſubditos homines.

Imperatoris Tartarorum ſeruilè in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione *Ducis Bathy.* Cap. 15.

MOrtuo, vt ſuprà dictum eſt, Cyngiſcham, conuenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem, Qui habito conſilio Principum, diuiſit exercitus. Miſitq; Bathy, qui in ſecundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altiſſodan & contra terram Biſminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, ſed loquebantur Comanicum, Qui terram illorum ingreſſus, cum eis pugnauit, eoſq; ſibi bello ſubiecit. Quędam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu reſtitit eis, Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuiſſent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, ſpontè in manus eorum ſe tradentes. Vnde ciuitas eorum deſtructa non fuit, ſed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios tranſtulerunt, acceptiſq; ſpolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, & contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt, Hæc erat nimium populoſa & diuitijs copioſa. Erant enim ibi

Occoday ſurrogatur patri.
Bathy eiuſq; expeditio.

Barchin ciuitas.

Sarguit ciuitas.

Orna ciuitas.

plures Chriſtiani, videlicet Gazari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alij nec non & Sarraceni. Eratq; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium. Eſt etiam poſita ſuper quendam magnum fluuium, & eſt quaſi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumq; Tartari non poſſent eos aliter vincere, fluuium, qui per vrbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus ſubmerſerunt. Quo facto, contra Ruſſiam perrexerunt, & magnam ſtragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates & caſtra deſtruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Ruſſiæ metropolin, diu obſederunt, & tandem ceperunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & oſſa hominum mortuorum, iacentia ſuper campum, inueniebamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valdè magna & populoſa, nunc quaſi ad nihilum eſt redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanſerunt ducentę, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima ſeruitute. Porrò de Ruſſia & de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros & Polonos proceſſerunt, ibiq; plures ex ipſis interfecti fuerunt, & vt iam ſuperius dictum eſt, ſi Hungari viriliter reſtitiſſent, Tartari ab eis confuſi receſſiſſent. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui ſunt Pagani, venerunt, eoſq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id eſt, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti ſunt, & ipſam omninò deſtruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Baſtarcos, id eſt Hungariam magnam proceſſerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc ampliùs ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Paroſſitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes ſtomachos & os paruum, non manducant, ſed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, ſe ſuper ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc ſolo reficiuntur, vel ſi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum eſt. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus viuunt, & tabernacula veſteſq; tantum habent de pellibus beſtiarum. Inde ad quandam terram ſuper Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monſtra quædam inuenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, ſed pedes bouinos, & caput quidem humanum, ſed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertiò latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & vſq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

¶ Vide Mechouium, lib. 1. ca. 3.

Morduani.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitę.

Samogetę.

Monſtra aquilonaria.

† *De his regionibus Herberſteinius pag. 8.b & 91.b. Paret enim hodie vtraq; Moſchorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag. 106.b.*

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

EO tempore miſit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello ſuperauit. Hi homines ſunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum conſuetudo talis eſt, vt cùm alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quaſi vnam corrigiam in ſignum lamenti ab aure vſq; aurem de facie ſua leuet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum ſuis. Qui cùm tranſirent per deſerta quædam, monſtra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non niſi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant, & duo cum vno arcu ſagittabant, adeoq; fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos inueſtigare non poterant. Currebant autem ſuper vnum pedem illum ſaltando, & cùm eſſent fatigati, taliter eundo ibant ſuper manum & pedem, ſe tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cumq; ſic etiam feſſi eſſent, iterum ſecundùm priorem modum currebant. Hos Iſidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et ſicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncij venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, ſuperiùs annotati, vt poſſent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem. Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & ſingulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, proceſſerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipſum deuicerunt. Denique proceſſerunt vlterius debellando ac vincendo vſque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impugnare: nec poſtea reuerſi ſunt in terram ſuam vſq; hodiè. Idemq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam ſibi ſubdidit, & vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæteriſq; muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna traſmittens, vt eum ſupportent, rogat. Ipſe autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia ſubacta.

Soldanus Halapię.

† Calipha Baldacenſis.

Qualiter Tartari ſe habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

ORdinauit Chingiſcham Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctoq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant reſpectum. Cumq; in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, niſi communi-

Tartarorum militaris diſciplina.

communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et ſi vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non ſequuntur, ſimiliter occiduntur. Sed etiam ſi vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, ſocij eorum ſi non eos liberant, ipſi etiam occiduntur. Porrò arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Treſq; pharetras ſagittis plenas, & vnam ſecurim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantùm incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verùm loricas & equorum cooperturas quidam habent de corio, ſuper corpus artificioſè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò ſuperius eſt de chalybe, vel de ferro: ſed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, eſt de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia ſupradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnius digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinẽ faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias ſtrictas & fortes ponunt. Sicq; laminas, vnam alij quaſi per gradus aſcendendo, ſupponunt. Itaq; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immiſſis, ligant, & in ſuperiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola conſuunt, vt laminæ ſimul benè firmiterq; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad cooperturas equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeoq; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis poteſt homo faciem ſuam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de ſella, ſi poſſunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta ſunt acutiſſima, ex vtraque parte quaſi gladius biceps incidentia, ſemperq; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum ſagittas. Habent verò ſcuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea ſoleant portare, niſi ad caſtra & ad cuſtodiam Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantùm de nocte. In bellis aſtutiſſimi ſunt: quia per annos xlij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt. Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius ſummitate per circuitum anſas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac ſtringunt, ita quod in circuitu quaſi ventrem efficiunt, quem veſtibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortiſſimeq; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt ſellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque ſedent homines. Huiuſmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulſo, omnes alij equi ſequuntur illum, & ſic tranſeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam burſam vel ſaccum de corio benè conſutum habet, in quo res ſuas omnes imponit, & in ſummitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam ſuſpendit, ſicq; modo prędicto tranſit.

Armatura.

Vſus bellorum.

Mos tranandi flumina.

Qualiter reſiſtendum ſit eis. Cap. 18.

NVllam æſtimo prouinciam eſſe, quæ per ſe poſſit eis reſiſtere: quia de omni terra poteſtatis ſuæ ſolent homines ad bellum congregare. Et ſiquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, & ſi malè pugnant, ipſos occidunt. Itaq; ſi Chriſtiani eis reſiſtere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi conſilio eis reſiſtant. Habeantq; pugnatores arcus fortes & baliſtas, quas multùm timent, ſagittaſq; ſufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel ſecurim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò ſagittarum more Tartarorum, quando ſunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum ſale mixta, vt fortia ſint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendũ illos de ſella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & ſagittis eorum, & ſi qui non ita ſunt armati, debent more illorum poſt alios ire, & contra ipſos arcubus vel baliſtis traijcere. Et ſicut dictum eſt ſuprà de Tartaris, debent acies ſuas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunq; conuerſus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam ſubire: talis enim apud illos occiditur abſq; miſeratione. Locus ad prælium, ſi fieri poteſt, eligendus eſt planus, vt vndiq; poſſint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, ſed acies multas & diuiſas, nec tamen nimis diſtantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, & alia parata ſit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & ſpeculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cęteræ. Nam ideò ſemper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi ſemper nituntur aduerſarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne ſi etiam illi fugere videantur, diu poſt illos currant, ne fortè, ſicut facere ſolent, ipſos ad paratas inſidias trahant: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia noſtri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non aſcendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor poſtea. Præterea ſi cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent noſtri recedere, vel ab in-

Παραίνεσις de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

uicem ſeparari: quoniam hoc ſimulando faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & ſic ad terræ deſtructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces noſtri die noctúque facere debent exercitum cuſtodiri: nec iacere ſpoliati, ſed ſemper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quaſi Dæmones ſemper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò ſi aliqui Tartarorum in bello de ſuis equis proijciuntur, ſtatim capiendi ſunt, quia quando ſunt in terra fortiter ſagittant, & equos homineſq; vulnerant.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vſque ad *primam cuſtodiam Tartarorum.* Cap. 19.

NOs igitur ex mandato ſedis Apoſtolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficiſci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Eccleſiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergẽtes, ad regem Boëmorũ peruenimus: qui cùm eſſet nobis familiaris, conſuluit, vt per Poloniam & Ruſſiam iter ageremus, Habebat enim conſanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Ruſſiam intrare poſſemus. Datiſq; literis & bono conductu, fecit & expenſas nobis dari per curias & ciuitates eius, quo vſque ad Ducem Sleſiæ Bolezlaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus, Hinc & ipſe nobis ſimiliter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lautiſciæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Waſilico, Dux Ruſſiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuimus Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miſerat, qui iam redierant ad ipſum, Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quaſdam pelles caſtorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemoſynam ad ſubſidiũ viæ. Quod agnoſcentes Dux Conradus & * Duciſſa Cracouiæ, & Epiſcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiuſmodi pelles. Denique Dux Waſilico à Duce Cracouiæ, & Epiſcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, ſecum nos in terram ſuam duxit, & vt aliquantulum quieſceremus, aliquot diebus nos in expenſis ſuis detinuit, Et cùm rogatus à nobis, feciſſet Epiſcopos ſuos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad ſanctæ matris Eccleſię vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipſi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Epiſcopos & alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Waſiliconis prædicti, præſens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter reſpondere. Poſt hæc Dux Waſilico tranſmiſit nos vſque in Kiouiam metropolin Ruſſiæ, cum ſeruiente vno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis ſemper propter Lituanos, qui ſæpè faciebant inſultum ſuper terram Ruſſiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus tranſire. At per prædictum ſeruientem eramus ſecuri à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occiſa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone vſque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus, Cùm ergò Kiouiam peruenimus, habuimus de via noſtra conſilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus, Qui reſponderunt nobis, quòd ſi duceremus equos illos, quos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm eſſent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: quia neſcirent herbam fodere ſub niue, ſicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri poſſet aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec ſtramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum cuſtodiæ. Ideóq; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipſum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos ſubducticios & conductum. Secundo igitur die poſt feſtum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canouæ, quę ſub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum vſque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus ſecundum velle ſuum, duxit nos vſq; ad primam cuſtodiam Tartarorum.

Itinerarium Ioann. & ſociorum legatorum.

Boleſlaus Dux Sileſiæ.

* *Mazouia.*

* *Grimißlaua, vt Mechouius lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Literę Papę ad Ruſſos.

Daniel, frater Baſilij.

Lituani.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas [illegible]κακος.

Qualiter primò cum ſocijs ſuis receptus eſt à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CVm ergo in prima ſexta feria poſt diem cinerum, Sole ad occaſum tendente, hoſpitaremur, Tartari ſuper nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiuſmodi homines eſſemus: cumq; reſpondiſſemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij eſſemus, quibuſdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuò diſceſſerunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm ſurgentes aliquantulum proceſſiſſemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in cuſtodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotij haberemus? Quibus reſpondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij ſumus, qui Chriſtianorum pater eſt ac Dominus, Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omneſq; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Chriſtiani Tartarorũ ſint amici, & pacem habeant

Papa Chriſtianorum pater & Dominus.

cum ipſis, Deſiderat inſuper, vt apud Deum in cœlo ſint magni, & idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas ſuas, vt efficiantur Chriſtiani, fidemq́; recipiant Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, quia non poſſunt aliter ſaluari. Mandat prætereà, quòd miratur de tanta occiſione hominũ, & maximè Chriſtianorum, ac potiſſimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui ſunt ei ſubiecti, facta per Tartaros, cùm in nullo lęſiſſent, aut lædere attentaſſent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauiter eſt ſuper hoc offenſus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, & de commiſſis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei reſcribant, quid facere velint de cætero, & quæ ſit eorum intentio. Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, ſe velle equos nobis ſubductitios vſq; ad Correnſam & ducatum præbere. Statimq́; munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus deſcenderant ipſi, cum eorum ducatu ad Correnſam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipſi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiſerunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quę dixeramus eiſdem. Eſt autem Dux iſte Dominus omnium, qui poſiti ſunt in cuſtodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè ſubitò & improuiſò irruant aliqui ſuper illos. Et iſte dicitur habere ſexaginta millia hominum armatorum ſub ſe.

Legationis mandata.

Correnſa.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti ſunt apud Correnſam. Cap. 21.

CVm ergò perueniſſemus ad eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à ſe poni ſtationem, & miſit ad nos procuratores ſuos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id eſt, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus reſpondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos peruenire poſſemus, & inſuper veneramus per loca valdè periculoſa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum noſtrum, ſicut poterimus, honorabimus ipſum. Acceptiſq́; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam ſiue tentorium ipſius, & inſtructi fuimus, vt ante oſtium ſtationis ter cum ſiniſtro genu inclinaremus, & caueremus attentè, ne pedem ſuper limẽ oſtij poneremus. Et poſtquam intrauimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibuſq́; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus ſuperiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papę obtulimus: ſed interpres, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat ſufficiens ad interpretandũ, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati ſunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent feſtinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipſe eſt apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur prę cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripuimus ſecunda feria poſt primã dominicam ‖ xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vſq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte ſæpiſſimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipſum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota eſt plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur * Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Ruſſiæ ambulabat Correnza & Montij, qui maior eſt illo ex altera parte per campeſtria. Secundum appellatur * Don, ſuper quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in coniugio ſororem Baty, qui vocatur Titbon. Tertium dicitur * Volga, quod eſt magnum valdè, ſuper quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur * Iaec, ſuper quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare deſcendunt, & in æſtate ſuper ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes aſcendunt. Hoc eſt mare magnum, de quo brachium ſancti Georgij exit, quod in Conſtantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina ſunt piſcibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrantq́; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus iuimus per glaciem. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ ſatis periculosè per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vndæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy perueniremus, duo ex noſtris Tartaris præceſſerunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Correnſam dixeramus.

Mos ſalutandi Tartaricos proceres.

Bathy eiuſque potentia.

‖ Quadrageſimæ.

Comania.

* *Veteribus Boryſthenes.*

* *Tanais.*

* *Rha.*

* *Rhymnus.*

Pontus Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti ſunt apud Bathy magnum
Principem. Cap. 22.

POrrò cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy perueniremus, benè poſiti fuimus per vnam leucam à ſtationibus eius. Cumq́; duci debuimus ad curiam ipſius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes tranſire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite ſecurè, quia pro nulla cauſa volumus hoc facere, niſi tantùm, vt ſi vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino noſtro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus reſpondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re ſuſpectos redderemus nos, tranſiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam perueniſſemus, interrogati á pocuratore ipſius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Correnſam reſpondimus, datiſq́; muneribus & acceptis,

Ceremonia per duos ignes tranſeundi.

Eldegay.

Bathy audit legatos.

Gerit ſe regificè.

Eiuſdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ cantum mos.

Authoritas,

acceptis, auditis etiam itineris cauſis, introduxerunt nos in ſtationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, ſicut prius, admonitione. Ingreſſi autem flexis genibus, verba noſtra propoſuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & vt nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Paraſceue dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipſis tranſtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præſentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notauit. Tandem ad noſtram ſtationem reducti fuimus, ſed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, niſi ſemel aliquantulum millij in vna ſcutella, ſcilicet in prima nocte quando venimus; Iſte Bathy magnificè ſe gerit, habens oſtiarios & omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & ſedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus ſuis. Alij verò tam fratres ſui & filij, quàm alij maiores inferiùs ſedent in medio ſuper bancum, & homines cæteri poſt eos in terra deorſum, ſed viri à dextris, & fœminæ à ſiniſtris, Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra & magna ſatis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis, Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, niſi vocatus, quantumcunque ſit potens & magnus, niſi fortè ſciatur, quòd ſit voluntas ipſius. Nos etiam dicta cauſa ſedimus à ſiniſtris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: ſed in redeundo ab Imperatore, ſemper ponebamur à dextris, In medio ponitur menſa eius prope oſtium ſtationis, ſuper quam apponitur potus in aureis & argenteis vaſis, Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico ſunt, niſi cantetur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cùm equitat, ſemper portatur ſolinum, vel tentoriolum ſuper caput eius in haſta. Sicq; faciunt cuncti maiores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy ſatis eſt hominibus ſuis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna eſt crudeliſſimus, ſagax eſt multum & aſtutiſſimus in bello: quia iam pugnauit tempore longo.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum & *Kangittarum tranſierunt.* Cap. 23.

Legati iubentur ad Cuyne Imperat. pergere.

Comaniæ deſcriptio.

Oceanus ſeptentrionalis.

Terra Kangittarum.

Ieroſlaus, Dux Ruſſiæ.

IN die porrò Sabbathi ſancti ad ſtationem fuimus vocati, & exiuit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipſius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipſorum iremus, retentis quibuſdam ex noſtris ſub hac ſpecie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis noſtris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediiſſent vſq; ad Montij Ducem ſupradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vſque ad reditum noſtrum. Nos autem in die Paſchę officio dicto, & facta comeſtione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Correnſam fuerant aſſignati, cum multis lacrymis receſſimus, neſcientes vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota ſiquidem illa quadrageſima fuerat cibus noſter millium cum aqua & ſale tantùm, & in alijs ſimiliter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum pręter niuem in caldario liquefactam. Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortiſſimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, niſi quando per deſerta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui poſſent continuum ſuſtinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadrageſima vſque ad octo dies poſt Paſcha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè poſt Ruſſiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id eſt, magnam Bulgariam, Baſtarcos, id eſt, magnam Hungariam, poſt Baſtarcos, Paroſitas & Samogetas. Poſt Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus deſertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circaſſos, Gazaros, Græciam & Conſtantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur eſſe Iudæi, caput radentes per totùm, terram quoq; Cithorum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Ruſſiam. Et eſt Comania terra maxima & longa. Cuius populos, ſcilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipſos redierunt. Poſt hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Vnde homines Ieroſlai, Ducis Ruſſiæ, cùm ad ipſum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deſerto præ ſiti mortui ſunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa inuenimus capita & oſſa mortuorum hominum, ſuper terram iacentia tanquam ſterquilinium. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus poſt Paſcha ferè vſque ad Aſcenſionem Dominicam. Huiuſq; habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipſi quàm Comani non laborabant, ſed tantùm de animalibus viuebant, nec domos ædificabant, ſed in tabernaculis habitabant. Iſtos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, & habitabant in terris eorum, illiq; qui remanſerunt, redacti ſunt in ſeruitutem ipſorum.

Qualiter

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam *deuenerunt.* Cap. 24.

PОrrò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biſerminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, ſed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum caſtris dirutas, villaſq; multas deſertas, Huius Dominus dicebatur Altiſoldanus, qui cum tota ſua progenie à Tartaris eſt deſtructus, Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hieruſalem & Baldach, totamq; Sarracenorum terram, Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, ſcilicet Burin & Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingiſcham. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum, In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à feſto Aſcenſionis dominicæ ferè vſque ad viij. dies ante feſtum ſanct. Iohan. Baptiſtæ. Deinde ingreſſi ſumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, & etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare paruum inuenimus, in cuius littore quidam exiſtit mons paruus. In quo ſcilicet monte quoddam foramen eſſe dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam maximę tempeſtates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo tranſire poſſunt. In æſtate verò ſemper quidem ibi ventorum ſonitus auditur, ſed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum ſit magnum, plures inſulas habet, & illud in ſiniſtris dimiſimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & eſt orda, ſiue curia patris ipſius, quam inhabitat, & regit vna de vxoribus eius. Conſuetudo enim eſt apud Tartaros, quòd principum & maiorum curiæ non delentur, ſed ſemper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eíſque donariorum partes, ſicut Dominis earum dari ſolebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipſius.

Terra Biſerminorum.
Altiſoldanus.
Montes maximi.
Burin.
Cadan.
Oceanus ab Aquilone.
Syban, frater Bathy.
Nigri Cathayni.
Mare paruum.
Plurimis diebus.
Plures inſulę.
Ordu. cap. 13.
Prima curia Imperatoris.

Qualiter ad ipſum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum *peruenerunt.* Cap. 25.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipſius, ſed nobis in tentorio noſtro ſecundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè ſeruiri fecerunt, & vt quieſceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia ſanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui ſunt Pagani. In ipſa verò die Apoſtolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra montuoſa & frigida eſt ſupra modum, ibiq; de planicie reperitur modicum. Iſtæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, ſed ſicut & Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas & ipſi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus, Per has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus ſeptimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum peruenimus. Ideò autem per omnem viam iſtam valdè feſtinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris noſtris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam ſolennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipſius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane ſurgentes, ibamus vſque ad noctem ſine comeſtione, & ſæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in ſero, ſed quod manducare debebamus in veſpere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatiſq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, ſed equitabamus velociter ac ſine intermiſſione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Terra Naymanorum.
Tartaria.
Iulij 22.
Acceleratum legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores ſuſcepit. Cap. 26.

CVm autem peruenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expenſas, quales Tartaris dare ſolent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipſum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio ſe intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo ſtetiſſemus ibi per quinque vel ſex dies, ad matrem ſuam nos tranſmiſit, vbi adunabatur curia ſolennis. Et cùm veniſſemus illuc, tam extenſum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, eratq; tam grande noſtro iudicio, quòd pluſquam duo millia hominum poterant eſſe ſub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum varijs imaginibus depictum, Illuc ergò perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad cuſtodiam aſſignatis, ibiq; conueнerant

Cuyne in legatos benignitas.
Tentorium regium.

Comitia.

Sympoſium procerum.

Ieroſlaus Dux Ruſſiæ.

Legati diuerſarum nationum.

omnes duces, & vnuſquiſq; cum hominibus ſuis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die veſtiti ſunt omnes purpuris albis, in ſecunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porrò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnam ſolus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat cuſtodia, quamuis eſſet aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam cuſtodes cum gladijs & arcubus & ſagittis erant. Itaq; ſi quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui poſiti erant, ſi capiebatur, verberabatur, ſi fugiebat, ſagitta ſiue ferro ſagittabatur. Multiq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, ſellis & huiuſmodi, iudicio noſtro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tractabant, vt à nobis creditur. Alius autem vniuerſus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè vſque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, & vſque ad veſperas tantum bibebant, quod erat viſu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, & dederunt nobis cereuiſiam: quia iumentinū lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: ſed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter conſuetudinem ſuſtinere. Vnde oſtendimus eis, hoc eſſe nobis graue, ideoq; nos ceſſauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroſlaus de Suſdal Ruſſiæ, pluresq; Duces Kythaorum & Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alij Soldani Sarracenorum, vt credimus. Et ſicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum ſeipſos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipſi miſerant, illoſq;, qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes ſimul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eiſq; ſimul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Ierozlao ferè ſemper ab eis dabatur ſuperior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Qualiter in imperium ſublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

Imperij Cuynæ primitiæ.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Auguſti 15.

Preces ſolennes.

ET quidem, ſi benè meminimus, ibidem per ſeptimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Credimuſq;, quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia ſemper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis ſpecioſis, in ſummitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quouſq; exterius morabatur. Hęc autem ſtatio ſiue Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimiter omnes equitauimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadā pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipſos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatū. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in ſede in die Aſſumptionis Dominæ noſtræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt ſuprà dictum eſt, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Eratq; tentorium in columnis poſitum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, & clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Porrò de Baldakino erat tectum ſuperius, ſed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vſq; ad feſtum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, & contra meridiem verſis vultibus ſtetit. Et quidam ad iactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, ſemperq; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius, & longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, neſcientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cumq; diu ita feciſſent, ad tentorium reuerſi ſunt, & Cuyne in ſede imperiali poſuerunt, Duceſq; coram eo genua flexerunt. Poſt hoc idem fecit vniuerſus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis ſubditi non eramus.

De ætate ac moribus ac ſigillo ipſius. Cap. 28.

Cuynæ ætas & mores.

Studium Chriſtianiſmi.

Maieſtas.

HIc autem Imperator quando ſublimatus eſt in regnum, videbatur eſſe circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat ſtaturæ, prudens valde, nimis aſtutus multumq; ſerioſus, & grauis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, ſicut dicebant Chriſtiani, qui cum ipſo morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis aſſerendo firmiter Chriſtiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Chriſtianus. Cuius ſignum erat, quod ipſe Clericos Chriſtianos tenebat, & expenſas eis dabat. Habebat etiam ſemper capellam Chriſtianorum ante maius tentorium ſuum, vbi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulſant ad horas, vt cęteri Chriſtiani ſecundùm mores Gręcorum, quantacunq; ſit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alij Duces ipſorum. Eſt autem mos Imperatoris ipſius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantumcunq;

tumcunq; magnus ſit, ſed audit & reſpondet per interpoſitam perſonam, & quandocunq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris reſponſionem audiunt illi, qui ſub eo ſunt, quantumcunq; ſint magni, flexis genibus vſq; ad finem verborum perſiſtunt. Nec alicui de conſuetudine ſuper aliquo negotio loqui licitum eſt, poſtquam ab Imperatore definitum eſt. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atq; ſcriptores, omneſq; officiales in negotijs tam publicis quàm priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam ſine litium vel iudiciorum ſtrepitu ſecundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuerſi, quia nobis tunc exiſtentibus in ſolenni curia, iam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus ſuis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Eccleſiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Chriſtianorum & populos Occidentis, niſi fortaſſe, quod abſit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Chriſtianorum populis, videlicet vt ipſi ſubdantur eis. Nam excepta Chriſtianitate, nulla eſt terra in orbe, quam timeant, & idcirco contra nos ad pugnam ſe præparant. Huius ſiquidem Imperatoris pater, ſcilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum eſt ſuprà, eſt, ſibi totum ſubijcere mundum, ſicut à Chingiſcham habent mandatum. Vnde & ipſe Imperator in literis ſuis ita ſcribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In ſuperſcriptione quoque ſigilli eius eſt hoc: Deus in cœlo, & Cuyne Cham ſuper terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris ſigillum.

Poteſtas exlex †.

Bellum in Chriſtianós cogitatum.

† *Contrà Xenophon: δίκαιον ἐστι νόμιμον. Et præclarè Ariſtoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc ſententiam: Qui legem præeſſe vult, is velle videtur Deũ ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adiungit, cùm præſertim tale quid ſit cupiditas & iracundia: & magiſtratus & optimus quiſq, à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ e Chryſippo adducuntur ff. li. 1 tit. 3 l. 2.*

De admiſſione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

IN loco illo, vbi poſitus eſt Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipſo. Cumq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina noſtra ſcripſiſſet, illorúq; à quibus miſſi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum vniuerſitate. Quo facto, flexit vnuſquiſq; noſtrum quater genu ſiniſtrum, & monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorſum. Cumq; pro cultellis nos diligentiſſimè ſcrutati fuiſſent, & nullatenus inueniſſent, intrauimus oſtium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, niſi ſolus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur ſolus, ſi eſt tentorium eius. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in eius præſentia ſuam intrauimus ſtationem, videlicet poſtquam factus eſt Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti ſunt, ſed pauciſſimi tentorium eius intrauerunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipſis nuncijs fuerunt ei præſentata, quòd quaſi videbantur infinita, videlicet in ſamitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac cingulis ſericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cæteriſq; muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, ſiue tentoriolum, quod ſuper caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præſentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnius prouinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis tectos. Similiter ſellæ poſitæ cum inſtrumentis quibuſdam erant, in quibus homines interius ſedere valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos, quoſdam quidem de corio, & quoſdam de ferro. Nos etiam requiſiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: ſed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè noſtra conſumpſeramus. Ibidem longè à ſtationibus ſuper montem erant poſiti currus pluſquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac ſericis veſtibus erant pleni. Cunctiq; inter imperatorem & Duces diuiſi fuerunt, ſinguliq; Duces inter homines ſuos partes ſuas, vt eis placuit, diuiſerunt.

Cuyne audit legatos.

Munera eidem oblata.

Currus Θησαυροφόροι.

De loco diuiſionis Imperatoris & matris ſuæ, & morte Ieroſlai, Ducis Ruſsiæ.

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quod Kitay dederant, erat poſitum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & ſemper cùm intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuiſia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, ſi volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque ſolariolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat poſitus, ex ebore mirabiliter ſculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides precioſi, ſi benè meminimus, & illuc aſcendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum ſuperius, Banci

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium eburneum.

vero erant poſiti in circuitu ſedis, vbi dominæ ſedebant à parte ſiniſtra in ſcamnis, à dextris autem nemo ſedebat ſuperius, ſed Duces ſedebant in Bancis inferius, & hoc in medio. Alij verò ſedebant poſt eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Iſta verò tria tentoria, de quibus ſuprà diximus, erant valdè magna, aliaq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo ſatis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diuiſus eſt à matre ſua, quæ iuit in vnam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta ſiquidem erat amica Imperatoris iſtius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, receſſit. De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, & occiſi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ierozlaus, Dux magnus Soldal, quæ eſt quædam Ruſſiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quaſi pro honore, vt manducaret ac biberet de manu ipſius, in continenti ad hoſpitium eſt reuerſus, infirmatuſq; mortuus eſt poſt ſeptem dies, totúmque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum eſt, dicebaturq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè poſſiderent, fuiſſet impotionatus.

Nex Occoday vindicata. Ieroslaus Dux Ruſſię.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, *literas dederunt & acceperunt.* Cap. 31.

Cuyne cum legatis diſſimulanter agit.

Coſmas Ruſſus.

Chingay internuncius.

Prudens de literis conſilium.

DEniq; Tartari noſtri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audiſſet per illos, nos ad eum veniſſe, iuſſit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim ſecundo die, ſicut ſuperiùs dictum eſt, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reuerſi ſtetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipſum reuerſi ſumus. Cum quo benè per menſem fuimus in tanta fame ac ſiti, quòd vix viuere poteramus, Nam expenſæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor dabantur, vix vni ſufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Coſmam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui ſatis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo ſuſtentauit. Et hic nobis oſtendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipſe fecerat, antequam poneretur in ſede, & ſigillum eiuſdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipſe. Poſt hoc Imperator pro nobis miſit, nobiſq; per Chingay protonotarium ſuum dici fecit, vt verba noſtra & negotia ſcriberemus, eiq; porrigeremus, Quod & fecimus, Poſt plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum eſſent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui reſpondimus, quòd nullam iſtarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, ſed remoti erant à Domino Papa, Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico ſcriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera noſtra diligenter ſcriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus, Tunc à nobis receſſerunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati, Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, pluresq; ſcriptores ad nos venerunt, nobiſq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera ſcripſiſſemus, faciebant ſibi per ſingulas orationes interpretari, volentes ſcire, ſi nos in aliquo verbo erraremus, Cùm igitur ambæ literæ fuiſſent ſcriptæ, fecerunt nos ſemel ac ſecundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus, Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis, Literas etiam in Sarracenico ſcripſerunt, vt aliquis in partibus noſtris inueniri poſſet, qui eas, ſi opus eſſet, legeret.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

Legati abhorrent à Tartarorum ad Chriſtianos legatione.

VT autem nobis Tartari noſtri dixerunt, propoſuit Imperator nuncios ſuos nobiſcum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm vnus de Tartaris noſtris, qui ſenior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, nequaquam bonum videbatur, Ideoq; reſpondimus ei, quòd non erat noſtrum petere, ſed ſi ſponte ipſe Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos ſecurè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante, Nobis autem ob plures cauſas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne viſis diſſentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim noſtræ arrogantes ſunt & ſuperbæ. Vnde quando ſeruientes, qui ſtant nobiſcum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati ſcilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipſum, in via ferè lapidati ſunt à Teutonicis, & coacti ſunt deponere habitum illum. Conſuetudo autem eſt Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, niſi ſumant de ipſis vltionem, Quarta etiã cauſa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi.

Quinta verò cauſa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cum nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel poteſtatem, niſi quód literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipſi nos habebamus; & malum ex eorum aduentu poſſe contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die poſt hoc, ſcilicet in feſto beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literam, Imperatoris ſigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipſius Imperatoris matrem, quę vnicuiq; noſtrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari noſtri furati ſunt ex vnaquaq; vnum paſſum. De illa quoq;, quæ dabatur ſeruienti, meliorem medietatem ſunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, ſed inde verba mouere noluimus.

Nouemb. 13. Honorantur cõmeatu & lautijs.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, iacentes in deſertis ſæpiùs in niue, niſi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, ſed planus campus. Et ſæpe manè nos inueniebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vſq; ad Aſcenſionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid reſponderet Domino Papæ, dixit ſe nolle aliud, niſi quod Imperator diligenter ſcripſerat, demandare. Datiſq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo receſſimus, & ſabbatho infra octauas Pentecoſtes vſq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant ſocij noſtri, ac ſeruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vſq; Correnſam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vſque ad Kiouiam Ruſſiæ. Tartarus tamen noſter non dimiſit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum cuſtodiam. Iſti verò alij, qui nobis à Correnſa dati ſunt, in ſex diebus ab vltima cuſtodia vſq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante feſtum Beati Iohannis Baptiſtę xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouienſes aduentum noſtrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte ſuſcitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Ruſſiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam. Daniel & Waſilico frater eius feſtum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem noſtram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medioq; tempore inter ſe & cum Epiſcopis, cæteriſq; probis viris, ſuper his, quæ locuti fueramus eiſdem, in proceſſu noſtro ad Tartaros conſilium habentes, reſponderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in ſpecialem Dominum, & in patrem, ſanctam quoq; Romanam Eccleſiam in dominam & magiſtram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem ſuum tranſmiſerant. Et ſuper hoc etiam nobiſcum ad Dominum Papam nuncios ſuos & literas tranſmiſerunt.

Difficilis legatorum reditus.

Bathy.

Correnſa.

Iunij 8. Gratulationes reducibus factæ.

Baſilius & Daniel Principes.

Ruſſi agnoſcunt primatum Papæ.

The voyage of *Iohannes de Plano Carpini* vnto the Northeaſt parts of the world, in the yeere of our *Lord, 1246.*

Of the firſt ſending of certaine Friers Prędicants and Minorites *vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of* Vincentius Beluacenſis *his* Speculum Hiſtoriale: *beginning at the ſecond Chapter.*

ABout this time alſo, Pope Innocentius the fourth ſent Frier Aſcelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the ſame authoritie whereunto they were called) conſorted with him out of diuers Couents of their order, with letters Apoſtolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie ſlaughter of mankinde, and to receiue the Chriſtian faith. And I, in verie deede, receiued the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inſerted into this my worke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon de Sanct. Quintin, who lately returned from the ſame voyage. And at that verie time alſo, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namely Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, ſent with certaine aſſociates vnto the Tartars, who likewiſe (as himſelfe witneſſeth) abode and conuerſed with them a yeere and three moneths at the leaſt. For both he & one Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the ſame order, and a partaker of all his miſerie and tribulation, receiued ſtraight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them ſhould diligently ſearche out all things that concerned the ſtate of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a litle Hiſtorie (which is come to our hands) of ſuch things, as with his owne eyes hee ſawe

Aſcellinus.

Simon Quintinianus.
Iohn de plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

among the Tartars, or which he heard from diuers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captiuitie. Out of which hiſtorie I thought good by way of concluſion, to inſert ſomewhat for the ſupply of thoſe things which are wanting in the ſaid Frier Simon.

Of the ſituation and qualitie of the Tartars land, By *Iohannes de Plano Carpini*. Chap.3.

A deſcription of Tartaria.

The North Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

What Orda ſignifieth.

There is towards the Eaſt a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be moſt North Eaſterly. On the Eaſt part it hath the countrey of Kythay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South eaſt the land of the Huini: and on the Weſt the prouince of Naimani: but on the North ſide it is inuironed with the Ocean Sea. In ſome part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and ſmoothe grounde, but euerie where ſandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite vnleſſe it be moiſtened with riuer waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Whereupon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is ſaid to be a proper towne. We our ſelues ſawe not this towne, but were almoſt within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foreſaid lande is otherwiſe vnfruitfull, yet is it very commodious for the bringing vp of cattell. In certaine places thereof are ſome ſmall ſtore of trees growing, but otherwiſe it is altogether deſtitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themſelues, and dreſſe their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horſes. The ayre alſo in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midſt of Sommer there be great thunders and lightnings, by the which many men are ſlaine, and at the ſame time there falleth great abundance of ſnowe. There bee alſo ſuch mightie tempeſtes of colde windes, that ſometimes men are not able to ſitte on horſebacke. Whereupon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were conſtrained to lye groueling on the earth, and could not ſee by reaſon of the duſt. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in ſo little quantitie, that ſometimes it ſcarcely ſufficeth to allay the duſt, or to moyſten the rootes of the graſſe. There is often times great ſtore of haile alſo. Inſomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my ſelfe being then preſent) there fell ſuch abundance of haile, that, vpon the ſudden melting thereof, more then 160. perſons were drowned in the ſame place: there were manie tentes and other thinges alſo caried away. Likewiſe, in the Sommer ſeaſon there is on the ſudden extreame heate, and ſuddenly againe intollerable colde.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of liuing. *Chap.4.*

The ſhape of the Tartars.

Their habite.

Like vnto Frobiſhers men.

Their tabernacles.

Their cattell.

Their victuals.

The Mongals or Tartars, in outward ſhape, are vnlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and ſmall noſes, litle eyes, and eye liddes ſtanding ſtreight vpright, they are ſhauen on the crownes like prieſts. They weare their haire ſomewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They haue ſhort feet alſo. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one faſhion. They vſe neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Iackets framed after a ſtrange manner, of buckeram, ſkarlet, or Baldakines. Their ſhoubes or gownes are hayrie on the outſide, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They vſe not to waſhe their garments, neither will in any wiſe ſuffer them to bee waſhed, eſpecially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and ſtaues in manner of a tent. But in the middeſt of the toppes thereof, they haue a window open to conuey the light in and the ſmoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middeſt. Their walles bee couered with felt. Their doores are made of felte alſo. Some of theſe Tabernacles may quickely be taken aſunder, and ſet together againe, and are caried vpon beaſtes backes. Other ſome cannot be taken inſunder, but are ſtowed vpon carts. And whitherſoeuer they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they tranſport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, ſheep, and goats. And I thinke they haue more horſes and mares then all the world beſides. But they haue no kine nor other beaſts. Their Emperors, Dukes, & other of their nobles doe abound with ſilk, gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. Their victuals are al things that may be eaten: for we ſaw ſome of them eat lice.

They drinke milke in great quantitie, but eſpecially mares milke, if they haue it: They ſeeth Mill alſo in water, making it ſo thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and ſometime they eate nought elſe all the day long. But in the euening each man hath a little fleſh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in ſummer time, when they haue mares milke enough, they ſeldome eate fleſh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take ſome beaſt or bird in hunting.

Of their manners both good and bad. *Chap. 5.*

Their manners are partly prayſe-worthie, and partly deteſtable: For they are more obedient vnto their lords and maſters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They ſeldome or neuer fall out among themſelues, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manſlaughters, they neuer happen among them. There are neither theeues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that haue any treaſures are not ſtrengthened with lockes or barres. If any beaſt goe aſtray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the ſame purpoſe, at whoſe handes the owner of the ſaid beaſt demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiueth it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and beſtoweth banquets very familiarly and liberallie, notwithſtanding that good victuals are daintie and ſcarce among them. They are alſo very hardie, and when they haue faſted a day or two without any maner of ſuſtenance, they ſing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they vſe commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them deſpiſeth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conueniently he can. Their women are chaſte, neither is there ſo much as a word vttered concerning their diſhoneſtie. Some of them will notwithſtanding ſpeake filthy and immodeſt words. But towards other people, the ſaid Tartars be moſt inſolent, and they ſcorne and ſet nought by all other noble and and ignoble perſons whatſoeuer. For we ſaw in the Emperours court the great duke of Ruſſia, the kings ſonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and eſtimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars aſſigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer ſo baſe, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and ſometimes would conſtraine them to ſit behinde their backes. Moreouer they are angrie and of a diſdainefull nature vnto other people, and beyond all meaſure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They ſpeake fayre in the beginning, but in concluſion, they ſting like ſcorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falſhood, circumuenting all men whom they are able, by their ſleights. Whatſoeuer miſchiefe they entend to practiſe againſt a man, they keepe it wonderfully ſecrete, ſo that he may by no meanes prouide for himſelfe, nor find a remedie againſt their conſpiracies. They are vnmanerly alſo and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his ſtomacke can well beare, hee caſteth it vp and falles to drinking againe. They are moſt intollerable exacters, moſt couetous poſſeſſours, and moſt nigardly giuers. The ſlaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Their obediēce.

Their abſtinence.

Their courteſie.

Their chaſtity.

Their inſolencie againſt ſtrangers.

Of their lawes and cuſtomes. *Chap 6.*

Moreouer, they haue this law or cuſtome, that whatſoeuer man or woman be manifeſtly taken in adulterie, they are puniſhed with death. A virgine likewiſe that hath committed fornication, they ſlay together with her mate. Whoſoeuer be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Alſo, if any man diſcloſe their ſecrets, eſpecially in time of warre, he receiueth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a baſtinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like ſort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their ſuperiours handes, but are puniſhed with grieuous ſtripes. They are ioyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinſfolkes except their mother, daughter and ſiſter by the mothers ſide. For they vſe to marrie their ſiſter by the fathers ſide onely, and alſo the wife of their father after his deceaſe. The yonger brother alſo, or ſome other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceaſed. For, at the time of our abode in the countrey, a certaine duke of Ruſſia named Andreas, was accuſed before duke Baty for conueying the Tartars horſes out of the land, and for ſelling them to others: and although it could not be prooued, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceaſed hearing this, came & made their ſupplication vnto the forenamed duke,

Puniſhments of adulterie.

Of theft.

Of ſecrets diſcloſed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

Andreas duke of Ruſſia.

that the dukedome of Ruſſia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceaſed brothers wife, and the woman alſo to take him vnto her huſband, according to the cuſtome of the Tartars. She anſwered, that ſhe had rather die, then ſo haynouſly tranſgreſſe the law. Howbeit, hee deliuered her vnto him, although they both refuſed as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they conſtrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit inceſt with his brothers wife. To be ſhort, after the death of their huſbands, the Tartars wiues vſe very ſeldome to marrie the ſecond time, vnleſſe perhaps ſome man takes his brothers wife or his ſtepmother in mariage. They make no difference betweene the ſonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaſeth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two ſonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other Dauid, borne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his baſe ſonne. Hereupon Melich (vnto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, becauſe it was gouerned before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, Dauid alſo hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the ſonne of the harlot made ſuite, that he might haue iuſtice, according to the cuſtome of the Tartars. Well, ſentence paſſed againſt Melich, that Dauid being his elder brother, ſhould haue ſuperioritie ouer him, and ſhould quietly and peaceably poſſeſſe the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whenſoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her ſelfe. And ſometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and ſometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the reſt, with whom hee is oftener conuerſant, then with the other. And notwithſtanding (as it hath bin ſaid) they are many, yet do they ſeldome fal out among themſelues.

Melich & Dauid two brothers.

Of their ſuperſtitious traditions. *Chap. 7.*

Ridiculous traditions.

BUt by reaſon of certain traditions, which either they or their predeceſſors haue deuiſed, they accompt ſome things indifferent to be faults. One is to thruſt a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take fleſh out of the cauldrō, or to hewe with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, wherewith they beate their horſes: for they ride not with ſpurs. Alſo, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to ſtrike an horſe with ẏ raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone againſt another. Alſo, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground, or to make water within their tabernacle: which whoſoeuer doth willingly, he is ſlaine, but otherwiſe he muſt pay a great ſumme of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewiſe muſt cauſe the tabernacle with all things therein, to paſſe betweene two fiers. Before it be on this wiſe purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing thereout. Beſides, if any man hath a morſell giuen him, which he is not able to ſwallow, and for that cauſe caſteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and ſlaine without all compaſſion. Likewiſe, whoſoeuer treads vpon the threſhold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many other things there be, like vnto theſe, which they take for heinous offences. But to ſlay men, to inuade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to tranſgreſſe the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlaſting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they ſhall liue in another world, that they ſhall multiply their cattell, that they ſhal eate and drinke and doe other things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterpriſes that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worſhip it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles muſt be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wiſe, They kindle two fires, and pitch two Iauelines into the ground neere vnto the ſaid fires, binding a corde to the tops of the Iauelines. And about the corde they tye certaine iagges of buckram, vnder which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beaſtes, and tabernacles do paſſe. There ſtand two women alſo, one on the right ſide, and another on the left caſting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be ſlaine by lightening, all that dwell in the ſame tabernacle with him muſt paſſe by fire in maner aforeſaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their feltes and garments, and whatſoeuer ſuch things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to bee ſhort, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambaſſadours, princes, or other perſonages whatſoeuer come vnto them, they and their giftes muſt paſſe betweene two fires to be purified, leſt perauenture they haue practiſed ſome witchcraft, or haue brought ſome poyſon or other miſchiefe with them.

The Tartars worſhip the moone.

Their cuſtome of purifying.

Of

Of the beginning of their empire or gouernment. *Chap. 7.*

THe Eaſt countrie, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure ſortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The ſecond company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themſelues Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All theſe people had one and the ſame perſon, attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to ſteale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himſelfe. Alſo hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe miſchiefe. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and ſlewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, ſubdued them vnto himſelfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he vſed their helpe to fight againſt the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom alſo hee vanquiſhed in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought againſt the Metrites, and conquered them alſo. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly diſdeined thereat. For they had a mighty & puiſſant Emperour, vnto whom all the foreſaid nations payed tribute. Whoſe ſonnes, when he was dead, ſucceeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and fooliſh, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themſelues. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforeſaid, they neuertheleſſe inuaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the ſword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence of, gathered all his ſubiects together. The Naimani alſo, and the people called Karakitay aſſembled and banded themſelues at a certaine ſtraight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquiſhed by the Mongals. And being thus vanquiſhed, they were, the greater part of them, ſlaine; and others, which could not eſcape, were carried into captiuitie. In the land of the foreſayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the ſonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South ſide, there is an huge deſert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot ſpeake at all, and are deſtitute of ioynts in their legges, ſo that if they fall, they cannot riſe alone by themſelues. Howbeit, they are of diſcretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themſelues, and which they holde againſt the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars purſuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye ſtrongly before them.

The people of Tartaria.

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The diſcord of brethren.

Occoday Cham.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. *Chap. 9.*

BUt the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themſelues to battell againſt the * Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, ſet forward againſt them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were ouercome, and all their nobles in the armie, except ſeuen, were ſlaine. And for this cauſe, when they, purpoſing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be ſlaine, they doe, to this day, anſwere: in old time alſo our whole number beſides being ſlaine, we remayned but ſeuen of vs aliue, and yet notwithſtanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt vs with ſuch brags. But Chingis and the reſidue that remained aliue, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a little, he prepared himſelfe to warre, and went forth againſt the people called Huyri: Theſe men were Chriſtians of the ſect of Neſtorius. And theſe alſo the Mongals ouercame, and receiued letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched againſt the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and againſt the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquiſhed. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himſelfe. Afterward, aſſembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord againſt the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and ſhut vp their Emperour into his greateſt citie: which citie they had ſo long time beſieged, that they began to want neceſſary prouiſion for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his ſouldiers, that they ſhould eate euery tenth man of the companie.

Haython & Paulus Venetus call them * Cathayans.

New victories

Letters.

But

Siluer caſt at the enemie in ſtead of ſtones.

Chingis Cham proclaimed Emperour.

Part of Cathay in the ſea.

The letters, & the religion of the Cathayans.

Their excellent workmanſhip.

But they of the citie fought manfully againſt them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when ſtones wanted they threw ſiluer, and eſpecially melted ſiluer: for the ſame citie abounded with great riches. Alſo, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middeſt of the citie, and there iſſuing foorth they fought againſt the citizens, and the remnant alſo without the walles fought in like manner. At laſt, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the ſworde, they tooke poſſeſſion thereof and conueighed away the golde, ſiluer, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the firſt time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquiſhed, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But ſome parte of the countrey, becauſe it lyeth within the ſea, they could by no meanes conquere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a ſpeciall kinde of writing by themſelues, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Teſtament. They haue alſo recorded in hyſtories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houſes made after the manner of our Churches, which in thoſe dayes they greatly reſorted vnto. They ſay that they haue diuers Saints alſo, and they worſhip one God. They adore and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lorde, and beleeue the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe alſo honourably eſteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Chriſtians, and beſtowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the diſpoſition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practiſe, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, ſilke, and other commodities.

Of their warre againſt *India maior* and *minor.* *Chap.10.*

Thoſſut Can ſon of Chingis.

India minor ſubdued.

The ſtratagem of the king of India.

AND when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while reſted themſelues after the foreſayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour ſent one of his ſonnes named Thoſſut (whom alſo they called Can, that is to ſay, Emperour) with an armie againſt the people of Comania, whom he vanquiſhed with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne countrey. But he ſent his other ſonne with an armie againſt the Indians, who alſo ſubdued India minor. Theſe Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are alſo called Æthiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight againſt Chriſtians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his ſouldiers together, and came foorth againſt them. And making mens images of copper, he ſet each of them vpon a ſaddle on horſebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horſe backe behinde euery image. And ſo with many horſes and images in ſuch ſorte furniſhed, they marched on to fight againſt the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare vnto the place of the battell, they firſt of all ſent thoſe horſes in order one after another. But the men that ſate behind laide I wote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew ſtrongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that the men and the horſes were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with ſmoake. Then the Indians caſt dartes vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and ſlain. And ſo they expelled them out of their dominions with great confuſion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe.

How being repelled by monſtrous men ſhapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of *Burithabeth.* *Chap.11.*

A ſtrange report of certain mõſtrous women and dogs.

BUt returning through the deſerts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherein (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Ruſſia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by ſtrong and ſtedfaſt affirmation) they found certaine monſters reſembling women: who being aſked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they anſwered, that whatſoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the ſhape of mankinde, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the ſaid dogges on the other ſide of the riuer. And in the midſt of ſharpe winter, they caſt themſelues into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the duſt vpon the maine land, and ſo the duſt being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and hauing often times ſo done, the ice being ſtrongly frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight againſt the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or ſhot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe, as if they had lighted vpon ſtones. And the reſt of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an aſſault vpon the Tartars, and wounding ſome of them with their teeth, and ſlaying others, at length they draue them out of their countries. And thereupon they haue a Prouerbe of the ſame matter, as yet riſe among them, which they ſpeake in ieſting ſorte one to another; My father or my brother was ſlaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in trauelling homewardes, the ſayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. Theſe people haue a ſtrange or rather a miſerable kinde of cuſtome. For when anie mans father deceaſeth, he aſſembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. Theſe men haue no beards at all, for we ſaw them carie a certaine iron inſtrument in their handes, wherewith, if any haires growe vpon their chinne, they preſently plucke them out. They are alſo very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home.

The region of Burithabeth.

The manners of the people.

How they had the repulſe at the *Caſpian* mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues. *Chap.* 12.

Another expedition of Chingis.

Moreouer Chingis Cham, at the ſame time when he ſent other armies againſt the Eaſt, hee himſelfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithſtanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caſpian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themſelues, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within thoſe Caſpian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyſe of the armie, made a breach through, ſo that when the Tartars returned vnto the ſame place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there ſtood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to paſſe, being depriued of their ſight ſo ſoone as they approched thereunto. But they on the contrary ſide thinking that the Tartars durſt not come nigh them, gaue the aſſault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cauſe aforeſaid. Alſo the Tartars, before they came vnto the ſaid mountaines, paſſed for the ſpace of a moneth and more, through a vaſt wildernes, & departing thence towards the Eaſt, they were aboue a moneth trauelling through another huge deſert. At length, they came vnto a land wherin they ſaw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the laſt, diligently ſeeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they preſented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they anſwered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping ſtill the woman, ſent her huſband vnto thẽ, giuing thẽ charge to come at his command. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they anſwered, that they would vpon ſuch a day viſite him, to ſatiſfie his deſire. And in the meane ſeaſon, by blinde & hidden paſſages vnder the earth, aſſembling themſelues, they came againſt the Tartars in warlike manner, and ſuddenly iſſuing forth, they ſlewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noiſe, which in that place the Sunne made at his vpriſing: for at the time of the Sunne riſing, they were inforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to ſtoppe the other cloſe, leaſt they ſhould heare that dreadfull ſound. Neither could they ſo eſcape, for by this meanes many of them were deſtroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, ſeeing that they preuailed not, but continually loſt ſome of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforeſaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite vnder the ground, they ſayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the ſunne riſeth, there is ſuch an huge noyſe, that the people cannot endure it. Moreouer, they vſe to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other muſicall inſtruments, to the ende they may not heare that ſounde.

A fabulous narration of the ſun riſing.

Of the ſtatutes of *Chingis Cham*, of his death, of his ſonnes, and of his dukes. *Chap.* 13.

But as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, & ſuffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found yͤ freſh intrails of a beaſt: which they tooke, & caſting away the dung therof, cauſed it to be ſodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, & did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted; that neither the blood, nor the intrails, nor any other part of a beaſt

The lawe of Chingis.

The death of Chingis.

His ſonnes.

His grandchildren.

The Tartarian dukes.

beaſt which might be eaten, ſhould be caſt away, ſaue onely the dunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordayned lawes and ſtatutes, which the Tartars doe moſt ſtrictly and inuiolably obſerue, of the which we haue before ſpoken. He was afterward ſlaine by a thunderclap. He had foure ſonnes: the firſt was called Occoday, the ſecond Thoſſut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknowen. From theſe foure deſcended all the dukes of the Mongals. The firſt ſonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The ſonnes of Thoſſut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the reſt. But Ordu is the ſeignior of all the dukes. The ſonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The ſonnes of Chingis Cham his other ſonne, whoſe name is vnknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others moſt honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperors mother, and mightier then any ſubiect except Bathy. Theſe be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy alſo & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygat, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the ſea, making war againſt certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Correnſa. There be many other of their dukes, whoſe names are vnknowen vnto vs.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. *Chap.* 14.

The abſolute and lordly dominion of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his ſubiects.

MOreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his ſubiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath aſſigned him to be there. Alſo he himſelfe appointeth to his dukes where they ſhould inhabite. Likewiſe the dukes aſſigne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conducter of a thouſand ſouldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery corporall of ten. Whatſoeuer is giuen them in charge, whenſoeuer, or whereſoeuer, be it to fight or to loſe their liues, or howſoeuer it be, they obey without any gainſaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or ſiſter being a virgine, they preſently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and thoſe whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himſelfe, others he beſtoweth vpon his men. Alſo, whatſoeuer meſſenger he ſendeth, or whitherſoeuer, his ſubiects muſt without delay finde them horſes and other neceſſaries. In like ſorte, from what countrey ſoeuer tribute payers, or ambaſſadours come vnto him, they muſt haue horſes, carriages, and expenſes allowed them. Notwithſtanding ambaſſadours comming from other places do ſuffer great miſery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: eſpecially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are conſtrayned to make ſome lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed ſo little ſuſtenance, that ſcarcely two could liue thereof. Likewiſe, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts alſo are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not beſtow, they are baſely eſteemed, and ſet at nought. And hereupon, wee were of neceſſitie enforced to beſtowe in giftes a great part of thoſe things which were giuen vs by well diſpoſed people, to defray our charges. To be ſhort, all things are ſo in the power and poſſeſſion of the Emperour, that no man dare ſay, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter alſo he publiſhed a ſtatute of late. The very ſame authority and iuriſdiction, doe the dukes in like ſorte exerciſe vpon their ſubiects.

Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambaſſadours

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. *Chap.* 15.

Occoday ſucceedeth his father.

The expeditiō of Bathy.

The citie of Barchin.

AFter the death of Chingis Cham aforeſayd, the dukes aſſembled themſelues and choſe Occoday his ſonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into conſultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and ſent duke Bathy his nephew againſt the countrie of Altiſoldan, and againſt the people called Biſermini, who were Saracens, but ſpake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and ſubdued them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin reſiſted them a long time. For the citizens had caſt vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the ſaid ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came foorth to meete them, yeelding themſelues vnto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not deſtroyed, but they ſlue manie of them and others they carried away captiue, and taking ſpoyles, they filled the citie with other inhabitants, and ſo marched foorth againſt the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Chriſtians therein, as namely Gaſarians, Ruſſians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens alſo. The gouernment of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It ſtandeth vpon a mighty riuer, and is a kinde of porte towne, hauing a great marte exerciſed therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwiſe ouercome it, they turned the ſaid riuer, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and ſo drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they ſet forward againſt Ruſſia, and made foule hauocke there, deſtroying cities and caſtles and murthering the people. They layd ſiege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Ruſſia, and at length they tooke it and ſlue the citizens. Whereupon, trauelling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens ſkulles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a maner brought to nothing: for there doe ſcarce remaine 200. houſes, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreouer, out of Ruſſia and Comania, they proceeded forward againſt the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were ſlaine, as is aforeſaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withſtood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driuen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched againſt the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, & vtterly waſted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North againſt the people called Baſtarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them alſo. And ſo going on further North, they came vnto the Paroſſitæ, who hauing little ſtomacks and ſmall mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but ſeething fleſh they ſtand or ſitte ouer the potte, and receiuing the ſteame or ſmoke thereof, are therewith onely nouriſhed, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogetæ, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vſe to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beaſtes ſkinnes. From thence they proceeded vnto a countrey lying vpon the Ocean ſea, where they found certaine monſters, who in all things reſembled the ſhape of men, ſauing that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They ſpake, as it were, two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there ſome of them remaine vnto this day.

Orna.

The Morduans.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitæ.

Samogetæ.

The North ocean.

Northerne monſters.

Of the expedition of duke *Cyrpodan*. *Chap.* 16.

AT the ſame time Occoday Can ſent duke Cyrpodan with an armie againſt Kergis, who alſo ſubdued them in battell. Theſe men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a cuſtome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward againſt the Armenians. And trauailing through certain deſert places, they found monſters in the ſhape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midſt of their breaſt, and but one foote. Two of them vſed to ſhoote in one bowe, and they ran ſo ſwiftly, that horſes could not ouertake them. They ran alſo vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of ſuch walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themſelues round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of ſo doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Iſidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told vs in court, by the clergie men of Ruſſia, who remaine with the foreſayd Emperour, many ambaſſadours were ſent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part alſo of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their iuriſdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called Yperpera. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puiſſant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom alſo they vanquiſhed in fight. And to be ſhort, they went on farther ſacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they haue ſubdued that land alſo, determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewiſe the ſame armie marched forward againſt the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they ſubdued alſo, & exacted at his handes the daylie tribute of 400. Byzantines, beſides Baldakines and other giftes. Alſo euery yeare they ſend meſſengers vnto the Caliph mouing him to come vnto them. Who ſending backe great giftes together with his tribute beſeecheth thē to be fauourable vnto him. Howbeit the Tartarian Emperour receiueth al his giftes, & yet ſtill neuertheles ſends for him, to haue him come,

Kergis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia conquered.

The Soldan of Aleppo his land.

The Caliph of Baldach.

How the *Tartars* behaue themſelues in warre. *Chap.* 17.

The military diſcipline of the Tartars.

Their weapōs

Their experience & cunning in warres.

Their maner of paſſing ouer riuers.

CHingis Cham diuided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Millenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithſtanding ouer one whole armie he authoriſed two or three dukes, but yet ſo that all ſhould haue eſpeciall regard vnto one of the ſaid dukes. And when they ioine battel againſt any other nation, vnles they do all with one conſent giue backe, euery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the reſidue of thoſe ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner ſlaine. Alſo, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they reſcue thē not, are puniſhed with death. Moreouer they are enioined to haue theſe weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the leaſt, three quiuers full of arrowes, & one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer ſort haue ſingle edged ſwords, with ſharpe points, and ſomewhat crooked. They haue alſo armed horſes with their ſhoulders and breaſts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackes, and caparisons for their horſes made of leather artificially doubled or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or ſteele, but that part which compaſſeth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit ſome of them haue all their foreſaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in euery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three ſtrong and ſtreight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, aſcending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the ſaid thongs, with other ſmall and ſlender thongs, drawen through the holes aforeſayd, and in the vpper part, on each ſide therof, they faſten one ſmall doubled thong vnto another, that the plates may firmely be knit together. Theſe they make, as well for their horſes caparisons, as for the armour of their men: And they ſkowre them ſo bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their ſaddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly ſharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged ſworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiuers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of ſmall roddes. Howbeit they doe not (as we ſuppoſe) accuſtome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night ſeaſon. They are moſt politique in warres, hauing bene exerciſed therein with other nations for the ſpace of theſe 42. yeres. When they come at any riuers, the chiefe men of the company haue a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purſe, and ſo bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other neceſſaries, truſſing it vp moſt ſtrongly. But vpon the midſt of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their ſaddles and other hard things, there alſo doe the men themſelues ſit. This their boate they tye vnto an horſe tayle, cauſing a man to ſwimme before, & to guide ouer the horſe, or ſometime they haue two oares to row themſelues ouer. The firſt horſe therefore being driuen into the water, all the other horſes of the company followe him, and ſo they paſſe through the riuer. But the poorer ſort of common ſouldiers haue euery man his leather bag or ſachell well ſowen together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and ſtrongly truſſing it vp hangs it at his horſes tayle, and ſo paſſeth ouer, in maner aforeſaid.

Howe they may be reſiſted. *Chap.* 18.

Counſel how to wage warre againſt the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron or ſteele.

I Deeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to reſiſt them: becauſe they vſe to take vp ſouldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if ſo be the neighbour prouince which they inuade, wil not aide them, vtterly waſting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight againſt another countrey. And placing their captiues in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiouſly, they put them to the ſworde. Wherefore, if Chriſtians would withſtande them, it is expedient, that the prouinces and gouernours of countreis ſhould agree in one, and ſo by common counſell, ſhould giue them reſiſtance. Their ſouldiers alſo muſt be furniſhed with ſtrong hand-bowes & croſ-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with ſufficiēt arrowes, with maces alſo of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or ſtaffe. When they make their arrow heads, they muſt (according to yͤ Tartars cuſtome) dip thē red-hot into water mingled with ſalte, that they may be ſtrong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may haue ſwords alſo & lances with hookes at the ends, to pull thē from their ſaddles, out of which they are eaſilie remoued. They muſt haue helmets likewiſe & other armour to defend thēſelues & their horſes frō the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are vnarmed, muſt (according to yͤ Tartars cuſtome) march behinde their fellowes, and diſcharge at the enemie with long bowes and croſ-bowes. And (as it is aboue ſaid of the Tartars) they muſt orderly diſpoſe their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their ſouldiers. Whoſoeuer runneth to the pray or ſpoyle, before the victorie be atchieued, muſt vndergoe a moſt ſeuere puniſhment. For ſuch a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel muſt be choſen, if it be poſſible, in a plaine fielde, where they may ſee round about, neither muſt all be in one company, but in manie and ſeuerall bandes, not very farre diſtant one from another. They which giue the firſt encounter muſt ſende one band before, and muſt haue another in a readyneſſe to relieue and ſecond the former in time conuenient. They muſt haue ſpies alſo on euery ſide to giue them notice when the reſt of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to ſend forth band againſt band & troupe againſt troupe, becauſe the Tartar euer practiſeth to gette his enemie in the midſt and ſo to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caueat alſo, if the enemie retire, not to make any long purſuit after him, leſt perauenture (according to his cuſtome) he might draw them into ſome ſecret ambuſh: for the Tartar fights more by policie then by maine force. And againe, leſt our horſes bee tired: for we are not ſo well ſtored with horſes as they. Thoſe horſes which the Tartars vſe one day, they ride not vpon three or foure dayes after. Moreouer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men muſt not therefore depart and caſſeir their bandes, or ſeparate themſelues aſunder: becauſe they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more ſecurely inuade and waſte the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all aſſayes, to bee prouided for battell. For the Tartars like diuels are alwaies watching and deuiſing howe to practiſe miſchiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be caſt off their horſe backes, they muſt preſently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they ſhoote ſtrongly, wounding and killing both horſes and men.

Of the iourney of frier * *Iohn* vnto the firſt guard of the *Tartars*, *Chap.* 19.

*Iohannes de plano Carpini.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the ſea apoſtolique ſetting foorth towards the nations of the Eaſt, choſe firſt to trauel vnto the Tartars, becauſe we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuaſions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduiſed vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Ruſſia. For we had kinſfolkes in Polonia, by whoſe aſſiſtance, we might enter into Ruſſia. Hauing giuen vs his letters, hee cauſed our charges alſo to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houſes and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Boleſlaus duke of Sleſia, who alſo was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he ſhewed vs alſo, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of * Lautiſcia, vnto whome then (by Gods eſpeciall fauour towards vs) lord Waſilico duke of Ruſſia was come, from whoſe mouth we heard more at large cõcerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had ſent ambaſſadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderſtand, that we muſt beſtow giftes vpon them, we cauſed certaine ſkinnes of beuers and other beaſtes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to ſuccour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the *duches of Cracow, and a biſhop, and certaine ſouldiers being aduertiſed of, gaue vs likewiſe more of the ſame ſkins. And to be ſhort, duke Waſilico being earneſtly requeſted by the duke of Cracow, and by the biſhop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, enterteined vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refreſh our ſelues a while. And when, being requeſted by vs, he had cauſed his biſhops to reſort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admoniſhing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the ſame purpoſe alſo, we our ſelues admoniſhed them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the biſhops and others thereunto. Howbeit becauſe duke Daniel the brother of Waſilico aforeſaid (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Baty) was abſent, they could not at that time, make a finall anſwere. After theſe things duke Waſilico ſent vs forward with one of his ſeruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Ruſſia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reaſon of the Lituanians, who did often inuade yͤ borders of Ruſſia, euen in thoſe verie places by which we were to paſſe. But in regard of the foreſayd ſeruant, wee were out of the Ruſſians daunger, the greateſt part of whome were either ſlaine, or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon wee were feeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithſtanding wee cauſed our ſelues to bee carried in a waggon through the ſnowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee conſulted with the Millenary, & other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee

The iourney of frier Iohn & his fellow legates.

Boleſlaus duke of Sileſia.

*Mazouia.

*Grimiſlaua.

Daniel brother vnto Waſilico,

The Lituanians

The fodder of the Tartarian horſes.

Michæas the malicious.

carried thoſe horſes, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great ſtore of ſnowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: be cauſe they knew not howe to digge vp the graſſe vnder the ſnow, as the Tartarian horſes doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor ſtrawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two ſeruants appointed to keepe them. And wee were conſtrayned to beſtow gifts vpon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poſte horſes and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the ſecond daye after the feaſt of the Purification, wee arriued at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horſes and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and deſpight. Who notwithſtanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the firſt guarde of the Tartars.

How he and his company were at the firſt receiued of the *Tartars*. *Chap.*20.

The contents of the legacie.

Wherefore, the firſt ſaturday next after Aſhwedneſday, hauing about the Sunnes going downe, taken vp our place of reſt, the armed Tartars came ruſhing vpon vs in vnciuil and horrible maner, being very inquiſitiue of vs what maner of perſons, or of what condition we were: & when we had anſwered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing ſome victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Moreouer in the morning riſing and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demaunding why, or for what intent and purpoſe we came thither?: and what buſines we had with them? Unto whom we anſwered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Chriſtians. He hath ſent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpoſe, becauſe it is his pleaſure, that all Chriſtians ſhould be in league with the Tartars, and ſhould haue peace with them. It is his deſire alſo that they ſhould become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therfore he admoniſheth them aſwel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Chriſtians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, becauſe they could not otherwiſe be ſaued. Moreouer, he giues thē to vnderſtand, that he much marueileth at their mōſtrous ſlaughters & maſſacres of mankind, & eſpecially of Chriſtians, but moſt of al of Hungariās, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being al his ſubiects, hauing not iniuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And becauſe the Lord God is grieuouſly offended thereat, he aduiſeth them from henceforth to beware of ſuch dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requeſteth alſo, that they would write an anſwere vnto him, what they purpoſe to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and vnderſtood, the Tartars ſayd that they would appoint vs poſte horſes and a guide vnto Correnſa. And immediately demanding gifts at our hands, they obtained them. Then receiuing the ſame horſes, from which they diſmounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney vnto Correnſa. But they riding a ſwift pace, ſent a meſſenger before vnto the ſayd duke Correnſa, to ſignifie the meſſage, which we had deliuered vnto them. This duke is gouernour of all them, which lie in guard againſt the natiōs of the West, leaſt ſome enemy might on the ſudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is ſaid to haue 60000. men vnder him.

Correnſa.

The duke of the Weſterne marches.

How they were receiued at the court of *Correnſa*. *Chap.*21.

The maner of ſaluting the Tartarian princes.

Being come therefore vnto his court, hee cauſed our tent to bee placed farre from him, and ſent his agents to demaund of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to ſay, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeiſance vnto him. Unto whome wee anſwered, that our lord the Pope had not ſent any giftes at all, becauſe he was not certaine that wee ſhould euer bee able to come at them: for we paſſed through moſt dangerous places. Notwithſtanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with ſome part of thoſe things, which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, & the fauour of the Pope, beſtowed vpō vs for our ſuſtenance. Hauing receiued our gifts, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were inſtructed to bow thriſe with our left knee before the doore of the tente, and in any caſe to beware, leſt wee ſet our foote vpon the threſhold of the ſayd doore. And that after we were entred, wee ſhould rehearſe before the duke and all his nobles, the ſame wordes, which wee had before ſayde, kneeling vpon our knees. Then preſented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not ſufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other eſteemed to bee meete for the ſame purpoſe. Here certaine poſte horſes and three Tartars were appoynted for vs to conduct vs from hence with al ſpeede vnto duke Bathy. This Bathy is the mightieſt prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the firſt tueſday in Lent, and riding as faſt as our horſes could trot (for we had freſh horſes almoſt thriſe or foure times a day) we poſted from morning till night, yea very often in the night ſeaſon alſo, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thurſday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty riuers running through it: The firſt is called ‡Neper, on the ſide whereof towards Ruſſia, duke Correnſa & Montij marched vp and downe, which Montij on the other ſide vpon the plaines is greater then he. The ſecond is called ‡Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in mariage the ſiſter of Baty, his name is Tirbon. The third is called ‡Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called ‡Iaec, vpon which two Millenaries doe march, on each ſide of the riuer one. All theſe, in the winter time, deſcend down to the ſea, & in ſummer aſcend backe by the bankes of the ſaid riuers vp to the mountains. The ſea laſt named is the ‖Great ſea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Conſtantinople. Theſe riuers do abound with plenty of fiſhes, but eſpecially Volga, & they exonerate thẽſelues into the Grecian ſea, which is called Mare maior. Ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the ſhore alſo of the Grecian ſea we went very dangerouſly vpon the ice in ſundry places, & that for many daies together. For about the ſhore the waters are frozen three leagues into the ſea. But before we came vnto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to giue him intelligence of all the ſayings which we had vttered in the preſence of Correnſa.

Duke Bathy & his power.

‡Boriſthenes.

‡Tanais.

‡Rha.

‡Rhymnus.

‖Pontus Euxinus. He is deceiued, for albeit Neper & Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga & Iaec flowe into the Caſpian ſea.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince *Bathy*. *Chap.22.*

Moreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were ſeated a good league diſtant from his tabernacles. And when we ſhould be conducted vnto his court, it was tolde vs that we muſt paſſe between two fires. But we would by no means be induced thereunto. Howbeit, they ſaid vnto vs: you may paſſe through without al danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cauſe, but only that if you intend any miſchiefe againſt our lord, or bring any poyſon with you, fire may take away all euill. Vnto whom we anſwered, that to the end we might cleare ourſelues from all ſuſpition of any ſuch matter, we were contented to paſſe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what preſent or gift we would do our obeiſance? Wee gaue the ſame anſwere which we did at the court of Correnſa. The gifts being giuen and receiued, the cauſes of our iourney alſo being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, firſt bowing our ſelues at the doore, & being admoniſhed, as before, not to tread vpon the threſhold. And being entred, we ſpake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, & deliuered him our letters, and requeſted him to haue interpreters to tranſlate them. Who accordingly on good friday were ſent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently tranſlated our ſayd letters into the Ruſſian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was preſented vnto Bathy, which he read, & attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a litle Millet in a diſh, the firſt night of our comming. This Bathy caries himſelfe very ſtately & magnificently, hauing porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and ſittes in a lofty ſeate or throne together with one of his wiues. The reſt, namely, as well his brethren and ſonnes, as other great perſonages ſit underneath him in the midſt vpon a bench, and others ſit downe vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth alſo, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent (beſides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer ſo mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleaſure. Wee alſo, for the ſame cauſe, ſate on the left hand; for ſo doe all ambaſſadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middeſt ſtands his table, neare vnto the doore of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and ſiluer veſſels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, eſpecially being in a publique place, but they haue ſinging and minſtrilſie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or ſmall tent caried ouer his head vpon the point of a iaueline. And ſo doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wiues alſo. The ſayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is moſt cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, becauſe he hath now continued a long time in marciall affaires.

A ceremony of paſſing betweene two fires.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaues himſelfe like a king.

Their cuſtome of drinking at the ſound of muſicke.

How departing from *Bathy*, they paſſed through the land of *Comania*, and of the *Kangittæ*. *Chap.* 23.

They trauelled poſt from Eaſter day to the 22. of Iuly Eaſtward of Volga.

A deſcription of Comania.

The North Ocean.

The land of the Kangittæ.

Ieroſlaus duke of Ruſſia.

MOreouer, vpon Eaſter euen we were called vnto the tent, and there came forth to meete vs the foreſaid agent of Bathy, ſaying on his maſters behalfe, that we ſhould go into their land, vnto the Emperor Cuyne, deteining certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would ſend them backe vnto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer vnto him. But being come as farre as duke Montij aforeſaid, there they were kept vntill our returne. Vpon Eaſter day, hauing ſaid our praiers, and taken a ſlender breakfaſt, in the company of two Tartars, which were aſſigned vnto vs by Corenſa we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were ſo feeble in bodie, that we were ſcarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and ſalte. And ſo likewiſe vpon other faſting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but ſnowe melted in a ſkillet. And paſſing through Comania we rode moſt earneſtly, hauing change of horſes fiue times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deſerts, for then we were allowed better and ſtronger horſes, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauailed from the beginning of Lent vntill eight dayes after Eaſter. The land of Comania on the North ſide immediately after Ruſſia, hath the people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Baſtarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next vnto the Baſtarci, the Paroſitæ and the Samogetæ. Next vnto the Samogetæ are thoſe people which are ſayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the deſert ſhores of the Ocean. On the South ſide it hath the Alani, the Circaſſi, the Gazari, Greece and Conſtantinople; alſo the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are ſaid to be Iewes ſhauing their heads all ouer, the landes alſo of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia; of Turkie. On the Weſt ſide it hath Hungaria, and Ruſſia. Alſo Comania is a moſt large and long countrey. The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars ſlewe, ſome notwithſtanding fled from them, and the reſt were ſubdued vnder their bondage. But moſt of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many places hath great ſcarcetie of waters, wherin there are but fewe inhabitants by reaſon of the foreſayd defect of water. For this cauſe diuers of the ſeruants of Ieroſlaus duke of Ruſſia, as they were trauelling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirſt, in that deſert. As before in Comania, ſo likewiſe in this countrey, wee found many ſkulles and bones of dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were traueiling from the eight day after Eaſter vntill Aſcenſion day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the Comanians vſed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon cattell, neither built they any houſes but dwelled in tents. Theſe men alſo haue the Tartars rooted out, and doe poſſeſſe and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, thoſe that remained are reduced into their bondage.

How they came vnto the firſt court of the new Emperour. *Chap.*24.

The land of the Biſermini.

Alti Soldanus.

Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan

The North ocean.

Syban brother vnto Bathy.

The blacke Kythayans.

A ſmall ſea.

Many dayes.

Ordu cap. 13.

MOreouer, out of the land of the Kangittæ, we entered into the countrey of ẏ Biſermini, who ſpeake the language of Comania, but obſerue the law of the Saracens. In this countrey we found innumerable cities with caſtles ruined, & many towns left deſolate. The lord of this country was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was deſtroyed by the Tartars. This country hath moſt huge mountains. On the South ſide it hath Ieruſalem and Baldach, and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adioyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan, the ſonnes of Thyaday, who was the ſonne of Chingis Can. On the North ſide thereof it hath the land of the blacke Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the ſame countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remaineth. Through this countrie we were traueiling from the feaſt of Aſcenſion, vntil eight daies before the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythayans, in which the Emperour built an houſe, where we were called in to drinke. Alſo the Emperours deputy in that place cauſed the chiefe men of the citie and his two ſonnes to daunce before vs. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine ſmall ſea, vpon the ſhore whereof ſtands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time ſuch vehement tempeſts of winds doe iſſue, that trauellers can ſcarcely, and with great danger paſſe by the ſame way. In ſummer time, the noiſe in deede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the ſhores of the foreſaid ſea we trauailed for the ſpace of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many iſlandes, and wee paſſed by leauing it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whome wee ſayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his faher which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there.

For it is a cuſtome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not diſſolued, but alwayes ſome women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are beſtowed, in like ſort as they are giuen vnto their Lords. And ſo at length we arriued at the firſt court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt.

The firſt court of the Emperour.

Howe they came vnto *Cuyne* himſelfe, who was forthwith to be choſen Emperour. *Chap.* 25.

The land of Naymani.

The 22. of July.

BUt becauſe we had not as yet ſeene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit vs into his Orda, but cauſed good attendance and entertainement, after the Tartars faſhion, to be giuen vnto vs in our owne tent, and they cauſed vs to ſtay there, and to refreſh our ſelues with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feaſt day of the ſaide Apoſtles, there fel a mightie ſnowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde meaſure, and there is little plaine ground to bee ſeene. Theſe two nations laſt mentioned vſed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the ſayde Tartars had deſtroyed. Through this countrey wee were trauailing manie dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our trauaile (as wee ſuppoſe) for the ſpace of ſome three weekes, riding alwayes haſtily and with ſpeede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haſte all this way, becauſe our Tartarian guides were ſtraightly commaunded to bring vs vnto the court Imperiall with all ſpeede, which court hath beene theſe many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore riſing early, wee trauailed vntill night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came ſo late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the ſame night, but that which we ſhould haue eaten ouer night, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our horſes, wee ſpared no horſe-fleſhe, but rode ſwiftly and without intermiſſion, as faſt as our horſes could trot.

How *Cuyne* enterteined the Minorite Friers. *Chap.* 26.

The curteſie of Cuyne towards Ambaſſadors.

The tent roial.

A generall aſſemblie.

BUt when wee were come vnto the court of Cuyne, hee cauſed (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenſes neceſſarie to bee prouided for vs. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courteſie, then they did anie other Ambaſſadours. Howbeit wee were not called before his preſence, becauſe hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithſtanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the meſſage which we deliuered, were ſent vnto him by the foreſaid Bathy. And hauing ſtayed there fiue or ſixe dayes, hee ſent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was mainteyned a verie ſolemne and royall court. And being come thither, we ſaw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of ſo great quantitie, that more then two thouſand men might ſtand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks ſet vp, painted with diuers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars aſſigned to attende vpon vs, tooke our iourney thither, and there were all the Dukes aſſembled, eche one of them riding vp and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. The firſt day they were all clad in white, but the ſecond in ſkarlet robes. Then came Cuyne vnto the ſaide tent. Moreouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in moſt rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforeſaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to ſtand, although it ſtood continually open, becauſe none durſt go in or come out the ſame way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there ſtood watchmen, with bowes, ſwords, & arrowes. And whoſoeuer approched vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit aſſigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was ſhot at with arrowes of iron. There were many that to our iudgement, had vpon their bridles, trappers, ſaddles, and ſuch like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foreſaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and conſulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the reſidue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they ſtaied almoſt til noone. Then began they to drink mares milk, & ſo continued drinking til euen tide, and that in ſo great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, becauſe we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great honor. But they compelled vs to drink ſo much, that in regard of our cuſtomary diet, wee coulde by no means endure it. Whereupon, giuing them to vnderſtand,

The banquet of the Nobles.

that

eroſlaus Duke of Suſdal.

Ambaſſadors of ſundry nations.

that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceaſſed to compel vs any more. Without the dore ſtoode Duke Ieroſlaus of Suſdal, in Ruſſia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two ſonnes alſo of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beſide. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were more then 4000. ambaſſadors, partly of ſuch as paide tributes, and ſuch as preſented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themſelues, and ſuch as the Tartars had ſent for, and ſuch as were gouernours of lands. All theſe were placed without the liſts, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almoſt continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroſlaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

How he was exalted to his Empire. *Chap.27.*

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda.

The 15. of Auguſt.

Wollen cloth.

AND to our remembrance, we remained there, about the ſpace of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not publiſhed and proclaimed there. And it was greatly ſuſpected ſo to be, becauſe alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyſe of muſicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, ſo long as he remained abroad: which ſeruice was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foreſaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers ſide, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Aſſumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the ſame time, as is aboue ſaid, the matter was deferred. There was alſo a tent erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto other timber with golden nailes. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth ſpread ouer that, next vnto the ayre. Wee abode there vnto the feaſt of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was aſſembled an huge multitude ſtanding with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them beeing a ſtones caſt diſtant from the reſidue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling vpon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vſed inchantmentes, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to ſome other, woulde not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done ſo a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our ſelues, for wee were none of his ſubiects.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his ſeale. *Chap.28.*

His inclination to Chriſtianitie.

His maieſtie.

Abſolute authoritie.

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, ſeemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty fiue yeeres. He was of a meane ſtature, very wiſe and politike, and paſſing ſerious and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to ſee him laugh or behaue himſelfe lightly, as thoſe Chriſtians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Chriſtians of his familie earneſtly and ſtrongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himſelfe was about to become a Chriſtian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee reteined diuers Cleargie men of the Chriſtians. Hee had likewiſe at all times a Chappell of Chriſtians, neere vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Chriſtians, and according to the cuſtome of the Græcians) doe ſing publiquely and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer ſo great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in preſence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne ſelfe with a ſtranger, though he be neuer ſo great, but heareth and anſweareth by a ſpeaker. And when any of his ſubiects (howe great ſoeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce vnto him, or in hearing his anſweare, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to ſpeake of any affaires, after they haue beene determined of by the Emperour. The ſayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of eſtate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyſe of pleading, or ſentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleaſure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in thoſe things which belong vnto thē. But, be it known vnto al men, that whileſt we remained at the ſaid Emperors court, which hath bin ordained and kept for theſe many yeeres, the ſaide Cuyne being Emperor new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance againſt the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and againſt al

Chriſtian kingdomes and nations of the Weſt, vnleſſe peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condeſcend vnto thoſe things, which he hath inioined vnto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Chriſtiās, namely, that they wil become obedient vnto him. For, except Chriſtendom, there is no land vnder heauē, which they ſtand in feare of, and for that cauſe they prepare themſelues to battel againſt vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poiſoned to death, which is the cauſe why they haue for a ſhort ſpace abſteined from warre. But their intent and purpoſe is (as I haue aboue ſaid) to ſubdue the whole world vnto themſelues, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Alſo, vpon his ſeale, there is this poſie ingrauen: God in heauen, and *Cuyne Can* vpon earth, the power of God: the ſeale of the Emperour of all men.

Warre intended againſt all Chriſtians.

Of the admiſſion of the Friers and Ambaſſadours vnto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

Cuyne heareth the Legates.

IN the ſame place where the Emperour was eſtabliſhed into his throne, we were ſummoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe ſecretary hauing written downe our names, and the names of them that ſent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearſing the ſaid names before the Emperour, and the aſſembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, ech one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, & they gaue vs warning not to touch the threſhold. And after they had ſearched vs moſt diligently for kniues, and could not find any about vs, we entred in at the doore vpon the Eaſt ſide: becauſe no man dare preſume to enter at the Weſt doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, euery Tartarian Duke entreth on the Weſt ſide into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour ſort doe not greatly regard ſuch ceremonies. This therefore was the firſt time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his preſence, after he was created Emperour. Likewiſe all other ambaſſadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were preſented vnto him ſuch abundance of gifts by the ſaide Ambaſſadours, that they ſeemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, ſilke girdles wrought with golde, and coſtly ſkinnes, with other gifts alſo. Likewiſe there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or ſmall tent (which was to bee caried ouer the Emperours head) preſented vnto him, being ſet full of precious ſtones. And a gouernour of one Prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had ſaddles alſo vpon their backs, with certaine other inſtruments, within the which were places for men to ſitte vpon. Alſo they brought many horſes & mules vnto him furniſhed wt trappers and capariſons, ſome being made of leather, and ſome of iron. And we were demanded whether we would beſtow any gifts vpō him or no? But wee were not of abilitie ſo to doe, hauing in a maner ſpent all our prouiſion. There were alſo vpon an hill ſtanding a good diſtance from the tents, more then 500. carts, which were all ful ſiluer and of gold, and ſilke garments. And they were all diuided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke beſtowed vpon his owne followers what pleaſed him.

Gifts preſented vnto him.

500. Carts ful of treaſure.

Of the place where the Emperor and his mother tooke their leaues one of another, and of *Ieroſlaus* Duke of *Ruſsia*. *Chap. 30.*

DEparting thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple, giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that alſo, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, & ſodden fleſh (when we would) to eate. There was alſo a loftie ſtage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiouſly wrought out of iuorie, wherein alſo there was golde and precious ſtones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or ſtaires to aſcend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the ſaide throne, whereon the ladies ſate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon ſtooles, (but none ſate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes ſate vpon benches below, the ſaid throne being in the midſt. Certaine others ſate behinde the Dukes, and euery day there reſorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we ſpake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for ſhe went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iuſtice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poyſoned his father to death, at the ſame time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the ſame cauſe returned home. Moreouer, vpon the foreſaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats ſentence of iudgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the ſame time Ieroſlaus the great Duke of Soldal,

A tent of purple.

A throne of Iuorie.

The death of Occoday reuenged.

Or, Suſdal.

which is a part of Ruſſia, deceaſed. For being (as it were for honours ſake) inuited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediatly after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fel ſicke, and within ſeuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a ſtrange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the ſaid Duke was poiſoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally poſſeſſe his Dukedome.

How the Friers comming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. *Chap. 31.*

Coyne diſſembleth with the Legates.

TO be ſhort, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, cõmanded that we ſhould return, vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is aboueſaid) to ſet vp a flag of defiãce againſt al yͤ countreis of the Weſt, which he would haue vs in no caſe to know. Wherefore returning, we ſtaied ſome few dayes with his mother, and ſo returned backe again vnto him. With whom we continued for the ſpace of one whole moneth in ſuch extreme hunger and thirſt, that we could ſcarce hold life and ſoule together. For the prouiſion allowed vs for foure dayes, was ſcantly ſufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any ſuſtenance, becauſe the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde prouided for vs a Ruſſian goldſmith, named Coſmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs ſome ſuſtenance. This man ſhewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was ſet in the proper place, and his ſeale, which he alſo had framed. Afterward the Emperor ſent for vs, giuing vs to vnderſtand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee ſhould write downe our meſſages & affaires, and ſhould deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderſtood the Ruſſian, the Sarracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we anſwered, that we had none of thoſe letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great diſtance from our Lord the Pope. And wee ſaide, that wee thought it moſt expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning therof vnto vs, we ſhould diligently tranſlate it into our own tongue, and ſo deliuer both the letter and the tranſlation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the letter word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they cauſed vs to interprete vnto them eche ſentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twiſe more, leaſt we ſhould haue miſtaken ought. For they ſaid vnto vs: Take heed that ye vnderſtand all things throughly, for if you ſhould not vnderſtand the whole matter aright, it might breed ſome inconuenience. They wrote the ſaid letters alſo in the Saracen tongue, that there might be ſome found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need ſhould require.

Coſmas a Ruſſian.

The meſſage of Chingay.

How they were licenſed to depart. *Chap. 32.*

The Legates are loath to haue any Ambaſſadours ſent from the Tartars to the Chriſtians.

ANd (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purpoſed to ſend his ambaſſadors with vs. Howbeit, he was deſirous (as we thought) that we our ſelues ſhould craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the ſaid petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperor ſhould ſend his ambaſſadours. Wherfore we gaue him anſwere, that it was not for vs to make any ſuch petition, but if it pleaſed the Emperour of his owne accord to ſend them, we would diligently (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſee them conducted in ſafetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they ſhould not goe, and that for diuers cauſes. Firſt, becauſe we feared, leaſt they, ſeeing the diſſentions and warres which are among vs, ſhould be the more encouraged to make warre againſt vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be inſteade of ſpies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we miſdoubted that they would be ſlaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as thoſe ſeruants (which at the requeſt of the Cardinall, attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almoſt ſtoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off thoſe garments. And it is the Tartars cuſtome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto ſuch as haue ſlaine their Ambaſſadours, till they haue reuenged themſelues. Fourthly, leaſt they ſhould bee taken from vs by mayne force. Fiftly, becauſe there could come no good by their ambaſſade, for they were to haue none other commiſſion, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Chriſtendome, which very ſame letters wee our ſelues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might enſue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feaſt of Saint Brice, they gaue vs our paſſe-port and a Letter ſealed with the Emperours owne ſeale, ſending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gowne made of Foxe-ſkinnes, with the furre on the outſide, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars ſtole a yarde out of euery one of them. And out of that which was giuen vnto our ſeruant, they ſtole the better halfe. Which falſe dealing of theirs, we knew well inough, but would make no wordes thereof.

Nouember 13.

They are rewarded with gifts.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

Then taking our iourney to returne, we trauailed all Winter long, lying in the deſerts oftentimes vpon the ſnow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our ſelues all couered with ſnow driuen ouer vs by the winde. And ſo trauailing till the feaſt of our Lordes Aſcenſion, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what anſwere he would ſend vnto our Lord the Pope, he ſaid that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we ſhould diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our ſafe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecoſt, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foreſaide aſſociates and ſeruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we cauſed them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence wee trauailed vnto Correnſa, to whom, requiring gifts the ſecond time at our handes, we gaue none, becauſe we had not wherewithall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which liued among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides vnto the citie of Kiow in Ruſſia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were paſt the vtmoſt gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Correnſa, brought vs from the laſt garde vnto the citie of Kiow, in the ſpace of ſixe dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feaſt of Saint Iohn Baptiſt. Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our approch, came foorth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene riſen from death to life. So likewiſe they did vnto vs throughout all Ruſſia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Waſilico made vs a royall feaſt, and interteined vs with them againſt our willes for the ſpace of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Biſhops, and other men of account, being in conſultation together about thoſe matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tartars, anſwered vs with common conſent, ſaying: that they would holde the Pope for their ſpeciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & miſtreſſe, confirming likewiſe al things which they had ſent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the ſame purpoſe, they ſent their Ambaſſadours and letters by vs alſo, vnto our Lord the Pope.

The ſore iourneys of the legates in returning.

Bathy.

Correnſa.

Iune 8.

How they were welcomed at their returne.

Baſilius and Daniel Princes.

Itinerarium fratris *Willielmi de Rubruquis* de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratię 1253. ad *partes Orientales.*

EXcellentiſſimo Domino & Chriſtianiſſimo, Lodouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illuſtri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus ſalutem, & ſemper triumphare in Chriſto. Scriptum eſt in Eccleſiaſtico de ſapiente, In terram alienarum gentium tranſibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: ſed vtinam vt ſapiens & non ſtultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit ſapiens, ſed non ſapienter, ſed magis ſtultè: de quorum numero timeo me eſſe. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixiſtis mihi quando receſſi à vobis, vt omnia ſcriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuiſtis vt non timerem vobis ſcribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxiſtis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non ſuppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ ſcribere Maieſtati. Nouerit ergò veſtra ſancta maieſtas, quòd anno Domini milleſimo ducenteſſimo, quinquageſſimo tertio, nonas Maij ingreſſi ſumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgarici vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & diſtinguitur quaſi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius ſunt duæ prouinciæ terræ, vna ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ eſt ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & eſt caſtrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem eſt, eſt Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc dicitur

Ecclus. 39. ver. 4.

Soldaia.

Matriga ciuitas.

Zikia.

dicitur à Latinis Gaſaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam ſuper littus maris dicitur Caſſaria, hoc eſt Cæſaria. Et ſunt promontoria quædam extendentia ſe in mare, & contra meridiem verſus Synopolim. Et ſunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Caſſariam. Ita quòd ſint ſeptingenta milliaria ab iſtis punctis verſus Conſtantinopolim in longum & latum: & ſeptingenta verſus Orientem; hoc eſt, Hiberiam, quæ eſt prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gaſariæ ſiue Caſariæ applicuimus, quæ eſt quaſi triangularis, ad Occidentem habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kerſoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et nauigantes corã ea vidimus inſulam, in qua eſt templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quaſi in cuſpide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quæ ex tranſuerſo reſpicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Roſſia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes tranſire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & griſiam, & alias pelles pretioſas. Alij portant telas de cottone ſiue bombaſio, & pannos ſericos & ſpecies aromaticas. Ad Orientẽ verò illius prouinciæ eſt ciuitas quæ dicitur Matriga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Ponti per orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare verſus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine ſeptinginta milliaria, nuſquam habens profunditatem vltra ſex paſſus, vnde magna vaſa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Conſtantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas ſuas vſque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant piſces ſiccatos, ſturiones, thoſas, borbatas, & alios piſces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Caſſaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem ſcilicet, vbi eſt Kerſoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi eſt ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ eſt cuſpis prouinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi eſt ciuitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium eſt Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sueui & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Poſteà verſus meridiem eſt Trapeſunda quę habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui eſt de genere imperatorum Conſtantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: poſteà Synopolis quæ eſt Soldani Turchiæ qui ſimiliter obedit: poſteà terra Vaſtacij cuius filius dicitur Aſtar ab auo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanais verſus Occidentem vſque ad Danubium totum eſt ſubditum. Etiam vltrà Danubium verſus Conſtantinopolim, Valakia, quæ eſt terra Aſſani, & minor Bulgaria vſque in Solonomam omnes ſoluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum condictum ſumpſerunt annis nuper tranſactis de qualibet domo ſecurim vnam, & totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in maſſa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaię in 12. Kalendas Iunij: & præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Conſtantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra ſancta volentes ire ad Sartach, Ego tamen prędicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non eſſem nuncius, nec veſter, nec alicuius, ſed ibam apud illos incredulos ſecundùm regulam noſtram. Tunc cùm applicuiſſem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè loquerer, quia dixerunt me eſſe nuncium, & ſi non dicerem me eſſe nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi tranſitus. Tunc loquutus ſum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iuerant ad Baatu portantes tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reuerſi. Nos audiuimus, dixi, de Domino veſtro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod eſſet Chriſtianus: & gauiſi ſunt inde vehementer Chriſtiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Chriſtianiſſimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca ſancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Chriſtianitatis. Et ipſi receperunt nos gratanter, & dederunt nobis hoſpitium in eccleſia Epiſcopali. Et Epiſcopus ipſius eccleſiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quę ego poſtea non inueni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res noſtras vel equos pro ſummarijs. Et mercatores Conſtantinopolitani conſuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles ſuas, & in illis includerem res noſtras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia ſi acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere ſuper alios, & prætereà equitarem lentiori greſſu iuxta boues. Et tunc acquieui conſilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere vſq; Sarthach duobus menſibus, quod potuiſſem vno menſe feciſſe, ſi iuiſſem equis. Attuleram mecum de Conſtantinopoli fructus & vinum muſcatum, & biſcoctum delicatum de conſilio mercatorum ad pręſentandũ capitaneis primis, vt faciliùs pateret mihi tranſitus: quia nullus apud eos reſpicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia poſui in vna biga, quando nõ inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebãt mihi, quod gratiſſima forẽt Sarthach, ſi poſſem deferre ea vſq; ad eũ. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis noſtris quatuor coopertis & cũ alijs duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectiſternia ad dormiendũ de nocte, & quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinq;

perſonæ. Ego & ſocius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goſet lator præſentium, & homo dei Turgemannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Conſtantinopoli de noſtra eleemoſyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & cuſtodiebant boues & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria ſuper Mare à Kerſoua vſque ad orificium Tanais: & ſunt quadraginta caſtella inter Kerſouam & Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma eſt Teutonicum. Poſt illa montana verſus Aquilonem eſt pulcherrima ſylua in planicie, plena fontibus & riuulis: Et poſt illam ſyluam eſt planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vſque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem: Ita quod eſt vnum foſſatum magnum ab vno Mari vſque ad aliud. In illa planicie ſolebant eſſe Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant ciuitates prædictas & caſtra vt darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorũ intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vſque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant ſe mutuo viui morientes: ſecundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, ſicut canes cadauera. Verſus extremitatem illius prouinciæ ſunt lacus multi & magni: in quorum ripis ſunt fontes ſalmaſtri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit ſalem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis ſalinis habent Baatu & Sartach magnos reditus: quia de tota Ruſſia veniunt illuc pro ſale: & de qualibet biga onuſta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt & per Mare multæ naues pro ſale, quæ omnes dant tributum ſecundum ſui quantitatem. Poſtquam ergo receſſimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraueram, viſum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud ſæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis deſcribam prout poſſum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

NVſquam habent manentem ciuitatem, ſed futuram ignorant. Inter ſe diuiſerunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vſque ad ortum ſolis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, ſecundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines ſub ſe, ſcit terminos paſcuorum ſuorum, & vbi debet paſcere hyeme & æſtate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim deſcendunt ad calidiores regiones verſus meridiem. In æſtate aſcendunt ad frigidiores verſus aquilonem. Loca paſcuoſa ſine aquis paſcunt in hyeme quando eſt ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant ſuper rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna ſunt de virgis, & conueniunt in vnam paruulam rotam ſuperius, de qua aſcendit collum ſurſum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & puluere oſſium, vt albens ſplendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum ſuperius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante oſtium ſimiliter ſuſpendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Conſumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aues & beſtias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim menſuraui ſemel latitudinem inter veſtigia rotarum vnius bigæ viginti pedum: & quando domus erat ſuper bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeraui in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine ſecundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios vndecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo ſtabat in oſtio domus ſuper bigam minans boues. Inſuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fiſſis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnius arcæ magnæ: & poſtea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant teſtudinem de ſimilibus virgis, & oſtiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & poſtea cooperiunt illam ciſtam ſiue domunculam filtro nigro imbuto ſeuo ſiue lacte ouino, ne poſſit penetrari pluuia: quod ſimiliter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam ſuppellectilem ſuam & theſaurum: quas ligant fortiter ſuper bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt poſſint tranſuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus ſuas manſionarias, ſemper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & conſequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus ſtat inter duos ordines bigarum quaſi inter duos muros.

Nota.

Matronæ faciunt ſibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas neſcirem vobis deſcribere niſi per picturam. ¶ Imo omnia depinxiſſem vobis ſi ſciuiſſem pingere. Vnus diues Moal ſiue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet ſexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis alijs paruis, quas collocant poſt magnam, quæ ſunt quaſi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet iſtarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit ſuam curiam in capite occidentali, & poſtea aliæ ſecundum ordinem ſuum: ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit ſpacium inter curiam vnius dominæ & alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quaſi vna magna Villa: tunc pauciſſimi viri erunt in ea. Vna muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana eſt. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam poſt aliam: & ſedebit muliercula in anteriori minans bouem, & omnes aliæ pari greſſu ſequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum paſſum, ſoluunt eas & tranſducunt ſigillatim: Vadunt enim lento greſſu, ſicut agnus vel bos poteſt ambulare.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

POſtquam depoſuerint domus verſa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum eſt ſemper ad latus Orientale hoc eſt ad ſiniſtrum domini domus cum ſedet in lecto ſuo verſa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc eſt ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo ſuſpenderent pharetram ad partem mulierum, Et ſuper caput Domini eſt ſemper vna imago quaſi puppa & ſtatuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini: alia ſimilis ſuper caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: & ſuperius inter vtramque illarum eſt vna paruula, macilenta, quæ eſt quaſi cuſtos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus ſuum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & iuxta illam ſtatuunculam paruulam reſpicientem famulas & mulieres. Iuxta oſtium ad partem mulieris eſt iterum alia imago cum vbere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fœminarum eſt mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus oſtij verſus viros eſt alia ſtatua cum vbere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo ſpargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ eſt ſuper caput domini: poſtea alijs imaginibus per ordinem: poſtea exit miniſter domum cum cipho & potu, & ſpargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; & hoc ad reuerentiam ignis: poſtea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris: poſtea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ: ad aquilonem proijciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem ſuam. Si bibit ſedens ſuper equum, infundit antequam bibat, ſuper collum vel crinem equi. Poſtquam vero miniſter ſic ſparſerit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum & ſunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino & vxori ſedenti iuxta eum ſurſum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte ſedet iuxta eum in die: & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: & ibi tenetur curia illa die: & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in theſauris illius dominæ, Bancus ibi eſt cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter prouocant alios *ad bibendum.*

Similiter in Florida.

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de riſio, de millio, de melle: claret ſicut vinum, Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æſtate non curant niſi de Coſmos, Stat ſemper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & iuxta illud ſtat cithariſta cum citherula ſua, Citheras & vielas noſtras non vidi ibi, ſed multa alia inſtrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus miniſtrorũ exclamat alta voce, HA: & cithariſta percutit cicharum. Et quando faciunt feſtum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & ſaltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et poſtquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat miniſter ſicut priùs, & tacet cithariſta: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter & guloſe. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potũ arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei gulam, & plaudunt & ſaltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum feſtum & gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, & alij duo ſunt ei à dextris & ſiniſtris: & ſic illi tres veniunt cantantes vſque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & ſaltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipſi ſubito reſiliunt, & iterum ſicut prius reuertuntur, & ſic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit.

De cibarijs eorum.

De cibis & victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia morticinia ſua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non poteſt eſſe quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æſtate quamdiu durat eis coſmos, hoc eſt lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc ſi contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, ſiccant carnes ſcindendo per tenues pecias & ſuſpendendo ad ſolem & ventum, quæ ſtatim ſine ſale ſiccantur abſque aliquo fætore. De inteſtinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis: quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes reſeruant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt vtres magnos, quos mirabiliter ſiccant ad fumum. De poſteriori parte pellis equi faciunt pulcherrimos ſoculares. De carne vnius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in ſcutella cum ſale & aqua, aliam enim ſalſam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua ſolemus comedere pira & poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumſtantium buccellam vnam vel duas, ſecundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipſe accipit quod placet ei: & etiam ſi dat alicui partem ſpecialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam ſolus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non poteſt totum comedere, aſportat ſecum, vel dat garcioni ſuo, ſi eſt preſens, qui cuſtodiat ei: ſin aliter, recondit in ſaptargat ſuo, hoc eſt in burſa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & oſſa recondunt, quando non habent ſpacium bene rodendi ea, vt poſtea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

Quomodo faciunt Coſmos.

Ipſum Coſmos, hoc eſt lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam ſuper terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc ſtant matres iuxta pullos ſuos & permittunt ſe pacifice mungi. Et ſi aliqua eſt nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnus homo pullum & ſupponit ei permittens parum ſugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis ſuccedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod eſt ita dulce ſicut vaccinum, dum eſt recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem ſiue bucellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod groſſum eſt inferius ſicut caput hominis & cauatum ſubtus: & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire ſicut vinum nouũ, & aceſcere ſiue fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc guſtant illud; & quando eſt temperate pungitiuum bibunt: pungit enim ſuper linguam ſicut vinum raſpei dum bibitur. Et poſtquam homo ceſſat bibere, relinquit ſaporem ſuper linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-coſmos, hoc eſt nigrum coſmos ad vſum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim eſt: quod nullius animalis lac niſi cuius fetet venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod ſpiſſum eſt in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, ſicut fæces vini, & quod purum eſt remanet ſuperius, & eſt ſicut ſerum, & ſicut muſtum album. Fæces ſunt albæ multum, & dantur ſeruis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & eſt pro certo valde ſuauis potus & bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 30. caſalia circa herbergiam ſuam ad vnam dietam, quorum vnumquodq; qualibet die ſeruit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc eſt, qualibet die lac trium millium equarũ, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria ruſtici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipſi afferunt ad curias dominorum ſuorum, ita & iſti lac equarũ tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrũ & bulliunt illud vſque ad perfectã decoctionẽ, & poſtea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reſeruant. Et non ponunt ſal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionẽ non putreſcit: & reſeruant illud contra hyemem. Reſiduũ lac quod remanet poſt butirum permittunt aceſcere quantum acrius fieri poteſt & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud deſiccant ad ſolem, & efficitur durum ſicut ſcoria ferri. Quod recondunt in ſaccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipſi vocant grut, in vtre, & ſuper infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud reſoluatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetoſa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

De beſtijs quas comedunt, & de veſtibus, ac *de venatione eorum.*

MAgni domini habent caſalia verſus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant ſibi pro arietibus & pellibus commutando. Sclaui etiam implent ventrem ſuum aqua craſſa, & hac contenti ſunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipſi vocant Sogur: quæ conueniunt in vna fouea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt ſex menſibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam ſicut cati; & in ſummitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias beſtiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipſi valde bene diſcernunt. Ceruos non vidi ibi, lepores paucos vidi, gaſelos multos. Aſinos ſylueſtres vidi in magna multitudine, qui ſunt quaſi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, ſed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: & faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes portant ſuper manum dexteram: & ponunt ſemper falconi vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei vſque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prędam, inclinant cum ſiniſtra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur ſurſum. Magnam ergo partem victus ſui acquirunt venatione. De veſtibus & habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Cataya & alijs regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perſide & alijs regionibus auſtri veniunt eis panni ſerici & aurei, & telæ de bambaſio, quibus induuntur in æſtate. De Ruſſia, de Moxel, & Maiore Bulgaria & Paſcatir, quæ eſt maior Hungaria, & Kerſis: (quę omnes ſunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ ſyluis:) & alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles precioſæ multi generis: quas nunquã vidi in partibus noſtris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt ſemper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus eſt ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus eſt extra contra ventum & niues, quæ multoties ſunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum ſedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudo & circundant regionem in qua ſciunt feras eſſe, & paulatim appropinquant ſibi, donec concludant feras inter ſe quaſi infra circulum, & tunc ſagitant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam furrant veſtes ſuas de ſtupa ſetæ, quæ eſt ſupra modum mollis, & leuis & calida. Pauperes furrant veſtes de tela de bambaſio, de delicatiori lana quam poſſunt extrahere: de groſſiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos ſuas & ciſtas, & ad lectiſternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas ſuas. De filtro etiam faciunt pauellas ſub ſellis, & capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidiſtis.

Maior Hungaria.

Nota.

De raſura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

VIri radunt in ſummitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt raſuram criſtæ capitis vſque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum vſque ad ſummum concauitatis ceruicis: & frontem anterius vſque ad frontinellam, ſuper quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum deſcendentium vſque ad ſupercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas ſuccingunt nodando vſque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, niſi quod aliquantulum eſt longior. Sed in craſtino poſtquam eſt nupta radit caluariam ſuam à medietate capitis verſus frontem, & habet tunicam latam ſicut cucullam monialis, & per omnia latiorem & longiorem, fiſſam ante, quam ligat ſub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas ſuas ad ſiniſtram, Tartari ſemper ad dextram. Poſtea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam poſſunt inuenire, leuiore: & eſt groſſum & rotundum, quantum poteſt duabus manibus complectij longum vero vnius cubiti & plus, quadrum ſuperius, ſicut capitellum vnius columnæ. Iſtud botta cooperiunt panno ſerico precioſo; & eſt concauum interius: & ſuper capitellum in

modio

medio vel ſuper quadraturã illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis ſcilicet vnius cubiti & plus: & illam ſibi virgulam ornant ſuperius de pennis pauonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præcioſis. Diuites dominæ iſtud ornamentum ponunt in ſummitate capitis quod ſtringunt fortiter cum almucia, quę foramen habet in ſummitate ad hoc aptatũ, & in iſto recondunt crines ſuos quos recolligũt à parte poſteriori ad ſummitatem capitis quaſi in nodo vno & reponunt in illo botta, quod poſtea fortiter ligant ſub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ ſimul & videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea deſuper lancea. Et ſedent omnes mulieres ſuper equos ſicut viri diuerſificantes coxas; & ligant cucullas ſuas panno ſerico aerij coloris ſuper renes, & alia faſcia ſtringunt ad mamillas: & ligant vnam peciam albam ſub occulis, quæ deſcendit vſque ad pectus. Et ſunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de naſo pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies ſuas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de *nuptijs earum.*

OFicium fœminarum eſt ducere bigas, ponere domus ſuper eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & griut, parare pelles, & conſuere eas, quas conſuunt filo deneruis, diuidunt enim neruos in minuta fila, & poſtea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Conſuunt etiam ſoculares & ſoccos & alias veſtes. Veſtes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc iraſcitur, & quod fiant tonitrua ſi ſuſpendantur ad ſiccandum: Imo lauantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua ſupra modum timent: tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus ſuis; & inuoluunt ſe in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec tranſierit. Nunquã etiã lauant ſcutellos, imo carne cocta alueũ in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bulliente de caldaria, & poſtea refundunt in caldariam. faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt ſolùm arcus & ſagittas, fabricant ſtrepas & fræna, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas: cuſtodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipſum coſmos & lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: cuſtodiunt etiam camelos, & onerant eos. Oues & Capras cuſtodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inſpiſſato & ſalſo parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os ſuum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore ſuo ſuper manus, & eadem humectant crines ſuos, & lauant caput ſuum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis, quod nemo habet ibi vxorem niſi emat eam: vnde aliquando ſunt puellæ multum adultæ ante quam nubant: ſemper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas. Seruant etiam gradus conſanguinitatis primum & ſecundum: nullum autem ſeruant affinitatis. Habent enim ſimul vel ſucceſſiue duas ſorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui ſeruiunt eis in hac vita ſeruient in futura. Vnde de vidua credunt, quod ſemper reuertitur poſt mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis conſuetudo inter eos quod filius ſcilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris ſui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris ſemper accidit iuniori filio. Vnde oportet quod ipſe prouideat omnibus vxoribus patris ſui, quia adueniunt eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc ſi vult vtitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat ſibi iniuriam, ſi reuertatur ad patrem poſt mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, & illa fugit ad conſanguineos, vt ibi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua eſt, accipe eam vbicunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit eam cum amicis ſuis, donec inveniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam, & ducat eam quaſi violenter ad domum.

Pellium paratio

De iuſticijs eorum & iudicijs, et de morte ac *ſepultura eorum.*

DE iuſticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet ſe intermittere. Etiam pater non audet iuuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et ſi alius poſt appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod ſtatim abſque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui paſſus eſt iniuriam ducit eum quaſi captiuum. Neminem puniunt capitali ſententia, niſi deprehenſus fuerit in facto, vel confeſſus. Sed quum diffamatus eſt à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidiũ puniunt capitali ſententia, & etiam coitum cum non ſua. Non ſuam dico vel vxorem vel famulam: Sua enim ſclaua licet vti prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto, ſicut pro vno ariete, dummodo non fuerit ſæpe deprehenſus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et ſi dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur ſententia curiæ. Item falſos nuncios, quia faciunt ſe nuncios & non ſunt, interficiunt. Item ſacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis poſtea plenius, quia tales reputant veneficas. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehemẽter vlulando: & tunc ſunt liberi quod non dant vectigal vſque ad annum. Et ſi quis intereſt morti alicujus adulti, non ingreditur domum ipſius Mangucham vſque ad annum. Si paruulus eſt qui moritur, non ingreditur vſque poſt lunationem. Iuxta ſepulturam defuncti ſemper relinquunt domum vnam. Si eſt de nobilibus, hoc eſt de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur ſepultura: & ſemper circa loca illa vbi ſepeliunt nobiles ſuos eſt vna herbergia hominum cuſtodientium ſepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipſi recondunt theſaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumulum ſuper defunctum & erigunt ei ſtatuam verſa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu ſua ante vmbelicum. fabricant & diuitibus pyramides, id eſt domunculas acutas: & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quendam nouiter defunctum, cui ſuſpenderant pelles ſexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: & appoſuerunt ei coſmos vt biberet, & carnes vt comederet: & tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi ſepulturas verſus orientem. Areas ſcilicet magnas ſtructas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, & poſtea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit ſignum ſuper domum ſuam, quod ibi eſt infirmus, & quod nullus ingrediatur: vnde nullus viſitat infirmum niſi ſeruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt cuſtodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt tranſire: timent enim ne mali ſpiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus, Ipſos diuinatores vocant tanquam ſacerdotes ſuos.

Qualiter ingreſsi ſunt inter Tartaros, & de *ingratitudine eorum.*

QVando ergo ingreſſi ſumus inter illos barbaros, viſum fuit mihi, vt dixi ſuperius, quod ingrederer aliud ſæculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis poſtquam diu fecerant nos expectare ſedentes in vmbra ſub bigis nigris. Prima quæſtio fuit, vtrum vnquam fuiſſemus inter eos. habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs noſtris, & dedimus de pane biſcocto & vino quod attuleramus nobiſcum de villa: & potata vna lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede. non dedimus eis, excuſantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæſiuerunt vnde veniremus, & quo vellemus ire. dixi eis ſuperiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod eſſet Chriſtianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas veſtras. Ipſi diligenter quæſiuerunt, vtrum irem de mea voluntate, vel vtrum mitterer. Ego reſpondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec iuiſſem niſi voluiſſem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate ſuperioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi, me eſſe nuncium veſtrum. Tunc quæſiuerunt quid eſſet in bigis, vtrum eſſet aurum vel argentum, vel veſtes precioſæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego reſpondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando perueniremus ad eum; & quod non intererat eorum iſta quærere: ſed facerent me deduci vſque ad capitaneum ſuum, & ipſe ſi vellet mihi præbere ducatum vſque ad Sartach faceret: ſin minus, reuerterer. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus conſanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Conſtantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret tranſire. Tunc ipſi acquieuerunt, præbentes nobis equos & boues & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos ſunt reuerſi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane noſtro pro paruulis ſuis: Et omnia quæ videbant ſuper famulos noſtros, cultellos, chirothecas, burſas, corrigias, omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excuſabam me, quia longa nobis reſtabat via, nec debebamus ita cito ſpoliare nos rebus neceſſarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod eſſem barrator. Verum eſt quod nihil abſtulerint vi: Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et ſi dat homo eis perdit, quia ſunt ingrati. Reputant ſe dominos mundi, & videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & poſtea indigeat ſeruicio eorum, male miniſtrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte ſuo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoſo valde, quod ipſi vocant Apram: & ſic receſſimus ab eis. Et viſum fuit mihi recte, quod euaſiſſem de manibus dæmonum. In craſtino peruenimus ad capitaneum, Ex quo receſſimus a Soldaia vſque ad Sartach in duobus menſibus nunquam iacuimus

mus in domo nec in tentorio, ſed ſemper ſub dio, vel ſub bigis noſtris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel veſtigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuiſſet villa, niſi tumbas Comanorũ in maxima multitudine. Illo ſero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere coſmos; ad cuius hauſtum totus ſudaui propter horrorem & nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo. valde tamen ſapidum videbatur mihi, ſicut vere eſt.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Chriſtiani non *bibunt coſmos.*

MAne ergo obuiauimus bigis Scacatay onuſtis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magna. Mirabar etiam ſuper multitudine armentorum boum & equorum & gregum ouium: paucos videbam homines qui iſta gubernarent. vnde inquiſiui quot homines haberet ſub ſe? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non pluſquam quingentos, quorum medietatem tranſiueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare: & ipſe fecit nos ſtare, & præceſſit nuncians aduentum noſtrum. Iam erat hora pluſquam tertia, & depoſuerunt domos ſuas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipſius, qui ſtatim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, popoſcit de cibis noſtris, & dedimus ei, poſcebat etiam veſtimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbũ noſtrum ante dominum ſuum. Excuſauimus nos. Quæſiuit quid portaremus domino ſuo? Accepimus vnum flaſconem de vino, & impleuimus vnum veringal de biſcocto & platellum vnum de pomis & aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretioſum. Sic tamen ingreſſi ſumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipſe in lecto ſuo tenens citharulam in manu, & vxor ſua iuxta eum: de qua credebã in veritate, quod amputaſſet ſibi naſum inter oculos vt ſimior eſſet: nihil enim habebat ibi de naſo, & vnxerat locum illum quodam vnguento nigro, & etiam ſupercilia: quod erat turpiſſimum in oculis noſtris. Tunc dixi ei verba ſupradicta. Vbique enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene præmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba noſtra. Nota diligenter. Rogaui etiam eum vt dignaretur accipere munuſculum de manu noſtra, excuſans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis noſtri poſsidere aurum, vel argentum, vel veſtes precioſas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod poſſem ei dare: ſed de cibis noſtris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & diſtribuit ſtatim hominibus ſuis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Conſtantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis aſcenſionis) Qui ſtatim eas Soldaiam miſit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat ſecum qui ſciret literas Græcas. Quæſiuit etiam à nobis, ſi vellemus bibere coſmos, hoc eſt, lac iumentinum. Chriſtiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui ſunt inter eos, qui volunt ſtricte cuſtodire legem ſuam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant ſe Chriſtianos poſtquam biberunt. Et ſacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negaſſent fidem Chriſtianam. Ego reſpondi, quod habebamus adhuc ſufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæſiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis noſtris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clauſæ erant bullæ noſtræ: & quod non erant in eis niſi bona verba & amicabilia. Quæſiuit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Reſpondi, Verba fidei Chriſtianę. Quæſiuit quæ? Quia libenter vellet audire. Tunc expoſui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, ſymbolũ fidei. Quo audito, ipſe tacuit & mouit caput. Tunc aſſignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos cuſtodirent, & equos & boues: & fecit nos bigare ſecum, donec reuerteretur nuncius, quem ipſe miſerat pro interpretatione literarum imperatoris; & iuimus cum eo vſque in craſtinum Pentecoſtes.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia *Pentecoſtes.*

IN vigilia Pentecoſtes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur || Acias, Chriſtiani ſecundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Gręcas & ſacerdotes Græcos: tamen non ſunt ſchiſmatici ſicut Græci; ſed ſine acceptione perſonarum venerantur omnem Chriſtianum: & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ ſolennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et expoſui eis de ſolennitate, ſuper quo fuerunt multum gauiſi; quia omnia ignorabant quæ ſpectant ad ritum Chriſtianum, ſolo nomine Chriſti excepto. Quæſiuerunt & ipſi & alij multi Chriſtiani, Ruteni & Hungari, vtrum poſſent ſaluari, quia oportebat eos bibere coſmos, & comedere morticinia & interfecta à Saracenis & alijs infidelibus:

|| Vel Akas.

quæ etiam ipſi Græci & Ruteni ſacerdotes reputant quaſi morticinia vel idolis immolata : quia ignorabant tempora ieiunij : nec poterant cuſtodire etiam ſi cognouiſſent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reſeruauimus vſque ad diem feſtum : nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro & argento, niſi pro telis & alijs ‖ pannis : & illos non habebamus, Quum famuli noſtri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipſi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, vt odore ſentirent, vtrum eſſent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum niſi lac vaccinum acre valde & fœtidum, Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Niſi fuiſſet biſcoctum quod habebamus, & gratia dei, fortè fuiſſemus mortui.

‖Nota diligentiſsime.

De Saraceno qui dixit ſe velle baptizarj, et de hominibus qui apparent leproſi.

IN die pentecoſtes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiſcum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Chriſti, & reſurrectionem mortuorum, & iudicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum eſſet in baptiſmo : dixit ſe velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipſe ſubito aſcendit equum ſuum, dicens ſe iturum domum & habiturum conſilium cum vxore ſua. Qui in craſtino loquens nobiſcum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptiſma, quia tunc non biberet coſmos. Chriſtiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Chriſtianus deberet bibere : & ſine potu illo non poſſet viuere in ſolitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multũ elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo eſt inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vſque ad Sartach : & duos qui ducerent nos vſque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde diſtabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo & plures vtres lactis vaccini, & de coſmos parum : quia illud precioſum eſt inter illos. Et ſic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, viſum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni tranſiſſemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amiſſis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno foſſato ab vno mari vſque ad aliud : extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intraſſemus : videbantur nobis leproſi omnes : quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus ſal a ſalinis ſuperius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus coſmos: & dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biſcoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam capram pro tanto itinere, & neſcio quot vtres plenos lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuinus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vſque ad aliam herbergiam : nec inuenimus aquam in illa via niſi in foſſis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiuimus prædictam prouinciam Gaſariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vaſtam ſolitudinem ad aquilonem : quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine : In qua nulla eſt ſylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba eſt optima. In hac ſolebant paſcere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Tentonicis verò dicuntur Valani, & prouincia Valania. Ab Iſidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vſque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat iſta terra in longitudine a Danubio vſque Tanaim; qui eſt terminus Aſiæ & Europæ, itinere duorum menſium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam vltra à Tanai vſque ‖ Etiliam : Inter quæ flumina ſunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò iſtius prouincię iacet Ruſſia, quę vbique ſyluas habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria vſque Tanaim : quæ tota vaſtata eſt à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidie vaſtatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia ſunt Chriſtiani, Saracenos: & cum non poſſunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad ſolitudinem vt cuſtodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Ruſſiam ad aquilonem eſt Pruſſia, quam nuper ſubiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquierent Ruſſiam, ſi apponerent manum, Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus ſacerdos, hoc eſt, Papa faceret cruce ſignari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad ſolitudines ſuas.

Salinæ

Decem dietæ.

Comanię longitudo.

‖Etilia quæ & Volga flumen.

Ruſſia.

Pruſſia.

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, & de ſepultura Comanorum.

IBbanus ergo verſus orientem, nihil videntes niſi cœlum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam ſepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis à duabus leucis ſecundum quod ſolebant parentelæ eorum ſepeliri ſimul. Quam diu eramus in ſolitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tędium quod patiebar quum veniebamus ad manſiones eorum non poſſem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noſter, quod ad quoſlibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: & ad hoc non ſufficiebant expenſæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo perſonæ comedentes viaticum noſtrũ exceptis ſeruientibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiſcum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipſi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, & vnus iturus nobiſcum vſque ad Sartach. Carnes quas dabant non ſufficiebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum ſedebamus ſub bigis noſtris pro vmbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipſi ita importune ingerebant ſe nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia noſtra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant ſe a nobis, quam poſſit faba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuò faciebant immunditias ſuas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant ſupra modum tędioſa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare; quia neſcio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi poſtea, quum incepi aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam vnum, ipſe totum aliud dicebat, ſecundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipſum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de manſione in manſionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante feſtum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluuium magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Aſiam ab Europa, ſicut Nilus fluuius Ægypti, Aſiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam caſale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum nauiculis. Ipſi tranſtulerunt nos primo & poſtea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; & ſic remigantes tranſibant. Ibi egit dux noſter valde ſtulte. Ipſe enim credebat, quod illi de caſali deberent nobis miniſtrare equos, & dimiſit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos ſuos. Et quum poſtulauimus ab eis animalia, ipſi reſpondebant quod habebant priuilegiũ à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, niſi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: ſecunda die panem de ſiligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ oſtiatim per diuerſas domos. Tertia die piſces ſiccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluuius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ eſt Sequana Pariſijs. Et antequam perueniſſemus ad locum illum, tranſiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piſcoſiſſimas: Sed Tartari neſciunt eos capere: nec curant de piſce niſi ſit ita magnus, quod poſſunt comedere carnes eius, ſicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluuius eſt terminus Orientalis Ruſſiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluuius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare ſeptingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas tranſiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prędictum flumen magnam ſyluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non aſcendunt Tartari verſus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis ‖ circa introitum Auguſti incipiunt redire verſus meridiem. Vnde aliud eſt caſale inferius vbi tranſeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna anguſtia, quia nec equos nec boues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem poſtquam oſtendi eis, quod laboraui pro communi vtilitate omnium Chriſtianorum, accõmodauerunt nobis boues & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant ſiliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita ſicut noſtræ. Supertunicalia ſua exterius ornant vario vel griſio a pedibus vſque ad genua. Homines portant capas ſicut Teutonici: ſed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in ſummitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum eſſemus valde fatigati & boues ſimiliter, nec ſciremus quorſum poſſemus Tartaros inuenire, accurrerunt ſubito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & aſcenderunt eos dux noſter & interpres, vt ſpecularentur quorſum poſſemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauiſi ſumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus iuimus de manſione ad manſionem donec peruenimus vſque ad herbergiam Sartach ſecundo Calendas Auguſti.

Calor maximus ibi in æſtate.

Tanais fluuius.

Caſale Rutenorum.

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

‖Ad introitum Auguſti redeunt ad meridiem.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

REgio iſta vltra Tanaim eſt pulcherrima, habens flumina & ſyluas ad aquilonem. Sunt ſyluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel ſcilicet, qui ſunt ſine lege, puri pagani. Ciuitatem non habent ſed caſulas in ſyluis. Dominus eorum & magna

pars

Merdui Saraceni.

‖ vel Volga fluuius.

‖ Kerkis. vel Aas.

Leſgi Saraceni.

‖ Reditus eius per Derbent.

pars eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania, Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Vnde ipſi multum commendant Alemanos, ſperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à ſeruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo deſcendit prouideat ei quamdiu vult eſſe inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat niſi videat proprijs oculis: vnde non ſunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles precioſæ, & falcones. Poſt illos ſunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, & ſunt Saraceni. Poſt illos eſt ‖ Etilia, quæ eſt maior fluuius, quam vnquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem ſpacium quatuor menſium in circuitu, de quo poſtea dicam vobis. Iſta ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia verſus regiones Aquilonis per quas tranſiuimus non diſtant ab inuicem niſi decem dietis, ſed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim deſcendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare ſiue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perſide. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus verſus ſolitudinem illam Cergis & Alani ſiue ‖ Acas, qui ſunt Chriſtiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Poſt iſtos prope Mare ſiue lacum Etiliæ ſunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Leſgi, qui ſimiliter obediunt. Poſt hos eſt Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perſide: de cuius ſitu dicam vobis poſtea, ‖ quia tranſiui per eam in reditu. Et inter iſta duo flumina in illis terris per quas tranſiuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria eius.

Coiat Neſtorinus.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet ſex vxores, & filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Acceſſit autem ductor noſter ad quendam Neſtorinum Coiat nomine, qui eſt vnus de maioribus Curiæ ſuæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In ſero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noſter quid portaremus ei, & cœpit multum ſcandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, & ipſe ſedebat in gloria ſua & faciebat ſonare citharam & ſaltare coram ſe. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas noſtras. Excuſaui etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid precioſum, ſolis libris & capella in qua ſeruiebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino ſuo. Qui enim propria dimiſeram, non poteram portator eſſe alienorum. Tunc reſpondit ſatis manſuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: ſic ſeruarem votum meum, & non indigebat rebus noſtris; ſed magis daret nobis de ſuis, ſi indigeremus: & fecit nos ſedere & bibere de lacte ſuo, Et poſt pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæſiuit & quis eſſet maior dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, ſi haberet terram ſuam in pace. Non, inquit, ſed Rex Franciæ. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuerſi ſumus ad hoſpitium noſtrum. In craſtino miſi ei vnum flaſconem de vino Muſcato, quod optime ſe cuſtodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biſcocto quod fuit ei gratiſſimum, & retinuit illo ſero famulos noſtros ſecum. In craſtino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus ſuus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris & capella, & aliam pane & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & veſtes explicari, & circumſtabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Chriſtiani & Saraceni: quibus inſpectis, quæſiuit, ſi vellem iſta omnia dare domino ſuo, quo audito, expaui, & diſplicuit mihi verbum, diſſimulans tamen reſpondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noſter dignetur recipere panem iſtum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid eſt, ſed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipſe autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas ſciet, qua de cauſa venimus ad eum: & tunc ſtabimus mandato eius nos & omnes res noſtræ. Veſtes enim ſanctæ ſunt, & non licet eas contingere niſi ſacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos ituri coram domino ſuo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus precioſioribus veſtibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & biblium quod dederatis mihi, pſalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit miſſale & crucem, clericus indutus ſuperſilicio accepit thuribulum: ſic acceſſimus ante dominum eius: & leuauerunt

& leuauerunt

filtrum quod pendebat ante oſtium vt nos poſſet videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requiſiuerunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, vt caueremus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & vt cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingreſſi ſumus cantando, Salue regina. In introitu autem oſtij ſtabat bancus cum coſmos & cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: & ipſi Moal. Ingredientes nobiſcum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenſo, quod ipſe reſpexit, tenens in manu diligenter: poſtea tulit ei pſalterium quod valde reſpexit, & vxor eius ſedens iuxta eum. Poſtea tulit biblium, & ipſe quæſiuit, ſi euangelium eſſet ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu ſua, & quæſiuit de imagine, vtrum eſſet imago Chriſti? Reſpondi quod ſic. Ipſi Neſtoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt ſuper cruces ſuas figuram Chriſti. Vnde videntur male ſentire de paſſione, vel erubeſcunt eam. Poſtea fecit circumſtantes nos retrahere ſe, vt plenius poſſet videre ornamenta noſtra. Tunc obtuli ei literas veſtras cum tranſcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant ſacerdotes Armeni, qui ſciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui ſciebat Syrianum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exiuimus & depoſuimus veſtimenta noſtra: & venerunt ſcriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: veſtimenta & libros fecit nos reportare ad hoſpitium. Hoc actum eſt in feſto Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu *patrem Sartach.*

IN craſtino mane venit quidam ſacerdos frater ipſius Coiac poſtulans vaſculum cum chriſmate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, vt dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora veſpertina vocauit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex ſcripſit bona verba Domino meo: Sed ſunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, ſine conſilio patris ſui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem ſuum, & duas bigas quas adduxiſtis heri cum veſtimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego ſtatim ſuſpicatus ſum malum de cupiditate eius, & dixi ei. Domine, non ſolum illas ſed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus ſub cuſtodia veſtra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis velle veſtrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo poſſet fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei. Tunc quæſiuit ſi vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexiſtis literas domini regis, poteſtis ſcire, quod ſic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos eſſe patientes multum, & humiles. Sic diſceſſimus ab eo illo ſero. In craſtino mane miſit vnum ſacerdotem Neſtorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipſius Coiacis, ſeperauit omnia noſtra ab ipſis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam ſua, ſcilicet libros & veſtimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiſcum veſtimenta quibus induti fueramus coram Sartach vt illis indueremur coram Baatu ſi expediret: quas ille ſacerdos abſtulit nobis vi, dicens: Tu attuliſti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, reſpondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc neceſſaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingreſſus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iuſticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipſe aliquid aliter dixiſſet, quam ego dixiſſem ei: quia ipſe bene voluiſſet, quod de omnibus feciſſemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi ſolacium, quia quum perſenſi cupiditatem eorum, ego ſubtraxi de libris Biblium & ſententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Pſalterium dominæ reginæ non fui auſus ſubtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reuerſi ſumus cum duobus reſiduis bigis ad hoſpitium noſtrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum feſtinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas. Quod ipſe retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipſum cum garcione noſtro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes verſus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone deſcenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis ſupradictus Coiac cum alijs multis ſcriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noſter ſit Chriſtianus, ſed Moal. Quia nomen Chriſtianitatis videtur eis nomen cuiuſdam gentis. In tantam ſuperbiam ſunt erecti, quod quamuis aliquid forte credant de Chriſto, tamen nolunt dici Chriſtiani volentes nomen ſuum, hoc eſt, Moal

Perueniunt ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

Moal exaltare ſuper omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus ſic didici.

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham *faciunt reuerentiam Chriſtianis.*

Con can.

Vnde venerunt Turci.

Caracatay.

Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.

Prebsyter Iohannes.

Kencham vbi habitauit.

Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.

Vut can, vel Vnc.

Caracarum Villula.

Crit, & Merkit.

Moal pauperrimi homines.

Tartarorum ſedes.

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan, Con eſt proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem eſt qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can. Vnde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos ſpectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in hiſtoria Antiochiæ, quod Turci miſerunt propter ſuccurſum contra Francos ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iſte Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem eſt quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Vndè Cara-Catay idem eſt quod nigri Catay. Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipſorum Catay qui erant in Oriente ſuper Oceanum de quibus poſtea dicam vobis. Iſti Catay erant in quibuſdam alpibus per quas tranſiui. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Neſtorinus paſtor potens & dominus ſuper populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Chriſtiani Neſtorini. Mortuo Con can eleuauit ſe ille Neſtorius in regem, & vocabant eum Neſtoriani Regem Iohannem: & plus dicebant de ipſo in decuplo quàm veritas eſſet. Ita enim faciunt Neſtoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Vnde diſſeminauerunt de Sartach quod eſſet Chriſtianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can: quia faciunt maiorem reuerentiam Chriſtianis, quàm alijs populis, & tamen in veritate Chriſtiani non ſunt. Sic ergo exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego tranſiui per paſcua eius, nullus aliquid ſciebat de eo niſi Neſtoriani pauci. In paſcuis eius habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam fuit frater Andreas: & ego etiam tranſiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam potens, paſtor ſimiliter, nomine Vut: & ipſe erat vltra Alpes ipſorum Caracatay, diſtans à fratre ſuo ſpacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cuiuſdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens ſub ſe, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Chriſtiani Neſtorini. Sed ipſe dominus eorum dimiſſo cultu Chriſti, ſectabatur idola; habens ſacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes ſunt inuocatores dæmonum & ſortilegi. Vltra paſcua iſtius ad decem vel quindecem dietas erant paſcua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines ſine capitaneo & ſine lege, exceptis ſortilegijs & diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit ſine hærede, & ditatus eſt frater eius Vnc; & faciebat ſe vocari Can: & mittebantur armenta greges eius vſque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: & furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conqueſti ſunt paſtores Vut domino ſuo. Tunc congregauit exercitum & equitauit in terram Moal, quærens ipſum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipſe Vut accepta prædà Moal & à Tartaris reuerſus eſt. Tunc ipſe Cyngis allocutus eſt Tartaros & ipſos Moal dicens, Quia ſine duce ſumus opprimunt nos vicini noſtri. Et fecerunt ipſum ducem & capitaneum Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit ſuper ipſum Vut, & vicit ipſum, & ipſe fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxorem, ex quo ipſa ſuſcepit iſtum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipſe Cyngis promittebat vbique ipſos Tartaros: & inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti ſunt. Vnde iſti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, & ſuum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & vbi eſt adhuc curia Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari eſt regio circa quam fuit acquiſitio eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt ſuum Can.

De Rutenis

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari *Caſpio.*

DE Sartach autem vtrum credit in Chriſtum vel non neſcio. Hoc ſcio quod Chriſtianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Chriſtianos. Ipſe enim eſt in itinere Chriſtianorum, ſcilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkiſorum, Alanorum: qui omnes tranſeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris ſui deferre ei munera, vnde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen ſi Saraceni veniant, & maius afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa ſe Neſtorinos ſacerdotes, qui pulſant tabulam, & cantant officium ſuum.

Berta vel Berca,

Eſt alius qui dicitur Berta ſuper Baatu, qui paſcit verſus Portam ferream, vbi eſt iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perſide & de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, & tranſeuntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit ſe Saracenum, & non permittit in terra ſua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu noſtro præceperat ei, quod transferret ſe de illo loco vltra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum tranſire per eum, quia videbatur ſibi damnoſum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouiſum fuit nobis de cibo, niſi ſemel de modico coſmos. In via verò inter ipſum & patrem ſuum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni etiam & Hungari, & Alani ſerui eorum, quorum eſt magna multitudo inter eos, aſſociant ſe viginti vel triginta ſimul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando ſunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in paſcuis, & mutant equos, & vnum vel duos ducunt ſecum, vt comedant quum indiguerint. Occurſum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noſter. In illa via fuiſſemus mortui fame, ſi non portauiſſemus nobiſcum modicum de biſcocto.

Exacta maris Caſpij deſcriptio.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Eſt enim in quadruplo maius quàm Sequana, & profundiſſimum: Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ eſt ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, ſiue quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ eſt iuxta ripam eius in Perſide. Sed Iſidorus vocat illud mare Caſpium. Habet enim montes Caſpios, & Perſidem à meridie: montes verò Muſihet, hoc eſt, Aſſaſſinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caſpijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam ſolitudinem, in qua modò ſunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Canglæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui creſcit in æſtate ſicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Leſgi; & Portam ferream, & montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem. Frater Andreas ipſe circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale ſcilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare ſcilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor menſibus poteſt circundari. Et non eſt verum quod dicit Iſidorus, quòd ſit ſinus exiens ab Oceano: nuſquam enim tangit Oceanum, ſed vndique circundatur terra.

Canglæ populi, vel Cangittæ.

Frater Andreas.

Reprehenditur Iſidori error de mari Caſpio.

H De

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.
Iſidorus.
Oceanus Aquilonaris.
Deſcendit naui per flumen Volga.
Nota.
30 dietę à Porta ferrea.
Aſtracan.
Deſcriptio curiæ Baatu.
Horda ſonat medium.
Miſit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.
Iohannes de Plano carpini.
Literæ Regis Francorum.

TOta illa regio à latere Occidentali iſtius maris, vbi ſunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alanorum, vſq; ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis vbi mergitur Tanais, ſolebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Iſidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verũ eſt, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi verſus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis ſicut boues propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus ſuper Etiliam eſt caſale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui tranſponunt nuncios euntes, & redeuntes ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu eſt in vlteriori ripa verſus Orientem: nec tranſit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus aſcendendo in æſtate, ſed iam incipiebat deſcendere. De Ianuario enim vſque ad Auguſtum aſcendit ipſe, & omnes alij verſus frigidas regiones, & in Auguſto incipiunt redire. Deſcendimus ergo in naui ab illo caſali vſque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo loco vſque ad villas maioris Bulgarię verſus Aquilonem, ſunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ eſt exitus Perſidis, ſunt pluſquam triginta dietæ per tranſuerſum, ſolitudinem aſcendendo iuxta Etiliam vſque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla eſt ciuitas, niſi quædam caſalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari ſunt peſſimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quaſi quædam magna ciuitas protenſa in lõgum, & populus vndiq; circumfuſus, vſq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et ſicut populus Iſrael ſciebat vnuſquiſq;, ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipſi ſciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant ſe collocare, quando ipſi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod ſonat medium, quia ſemper eſt in medio hominum ſuorum: hoc excepto, quod rectà ad meridiem nullus ſe collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris & à ſiniſtris extendunt ſe quantum volunt ſecundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex oppoſito curiæ non deſcendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: ſequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuiſſet capere tot homines & mulieres, quot conuenerant. Monuit nos ductor noſter vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quæſiuit etiam vtrum miſiſſetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miſeratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipſum miſiſſetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, niſi credidiſſetis eos fuiſſe Chriſtianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, ſed ex congratulatione, quia audiueratis eos eſſe Chriſtianos, miſiſtis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem: & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorij, quas ipſi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu noſtro diſcoopertis capitibus, & eramus ſpectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Iohannes de Plano carpini, ſed ipſe mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vſque ad medium tentorij, nec requiſiuerunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, ſicut ſolent facere nuncij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum poſſit dici, Miſerere mei Deus: & omnes erant in ſummo ſilentio. Ipſe verò ſuper ſolium longum ſedebat & latum ſicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod aſcendebatur tribus gradibus, & vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffuſi ſedebant à dextris dominæ & à ſiniſtris: quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna, quia erant ibi ſolæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum coſmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætioſis erat in introitu tentorij. Reſpexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum: & videbatur mihi ſimilis in ſtatura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requieſcit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfuſus gutta roſea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noſter pręcepit vt flecteremus genua, & loqueremur. Flexi vnum genu tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere ſuper hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis iſta terrena, vt det vobis poſt hęc cœleſtia: quia hæc ſine illis vana ſunt. Et ipſe diligenter auſcultauit, & ſubiunxi: Noueritis pro certo quòd cœleſtia non habebitis, niſi fueritis Chriſtianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, ſaluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipſe modeſtè ſubriſit, & alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obſtupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timerem. Tunc facto ſilentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium veſtrum, quia audiuimus quòd eſſet Chriſtianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipſe miſit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis ſcire qua de cauſa. Tunc fecit me ſurgere. Et quæſiuit nomen veſtrum, & meum, & ſocij mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia ſcribi. Quæſiuit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exieratis terram veſtram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Reſpondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hieruſalem. Quæſiuit etiam ſi vnquam miſiſſetis nuncios ad eum. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos ſedere, & dari de lacte ſuo ad bibendum, quod ipſi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit coſmos cum eo in domo ſua. Et dum ſedens reſpicerem terram, præcepit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius reſpicere, vel fortè pro ſortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel ſigno, vel pro mala Prognoſtica, quando aliquis ſedet coram eis inclinata facie quaſi triſtis, maximè quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum ſuper manum. Tunc exiuimus, & poſt pauca, venit Ductor noſter ad nos, & ducens nos ad hoſpitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra iſta: & hoc non poteſt Baatu facere ſine conſcientia Mangu cham. Vnde oportet quod tu & interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus & alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertaris. Tunc incepit homo D E I Interpres lugere reputans ſe perditum: Socius etiam meus conteſtari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod ſine ſocio non poſſem ire: Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia ſi contingeret vnum infirmari, non poſſem ſolus remanere. Tunc ipſe reuerſus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit: vadant duo ſacerdotes & interpres: & Clericus reuertatur ad Sartach. Ille reuerſus dixit nobis ſummam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiſcum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definiuit, & eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemoſyna habebat Goſet clericus viginti ſex ipperpera, & non plus: quorum decem retinuit ſibi & puero: & ſexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et ſic diuiſi ſumus cum lachrimis ab inuicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum verſus curiam Mangu cham.

IN Vigilia Aſſumptionis peruenit ipſe clericus ad Curiam Sartach: & in craſtino fuerunt Sacerdotes Neſtorini induti veſtimentis noſtris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hoſpitem, qui debebat nobis prouidere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu deſcendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque ſeptimanas. Aliquando habuit ſocius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quaſi lachrymando: videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum ſequitur ſemper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tandem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus ſciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quaſi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias ſuorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter inſtructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, ſed neſciebat reſpondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam conſolationem, afferentes coſmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum poſtulaſſent à nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos poſſem dare, nullos enim habebam, niſi Biblium & breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego ſcribam vobis, quamdiu erimus hic: quod & fecerunt. Et ſcripſi vtraſque horas Beatæ Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit ſe nobis quidam Comanus, ſalutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mirans, ipſo reſalutato, quæſiui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam ſalutationem. Et ipſe dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus noſtris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæſiuerat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipſe dixerat ei conditiones ordinis noſtri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba ſua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, ſecundùm æſtimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exaltationis ſanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, cuius pater erat millenarius, quod magnum eſt inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, & eſt iter quatuor menſium: & tantum frigus eſt ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis ſuſtinere. Cui reſpondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos ſuſtinebimus, quod alij homines poſſunt ſuſtinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis ſuſtinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui reſpondi, hoc non eſſet iuſtum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, niſi miſſi à Domino veſtro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. Poſt

Quinque ſeptimanas iuxta Etiliam deſcendebant.

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

Iter quatuor menſium à Volga.

Ingens frigus.

16. Septemb.

Cangle populi. Maior Bulgaria.

hoc fecit nos oſtendere ſibi omnes veſtes noſtras; & quod ſibi videbatur minus neceſſarium fecit deponere ſub cuſtodia hoſpitis noſtri. In craſtino attulerunt cuilibet noſtrum vnam pelliceam villoſam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas ſiue bucellos ſecundùm morem eorum cum ſoccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus ſecundùm modum eorum. Et ſecunda die poſt exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes ſignarios: & equitauimus continuè verſus Orientem vſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caſpium.

De flumine Iagag, & de diuerſis regionibus ſiue *nationibus.*

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Paſcatir terra, vel Baſcirdorum terra vel Zibier.

Hungari à Paſcatir oriundi.

Nota.

Deut. 32. 21.

‖ Qui fuerunt iſti fratres?

Cangle planicies ingens.

POſtquam fueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Paſcatir deſcendens in prędictum mare. Idioma Paſcatir & Hungarorum idem eſt: & ſunt paſtores ſine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariæ ab Occidente. Ab illa terra verſus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non eſt amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior eſt vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Paſcatir exierunt Huni, qui poſteà dicti ſunt Hungari. Vnde ipſa eſt maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Iſidorus, quòd pernicibus equis clauſtra Alexandri rupibus Caucaſi feras gentes cohibentia tranſierunt: ita quod vſque in Ægyptum ſoluebatur eis tributum. Deſtruxerunt etiam omnes terras vſque in Franciam. Vnde fuerunt maioris potentiæ, quàm ſunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui ſunt vltra Danubium propè Conſtantinopolin, & iuxta Paſcatir ſunt Ilac, quod idem eſt quod Blac: ſed B. neſciunt Tartari ſonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui ſunt in terra Aſſani. Vtroſque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclauorum eſt idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro maiori parte eſt cum Tartaris quos Deus ſuſcitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, & gentem ſtultam, ſecundùm quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id eſt, non cuſtodientes Legem ſuam, in eo qui non eſt populus, & in gente ſtulta irritabo eos: Hoc completur ad literam ſuper omnes nationes non cuſtodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Paſcatir ſcio per fratres Prædicatores, ‖ qui iuerunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tunc erant ipſi ſubiugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia poſſunt ſciri per Chronica: quia conſtat quod illæ prouinciæ poſt Conſtantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Gręcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia. Equitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à feſto Sanctæ crucis vſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum eſt à Pariſijs vſque Aurelianum, ſecundùm quod poſſum eſtimare, & plus aliquando: ſecundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, & oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos ſemper habebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi ſemper prouidebant de forti equo; quia eram ponderoſus valdè: ſed vtrum ſuauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæſtionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, ſi durè portaret. Sed fortunam ſuam oportebat vnumquemque ſuſtinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam poſſemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam veſtes ſuper alios ſaginarios, mutare equos ſaginarios, aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

De fame & ſiti, & alijs miſerijs quas ſuſtinuerunt *in itinere.*

DE fame & ſiti, frigore & fatigatione non eſt numerus. Non enim dant cibum niſi in ſero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel ſorbere milium. In ſero dabant nobis carnes, ſcapulam arietis cum coſtis & de brodio ad menſuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad ſatietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi ſuauiſſimus potus &

maximè nutriens. Feria ſexta permanebam ieiunus vſq; ad noctem, nihil hauriens. Tunc oportebat me in triſtitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes ſemicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis & de nocte deſcendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere ſtercora equorum vel boum: aliam materiam ignis raro inueniebamus; niſi fortè alicubi aliquas ſpinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum ſunt alicubi ſyluæ. Sed hoc raro. In principio deſpiciebat nos multùm Ductor noſter, & faſtidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Poſtea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoſcere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos orare pro ipſis. Vnde ſi habuiſſem bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem ſeminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egreſſi ſunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidiè multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vaſtam ſolitudinem, quæ eſt ſicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noſter. Et mirabantur ſupra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel veſtes præcioſas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, ſi eſſet ita ſenex ſicut audierant: audierant enim quod eſſet quingentorum annotum. Quærebant de terris noſtris ſi ibi eſſent multæ oues, & boues, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod eſſet ſine termino vel ſine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimiſimus viam in Orientem, ‖ quia iam populus deſcenderat multum verſus meridiem: Et dereximus iter per quaſdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa ſolitudine vidi multos aſinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis aſſimulantur mulis: quos multum proſequuti ſunt Dux noſte & ſocij eius, ſed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altiſſimi: & intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur ſicut hortus, & inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capiraneus occurrebat extra villam duci noſtro cum ceruiſia & ciphis. Hic eſt enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis ſubditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi ſuper glaciem. Et prius à feſto Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in ſolitudine. Quæſiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: ſed quia iam eramus in alio territorio neſcierunt mihi dicere, niſi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et deſcendebat magnus fluuius de montibus, qui irrigabat totam regionem, ſecundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec deſcendebat in aliquod mare, ſed abſorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

Defectus materię ignis.

Aliqua flumina.

Vaſta ſolitudo.

‖ Nota diligenter. Iter verſus meridiem octo dierum.

Aſini velociſſimi.
Montes altiſſimi.

Terræ cultæ.
Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Nouembris ibant ſuper glaciem.

Ciuitas valdè parua.
Magnus fluuius.
Multæ paludes.
Vites.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teutonicorum.

SEquenti die venimus ad aliud caſale propinquius montibus. Et quæſiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd eſſent montes Caucaſi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vſque ad Orientem: & quod tranſiueramus mare ſupradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæſiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici ſerui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæſiueram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, niſi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occaſione. Ipſe non erat in bonis paſcuis. Et quadam die dum eſſet ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus ſuis. Nonne ſum de genere Chingis can ſicut Baatus (Et ipſe erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam ſuper ripam Etiliæ, ſicut Baatu, vt paſcam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipſe Baatu ſcripſit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipſorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæſiuit ab eo ſi dixiſſet tale verbum: & ipſe confeſſus eſt, tamen excuſauit ſe, quia ebrius erat: (quia ſolent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu reſpondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoſcere vſque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in ſupradicto caſali intellexi, quod Talas erat poſt nos iuxta mõtes per ſex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipſe Mangu tranſtulerat eos de licentia Baatu verſus Orientem ſpacio itineris vnius menſis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Tranſiui eundo ſatis prope, per tres dietas fortè, ciuitatem illam: ſed ego ignoraui: nec potuiſſem etiam declinaſſe extra viam, ſi benè ſciuiſſem. A prædicto caſali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbique cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore noſtro: quia ipſe erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent ſibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu

Caſale.

Montes Caucaſi contiguantur mari Orientali.
Talas, vel Chincitalas ciuitas.
Frater Andreas.

Caſale.

Bolac villa. Auri fodinæ.

Intrat ditionem Mangu cham.

Alpes in quibus habitabant Caracatay.

Magnus fluuius.

Terra culta.

Equius villa bona.

Longiſſimè à Perſide.

Lacus quindecem dietarum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa & plena mercatoribus.

Contomanni.

prædicto modo: Et ſimiliter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu superiores ſunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus poſt hoc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus ſolebant habitare Cara catay: & inuenimus ibi magnum fluuium, quem oportuit nos tranſire nauigio. Poſt hæc intrauimus quandam vallem, vbi vidi caſtrum quoddam deſtructum, cuius muri non erant niſi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et pòſt inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Perſicum: longiſſimè tamen erant à Perſide. Sequenti die tranſgreſſis illis Alpibus quæ deſcendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingreſſi ſumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, & quoddam mare à ſiniſtris, ſiue quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis deſcendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æſtate rediuimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, vbi ſimiliter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta ſolebant eſſe multæ villæ: ſed pro maiori parte omnes erant deſtructæ, vt paſcerent ibi Tartari: quia optima paſcua erant ibi. Vnam magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quieuimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam ſcriptorem Baatu, qui debebat eſſe ſocius ducis noſtri in negotijs expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa ſolebat dici Organum: & ſolebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate ſolebant facere Neſtorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia ſolebant eſſe optimi Organiſtæ vel Cithariſtæ, vt dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod ſunt multæ ſectæ in Oriente.

Quod Neſtorini et Saraceni ſunt mixti & Idolatrę.

Iugures populi, Idolatræ.

Cailac.

Iugures ſecta diuiſa ab alijs Idololatris.

fuit apud Caracarum frater Wilhelmus.

PRimi ſunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos verſus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum ſunt mixti Neſtorini & Saraceni. Et ipſi etiã ſunt diffuſi verſus Perſidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prędicta ciuitate Cealac habebant etiam ipſi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, vt viderem ſtultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento ſuper manum ſuam. Vnde credidi quod eſſet Chriſtianus: quia ad omnia quæ quærebam ab eo, reſpondebat vt Chriſtianus. Vnde quęſiui ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Ieſu Chriſti? Et ipſe reſpondit, non habemus conſuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod eſſent Chriſtiani: ſed ex defectu doctrinę omitterent. Videbam enim ibi poſt quandam ciſtam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, ſuper quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quaſi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quaſi ipſorum tenentes digitos ſicut ad benedicendum. Illo ſero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantũ inuitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Sararcenis de ritu talium, ipſi ſcandalizabantur. In craſtino fuerunt kalendæ & paſcha Saracenorum & mutaui hoſpitium: ita quod fui hoſpitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet ſecuudum poſſe ſuum vel portionem ſuam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inueni ſacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa ſua, & ornant ſe ſacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primò ergo deſcribo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: & poſtea iſtorum Iugurum; qui ſunt quaſi ſecta diuiſa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem comploſis manibus: & proſternentes ſe genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem ſuper manus. Vnde Neſtorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando: ſed orant extenſis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa ſua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quaſi eorũ exeuntem: vel aliter, Si eſt domus quadrata, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam & latam ſicut menſam vnam. Et poſt illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Catacarum, ita magnum ſicut pingitur Sanctus Chriſtopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam ſacerdos Neſtorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa eſt Idolum ita magnum, quod poteſt videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super ciſtam illam, quæ eſt quaſi menſa vna, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum ſunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas ſicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Chriſtiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Gaſaria.

De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter ſe habent *in officio deorum ſuorum.*

OMnes ſacerdotes eorum raſum habent totum caput & barbam ; ſunt veſtiti de croceo, & ſeruant caſtitatem, ex quo radunt caput : Et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo ſcamna, & ſedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt ſuper illa ſcamna: & habent capita diſcooperta quãdiu inſunt in tẽplo, legentes in ſilencio, & tenentes ſilencium. Vnde cùm ingreſſus fuiſſem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, & inueniſſem eos ita ſedentes, multis modis tentaui eos prouocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quendam reſtem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, ſicut nos portamus pater noſter : Et dicunt ſemper hæc verba : *On mam Hactani* : hoc eſt, Deus tu noſti ; ſecundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus eſt mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum ſuum ſemper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro : & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua ſedent ad colloquendum, Et ſuper illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat ſi poſſint, ſuper totam villam. Et per illam perticam poteſt cognoſci, quod domus illa ſit templum Idolorum. Iſta communia ſunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingreſſus fui prędictam Idolatriam, inueni ſacerdotes ſedentes ſub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci eſſe raſis barbis. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Iſtorum Iugurum ſacerdotes habent talem habitum quocunque vadunt : ſemper ſunt in tunicis croceis ſatis ſtrictis accincti deſuper recte ſicut Franci: & habent pallium ſuper humerum ſiniſtrum deſcendens inuolutũ per pectus & dorſum ad latus dextrum ſicut diaconus portans caſulam in quadrageſima. Iſtorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipſi incipiunt ſcribere ſurſum, & ducunt lineam deorſum, & eodem modo ipſi legunt & multiplicant lineas a ſiniſtra ad dextram. Iſti multum vtuntur cartis & caracteribus pro ſortilegio. Vnde templa ſua plena ſunt breuibus ſuſpenſis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Iſti comburunt mortuos ſuos ſecundum antiquum modum, & recondunt puluerem in ſummitate pyramidis. Cum ergo ſediſſem iuxta prædictos ſacerdotes, poſtquam ingreſſus fueram templum & vidiſſem idola eorum multa magna & parua: quæſiui ab eis, quid ipſi crederent de Deo. Qui reſponderunt, Non credimus niſi vnum Deum. Et ego quæſiui. Creditis quod ipſe ſit ſpiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod ſit ſpiritus. Et ego : Creditis quod nunquam ſumpſerit humanam naturam? Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego : ex quo creditis, quod non ſit niſi vnus ſpiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot inſuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus ſit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc reſponderunt, Nos non figuramus iſtas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex noſtris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic : & nos veneramur eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis iſta niſi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæſiuerunt à me quaſi deridendo: vbi eſt Deus? Quibus ego, Vbi eſt anima veſtra? Dixerunt, in corpore noſtro. Quibus ego. Nonne eſt vbique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique eſt, & omnia gubernat, inuiſibilis tamen, quia intellectus & ſapientia eſt. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Iſtorum ſectę ſunt Moal ſiue Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipſi non credunt niſi vnum Deum : tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum ſuorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis preciociſſimis, & ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audet tangere : & ſunt ſub cuſtodia diuinatorum ſuorum, qui ſunt eorum ſacerdotes, de quibus poſtea narrabo vobis. Iſti diuinatores ſemper ſunt ante curiam ipſius Mangu & aliorũ diuitum : pauperes enim non habent eos; niſi illi qui ſunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipſi præcedunt, ſicut columna nubis filios Iſrael, & ipſi conſiderant locum metandi caſtra, & poſt deponunt domos ſuas; & poſt eos tota curia. Et tunc cum ſit dies feſtus ſiue kalendæ ipſi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo ſua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant ſe imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

Tyarę cartaceę.

Chinenſes ita etiam ſcribunt.

Sortilegi.

Combuſtio mortuorum.

De

De diuerſis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere *ſolebant parentes ſuos.*

Patria Presbiteri Iohannis.

Tangut populi, fortiſſimi.

Boues piloſis caudis: his ſimiles ſunt in Quiuera Americæ ſeptentrionalis prouincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri abundantia.

Tangut homines magni ſed fuſci.

Langa & Solanga

Solangi ſimiles Hiſpanis, & fuſci.

Tabula de dente elephantino.

Muc populi.

Magna Cathaya.

PRædicti vero Iugures, qui ſunt mixti cum Chriſtianis & Saracenis, per frequentes diſputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt niſi vnum deum. Et iſti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui poſt obediuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipſe dedit regi eorum filiam ſuam. Et ipſa Caracarum eſt quaſi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis ſiue presbyteri Iohannis & Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum: Sed iſti in paſcuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem, Inde eſt quod ipſi Moal ſumpſerunt literas eorum. Et ipſi ſunt magni ſcriptores eorum: & omnes fere Neſtorini ſciunt literas eorum. Poſt iſtos ſunt ipſi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortiſſimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimiſſus ab eis, poſtea ſubiugauit eos. Iſti habent boues fortiſſimos habentes caudas plenas pilis ſicut equi, & ventres piloſos & dorſa. Baſſiores ſunt alijs bobus in tibijs, ſed ferociores multum. Iſti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuoſa, acutiſſima: ita quod oportet ſemper ſecare ſummitates eorum. Vacca non permittit ſe iniungi niſi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia ſi vident hominem indutum rubeis, inſiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Poſt illos ſunt Tebet homines ſolentes comedere parentes ſuos defunctos, vt cauſa pietatis non facerent aliud ſepulchrum eis niſi viſcera ſua, Modo tamen hoc dimiſerunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate ſua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Iſti habent multum de auro in terra ſua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, reſiduum condens in terra: quia ſi reponeret in arca vel in theſauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod eſt in terra. De iſtis hominibus vidi perſonas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos ſed fuſcos. Iugures ſunt mediocris ſtaturæ ſicut noſtri. Apud Iugures eſt fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Poſt Tebet ſunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas pluſquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur ſex bobus. Iſti ſunt parui homines & fuſci ſicut Hiſpani: & habent tunicas ſicut ſupertunicale diaconi manicis parum ſtrictioribus: & habent in capitibus mitras ſicut epiſcopi. Sed pars anterior eſt parum interior quàm poſterior, & non terminatur in vnum angulum: ſed ſunt quadræ deſuper, & ſunt de ſtramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium ſolis ſicut ſpeculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia aſſutas ipſi mitræ; quæ ſe extendunt ad ventum ſicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ ſuperius à tempore in tempus: & iacent ſicut circulus ex tranſuerſo capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, & ad latitudinem vnius palmi, raſam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipſi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, ſemper aſpiciebat in illam tabulam, ac ſi inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec reſpiciebat ad dextram vel ſiniſtram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nuſquam reſpicit niſi in tabulam ſuam. Vltra iſtos ſunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, ſed nulla animalia ſibi appropriant: tamen ſunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipſorum, & nullus cuſtodit ea, Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, aſcendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt ſe tractari quaſi domeſtica. Et ſi nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipſi includunt eum in domo, & miniſtrant ei neceſſaria, donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia ſi iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, & efficerentur ſylueſtria. Vltra eſt magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipſis enim veniunt optimi panni ſerici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione eſt oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In iſta terra ſunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis, Et inter*

Aliqua deſiderantur.

The iournal of frier *William de Rubruquis* a French *man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the Eaſt parts* of the worlde. An.Dom.1253.

TO his moſt Soueraigne, & moſt Chriſtian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meaneſt of the Minorites order, wiſheth health & cõtinual triumph in CHRIST.

It is written in the booke of Eccleſiaſticus concerning the wiſe man: He ſhall trauell into forren countries, and good and euill ſhall he trie in all things. The very ſame action (my lord and king) haue I atchieued: howbeit I wiſh that I haue done it like a wiſe man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the ſame action which a wiſe man doth, not wiſely but more vndiſcreetly: of which number I feare my ſelfe to be one. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer I haue done it, becauſe you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I ſhould ſee among the Tartars, and you wiſhed me alſo that I ſhould not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maieſtie inioined me: yet with feare and reuerence, becauſe I want wordes and eloquence ſufficient to write vnto ſo great a maieſtie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your ſacred Maieſtie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, we entered into the ſea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great ſea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midſt thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the caſtle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, Gaſaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite vpon the ſea ſhore thereof, it is called Caſſaria, that is to ſay Cæſaria. And there are certaine head lands ſtretching foorth into the ſea towards Synopolis. Alſo, there are 300. miles of diſtance betweene Synopolis and Caſſaria. Inſomuch that the diſtance from thoſe points or places to Conſtantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700. miles alſo from thence to the Eaſt, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a prouince of Georgia. At the prouince of Gaſaria or Caſſaria we arriued, which prouince is, in a maner, three ſquare, hauing a citie on the Weſt part thereof called Kerſoua, wherein S. Clement ſuffered martyrdome. And ſayling before the ſaid citie, we ſawe an iſland, in which a Church is ſayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midſt of the ſaid prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a ſharpe angle or point, ſtandeth a citie called Soldaia directly ouer againſt Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the North countries, in their iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne homeward alſo from Ruſſia, and the ſaid Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foreſaid merchants tranſport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and coſtly ſkinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombaſt, and ſilke, and diuers kindes of ſpices. But vpon the Eaſt part of the ſaid prouince ſtandeth a citie called Matriga, where the riuer Tanais diſchargeth his ſtreames into the ſea of Pontus, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entreth into the ſea of Pontus, maketh a little ſea, which hath in breadth and length ſeuen hundreth miles, & it is in no place thereof aboue ſixe paces deepe, whereupon great veſſels cannot ſayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Conſtantinople, arriuing at the foreſayd citie of ‖ Materta, ſend their barkes vnto the riuer of Tanais to buy dried fiſhes, Sturgeons, Thoſſes, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fiſhes. The foreſayd prouince of Caſſaria is compaſſed in with the ſea on three ſides thereof: namely on the Weſt ſide, where Kerſoua the citie of Saint Clement is ſituate: on the South ſide the citie of Soldaia whereat we arriued: on the Eaſt ſide Maricandis, and there ſtands the citie of Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais. Beyond the ſayd mouth ſtandeth Zikia, which is not in ſubiection vnto the Tartars: alſo the people called Sueui and Hiberi towards the Eaſt, who likewiſe are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Moreouer towards the South, ſtandeth the citie of Trapeſunda, which hath a gouernour proper to it ſelfe, named Guydo, being of the linage of the emperours of Conſtantinople, and is ſubiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewiſe is in ſubiection vnto them. Next vnto theſe lyeth the countrey of Vaſtacius, whoſe ſonne is called Aſtar, of his grandfather by the mothers ſide, who is not in ſubiection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Weſtward as farre as Danubius is vnder their iuriſdiction. Yea beyond Danubius alſo, towards Conſtantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Aſſanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And beſides the

tribute

Ecclus.39.ver.4.

Gaſaria.

Soldaia.

The citie of Matriga.

‖ Matriga.

Zikia.

tribute impoſed, they haue alſo, of late yeares, exacted of euery houſhold an axe, and all ſuch corne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And diuers merchants of Conſtantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certaine meſſengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were deſirous to trauell vnto Sartach. Notwithſtanding I my ſelf had publikely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within ẏ Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans meſſenger, but that I trauailed vnto thoſe infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the ſaid merchãts admoniſhed me to take diligent heede what I ſpake: becauſe they hauing reported me to be a meſſenger, if I ſhould ſay the contrary, that I were no meſſenger, I could not haue free paſſage granted vnto me. Thẽ I ſpake after this maner vnto the gouernors of the citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenãts, becauſe the gouernors thẽſelues were gone to pay tribute vnto Baatu, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Chriſtian: and the Chriſtians were exceeding glad therof, & eſpecially the moſt Chriſtian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth againſt the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go vnto Sartach, & to deliuer vnto him ẏ letters of my lord the king, wherein he admoniſheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Chriſtendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs enterteinement in the cathedrall Church. The biſhop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the ſaide Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing ſo. Then put they vs to our choyce, whither we woulde haue cartes and oxen, or packe horſes to tranſport our cariages. And the marchants of Conſtantinople aduiſed me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (ſuch as the Ruſſians carrie their ſkins in) and to put all our carriages, which I would daylie take out, into them: becauſe, if I ſhould vſe horſes, I muſt be conſtrained at euery baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them vp againe on ſundry horſes backs: and beſides, that I ſhould ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherfore, contenting my ſelfe with their euil counſel, I was trauelling vnto Sartach 2. moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horſe. I brought with me from Conſtantinople (being by the marchants aduiſed ſo to doe) pleaſant fruits, muſcadel wine, and delicate biſket bread to preſent vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free paſſage: becauſe they looke fauourablie vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I beſtowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sartach, that they would be moſt acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our iourney therefore about the kalends of Iune, with fower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to reſt vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue horſes to ride vpon. For there were iuſt fiue perſons in our company: namely, I my ſelfe and mine aſſociate frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goſet the bearer of theſe preſents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my ſeruant, whome I bought at Conſtantinople with ſome part of the almes beſtowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oxen and horſes. There be high promontories on the ſea ſhore from Kerſoua vnto the mouth of Tanais. Alſo there are fortie caſtles betweene Kerſoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almoſt haue their proper languages: amongſt whome there were many Gothes, who ſpake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the ſaid mountaines towards the North, there is a moſt beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines & freſhets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fiue dayes iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the ſaid prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Iſthmus or neck land, hauing ſea on the Eaſt & Weſt ſides therof, inſomuch that there is a ditch made frõ one ſea vnto the other. In the ſame plaine (before the Tartars ſprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foreſayd cities and caſtles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foreſaid prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the ſea ſhore, being in ſuch extreame famine, that they which were aliue, were conſtrained to eate vp thoſe which were dead: and (as a marchant reported vnto me who ſawe it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw fleſh of the dead, as dogges would gnawe vpon carrion. Towards the borders of the ſayd prouince there be many great lakes: vpon the bankes whereof are ſalt pits or fountaines, the water of which ſo ſoone as it entereth into the lake, becommeth hard ſalte like vnto ice. And out of thoſe ſalte pittes Baatu and Sartach haue great reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all Ruſſia for ſalte: and for each carte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of halfan Yperpera. There come by ſea alſo many ſhips for ſalt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars, Amongſt whome being entred,

Frier Bartholomeus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Cherſoneſus.

The Tartars.

tered, me thought I was come into a new world. Whoſe life and maners I wil deſcribe vnto your Highnes as well as I can.

Of the *Tartars*, and of their houſes. *Chap.2.*

They haue in no place any ſetled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celeſtiall citie to come. They haue diuided all Scythia among themſelues, which ſtretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the riſing of the ſunne. And euery of their captaines, according to the great or ſmall number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his paſtures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and ſummer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they deſcend vnto the warme regions ſouthward. And in the ſummer they aſcend vnto the colde regions Northward. In winter when ſnowe lyeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon paſtures without water, becauſe then they vſe ſnow in ſtead of water. Their houſes wherein they ſleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof conſiſteth (in like ſorte) of wickers, meeting aboue into one little roundell, out of which roundell aſcendeth vpward a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay morter or white earth vpon the ſayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may ſhine white. And ſometimes alſo they couer it with blacke felte. The ſayd felte on the necke of their houſe, they doe garniſh ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the doore likewiſe they hang a felt curiouſly painted ouer. For they ſpend all their coloured felt, in painting vines, trees, birds, and beaſtes thereupon. The ſayd houſes they make ſo large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For meaſuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the houſe was vpon the carte, it ſtretched ouer the wheeles on each ſide fiue feete at the leaſt. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an houſe vpon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the maſt of a ſhip. And a fellow ſtood in the doore of the houſe, vpon the foreſtall of the carte driuing forth the oxen. Moreouer, they make certaine foureſquare baskets of ſmall ſlender wickers as big as great cheſtes: and afterward, from one ſide to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of ſuch like wickers, and make a doore in the fore ſide thereof. And then they couer the ſayd cheſt or little houſe with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or ſheeps milke to keepe the raine from ſoaking through, which they decke likewiſe with painting or with feathers. And in ſuch cheſts they put their whole houſhold ſtuffe & treaſure. Alſo the ſame cheſts they do ſtrongly bind vpon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to ỹ end they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the ſayd cheſts from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houſes, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the carts laden with their cheſts, here & there, within half a ſtones caſt of ỹ houſe: inſomuch that the houſe ſtandeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. The matrons make for thẽſelues moſt beautiful carts, which I am not able to deſcribe vnto your maieſtie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my ſkill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. ſuch cartes with cheſts. Duke Baatu hath ſixteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great houſe, beſides other little houſes, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the ſaid houſes do belong 100, cartes. When they take their houſes from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the Weſt frontier, and ſo all the reſt in their order: ſo that the laſt wife dwelleth vpon the Eaſt frontier: and one of the ſaid ladies courts is diſtant from another about a ſtones caſt. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the ſame. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there ſittes a wench in the foremoſt carte driuing the oxen, and al the reſidue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad paſſage, they let them looſe, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a ſlowe pace, as faſt as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

The benefite of a painter in ſtrange countries.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. *Chap.3.*

Hauing taken downe their houſes from off their cartes, and turning the doores Southward, they place the bed of the maſter of the houſe, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwaies on the Eaſt ſide, namely on the left hand of the good man of the houſe ſitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is vpon ỹ Weſt ſide, namely at the right hand of their maſter. Men when they enter into the houſe, wil not in any caſe hang their quiuers on the womens ſide. Ouer the maſters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the maſters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or miſtreſſe, which they call her brother being faſtened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole houſe. The good wife or miſtreſſe of the houſe placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the ſkinne of a Kidde ſtuffed with wooll or ſome other matter, and neare vnto that a litle image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the doore alſo on the womens ſide, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milke the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other ſide of the doore next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they ſprinckle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the maſters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a ſeruant out of the houſe with a cuppe full of drinke ſprinckling it thriſe towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then perfourmeth he the like ſuperſtitious idolatrie towards the Eaſt, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the Weſt for the honour of the water: & laſtly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maſter holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he taſteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh ſitting on horſe backe, hee powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horſe before hee himſelfe drinketh. After the ſeruant aforeſaide hath ſo diſcharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the houſe: and two other ſeruants ſtand ready with two cuppes, and two baſons, to carrie drinke vnto their maſter and his wife, ſitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath more wiues then one, ſhe with whome hee ſlept the night before, ſitteth by his ſide the daye following: and all his other wiues muſt that day reſorte vnto the ſame houſe to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes alſo which are preſented that daye are layd vp in the cheſts of the ſayd wife. And vpon a bench ſtands a veſſell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. *Chap.4.*

In winter time they make excellent drinke of Riſe, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Alſo they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In ſummer time they care not for any drinke, but Coſmos. And it ſtandeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it ſtands a minſtrell with his fidle. I ſawe there no ſuch citerns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other muſicall inſtruments which are not vſed among vs. And when the maſter of the houſe begins to drinke, one of his ſeruants cryeth out with a lowde voice HA, and the minſtrell playes vpon his fidle. And when they make any great ſolemne feaſt, they all of them clap their hands & daunce to the noyſe of muſique, the men before their maſter and the women before their miſtreſſe. And when the maſter hath drunke, then cries out his ſeruant as before, and the minſtrell ſtayeth his muſique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and ſometimes they carowſe for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Alſo when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and ſo lug and drawe him ſtrongly to ſtretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing before him. Moreouer when ſome of them will make great feaſting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other ſtand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and ſo they three come ſinging to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, ſtill ſinging and dauncing before him: and when he ſtretcheth foorth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape ſuddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and ſo hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, ſinging and dauncing and ſtamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinking.

They vſe the like cuſtome in Florida.

Of their foode and victuals. *Chap.5.*

Concerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highneſſe that they do, without al difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongſt ſo many droues it cannot be, but ſome cattell muſt needes die. Howbeit in ſummer, ſo long as their Coſmos, that is, their mares milke laſteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an oxe or an horſe dye, they drie the fleſh thereof: for cutting it into thin ſlices and hanging it vp againſt the Sunne and the wind, it is preſently dried without ſalt, and alſo without ſtenche or corruption. They

Drying of fleſh in the winde.

make better puddings of their horſes then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the reſt of the fleſh they reſerue vntill winter. They make of their oxe ſkins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the ſmoake. Of the hinder part of their horſe hides they make very fine ſandals & pantafles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the fleſh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with ſalt and water (other ſauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle forke which they make for the ſame purpoſe (ſuch as wee vſe to take roſted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a morſell or twaine, according to the multitude of gueſtes. The maſter of the houſe, before the rams fleſh be diſtributed, firſt of all himſelfe taketh thereof, what he pleaſeth. Alſo, if he giueth vnto any of the company a ſpeciall part, the receiuer therof muſt eat it alone, and muſt not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, he caries it with him, or deliuers it vnto his boy, if he be preſent, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to ſay, his foure ſquare buget, which they vſe to cary about with them for the ſauing of all ſuch prouiſion, and wherein they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burniſh them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

How they make their drinke called *Coſmos.* *Chap. 6.*

Their drinke called Coſmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They faſten a long line vnto 2. poſts ſtanding firmely in the ground, & vnto the ſame line they tie the young foles of thoſe mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to ſtand by their foles gently ſuffering themſelues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her fole, & puts it vnder her, letting it ſuck a while, and preſently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the ſaid mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as ſweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the ſaid bag with a piece of wood made for the purpoſe, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and ſo ſoone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be ſower and ſharp of taſte, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taſte they thereof, and being indifferently ſharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raſpes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaueth behind it a taſte like the taſte of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleaſantly, intoxicating weake braines: alſo it cauſeth vrine to be auoided in great meaſure. Likewiſe Caracoſmos, that is to ſay black Coſmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. Firſt they beat the ſaid milke ſo long till the thickeſt part thereof deſcend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like vnto whey or white muſt. The ſaid lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to ſeruants, and will cauſe them to ſleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their maſters drinke: and in very deed it is maruellous ſweete and haleſome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which ſerueth him dayly with the Caracoſmos of an hundreth mares milk, and ſo all of them together euery day with the milke of 3000. mares, beſides white milke which other of his ſubiects bring. For euen as the huſbandmen of Syria beſtow the third part of their fruicts and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen ſo doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of their cowes milke they firſt churne butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams ſkinnes, which they reſerue for the ſame purpoſe. Neither doe they ſalte their butter: and yet by reaſon of the long ſeething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in ſtore for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as ſowre as poſſibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the ſun, making them as hard as the droſſe of iron: and this kind of food alſo they ſtore vp in ſachels againſt winter. In the winter ſeaſon when milke faileth them, they put the foreſaid curds (which they cal Gry-vt) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it luſtily till they haue reſolued it into the ſaid water, which is thereby made exceedingly ſowre, and that they drinke in ſtead of milke. They are very ſcrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it ſelfe.

Of the beaſtes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. *Chap. 7.*

Great lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale against winter. The poorer ſort prouide themſelues of ſuch neceſſaries, for ẏ exchange of rams, & of other beaſts ſkins. The Tartars ſlaues fil their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate miſe with long tailes, nor any kinde of miſe with ſhort tailes. They haue alſo certaine litle beaſts called by thẽ Sogur, which lie in a caue twenty or thirty of them together, al the whole winter ſleeping there for the ſpace of ſixe moneths: and theſe they take in great abundance. There are alſo a kind of conies hauing long tayles like vnto cats: & on the outſide of their tailes grow blacke & white haires. They haue many other ſmall beaſts good to eat, which they know and diſcerne right well. I ſaw no Deere there, & but a fewe harts, but a great nūber of Roes. I ſaw wild aſſes in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Alſo I ſaw another kind of beaſt called Artak, hauing in al reſemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of ſuch bignes, that I could ſcarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand: & of theſe hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Girfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they cary vpon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a ſtring of leather, which hangeth downe to yͤ midſt of their gorges, by the which ſtring, whē they caſt them off the fiſt at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breaſts of the ſayd haukes, leaſt they ſhould be toſſed vp & downe, & beaten with the wind, or leaſt they ſhould ſoare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen vnto your Maieſtie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the Eaſt, out of Perſia alſo and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them ſtuffes of ſilke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of ſummer. But out of Ruſſia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Paſcatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kerſis (all which are Northerne regions & full of woods) & alſo out of many other countries of the North, which are ſubiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and coſtly ſkins of diuers ſortes (which I neuer ſaw in our countries) wherewithal they are clad in winter. And alwaies againſt winter they make themſelues two gownes, one with the fur inward to their ſkin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & ſnow, which for the moſt part are made of woolues ſkins, or Fox ſkins, or els of Papions. And whē they ſit within the houſe, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer ſort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats ſkins. When they goe to hunt for wild beaſts, there meets a great company of them together, & inuironing the place round about, where they are ſure to find ſome game, by litle & litle they approch on al ſides, til they haue gotten the wild beaſts into the midſt, as it were into a circle, & then they diſcharge their arrowes at them. Alſo they make thēſelues breeches of ſkins. The rich Tartars ſomtimes fur their gowns with pelluce or ſilke ſhag, which is exceeding ſoft, light, & warme. The poorer ſort do line their clothes with cottō cloth which is made of the fineſt wooll they can pick out, & of the courſer part of the ſaid wool, they make felt to couer their houſes and their cheſts, and for their bedding alſo. Of the ſame wool, being mixed with one third part of horſe haire, they make all their cordage. They make alſo of the ſaid felt couerings for their ſtooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purpoſes they ſpend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Our falconers vſe the left fiſt. Another ſtrāge cuſtome, which I leaue to be ſcanned by falconers themſelues.

Great expenſe of wooll.

Of the faſhion which the *Tartars* vſe in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. *Chap.* 8.

The men ſhaue a plot foure ſquare vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formoſt corners they ſhaue, as it were, two ſeames downe to their temples: they ſhaue alſo their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewiſe they ſhaue the forepart of their ſcalp downe to their foreheads, & vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermoſt corners of of their heads, they haue two lockes alſo, which they twine and braid into knots and ſo bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer their womens garments differ not from their mens, ſauing that they are ſomwhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is maried, ſhee ſhaues her ſcalpe from the middeſt of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before and girt vnto them vnder the right ſide. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: becauſe the Turkes faſten their garments to their bodies on the left ſide: but the Tartars alwaies on the right ſide. They haue alſo an ornament for their heads which they call Bocca, being made of the barke of a tree, or of ſome ſuch other lighter matter as they can find, which by reaſon of the thickneſs & roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a ſquare ſharp ſpire riſing frō the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, & faſhioned like vnto a pinacle. The ſaid Bocca they couer al ouer with a piece of rich ſilke: & it is hollow within: & vpon the midſt of the ſayd ſpire or ſquare toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of ſlender canes a cubite long and more: & the ſayd bunch, on the top therof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al yͤ length therof, with the feathers of a Malards taile, & with precious ſtones alſo. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it ſtrongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the ſpire to come through it: & vnder the foreſaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together frō the hinder part therof to the crowne, & ſo lay them vp in a knot or bundel within the ſaid Botta, which afterward they bind ſtrongly vnder their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of ſuch gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they ſeem to be ſouldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the ſaid Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. Al their women ſit on horſebacke beſtriding their horſes like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their waſtes with a ſkie coloured ſilke ſkarfe, & with another ſkarfe they girde it aboue their breaſts: & they bind alſo a piece of white ſilke like a muſler or maſke vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breaſt. Theſe gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the leſſer their noſes be, the fairer are they eſteemed: they daube ouer their ſweet faces with greaſe too ſhamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

Of the dueties inioined vnto the *Tartarian* women, and of their labours, and alſo of their mariages. *Chap.9.*

The duties of women are, to driue carts: to lay their houſes vpon carts & to take them downe again: to milke kine: to make butter & Gry-vt: to dreſſe ſkins & to ſow them, which they vſually ſowe with thread made of ſinewes, for they diuide ſinewes into ſlender threads, & then twine thē into one long thread. They make ſandals & ſocks & other garments. Howbeit they neuer waſh any apparel: for they ſay that God is then angry, & that dreadful thunder wil enſue, if waſhed garmēts be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat ſuch as waſh, & take their garments frō them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thruſt all ſtrangers out of their houſes, & then wrapping thēſelues in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpaſt. They neuer waſh their diſhes or bowles: yea, when their fleſh is ſodden, they waſh the platter wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot broth out of the pot, & then powre the ſaid broth into the pot againe. They make felte alſo, & couer their houſes therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, ſtirrops, bridles, and ſaddles: to build houſes & carts, to keepe horſes: to milke mares: to churne Coſmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels alſo & lay burthens vpon them. As for ſheepe & goates they tend and milke them, aſwell the men as the women. With ſheeps milke thicked & ſalted they dreſſe and tan their hides. When they wil waſh their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, & ſpouting it into their hands by little and little, they ſprinckle their haire & waſh their heades therwith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderſtand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon ſomtimes their maids are very ſtale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe thē till they can ſel them. They keepe the firſt and ſecond degrees of conſanguinitie inuiolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by ſucceſſion, two ſiſters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reaſon: becauſe they beleeue, that al who haue ſerued them in this life, ſhall do them ſeruice in the life to come alſo. Whereupon they are perſwaded, that euery widow after death ſhal returne vnto her own huſband. And herehence ariſeth an abominable & filthy cuſtome among them, namely that the ſonne marieth ſomtimes all his fathers wiues except his own mother: For the court or houſe of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger ſon. Whereupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, becauſe they are part of his inheritance aſwel as his fathers poſſeſſions. And then if he will he vſeth them for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or diſparagement vnto himſelfe, although they returne vnto his father after death. Therfore whē any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the ſaid damoſel makes him a feaſt: in the meane while ſhe fleeth vnto ſome of her kinſfolks to hide her ſelfe. Then ſaith her father vnto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her whereſoeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends ſeek for her till they can find her, and hauing found her he muſt take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently vnto his owne houſe.

Of their execution of iuſtice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. *Chap.10.*

Concerning their lawes or their execution of iuſtice, your Maieſty is to be aduertiſed, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himſelf to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne ſonne. But he that goes by the worſt muſt appeale vnto the court of his lord. And whoſoeuer els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he muſt go preſently without all delay: and he that hath ſuffered the iniury, carieth him, as it were captiue. They puniſh no man with ſentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confeſſeth the ſame. But being accuſed by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture to make him confeſſe the trueth. They puniſh murther with death, and carnall copulation alſo with any other beſides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid ſeruant, for he may vſe his ſlaue as he liſteth himſelf. Heinous theft alſo or felony they puniſh with death. For a light theft, as namely for ſtealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwiſe detected) is cruelly beaten. And if ẏ executioner laies on an 100. ſtrokes, he muſt haue an 100. ſtaues, namely for ſuch as are beaten vpon ſentēce giuen in the court. Alſo counterfeit meſſengers, becauſe they feine themſelues to be meſſengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they puniſh with death. Sacrilegious perſons they vſe in like maner (of which kind of malefactors your Maieſty ſhall vnderſtand more fully hereafter) becauſe they eſteeme ſuch to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle moſt pitifully for him: & the ſaid mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Alſo whoſoeuer is preſent at the houſe where any one growen to mans eſtate lieth dead, he muſt not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceaſed he muſt not enter into the ſaid court til the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceaſed they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the ſtock of Chingis, who was their firſt lord & father) deceaſeth, his ſepulcher is vnknowen. And alwayes about thoſe places where they interre their nobles, there is one houſe of men to keep the ſepulchers. I could not learn that they vſe to hide treaſures in the graues of their dead. The Comaniās build a great toomb ouer their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the Eaſt, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect alſo vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to ſay, litle ſharpe houſes or pinacles: & in ſome places I ſaw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of ſtones, albeit there are no ſtones to be found thereabout. I ſaw one newly buried, in whoſe behalfe they hanged vp 16. horſe hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high poſts: & they ſet beſides his graue Coſmos for him to drink, & fleſh to eat: & yet they ſayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of ſepulchers alſo towards the Eaſt: namely large flowres or pauemēts made of ſtone, ſome roūd & ſome ſquare, & then 4. long ſtones pitched vpright, about the ſaid pauement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is ſicke, he lieth in his bed, & cauſeth a ſigne to be ſet vpon his houſe, to ſignifie that there lieth a ſicke perſon there, to the end that no man may enter into the ſayd houſe: whereupon none at all viſit any ſicke party but his ſeruant only. Moreouer, when any one is ſicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to ſtand round about the ſaid court, who wil not ſuffer any perſon to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare leaſt euill ſpirits or winds ſhould come together with the parties that enter in. They eſteeme of ſoothſayers, as of their prieſts.

Of our firſt entrance among the *Tartars*, and of their ingratitude. *Chap.* 11.

AND being come amōgſt thoſe barbarous people, me thought (as I ſaid before) ẏ I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horſe back, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them ſitting in the ſhadow, vnder their black carts. The firſt queſtion which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them heretofore, or no? And giuing thē anſwere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals frō vs. And we gaue them ſome of our biſket & wine, which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, ſaying, that a man goeth not into the houſe with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excuſing our ſelues that we had but a litle. Then they aſked vs, whence we came, & whither we were bound? I anſwered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Chriſtian, & that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maieſties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquiſitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were ſent? I anſwered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my ſelfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, & to the will of my ſuperior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to ſay that I was your Maieſties ambaſſador. Then they aſked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or ſiluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach? I anſwered that Sartach ſhould ſee what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, & that they had nothing to do to aſke ſuch queſtions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, ſhould cauſe me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the ſame prouince one of Baatu his kinſmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperor of Conſtantinople had written letters of requeſt, to ſuffer me to paſſe through his territory. With this anſwere of ours they were ſatiſfied, giuing vs horſes & oxen, & two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foreſayd neceſſaries for our iourney, they made vs to awayt a long while, begging our bread for their yong brats, wondering at all things which they ſawe about our ſeruants, as their kniues, gloues, purſes, & points, and deſiring to haue them. I excuſed my ſelf that we had a long way to trauel, & that we muſt in no wiſe ſo ſoon depriue our ſelues of things neceſſary, to finiſh ſo long a iourney. Then they ſaid that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force frō me: howbeit they wil beg that which they ſee very importunatly & ſhameleſly. And if a man beſtow ought vpon thē, it is but coſt loſt, for they are thankles wretches. They eſteeme thēſelues lords & think ÿ nothing ſhould be denied thē by any man. If a man giues them nought, & afterward ſtands in neede of their ſeruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drink after ÿ butter was cherned out of it, being very ſower, which they cal Apram. And ſo we departed from thē. And in very deed it ſeemed to me ÿ we were eſcaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherin we departed frō Soldaia, till we arriued at the court of Sartach, which was the ſpace of two moneths, we neuer lay in houſe or tent, but alwaies vnder the ſtarry canopy, & in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet ſaw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The ſame euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs ſome Coſmos. After I had drunke thereof I ſweat moſt extreamly for the nouelty and ſtrangenes, becauſe I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithſtanding me thought it was very ſauory, as indeed it was.

Of the court of *Scacatai*: and how the Chriſtians drinke no *Coſmos*. *Chap.* 12.

On the morrow after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houſes, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wōdered alſo at the great multitude of huge droues of oxen, & horſes, and at the flockes of ſheepe. I could ſee but a fewe men that guided all theſe matters: wherupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, & they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come paſt, as they lay in another lodging. Then the ſeruant which was our guide told me, that I muſt preſent ſomwhat vnto Scacatay: & ſo he cauſed vs to ſtay, going himſelfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was paſt three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houſes nere vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertiſed by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded ſome of our victuals, & we yeelded vnto his requeſt. Alſo he required of vs ſome garment for a reward, becauſe he was to interpret our ſayings vnto his maſter. Howbeit we excuſed our ſelues as well as wee could. Then he aſked vs, what we would preſent vnto his Lord? And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with biſket, & a platter with apples & other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, becauſe we brought him not ſome rich garment. Notwithſtanding we entred ſo into his preſence with feare and baſhfulnes. He ſate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife ſate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her noſe betweene the eyes, that ſhe might ſeeme to be more flat and ſaddle-noſed: for ſhe had left her ſelfe no noſe at all in that place, hauing annointed the very ſame place with a black ointment, and her eye browes alſo: which ſight ſeemed moſt vgly in our eies. Then I rehearſed vnto him the ſame wordes, which I had ſpoken in other places before. For it ſtoode vs in hand to vſe one and the ſame ſpeech in all places. For we were wel forewarned of this circumſtance by ſome which had been amongſt the Tartars, that we ſhould neuer varie in our tale. Then I beſought him, that he would vouchſafe to accept that ſmall gifte at our hands, excuſing my ſelfe that I was a Monke, and that it was againſt our profeſſion to poſſeſſe gold, or ſiluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any ſuch thing to giue him, howbeit he ſhould receiue ſome part of our victuals in ſtead of a bleſſing. Hereupon he cauſed our preſent to be receiued, and immediately diſtributed the ſame among his men, who were mette together for the ſame purpoſe, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered alſo vnto him the Emperor of Conſtantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feaſt of Aſcenſion) who ſent them forthwith to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was ſkilfull in the Greeke tongue. He aſked vs alſo whether we would drink any Coſmos, that is to ſay mares milke? (For thoſe that are Chriſtians among them, as namely the Ruſſians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very ſtrictly, wil in no caſe drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themſelues no Chriſtians after they haue once drunke of it, & their prieſts reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renounced the Chriſtian faith.) I gaue him anſwere, that we had as yet ſufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we muſt be conſtrained to drink ſuch as ſhould be giuen vnto vs. He enquired alſo what was contained in our letters, which your Maieſtie ſent vnto Sartach? I anſwered: that they were ſealed vp, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he aſked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sartach? I anſwered: the words of Chriſtian faith. He aſked again what theſe words were? For he was very deſirous to heare thē. Then I expoſined vnto him as well as I

A caueat right worthy the noting.

could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of ſpeech) the Apoſtles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he ſhooke his head. Then hee aſſigned vnto vs two men, who ſhoulde giue attendance vpon our ſelues, vpon our horſes, and vpon our Oxen. And hee cauſed vs to ride in his companie, till the meſſenger whome hee had ſent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And ſo wee trauelled in his companie till the morrowe after Pentecoſt.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecoſt or Whitſon euen. *Chap.* 13.

*Or, Akas.

Vpon the euen of Pentecoſt, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are there called *Acias, being Chriſtians after the maner of the Grecians, vſing greeke bookes and Grecian prieſts: howbeit they are not ſchiſmatiques as the Grecians are, but without acceptiõ of perſons, they honour al Chriſtiãs. And they brought vnto vs ſodden fleſh, requeſting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I ſayd, becauſe it was the euen of ſo great and ſo ſolemne a feaſt day, that we would not eate any fleſh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the ſolemnitie of the ſayd feaſt, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Chriſtian religion, except only the name of Chriſt. They and many other Chriſtians, both Ruſſians, and Hungarians demanded of vs, whether they might be ſaued or no, becauſe they were conſtrained to drinke Coſmos, & to eate the dead carkaſes of ſuch things, as were ſlaine by the Saracens, and other infidels? Which euen the Greeke & Ruſſian prieſts themſelues alſo eſteeme as things ſtrangled or offered vnto idoles: becauſe they were ignorant of the times of faſting, neither could they haue obſerued them albeit they had knowen them. Then inſtructed I them aſwell as I could and ſtrengthened them in the faith. As for the fleſh which they had brought we reſerued it vntill the feaſt day. For there was nothing to be ſold among the Tartars for gold & ſiluer, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of marchandiſe wee had none at all. When our ſeruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noſes, to try by the ſmell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very ſowre & filthy. There was one thing moſt neceſſary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was ſo foule and muddy by reaſon of their horſes, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine biſket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly periſhed.

Cloth is the chiefe marchãdiſe in Tartarie.

Of a Saracen which ſaid that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which ſeemed to be lepers. *Chap.* 14.

Vpon the day of Pentecoſt there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Chriſtian faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the reſurrection of the dead, & the iudgement to come, & that in baptiſme was a waſhing away of ſinnes) ſayd, that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our ſelues to the baptizing of him, he ſuddenly mounted on horſebacke, ſaying that he would goe home and conſult with his wife what were beſt to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durſt in no caſe receiue baptiſme, becauſe then he ſhould drinke no more Coſmos. For the Chriſtians of that place affirme that no true Chriſtians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the ſaid liquor he could not liue in that deſert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much eſtranged from the Chriſtian faith by reaſon of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Ruſſians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The ſame day Scacatay the captaine aforeſayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs vnto the next lodging, which was diſtant from that place fiue dayes iourney for oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs alſo a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Coſmos, becauſe it is of ſo great eſtimation among them. And ſo taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had paſſed through one of hell gates. The ſeruants which conducted vs began to play the bold theeues with vs, ſeeing vs take ſo little heed vnto our ſelues. At length hauing loſt much by their theeuery, harme taught vs wiſdome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one ſea vnto another: without the bounds whereof their lodging was ſituate. Into the which, ſo ſoone as we had entred, al the inhabitants there ſeemed vnto vs to be infected with leproſie: for certain baſe fellowes were placed there to receiue tribute of al ſuch as tooke ſalt out of the ſalt pits aforeſaid. From that place

Salt pits.

they told vs that we muſt trauel fifteen daies iourney, before we ſhuld find any other people. With them wee dranke Coſmos, and gaue vnto them a baſket full of fruites and of bisket. And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to ſuſtaine vs in ſo great a iourney, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And ſo changing our oxen, we tooke our iourney which we finiſhed in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleys, except two ſmall riuers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foreſaid prouince of Gaſaria, we trauailed directly Eaſtward, hauing a Sea on the South ſide of vs, and a waſte deſert on the North, which deſert, in ſome places, reacheth twenty dayes iourney in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor ſtone therein. And it is moſt excellent paſture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it ſelfe Valania. But Iſidore calleth all that tract of land ſtretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Męotis, and ſo along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the ſame land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Aſia from Europe) for the ſpace of two moneths iourney, albeit a man ſhould ride poſte as faſt as the Tartars vſe to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the ſpace betweene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauailed in ten dayes. To the North of the ſame prouince lieth Ruſſia, which is full of wood in all places, and ſtretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene waſted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily waſted by them.

Ten dayes iourney.

The length of Comania.

Ruſſia.

Of our afflictions which we ſuſtained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. *Chap.15.*

They preferre the Saracens before the Ruſſians, becauſe they are Chriſtians, and when they are able to giue them no more golde nor ſiluer, they driue them and their children like flockes of ſheepe into the wildernes, conſtraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Ruſſia lieth the countrey of Pruſſia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem haue of late wholly conquered and ſubdued. And in very deede they might eaſily winne Ruſſia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars ſhould but once know, that the great Prieſt, that is to ſay, the Pope did cauſe the enſigne of the croſſe to bee diſplaied againſt them, they would flee all into their deſert and ſolitarie places. We therefore went on towards the Eaſt, ſeeing nothing but heauen and earth, and ſometimes the ſea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the ſepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the deſert, it went reaſonably well with vs. For I cannot ſufficiently expreſſe in words the irkeſome and tedious troubles which I ſuſteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a preſent, and our expenſes would not extend ſo farre. For we were euery day eight perſons of vs ſpending our waifaring prouiſion, for the Tartars ſeruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our ſelues were fiue in number, and the ſeruants our guides were three, two to driue our carts, and one to conduct vs vnto Sartach. The fleſh which they gaue vs was not ſufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we ſate vnder our carts in the coole ſhadowe, by reaſon of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did ſo importunately and ſhameleſly intrude themſelues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to ſee whatſoeuer things we had. Hauing liſt at any time to eaſe themſelues, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themſelues farther from vs, then a beane can bee caſt. Yea, like vile ſlouens they would lay their tailes in our preſence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were moſt tedious and loathſome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my fooliſh interpreter would ſay: you ſhall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearſe any ſuch wordes. And true it was which he ſaide. For I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a litle ſmattering in the language, that when I ſpake one thing, he would ſay quite another, whatſoeuer came next vnto his witleſſe tongues end. Then ſeeing the danger I might incurre in ſpeaking by ſuch an interpreter, I reſolued much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traueiled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feaſt of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Aſia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Ægypt diſioyneth Aſia from Africa. At the ſame place where wee arriued, Baatu and Sartach did cauſe a certaine cot-

Pruſſia.

Extreme heate in Sommer.

Tanais.

tage to be built, vpon the Eaſterne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Ruſſians to dwell in t to the ende they might tranſport Ambaſſadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part o the riuer. Firſt they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, an the other wheele into another lyter, hauing bounde both the lyters together, and ſo they rowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foole moſt extreamely. For hee imagining that th ſaid Ruſſians, dwelling in the cottage, ſhould haue prouided vs horſes, ſent home the beaſts which we brought with vs, in another cart, yͤ they might returne vnto their owne maſters. And when we demanded to haue ſome beaſts of thẽ, they anſwered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, whereby they were bound to none other ſeruice, but only to ferry ouer goers & commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We ſtaied therfore by the ſaid riuers ſide three daies. The firſt day they gaue vnto vs a great freſh turbut: the ſecond day they beſtowed rye bread, and a litle fleſh vpon vs, which the purueyer of the village had taken vp at euerie houſe for vs: and the third day dried fiſhes, which they haue there in great abundance. The ſaide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we paſſed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fiſh: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fiſh, except it be ſo great, that they may pray vpon the fleſh therof, as vpon the fleſh of a ram. This riuer is the limite of the Eaſt part of Ruſſia, and it ſpringeth out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes ſtretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great ſea 700. miles about, before it falleth into the ſea called Põtus Euxious. And al the riuers, which we paſſed ouer, ran with ful ſtream into thoſe quarters. The foreſaid riuer hath great ſtore of wood alſo growing vpon the Weſt ſide thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars aſcend no farther vnto the North: for at that ſeaſon of the yeere, about the firſt of Auguſt, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage ſomwhat lower, where paſſengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were driuen to great extremitie, by reaſon that we could get neither horſes, nor oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Chriſtians, they ſent vs oxen & men; howbeit we our ſelues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat proſpereth not wel in that ſoile. They haue the ſeed of Millium in great abundance. The Ruſſian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imbroder their ſafegards or gowns on the outſide, from their feet vnto their knees with particoloured or grey ſtuffe. The Ruſſian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Alſo they weare vpon their heads certain ſharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like vnto a ſugar loafe. Then trauelled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our ſelues and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we ſhould find any Tartars, on the ſudden, there came two horſes running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpreter mounted vpon their backes, to ſee, how far off they could deſcry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found ſome inhabitants, we reioyced like ſea-faring men, which had eſcaped out of a dangerous tempeſt, and had newly recouered the hauen. Then hauing taken freſh horſes, and oxen, we paſſed on from lodging to lodging, till at the laſt, vpon the ſecond of the Kalends of Auguſt, we arriued at the habitation of Duke Sartach himſelfe.

The breadth of Tanais.

He is much deceiued.

About the beginning of Auguſt, the Tartars returne Southward.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects. *Chap.16.*

The region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing ſtore of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two ſorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in yͤ woods. Their lord & a great part of themſelues were put to the ſword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he muſt prouide things neceſſary for him, with whom he is firſt of all enterteined, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her huſband, vnles he be an eie witnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not ielous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great ſtore of hony & waxe, and diuers ſorts of rich & coſtly ſkins, and plentie of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is yͤ mightieſt riuer that euer I ſaw. And it iſſueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & ſo trending along Southward, diſimboqueth into a certain lake cõteining in circuit the ſpace of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will ſpeak hereafter. The two foreſaid riuers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwiſe called Volga, towards the Northren regions through the which we trauelled, are not diſtãt aſunder aboue x. daies iourney,

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuite of the Caſpian ſea.

but Southward they are diuided a great ſpace one from another. For Tanais deſcēdeth into the ſea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foreſaid ſea or lake, with the help of many other riuers which fal therinto out of Perſia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountains, vpon the ſides wherof, towards the ſaid deſert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Chriſtians, & wage warre againſt the Tartars. Beyond thē, next vnto the ſea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in ſubiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond theſe is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Perſia. Concerning the ſituation whereof, your maieſtie ſhall vnderſtand more about the end of this Treatiſe: for I trauailed in my returne by the very ſame place. Betweene the two foreſaid riuers, in the regions through the which we paſſed did the Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were ouerrun by the Tartars.

Kergis or Aas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. *Chap.* 17.

AND we found Sartach lying within three daies iourney of the riuer Etilia: whoſe Court ſeemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himſelfe had ſixe wiues, and his eldeſt ſonne alſo had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great houſe, & they haue ech one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went vnto a certaine Neſtorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lordes gate. For ſo they call him, who hath the office of enterteining Ambaſſadours. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would preſent him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he ſaw that we had nothing ready to preſent. We ſtoode before him, and he ſate maieſtically, hauing muſicke and dauncing in his preſence. Then I ſpake vnto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpoſe I was come vnto his lorde, and requeſting ſo much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters vnto the ſight of his Lord. I excuſed my ſelfe alſo, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vſing any golde, or ſiluer, or any other precious thing, ſaue onely our bookes, and the veſtiments wherein wee ſerued God: and that this was the cauſe why I brought no preſent vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a tranſporter of things for other men. Then hee anſwered very courteouſly, that being a Monke, and ſo doing, I did well: for ſo I ſhould obſerue my vowe: neither did himſelfe ſtand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to beſtow vpon vs ſuch things as we our ſelues ſtood in neede of: and he cauſed vs to ſit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And preſently after he requeſted vs to ſay our deuotions for him: and we did ſo. He enquired alſo who was the greateſt Prince among the Franckes? And I ſaide, the Emperour, if he could inioy his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there alſo one of the Knights of the Temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he ſawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the morowe we ſent him a flagon of Muſcadel wine (which had laſted very wel in ſo long a iourney) and a boxe full of biſket, which was moſt acceptable vnto him. And he kept our ſeruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my veſtimentes, and bookes with me: becauſe his Lorde was deſirous to ſee them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and veſtiments, and another with biſket, wine, and fruites. Then he cauſed all our bookes and veſtiments to bee laide forth. And there ſtoode round about vs many Tartars, Chriſtians and Saracens on horſeback. At the ſight whereof, he demanded whether I would beſtow all thoſe things vpon his Lord or no? Which ſaying made me to tremble, and grieued me full ſore. Howbeit, diſſembling our griefe as well as we could, we ſhaped him this anſwere: Sir, our humble requeſt is, that our Lorde your maſter would vouchſafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a preſent, becauſe it is too meane, but as a benediction, leaſt we ſhould come with an emptie hand before him. And he ſhall ſee the letters of my ſoueraigne Lord the king, and by them he ſhall vnderſtand for what cauſe we are come vnto him, and then both our ſelues, and all that we haue, ſhall ſtand to his curteſie: for our veſtiments be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Prieſts to touch them. Then he commanded vs to inueſt our ſelues in the ſaide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did ſo. Then I my ſelfe putting on our moſt precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cuſhion, and the Bible which your Maieſty gaue me, and a moſt beautifull Pſalter, which the Queenes Grace beſtowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine aſſociate tooke a miſſal and a croſſe: ant the clearke hauing put on his ſurpleſſe, tooke a cenſer in his hand. And ſo wee came vnto the preſence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might behold

Coiat the Neſtorian.

behold vs. Then they cauſed the clearke and the interpreter thriſe to bow the knee: but of vs they required no ſuch ſubmiſſion. And they diligently admoniſhed vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threſhold of the houſe, and requeſted vs to ſing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, ſinging Salue Regina. And within the entrance of the doore, ſtood a bench with coſmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiues were there aſſembled. Alſo the Moals or rich Tartars thruſting in with vs preſſed vs ſore. Then Coiat caried vnto his lord the cenſer with incenſe, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Pſalter vnto him, which he looked earneſtly vpon, and his wife alſo that ſate beſide him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach aſked if the Goſpel were contained therein? Yea (ſaid I) and all the holy ſcriptures beſides. He tooke the croſſe alſo in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Chriſt or no? I ſaid it was. The Neſtorians & the Armenians do neuer make the figure of Chriſt vpō their croſſes. Wherfore either they ſeem not to think wel of his paſſion, or els they are aſhamed of it. Then he cauſed them that ſtood about vs, to ſtand aſide, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maieſties letters, with the tranſlation therof into the Arabike, & Syriake languages. For I cauſed them to be tranſlated at Acon into the character, & dialect of both the ſaide tongues. And there were certain Armenian prieſts, which had ſkil in the Turkiſh & Arabian languages. The aforeſaid knight alſo of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkiſh, & Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our veſtiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the foreſaid Coiat, & cauſed our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he cauſed our bread, wine and fruits to be receiued. And he permitted vs alſo to carie our veſtiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good conſequence.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. *Chap.*18.

The next morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Prieſt, who was brother vnto Coiat, requeſting to haue our boxe of Chriſme, becauſe Sartach (as he ſaid) was deſirous to ſee it: and ſo we gaue it him. About euentide Coiat ſent for vs, ſaying: My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and maſter Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduiſe and counſell of his father. And therfore of neceſſitie you muſt depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yeſterday with veſtiments and bookes, in my cuſtodie: becauſe my lorde is deſirous to take more diligent view thereof. I preſently ſuſpecting what miſchiefe might enſue by his couetouſnes, ſaid vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue thoſe with you, but the two other carts alſo, which we haue in our poſſeſſion, will we commit vnto your cuſtodie. You ſhall not (quoth he) leaue thoſe behinde you, but for the other two carts firſt named, we will ſatiſfie your requeſt. I ſaide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we muſt leaue all with him. Then he aſked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I anſwered: If you throughly vnderſtand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are euen ſo determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and ſo we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he ſent a Neſtorian Prieſt for the carts, and we cauſed all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the foreſaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and ſeparated all thoſe things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the reſt, namely, the bookes and veſtiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we ſhould carie thoſe veſtiments with vs, which wee ware in the preſence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede ſhould require: but the ſaid Prieſt tooke them from vs by violence, ſaying: thou haſt brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldeſt thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendred a reaſon, he anſwered: be not too talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I ſawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no acceſſe vnto Sartach himſelfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iuſtice. I was afraide alſo in regard of the interpreter, leaſt he had ſpoken other things then I ſaide vnto him: for his will was good that we ſhould haue giuen away all that wee had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the ſentences, and certaine other bookes which I made ſpeciall account of. Howbeit I durſt not take away the Pſalter of my ſoueraigne Lady the Queene, becauſe it was too wel knowen, by reaſon of the golden pictures therein. And ſo we returned with the two other carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all poſte-haſte: vnto whom I ſaid, that I would in no caſe haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commaunded, that we ſhould leaue them and our ſeruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And ſo traueling directly Eaſtward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the ſtreams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North ſuch huge and mighty waters ſhould deſcend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foreſaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the court ſaid vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Chriſtian, but a Moal. Becauſe the name of a Chriſtian ſeemeth vnto them to be the name of ſome nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps ſome things concerning Chriſt, yet will they not bee called Chriſtians, being deſirous that their owne name, that is to ſay, Moal ſhould be exalted aboue all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars wil be called Moal.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Chriſtians. *Chap.* 19.

At the ſame time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which ſignifieth a diuiner or ſoothſayer. All diuiners are called Can amongſt them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, becauſe that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade alſo in the hiſtorie of Antiochia, that the Turkes ſent for aide againſt the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of thoſe parts the whole nation of the Turkes firſt came. The ſaid Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay. Kara ſignifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay ſignifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference betweeen the foreſaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eaſtward ouer againſt ẏ Ocean ſea: concerning whom your maieſty ſhall vnderſtand more hereafter. Theſe Catayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I trauailed. And in a certain plaine countrey within thoſe Alpes, there inhabited a Neſtorian ſhepheard, being a mighty gouernour ouer the people called Yayman, which were Chriſtians, following the ſect of Neſtorius. After the death of Con Can, the ſaid Neſtorian exalted himſelfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For ſo the Neſtorians which come out of thoſe parts, vſe to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iuſt nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Chriſtian, and the like alſo they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely becauſe theſe Tartars make more account of Chriſtians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themſelues are no Chriſtians. So likewiſe there went foorth a great report concerning the ſaid king Iohn. Howbeit, when I trauailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Neſtorians. In his paſtures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whoſe Court Frier Andrew was. And I my ſelfe paſſed by it at my returne. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man alſo, and a ſhepheard like himſelfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Catay, being diſtant from his brother Iohn, the ſpace of three weekes iourney. He was lord ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people alſo for his ſubiects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Chriſtians of the ſect of Neſtorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worſhip of Chriſt, followed after idoles, reteining with him Prieſts of the ſaide idoles, who all of them are worſhippers of deuils and ſorcerers. Beyond his paſtures ſome tenne or fifteene dayes iourney, were the paſtures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their ſoothſayings, and their diuinations, vnto the which deteſtable ſtudies, all in thoſe partes doe apply their mindes. Neere vnto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foreſaid king Iohn died without iſſue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inriched, and cauſed himſelfe to be named Can; and his droues and flockes ranged euen vnto the borders of Moal. About the ſame time there was one Cyngis, a blacke ſmith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis ſtole as many cattel from Vut Can, as he could poſſibly get: inſomuch that the ſhepheards of Vut complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an armie, and marched vp into the countrey of Moal to ſeeke for the ſaide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himſelfe amongeſt them. And Vut hauing taken ſome ſpoiles both from Moal, and alſo from the Tartars, returned home. Then ſpake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, ſaying: Sirs, becauſe we are deſtitute of a gouernour and Captaine, you ſee howe our neighbours do oppreſſe vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chiefetaine. Then hauing ſecretly gathered together an armie, he brake in ſuddenly vpon Vut, and ouercame him, and Vut fledde into Cataya. At the ſame time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis maried

This hiſtory of Preſbiter Iohn in the North-eaſt, is alleaged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall mappe.

From whence the Turkes firſt ſprang.

An Ocean ſea.

Nayman.

Preſbiter Iohn.

The place of Ken Kan his abode.

Vut Can, or Vnc Can.

The village of Cara Carum.

Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde time a beggerly people.

The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

Mangu- Can.

Mancherule.

married vnto one of his ſonnes, by whom ſhe conceiued, & brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis ſent yͤ Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name publiſhed and ſpread abroade: for in all places the people woulde crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, conſumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indeuour what they can, to extinguiſh the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they firſt inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But becauſe Tartaria is the region, about which they haue obtained their conqueſts, they eſteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the moſt part doe they elect their great Can.

Of the Ruſſians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caſpian Sea. *Chap.*20.

Or, Berta.

Changlæ.

Frier Andrew.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether he beleeues in Chriſt, or no, I knowe not. This I am ſure of, that he will not be called a Chriſtian. Yea rather he ſeemeth vnto mee to deride and ſkoffe at Chriſtians. He lieth in the way of the Chriſtians, as namely of the Ruſſians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the leſſer, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them paſſe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are diſpatched ſooner. He hath about him certaine Neſtorian Prieſtes, who pray vpon their beades, and ſing their deuotions. Alſo, there is another vnder Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the paſſage of all thoſe Saracens, which come out of Perſia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and paſſing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he profeſſeth himſelfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit ſwines fleſh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himſelfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the Eaſt ſide of Volga: for hee was vnwilling that the Saracens meſſengers ſhould paſſe by the ſaide Berta, becauſe he ſawe it was not for his profite. For the ſpace of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a litle Coſmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, wee trauelled in great feare. For certaine Ruſſians, Hungarians, and Alanians being ſeruants vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) aſſemble themſelues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and ſo ſecretly in the night conueying themſelues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomeſoeuer they finde in the night ſeaſon, they put him to death, hiding themſelues in the day time. And hauing tired their horſes, they goe in the night vnto a company of other horſes feeding in ſome paſture, and change them for newe, taking with them alſo one or two horſes beſides, to eate them when they ſtand in neede. Our guide therefore was ſore afraide, leaſt we ſhould haue met with ſuch companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried ſome of our biſket with vs. At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and iſſuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or ſea, which of late they cal the Hircan ſea, according to the name of a certain citie in Perſia, ſtanding vpon the ſhore thereof. Howbeit Iſidore calleth it the Caſpian ſea. For it hath the Caſpian mountaines and the land of Perſia ſituate on the South ſide thereof: and the mountaines of Muſihet, that is to ſay, of the people called Aſſaſſini towards the Eaſt, which mountaines are conioyned vnto the Caſpian mountaines: but on the North ſide thereof lieth the ſame deſert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people called Changlæ. And on that ſide it receiueth the ſtreams of Etilia; which riuer increaſeth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Ægypt. Vpon the Weſt part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compaſſed in on three ſides with the mountaines, but on the North ſide with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his iourney trauelled round about two ſides thereof, namely the South and the Eaſt ſides: and I my ſelfe about other two, that is to ſay, the North ſide in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewiſe: and the Weſt ſide in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure monethes. And it is not true which Iſidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all ſides with lande.

Of the court of *Baatu*: and howe we were interteined by him. Chap. 21.

All the region extending from the Weſt ſhore of the foreſaid ſea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwiſe called the citie of Derbent, is ſituate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Meotis, whereinto the riuer of Tanais falleth, and ſo forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Iſidore reporteth, that there be dogs of ſuch an huge ſtature, and ſo fierce, that they are able in fight to match buls, and to maſter lions. Which is true, as I vnderſtand by diuers, who tolde me, that there towards the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reaſon of their bigneſſe and ſtrength. Moreouer, vpon that part of Etilia where we arriued, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tartars and Ruthenians both together, to ferrie ouer, and tranſport meſſengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther ſide towards the Eaſt. Neither aſcendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foreſaide place where we arriued, but was euen then deſcending to the South. From Ianuarie vntill Auguſt both he and all other Tartars aſcend by the bankes of riuers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in Auguſt they begin to returne backe againe. We paſſed downe the ſtreame therefore in a barke, from the foreſaid cottage vnto his court. From the ſame place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, ſtanding toward the North, it is fiue dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill caried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Perſia, it is aboue 30. daies iourney to paſſe ouerthwart the deſert, and ſo to aſcend by the banke of Etilia, into the foreſaid countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Etilia falleth into the ſea. Thoſe Bulgarians are moſt wicked Saracens, more earneſtly profeſſing the damnable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatſoeuer. Moreouer, when I firſt beheld the court of Baatu, I was aſtonied at the ſight thereof: for his houſes or tents ſeemed as though they had bene ſome huge and mightie citie, ſtretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the ſpace of ſome three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of Iſrael knew euery man, on which ſide of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: euen ſo euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what ſide of the court he ought to place his houſe when he takes it from off the cart. Whereupon the court is called in their language Horda, which ſignifieth, the midſt: becauſe the gouernour or chieftaine among them dwels alwaies in the middeſt of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no ſubiect or inferiour perſon placeth himſelfe, becauſe towards that region the court gates are ſet open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend themſelues as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, ſo that they place not their houſes directly oppoſite againſt the court. At our arriual we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baatu had cauſed a large tent to be erected, becauſe his houſe or ordinarie tent could not containe ſo many men and women as were aſſembled. Our guide admoniſhed vs not to ſpeake, till Baatu had giuen vs commandement ſo to doe, and that then we ſhould ſpeake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Maieſtie had ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him or no? I anſwered, that your Maieſtie had ſent meſſengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not haue ſent meſſengers vnto him, or letters vnto Sartach, had not your Highneſſe bene perſwaded that they were become Chriſtians: becauſe you ſent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curteſies ſake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Chriſtianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pauilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in ſtead of the threſhold of the houſe. There we ſtoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and ſtrange ſpectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini had byn there before my comming: howbeit, becauſe he was the Popes meſſenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midſt of the tent, neither required they of vs to do any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vſe to doe of other meſſengers. Wee ſtood therefore before him for the ſpace wherein a man might haue rehearſed the Pſalme, Miſerere mei Deus: and there was great ſilence kept of all men. Baatu himſelfe ſate vpon a ſeate long and broad like vnto a bed, guilt all ouer, with three ſtaires to aſcend thereunto, and one of his ladies ſate beſide him. The men there aſſembled, ſate downe ſcattering, ſome on the right hand of the ſaide Lady, and ſome on the left. Thoſe places on the one ſide which the women filled not vp (for there were only the wiues of Baatu) were ſupplied by the men. Alſo, at the very entrance of the tent, ſtoode a bench furniſhed with coſmos, and with ſtately great cuppes of ſiluer, and golde, beeing richly ſet with precious ſtones. Baatu beheld vs earneſtly, and we him: and he ſeemed to me to reſemble in perſonage, Mon-

The North Ocean.

The North Ocean.

He deſcendeth downe the riuer Volga in a barke.

Aſtracan.

The deſcription of Baatu his court.

Horda ſignifieth the midſt.

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

ſieur Iohn de beau mont, whoſe ſoule reſteth in peace. And hee had a freſh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded vs to ſpeake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that wee ſhould bow our knees & ſpeak. Whereupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he ſignified that I ſhould kneele vpon both knees: and I did ſo, being loath to contend about ſuch circumſtances. And againe he commanded me to ſpeak. Then I thinking of praier vnto God, becauſe I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wiſe: Sir, we beſeech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you theſe earthly benefites, that it would pleaſe him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauenly bleſſings: becauſe the former without theſe are but vaine and vnprofitable. And I added further. Be it knowen vnto you of a certainty, that you ſhal not obtain the ioyes of heauen, vnles you become a Chriſtian: for God ſaith, Whoſoeuer beleeueth & is baptized, ſhalbe ſaued: but he that beleeueth not, ſhalbe condemned. At this word he modeſtly ſmiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my ſilly interpreter, of whom eſpecially I ſhould haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himſelf abaſhed & vtterly daſht out of countenance. Then, after ſilence made, I ſaid vnto him, I came vnto your ſonne, becauſe we heard that he was become a Chriſtian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my ſoueraigne Lord the king of France: and your ſonne ſent me hither vnto you. The cauſe of my comming therefore is beſt knowen vnto your ſelfe. Then he cauſed me to riſe vp. And he enquired your maieſties name, and my name, and the name of mine aſſociate and interpreter, and cauſed them all to be put downe in writing. He demanded likewiſe (becauſe he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) againſt whom you waged warre? I anſwered: againſt the Saracens, who had defiled the houſe of God at Ieruſalem. He asked alſo, whether your Highnes had euer before that time ſent any meſſengers vnto him, or no? To you ſir (ſaid I) neuer. Then cauſed he vs to ſit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, eſpecially when any man is admitted to drinke Coſmos with him in his own houſe. And as I ſate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being deſirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of ſuperſtitious obſeruation. For they eſteeme it a ſigne of ill lucke, or a prognoſtication of euill vnto them, when any man ſits in their preſence, holding downe his head, as if he were ſad: eſpecially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, ſaide vnto me: Your maſter the King requeſteth that you may remaine in this land, which requeſt Baatu cannot ſatiſfie without the knowledge and conſent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter muſt of neceſſitie goe vnto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your aſſociate, and the other man ſhall returne vnto the court of Sartach, ſtaying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, eſteeming himſelfe but a dead man. Mine aſſociate alſo proteſted, that they ſhould ſooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreouer I my ſelfe ſaide, that without mine aſſociate I could not goe: and that we ſtood in neede of two ſeruants at the leaſt, to attend vpon vs, becauſe, if one ſhould chance to fall ſicke, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told theſe ſayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded ſaying: let the two Prieſts and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke returne vnto Sartach. And comming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen ſo. And when I would haue ſpoken for the clearke to haue had him with vs, he ſaide: No more words: for Baatu hath reſolued, that ſo it ſhall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any more. Goſet the clearke had remaining of the almes money beſtowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more: 10. whereof he kept for himſelfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted aſunder with teares: he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our ſelues remaining ſtill in the ſame place.

The letters of the French king.

Of our iourney towards the Court of Mangu Can.

Chap.22.

Vpon Aſſumption euen our clearke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Neſtorian Prieſtes were adorned with our veſtments in the preſence of the ſaide Sartach. Then wee our ſelues were conducted vnto another hoſte, who was appointed to prouide vs houſeroome, victualles, and horſes. But becauſe wee had not ought to beſtowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, deſcending along by the banke of Etilia, for the ſpace of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine aſſociate was ſo extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was ſo farre diſtant from vs that we could

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of Etilia.

not haue recourſe thereunto. For wee were conſtrained to walke on foote for want of horſes. At length certaine Hungarians (who had ſometime bene after a ſort Cleargie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet ſing many ſongs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Prieſt, and was ſent for vnto the funerals of his deceaſed countrey men. There was another of them alſo prettily wel inſtructed in his Grammer: for hee could vnderſtand the meaning of any thing that wee ſpake, but could not anſwere vs. Theſe Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Coſmos to drinke, yea, and ſometimes fleſh for to eate alſo: who, when they requeſted to haue ſome bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breuiarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I ſaide vnto them: Bring mee ſome inke and paper, and I will write for you ſo long as we ſhall remaine here: and they did ſo. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, ſaluting vs in Latine, and ſaying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and ſaluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kinde of ſalutation? Hee ſaide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He ſaide moreouer, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee tolde him the eſtate of our order. Afterwarde I ſawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his ſubiects that were houſholders or maſters of families riding with him, and (in mine eſtimation) they were not fiue hundred perſons in all. At length about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal vnto vs (whoſe father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) ſaying: I am the man that muſt conduct you vnto Mangu-Can, and wee haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is ſuch extreame colde in thoſe parts, that ſtones and trees doe euen riue aſunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wiſh you throughly to aduiſe your ſelues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whome I anſwered: I hope by Gods helpe that we ſhalbe able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he ſaide: if you cannot indure it, I wil forſake you by the way. And I anſwered him: it were not iuſt dealing for you ſo to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon anie buſineſſe of our owne, but by reaſon that we are ſent by your lord. Wherfore ſithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wiſe to forſake vs. Then he ſaide: all ſhalbe well. Afterward he cauſed vs to ſhewe him all our garments: and whatſoeuer hee deemed to be leſſe needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the cuſtodie of our hoſte. On the morrow they brought vnto ech of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes ſkinnes, with the wool ſtil vpon them, and breeches of the ſame, and bootes alſo or buſkins according to their faſhion, and ſhooes made of felt, and hoods alſo made of ſkinnes after their maner. The ſecond day after Holy rood, we began to ſet forward on our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eaſtward, till the feaſt of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde alſo did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage deſcended from the Romanes. Vpon the North ſide of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foreſaid Caſpian ſea.

Hungarians.

A Comanian.

A iourney of 4.moneths from Volga.

The 16.of September.

46.dayes.

Or, Kangitæ.

Of the riuer of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. *Chap.23.*

Or, Iaic.

Hauing trauelled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac: which riuer iſſuing out of the North, from the land of Paſcatir, deſcendeth into the foreſaid ſea. The language of Paſcatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them ſhepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the Weſt frontier thereof. From the Northeaſt part of the ſaid countrey, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the fartheſt countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Paſcatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Iſidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with ſwift horſes they trauerſed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucaſus, ſerued to reſtraine thoſe barbarous and blood-thirſtie people from inuading the regions of the South) inſomuch that they had tribute paied vnto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewiſe they waſted all countreis euen vnto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themſelues. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came thoſe Bulgarians. Moreouer, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Conſtantinople, and not farre from Paſcatir, are called Ilac, which (ſauing the pronunciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom alſo deſcended the people which inhabit the land of Aſſani. For they are both of thẽ called Ilac (both theſe, & the other) in yͤ languages of the Ruſſians, yͤ Polonians, & the Bohemians.

Iaic twelue dayes iourney from Volga.

Paſcatir.

The Hungarians deſcended from the Baſcirdes.

Valachians.

Deut.32.v.21, Rom.10.v.19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

The Sclauonians ſpeake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themſelues with the Hunnes: and now for the moſt part, they vnite themſelues vnto the Tartars: whō God hath raiſed vp from the vtmoſt partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord ſaith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely ſuch as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a fooliſh nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal ſenſe thereof, vpon all nations which obſerue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Paſcatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which trauailed thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were ſubdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proued Saracens alſo. Other matters concerning this people, may be knowen out of Chronicles. For it is manifeſt, that thoſe prouinces beyond Conſtantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes, Alſo Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feaſt of Holy roode, vntill the feaſt of All Saints: trauelling almoſt euery day (according to mine eſtimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and ſometimes farther, as we were prouided of poſte horſes: for ſome dayes we had change of horſes twiſe or thriſe in a day. Sometimes we trauailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt. Of 20. or 30. horſes we had alwayes the worſt, becauſe wee were ſtrangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the beſt horſes before vs. They prouided mee alwaies of a ſtrong horſe, becauſe I was very corpulent & heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle paſe or no, I durſt not make any queſtion. Neither yet durſt I complaine, although he trotted full ſore. But euery man muſt be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horſes were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were conſtrained to beate and whip on our horſes, and to lay our garments vpon other emptie horſes: yea and ſometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horſe.

Of the hunger, and thirſt, and other miſeries, which wee ſuſtained in our iourney. *Chap.24.*

Certaine riuers.

Of hunger and thirſt, colde and wearineſſe, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vſed to giue vs a little drinke, or ſome ſodden Millet to ſup off. In the euening they beſtowed fleſh vpon vs, as namely, a ſhoulder and breaſt of rams mutton, and euery man a meaſured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had ſufficient of the fleſh-broath, we were maruellouſly wel refreſhed. And it ſeemed to me moſt pleaſant, and moſt nouriſhing drinke. Euery Saterday I remained faſting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was conſtrained, to my great grief and ſorow, to eat fleſh. Sometimes we were faine to eate fleſh halfe ſodden, or almoſt rawe, and all for want of fewel to ſeethe it withal: eſpecially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneis end: becauſe we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horſes or oxe: for other fewel we found but ſeldome, except perhaps a few thornes in ſome places. Likewiſe vpon the bankes of ſome riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly diſdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct ſuch baſe fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs ſomewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requeſted to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I ſhould haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foreſaid Chingis, who was the firſt great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure ſonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall deſcent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great poſſeſſions: and they are daily multiplied and diſperſed ouer that huge and waſte deſert, which is, in dimenſions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they maruelled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor ſiluer, nor precious and coſtly garments at their hands. They inquired alſo, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of ſo laſting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewiſe of our countreis, whether there were abundance of ſheep, oxen, & horſes or no? Concerning the Ocean ſea, they could not conceiue of it, becauſe it was without limits or banks. Vpon the euen of yͤ feaſt of Al Saints, we forſook the way leading towards the Eaſt, (becauſe the people were now deſcended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the ſpace of 8. dayes together. In the foreſaid deſert I ſaw many aſſes (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: theſe did our guide & his companions chaſe very eagerly: howbeit, they did but loſe their labour: for the beaſtes were two ſwift for them. Vpon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high mountaines,

Eight dayes iourney ſouthward.

Aſſes ſwift of foote.

High mountaines.

mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and freſh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feaſt of All Saints, we arriued at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, ſubiect vnto them, to meet the meſſengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the ſame time of the yere, they went vpon the yce in that countrey. And before the feaſt of S. Michael, we had froſt in the deſert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a ſtrange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very ſmal citie in the ſame prouince. And there deſcended a great riuer downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it paſſage, by making diuers chanels and ſluces: neither did this riuer exonerate it ſelfe into any ſea, but was ſwallowed vp by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it cauſed many fennes or lakes. Alſo I ſaw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

Manured grounds.

Kenchat a village of the Saracens.

The 7. day of Nouember.

A great riuer.

Many lakes. Vines.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. *Chap.* 25.

THe day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderſtood to be the mountains of Caucaſus, which are ſtretched forth, & continued on both parts to the ſea, from the Weſt vnto the Eaſt: and on the Weſt part they are conioyned vnto the foreſaid Caſpian ſea, wherinto the riuer of Volga diſchargeth his ſtreams. I enquired alſo of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen ſeruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom alſo I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach & Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & maſter Ban was put to death vpon the occaſion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile paſtures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he ſpake on this wiſe vnto his men. Am not I of the ſtocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not paſſe and repaſſe vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himſelfe doeth? Which ſpeeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his ſeruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did ſo. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had ſpoken any ſuch words? And hee confeſſed that he had. Howbeit, (becauſe it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excuſed himſelfe that he was drunken at the ſame time. Howe durſt thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkenneſſe? And with that hee cauſed his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foreſaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderſtand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iuriſdiction of Baatu, for the ſpace of a moneths iourney from Talas Eaſtward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are ſet to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I paſſed very neere the ſaide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did ſo: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen ſo much. From the foreſaide cottage we went directly Eaſtward, by the mountaines aforeſaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places ſang and daunced before our guide, becauſe hee was the meſſenger of Baatu. For this curteſie they doe afford eche to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiuing the meſſengers of Baatu in maner aforeſaide: and ſo likewiſe the people of Baatu intertaining the meſſengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithſtanding the people of Baatu are more ſurlie and ſtoute, and ſhewe not ſo much curteſie vnto the ſubiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon thoſe Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuer: inſomuch that wee were conſtrained to imbarke our ſelues, and to ſaile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I ſaw a caſtle deſtroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled alſo. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, ſpeaking the Perſian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge diſtance from Perſia. The day following, hauing paſſed ouer the foreſaide Alpes which deſcended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a moſt beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes iourney in circuite. All the foreſayde plaine is moſt commodiouſly watered with certaine freſhes diſtilling from the ſaid mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Sommer time wee returned by the North ſhore of the ſaide lake, and there were great mountaines on that ſide alſo. Upon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great ſtore of villages: but for the moſt part they were all waſted, in regarde of the fertile paſtures, that the Tartars might

A cottage.

The mountains of Caucaſus are extended vnto the Eaſterne Sea.

The citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.

Frier Andrew.

The village of Bolac.

We entred into the territories of Mangu-Can.

Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.

A mightie riuer.

Ground tilled.

Equius.

A lake of fifteene dayes iourney in compaſſe.

Cailac a great citie, and full of merchants.

feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great ſtore of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, ſtaying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for the diſpatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Neſtorians likewiſe in thoſe parts vſed the very ſame kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, becauſe they were wont to be moſt ſkilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here firſt did I ſee worſhippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen vnto your maieſtie, that there be many ſects of them in the Eaſt countries.

Contomanni.

How the Neſtorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together. *Chap.26.*

The people called Iugures idolaters.

The firſt ſort of theſe idolaters are called Iugures: whoſe land bordereth vpon the foreſaid land of Organum, within the ſaid mountains Eaſtward: and in al their cities Neſtorians do inhabit together, and they are diſperſed likewiſe towards Perſia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of yͤ foreſaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their fooliſh ſuperſtitions. In the firſt of which I found a man hauing a croſſe painted with ink vpō his hand, wherupon I ſuppoſed him to be a Chriſtian: for he anſwered like a Chriſtian vnto al queſtions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the croſſe with the image of Ieſu Chriſt therupon? And he anſwered: We haue no ſuch cuſtome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeede Chriſtians: but, that for lacke of inſtruction they omitted the foreſaide ceremonie. For I ſaw there behind a certaine cheſt (which was vnto them in ſteed of an altar, whereupon they ſet candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saint Michael, and other images alſo, holding their fingers, as if they would bleſſe ſome body. That euening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them ſpeake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning ſuch ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feaſt of Paſſeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the ſame day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the ſaid citie of Cailac doe curteouſly inuite, & louingly intertaine all meſſengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foreſaid idole-Temple, I found the Prieſts of the ſaid idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they ſet open their Temples, and the prieſts adorne themſelues, and offer vp the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. Firſt therefore I will deſcribe vnto you thoſe rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idole-Temples: and then the ſuperſtitions of the foreſaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a ſect diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. They doe all of them worſhip towards the North, clapping their hands together, and proſtrating themſelues on their knees vpon yͤ earth, holding alſo their foreheads in their hands. Wherupon the Neſtorians of thoſe parts will in no caſe ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, diſplaying their hands before their breaſts. They extend their Temples in length Eaſt and Weſt: and vpon the North ſide they build a chamber, in maner of a Veſtry for themſelues to goe forth into. Or ſometimes it is otherwiſe. If it be a foure ſquare Temple, in the midſt of the Temple towards the North ſide thereof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire ſhould ſtand. And within the ſaid chamber they place a cheſt long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the ſaide cheſt towardes the South ſtands their principall idole: which I ſawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Chriſtopher. Alſo a certaine Neſtorian prieſt, which had bin in Catay, ſaide that in that countrey there is an idole of ſo huge a bignes, that it may be ſeen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And ſo they place other idoles round about the foreſaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the ſaide cheſt, which is in manner of a table, they ſet candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the cuſtome of the Saracens. They haue alſo great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cauſe (as I thinke) why the Chriſtians of the Eaſt will in no caſe vſe great belles. Notwithſtanding they are common among the Ruſſians, and Gręcians of Gaſaria.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue themſelues in worſhipping their falſe gods. *Chap.27.*

All their Prieſts had their heads and beards ſhauen quite ouer: and they are clad in ſaffron coloured garments: and being once ſhauen, they lead an vnmaried life from that time forward:

and they liue an hundreth or two hundreth of them together in one cloiſter or couent. Upon thoſe dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long foormes therein: and ſo ſitting vpon the ſayd foormes like ſinging men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer againſt the other, they haue certaine books in their hands, which ſometimes they lay downe by them vpon the foormes: and their heads are bare ſo long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade ſoftly vnto themſelues, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongſt them, at the time of their ſuperſtitious deuotions, and finding them all ſiting mute in maner aforeſayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto ſpeach, and yet could not by any means poſſible. They haue with them alſo whitherſoeuer they goe, a certaine ſtring with an hundreth or two hundreth nutſhels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we cary about with vs. And they doe alwayes vtter theſe words: *On mam Hactani*, God thou knoweſt: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And ſo often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce theſe words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they ſit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the ſaid portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can, aboue all the whole towne beſides. And by the ſame pole all men may knowe, that there ſtands the temple of their idoles. Theſe rites and ceremonies aforeſayd be common vnto all idolaters in thoſe parts. Going vpon a time towardes the foreſayd idole-temple, I found certain prieſts ſitting in the outward portal. And thoſe which I ſawe, ſeemed vnto me, by their ſhauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The prieſtes of the foreſaide Iugures doe vſe ſuch attire whitherſoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their ſaffron coloured iackets, which be very ſtraight being laced or buttened from the boſome right downe, after the French faſhion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left ſhoulder deſcending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a deacon carying the houſſel-boxe in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and ſo they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vſe certaine papers and characters in their magical practiſes. Whereupon their temples are full of ſuch ſhort ſcroules hanged round about them. Alſo Mangu-Can hath ſent letters vnto your Maieſtie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foreſayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the auncient cuſtome, and lay vp the aſhes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had ſit a while by the foreſaid prieſts, and entred into their temple and ſeene many of their images both great and ſmall, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God? And they anſwered: We beleeue that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleeue that he is a ſpirit, or ſome bodily ſubſtance? They ſaide: We beleeue that he is a ſpirite. Then ſaid I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him? They anſwered: Noe. And againe I ſaid: Sithence ye beleeue that he is a ſpirit, to what end doe you make ſo many bodily images to repreſent him? Sithence alſo you beleeue not that hee was made man: why doe you reſemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they anſwered ſaying: we frame not thoſe images whereby to repreſent God. But when any rich man amongſt vs, or his ſonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaſeth, hee cauſeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe theſe things onely for the friendſhip and flatterie of men. Noe (ſaid they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in ſcoffing wiſe: Where is God? To whom I anſwered: where is your ſoule? They ſaid, in our bodies. Then ſaide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithſtanding is not ſeene or perceiued? Euen ſo God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuiſible, being vnderſtanding and wiſedome it ſelfe. Then being deſirous to haue had ſome more conference with them, by reaſon, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expreſſe my meaning, I was conſtrained to keepe ſilence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their ſect: namely they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceaſed friends, couering them with fiue moſt rich and coſtly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the cuſtody of their ſoothſayers, who are their prieſts, concerning whom I will giue your Highneſſe more at large to vnderſtand hereafter. Theſe ſoothſayers or diuiners do alwaies attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great perſonages. As for the poorer or meaner ſorte, they haue them not, but ſuch onely as are of the ſtocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the ſaid diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie piller went before the children of Iſrael, And they appoint ground where the tents muſt be pitched, and firſt of al they take down their

owne

Bookes.

Paper.
So do the people of China vſe to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the left.

owne houſes: & after them the whole court doth the like. Alſo vpon their feſtiual daies or kalends they take forth the foreſayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wiſe within the houſe. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the ſame houſe, bowing themſelues before the ſaid images and worſhip them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any ſtranger to enter into that houſe. For vpon a certaine time I my ſelfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of diuers and ſundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. *Chap.28.*

BUt the foreſayd Iugures (who liue among the Chriſtians, and the Saracens) by their ſundry diſputations, as I ſuppoſe, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleeue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in ſubiection vnto Chingis Can: whereupon he gaue his daughter in mariage vnto their king. Alſo the citie of Caracarum it ſelfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, & of his brother Vut lyeth neere vnto their dominions: ſauing, that they inhabite in certaine paſtures Northward, and the ſayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall ſcribes: & al the Neſtorians almoſt can ſkill of their letters. Next vnto them, betweene the foreſaid mountaines Eaſtward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a moſt valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the concluſion of a league hee was ſet at libertie by them, and afterward ſubdued them. Theſe people of Tangut haue oxen of great ſtrength, with tailes like vnto horſes, and with long ſhagge haire vpon their backes and bellyes. They haue legges greater then other oxen haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. Theſe oxen drawe the great houſes of the Moals: and their hornes are ſlender, long, ſtreight, and moſt ſharpe pointed: inſomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not ſuffer her ſelfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnles they whiſtle or ſing vnto her. They haue alſo the qualities of a Buffer for if they ſee a man clothed in red, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Tebet, men which were wont to eate the carkaſes of their deceaſed parents: that for pities ſake, they might make no other ſepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this cuſtome, becauſe that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithſtanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the ſkuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidſt all their iollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that ſaw it. The ſayd people of Tebet haue great plentie of golde in their land. Whoſoeuer therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found ſome quantitie, and then taking ſo much thereof as will ſerue his turne, he layeth vp the reſidue within the earth: becauſe, if he ſhould put it into his cheſt or ſtorehouſe, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I ſawe ſome of thoſe people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I ſaw luſty tall men, but browne and ſwart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle ſtature like vnto our French men. Amongſt the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkiſh, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whoſe meſſengers I ſaw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawen with ſixe oxen. They be little browne men like vnto Spaniards. Alſo they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper veſtment of a deacon, ſauing that the ſleeues are ſomewhat ſtreighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like biſhops. But the fore part of their miter is not ſo hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it ſharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine ſquare flappes compacted of a kinde of ſtrawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is ſo trimmed, that it glittereth in the ſunne beames, like vnto a glaſſe, or an helmet well burniſhed. And about their temples they haue long bands of the foreſayd matter faſtened vnto their miters, which houer in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the winde toſſeth them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midſt of their miter from one temple to another: and ſo they lie circle wiſe ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer their principal meſſenger comming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very ſmoothe. And whenſoeuer hee ſpake vnto the Emperor himſelfe, or vnto any other great perſonage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein thoſe things which hee ſpake: neither did he caſt his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only vpon his table. Beyond thē (as I vnderſtand of a certainty) there are other

The countrey of Presbiter Iohn

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

The people of Tebet.

Abundance of golde.

The ſtature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures.

Langa & Solanga

The people of Solanga reſemble Spaniards

A table of elephants tooth.

people called Muc, hauing villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell vnto himſelfe. Notwithſtanding there are many flockes and droues of cattell in their countrey, & no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them ſtandeth in neede of any beaſt, hee aſcendeth vp vnto an hill, and there maketh a ſhout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyſe, come flocking about him, and ſuffer themſelues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any meſſenger or ſtranger commeth into their countrie, they ſhut him vp into an houſe, miniſtring there things neceſſary vnto him, vntill his buſineſſe be diſpatched. For if anie ſtranger ſhould trauell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very ſent of him, and ſo would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I ſuppoſe) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought moſt excellent ſtuffes of ſilke. And this people is called Seres of a certain towne in the ſame countrey. I was credibile informed, that in the ſaid countrey, there is one towne hauing walles of ſiluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet ſubdued vnto the Tartars. And amongſt.*

The people called Muc.

Great Cathaya.

Somewhat is wanting.

Part of the great Charter granted by king *Edward* the *firſt to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the ſixt yeere of his reigne* 1278. for their good ſeruices done vnto him by ſea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from *Edward* the Confeſſor, *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the ſecond, king *Richard* the firſt, king *Iohn*, and *Henry* the third continued vnto them.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gaſcoigne, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Shirifs, Prouoſts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true ſubiects greeting. You ſhall knowe that for the faithfull ſeruice that our Barons of the fiue Portes hitherto to our predeceſſors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good ſeruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the ſame our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they ſhall be free from all toll, and from all cuſtome; that is to ſay from all laſtage, tallage, paſſage, caringe, rinage, aſponſage, and from all wrecke, and from all their ſale, carping and recarping through all our realme and dominion, with ſocke and ſouke, toll and theme. And that they ſhall haue Infangthefe, and that they ſhall be wreckefree, laſtagefree, and louecopfree. And that they ſhall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obſerued. And alſo that they are free from all ſhires and hundreds: ſo that if any perſon will plead againſt them, they ſhall not anſwere nor pleade otherwiſe then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they ſhall haue their findelles in the ſea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandiſes as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land whereſoeuer they ſhall come. And that they ſhall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they poſſeſſed: that is to ſay in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of ſummonces before our Iuſtices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what ſhire ſoeuer their lands are. So that they ſhall not be bound to come before the Iuſtices aforeſaid, except any of the ſame Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they ſhall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to ſay, at Shepway. And that they haue their liberties and freedomes from henceforth, as they and their predeceſſors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the firſt, William the ſecond, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the ſame Charters which the ſame our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue ſeene, doe reaſonably teſtifie. And we forbid that no man vnlawfully trouble them nor their marchandiſe vpon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So neuertheleſſe, that when the ſame Barons ſhall fayle in doing of Iuſtice or in receiuing of Iuſtice, our Warden, and the wardens of our

The fiſhing at great Yarmouth.

Henry the third.

Edward the confeſſor.

heyres

57. Ships of the Cinque Portes bound to ſerue the king 15. dayes at their owne coſts.

heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time ſhall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Juſtice. So alſo that the ſayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full ſeruice of 57. ſhippes at their coſts by the ſpace of fifteene dayes at our ſomounce, or at the ſomounce of our heires. We haue granted alſo vnto them of our ſpeciall grace that they haue Outfangtheſe in their lands within the Ports aforeſayd, in the ſame maner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Aſſiſes, Juries, or Recogniſances by reaſon of their forreine tenure againſt their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right priſe, that is to ſay, of one tunne before the maſt, and of another behind the maſte. We haue granted furthermore vnto the ſaid Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to ſay, That we or our heires ſhall not haue the wardſhip or mariages of their heires by reaſon of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforeſayde, for the which they doe their ſeruice aforeſayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardſhips and mariages in time paſt. But we our aforeſayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedomes aforeſayde, and our grants following to them of our eſpeciall grace, of newe haue cauſed to be made, ſauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And ſauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and ſurely command for vs and our heires that the aforeſaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforeſaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforeſaid Charters do reaſonably teſtifie. And that of our eſpecial grace they haue outfangtheſe in their lands within the Ports aforeſaid after the maner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Aſſiſes, Juries, or Recogniſances by reaſon of their forreine tenure againſt their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right price or cuſtome, that is to ſay of one tunne of wine before the maſſe, and of another tunne behinde the maſſe. And that likewiſe for euer they haue the libertie aforeſayde: that is to ſay: That wee and our heires haue not the wardſhips or mariages of their heires by reaſon of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforeſayd, for which they doe their ſeruice aforeſaid, and for which wee and our predeceſſors the wardſhips and mariages haue not had in times paſt. But our aforeſayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforeſaid and other grants following to them of our eſpeciall grace of new we haue cauſed to bee made, Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And ſauing vnto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforeſayd. Theſe being witneſſes, the reuerend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior prouincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncle, Roger of the dead ſea, Roger of Clifford, Maſter Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Maſter Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of Eaſt Riding, Maſter Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Penneſter, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Giuen by our hand at Weſtminſter the fourteenth day of June, in the ſixth yeare of our reigne.

Thomas Walſingham witteth ÿ he had once 1100. ſtrong ſhippes.

The roll of the huge fleete of *Edward* the third before Calice, *extant in the kings great wardrobe in* London, whereby the wonderfull ſtrength of *England* by ſea in thoſe dayes may appeare.

The South fleete.

The Kings	Shippes	25.	Hope	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	419.		Mariners	59.
London	Shippes	25.	New Hithe	Shippes	5.
	Mariners	662.		Mariners	49.
Aileford	Shippes	2.	Margat	Shippes	15.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	160.
Hoo	Shippes	2.	‖ Motue	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	22.
Maydſtone	Shippes	2.	Feuerſham	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	51.		Mariners	25.

‖ Or, Mouſe.

Sandwich

Sandwich	Ships Mariners	22. 504.
Douer	Ships Mariners	16. 336.
Wight	Ships Mariners	13. 220.
Winchelsey	Ships Mariners	21. 596.
Waymouth	Ships Mariners	15. 263.
Lyme	Ships Mariners	4. 62.
Seton	Ships Mariners	2. 25.
Sydmouth	Ships Mariners	3. 62.
Exmouth	Ships Mariners	10. 193.
Tegmouth	Ships Mariners	7. 120.
Dartmouth	Ships Mariners	31. 757.
Portsmouth	Ships Mariners	5. 96.
Plimouth	Ships Mariners	26. 603.
Loo	Ships Mariners	20. 315.
Yalme	Ships Mariners	2. 47.
‡Fowey	Ships Mariners	47. 770. ‡Or, Foy.
Bristol	Ships Mariners	22. 608.
Tenmouth	Ships Mariners	2. 25.
Hasting	Ships Mariners	5. 96.
Romney	Ships Mariners	4. 65.
Rye	Ships Mariners	9. 156.

Hithe	Ships Mariners	6. 122.
Shoreham	Ships Mariners	20. 329.
‡Sesord	Ships Mariners	5. 80. ‡Or, Seford.
Newmouth	Ships Mariners	2. 18.
Hamowl-hooke	Ships Mariners	7. 117.
Hoke	Ships Mariners	11. 208.
Southhāpton	Ships Mariners	21. 576.
Leymington	Ships Mariners	9. 159
Poole	Ships Mariners	4. 94.
Warham	Ships Mariners	3. 59.
Swanzey	Ships Mariners	1. 29.
Ilfercombe	Ships Mariners	6. 79.
‡Patricke-stowe	Ships Mariners	2. 27. ‡Or, Padstow.
Polerwan	Ships Mariners	1. 60.
Wadworth	Ships Mariners	1. 14.
Kardife	Ships Mariners	1. 51.
Bridgwater	Ships Mariners	1. 15.
Kaermarthen	Ships Mariners	1. 16.
Cailechefworth	Ships Mariners	1. 12.
Mulbrooke	Ships Mariners	1. 12.
Summe of the South fleete	Ships Mariners	493 9630

The North fleete.

Bamburgh	Ships Mariners	1. 9.
Newcastle	Ships Mariners	17. 314.

	Walcrich	Ships	1.
		Mariners	12.
	Hereſpoole	Ships	5.
		Mariners	145.
	Hull	Ships	16.
		Mariners	466.
	Yorke	Ships	1.
		Mariners	9.
	Ravenſer	Ships	1.
		Mariners	27.
	Woodhouſe	Ships	1.
		Mariners	22.
Stockhith	Strok hithe	Ships	1.
		Mariners	10.
	Barton	Ships	3.
		Mariners	30.
	Swinefleete	Ships	1.
		Mariners	11.
	Saltfleet	Ships	2.
		Mariners	49.
	Grimesby	Ships	11.
		Mariners	171.
	Waynefleet	Ships	2.
		Mariners	49.
	Wrangle	Ships	1.
		Mariners	8.
‡Or, Linne.	‡Lenne	Ships	16.
		Mariners	382.
	Blackney	Ships	2.
		Mariners	38.
	Scarborough	Ships	1.
		Mariners	19.
Or, Yermouth.	Yernmouth	Ships	43.
		Mariners	1950, or 1075.
	Donwich	Ships	6.
		Mariners	102.
	Orford	Ships	3.
		Mariners	62.
	Goſord	Ships	13.
		Mariners	303.
	Herwich	Ships	14.
		Mariners	283.
	Ipſwich	Ships	12.
		Mariners	239.
	Merſey	Ships	1.
		Mariners	6.
New Brichelſey.	Brightlingſey	Ships	5.
		Mariners	61.
	Colcheſter	Ships	5.
		Mariners	90.
	Whitbanes	Ships	1.
		Mariners	17.
	Malden	Ships	2.
		Mariners	32.
	Derwen	Ships	1.
		Mariners	15.
	Boſton	Ships	17.
		Mariners	361.
	Swinhumber	Ships	1.
		Mariners	32.
	Barton	Ships	5.
		Mariners	91.
	The Summe of the North fleete	Ships	217.
		Mariners	4521.

The ſumme totall of all the Engliſh fleete	Ships	700.
	Mariners	14151.

Eſtrangers their ſhips and mariners.

Bayon	Ships	15.
	Mariners	439.
Spayne	Ships	7.
	Mariners	184.
Ireland	Ships	1.
	Mariners	25.
Flanders	Ships	14.
	Mariners	133.
Gelderland	Ships	1.
	Mariners	24.
The ſumme of all the Eſtrangers	Ships	38.
	Mariners	805.

The ſumme of expenſes aſwell of wages, & preſts, as for the expenſes of the kings houſes, and for other gifts and rewards, ſhippes and other things neceſſary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Galice, during the ſiege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the ſaid king, vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxxvii. thouſand li. ix. s. iiii. d.

A note out of Thomas Walſingham touching the huge Fleete of *eleuen hundred well furniſhed ſhips wherewith king Edward the third paſſed ouer* vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

ANno gratiæ 1359. Iohannes Rex Franciæ ſub vmbra pacis, & doloſe obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliaſque terras quas equitauerat & vaſtarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios ſuos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Anglię, celeriter ſe & ſuos præparauit ad transfretandum, ducens ſecum principem Walliæ Edwardum ſuum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancaſtrię, & ferè proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel ſequebãtur pœne mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicum inſtructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum faſtum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Wooodſtock filio ſuo iuniore admodum paruulo, Anglici regni cuſtode, ſub tutela tamen.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace, offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gaſcoigne, and other territories which he had ſpoyled and waſted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foreſaid king Edward ſent his ambaſſadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainſaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, ſpeedily prepared himſelfe and his forces to croſſe the ſeas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaſter and almoſt all his Nobles, with a thouſand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the ſaid king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ſhips exceedingly well furniſhed: with which preparation he paſſed ouer the ſeas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leauing his yonger ſonne Thomas of Woodſtocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of *Nicholas de Lynna* a Franciſcan Frier, and an excel*lent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions ſituate vnder the* North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

The wordes of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his general Map, vpon the deſcription of the North partes.

QVod ad deſcriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buſcoducenſis, qui quædam ex rebus geſtis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Deſcenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas inſulas miſerat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxonienſem Mathematicum in eas inſulas veniſſe, ipſiſque relictis ad vlteriorã arte Magica profectũ deſcripſiſſe omnia, & Aſtrolabio dimenſum eſſe in hanc ſubiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues ſemel ingreſſæ nullo vento retroagi poſſent, neque verò vnquam tantum ibi ventum eſſe, vt molæ frumentarię circumagendæ ſufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrenſis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, ſic enim ſcribit. Non procul ab inſulis Hebridibus, Iſlandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, eſt maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in ſecreta naturæ penetralia ſe ibi transfundentes, quaſi in Abyſſum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè tranſire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam ſtatim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis abſorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppoſitis mundi partibus Philoſophi deſcribunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & Æolicos flatus cauſaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TOuching the deſcription of the North partes, I haue taken the ſame out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buſke, which alleageth certaine conqueſts of Arthur king of Britaine: and the moſt part, and chiefeſt things among the reſt, he learned of a certaine prieſt in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This prieſt was deſcended from them which king Arthur had ſent to inhabite theſe Iſlands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine Engliſh Frier, a Franciſcan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into thoſe Iſlands, who leauing them, and paſſing further by his Magicall Arte, deſcribed all thoſe places that he ſawe, and tooke the height of them with his Aſtrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue ſet downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforeſaid Iames Cnoyen. Hee ſayd that thoſe foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with ſo great a force, that the ſhips which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in thoſe parts ſo much winde blowing, as might be ſufficient to driue a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrenſis (who floriſhed in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with theſe, videlicet:

There is a notable whirlepoole on the coaſt of Norway, called Maleſtrande, about the latitude of 68.

Not farre from theſe Iſlands (namely the Hebrides, Iſland &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the ſea, whereinto all the waues of the ſea from farre haue their courſe and recourſe, as it were without ſtoppe: which, there conueying themſelues into the ſecret receptacles of nature, are ſwallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomleſſe pit, and if it chance that any ſhippe doe paſſe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with ſuch a violence of the waues, that eftſoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the ſame.

The Philoſophers deſcribe foure indraughts of this Ocean ſea, in the foure oppoſite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the ſea, as the blaſts of the winde, haue their firſt originall.

A Teſtimonie of the learned Mathematician maſter *Iohn Dee, touching the foreſaid voyage of* Nicholas De Linna.

ANno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Aſtronomer, went in companie with others to the moſt Northren Iſlands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee trauailed alone, and purpoſely deſcribed all the Northerne Iſlands, with the indrawing ſeas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vſque ad polum. Which frier for ſundry purpoſes after that did fiue times paſſe from England thither, and home againe.

Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foreſaid Franciſcan frier tooke his name) to Iſland, it is not aboue a fortnights ſailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vſuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fiſhermen of the towne of Blacknie in the ſaid Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary ſeruice, in reſpect of their trade to Iſland.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of *Hereford, and laſtly king of England, by the name of Henry* the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Pruſſia and Lettowe, againſt the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walſingham.

An. Dom. 1390.

DOminus Henricus Comes de Derbie per idem tempus profectus eſt in le Pruys, vbi cum adjutorio mareſcalli dictæ patriæ, & cujuſdam Regis vocati Wytot deuicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus ſupradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur ‖ Will, in cujus caſtellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis

‖ Alias Vilna.

maximè, atque ſuorum capta eſt. Namque qui fuerunt de familia ſua primi murum aſcenderant, & vexillum ejus ſuper muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, poſuerunt. Captaque ſunt ibi vel occiſa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui aduerſarius noſter fuit. Obſeſſumque fuit caſtrum dictæ Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magiſtri de Pruys & de Liſland noluerunt diutiùs expectare. Facti ſunt Chriſtiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magiſter de Liſland duxit ſecum in ſuam patriam tria millia captiuorum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

About the ſame time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie trauailed into Pruſſia, where, with the helpe of the Marſhall of the ſame Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquiſhed the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the ſlaughter of three, beſides more then three hundred of the principall common ſouldiers of the ſayd armie which were ſlaine. The Citie alſo which is called Wil or Vilna, into the caſtle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his ſauegard, was, by the valour of the ſayd Earle eſpecially and of his followers, ſurpriſed and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were ſlouthfull or at leaſt ignorant of their intent, ſcaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and ſlaine foure thouſand of the common ſouldiers, and amongſt others was ſlaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our profeſſed enemie. And the caſtle of the foreſaid Citie was beſieged for the ſpace of fiue weekes: but by reaſon of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great maſters of Pruſſia and of Liſland would not ſtay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight perſons vnto the Chriſtian faith. And the maſter of Liſland carried home with him into his countrey three thouſand captiues.

The voyage of *Thomas* of *VVoodſtocke* Duke of Gloceſter *into* Pruſſia, *in the yeere* 1391. *written* by Thomas Walſingham.

Eodem tempore dux Glouerniæ Dominus ‖ Thomas de Woodſtock, multis mœrentibus, iter apparauit versùs le Pruys: quem non Londinenſium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficiſci vellet. Nam plebs communis tàm Vrbana quàm ruſtica metuebant quòd eo abſente aliquod nouum detrimentum ſuccreſceret, quo præſente nihil tale timebant. Siquidèm in eo ſpes & ſolatium totius patriæ repoſita videbantur. Ipſe verò mòx, vt fines patriæ ſuæ tranſijt, illicò aduerſa agitatus fortuna, nunc hàc nunc illàc turbinibus procelloſis circumfertur; & in tantum deſtituitur, vt de vita etiam deſperaret. Tandem poſt Daciam, poſt Norwagiam, poſt Scoticam barbariem non ſine mortis pauore tranſcurſam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad caſtellum ſe contulit de Tinnemutha velut aſylum antiquitùs notum ſibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter aſſumpſit verſus manerium ſuum de Plaſhy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus euaſione, quàm de aduentu ſuo.

‖ Filius natu minimus Edwardi 3.

Reditus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

At the ſame time the Duke of Gloceſter Lord Thomas of Woodſtock (the yongeſt ſonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his iourney towards Pruſſia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could reſtraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared leſt in his abſence ſome newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was preſent. For in him the whole nation ſeemed to repoſe their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing ſcarce paſſed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune toſſed vp and downe with dangerous ſtormes and tempeſts, and was brought into ſuch diſtreſſe, that he deſpaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, ſailed along the coaſtes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the caſtle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him: where, after hee had refreſhed himſelfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plaſhy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aſwell in regard of his ſafetie as of his returne.

The verſes of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who *liuing in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himſelfe in his Epiſtle of Cupide)* ſhewed that the Engliſh Knights after the loſſe of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Pruſſia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Chriſtian faith againſt Infidels and miſcreants, and to ſeeke honour by feats of armes.

The Engliſh Knights Prologue.

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he firſt began
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curteſie.
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
Long trauaile. As well in Chriſtendome as in Heathenneſſe,
and euer had honour for his worthineſſe.
Alexandria. At Aliſandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
abouen all nations in Pruce,
Lettowe, Ruce. In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Chriſten man ſo oft of his degree:
In Granade at the ſiege had he bee
Algezer in Granado. Layas in Armenia. Froyſart, lib. 3. cap. 40. Satalie in the mayne of Aſia neere Rhods. Tremiſen is in Barbarie. At Algezer: and ridden in Belmarye:
At Leyes was hee, and alſo at Satalye,
when they were wonne: and in the great ſee
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramiſſen,
in liſtes thries, and aye ſlayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin alſo,
‖ Or, Palice Froyſart lib. 3. cap. 40. Turkie. ſometime with the lord of ‖ Palathye
ayenſt another Heathen in Turkie.

The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus mentioned in the end of his letter of Cupide. Written in the luſtie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of louers true haue habitation,
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
a thouſand, foure hundred and ſecond.

The original, proceedings and ſucceſſe of the Northren domeſtical and forren trades and traffiques of this Iſle of *Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceaſed in the* yeere of our Lord 70. vnder the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conqueſt: and from the conqueſt, vntill this preſent time, gathered out of the moſt authenticall hiſtories and records of this nation.

A teſtimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales *of Cornelius Tacitus, prouing London to haue bene a famous Mart* Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Chriſt 70.

AT Suetonius mira conſtantia medios inter hoſtes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non inſigne, ſed copia negociatorum & cõmeatu maxime celebre.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BVt Suetonius with wonderfull conſtancie paſſed through the middeſt of his enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a

Romane Colonie, yet was it moſt famous for multitude of Marchants and concourſe of people.

A teſtimonie out of Venerable *Beda* (which died in the yeere *of our Lord 734.*) *prouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike* and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Beda Eccleſiaſticæ hiſtoriæ Gentis Anglorum lib. 2, cap. 3.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis ſexcenteſimo quarto Auguſtinus Britanniarum Archiepiſcopus ordinauit duos Epiſcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iuſtum: Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum prouinciæ Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tameſi fluuio dirimuntur à Cantia, & ipſi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Ciuitas eſt, ſuper ripam præfati fluminis poſita, & ipſa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of the incarnation of Chriſt 604. Auguſtine Archbiſhop of Britaine conſecrated two Biſhops, to wit Mellitus and Iuſtus. He appoynted Mellitus to preach to the Eaſt Saxons, which are diuided from Kent by the riuer of Thames, and border vpon the Eaſterne ſea, whoſe chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, ſeated vpon the banke of the aforeſayd riuer, which is alſo a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by ſea and by land.

The league betweene *Carolus Magnus* and *Offa* King of *Mercia concerning ſafe trade of the Engliſh Marchants* in all the Emperours Dominion. This *Offa* died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

Malmsbur. de geſtis Regum Anglorum lib. 1, cap. 4.

OFfa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum parauit: quamuis non facile quod ſuis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Diſcordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus vtrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Eſt Epiſtola Albini huiuſce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Neſcio quid de nobis venturum ſit. Aliquid enim diſſentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum eſt: ita vt vtrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus ceſſet. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpoſitis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli fœdus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum ſubijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri chariſſimo Offæ Regi Merciorum ſalutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de ſalute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarum ſuarum beatorum Apoſtolorum limina deſiderant adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui, non religioni ſeruientes, ſed lucra ſectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſoluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato noſtro patrocinium habeant in Regno noſtro legitime. Et ſi aliquo loco iniuſte affligantur oppreſſione, reclament ad nos vel noſtros iudices, & plenam videbimus iuſtitiam fieri.

Nauigatio interdicta.

Negociatorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the meane ſeaſon Offa by often legacies ſolicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not eaſily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were ſo alienated before, that, bearing hauty ſtomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epiſtle of Albinus is a ſufficient teſtimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

Traffique prohibited.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. For there is of late, by the inſtigation of the deuill, ſome diſcord and variance ſprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: inſomuch

Nauigation forbidden.

that ſailing to and fro is forbidden, vnto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some ſay that we are to be ſent, for the obtaining of a peace, into thoſe partes. And againe, after a fewe lines, Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne wordes, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

A league betweene Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto the reuerend and his moſt deare brother Offa king of the Mercians ſendeth greeting. Firſt we doe render vnto almightie God moſt humble thankes for the ſaluation of ſoules, and the ſinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found ſignified in your letters. As touching thoſe pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne ſoules health, are deſirous to reſort vnto the Churches of the holy Apoſtles, let them goe in peace without all diſturbance. But if any be found amongſt them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie cuſtomes at places conuenient. It is our pleaſure alſo and commandement, that your marchants ſhall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any iniuſt oppreſſion, let them make their ſupplication vnto vs, or vnto our Iudges, and we will ſee iuſtice executed to the full.

Protection of the Engliſh Marchants.

An ancient teſtimonie tranſlated out of the olde Saxon lawes, *containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thriſe* croſſing the wide ſeas, ſet downe by the learned Gentleman Maſter William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

IT was ſometime in Engliſh lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wiſeſt of the people worſhip-worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a churle thriued ſo, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouſe, and a gate, a ſeate, and a ſeuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein ſo thriued, that he ſerued the king, and on his meſſage rid in his houſhold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings iourney fiue hides had, and in the kings ſeate his Lord ſerued, and thriſe with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his forcoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue ſo, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant ſo thriued, that he paſſed thriſe ouer the wide ſeas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a ſcholar ſo proſpered thorow learning that he degree had, and ſerued Chriſt, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace ſo much worthie, as thereunto belonged: vnleſſe he forfaited ſo, that he the vſe of his degree vſe ne might.

William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap 9. de geſtis Regum Anglorum.

A teſtimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the Engliſh *and Daniſh Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Biſhop of* Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

SIt vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilum in ipſa ſolemnitate Paſcali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, ſcilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vſque ad iſtum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice ſuſcepere, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretioſis honoratus ſum, tam in vaſis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & veſtibus valde pretioſis. Locutus ſum igitur cum ipſo imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de neceſſitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax ſecurior in via Romã adeundi, & ne tot clauſuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniuſtum teloneũ fatigarentur. Annuitque poſtulatis Imperator, & Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipſarum clauſurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quàm alij orandi gratia viatores, abſque omni anguria clauſurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.

The ſame in Engliſh.

YOu are to vnderſtand, that at the feaſt of Eaſter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour aſſembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus vnto the Weſt Ocean ſea. Who all of them honourably intertained me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but eſpecially the Emperour beſtowed diuers coſtly preſents and rewards vpon mee, both in veſſels of golde and ſiluer, and alſo in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himſelfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there preſent, concerning the neceſſities of all my ſubiects both Engliſhmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & ſecure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by ſo many ſtops & impediments in their iourney, and wearied by reaſon of vniuſt exactions. And the Emperour condeſcended vnto my requeſt, and king Rodulphus alſo, who hath greateſt authoritie ouer the foreſaid ſtops and ſtreights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my ſubiects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions ſake, ſhould without all hinderance and reſtraint of the foreſaid ſtops and cuſtomers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in ſafetie.

Garganus a mountaine of Apulia in Italie.

The flouriſhing ſtate of Marchandiſe in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburienſis, *which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.*

HAud longe a Roſa quaſi viginti quinque milliarijs eſt Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, conſtipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro ſterili prouentu meſſium ſit, ibi neceſſaria diſtrahantur & emantur minore, quàm alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium diſpendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tameſis fluuius famoſus, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fuſus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert.

Gulíel. Malmesb. de geſtis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.

The ſame in Engliſh.

NOt farre from Rocheſter, about the diſtance of fiue and twenty miles, ſtandeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants reſorting thither out of all nations, and eſpecially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reaſon of the ſcarcitie of corne, things neceſſary may there be prouided and bought with leſſe gaine vnto the ſellers, and with leſſe hinderance and loſſe vnto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandiſh wares are conueighed into the ſame Citie by the famous riuer of Thames: which riuer ſpringing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the ſelfe ſame name. 70. miles beneath it.

Germanie.

The aforeſaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Briſtowe in his fourth booke *de geſtis pontificum Anglorum*, after this maner.

IN eadem valle eſt vicus celeberrimus Briſtow nomine, in quo eſt nauium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cæteris tranſmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne ſcilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the ſame valley ſtands the famous Towne of Briſtow, with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and ſafe receptacle for all ſhips directing their courſe for the ſame, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandiſh and forren countreys: namely that a region ſo fortunate and bleſſed with the riches that nature hath vouchſafed thereupon ſhould not bee deſtitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

Norway.

The league betweene *Henry* the ſecond and *Fredericke Barbaroſſa Emperour of* Germanie, *wherein is mention of friendly traffike be*tweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the firſt Booke and ſeuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Friſingenſis, being an appendix to Otto Friſingenſis.

IBidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ miſſi, varia & precioſa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præſtantes. Inter quæ papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perſpeximus. Cuius ſi quantitatem requiris, non niſi machinis & inſtrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: ſi qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipſum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiuſce apparatu ſuperatum iri. Literas quoque mellito ſermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico ſuo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictiſſimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauenſis, ſalutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ veſtræ quantas poſſumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs veſtris viſitare, ſalutare literis, muneribus præuenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus eſtis fœdera inchoare. Exultauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis creſcere, & in maius ſenſimus euehi dum veſtra promiſſio, in qua nobis ſpem dediſtis, in diſponendis Regni noſtri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ veſtræ aſſurreximus, id vobis in ſincero cordis affectu reſpondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem veſtrum ſpectare nouerimus, pro poſſe noſtro effectui mancipare parati ſumus. Regnum noſtrum, & quicquid vbique noſtræ ſubijcitur ditioni vobis exponimus & veſtrę committimus poteſtati, vt ad veſtrum nutum omnia diſponantur, & in omnibus veſtri fiat voluntas imperij. Sit igitur inter nos & populos noſtros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuiſa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate præminetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obſequendi. Et ſicut veſtræ Serenitatis memoriam veſtrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, ſic vos noſtri quoque reminiſci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, ſuper qua nobis ſcripſiſtis, in ore magiſtri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici noſtri verbū poſuimus. Teſte Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THere were preſent alſo the ſame time, the meſſengers of Henry king of England preſenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of ſpeech. Amongſt the which we ſaw a pauilion, moſt large in quantity, & moſt excellent in quality. For if you deſire to know the quantitie thereof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of inſtruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the ſame kinde, that ſurpaſſed the ſame either in ſtuffe or workemanſhip. The ſaid king directed his letters alſo, full of ſugred ſpeeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes moſt inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wiſheth health and concord of ſincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (moſt renowmed and peereleſſe Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue ſo graciouſly vouchſafed by your meſſengers to viſite vs, in your letters to ſalute vs, with your gifts to preuent vs, and (which wee doe more highly eſteeme of then all the reſt) to beginne a league of peace and friendſhip betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner ſenſibly felt our ſelues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encreaſe, whileſt your promiſe, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and reſolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I ſay) & in our ſecret cogitations did humble obeiſance vnto your Maieſtie, giuing you at this time to vnderſtand frō the ſincere & vnfained affection of our heart, that whatſoeuer we ſhal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power moſt ready to put in practiſe. Our kingdome, and whatſoeuer is vnder our iuriſdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the ſame vnto your highneſſe, that all matters may be diſpoſed according to your direction, and that your pleaſure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our ſelues and our ſubiects, an indiuiſible vnitie of friendſhip and peace, and ſafe trade of Merchandize: yet ſo, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee aſcribed, and diligence in obeying ſhall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maieſtie, euen ſo in like maner ſending vnto your Highneſſe the moſt rare things in our cuſtodie, and which we thought ſhould be moſt acceptable vnto you, wee doe moſt heartily wiſh that your ſelfe alſo would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue reſpect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hawk of S. Iames, about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue ſent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

A generall ſafe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king Iohn in the [a] firſt yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.

[a] 1199.

IOannes Dei gratia &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinenſi ſalutem, Sciatis voluntatem eſſe noſtram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunq; fuerint terra ſaluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus ſuis in Angliam. Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egreſſi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua veſtra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire ſine impedimento per debitas & rectas & ſolitas conſuetudines in Balliua veſtra. Teſte Galfredo filio Petri comite Eſſexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

Solitæ mercatorum conſuetudines.

In eadem forma ſcribitur vicecomiti Sudſex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorſet & Sommerſet, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton ſire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Eſſex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Deuon.

The ſame in Engliſh

IOhn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to vnderſtand, that it is our pleaſure, that all Marchants of what nation ſoeuer, ſhall haue ſafe conduct to paſſe and repaſſe with their Marchandize into England. It is our will alſo, that they be vouchſafed the ſame fauour in England, which is granted vnto the Engliſh Marchants in thoſe places from whence they come. And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cauſe this to be publiſhed, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be obſerued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient cuſtomes vſed in your ſaid Bailiwicke. Witneſſe Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Eſſex at Kinefard the 5. day of Aprill.

The ancient cuſtomes of Marchants.

The ſame forme of writing was ſent to the ſherife of Sudſex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Wincheſter, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the ſherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the ſherife of Dorſet and Sommerſet, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the ſherife of Southampton-ſhire, the ſherife of Hertford and Eſſex, the ſherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

Literæ regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ *de pacis fœdere & intercurſu mercandiſandi* | *Anno 1. Henrici 3.*

1216.

HEnricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ ſalutem, Immenſas nobilitati veſtræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas veſtras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Liſa, nobis ſignificaſtis, volentes & deſiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiſcum inire, & nobiſcum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terrę noſtrę cõmunes ſint, & Mercatores & homines qui ſunt de poteſtate veſtra libere & ſine impedimento terram noſtram adire poſſint, & homines & Mercatores noſtri ſimiliter terrã veſtram. Dum tamen literas veſtras patentes ſuper hoc nobis deſtinetis, & nos vobis noſtras tranſmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra veſtra quàm noſtra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras noſtras. Et ſi quid veſtræ ſederit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id ſecurè nobis ſignificetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, vt de naui veſtra & rebus in ea contentis pro poſſe noſtro reſtitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de ſtatu noſtro & Regni noſtri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teſte me ipſo apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo ſcribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King *Henry* the third vnto *Haquinus* King *of* Norway *concerning a treatie of peace* and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c,

Henry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the ſame grace King of Norway, ſendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highneſſe vnſpeakeable thanks for thoſe things which by your letters, and by your diſcreete ſubiect the Abbat of Liſa, you haue ſignified vnto vs, and alſo for that you are right willing and deſirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter ſhalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment reſort vnto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewiſe haue recourſe vnto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you ſend vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will ſend ours alſo vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might ſtand you in any ſtead, you may boldly ſignifie the ſame vnto vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foreſaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cauſe reſtitution to be made for your ſhip, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne eſtate, and of the eſtate of our kingdome ſo ſoone, &c. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Lambith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the ſame forme and to the ſame effect was there and then ſent vnto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13. *Henrici 3.*

Mandatum eſt omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura eſt Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegiæ & Mercatores Saxoniæ, quod cum prædictam Cogam in portus ſuos venire contigerit, saluò permittant ipſam Cogam in portubus ſuis morari, quamdiu neceſſe habuerit, & libere ſine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint, Teſte Rege.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Mandate for the King of *Norway* his Ship *called the Cog.*

Wee will and command all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his ſouldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) ſhall touch, that, when the foreſaid Cog ſhall chance to arriue at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the ſaid Cog ſafely to remaine in their ſaid Hauens ſo long as neede ſhall require, and without impediment alſo freely to depart thence, whenſoeuer the gouernours of the ſayd ſhip ſhall thinke it expedient. Witneſſe the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. *Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum* 8. Iulij Anno Regni 18, prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18, Regis Edwardi primi.

‖ Antiqua conſuetudo Gildhallę Colonienſium Londini.

Rex Archiepiſcopis &c. ſalutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamaſſe pro nobis & heredibus noſtris dilectos noſtros, Ciues de Colonia, & mercandiſam ſuam de illis duobus ſolidis, ‖ quos ſolebant dare de Gildhalla ſua London, & de omnibus

alijs conſuetudinibus & demandis, quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram noſtram; & quod liberè poſſunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram noſtram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, ſalua libertate Ciuitatis noſtræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quod prædicti ciues de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas conſuetudines habeant per totam terram noſtram Angliæ ſicut prædictum eſt. His teſtibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolenſi Epiſcopo, Willielmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Baſſet, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Diſſpenſer, Waltero Mareſcallo, Galfrido Diſpenſer, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Ciciſtrenſis Epiſcopi, Cancellarij noſtri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni noſtri viceſimo.

The ſame in Engliſh

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants *of Colen in the twentieth yeere of* Henry *the third, confirmed* by King *Edward* the firſt, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King *Edward* the firſt.

The King vnto Archbiſhops &c. greeting. Be it knowen vnto you, that we haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires releaſed our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of thoſe two ſhillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London, and from all other cuſtomes and demaunds; which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they may ſafely reſort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and ſell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuileges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforeſaid. Witneſſes, the reuerend father Walter Biſhop of Carlil, William de Ferarijs, Gilbert Baſſet, Walter de Beau-champ, Hugh Diſſpenſer, Walter Mareſcal, Geofrie Diſſpenſſer, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Giuen by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Biſhop of Chicheſter and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

The ancient cuſtome of the Coloners Gildhall in London.

Carta Lubecenſibus ad ſeptennium conceſſa.

Anno 41 Henrici 3.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauiæ, omnibus Balliuis ſuis ſalutem. Sciatis nos ad inſtantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris noſtri Ricardi Comitis Cornubiæ in Regem Romanorum electi, ſuſcepiſſe in protectionem & defenſionem noſtram & ſaluum & ſecurum conductum noſtrum Burgenſes de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandiſis quas in Regnum noſtrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis conceſſimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandiſis ſuis nihil capiatur ad opus noſtrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem; ſed libere vendant & negocientur inde in Regno prædicto, prout ſibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgenſibus vel eorum nuncijs in veniendo in terram noſtram cum rebus & mercandiſis ſuis, ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inſeratis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam prædictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexari permittatis. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes per ſeptennium durantes: Dum tamen ijdem Burgenſes interim bene & fideliter ſe habuerint erga præfatum electum fratrem noſtrum. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni noſtri quadrageſimo primo. Hæc litera duplicata eſt, pro Burgenſibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunſwig, & Lubek.

Ricardus Comes Cornubiæ Rex Romanorum.

Carta conditionalis.

The

The ſame in Engliſh.

The charter of Lubek granted for ſeuen yeeres, obtained *in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.*

HEnry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs ſendeth greeting. Know ye that at the inſtant requeſt of our welbeloued and truſty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our ſafe and ſecure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our kingdome. We haue alſo granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing ſhal be ſeized vnto the vſe of our ſelues, or of any other without their owne conſent, but that they may freely ſell and exerciſe traffike therewith, according as they ſhall thinke expedient. And therefore we ſtraightly command you, that neither your ſelues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or moleſtation vnto the ſaid Burgers or vnto their meſſengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither moleſt them your ſelues, nor yet ſuffer them by others to be moleſted, contrary to the aforeſaid Charter. In teſtimonie whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents, during the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres next following.

Prouided, that the ſayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themſelues well and faithfully towards our foreſaid elected brother. Witneſſe our ſelues at Weſtminſter the eleuenth day of March, in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunſwig, and of Lubecke.

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemanniæ, qui habent domum *in London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur* Anno 44. *Henrici tertij*, & Anno primo & 29. *Edwardi primi* renouata & confirmata.

AD inſtantiam Sereniſſimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis chariſſimi fratris noſtri concedimus mercatoribus Alemanniæ, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate noſtra London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, quod eos vniuerſos manutenebimus per totum Regnū noſtrum in omnibus ijſdem libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus, quibus ipſi noſtris & ‖ progenitorum noſtrotum temporibus vſi ſunt & gauiſi. Ipſoſque extra huiuſmodi libertates & liberas conſuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes.

‖ Nota antiquitatem.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A charter for the Marchants of *Almaine*, who haue an houſe at London *commonly called* ‡ *the Guild hall of the* Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of *Henry* the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of *Edward* the firſt.

‡ The Stillard.

AT the inſtant requeſt of the moſt gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our moſt deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto thoſe that haue an houſe in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all thoſe liberties and free cuſtomes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vſed and enioyed. Neither will we inforce them beyond theſe liberties and free cuſtomes, nor in any wiſe permit them to be inforced. In witneſſe whereof, wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents.

Note the antiquitie.

Mandatum

Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus *alienigenis.*

MErcatores extranei vendant mercimonia ſua in ciuitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies poſt ingreſſum ſuum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A mandate of king *Edward* the firſt concerning outlandiſh marchants.

WE will and command that outlandiſh marchants doe ſel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their arriuall.

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants by king *Edward* the firſt, in the 31 yeare of his reigne commonly called *Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini* 1303.

EDwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iuſtitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, præpoſitis, miniſtris, & omnibus balliuis & fidelibus ſuis ſalutem. Circa bonum ſtatum omnium mercatorum ſubſcriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & prouinciarum, videlicet Alemanniæ, Franciæ, Hiſpaniæ, Portugalliæ, Nauarræ, Lombardiæ, Thuſciæ, Prouinciȩ, Cataloniæ, ducatus noſtri Aquitaniæ, Tholoſaniȩ, Caturluni, Flandriæ, Brabantiȩ, & omnium aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunq; nomine cenſeantur, venientium in regnum noſtrum Angliȩ & ibidem conuerſantium nos pręcipua cura ſollicitat, qualiter ſub noſtro dominio tranquillitatis & plenæ ſecuritatis immunitas eiſdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus præparetur. Vt itaque vota ipſorum reddantur ad noſtra & regni noſtri ſeruitia promptiora, ipſorum petitionibus fauorabiliter annuentes, & pro ſtatu eorundem plenius aſſecurando, in forma quȩ ſequitur ordinantes, pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum ſubſcripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

Inprimis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum ſaluè & ſecure ſub tuitione & protectioue noſtra in dictum regnum noſtrum Angliæ, & vbique infra poteſtatem noſtram alibi veniant cum mercandiſis ſuis quibuſcunque, de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & poteſtatem noſtram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs poſſunt mercari duntaxat in groſſo tam cum indigenis ſeu incolis eiuſdem regni & poteſtatis noſtræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter mercerię vocantur, ac ſpecies, minutatim vendi poſſint, prout antea fieri conſueuit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandiſas ſuas, quas ipſos ad prædictum regnum & poteſtatem noſtram adducere, ſeu infra idem regnum & poteſtatem noſtram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, poſſint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifeſtorum & notoriorum hoſtium regni noſtri, ſoluendo conſuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, quæ de eodem regno ſeu poteſtate noſtra, poſtquam infra idem regnum ſeu poteſtatem noſtram ducta fuerint, ſine voluntate & licentia ſpeciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo. 1.

Exceptio contra notorios regni hoſtes.

Item quod prædicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate ſua hoſpitari valeant, & morari cum bonis ſuis ad gratiam ipſorum, quorum ſunt hoſpitia ſiue domus. 2.

Item quod quilibet contractus per ipſos mercatores cum quibuſcunque perſonis vndecunque fuerint ſuper quocunque genere mercandiſæ initus, firmus ſit & ſtabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu poſſit recedere, vel reſilire, poſtquam denarius Dei inter principales perſonas cōtrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et ſi forſan ſuper cōtractu eiuſmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquiſitio ſecundū vſus & conſuetudines feriarū & villarū, 3.

vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam priſam vel arreſtationem, ſeu dilationem occaſione priſæ de cætero de mercimonijs, mercandiſis ſeu alijs bonis ſuis per nos vel alium ſeu alios pro aliqua neceſſitate vel caſu contra voluntatem ipſorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, niſi ſtatim ſoluto precio pro quo ipſi mercatores alijs eiuſmodi mercimonia vendere poſſint, vel eis aliter ſatiſfacto, ita quod reputent ſe contentos: Et quod ſuper mercimonia, mercandiſas, ſeu bona ipſorum per nos vel miniſtros noſtros nulla appreciatio aut eſtimatio imponetur.

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & miniſtri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iuſtitiam faciant de die in diem ſine dilatione ſecundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuerſis & ſingulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et ſi forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel miniſtrorum prædictorum, vnde ijdem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda ſuſtinuerint vel ſuſtineant, licet mercator verſus partem in principali recuperauerit damna ſua, nihilominus balliuus vel miniſter alius verſus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem iſtam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum iuſtitia maturanda.

Lex mercatoria.

6, Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, ſaluo caſu criminis pro quo infligenda eſt pœna mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuſcunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, ſiue Burgis, vbi fuerit ſufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquiſitio fieri debeat, ſit medietas inquiſitionis de eiſdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud eſſe contigerit. Et ſi de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inueniatur ſufficiens, ponentur in inquiſitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & reſidij ſint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & ſtatuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni noſtri prædicti & alibi infra poteſtatem noſtram pondus noſtrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem ſtatera in præſentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia ſint equalia: & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in æquali. Et cum ſtateram poſuerit in æquali ſtatim amoueat manus ſuas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ſit vnum pondus & vna menſura: & ſigno ſtandardi noſtri ſignentur: Et quod quilibet poſſit habere ſtateram vnius quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & anteceſſores noſtros conceſſam illud non fuerit, ſiue contra villarum & feriarum conſuetudinem hactenus obſeruatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & diſcretus Londini reſidens aſſignetur iuſtitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant ſpecialiter placitare, & debita ſua recuperare celeriter, ſi Vicecomites & Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iuſtitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commiſſio extra Cartam præſentem conceſſa mercatoribus antedictis: ſcilicet de his quæ ſunt inter mercatores & mercatores ſecundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

Lex mercatoria, quæ

9. Item ordinamus & ſtatuimus, & ordinationem illam ſtatutumque pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obſeruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes noſtri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores ſupradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus obtinendis, & priſis noſtris remittendis ijdem ſupradicti mercatores vniuerſi & ſinguli pro ſe & omnibus alijs de partibus ſuis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter conceſſerunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducent vel adduci facient infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram, & vnde marinarijs fretum ſoluere tenebuntur, ſoluent nobis & hæredibus noſtris nomine Cuſtumæ duos ſolidos vltra antiquas cuſtumas debitas & in denarijs ſolui conſuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, poſtquam extra naues ad terram poſita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet ſacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipſorum ement & è regno educẽt, aut emi & educi facient, ſoluent quadraginta denarios de incremẽto vltra cuſtumam antiquam dimidię marcę, quæ prius fuerat perſoluta. Et pro laſta coriorum extra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram vehendorum dimidiam marcam ſupra id quod ex antiqua cuſtuma ante ſoluebatur. Et ſimiliter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod de

Antiquæ Cuſtumæ.

antiqua cuſtuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos ſolidos de quolibet ſcarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio ſine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla.

Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias exercere ſoleant mercandiſas, vt de Auerio ponderis, & de alijs rebus ſubtilibus, ſicut de pannis Tarſenſibus, de ſerico, & cindallis, de ſeta & alijs diuerſis mercibus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandiſis multimodis, quę ad certam cuſtumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores conceſſerunt dare nobis & hęredibus noſtris de qualibet libra argenti eſtimationis ſeu valoris rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandiſarum ipſarum in regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam infra viginti dies poſtquam huiuſmodi res & mercandiſæ in regnum & poteſtatem noſtram adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ ſeu venditæ fuerint. Et ſimiliter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quarumcunque rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi emptarum in regno & poteſtate noſtris prædictis vltra cuſtumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et ſuper valore & eſtimatione rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti ſicut prædicitur ſunt ſoluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut ſocijs ſuis oſtendere poterunt: Et ſi literas non habeant ſtetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, ſi pręſentes fuerint, vel valetorum ſuorum in eorundem mercatorum abſentia, iuramentis. 10.

Liceat inſuper ſocijs de ſocietate prędictorum mercatorum infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictas, lanas vendere alijs ſuis ſocijs, & ſimiliter emere ab ijſdem abſque cuſtuma ſoluenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanę ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de cuſtuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea eſt ſciendum, quod poſtquam ſupradicti mercatores ſemel in vno loco infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram cuſtumam nobis conceſſam ſuperius pro mercandiſis ſuis in forma ſoluerint ſupradicta, & ſuum habeant inde warantum, ſiue huiuſmodi mercandiſæ infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram remaneant, ſiue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & poteſtate noſtris prædictis ſine voluntate & licentia noſtra ſicut prædictū eſt, nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac hæredibus noſtris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, priſa, vel præſtatio, aut aliquod onus ſuper perſonas mercatorū prędictorum, mercandiſas ſeu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expreſſam ſuperius & conceſſam. His teſtibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Couentriæ & Lichfildię epiſcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolnienſe, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordienſe & Eſſexię & Conſtabulo magno Anglię, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Leſpenſor, Waltero de Bello campo, ſeneſcallo hoſpitij noſtri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum noſtrā apud Windeſore, primo die Februarij, anno regni noſtri xxxj. 11.

The aforeſaid generall Charter in Engliſh.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Vicounts, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people ſendeth greeting. Wee haue ſpeciall care for the good eſtate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countreis following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholoſa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name ſoeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the ſayd marchants may liue in quiet and full ſecuritie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts deſires may bee more readily inclined to our ſeruice and the ſeruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller aſſuring of their eſtate, haue thought good to graunt to the ſayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer theſe priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

First, that all marchants of the ſayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where elſe into our dominion with their marchandiſes whatſoeuer ſafely and ſecurely vnder our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the ſayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall ſubiects and inhabitants of our aforeſayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, ſtrangers, or priuate perſons. Yet ſo, that marchandiſes which are commonly called mercerie wares, 1.

and ſpices, may be ſold by the ſmall, as heretofore hath bin accuſtomed. And that all the aforeſaid marchants may cary or cauſe to be caried whither they will, aſwell within our realme or dominion, as out of the ſame; ſauing vnto the countreis of the manifeſt and knowne enemies of our kingdome, thoſe marchandiſes which they ſhall bring into our foreſayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwiſe purchaſe in our ſayd realme and dominion, paying ſuch cuſtomes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it ſhall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our ſayd realme and dominion without our ſpeciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

An exception for traficking with yͤ known enemies of the kingdoms.

2. Item that the aforeſayd marchants may at their pleaſure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforeſaid, with the good liking of thoſe which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the ſaid marchants with any maner of perſons, of what places ſoeuer they be, for any kind of marchādiſe whatſoeuer, ſhalbe firme & ſtable, ſo that none of both the marchants ſhall ſhrinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earneſt penie be once giuen and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peraduenture any ſtrife ariſe about the ſame bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof ſhall be made according to the vſes and cuſtomes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the ſaid bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promiſe the aforeſaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wiſe make nor cauſe to be made any ſtay or arreſt, or any delay by reaſon of arreſt of their wares, marchandiſes or other goods, by our ſelues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident againſt the will of the ſayd marchants, without preſent payment of ſuch a price as the marchants would haue ſold thoſe marchandiſes for to other men, or without making of them other ſatiſfaction, ſo that they ſhall hold themſelues well contented: and that no price or valuation ſhalbe ſet vpon their wares, marchandiſes, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes ſhall doe ſpeedie iuſtice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforeſayd marchants when they ſhall complaine before them, touching all and ſinguler cauſes, which may be determined by the ſame law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforeſayd, whereby the ſayd marchants or any of them haue ſuſtained, or do ſuſtaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his loſſes againſt the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer ſhall be puniſhed to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this puniſhment in fauour of the aforeſayd marchants in regard of the haſtening of their iuſtice.

Where is this law now become?

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, ſauing in caſe where puniſhmēt of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or ſueth another, of what condition ſoeuer hee bee which is ſued, whether ſtranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where ſufficient numbers of marchants of the foreſayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Iurie be of the ſayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the ſuite ſhall fall out to bee: and if ſufficient number of marchants of the ſayd countries cannot bee found, thoſe which ſhall be found fit in that place ſhall be put vpon the iurie, and the reſt ſhall be choſen of good and fit men of the places where ſuch ſuit ſhall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in euery market towne and fayre of our realme aforeſayd and elſewhere within our dominion our weight ſhall bee ſet in ſome certaine place; and that before the weighing the balance ſhall bee ſeene emptie in the preſence of the buyer and of the ſeller, and that the ſkales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath ſet the balances euen, let him ſtraightway remoue his hands, ſo that the balance may remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one meaſure, and that they be marked with the marke of our ſtandard. And that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the ſame hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predeceſſors, or contrary to the cuſtome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene obſerued.

8. Item we will and we grant that ſome certaine faythfull and diſcreete man reſident in London be appointed to doe Iuſtice to the aforeſayd marchants, before whome they may haue their ſutes decided, and may ſpeedilie recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior ſhould not from day to day giue them ſpeedy iuſtice. And hereof let a Commiſſion be made: which we grant vnto the aforeſaid marchants beſides this preſent Charter: to wit, of ſuch things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and ſtatute ſhall firmely bee obſerued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforeſayd marchants ſhal not looſe the aforeſayd li-

berties nor any of them, for any libertie whatſoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter ſhall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforeſayd liberties and free cuſtomes, and for remiſſion of our arreſting of their goods, the aforeſayd marchants all and euery of them for themſelues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one conſent haue granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they ſhall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, beſides the olde cuſtomes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a cuſtome two ſhillings in money, either out of hande, or elſe within fortie dayes after the ſayd wines-ſhall bee brought on land out of the ſhippes. Item for euery ſacke of wooll, which the ſayd marchants or others in their name ſhall buy and carie out of the realme, or cauſe to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old cuſtome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a laſt of hides to bee carryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde cuſtome. And likewiſe for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee tranſported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde cuſtome: Alſo two ſhillings vpon euery ſcarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas ſundrie of the aforeſayd marchants are woont to exerciſe other marchandiſes, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as ſarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and ſilke, and diuers other marchandiſes, and to ſell horſes and other beaſtes, corne, and ſundrie other things and marchandiſes, which cannot eaſily bee reduced vnto a certaine cuſtome: the ſayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of ſiluer of the eſtimation and value of theſe kinde of goods and marchandiſes, by what name ſoeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of theſe goods into our realme and dominion aforeſaid, within twentie dayes after theſe goods and marchandiſes ſhall be brought into our realme and dominion, and ſhall be there vnladen and ſolde. And likewiſe three pence vpon euery pound of ſiluer in the carying out of any ſuch goods and marchandiſes which are bought in our realme and dominion aforeſayd aboue the cuſtomes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and eſtimation of theſe goods and marchandiſes, whereof three pence of euery pound of ſiluer, as is aforeſayd, is to be payd, credite ſhalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to ſhewe from their maſters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will ſtand to the othe of the foreſayd marchants if they bee preſent, or in their abſence to the othes of their ſeruants.

Moreouer, it ſhall be lawfull for ſuch as be of the company of the aforeſayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforeſayd, to ſell woolles to other of their company, and likewiſe to buy of them without paying of cuſtome. Yet ſo, that the ſaid wools come not to ſuch hands, that wee be defrauded of the cuſtome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderſtood, that after that the aforeſaid marchants haue once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the cuſtome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforeſayd for their marchandiſes, & haue their warrant therof, whether theſe marchandiſes remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wiſe ſhalbe caried forth of our realme and dominion aforeſayd, without our fauour & licence as is aforeſayd) we wil and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the perſons of the aforeſayd marchants, vpon their marchandiſes or goods in any caſe, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witneſſes of theſe preſents are theſe, Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter biſhop of Couētrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Eſſex, high Conſtable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenſer, Walter Beauchampe Seneſchall of our houſe, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windeſore the firſt day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia areſtatis, & *eorum mercimonijs dearreſtandis literæ* Edwardi *ſecundi* anno ſexto regni ſui, Haquino regi Norwegię.

MAgnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegię illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo Edwardus eadē Dei gratia rex Anglię, Dom. Hibernię, & dux Aquitanię ſalutē cū dilectione ſincera. Miramur nō modicū & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus

& oppreſſionibus quæ ſubditis noſtris infra regnum veſtrum cauſa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus ſolito abſque cauſa rationabili, ſicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper ſiquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum ſocij mercatores noſtri nobis conquerendo monſtrarunt, quod cum ipſi quoſdam homines & ſeruientes ſuos cum tribus nauibus ſuis ad partes regni veſtri, ad negotiandum ibidem tranſmiſiſſent: & naues illæ in portu villæ veſtræ de Tonnesbergh halece & alijs bonis diuerſis vſque ad magnam ſummam oneratæ fuiſſent: Et licet nautis nauiũ prædictarum hominibuſque & ſeruientibus prædictis à regno veſtro liberè cum nauibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Anglię redeundi veſtras fieri feceritis de cõductu, poſtmodum tamen antequã naues illæ propter venti contrarietatẽ portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui veſtri naues prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc exiſtentibus in eiſdem, occaſione mortis cuiuſdam militis nuper balliui veſtri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues prædictæ in portu ſupradicto ſicut præmittitur remanſerunt ſupra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato veſtro vt dicebant arreſtarunt, & diu ſub areſto huiuſmodi detinebant, quouſque videlicet homines & marinarij prædicti de quadraginta libris ſterlingorũ certo die ſtatuto ad opus veſtrum pro qualibet naui prędictarum ſoluendis inuiti & coacti ſecuritatem inueniſſent: Et ſimiliter de eiſdem nauibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra feſtũ natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ proximo futuro ad ſtandum tunc ibidem de perſonis & nauibus ſuis veſtrę gratię ſeu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obſides vlterius liberaſſent: quod ipſis valde graue cenſetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & ęquitatem, omnemq; iuſtitiam fore dinoſcitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpę ſeu demerita in perſonis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conſcij vel participes, ſeu de huiuſmodi delinquentium ſocietate non fuerunt, aliqualiter vlciſcantur, veſtram amicitiam affectuoſe requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmiſſa diligenti meditatione zelo iuſtitiæ ponderantes, obſides prędictos iubere velitis ab hoſtagiamento huiuſmodi liberari, dictamq; ſecuritatem relaxari penitus & reſolui. Scientes pro certo, quod ſi malefactores prędicti, qui dictum militem veſtrum, vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum ſeu poteſtatem noſtram poterunt inueniri, de ipſis iuſtitiam & iudicium ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem eiuſdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim poſſumus his diebus æquanimiter tolerare, quod naues prędictę ſeu aliæ de regno noſtro, quæ ſemper promptę ad noſtrum ſeruitium eſſe debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas ſe diuertant ſine noſtra licentia ſpeciali. Quid autem ad hanc noſtram inſtantiam faciendum decreueritis in pręmiſſis, nobis ſi placeat reſcribatis per pręſentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windeſore decimo ſexto die Aprilis.

Villa de Tonnesbergh.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The letters of *Edward* the ſecond vnto *Haquinus* king of *Norway*, concerning the Engliſh marchants arreſted in *Norway*, and their goods to be freed from arreſt.

TO the mighty Prince, loꝛd Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his moſt deare friend, Edward by the ſame grace of God, king of England, loꝛd of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. We maruell not a little, and are much diſquieted in our cogitations, conſidering the greeuances and oppꝛeſſions, which (as wee haue beene infoꝛmed by pitifull complaints) are at this pꝛeſent, moꝛe then in times paſt, without any reaſonable cauſe inflicted vpon our ſubiects, which doe vſually reſoꝛt vnto your kingdome foꝛ traffiques ſake. Foꝛ of late one William the ſonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the ſonne of Alan of the ſame towne, and Guido the ſonne of Mathew, and their aſſociates our marchants, in complayning wiſe declared vnto vs: that hauing ſent certaine of their factoꝛs and ſeruants, with thꝛee ſhippes into your dominions, there to exerciſe traffique, and the ſayd ſhips being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and alſo the ſaid mariners, men, and ſeruants of the foꝛeſayd ſhippes, being licenced by vertue of the ſafe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ſhips and goods afoꝛeſayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reaſon of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occaſion of the ſlaughter of a knight being himſelfe alſo of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactoꝛs and Pirates vpon the ſea, whileſt the ſayd ſhippes remained in the hauen afoꝛeſayd, did at your commandement (as they ſay) arreſt, and foꝛ a long ſeaſon alſo

The towne of Tonesbergh.

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detained vnder that arreſt, the foreſaid ſhips, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill ſuch time, as the men and mariners aforeſaide (beeing driuen perforce, and conſtrained thereunto) ſhould lay in ſufficient ſecuritie for the payment of fortie pounds ſterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vſe, for euery of the foreſaide ſhips : and alſo vntill they had moreouer deliuered three pledges, for the bringing of the ſaide ſhips and men backe againe into the foreſaid hauen, before the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptiſt next enſuing, then and there to ſtand vnto your fauour and curteſie, as touching the ſaid perſons, and thoſe ſhips of theirs : which dealing, the parties themſelues take very grieuouſly, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a ſtrange and vnwonted courſe. And becauſe it is moſt vndoubtedly contrary to all reaſon, equitie, iuſtice, and lawe, that the faults or demerites of offenders ſhould in any ſort be puniſhed in ſuch perſons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene acceſſory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any ſociety with the ſaide offenders : we doe heartily intreat and requeſt your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iuſtice, you would of your loue and friendſhip, command the foreſaid pledges to be ſet at libertie, and the ſaid ſecuritie vtterly to bee releaſed and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foreſaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) ſlewe your Knight aforeſaide, ſhall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cauſe iuſtice and iudgement to bee executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and cuſtome of our ſayde Realme. For we cannot in theſe times conueniently and well indure, that the ſhips aforeſaide, or any other ſhips of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readineſſe for our ſeruice) ſhould without ſpeciall licence, depart out of our ſaide kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you ſhall think good at this our requeſt to performe in the premiſſes, may it pleaſe you by the bearer of theſe preſents to returne an anſwere vnto vs. Geuen at Windſore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of *Edward* the ſecond, to *Haquinus* King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine Engliſh *Marchants.*

MAgnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, ſalutem cum dilectione ſincera, Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum noſtrorum Thomæ de Swyn de Waynflecte, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cùm ipſi nuper quoſdam ſeruientes ſuos infrà regnum veſtrum pro ſuis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs tranſmiſiſſent, Theſaurarius veſter bona & mercimonia prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quæ ſeruientes prædicti in villa de Northberne in ſua cuſtodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis vltimò præterita fecit abſque cauſa rationabili areſtari, & ea adhuc taliter areſtata detinet iniuſtè, in ipſorum Thomæ & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifeſtam. Et quia eiſdem mercatoribus noſtris ſubuenire volumus, quatenus ſuadente iuſtitia poterimus in hac parte, veſtram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis, vel ipſorum atturnatorum ſuper reſtitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum prædictorum impendere velitis eiſdem celeris iuſtitiæ complementum : Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iuſtitiæ ſuper areſtatione prædicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus noſtris prædictis de alio remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc noſtram inſtantiam duxeritis faciendum, reſcribere velitis per pręſentium portitorem. Datæ vt ſuprà.

Northbernæ villa.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his moſt deare friend Edward by the ſame grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbelo- Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the ſonne of Alanus of the ſame towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the ſaide parties ſent certaine of their ſeruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treaſurer vpon the feaſt of S. Michael laſt paſt, without any iuſt or reaſonable occaſion, cauſed the goods and merchandiſe of the foreſaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their ſaid ſeruants had vnder their cuſtodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arreſted, and as yet alſo iniuriouſly deteineth the ſame vnder the ſame arreſt, to the great damage and impoueriſhing of the ſayd Thomas and Simon. And foraſmuch as our deſire is to ſuccour theſe our marchants ſo far foorth as we can, Iuſtice requiring no leſſe in this behalfe,

we

wee doe right earneſtly requeſt you, that hauing hearde the complaint and ſupplication of the foreſayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Atturneyes, you woulde of your loue and friendſhip, vouchſafe them ſpeedie adminiſtration of Iuſtice, about the reſtitution of their goods and marchandiſe aforeſaide: leaſt that for want of the exhibiting of Iuſtice about the foreſaid arreſt, we be conſtrained to prouide ſome other remedie for our marchants aforeſaid. Our requeſt is, that you would by the bearer of theſe preſents, returne an anſwere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our inſtant motion. Giuen as aboue.

A third letter of King *Edward* the ſecond, to Haquinus *King of* Norway *in the behalfe* of certaine Engliſh Marchants.

(⁂)

MAgnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, ſalutem cum dilectione ſincera. Pro mercatoribus noſtris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij veſtri ciuitatis veſtræ Bergen dudum ceperunt, & ſtricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum ſubtractionem & duritiam, ac aſperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipſorum & bonorum ſuorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, veſtræ ſerenitati Regiæ noſtras nuper tranſmiſimus literas ſpeciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere noſtris mercatoribus ſicut prius, nobis per literas veſtras quas audiuimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera reſcripſiſtis, quod quidam mercatores de regno veſtro de iniurijs, violentijs & arreſtationibus, quibus in regno noſtro his diebus ſunt, vt aſſerunt, contra iuſtitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adijciendo in veſtris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lennæ, ad piſcandum vt dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Balliuum veſtrum, in Vikia vnà cum decem alijs ſubditis veſtris, in veſtris & regni veſtri negotijs exiſtentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens noſtra grauatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præſertim quum nunquam noſtræ fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuriæ, violentiæ, ſeu arreſtationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel alijs de regno veſtro per aliquos de regno & poteſtate noſtris fierent indebitè vel iniuſtè: nec adhuc intelligere poſſumus, quod mercatoribus veſtris per aliquem vel aliquos de ſubditis noſtris huc vſque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod ſi nobis per inquiſitiones legitimas conſtare poterit huiuſmodi grauamina ſubditis veſtris infra regnum noſtrum illata fuiſſe, nos ſufficientes emendas, & ſatisfactiones debitas ſuper illis, celeriſque iuſtitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et inſuper ſi malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios ſecum exiſtentes, vt præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, ſeu poteſtate noſtra ſint, vel infrà idem regnum vel poteſtatem poterunt inueniri, de ipſis iudicium & iuſtitiam fieri præcipiemus, ſecundùm Leges & conſuetudines regni noſtri. Et quia inter nos & vos, noſtróſque & veſtros ſubditos hinc inde foueri deſideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores noſtri & veſtri mercandiſas ſuas in noſtris & veſtris regnis & dominijs liberè, & abſque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum noſtrorum fieri conſueuit, & ex dictarum literarum veſtrarum ſerie collegimus euidenter vos promptos eſſe ſimiliter, & paratos ad omnia & ſingula, quæ pro vobis & veſtris ſubditis ſuper diſcordijs, contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter noſtros & veſtros ſubditos qualitercunque ſuſcitatis pro bono pacis & iuſtitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos conſimilia pro nobis & noſtris, quantum ad nos & ad ipſos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoſcitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriuſque regnorum noſtrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos facturos: Veſtram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores noſtros prædictos, qui adhuc ſuperſtites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat cuſtodia carceralis, iubere velitis noſtri contemplatione, zelóque iuſtitiæ ab huiuſmodi cuſtodia liberari, bona ab ipſis capta eis prout iuſtum fuerit reſtitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum noſtrorum prædictorum, & bonorum ſuorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alij mercatores noſtri de Lenne, quibuſdam mercatoribus de regno veſtro occaſione eiuſdem grauaminis ipſis mercatoribus veſtris, ad ſectam Tidemanni Lippe infrà

Antiquitas commercij inter Angliam & Norwegiam.

regnum noſtrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras ſterlingorum perſoluerunt, ſicut in quodam ſcripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quoſdam alios mercatores veſtros ex parte vna, & præfatum Galfridum, & quoſdam alios de regno noſtro ſimiliter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de ſubditis veſtris de aliquibus ſubditis noſtris, de aliqua iniuria ipſis facta querelas in curia noſtra deponere voluerint, & proſequi cum effectu, ipſorum ſubditorum veſtrorum petitiones admitti, & eis ſuper querelis huiuſmodi plenam & celerem iuſtitiã fieri faciemus. Ita quod ijdem ſubditi veſtri exinde reputare debebunt meritò ſe contentos. Et interim de exceſſibus & grauaminibus ſubditis veſtris infrà regnum noſtrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Veſtræ igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in pręmiſſis nobis reſcribere velitis per præſentium portitorem. Datæ apud Weſtminſter tertio die Aprilis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his moſt deare friend Edward by the ſame grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. We ſent of late vnto your royall maieſtie our ſpecial letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coaſt adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to cloſe priſon, many of whome, as we vnderſtand, are, for want of due nouriſhment, and by reaſon of the extremitie ⁊ loathſomneſſe of the priſon, quite periſhed) that you would cauſe them and their goods to bee releaſed. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly vnderſtood, haue, amongſt other matters, returned this anſwere vnto vs: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make ſundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arreſts, whereby they haue lately (as themſelues auouch) contrary to iuſtice bene aggrieued and oppreſſed in our dominions: adding moreouer in your ſayde letters, that certaine ſonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they ſaide, to fiſh for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times paſt your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your ſubiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In conſideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue meaſure grieued and troubled, eſpecially ſithence it was neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arreſts ſhould vniuſtly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any ſuch hard meaſure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by anyone or moe of our ſubiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderſtand, that if vpon lawfull inquiſition we ſhalbe aduertiſed of any ſuch grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your ſubiects within our realme, we will cauſe ſpeedie iuſtice to be adminiſtred, and ſufficient recompence, and due ſatiſfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreouer, if the ſaide malefactors, which, as it is aforeſaid, ſlewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our ſaide kingdome or dominion, we will command iuſtice and iudgement to be executed vpon them, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of our realme. And foraſmuch as our deſire is, that mutuall concord and amitie ſhould be mainteined and cheriſhed between your and our ſubiects on both parts: ſo that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exerciſe their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accuſtomed: Whereas alſo we euidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like ſort readie and willing to put all things in practiſe, which are by you and your ſubiects (for the taking away of diſcords, contentions, and moleſtations howſoeuer occaſioned, and ſpring vp betweene your and our ſubiects) louingly to be performed: we alſo doe promiſe for our ſelues, and our ſubiects, ſo much as in vs and them lieth, for his ſake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite ⁊ tranquillitie of both our Realmes (as iuſtice and reaſon ſhall moue vs) to doe the like. Deſiring and earneſtly requeſting at your hands, that of your loue and friendſhip, hauing regard of vs, and conſideration of iuſtice, you would command that our foreſaide marchants, who as yet remaine aliue, and who alſo at the time of the ſaide felonie committed, were ſhut vp in cloſe priſon, be deliuered out of the ſaide thraldome, cauſing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iuſtice, reſtored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our foreſaide marchants and goods, may be the more eaſily yeelded vnto, may it pleaſe you with diligent obſeruation to conſider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occaſion of the greiuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the ſuite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the ſame your marchants an hundreth pound ſterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made

The antiquitie of traffique betweene England and Norway.

betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and ſome other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foreſaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee ſawe conteined. Moreouer, if any of your ſubiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to proſecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our ſubiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cauſe the petitions of thoſe your ſubiects to be admitted, and alſo full and ſpeedie iuſtice to be adminiſtred, vpon any ſuch like complaints of theirs. Inſomuch, that thoſe your ſubiects ſhal thinke themſelues right well and ſufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane ſpace we will cauſe diligent inquiſition of the trueth to be made, of all exceſſes and grieuances howſoeuer offered vnto your ſubiects within our dominions. May it pleaſe you therfore, by the bearer of theſe preſents, to returne an anſwere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premiſſes. Giuen at Weſtminſter, the third day of April.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. *Edwardi ſecundi.*

Maior & Communitas ſtapulæ.

Charta anno regni ſexto confecta.

REx collectoribus cuſtumæ lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London ſalutem, Cùm nos viceſimo die Maij anno regni noſtri ſexto attendentes damna & grauamina, quæ mercatoribus de regno noſtro diuerſimodè euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ementes, & ſe cum eiſdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuerſa loca infrà terras Brabantiæ, Flandriæ, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis tranſtulerint: & volentes etiam huiuſmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo poſſemus prouidere, de conſilio noſtro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigenæ & alienigenæ lanas & pelles huiuſmodi infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictam ementes, & ad terras prædictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam ſtapulam infrà aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno noſtro ordinandam aſſignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, ſeu duci faciant vllo modo: & inter cætera conceſſerimus mercatoribus de regno noſtro ſupradicto pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quòd ipſi Maior & conſilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuſcunque mercatoribus indigenis ſeu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecuniæ ſummas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illæ huiuſmodi ſummæ de bonis & mercimonijs mercatorum ſic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infrà regnum & poteſtatem prędictam inueniti contigerit, per miniſtros noſtros ad opus noſtrum leuentur: prout in Charta noſtra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per ſingulos comitatus regni noſtri ſuper coſteras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenę ſeu alienigenæ contra tenorem Chartę prędictę ſub pœnis contentis in eadem venerint vllo modo: Ac poſtmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quàmplures mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ, lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictas ementes, & ſe cum eiſdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quàm ad Stapulam iuxta conceſſionem noſtram prędictam per Maiorem & cõmunitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno noſtro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & aſſignatam tranſtulerint in noſtri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis prædictarum aſſignauerimus quoſdam fideles noſtros in diuerſis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quàm ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendæ inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus noſtrum leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quaſi omnes mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ huiuſmodi mercimonia in dicto regno noſtro exercentes ſunt culpabiles de præmiſſis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas ſuas ac pelles lanutas ſub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum noſtrum tranſmitti quibuſdam alienigenis, ſic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forſitan non reuerſuris, vt ſic foriſfacturas prædictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos ſic pertinente illudant: quæ ſi permitterentur ſic tranſire in noſtri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiuſmodi fraudibus obuiare, & noſtris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus præcauere, vobis præcipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod à ſingulis mercatoribus lanas ſeu pelles lanutas per portum prædictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale ſacramentum ad ſancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipſi lanas ſeu pelles lanutas ſub nomine ipſius, cuius propriæ ſunt, & non alterius aduocabunt. & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lanæ & pelles huiuſmodi erunt, vel nomine ſuo ſufficiente ſecuritate pro qua reſpondere volueritis, de reſpondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipſum ductis ſeu miſſis ad aliquam dictarum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantiæ, & de Artoys contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis ſupradictarum, ſi ipſum ſuper hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum prædictum, recepta prius cuſtuma debita de eiſdem, ad partes exteras tranſire permittatis. Teſte Rege apud Douerum decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipſum Regem & Conſilium.

Et poſtmodum per breue de priuato ſigillo eodem modo mandatum eſt collectoribus cuſtumæ prædictæ in portubus ſubſcriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.
In portu villæ Weymouth.
In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.
In portu villæ de Kingtone ſuper Hull.
In portu villæ de nouo Caſtro.
In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.
In portu villæ de Lenne.
In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The ſame in Engliſh.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

The King vnto his Collectors of cuſtome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the firſt yeere of our reigne, conſidering the damages and grieuances that haue diuerſly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occaſion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better ſale thereof, at their pleaſure conueyed thēſelues, and trāſported the ſaid wooll & fels into ſundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being deſirous alſo, to our power, to prouide a remedie againſt ſuch damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counſel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp ſuch wools and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforeſaid, and being deſirous to tranſport them into the foreſaid prouinces, there to bee ſolde, may carrie the ſaide wools and fels, or cauſe them to be caried to ſome certaine Staple, within any of the ſaide Prouinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the ſaid marchants of our realme, to be appointed and aſſigned, and when they ſhall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the ſaide Prouinces whatſoeuer: and whereas alſo, amongſt other things, we haue granted vnto the marchants of our foreſaid realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the ſaide marchants for the time being, may impoſe vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatſoeuer, that ſhall tranſgreſſe the foreſaid ordination, and ſhall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine ſummes of money to be paid for their offences, and that ſuch ſummes muſt by our miniſters and officers, to our vſe, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants ſo offending, whereſoeuer they ſhall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforeſaid, as in our Charter made for the ſame purpoſe, it is more plainly expreſſed, (which Charter we haue cauſed to be publiſhed vpon the Sea-coaſts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a ſtrong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor ſtrangers, may in any wiſe tranſgreſſe the tenour of the foreſaide Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderſtand, that diuers marchants both home-borne, and aliens, bought vp ſuch woolles and woollen felles within our ſaide Realme and dominions, and conueyed themſelues with the ſaide wools and felles for the ſale thereof, vnto other places within the foreſaide Prouinces, beſides the ſaide Staple, which was, according to our graunt aforeſaide, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communaltie of the ſaid marchants of our Realme, in ſome one of thoſe Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforeſaide, wee aſſigned certaine of our faithfull ſubiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquiſition for ſuch wools and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the ſaide Prouinces, then vnto the Staple, ſo that by theſe meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vſe: and hauing intelligence alſo, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and ſtrangers bartering ſuch wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premiſſes, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cauſe their wools and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of perſons

A Charter made in the firſt yeere of his reigne.

ſons not culpable, and to be ſent ouer vnto certaine ſtrangers being alſo culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may ſo eſcape the foreſaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuſes, if they were ſuffered ſo to goe vnpuniſhed woulde redound vnto our extreame hinderance:) and beeing likewiſe deſirous to withſtand ſuch deceitefull dealing, and ſo farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne loſſes, we firmely command, and ſtreightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, deſirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fels out of the foreſaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangeliſts: that they ſhall auouch all thoſe wools and woollen fels vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking ſufficient ſecurity from the owner of thoſe wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you will vndertake to warrantize, and make good vnto vs thoſe penalties and forfaitures which ſhal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or ſent by any of the foreſaid merchants vnto any of the ſaid prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Arroys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they ſhal chance to be conuinced hereof) that firſt, our due cuſtome being receiued, you doe permit the ſaid wools and woollen fels to paſſe out of the foreſaid port into forrein countries. Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of June. By the king himſelfe and his Councell.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the cuſtome aforeſayde in the portes vnderwritten.

That is to ſay:

In the port of the Towne of
- Weymouth,
- Southhampton,
- Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boſton.
- Kingtone vpon Hull,
- Newcaſtle,
- Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth,
- Lenne,
- Gypwick or Ipſwich.

A Catalogue of the great Maſters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hoſpitalaries of Ieruſalem: *and what great exploites euery of the ſaide Maſters hath atchieued,* either in conquering the land of *Pruſſia*, or in taming and ſubduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them vnder their obedience and ſubiection, taken out of Munſter.

The order of the Dutch knights had their firſt original at Ieruſalem in the yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hoſpitall of the bleſſed Virgine: and the firſt Maſter of the ſaide order was called Henrie of Walpot, vnder whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italie procured vnto the order: and the ſaide Hoſpitall was remoued from Ieruſalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwiſe called Acon, and the foreſaid Order grew and mightily increaſed, whereof I will hereafter diſcourſe more at large in my Treatiſe of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceaſed in the yeere of Chriſt 1200. The 2. Maſter was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Maſter of the Order for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bart a godly and deuout perſon, who deceaſed in the yeere 1210. being interred at Acon, as his predeceſſors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together gouerned the ſaide Order, and managed the firſt expedition of warre againſt the infidels of Pruſſia, and ordained another Maſter alſo in Pruſſia to bee his Deputie in the ſame region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the ſword, who trauelled into Liuonia to conuert the inhabitants thereof vnto Chriſt, ſeeing they were not of ſufficient force to performe that enterpriſe, and that their enemies increaſed on all ſides, they vnited themſelues vnto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Pruſſia, that their worthie attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and aſſiſtance of the ſaide Duch knights. At the very ſame time the enſigne of the croſſe was exalted throughout all Germanie againſt the Pruſſians, and a great armie of ſouldiers was gathered together, the Burgraue of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who combining themſelues vnto the Dutch knights, ioyned battell with the Infidels, and ſlew about fiue hundred Gentiles, who beforetime had made horrible inuaſions and in-roades into the dominions of Chriſtians, waſting all with fire and ſword, but eſpecially the land of Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Prouinces

Enſiferi fratres.

The firſt warre moued againſt the Pruſſian infidels, anno dom. 1239.

ces of Conradus Duke of Maſſouia. Nowe, the foreſaide knights hauing made ſo huge a ſlaughter, built the caſtle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and ſo by degrees they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected more caſtles, as namely, Crutzburg, Wiſſenburg, Reſil, Bartenſtein, Brunsburg, and Heilsburg, and furniſhed them all with garriſons. The firſt Maſter of the Order was Conradus Landgrauius, the brother of Lodouick, which was huſband vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gaue great riches and poſſeſſions vnto the Order, and cauſed Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the religious houſe of his ſaide Order. Vnder the gouernment of this Maſter, Acon in the lande of Paleſtina was ſubdued vnto the Saracens. Moreouer, in the yeere 1254. there was another great armie of Souldiers prepared againſt Pruſsia, by the Princes of Germanie. For Octacer, aliâs Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of Brandeburg, the Duke of Auſtria, the Marques of Morauia, the Biſhops of Colen and of Olmutz came marching on with great ſtrength of their Nobles and common ſouldiers, and inuading the lande of Pruſsia in the Winter ſeaſon, they conſtrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Chriſtian faith, and to become obedient vnto the knights. After which exploite, by the aduiſe and aſſiſtance of king Odoacer, there was a caſtle built vpon a certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be a great citie, being at this day the ſeate of the Prince of Pruſsia: and it was called by Odoacer Kunigsberg, that is to ſay, Kings Mount, or Mount royall, being finiſhed in the yeere 1255. Out of this fort the knights did bridle and reſtraine the furie of the Infidels on all ſides, and compelled them to obedience. The firſt Maſter was called Boppo ab Oſterna, vnder whom the citie of Kunigsberg was built. At the very ſame inſtant the knights beeing occupied about the warre of Curland, the Pruſsians conſpiring together, and abandoning the Chriſtian faith, in furious maner armed themſelues againſt ye Chriſtians, defaced and burnt down Churches, ſlew Prieſts, and to the vtmoſt of their abilitie, baniſhed all faithfull people. The report of which miſdemeanour being publiſhed throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and ſent for the defence and ſuccour of the knights, which marching into the land of Natan, made many ſlaughters, & through the inconſtancie of fortune ſometimes woonne, and ſometimes loſt the victorie. Alſo the Infidels beſieged theſe three caſtles, namely, Barſtenſtein, Crutzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine vpon the Chriſtians contained within the ſaide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262. the Earle of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chiualrie came downe, and giuing charge vpon the Pruſſians, put three thouſand of them to the edge of the ſworde. Afterward the Pruſſians banding themſelues together, were determined to ſpoile the caſtle of Kunigſberg, but their confederacie being diſcloſed, they had the repulſe. And when the knightes had preuailed againſt them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid to breake their fidelitie. For vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen diuers pledges, they ſlewe two noble knights of the Order, and ſo by that meanes incenſed the principall of the ſaide order, inſomuch that they cauſed two paire of gallous to be ſet vp beſides the caſtle, & thirtie of the Pruſſians pledges to be hanged thereupon. Which ſeueritie ſo vexed and prouoked the Pruſsians, that in reuenge of the ſaid iniury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, ſlew many Chriſtians, yea, and put 40. knights with the maſter of the Order, and the Marſhal, vnto the edge of the ſworde. There was at the ſame inſtant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus, profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, but being ioyned in league with the Pruſsians, he indeuoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights, but all Chriſtians whatſoeuer out of the lande of Pruſsia, in which warre the foreſaide knights of the Order ſuffered many abuſes. For they loſt almoſt all their caſtles, and a great number of themſelues alſo were ſlaine. This Suandepolcus put in practiſe many lewde attempts againſt religion. For albeit he was baptized, he did more miſchiefe then the very Infidels themſelues, vntill ſuch time as the knights being aſſiſted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the ſaide Duke and the Pruſsians alſo into ſuch ſtraights, that (maugre their heads) they were conſtrained to ſue for peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admoniſhed his ſonnes that they ſhould not doe any iniurie vnto the knights of the order, affirming that himſelfe neuer proſpered ſo long as he vrged warre againſt them. Howbeit his ſonnes for a certaine time obſerued not their fathers counſel, vntill at length one of them named Warteſlaus, was created one of the Order, and the other called Samborus beſtowed by legacie his goods and poſſeſſions vpon the ſaide Order, receiuing maintenance and exhibition from the ſaide Order, during the terme of his life. It fortuned alſo vnder the gouernment of the foreſayde Maſter Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to ſee howe the Pruſsians were imployed. And meeting with three Pruſsians, they ſlew two, and the thirde they reſerued to guide them the directeſt way. But this guide betrayed them into their enemies handes. Which when they perceiued, they ſlewe the Traytour. Then

The Pruſsians abandon Chriſtianitie.

fiue Pruſſian horſemen came riding and tooke them, deliuering them bounde to the cuſtodie of two. And the other three purſued the horſes of the two, which broke looſe in the time of the fraye. And they tarying ſomewhat long, the other two woulde haue beheaded the two Knightes in the meane ſeaſon. And as one of them was ſtriking with his drawen ſworde, at the necke of Sir Martine, hee ſaide vnto them: Sirs, you doe vnwiſely in that you take not off my garment before it bee defiled with blood. They therefore looſing the corde wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, ſet his armes more at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiuing reached his keeper ſuch a boxe, that his ſworde fell to the grounde. Which hee with all ſpeede taking vp, ſlewe both the keepers and vnbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreouer, ſeeing the other three Pruſſians comming furiouſly vpon them, with ſtoute couragious hearts they made towarde the ſaide Pruſſians, and ſlew them, and ſo eſcaped the danger of death. The ſeuenth great Maſter was Hanno de Sangerſhuſen, who deceaſed in the yeere one thouſand two hundreth ſeuentie fiue. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceaſed in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuuenden beeing afterwarde made knight of the order of Saint Iohns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuuang: vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Paleſtina was ſacked by the Soldan, and manie people were ſlayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had great reuenewes. The Knightes of Saint Iohn, who alſo had an Hoſpitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Iſle of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they ſubdued that Iſlande vnto themſelues. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and poſſeſſions throughout all Germanie, beeing Lordes of a good part of Pruſſia, Liuonia, and Curland, whoſe chiefe houſe was then at Marpurg, till ſuch time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Pruſia. The eleuenth great Maſter was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the knights ſuſtained a great ouerthrowe in Liuonia: but hauing ſtrengthned their armie, they ſlewe neere vnto Rye foure thouſande of their enemies. The twelfth Maſter was Sifridus a Feuchtuuang. Vnder this man, the principall houſe of the Order was tranſlated from Marpurg to Marieburg, which in the beginning was eſtabliſhed at Acon, and from thence was remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Marpurg. This Sifridus deceaſed in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Maſter was called Charles Beffart of Triers. This man built a fort vpon the riuer of Mimmel, and it was named Chriſtmimmel. The foureteenth was Warnerus ab Orſele, whome a certaine knight of the Order ſlewe with his ſworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of Brunſwick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceaſed 1352. The ſixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenſtein. The ſeuenteenth was Ludolphus ſirnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tuſimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrodt. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinſtut captiue, and kept him priſoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a ſeruaunt, hauing broken out of the Caſtle, hee eſcaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horſe, and went on foote through vnknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himſelfe in ſecrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney vntill hee came vnto Maſſouia. But all the Knightes ioye was turned into ſorrowe, after they had loſt ſo great an enemie. The twentieth grand Maſter was Conradus Zolner of Rotenſtein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceaſed in the yeere one thouſand foure hundreth and ſeuen. The three and twentieth Vlricus a Iungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thouſand foure hundreth and tenne: which battell was fought againſt Vladiſlaus Father of Caſimire. Both partes had leuied mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had ioyned themſelues, ouer whome one Vitoldus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themſelues one within twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Maſter of the Pruſians ſent an Herault to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately (alarme beeing giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thouſand horſemen in a readineſſe. Vladiſlaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the firſt onſette, and placed the Polonians in the rerewarde of the battell: on the contrarie ſide, the Pruſſians regarded leaſt of all to reſerue any ſtrong troupes behinde, which might reſcue ſuch as were wearie, and renewe the fight, if neede ſhoulde require, but ſet forwarde the flower and chiualrie of all his Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge beeing giuen certaine vnarmed

A memorable ſtratageme.

4000.

This man ſent an ambaſſage to Richard the ſecond.

Tartars & Lithuanians were ſlaine handſmooth: howbeit the multitude preſſed on, neither durſt the fearefull Polonians turne their backes, and ſo a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead carkaſes. The combate continued a long time, terrible ſlaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were ſlaine like ſheepe. But when newe and freſh enemies continually iſſued foorth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladiſlaus no ſooner perceiued, but in all haſte hee ſends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who ſuddenly breaking in renewed the ſkirmiſh. The Dutch were not able to withſtand the furie of the freſh troupes (great oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a freſh) inſomuch that the knights with their people were conſtrained to flee. The maſter of the Order ſeeing his ſouldiers giue way vnto the enemie, gathered a companie together, and withſtoode him in the face, howbeit himſelfe was ſlaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more diſhonourable, neither did the Dutch ceaſe to flee, ſo long as the Polonian continued the chaſe. There fell on the Knights partie manie thouſands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great ſpoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Pruſſia following the happie ſucceſſe of the Polonian king (except Marieburg onely) yeelded themſelues vnto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigiſmund taking vp the quarell, peace was ordained betweene the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine ſummes of money alſo were paide vnto the Polonian, Pruſſia was reſtored vnto the knights, neither was the ſaide order diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Maſter was Henrie Earle of Plaen. This man being depoſed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden priſoner at Dantzik. The 25. Maſter was Michael Kuchenmeiſter, that is, maſter of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Ruſsdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichſhauſen. This man, after diuers and ſundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the ſaide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig ſecretely going about to obteyne their freedome, that the foreſaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made ſute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichſhauſen. Vnder this man there aroſe a dangerous ſedition in Pruſſia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppreſſed with diuers moleſtations. Whereupon they priuily made ſute vnto Caſimir then king of Polonia. The Maſter of the Order ſeeing what would come to paſſe began to expoſtulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to laſt for euer. Alſo Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Pruſſians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their ſwordes had releaſed that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the ſhedding of much blood. Notwithſtanding the popular ſort perſiſting ſtil in their ſtubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing vnto the king vſurped diuers Caſtles belonging to the Maſter, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and ſome they ſlewe alſo. Fiftie and fiue townes conſpired together in that rebellion: but thinking their eſtate and ſtrength not ſure enough againſt their owne gouernors without forrein aide, they choſe king Caſimir to be their lord. Heereupon the Polonian king marched into Pruſſia with a great armie, taking poſſeſſion of ſuch cities as yeelded themſelues vnto him, and proceeding forward againſt Marieburg, beſieged the caſtle and the towne. In the meane ſeaſon the Maſter hauing hired an armie of Germane ſouldiers, ſuddenly ſurpriſed the king at vnawares in his tents, and ſlewe about 300. Polonians, tooke priſoners 136. noblemen, ſpoiled their tents, tooke away their horſes, victuals, and armour, inſomuch that the king himſelfe hardly eſcaped vpon one horſe. Theſe things came to paſſe in the yeere 1455. The Maſter hauing thus obtained the victorie, ſent his armie into the countrey, and recouered the caſtles and cities which he had loſt, to the nūber of 80, putting many of his enemies alſo vnto the ſword. Moreouer, he recouered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to ſay, Dantzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Maſter could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vnpaid vnto his captains, thoſe captaines which were in the gariſon of Marieburg conſpired againſt the Maſter, and for a great ſumme of money betrayed the caſtle of Marieburg vnto the king. Which practiſe beeing knowen, the Maſter fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great ſpoile and deſolation was wrought on both ſides: vntill at length, after compoſition made, the king reteyned Pomerella, and all the caſtles and townes therein, together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the maſter inioyed Samaitia, Kunigsberg, &c. This compoſition was concluded in the yeere 1466. The 29. Maſter was Henrie Reuſſ, firſt being deputie, and afterwarde Maſter of Pruſsia, The 30, was Henric a Richtenberg, who deceaſed in the yeere 1477. The 31. called

The great maſter ouercommeth the king of Polonia.

The king by treaſon ouerthroweth the Maſter.

Martine Truchſes died in the yeere 1489. The 32. Iohn a Tieflen died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Miſn, deceaſed in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in queſtion, whether the foreſaid compoſition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee obſerued or no: eſpecially ſithence it conteined certaine articles againſt equitie and reaſon. Wherupon he appealed vnto the Biſhop of Rome, vnto the Emperor, vnto the princes and electors of Germany, and preuailed with them ſo farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Poſna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaints and excuſes, & diſpatched no other buſineſſe. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceaſed in the tenth yeere of his gouernment. The 34. Maſter was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, whom the King of Polonia did ſo grieuouſly moleſt with war, and oppreſſed all Pruſſia with ſuch extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was conſtrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld vnto ſuch conditions, as turned to the vtter ouerthrowe of the whole Order. And amongſt other conditions are theſe which follow. Sithence that the originall of all diſcorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence ariſe, for that hitherto in Pruſſia, no lawfull heyre and ſucceſſor hath borne rule and authoritie, but diuers and ſundry haue had the gouernment therof, by whoſe meanes the nations haue bene prouoked one againſt another, much Chriſtian blood hath bin ſhed, the lands and inhabitants grieuouſly ſpoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often ſollicited for the eſtabliſhing of that perpetual league, which Caſimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence alſo that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in ſhort time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proue worſe and worſe, vnleſſe ſome lawfull compoſition be made, and ſome good and wholeſome deuiſe be put in practiſe, as well for the benefit of the King and of his poſteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Pruſſia, eſpecially conſidering that Albertus the Marques refuſeth not to ſubmitte himſelfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

The Oration or ſpeech of the Ambaſſadours ſent from *Conradus* de *Zolner* Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſſia,* vnto *Richard* the ſecond, King of England, and France, &c.

The meſſengers which are ſent from the Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſſia,* doe propound and declare the affaires and negotiations vnderwritten.

The ancient aſſiſtance of the kings of England againſt infidels.

VHereas it is apparant, that diuers and ſundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predeceſſours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gracious promoters and ſpeciall friends vnto the generall Maſters of the land of Pruſſia, and of the whole order: whereas alſo they haue vouchſafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Maſters and order aforeſaide, ſundry and manifolde fauourable aſſiſtances in the conqueſt of the Infidels (in whoſe ſteppes your excellent Maieſtie inſiſting, haue, in theſe your dayes ſhewed your ſelfe in like ſort right graciouſly affected vnto the Maſter generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predeceſſour) in due conſideration of the premiſſes, and in regard alſo of diuers other affaires, which are at this preſent to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foreſaid Maſter general which now is hath cauſed vs his meſſengers to be ſent with letters of credence vnto your Maieſtie: humbly praying, and earneſtly beſeeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the ſaid Maſter general, his ſucceſſors, & our whole Order may of your bounty moſt graciouſly obtaine the ſame fauour, beneuolẽce, and ſtedfaſt amity & friendſhip, which hath bin continued from the times of your foreſaid predeceſſors: in regard wherof we do offer the ſaid Maſter of ours, and our whole company, vnto your highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithſtanding (moſt ſoueraigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name & behalfe of our ſaide Maſter and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times paſt, and eſpecially within the ſpace of x. yeres laſt expired, his ſubiects and marchants haue ſuſtained ſundry damages and ablations of their goods, by diuers ſubiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often, both by ſea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the appointment of the Maſter general aforeſaid, & of his predeceſſor, are put downe in regiſters, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Pruſſia. Of which parties damnified, ſome haue obtained letters frõ the Maſter general that now is, & alſo from his predeceſſor, vnto your renowned grandfather K. Edward of famous memory,and ſundry times vnto your highnes alſo,to haue reſtitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but heaping loſſe vpon loſſe haue miſſpent their time & their charges: both becauſe they were not permitted to propound & exhibit their complaints & letters before your maieſty,and alſo for diuers other impediments. Certain of them alſo conſidering how others of their countriemen had laboured in vain, & fearing the like ſucceſſe,haue troubled the Maſter general very often with grieuous and ſundry complaints,crauing & humbly beſeeching at his hands,that he would vouchſafe graciouſly to prouide for thẽ as his faithful & loial ſubiects,as touching the reſtitution of their loſſes: eſpecially ſeeing ẏ ſo much wealth of the Engliſh marchants was euery yeere to be found in Pruſſia,as being arreſted,they might obtaine ſome reaſonable ſatiſfaction for their loſſes. Which thing the Maſter general aforeſaid & his predeceſſor alſo haue deferred vnto this preſent (albeit to ẏ great loſſe of their ſubiects) thereby hauing meere & principal reſpect vnto thoſe ſpecial curteſies and fauours which your excellent Maieſty & your worthy progenitors haue right graciouſly vouchſafed vpon our Maſters and Order : neither yet for the iniuries aforeſaid, was there euer any maner of offence,or moleſtation offered vnto any of your ſubiects noble or ignoble whatſoeuer. Moreouer, in the name & behalfe of our foreſaid Ma. general we do propound vnto your excellency by way of cõplaint,that in the yere laſt paſt,6. dayes after ẏ feaſt of the Aſcenſion,certain perſons of your realm of England,with their ſhips & captains comming vnto the port of Flanders,named Swen,& finding there,amongſt ſundry other,6. ſhips of Pruſſia reſident,which had there arriued wͭ diuers goods & marchandiſes: and being informed that they were of Pruſſia,& their friends,they cauſed them & their ſhips to remain next vnto their owne ſhips,proteſting vnto them,that they ſhould in no ſort be moleſted or dammified by thẽſelues or by any other of their company,& that they would faithfully defend them,as if they were their own people,frõ ẏ hands of their aduerſaries: & for their farther ſecurity & truſt,they deliuered ſome of their own men & their ſtanderds into our mens ſhips: howbeit a while after being ſtirred vp,& bent far otherwiſe,they took out of ẏ foreſaid ſhips al kind of armor,wherwith they were to gard & defẽd themſelues frõ pirats, & they deteined the maſters of thoſe ſhips,not ſuffring them to return vnto their own ſhips & cõpanies,one alſo of ẏ ſaid ſhips (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they cõſumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto ẏ abouenamed ſhips,and tooke away from them all goods and marchandiſes which they could find,and all the armour and weapons of the ſaid ſhips,the cheſtes alſo of the marchants,of the ſhip-maſters,& of other perſons they brake opẽ,taking out money,iewels,garments,& diuers other commodities : and ſo they inflicted vpõ them irrecouerable loſſes and vnkind grieuances. And departing out of the foreſaid hauen,they caried 2. of the Pruſſian ſhip-maſters with thẽ, as their captiues vnto an hauen of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward releaſed,were compelled to ſweare,that they ſhould not declare ẏ iniuries offred vnto them,either before your roiall maieſty,or your hon. Councell,or your chãcelor: neither were they permitted to come on ſhore. And being offred ſuch hard meaſure, when they made pitiful mones & complaints vnto your foreſaide ſubiects,amongſt other matters they ſpake on this wiſe vnto them: Do you complain of iniuries & loſſes offered vnto you? Loe, in your own cõtrey of Pruſſia there are English marchants,& goods ſufficient,go your waies home therfore,& recouer your loſſes,taking two for one: and in this maner they were left,& ſo departed. Afterward returning vnto ẏ land of Pruſſia,they & their friends repaired vnto the Maſt. general, iointly and wͭ one conſent making their complaint vnto him of the loſſes which had bin inflicted vpon thẽ by your ſubiects. And proſtrating thẽſelues at his feet, they all and euery of them made their humble ſutes,ẏ he would haue compaſſion on them,as vpon his poore ſubiects,regarding thẽſelues,their wiues,& children,and pitying their diſtres,and penury,and that he would graciouſly procure ſome redreſſe for them. And when he offred his letters vnto them,wiſhing them to proſecute their cauſe before your highnes,they anſwered that they were no way able to defray the expenſes,and that others,who were in like ſort dammified,had laboured that way altogether in vain & to no purpoſe: beſeeching him again and again,that he would by another kind of means, namely by arreſting of your marchants and their goods, procure thẽ reſtitution of their loſſes. At length the Maſter general being moued by ſo many and ſo great complaints, and by the moleſtation of his ſubiects, cauſed (albeeit full ſore againſt his will) a certaine portion of English marchants goods to be laid hold on,and to be arreſted,in his cities of Elburg & Dantzik, and to be beſtowed in ſure places, vntil ſuch time as he might conueniently by his meſſengers propound and exhibit all and ſingular the premiſſes vnto your highnes. And foraſmuch as the foreſaid Maſter general and our Order do know no iuſt occaſion, wherby they haue deſerued your maieſties indignation, but are firmely and moſt vndoubtedly perſwaded, to finde all curteſie , fauour, and friendſhip at your Highneſſe,according to your wonted clemencie: the ſaid Maſter generall therefore maketh

Edward the 3.

The arreſting of the English goods and marchants.

no doubt, that al the aboue written damages & moleſtations, being in ſuch ſort, againſt God and iuſtice, offred vnto his ſubiects by yours, be altogether vnknowen vnto your magnificence, & committed againſt your mind: wherfore preſently vpon the foreſaid arreſt of your marchants goods, he diſpatched his meſſengers vnto your roial maieſty. Wherof one deceaſed by the way, namely in the territory of Holland: & the other remained ſick in thoſe parts for a long ſeaſon: & ſo that ambaſſage took none effect. Wherfore the ſaid maſter general was deſirous to ſend vs now ẏ ſecond time alſo vnto your Highnes. We do make our humble ſute therfore, in the name & behalf of our Maſter and Order aforeſaid, vnto your kingly ſupremacy, that, hauing God and iuſtice before your eies, and alſo the dutifull and obſequious demeanor of the ſaid maſter, and order towards you, you would vouchſafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redreſſe of the premiſſes: wherby the foreſaid loſſes may be reſtored and repaied vnto our ſubiects. All which notwithſtanding, that it would pleaſe you of your wiſedome & prouidence to procure ſo abſolute a remedy, by meanes whereof, in time to come, ſuch dealings and inconueniences may be auoided on both parts, & finally that your marchants may quietly be poſſeſſed of their goods arreſted in Pruſſia, and our marchants may be admitted vnto the poſſeſſion of their commodities attached in England, to conuert & apply them vnto ſuch vſes, as to themſelues ſhal ſeem moſt conuenient. Howbeit (moſt gracious prince and lord) we are to ſollicite your Highneſſe, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the loſſes aforeſaide, but more principally, for certain ſiniſter reports and ſuperſtitious ſlanders, wherwith certaine of your ſubiects, not ſeeking for peace, haue falſly informed your maieſty, & your moſt honorable & diſcreete Cōſel: affirming that at the time of ẏ aforeſaid arreſt your marchants were barbarouſly intreated, that they were caſt into lothſom priſons, drenched in myre and water vp to ẏ neck, reſtrained from al conference and company of men, and alſo that their meat was throwen vnto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities, which they haue moſt ſlanderouſly deuiſed concerning the maſter general aforeſaid, and his people, and haue publiſhed them in theſe dominions: vpon the occaſion of which falſhoods certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your ſpecial beneuolence, were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to priſon, vntil ſuch time as the trueth was more apparant. Whereupon, the foreſaide maſter generall propoundeth his humble ſute vnto your maieſtie, that ſuch enemies of trueth and concord, your Maieſty woulde vouchſafe in ſuch ſort to chaſtiſe, that they may be an example vnto others preſuming to doe the like.

Moreouer, (high and mighty Prince and lord) it was reported vnto our Maſter general, that his former Legats required of your maieſty ſafe conduct freely to come into your highneſſe Realme. Which when hee heard, he was exceedingly offended therat, ſithence vndoubtedly they did not this at his commaundement or direction. We therefore humbly beſeech your Grace, as touching this ouerſight, to holde the Maſter generall excuſed, becauſe there is no need of ſafeconduct, betweene ſo ſpeciall friends.

Furthermore, ſundry damages and complaints of the foreſaid general Maſter, and his ſubiects are briefly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Alſo, all and ſingular damnified perſons, beſides other proofes, were compelled to verifie their loſſes by their formall othes, taken vpon the holy Bible.

Laſtly, we doe make our humble ſuite and petition vnto the prouidence and diſcretion of your Highnes, and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premiſſes, and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded vnto your Maieſty, we may obtaine a ſpeedy anſwere, and an effectuall end. For it would redound vnto our great charges and loſſe to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Pruſsia*, confirmed by king *Richard* the ſecond.

Richard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, vnto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. We haue ſeene and conſidered the compoſition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloued clearke, maſter Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London & York, our meſſengers and ambaſſadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious perſonages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Baſſenheim, chiefe hoſpitalary commander in Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treaſurer, the meſſengers and ambaſſadors of the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenſtein, maſter generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hoſpital of Saint Mary at Ieruſalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed vpon in theſe words. In the name of the ſupreame and indiuiſible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, Amen. Foraſmuch as the author of peace will haue peace-makers to be the ſons of bleſſednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Chriſtians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen vnto all men who ſhall ſee or heare the tenour of theſe preſents: that there being matter of diſſenſion and diſcord bred betweene the moſt renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his ſubiects on the one part: and the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rochinſtein, Maſter generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hoſpitall of S. Marie at Ieruſalem, and his land of Pruſſia, and his ſubiects alſo, on the other part: the foreſaid lord and generall maſter, vpon mature counſell and deliberation had, ſent his honourable ambaſſadours towards England vnto the forenamed moſt ſoueraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and iniuries offered (as it is ſayd) by the Engliſh vnto the Pruſſians: in conſideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arreſted in the land of Pruſſia. Whoſe complaint the foreſayd moſt gracious prince did courteouſly and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many ſpeeches vttered in this treaty, louingly diſmiſſed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promiſing by his letters vnto the foreſayd reuerend Maſter generall, that hee would diſpatch his ambaſſadours vnto the land of Pruſſia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he ſent the hono: and reuerend perſonages Maſter Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with ſufficient authoritie and full commandement, to handle, diſcuſſe, and finally to determine the foreſaid buſines, and with letters of credence vnto the right reuerend lord and maſter generall aforeſayd. Which ambaſſadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their informer, and the letters aforeſaid, and their ambaſſage, the ſaid right reuerend lord and Maſter generall, at his caſtle of Marienburgh, the 28. of Iuly, in the yeare aforeſaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and entertained: and in his minde eſteemed them worthy to treate and decide the cauſes aforeſayd: and ſo vnto the ſayd ambaſſadours he ioyned in commiſſion on his behalfe, three of his owne counſellers, namely the honourable and religious perſonages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Baſſenheim chiefe hoſpitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treaſurer, being all of the order aforeſaid. Which ambaſſadors ſo entreating about the premiſſes, and ſundry conferences and conſultations hauing paſſed betweene them, friendly and with one conſent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to ſay:

1388.

1. Firſt, that all arreſtments, repriſals, and impignorations of whatſoeuer goods and marchandiſes in England and Pruſſia, made before the date of theſe preſents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and releaſed, without all fraud and diſſimulation: inſomuch that the damages, charges and expenſes occaſioned on both parts by reaſon of the foreſayd goods arreſted, are in no caſe hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatſoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether fruſtrate and voide, and all actions which may or ſhall be commenced by occaſion of the ſayd goods arreſted, are to be extinct and of none effect.

2. Moreouer, it is ſecondly concluded and agreed, that all and ſinguler Pruſſians pretending themſelues to be iniuried by the Engliſh at the Porte of Swen, or elſewhere, howſoeuer, and whenſoeuer, before the date of theſe preſents, hauing receiued the letters of the foreſaide right reuerende lord and Maſter generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, vnto the ſayd hon: embaſſadours, who are to aſſiſt them, and to propound and exhibite their complaintes, vnto the forenamed lord and king. The moſt gracious prince is bounde to doe his indeuor, that the parties dammified may haue reſtitution of their goods made vnto them, or at leaſt complete iuſtice and iudgement without delay. Alſo in like maner all Engliſh men affirming themſelues to haue bene endamaged by Pruſſians, whereſoeuer, howſoeuer, and whenſoeuer, are to haue recourſe vnto the often forenamed right reuerend lorde the Maſter generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their abode, propounding their complaints and cauſes vnto him. Who likewiſe is bound to doe his indeuour that the ſayd loſſes and damages may be reſtored, or at the leaſt that ſpeedie iudgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caueat being premiſed in each clauſe, that it may and ſhall be freely granted and permitted vnto euery man that will ciuilly make his ſuite and complaint, to doe it either by himſelfe, or by his procurator or procurators.

3. Alſo thirdly it is agreed, that whoſoeuer of Pruſſia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinſeman hath beene ſlaine, wounded, or maimed, by Engliſh men, the ſame partie is to repayre vnto the citie of London in England, and vnto the ſayd ambaſſadors, bringing with him the letters of the ſayd right reuerend lord the maſter generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambaſſadors are to haue free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Pruſſia, and the anſwers of the Engliſh men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honeſt recompence betweene ſuch parties: which reconci-

liation the ſayd parties reconciled are bound vndoubtedly & without delay to obſerue. But if there be any Engliſh man found, who ſhall raſhly contradict or contemne the compoſition of the foreſayd ambaſſadors: then the ſayd ambaſſadours are to bring the forenamed Pruſſian plaintifes before the preſence of the kings Maieſtie: and alſo to make ſupplication on the behalfe of ſuch plaintifes, that complete iuſtice and iudgment may without delayes bee adminiſtred, according as thoſe ſuites are commenced. Moreouer whatſoeuer Engliſh man, againſt whom anie one of Pruſſia would enter his action, ſhall abſent himſelfe at the terme, the ſayd ambaſſadours are to ſummon and aſcite the foreſayd Engliſh man to appeare at the terme next inſuing, that the plaintifes of Pruſſia may in no wiſe ſeeme to depart or to returne home, without iudgement or the aſſiſtance of lawe. Nowe if the ſayd Engliſh man being ſummoned ſhall be found ſtubborne or diſobedient, the forenamed ambaſſadours are to make their appeale and ſupplication in manner aforeſayd. And in like ſorte in all reſpects ſhall the Engliſh plaintifes be dealt withall in Pruſſia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the ſayd citie and of the citie of Elburg ſhal take vnto themſelues two other headboroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commiſſioners are to haue in al reſpects, the very like authoritie of deciding, diſcuſſing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by Engliſh men againſt any Pruſſian or Pruſſians, by friendly reconciliation, or honeſt recompenſe, if it be poſſible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Pruſsian ſhall not yeeld obedience vnto any ſuch order or compoſition, but ſhalbe found to contradict and to contemne the ſame: from thenceforth the ſaid foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and ſupplication vnto the Maſter generall of the land aforeſayd, that vnto the ſayd Engliſh plaintifes ſpeedy iudgement and complete iuſtice may be adminiſtred. But if it ſhall ſo fall out that any of the principall offenders ſhall decease, or already are deceaſed in either of the ſayd countries, that then it ſhall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to proſecute his right againſt the goods or heires of the party deceaſed. Alſo, for the executing of the premiſſes the termes vnder written are appointed: namely the firſt, from the Sunday whereupon Quaſi modo geniti is to be ſung next enſuing, vntill the ſeuenth day following: The ſecond vpon the feaſt of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for ſeuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day after Saint Iohn Baptiſt next to come, & for ſeuen daies following: The fourth, laſt, and peremptory terme ſhall be vpon the feaſt of S. Michael next to come, and vpon ſeuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all cauſes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peraduenture any one of the foreſayd ambaſſadours, ſhall in the meane ſeaſon dye, then the other two ſhall haue authoritie to chuſe a third vnto them. And if after the date of theſe preſents any cauſe great or ſmall doth ariſe or ſpring foorth, it muſt bee decided in England and in Pruſsia, as it hath beene accuſtomed in times paſt and from ancient times.

An ancient cuſtome.

4. The priuiledges of the Engliſh marchants in Pruſsia.

Alſo, it is farther concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England whoſoeuer ſhall haue free licence and authoritie, with all kindes of ſhippes, goods, and marchandiſes, to reſorte vnto euery port of the land of Pruſsia, and alſo to tranſport all ſuch goods and marchandiſes vp farther vnto any other place in the ſayde land of Pruſsia, and there with all kindes of perſons freely to bargaine and make ſale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accuſtomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all things and by all circumſtances vnto the Pruſsians in England. And if after the date of theſe preſents, betweene the ſayd kingdome of England, and land of Pruſsia any diſſenſion or diſcorde (which God forefend) ſhould ariſe: then the foreſayd ſoueraigne prince and king of England, and the ſayd right reuerend lord the Maſter generall are mutually by their letters and meſſengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning the matter and cauſe of ſuch diſſenſion and diſcord: which intimation, on the behalfe of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince & king of England, ſhall be deliuered in the forenamed caſtle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the ſayd right reuerend lord the Maſter generall, ſuch intimation ſhall be giuen in the citie of London aforeſayd, vnto the Maior of the ſaid city: that then ſuch a denunciation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the ſubiects of the land of Pruſsia may, within the ſpace of one yeere next following, freely and ſafely returne home with al their goods & marchandiſes: if at the leaſt, in the mean while, ſome compoſition, & friendly league betweene the two forſayd countreis be not in ſome ſorte concluded. And that all the premiſſes may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practiſe and execution on both partes, for the ſtrong and inuiolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and alſo for the full confirmation and ſtrengthening of all the ſayde premiſſes, the three foreſayd honourable and religious perſonages being by the ſaid right reuerend lord the Maſter general appointed as commiſſioners to deale in the aboue written ordination and compoſition, haue cauſed their ſeales vnto theſe preſents to be put : and the ſayd ordination alſo, and letter in the ſame tenour word for word, and in all points euen as it is inſerted into theſe preſents, they haue mutually receiued frõ the abouenamed three ambaſſadours of the right ſoueraigne king of England vnder their ſeales. Giuen at the caſtle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforeſayd, vpon the twentieth day of the moneth of Auguſt. And we therefore doe accept, approue, ratifie, and by the tenour of theſe preſents doe confirme, the compoſition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforeſayd. In teſtimony whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelues a Weſtminſter the 22, of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counſell,

Lincolne.

The letters of *Conradus de Iungingen*, Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, written vnto *Richard* the ſecond, king of *England*, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and compoſition concluded betweene *England* and *Pruſſia*, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Pruſſians.

OUr humble commendations, with our earneſt prayers vnto God for your Maieſtie, premiſed. Moſt renowmed prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maieſties remembrance, how our famous predeceſſour going immediately before vs ſent certaine letters of his vnto your highneſſe, effectually conteyning ſundry complaints of grieuances, iniuries and loſſes, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order being woont in times paſt to viſite your kingdome with their goods and marchandiſes, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuileges annoyed with manifold iniuries and wrongs. Eſpecially ſithens they haue beene moleſted in your realme, being contrary to the friendly compoſition made and celebrated by the hono: perſonages, maſter Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the aſſiſtance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all iuſtice, oppreſſed with manifold damages, loſſes, and grieuances : as in certaine articles exhibited vnto our predeceſſors aforeſayd it doeth more manifeſtly appeare. In conſideration whereof being vehemently moued by the damnified parties, he humbly beſought your highneſſe by his meſſengers and letters, for complement and execution of iuſtice. About the which affayres your Maieſtie returned your letters of anſwere vnto our ſayd predeceſſor, ſignifying that the ſayd buſineſſe of articles concerned al the communalty of your realme, and that your highneſſe purpoſed, after conſultation had in your parliament, to ſend a more deliberate anſwere concerning the premiſſes, vnto our predeceſſour aforeſayd. Howbeit he being by death tranſlated out of this preſent world, and our ſelues by the prouidence of God ſucceeding in his roome, and alſo long time expecting an effectuall anſwere from your highneſſe, are not yet informed as we looked for : albeit the complaints of iniuries and loſſes offered vnto our ſubiects doe continually increaſe. But from henceforth to prouide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the ſayd complaynt doeth vpon great reaſons mooue and inuite me. Sithens therefore in regard of the ſayd compoſition, neither you nor your ſubiects may be iudged in the empire : and ſithens plaine reaſon requireth that the one be not inriched by the others loſſe : as vndoubtedly our ſubiects ſhould ſuſtaine great damage by the compoſition aforeſayd, by vertue whereof your ſubiects doe inioy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwiſe our ſubiects in your realme haue ſuffered, & as yet ſundrie wayes do ſuffer manifold diſcommodities, loſſes and iniuries. Wherefore (moſt ſoueraigne prince and mighty lord) being reaſonably mooued vpon the cauſes aforeſayd, we doe, by the aduiſe of our counſellers, reuoke and repeale the ſayd compoſition concluded as is aboue written, together with the effect thereof, purely and ſimply renouncing the ſame by theſe preſents : refuſing hereafter to haue either our ſelues or our ſubiects in any reſpect to ſtand bound by the vertue of the ſayd compoſition : but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore alſo, bee it altogether voide and of none effect.

Prouided notwithſtanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation giuen vnto the hono: Maior of your citie of London, for the ſpace of a yeare next enſuing, it ſhall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatſoeuer, with their goods and marchandiſes to returne home, according to the forme in the foreſayd compoſition expreſſed : conditionally that our ſubiects may euen ſo in all reſpects be permitted to depart, with the ſafety of their goods and liues out of your dominions : this preſent renuntiation, reuocation, and retractation of the order and compoſition aforeſayd, notwithſtanding. Howbeit in any other affayres whatſoeuer, deuoutly to ſubmit our ſelues vnto your highneſſe pleaſure and command, both our ſelues, and our whole order are right willing and deſirous: and alſo to benefite and promote your ſubiects we will indeuour to the vtmoſt of our ability. Giuen in our caſtle of Marienburg in the yeare of our Lord 1398, and vpon the 22. day of February.

Frater *Conradus de Iungingen*, maſter generall of the Order of
the Dutch knights of S. *Maries* hoſpital at *Ieruſalem*.

A briefe relation of *VVilliam Eſturmy*, and *Iohn Kington* concerning their ambaſſages into *Pruſsia*, and the *Hanſ-townes*.

1403. INprimis, that in the moneth of July, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambaſſadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Iungingen, being then Maſter general of Pruſsia, with his letters directed vnto our foreſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompenſe for certaine iniuries vniuſtly offered by Engliſh men vnto the ſubiects of the ſayd Maſter generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the ſumme of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord aboue written, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our ſoueraigne lord the king, betweene the reuerend father in God, Henrie then biſhop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treaſurer of England, on the one party and the ſayd ambaſſadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongſt other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our ſoueraigne lord the king ſhould freely be permitted, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter then next after enſuing to remaine in the land of Pruſsia, and from thence with their goods & marchandiſes to returne vnto their own home: and alſo, that the ſubiects of the ſayd Maſter generall in the kingdome of England ſhould haue licence and liberty to doe the like. Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limitted, neither the Engliſh marchants in the land of Pruſsia, nor the Pruſſian marchãts in the realme of England ſhould vſe any traffique of marchandiſe at all, vnleſſe in the meane ſpace it were otherwiſe agreed and concluded by the ſayd king and the ſayd Maſter general.

Item, immediately after our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king ſent his letters by Iohn Browne marchant of Lin vnto the foreſayd Maſter generall, for to haue mutuall conuerſation and intercourſe of dealing to continue ſome certain ſpace, betweene the marchants of England and of Pruſsia: promiſing in the ſame letters, that he would in the meane ſeaſon ſend vnto the foreſayd Maſter his ambaſſadors to intreat about the pretended iniuries aforeſaid: which letters the foreſayd Maſter, for diuers cauſes, refuſed to yeelde vnto, as in his letters ſent vnto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of July, in the yeare of our lord 1404, more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Maſter aforeſaid, which are next aboue mentioned, our ſayd king, according to his promiſe, ſent William Eſturmy knight, M. Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Couentrie, very ſlightly informed, as his ambaſſadours into Pruſsia.

Item, before the arriuall of the ſayd ambaſſadours in Pruſsia, all intercourſe of traffique betweene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Pruſsia was altogether reſtrained and prohibited: and in the ſame land it was ordayned and put in practiſe, that in whatſoeuer porte of the land of Pruſsia any Engliſh marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the ſayd goods, out of that porte, vnto any other place of the land of Pruſsia, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the ſame: but was enioyned to ſell them in the very ſame porte, vnto the Pruſſians onely and to none other, to the great preiudice of our Engliſh marchants.

1405. Item, that after the arriuall of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſsia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all Engliſh marchants whatſoeuer ſhould haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their marchandiſe in whatſoeuer port of the land of Pruſsia, and to make ſale of them in the ſaid land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accuſtomed. Alſo ſundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordayned and eſtabliſhed: as in the indentures made for this purpoſe it doth more manifeſtly appeare.

Item, the ſaid Engliſh ambaſſadours being arriued in the land of Pruſsia, demanded of the ſaid Maſter generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and iniuries offered by the Pruſsians vnto the liege people of our ſoueraigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 4535. nobles.

Item, the ſaid Maſter generall, beſides the articles exhibited vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the ſayd ambaſſadours diuers other articles of certaine iniuries offered (as he ſayd) vniuſtly by Engliſh men, vnto his ſubiects, which amounted vnto the ſumme of 5100. nobles.

Item, it was afterward concluded, that vpon the firſt of May next then inſuing, namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406, or within the ſpace of one yeare immediatly following there ſhould bee made a conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatiſfaction, for all moleſtations vniuſtly offered on both partes; as well on the behalfe of our ſoueraigne lord the king, as of the foreſayd Maſter general. Which ſatiſfaction not being performed, the Pruſſians with their goods & marchandiſes, within three moneths after the end of the ſayd yere next following, were without moleſtation or impediment, enioined to depart out of the realme of England with their ſhips and goods, and the Engliſh men likewiſe, out of the territories and dominions of the ſaid Maſter general, & both of them, without any further admonition, to abſtaine & ſeparate themſelues, from both the countreis aforeſayd. For the performance of which premiſſes, the ambaſſadors on both parts being ſufficiently inſtructed, were appointed to meete the firſt day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland. 1406.

Item, that the ſayd William Eſturmy and Iohn Kington in their returne homewards from Pruſſia towards England paſſed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in ſuch ſorte with the Burgomaſters of them, that there were ſent meſſengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common ſociety of the Hans marchants, vnto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambaſſadors of England, about the redreſſing of iniuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were ſet downe betweene the ſayd ambaſſadors, and meſſengers, as in the indentures made for the ſame purpoſe it doth more manifeſtly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, vpon the firſt of May, was by the letters of the foreſayd ambaſſadors, prolonged vnto the firſt of Auguſt then next enſuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the firſt day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation alſo.

Item, that after the prorogations aforeſayd, the ambaſſadors of England, and the meſſengers & commiſſioners of Pruſſia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of Auguſt, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty betweene thē concerning the ſumme 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the ſayd Maſter generall for amends and recompenſe in conſideration of wrongs offered vnto himſelfe and vnto his ſubiects of Pruſſia, as is aforeſayd. Alſo the ſayd Maſter and his Pruſſians, beſides the ſumme not yet declared in the articles, which is very ſmall, are to reſt contented and ſatiſfied with the ſumme of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforeſaid: no times of paiment being then aſſigned or limited, but afterward to be reaſonably limited and aſſigned, by our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king. Inſomuch, that our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king is to write his full intention & determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be deliuered the 16. day of March, vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans reſiding at Bruges. Otherwiſe, that from thenceforth all league of friendſhip ſhall bee diſſolued betweene the realme of England and the land of Pruſſia.

Alſo it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the ſumme next before written to be diſburſed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful teſtimonies it may ſufficiently and effectually be prooued, concerning the chiefe articles abouewritten, or any part of them, that ſatiſfaction was made vnto any of thoſe parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the the behalfe of Pruſſia, in the ſayd articles, did or doe pertayne vnto others, or that any other iuſt, true, or reaſonable cauſe may lawfully be prooued & alledged, why the foreſaid ſums or any of them ought not to be payed: that thē in the ſummes contained in the articles abouementioned, ſo much only muſt be cut off, or ſtopped, as ſhalbe found, either to haue bene payd already, or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true, iuſt, and reaſonable cauſe alleaged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the ſumme due vnto the Pruſſians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and iuſtice, to be compelled to make ſatiſfaction.

Alſo, at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon, that our lord the king and his liege ſubiects, for the ſaid 4535. nobles demanded of the Engliſh in conſideration of recompenſe to be made for iniuries offered vnto the Pruſſians, are to diſcharge & pay the ſumme of 764. nobles, which are not as yet diſburſed: but they haue reſerued a petition to them, vnto whom the ſayd ſumme is due, or if they pleaſe, there ſhalbe made ſatiſfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the laſt aſſembly of the ſayd ambaſſadors of England and meſſengers of Pruſſia, holden at Hage, made as is aforeſayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of iniuries againſt the Pruſſians. The value of which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 1825. nobles and three ſhillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Pruſſians the ſumme of 1355. nobles, eight ſhillings and ſixe pence.

Item, foraſmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Pruſſia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and alſo at the laſt conuention holden at Hage, were ſo obſcure, that in regard of their obſcuritie, there could no reſolute anſwere bee made vnto them: and other of the ſayd articles exhibited, for want of ſufficient proofes, could not cleerely be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obſcure articles giuen vp by any of the foreſayd parties whatſoeuer, ought before the end of Eaſter then next enſuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles euidently exhibited, but not ſufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall excluſion. Which being done accordingly, complete iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Pruſſians, firſt exhibited, which conteined loſſes amounting vnto the ſumme of 2445. nobles: as touching the firſt article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Pruſſia, conteining loſſes which amounted to the ſumme of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof ſhall be made in the audience of the king and of the Maſter generall: ſo that they ſhall ſet downe, ordaine, and determine ſuch an ende and concluſion of thoſe matters, as ſhall ſeeme moſt expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the *Liuonians* who are ſubiect vnto the great Maſter of *Pruſsia*.

INprimis, that the Maſter of Pruſsia demaunded of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours, at their being in Pruſsia, on the behalfe of them of Liuonia, who are the ſayd Maſter his liege people, to haue reſtitution of their loſſes, vniuſtly (as he ſayth) offered vnto them by the Engliſh, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ſhips. The value of which ſhips and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Liuonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the ſumme of 8037. pound, 12. ſhillings 7. pence.

These ſhips were taken by the Engliſh yͤ 20. of July 1404.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the ſayd ambaſſadors of England, the loſſe of the Liuonians exceedeth not the ſumme of 7498. pound, 13. ſhillings, 10. pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, foraſmuch as in the ſayd ſhips, on the behalfe of the ſayd Maſter, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged about 250. men very barbarouſly to be drowned, of whome ſome were noble, and others honourable perſonages, and the reſt common marchants & mariners, there was demaunded, in the firſt dyet or conuention holden at Dordract, a recompenſe at the handes of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of al the negotiations, in forme of a ſcedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this preſent, & beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the laſt conuention holden at Hage, as is aforeſaid, it was concluded betweene the ambaſſadours of England, and the meſſengers and commiſſioners of the land of Pruſsia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, ſhould, of his great pietie, vouchſafe effectually to deuiſe ſome conuenient and wholeſome remedie for the ſoules of ſuch perſons as were drowned.

Item, that our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king will ſignifie in writing his full purpoſe & intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants reſiding at Bruges, vpon the fifteenth day of March next following. Otherwiſe, that from henceforth all amitie and friendſhip, betweene the realme of England and the land of Pruſsia ſhall be diſſolued.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the ſayd goods, for the which they of Liuonia doe demaund reſtitution, namely waxe and furres, redounded vnto the vſe and commoditie of our ſoueraigne lord the king. And alſo our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters, that ſome of the ſayd goods ſhould be deliuered vnto others. And a great part of them is as yet reſerued in the towne of Newcaſtle. One Benteld alſo hath the beſt of the ſayd three ſhips in poſſeſſion. Alſo it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, haue had a great part of the ſayd goods, namely of the Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the *Hans*.

Hamburgh.

INprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demaunded reſtitution for certaine damages offered, as they ſayd, by the Engliſh men, the value of which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 9117. nobles, 20. pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promiſed reſtitution to the ſumme of 416. nobles, 5. ſhillings. Beſides the two articles propounded againſt thē of Scardeburg, the ſumme whereof was 231. pounds, 15. s. 8. d. cōcerning the which there was ſentence giuen in England by the commiſſioners of our lord the king, the execution whereof was promiſed vnto the ſaid Hamburgers by the ambaſſadors of England: leaue and licence being reſerued vnto the ſayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaning certaine obſcure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feaſt of Eaſter then next to come, or within one yeare next enſuing the ſaid feaſt, vnto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of prouing the ſayd articles and others alſo, which haue not as yet ſufficiently bene proued. Which being done they are to haue full complement and execution of iuſtice.

Alſo by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which ſumme, if it ſhalbe proued to be due vnto any Engliſh men, the Hamburgers are to reſt contented with thoſe goods, which they haue already in their poſſeſſions.

Item, they of Breme propounded fiue articles, wherein the ſumme conteined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no ſatiſfaction promiſed vnto them. But the ſame libertie and licence was reſerued vnto them, in like maner as before vnto the Hamburgers. Brem.

Item, they of Straleſſund propounded 23. articles, whereof the ſumme amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20. d. for the which there was promiſed ſatiſfaction of 253. nobles, 3. q. Alſo here is a caueat to be obſerued: that they of Straleſſund had of Engliſh mens goods a great ſumme particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture ſuffice for a recompenſe. And ſome of their articles are concerning iniuries offered before 20, 22, 23, 24. yeeres paſt. Alſo their articles are ſo obſcure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or proue them. Howbeit there is reſerued the very ſame liberty vnto them, that was before vnto the Hamburgers. Straleſſund.

Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the ſumme whereof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they ſhould haue paied vnto them 550. nobles. There was reſerued the ſame libertie vnto them, which was vnto the men of Straleſſund. Lubec.

Item, they of Gripeſwold exhibited 5. articles, the ſumme whereof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promiſed ſatiſfaction of 153. nobles and an half. And the ſaid men of Gripeſwold haue of the goods of Engliſh men in poſſeſſion, to the value of 22015. nobles, 18. s. as it is reported by them of Linne. And the ſame libertie is reſerued vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers. Gripeſwold.

Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the ſumme whereof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no ſatiſfaction promiſed vnto them: but the ſame liberty is reſerued vnto them, which was vnto the other abouementioned. Campen.

Item, the ambaſſadors of England demaunded of the citizens of Roſtok & Wiſmer, for damages & iniuries by them committed againſt the ſubiects of the foreſayd ſoueraigne king 32407. nobles, 2. s. 10. d. And albeit euery of the foreſayd cities ſent one of their burgomaſters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negotiating or concluding ought at al. And therfore they made their faithfull promiſes, that euery of the ſaid cities ſhould ſend vnto our ſoueraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procurators ſufficiently inſtructed to treat & conclude with our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king about the damages and iniuries aforeſaid at the feaſt of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn the Baptiſt.

Compoſitions and ordinances concluded betvveen the meſſengers of *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* maſter generall of *Pruſsia*: and the chancelor and treaſurer of the realme of *England* 1403.

IN the yere of our Lord 1403, vpon the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie biſhop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treaſurer of England, & the ambaſſadors of Pruſsia, Iohn Godek of Dantzik, & Henry Monek of Elbing, maſters of the ſame cities haue at Weſtminſter treated in maner of compoſition about the articles vnderwritten: betweene the moſt ſoueraigne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend & honorable Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of Pruſsia, as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Pruſsia and Liuonia vpon the ſea by the Engliſh.

Firſt, that all ſhips with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the Engliſh, which are actually in being & whole, are incontinently & with al ſpeed to bee reſtored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the ſaid defect is to be accounted, & with other loſſes of goods to be reſtored, at the terme of the reſtitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ſhips, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accuſation) which are not now immediately reſtored, are to be reſtored and payd in the land of Pruſsia, betweene this and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of iuſtice.

Item, concerning the perſons throwen ouer boord or ſlaine in the ſea: it ſhall remaine to be determined at the will and pleaſure of the moſt mightie prince the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Maſter of Pruſſia.

Item, betweene this and the terme appointed for the reſtoring of the goods taken away, & vntill there be due payment & reſtitution of the ſaid goods performed, the marchants of England and of Pruſſia are in no wiſe to exerciſe any traffique of marchandiſe at all in the foreſaid lands.

1403. Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the moſt mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reuerend father Henrie biſhop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treaſurer of England, both of them counſellers vnto the ſayd ſoueraigne king on the one party, and the right worſhipfull Iohn Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, ſent as meſſengers by the right reuerend and religious perſonage, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the requeſt and inſtancie of the ſayd meſſengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and ſubiects of the ſayd ſoueraigne lord and king ſhall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, ſafely to trauel vnto the land of Pruſſia aforeſayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ſhips, marchandiſes, & other their goods whatſoeuer, to returne vnto their owne home: which on the other ſide, all the ſubiects of the ſayd Maſter general may, within the terme prefixed, likewiſe doe, in the foreſaid realme of England. Prouided alwaies, that after the time aboue limited, neither the ſayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Pruſſia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exerciſe any traffique at al: vnles it be otherwiſe ordained by ſome compoſition, betweene the foreſaid king of England, & the ſaid Maſter general in the meane time concluded. In witneſſe whereof, one part of this preſent Indenture is to remaine in the cuſtodie of the foreſaid meſſengers. Giuen in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written.

The letters of the chancelor and treaſurer of *England*, vnto *Frater Conradus de Iungingen*, maſter generall of *Pruſſia* 1403.

Right reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable meſſengers Iohn Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the preſence of our moſt ſoueraigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our ſaid lord with a chearefull and fauourable countenance, they preſented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maieſtie, with that reuerence which beſeemed them: expounding vnto his highnes, ſundry piracies & moleſtations offered of late vpon the ſea, by his liege people & ſubiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts. In conſideration of which piracies and moleſtations, your meſſengers demanded full reſtitution and recompenſe to be made, either vnto the damnified parties, or vnto their procurators. We therefore at that time, eſpecially being in the preſence of our ſoueraigne (who with his puiſſant army tooke his progreſſe towards the remote part of Wales being ſubiect vnto his dominion, to ſee iuſtice executed vpon his people of thoſe parts, who very raſhly haue preſumed to rebell againſt him their ſoueraigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceiued that it was his highneſſe intention, that euery one ſhould haue due iuſtice faithfully adminiſtred vnto him, eſpecially your ſubiects, and that with all fauour, whom he hath alwayes in times paſt right graciouſly intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege ſubiects and natiue country men, whome alſo hee purpoſeth hereafter friendly to protect: inſomuch that betweene him and his ſubiects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increaſe. And therefore we offered vnto your foreſayd meſſengers, after they had particularly declared vnto vs ſuch piracies and wrongs, to ſende the kings letters vnto them of whom complaint was made, firmely inioyning them, vnder grieuous penalties, that without delay they reſtore or cauſe to bee reſtored vnto the parties damnified, or vnto their procurators, all ſhips, marchandiſes, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently ſtolne from your ſubiects. And that your ſaid meſſengers may partly attaine their deſire, we haue commanded certaine ‡ ſhips, marchandiſes, wares, and goods, found in certaine hauens, to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps periſhed or wanting by infortunate diſſipation or deſtruction, and for the which the ſaid meſſengers of yours demand ſatiſfaction to be made vnto them within a certain time by vs limited: may it pleaſe your honor to vnderſtand,

‡ Namely the ſhip of Edgard Scof at Caleis. The ſhip of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and Zepiſwich.

that in the abſence of our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, being as yet farre diſtant from vs, wee can in no wiſe limit or ſet downe any ſuch terme of time. Notwithſtanding, at the proſperous returne of our ſoueraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whoſe anſwere ſo ſoone as we be certified, we purpoſe to ſignifie his intention vnto you by our letters. Sithens alſo (right reuerend and mighty lord) your ſayd meſſengers are contented, for the preſent, to accept of our offer aforeſayde, as indeede by all reaſon they ought thereat to reſt content, eſpecially whereas by this meanes they ſhall the more ſpeedily attaine vnto the effect of their purpoſes (to the ſhorte and wiſhed execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeuour, to the vtmoſt of our ability) may it be your will and pleaſure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and ſubiects are courteouſly intreated: euen ſo the marchants and liege people of our ſoueraigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other iuſt occaſion, may there in like manner friendly bee vſed, and with your marchants and ſubiects ſuffered to communicate, and to haue intercourſe of traffique, inioying the commodities of the ancient league. By this alſo the feruent zeale and affection which you beare vnto the royall crowne of England ſhall vndoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houſes of England and of Pruſsia, the bandes of vnfained loue and friendſhip haue bin ſucceſsiuely confirmed and kept inuiolable in times paſt. And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wiſhing vnto you increaſe of honour and proſperity, wee take our leaues. Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403.

Note well. 1403.

By the chancelor, the treaſurer, and other lords of the hono: counſell of the king of *England* and *France*, being perſonally preſent at *London*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. vnto *Conradus de Iungingen* the maſter general of *Pruſsia*, for mutual conuerſation and intercourſe of traffique to continue between the marchants of *England* and of *Pruſsia*, for a certaine terme of time.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty perſonage of ſacred religion, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our moſt deare and welbeloued friend, greeting, and continuall increaſe of our auncient and ſincere amity. By the grieuous complaynts of our liege ſubiects concerning traffique, as it were circular wiſe too & fro both our dominions, we haue often bene aduertiſed that in regard of diuers iniuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandiſe were woont peaceably to vſe mutual conuerſation together, whereupon very many commodities are knowen to haue proceeded) haue, by occaſion of pirates, rouing vp and downe the ſea, ſometimes heretofore ſuſtayned: both the ſayd marchants of our & of your dominions do abſtaine themſelues frõ their wonted mutual cõuerſation & traffique, as they haue likewiſe carefully abſtained at ſometimes heretofore, and eſpecially from that time, wherein at the inſtant requeſt of your meſſengers, being of late before our preſence, the free acceſſe of our marchants vnto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants vnto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our moſt deare friend) ſuch iniuries (if any) as haue bene attempted againſt your ſubiects, were neuer committed by our will and conſent, as we thinke that your ſelfe on the other ſide haue done the like: ſithens alſo, ſo much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full iuſtice with fauour vnto any of your people being deſirous to make complaint, ſo that accordingly iuſtice may equally be done vnto our marchants by you & your ſubiects, which marchants haue in like ſort bene iniuried, wiſhing with all our heart, that the ancient friendſhip & loue, which hath continued a long time betweene our realme and your territories and dominions, may perſeuere in time to come, and that ſweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Chriſtians, may according to the good pleaſure of the author of peace, be nouriſhed & mayntained: we do moſt heartily require the ſayd friendſhip, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf conſent & ordain (euen as, if you ſhall ſo do, we for our part wil conſent likewiſe) that from this preſent vntil the feaſt of Eaſter next inſuing (al moleſtatiõs & iniuries which may be offered ceaſing on both parts) our ſubiects by your territories & dominions, & your ſubiects by our realms, may peaceably & ſecurely trauel, & that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly cõuerſe & exerciſe mutual traffick together: becauſe we are determined to ſend vnto you & your counſel in the mean time ſome of our ambaſſadors, friendly to intreat about the foreſaid pretẽded iniuries, ſo far forth as they ſhal cõcerne our ſubiects. At whoſe arriual we ſtand in good hope

The auncient friendſhip betweene England and Pruſsia.

that by the due adminiſtration of iuſtice on both parts, ſuch order (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be eſtabliſhed between vs in times to come. Alſo our deſire is in particular, that our marchants & liege ſubiects may haue more free paſſage granted them vnto the parts of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fiſhes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence alſo may more ſecurely returne vnto their owne home: and we beſeech you in conſideration of our owne ſelues, that you would haue our marchants and liege ſubiects eſpecially recommended vnto you, ſafely protecting them (if need ſhall require) vnder the ſhadow of your defence: euen as you would haue vs to deale in the like caſe with your own ſubiects. Moreouer, whatſoeuer you ſhall thinke good to put in practiſe in this behalfe, may it pleaſe you of your friendſhip, by our faythfull ſubiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderſtand. In the ſonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall proſperity and felicity according to your owne hearts deſire. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale, at our palace of Weſtminſter, the fift day of Iune, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Poſtſcriptum.

Right reuerend and our moſt deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de Daſſele the procurator of your foreſaid meſſengers, being deſirous at this time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reaſon of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wiſhed expedition: notwithſtanding you of your ſincere affection ought not to maruel or any whit to be grieued thereat: becauſe troubles of wars ariſing, which in ſome ſort concerned our ſelues, and eſpecially in regard of the continuall aſſaults of the French men & Britons againſt vs and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege ſubiects (eſpecially they, of whom your ſubiects damnified haue made their complaints) haue armed themſelues to combate vpon the ſea: we could not grant vnto the foreſayd Arnold ſuch and ſo ſpeedy an expedition, as he earneſtly deſired to haue. Vnto the which Arnold your procurator we haue offered in as ſhort time as may be, to adminiſter complete iuſtice with fauour, to yͤ end that for this cauſe he might diſpoſe himſelfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet notwithſtanding wee would do the very ſame euen in the abſence of the ſayd procurator. Giuen as aboue.

To the moſt renowmed prince and mighty Lord, *Henrie* king of *England* &c. our gracious Lord.

Our humble recommendations, with our moſt inſtant and continuall prayers for you being graciouſly by your Maieſtie taken in good part &c. Moſt ſoueraigne king, mighty prince, gracious lord, and vnto vs moſt vnfaynedly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maieſties liege ſubiect Iohn Brown, the contents whereof ſeemed to be theſe following: firſt that of long time heretofore, there haue bene between the marchants of your realm & of our lands, not only quiet & peaceable acceſſe one vnto another, but alſo mutual participation, & common traffique of their wares, being right cōmodious & auaileable for them both: howbeit, that now the foreſaid profitable conuerſation, by reaſon of certain notorious robberies, committed vpon the ſea by pyrates againſt both parts, & the wonted acceſſe alſo of your ſubiects vnto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreouer, you call to remembrance the ancient amity & friendſhip betweene both our lands, with the inualuable commodity of ſweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Chriſtians, to the vtmoſt of their endeuour to be imbraced. Wherupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maieſties ful conſent, that the foreſaid prohibition being releaſed vntil the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, the ſaid marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewiſe may in your realms (al moleſtations ceaſing) exerciſe their woonted traffique: eſpecially ſithens in the mean ſeaſon your royall wiſdome hath determined to direct vnto vs your hono: ambaſſadors in friendly ſort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, ſo far forth as they may concerne your ſubiects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people ſhall repayre vnto the parts of Sconia to fiſh for herrings, hauing conſideration & regard vnto your maieſtie, we would haue them eſpecially recommended vnto our protection &c. Moſt ſoueraigne lord & king, & gracious prince, wee doe with vnfained and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your maieſties moſt courteous & acceptable offer: wherein you haue vſed moſt diligent & effectuall perſwaſions, that cōplement of iuſtice ſhould be done vnto the parties iniuried, & that peace & friendſhip ſhould take place, making no doubt of your own royall perſon, nor of our ſelues or of any appertayning vnto vs, but that our inclinations and deſires in this regarde are all one and the ſame: neither would we lightly tranſgreſſe the limits of your perſwaſions without ſome iuſt, weighty, &

reaſonable cauſe, foraſmuch as the matters perſwaded are in very deede moſt happy preſeruatiues of a common weale, yea & of nature it ſelfe. Moreouer whereas your highnes hath farther requeſted vs, that the prohibition of your ſubiects acceſſe vnto our dominions might, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, be releaſed: we anſwere (vnder correction of your maieſties more deliberate counſell) that it is farre more expedient for both parts to haue the ſayd prohibition continued then releaſed, vntil ſuch time as ſatiſfaction be performed on both ſides vnto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually & really in deeds, or by ſome courſe of law or friendly compoſition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of conſort or trade betweene the impoueriſhed party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtayned iuſtice and him that hath obtayned none between the offender and the party offended: becauſe they are not mooued with like affections. For the remembrance of iniuries eaſily ſtirreth vp inconſiderate motions of anger. Alſo, ſuch a kind of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then ſweetnes, more hate then loue: whereupon more grieuous complaints aſwel vnto your highnes as vnto our ſelues, might be occaſioned. The lord knoweth, that euen now we are too much wearied and diſquieted with the importunate and inſtant complaints of our ſubiects, inſomuch that wee cannot at this preſent by any conuenient meanes releaſe or diſſolue the ſayd prohibition, before wee be ſufficiently informed by your maieſties ambaſſadors, of the ſatiſfaction of our endamaged ſubiects. Furthermore, whereas your maieſties requeſt, concerning your ſubiects that ſhal come vnto the parts of Sconia, is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it knowen vnto your highnes, that for diuers conſiderations vs reaſonably mouing, being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being alſo vrged thereunto full ſore againſt our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of iniuries, we haue ſent forth our armie againſt them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, ſo that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs alſo, that our ſubiects being occupied in warres, ſhould in any ſort willingly moleſt or reproch any ſtrangers, of what landes or nations ſoeuer, not being our profeſſed enemies. For this ſhould be to oppreſſe the innocent in ſtead of the guilty, to condemne the iuſt for the vniuſt: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a reuenge of greater impietie. In very deede (moſt gracious prince and lorde) we are moued with right hearty ſympathy and compaſſion for any inconuenience which might happen in your regiment: wiſhing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right proſperouſly and happily ſucceede, about the royall perſon and regiment of your moſt excellent Maieſtie; and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: moſt humbly commending our ſelues, and our whole Order vnto your highnes. Giuen at our caſtle of Marienburgh, the 16 day the moneth of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

Margaret queene of Denmarke.

An agreement made betweene king *Henry* the fourth and *Conradus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſsia*.

THis Indenture made between Sir William Eſturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, & meſſengers of the moſt mighty prince and lord, our ſoueraigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatſoeuer damages, grieuances, exceſſes, violences, and iniuries in any ſort vniuſtly attempted, done, or offered, by our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king and his liege people and ſubiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, or his ſubiects: and for the requiring, demanding, and receiuing of ſuch like reparations, reformations & amends, by the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall, for the behalfe of himſelfe or any of his ſubiects whatſoeuer, from & in the name of our ſoueraign lord the king & his ſubiects, vnto the ſayd Maſter general, into his land of Pruſsia, by our ſoueraigne lord the king, & appointed as ambaſſadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious perſonages Conradus de Lichtenſtein great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hoſpitalary & commāder in Elbing, & Arnold de Hacken treaſurer, the procurators & commiſſioners of the great & mighty lord the Maſter general, being in like & equal ſort and in all reſpects, as the ambaſſadours of England are, authorized on the contrary ſide by the authoritie and power of the ſayd Maſter general on the other part, witneſſeth: That diuers treaties & conferences being holden between the ſaid ambaſſadors, meſſengers, & procurators or cōmiſſioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages, grieuances, exceſſes, violences & iniuries offered and attempted, aſwel by the Pruſſians againſt the Engliſh as by the Engliſh againſt the Pruſſians, and of other actes vniuſtly committed on both parts: in concluſion, after the ſayd treatiſe, the foreſayd ambaſſadours, procurators and commiſſioners by vertue of the authority committed vnto them appoynted, and with one conſent agreed vnto the articles vnder written.

Inprimis, that for the conſideration of mutuall loue and wonted friendſhip, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and alſo that the articles vnderwritten may more proſperouſly be brought vnto a wiſhed effect, betweene our ſaid ſoueraign lord the king & his liege people & ſubiects, & the ſubiects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatſoeuer, ſhall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with their ſhippes, goods and marchandiſes whatſoeuer, at any Porte of the land of Pruſsia, and alſo the ſayd goods and marchandiſes farther vnto any place of the ſayd land of Pruſsia to tranſport, and there with any perſon or perſons freely to contract and bargaine, euen as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accuſtomed. Which liberty in all reſpects is granted vnto the Pruſſians in England.

1403.

Item it is farther agreed betweene the ſayd ambaſſadours, procurators, and commiſſioners, that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the ſayd Maſter general by his diſcreet ſubiects Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambaſſadors & meſſengers, for this purpoſe hath cauſed certain articles, (namely 20. in number) containing in them matters of damages, moleſtations, violences, and iniuries committed and offered againſt the ſaid Maſter generall & his ſubiects, by our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king his ſubiects & liege people, to be exhibited, giuen vp and deliuered vnto our lord the king aforeſaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the ſayd 20. articles, by the aforeſaid ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, and procurators, as in the acts & pleas had and made before the ſayd ambaſſadors, commiſſioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of ſuch articles, it is more at large contayned (vnto the which the ſayd ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, and meſſengers doe here in this place referre themſelues) of the which articles alſo ſome are receiued by the commiſſioners aforeſayd, and others are prorogued vnto a certaine time vnder written, euen as in the foreſayd regiſters it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles alſo exhibited a newe vnto the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadors, in the land of Pruſsia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the reſt are prorogued vntil a terme vnderwritten) the ſame courſe is to be taken and obſerued, which was before appoynted and agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foreſayd ſouraigne lorde the king, as is aforeſayd.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the Engliſh ambaſſadours in the name and behalfe of their ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king of England, vnto the procuratours and commiſſioners of the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall (of the which ſome are declared already, and the declaration of the reſt is prorogued vntill a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the regiſters made of and vpon the examination of the ſayd articles, it is more manifeſtly prouided) the ſame courſe is to be taken, which muſt be obſerued about the articles of the ſayd lord the Maſter generall, exhibited, as well vnto the foreſayd ſoueraigne prince in England, as vnto his ambaſſadors in the land of Pruſsia, euen as about the ſayd articles it is before concluded.

The cōplaints of the Liuonians

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Liuonia, many and great complaints haue bene by way of articles exhibited and deliuered vnto the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſsia, which for diuers cauſes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed vpon betweene the ambaſſadours, and the commiſſioners aforeſayd, that the ſaide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, vpon the firſt day of the moneth of May next enſuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Pruſsia, ſhall be put in vre) by themſelues or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation of all iniuries attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually ſet downe and limited, at the place aforeſaid, by the conſent of the ambaſſadours and commiſſioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceaſing.

Prouided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandiſes, whereof the ſaid citizens and marchants of Liuonia, in their articles receiued by the ſayde Engliſh ambaſſadours, as is aforeſayd, doe make mention, ſhall be iuſtly eſteemed, prized, and approoued, not by any of England, or of Pruſsia, or of Liuonia, but by ſome other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which ſuch like marchandiſe would haue amounted vnto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be ſolde at the towne of Bruges in Flanders.

Foraſmuch alſo, as diuers and ſundry Pruſſians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being receiued by the ſaid Engliſh Ambaſſadours, at their abode in Pruſsia) made not their perſonall appearance, before the ſaide Engliſh Ambaſſadours, in the lande of Pruſsia aforeſaide: The prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the firſt day of the moneth of May: and alſo it was agreed vpon by the ſaide Ambaſſadours, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, that the ſaide parties which had not appeared before ſhall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon the firſt of May aforeſaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themſelues or by their Procurators, and alſo to bring with them the letters teſtimonial, and patents, ſealed with the ſeale of the ſaide Lord the Maſter generall, (he hauing firſt of all receiued ſound and ſufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grieuances any way vniuſtly inflicted vpon them or any of them by the Engliſh) to the end that they may there by articles conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambaſſadours, Procurators, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners of both partes, the rate and value of their ſaide goods: and that in ſo doing they may obtaine conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reſtitution, for all acts vniuſtly attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other times effectually to bee ſet downe and limited at the foreſaid place by the conſent of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of both parts, euen as it was aboue promiſed vnto the marchants of Liuonia.

But if they of Pruſsia laſt aboue-mentioned, ſhall not vpon the firſt of May, and at the place appointed, for ſome cauſe, make their appearance, that then it ſhalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to inſinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the ſaide Engliſh Ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſsia, or which complaints ſhould haue bene deliuered at the foreſaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finiſhed and diſpatched: and alſo by articles as is aforeſaide, to declare and proue the true worth and eſtimation of all damages and grieuances any wayes vniuſtly offered by the Engliſh vnto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) effectually receiue, and alſo ſpeedily and eaſily obtaine conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation and ſatiſfaction, for al acts vniuſtly attempted againſt them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finiſhed.

Moreouer, it is appointed and agreed vpon betweene the foreſaide Ambaſſadours and Commiſſioners: that the forenamed ſoueraign Lord & the ſaid lord the Maſter general are to ſend and ſet forward their Ambaſſadours, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, vpon the firſt of May vnto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about thoſe affaires, which ſhal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambaſſadours, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, it is enacted and concluded: that vnto all and ſingular lawfull ſtatutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the ſaide lorde the Maſter generall, in his land of Pruſsia, or by his Proconſuls and Conſuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Pruſsia, vnto the obſeruation whereof, aſwell the ſubiectes of the ſaid Maſter general, as forners and ſtrangers, are tyed and bound: vnto the very ſame ſtatutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al Engliſh marchants whatſoeuer reſorting vnto the land of Pruſsia, muſt be firmely bounden and ſubiect. Note well.

Alſo it is ordained, that whatſoeuer ſale-clothes are already tranſported, or at any time hereafter to bee tranſported out of England into Pruſsia by the Engliſh marchants, and ſhall there be offered to bee ſolde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they muſt containe both their endes.

Laſtly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not ſhort and voyde of their wiſhed effect; the treaty and conference about all and ſingular damages and grieuances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there muſt be, by the vertue of theſe preſents, performed, a reformation and amendment) muſt be continued and proroged vntill the firſt of May next enſuing: as by theſe preſents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforeſaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane ſpace, as occaſion ſhall ſerue, by both parties to be limited and aſſigned, or elſe within one yeere after the ſaid firſt day of the moneth of May next enſuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, ſhall haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation on both partes. Prouided alwayes, if within the terme of the ſaide yeere, ſome conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation bee not performed vnto the parties iniuried, and endamaged, which are generally aboue mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foreſaid yere ſhall expired, the Pruſſians ſhall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the ſaide Soueraigne Lorde the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they ſhal haue gotten or bought, within the ſpace of the foreſaide three moneths: and that the Engliſh men alſo are likewiſe in all reſpects bounden to auoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themſelues and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the ſaide Maſter generall, without all moleſtation, perturbation, and impediment whatſoeuer, none other intimation or admonition being neceſſarie in this regard.

Howbeit leaſt that by the robberies and piracies of ſome inſolent and peruerſe people, matter ſhould be miniſtred vnto the ſaid lord the Maſter generall, of ſwaruing from the faithfull obſeruation of the foreſaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occaſion bee giuen him of not obſeruing them: it is alſo decreed by the often aboue mentioned Ambaſſadours and meſſengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the ſaide lorde Maſter generall his ſubiectes whatſoeuer ſhall be from henceforth vniuſtly taken vpon the Sea, by any Engliſh Pirates, and ſhalbe caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Gouernours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatſoeuer names they be called) at the which portes and places ſuch marchandiſes and goods ſhall chaunce to arriue, being onely informed of the ſaide goods and marchandiſes, by ſole report, or (other prooſes wanting) by probable ſuſpition are bound to arreſt and to keep them in ſafe cuſtodie, fauourably to be reſtored vnto the owners thereof, whenſoeuer they ſhall be lawfully demaunded: which if they ſhall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the ſaide gouernours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties endamaged, a recompenſe of their loſſes.

And for fault of iuſtice to be executed, by the ſaid gouernours and keepers, our ſoueraign lord the king aboue named, after he ſhall conueniently be requeſted by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next enſuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correſpondent, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatiſfaction, vnto the ſaide parties endamaged. Otherwiſe, that it ſhal be right lawfull for the ſaide lorde the Maſter generall, to arreſt, and after the arreſt to keepe in ſafe cuſtodie the goods of the Engliſh marchants being in the land of Pruſsia, to the condigne ſatiſfaction of ſuch iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his ſubiects, vntill his ſaid ſubiects be iuſtly and reaſonably contented.

Likewiſe alſo in all reſpects, the ſame iuſtice is to be done vnto the Engliſh by the ſaid Lord the Maſter generall and his ſubiects in Pruſſia, euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aboue written clauſe, beginning, Cæterum ne per &c. In Engliſh, Howbeit leaſt that &c. for the ſaid Maſter general, and his ſubiects by the foreſaide ambaſſadors of England, and the commiſſioners of the ſaid lord the Maſter generall, that in like caſes iuſtice ought to be adminiſtred on the behalfe of himſelfe, and of his ſubiects in the realme of England.

And that all and ſingular the couenants aboue written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inuiolably be obſerued; the forenamed ambaſſadors, meſſengers, and commiſſioners, all and euery of them, for the full credite, probation, and teſtimonie of all the premiſſes, haue vnto theſe preſent Indentures, made for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed euerie one of their ſeales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the cuſtodie of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and the other part in the hands of the commiſſioners of Pruſſia. Giuen at the caſtle of Marienburgh in Pruſſia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King *Henrie* the fourth and the common ſocietie of the Marchants of the Hans.

This Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clearke, procurators, meſſengers, and commiſſioners ſufficiently deputed and authorized by the moſt mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of yͤ things vnder written, on the one part: & the hon. perſonages M. Henry Vredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Kneſuolc ſecretary, M. Simõ Clouesten chief notary, and Iohn Zotebotter citizen, being ſufficiently made and ordained procurators and meſſengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeſwold, for the demanding & obtaining ſeuerally, of due reformation, and recompenſe at the hands of our ſaide ſoueraigne lord the king, and of his meſſengers and commiſſioners aforeſayde, for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and manſlaughters, any wayes vniuſtly done, and offred ſeuerally by the liege people and ſubiects of our ſoueraigne lord the king, vnto the common ſocietie of the marchants of the Hans, and vnto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforeſaide whatſoeuer on the other part, Witneſſeth: That betweene all and euery of the ſaide Procurators, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed vnto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and ſubiects of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common ſocietie of the Dutch Hans aforeſaide, from henceforth for one whole yeere and ſeuen moneths immediately next enſuing and following, ſhalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and ſecurely, to exerciſe mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & ſell together, one of, and vnto another, euen as in times paſt, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time alſo, they haue bin accuſtomed to exerciſe mutuall traffike and marchandiſe, and to buy and ſell. 1408.

Alſo the ſaide William and Iohn agreed and conſented, that they themſelues, or ſome other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their ſaide lord the king in their ſtead, ſhall vpon the firſt day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the towne of Dordract in Holland, or vpon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited, competently ſatiſfie, and performe conuenient recompence vnto the ſaide common ſocietie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforeſaide, and alſo of other cities, townes, and villages of the Hans, of and for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and drownings, or manſlaughters done and committed, as they alleage, againſt them, deliuered and exhibited in written articles, vnto the aboue named William and Iohn, or els heereafter to bee deliuered and exhibited, either by the ſame procurators or by ſome others, which ſhall perhaps be authorized in their ſtead, or by the meſſengers procurators and commiſſioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the ſaide terme limited, or then perhaps to be prorogued, there is appointed by the ſaid William and Iohn, reparation, reformation, and recompence vnto the inhabitants of Pruſſia, and Liuonia, for the iniuries, damages, and grieuances vniuſtly done and committed againſt them by the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaide ſoueraigne lord the king, in the preſence of the mightie lord the Maſter general of Pruſſia, in his land of Pruſſia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the caſtle of Marienburgh in Pruſſia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of ſuch like iniuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be vnderſtood as if it were inſerted) it is more manifeſtly contained.

It was furthermore promiſed by the ſaid William and Iohn, that they ſhould not inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common ſociety of the Hans, or of the aboue named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforeſaid (hauing receiued ſufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or diſtrict proofes of their Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foreſaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then vnto the inhabitants of the lands of Pruſſia and Liuonia, according to the forme of the Indentures aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the ſaide William and Iohn doe promiſe, that ſo ſoone as they ſhall come into the kingdome of England, and before the preſence of their king, they ſhall prouide, that all and ſingular the priuiledges graunted vnto the marchants of the ſaide Hans by the renowmed kings of England, and confirmed by the ſaid Soueraigne lord the king that now is, muſt, according to al their contents, be inuiolably obſerued by the ſaid ſoueraigne king and his ſubiects: and alſo, that from henceforth nothing is vniuſtly to be attempted, vpon any occaſion, pretenſe, or colour, by the ſaide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the preiudice of the ſayde priuiledges. They ſhall prouide alſo, that all things heretofore attempted and practiſed againſt the ſaide priuiledges, ſhall, by reaſonable amendement and iuſt reformation, vtterly be aboliſhed.

But if after the date of theſe preſents (which God forfend) within the ſpace of the ſaid one yere and ſeuen moneths preſcribed any damages, iniuries or grieuances, in ſhips, goods, or perſons, ſhould, either by the Engliſh and the inhabitants of England be vniuſtly inflicted vpon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforeſaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the ſaide Hans, either vnto the Engliſh, or vnto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretenſe whatſoeuer, all and ſingular the foreſaid meſſengers, commiſſioners, ambaſſadours, and procurators haue promiſed, that all ſuch damages, iniuries and moleſtations ſo inflicted by them who ſhall offer and commit them, muſt bee reformed and amended, after the very ſame forme and manner, that in the like caſe reformation, reparation and amends of iniuries, damages, and moleſtations committed by the Engliſh againſt them of

Pruſſia is to be performed, according vnto a certaine clauſe contained in the letters aboue mentioned, which beginneth: Cęterum ne per &c. In Engliſh: Howbeit leaſt that &c. continuing vnto that clauſe: Et vt præſcripta omnia &c. In Engliſh: And that all the couenants aboue written &c.

It was alſo concluded betweene the foreſaide meſſengers, commiſſioners, and procurators, and with one generall conſent agreed vpon, that if from the firſt day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, ſome conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation be not performed vnto the parties iniuried and damnified generally aboue mentioned, in regard of their damages, moleſtations, and iniuries: then, within three moneths after the ſaide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforeſaid are bound, without any moleſtation, perturbation, and impediment whatſoeuer (none other intimation or admonition being neceſſarie in this behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment ſhall hinder them) to abſtaine and depart from the Realmes and dominions of the ſaid Soueraigne king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the ſpace of the ſaide three moneths: and alſo the Engliſh likewiſe in all reſpects ſhall auoide, abſtaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforeſaide.

Alſo it was promiſed by the ſaide William and Iohn, that at the terme appointed, namely vpon the firſt of May next following, or at ſome other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there muſt be made a due recompenſe, and a proportionall ſatiſfaction, for all thoſe perſons of the land of Pruſsia, Liuonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who haue vniuſtly bene drowned, and ſlaine by the Engliſh: and that according to the tenour of a certaine ſchedule written concerning a recompenſe to be had in regarde of the ſaide perſons drowned and ſlaine, and preſented vnto them by Albertus Rode conſul of the citie of Thoren, and by the forenamed procurators and meſſengers of the cities aforeſaid, they muſt faithfully and effectually, to the vtmoſt of their abilitie indeuour, for the obtaining of the ſaide recompenſe and amends. In witneſſe whereof (theſe letters of Indenture remaining in the poſſeſſion of the ſaide William and Iohn the meſſengers, procurators, & commiſſioners of England aforeſaid, and left in their cuſtodie, by the aboue named procurators and meſſengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and aſſurance) and for the full confirmation and teſtimonie of al the premiſſes, the foreſaid procurators and meſſengers haue put to their ſeales. Giuen in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe ſufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambaſſadours, procurators, meſſengers and commiſſioners, by our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the moleſtations, iniuries and damages vniuſtly done and committed againſt the liege people and ſubiectes of the foreſaide moſt excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok vnderwritten, their common coũſel being aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe, & authorized alſo, and as well cloſely as expreſly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common ſociety of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this preſent diet at the towne of Hage ſituate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very ſame occaſion, demaund of you Syr Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and ſufficiently ordeined by authority requiſite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and meſſengers of the ſaid cities, that conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatiſfaction and recompenſe may certainely and effectually be done vnto the iniuried and endamaged parties, who are ſpecified in the articles vnder written.

Newcaſtle.

An Engliſh ſhip of 200. tunnes.

Imprimis, that about the feaſt of Eaſter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howſoote, Peter Hawſoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wiſmer and of Roſtok, being of the ſocietie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ſhip of Newcaſtle vpon Tine, called Godezere ſailing vpon the Sea towards Pruſsia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiſord, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Cheſter: which ſhip, together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure hundred pounds: alſo the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the ſummes of money contained in the ſaid ſhip amounted vnto the value of 200. marks of Engliſh money: moreouer they vniuſtly ſlew Iohn Patanſon and Iohn Ruſſell in the ſurpriſing of the ſhippe and goods aforeſaide, and there they impriſoned the ſayde parties taken, and, to their vtter vndoing, detayned them in priſon for the ſpace of three whole yeeres.

Hull.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine perſons of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuſe of Hull of diuers goods and marchandizes in a ſhip called the Shipper Berline of Pruſſia; being then valued at 160. nobles.

Hull.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the aſſiſtance of the men of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway, wickedly and vniuſtly take from Iohn Tutteburie, fiue pieces of ware, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a laſt of oſmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred ſeuentie ſixe nobles.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainouſly and vniuſtly tooke a ſhippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thouſand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wiſmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimſon, and diuers others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway villainouſly and vniuſtly take a ſhippe of Iohn Wiſedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, ware, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboue written of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and vniuſtly took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of ware, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ſhip called the Hawkin Derlin of Danzik.

Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and of the Hans, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke out of a ſhip of Elbing (the maſter whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenſwither of Yorke, namely in werke, ware, oſmunds, and bowſtaues, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a ſhip of Holland (the maſter whereof was called Hinkenſwan) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Theſter of Yorke, and a cheſt, with armour, ſiluer and golde of the foreſaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

London.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fiſhes, to the value of 133. li. 6. s.

London.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feaſt of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wiſmer marchant of the Hans, with the aſſiſtance of other his complices of the Hans aforeſaide, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London fiue laſts of herrings, beſides 32. pounds, in the ſea called Northſound.

Colcheſter.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wiſle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a ſhip of Pruſſia (whereof the maſter was named Rorebek) from Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colcheſter two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Fliſpe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the ſame town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the ſame towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the ſame town, two farpels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. & from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the ſame towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreouer they tooke and impriſoned certaine Engliſh men, which were in the ſaid ſhip, namely William Fubborne ſeruant vnto Iohn Diere, Thomas Merſh ſeruant vnto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ranſome 20. nobles of Engliſh money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforeſaide, which William, by reaſon of the extremity of that impriſonment, loſt the ſight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foreſaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunſome twentie nobles.

Yermouth.

Norwich.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, vpon the coaſtes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine ſhippe of Elbing in Pruſſia (whereof one Clays Goldeſmith was maſter) with diuers woollen clothes of the ſaide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thouſande marks Engliſh, and carried the perſons and goods aforeſaide, away with them: and the ſaid Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they impriſoned at Courtbuttreſſow, and there detained them, vntill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption.

Yermouth.

Longſound in Norway.

Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. ſome of the inhabitants of Wiſmer and of Roſtok wickedly tooke at Longſound in Norway, a certaine ſhippe of Weſt-Stowe in Zeland (the Maſter whereof was one Gerard Dediſſen) laden with diuerſe goods and marchandiſes of Iohn Hughſon of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of ſheepe, with butter, maſts, ſparres, boordes, queſtingſtones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the ſaid things in their poſſeſſion, ſome of the Hans being their aſſiſtants in the premiſſes.

Yermouth.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Roſtok, and of Wiſmer, tooke vpon the coaſt of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the maſter) laden with bay ſalt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thouſand canuaſſe clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the ſaide goods in their poſſeſſion, the ſaid Hugh being endamaged, by the loſſe of his ſhip, and of his goods aforeſaid 800. nobles and the foreſaid Maſter and the mariners looſing, in regard of their wages, canuas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Yermouth. Selaw in Norway.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer wickedly and vniuſtly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ſhip of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the maſter Thomas Smith) laden with ſalt, cloth, and ſalmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the ſaid ſhip and goods in their poſſeſſion, ſome of the Hans their confederates ayding and aſſiſting them at the ſame time.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke vpon the ſea a certain ſhip of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was maſter) and conueighed the ſaid ſhip vnto Mauſtrond in Norway, and the ſaide Maſter and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and ſalt fiſhes being in the ſame ſhip, to the value of 500. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of one William Bets of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was maſter) and conueyed the ſhip it ſelf vnto Mawſtrond in Norway, and there robbed the maſter and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and ſalt fiſhes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the ſaid maſters mates they maliciouſly drowned.

Cley.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully took vpon the ſea a certain ſhip of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Letis of Cley called the Nicholas, (whereof Iohn Preſt was maſter) and conueyed the ſaid ſhip vnto Mawſtrond, and there robbed the ſaid maſter and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and ſalt fiſhes, being in the ſaid ſhip, to the value of 320. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt aforeſaid, the ſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans vniuſtly took vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Iſabel (whereof William Noie was maſter) and conueyed it vnto Mawſtrond, and there robbed the ſaid maſter and his company of diuers commodities, as namely of furniture, and ſalt fiſhes, being in the ſaid ſhip, to the value of 406. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saterday, about the foreſaid feaſt, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully took vpō the ſea, a certain ſhip of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was maſter, & alſo wickedly and vniuſtly drowned in the bottom of the ſea diuers commodities, as namely ſalt fiſhes, together with the ſhip it ſelfe.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feaſt of S. Michael the archangel, the foreſaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their cōfederats of the Hans, took at Langſound in Norway a certain craper of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was maſter) & the foreſaid craper they wickedly and vniuſtly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniuſtly tooke a certain ſhip of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ſhip, and the Peter of Wiueton, laden with ſalt fiſhes (whereof Iohn Auſten was maſter) vpon the coaſt of Denmarke. And they caried away the ſaide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foreſaid ſalt fiſhes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreouer, the maſter, and 25. mariners in the ſame ſhip they maliciouſly ſlewe, and a certaine ladde of the ſaide

Dogger they caried with them vnto Wiſmer.

Wiueton.

Item, in the foreſaid yeere, and about the feaſt aforeſaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of Thomas Lyderpole, and Iohn Coote of Wiueton: and the maſter and mariners which were in the ſaide ſhippe, they villanouſly ſlue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godſonne, nephew, and ſeruant of the foreſaid Simon Durham. Which ſhip, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the very ſame yeere, about the feaſt aforeſaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker & other their complices wickedly ſpoiled a certaine ſhip of the foreſaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Geruaſe Cat was maſter, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fiſhing, and likewiſe vniuſtly tooke away with them the ſalt fiſhes, and furniture of the ſaid ſhip. Moreouer, the maſter and his company that were in the ſaid Dogger they beate and wounded, ſo that they vtterly loſt their fiſhing for that yeere, the maſter and his ſaid companie being endamaged thereby, to the ſumme of 200. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foreſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea a certain crayer, called the Buſſ of Zeland, which one Iohn Ligate marchant, and ſeruant vnto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Pruſſia, on the behalfe of the ſaid Simon, to ſaile for England, and ſpoiled the ſaid craier, and alſo tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandiſes of the ſaid Simon, being in the foreſaid ſhip, to the value of 66. pounds.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Buſſhip, which Alan Barret the ſeruant and factor of the foreſaid Simon Durham had laden with maſtes, ſparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the ſaid Simon, and vniuſtly tooke from thence the goods of the ſaid Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the ſame away.

Lenne.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and others of the Hans vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foreſaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Pruſſia.

Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, & affirme, that about the feaſt of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. ſundry malefactors and robbers of Wiſmer & Roſtok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ſhips, arriued at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the ſaid town by ſtrong aſſault, and alſo wickedly and vniuſtly took al the marchants of Lenne there reſiding with their goods & cattels, and burnt their houſes and manſions in the ſame place, and put their perſons vnto great ranſoms: euen as by the letters of ſafeconduct deliuered vnto the ſaid marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great damage and impoueriſhment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houſes belonging vnto the ſaid marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

21. houſes of Engliſh marchants burnt at Norbern in Norway.

Concerning this ſurpriſe *Albertus Krantzius* in the ſixt book of his hiſtory of *Norway*, and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

The Vitalians.

In the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus king of Succia, who had now ſeuen yeeres continued in captiuity vnder Queen Margaret, was to be ſet at liberty. Which, when the common ſouldiers of Roſtok & Wiſmer, called the Vitalians perceiued, (who, whileſt their king was holden captiue, in the right of the forenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vndertooke and waged warre al the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they reſolued, at their own coſts & charges, but in the right of the ſaid cities, to ſaile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take ſuch ſpoiles as they could lay hold on. Theſe common ſouldiers therfore, ſeeing an end of their tyrannical and violent dealing to approch, ſailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a mart town for al the marchants of Germanie: who tranſporting fiſhes from thence, doe bring thither marchandiſes of all kinds, eſpecially corne, vnto the ſcarcitie wherof, vnleſſe it be brought out of other countreys, that kingdome (as we haue ſaid) is very much ſubiect. Departing out of their ſhips and going on ſhore, they ſet vpon the towne, and by fire and ſword they eaſily compelled the inhabitants dwelling in weake wooden houſes, to giue place. Thus theſe Vitalians entring and ſurpriſing the towne conueyed ſuch ſpoiles vnto their ſhips as them pleaſed, and hauing laden their ſhips with thoſe booties, they returned home frolike vnto the ports of their own cities. Without all reſpect, they robbed and rifled the goods, aſwel of the Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, waſting and making hauock of all things, proued themſelues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guiſe of ſuch good fellowes to ſtore vp or to preſerue ought. The citizens, at the firſt, ſeemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man miſdoubting any ſuch calamitie) goods ill gotten were worſe ſpent. Thus farre Krantzius.

Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining, the foreſaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feaſt of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboue written, as 4. ſhips of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandiſes, were ſailing vpon the maine ſea, with all the goods and wares conteined in them, for Pruſſia, ſundry malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ſhips, came vpon them, and by force of armes and ſtrong hand tooke the ſaid ſhips, with the goods and marchandiſes contained in them: and ſome of the people which were in the ſaide foure ſhips, they ſlew, ſome they ſpoyled, and others they put vnto extreame ranſomes. And carying away with them thoſe foure ſhips with the commodities and marchandiſe therin, they parted ſtakes therwith, as them liſted, to the great impouerishment & loſſe of the ſaid marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Sileſden, Tho. Waterden, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Weſenhã, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623.li.5.s.11.d.

Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine ſea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with oſmunds, and with diuers other marchandiſes, perteining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the ſumme and value of 443.li.4.s.2.d. Moreouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. laſts and an halfe of oſmunds, to the value of 220.lib.10.s.

Lenne.

Item, the foreſaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactors of Wiſmer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ſhip ſailing vpon the maine ſea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Snycop was maſter) cloth and other marchandiſe, to the ſumme and value of 13.lib.13.s.4.d.

Lenne.

Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine ſaying, that certaine malefactors of Wiſmer, with others of the Hans ſociety, in the yere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a certaine ſhip of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Ruſſe was maſter) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel of cloth worth 52.li.7.s.6.d. Alſo, for the ranſome of his ſeruant, 8.li.6.s.8.d. Item, they tooke from Thomas Earle diuers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

Lenne.

Item, the foreſaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactors of Wiſmer & Roſtok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly & vniuſtly tooke one crayer pertayning vnto Iohn Lakinglich of Lenne, laden with diuers goods and marchandiſe pertaining vnto ſundry marchants of Lenne, namely from the forenamed Iohn one fardel of cloth, and one cheſt full of harneis, and other things, to the value of 90. lib. Item, they took out of the foreſaid ſhip from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one cheſt with diuers goods, to the value of 58. lib. Item, from Iohn Pikeron, one fardell of cloth, and one cheſt with diuers goods, to the value of 440. lib. Item, from Andrew Purſer one fardell of cloth, and one cheſt with diuers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Lenne.

Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine ſaying, that certaine malefactors of Wiſmer & Roſtok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel, Henric van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and vniuſtly took from Iohn Priour of Lenne, out of the ſhip of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. neſts of maſers, worth 100. lib.13.s.4.d. Item, 30. furres rigges of Kaleber worth 13.s.4.d. apiece, the ſumme totall amounting to 20.li. Item, 20. furres wombys of Kalebre worth &c. Item, one girdle of ſiluer, and one dagger adorned with ſiluer worth 30.s. Item, two coates, and one long iacket, and other goods, to the value of 30.s. Item, he paide for his ranſome 4.lib.13.s.4.d.

Note the ſecret treaſons of the Hans.

Vnto all and ſingular the articles aboue-written, the ambaſſadors of England aforeſaid do further adde, that the doers and authors of the damages, iniuries, and robberies ſet down in the articles aboue written, (of whom ſome are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all thoſe outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenſes and charges of the common ſocieties of the cities aforeſaid. And that the inhabitants of euery houſhold in the foreſaide cities (each man according to his ability) wittingly & purpoſely ſet foorth one, two, or more men, for the very ſame expedition, wherein all and ſingular the foreſaid treſpaſſes were committed.

The foreſaid Engliſh ambaſſadors doe exhibite the articles aboue written vnto the procurators of the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok aforeſaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reſerued vnto the ſaid ambaſſadors, to enlarge, or to diminiſh, or to expound all, or euery, or any of the ſaid Articles whatſoeuer, ſo often as it ſhall ſeeme expedient vnto them.

Theſe be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the *Hans* of *Almaine*, comming vnto, and reſiding in the Realme of England, doe finde themſelues aggrieued, contrarie to the Articles and *priuileges of the Charter graunted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and alſo by the ſaide ſoueraigne Lord the King ratified, and confirmed.*

IMprimis, whereas the foreſaide marchants haue a priuilege graunted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towns and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exerciſe traffique in groſſe, as wel with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with ſtrangers, and priuate perſons: of late, thoſe that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foreſaid kingdome, do hinder and reſtrain all others that be ſtrangers, foreners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and ſel with the marchants of the Hans aforeſaid, to their great hinderance and loſſe.

Item, the foreſaid marchants by vertue of their charter were wont to haue and to hold Innes and manſions, for the repoſing of themſelues and of their goods, whereſoeuer they pleaſed in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome: howbeit of late the foreſaide marchants are not ſuffered to take vp their manſions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impoſitions, but onely to pay certaine cuſtoms, as it doeth by their charter manifeſtly appeare. Notwithſtanding at yͤ ſame time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foreſaid marchants were conſtrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other ſubſidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the ſaide marchants proſecuted the matter before the Councel of our ſoueraign lord the king, inſomuch that they were releaſed from paying afterward any ſuch tallages, fifteenths, and ſubſidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes ſterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforeſaide ſhould not at any time after exact or demaund of the ſaid marchants, or of their ſucceſſors, any tallages, fifteenths, or ſubſidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foreſaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foreſaid ward of Doue-gate, conſtrained the marchants aforeſaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, & other ſubſidies, And becauſe the ſaide marchants murmured and refuſed to pay any ſuch contributions, alleaging their priuileges, the foreſaid officers arreſted the goods of thoſe ſaid marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the areſt) notwithſtanding that they were releaſed before the councel of our ſoueraigne lord the king, & alſo that they gaue vnto the ſaid gild-hall one hundreth marks to be releaſed, as it is aforeſaid. And alſo the foreſaid marchants were conſtrained to pay 12.d. in the pound, and of late 6.d. and other ſubſidies, more then their ancient cuſtomes, to the great damage of thoſe marchants.

The ancient cuſtomes of wools.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged as touching cuſtoms of wols by thẽ bought within the realm of England, yͭ they are not bound to pay, ouer & beſides their ancient cuſtoms, but onely xl.d. more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now yͤ foreſaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery ſack of wool (beſides yͤ ancient cuſtom & the 40.d. aforeſaid) a certain impoſitiõ called Pence for the town of Cales, namely for euery ſack of wool 19.d. more then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great loſſe, & againſt the liberty of their charter.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3.d. for the worth of euery pound of ſiluer) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their maſters and of their companies, if they were able to ſhew them. And if ſo be they had no letters in this behalfe to ſhew, that then credite ſhould bee giuen vnto themſelues, and that their othe, or the othe of their atturney ſhould be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize ſo brought in, & that thereupon they ſhould be bound to pay cuſtoms, namely the cuſtomes of 3.d. iuſtly for that cauſe to be paid. But nowe the cuſtomers of our ſoueraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay cuſtome for their goods, at their pleaſure, ſcanning about their fraight and expenſes particularly diſburſed in regard of the ſaid goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the ſaid marchants, and againſt the tenor of their charter.

The great charter of marchants.

Item, the foreſaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the ſaide great charter, graunted libertie vnto them to pay the cuſtomes of certain clothes, namely of ſkarlet, and cloth died in grayne, A ſpeciall Charter.

The cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome.

and of other clothes of aſſiſe, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their foreſaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our ſoueraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the ſaide charter, and being willing that they ſhoulde haue more eſpeciall fauour ſhewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the ſaid marchants ſhould be exempted and freed from all cuſtome and impoſition of ſmall clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of aſſiſe, and in ſuch other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Cuſtomers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their ſaide ſpeciall Charter ſo graunted vnto the marchants aforeſaid, do compel them to pay for ſtraight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of aſſiſe, (together with other demands particularly & ſeuerally made) as great cuſtome as if the clothes were full out of aſſiſe. Moreouer alſo of late, the cuſtomers of the ſmal or pety cuſtome & of the ſubſidie doe demand of them cuſtome for kerſey-clothes equal vnto the cuſtome of thoſe clothes, that be of ful aſſiſe, whereas the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for thoſe kerſeys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of ſiluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foreſaid parties, and againſt the manifeſt graunt of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the ſaid ſpeciall Charter.

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Item, the ſaid marchants alleage, that they are priuiledged by their Charter, if they pay cuſtome and ſubſidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where thoſe goods haue arriued, and afterward would tranſport the ſaide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme aforeſaid: that then they ſhould be quite releaſed from paying of any other cuſtome for the ſame goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue paide the ſaide cuſtome, as is aforeſaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their ſocietie named Nicholas Croſſehaire, being a marchant of the lande of Pruſſia, immediatly after the concord was concluded betwene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a ſhippe laden with bow-ſtaues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the cuſtome of our lord the king, for all his wares: and ſelling there part of the ſame goods, he afterward tranſported parcel thereof in a ſmall barke vnto London, there to be ſolde, and caried a warrant alſo with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the cuſtome due vnto our lord the king: & yet (the ſaid warrant notwithſtanding) the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome & ſubſidy of London came & demanded cuſtome of him at another time cōtrary to reaſon, & againſt the tenor of their charter: and the ſaid Nicholas offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the queſtion were diſcuſſed and determined, whether he ſhould pay new cuſtome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the ſaid Nicholas brought a brief from our lord the king, to get himſelfe diſcharged from paying the ſaid cuſtome: and for all that, the foreſaid cuſtomers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the ſaid goods within ſhipboord, vpō the riuer of Thames, for the ſpace of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another cuſtom, to the great loſſe of the ſaid Nicholas, for that which he ſold firſt at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for ſeuen nobles, he could not afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet ſo was it ſolde, by reaſon of the harme which his wares had taken by lying ſo long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

Itē, the ſaid marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertſon bought at Briſtow certain clothes, & laded the ſame in a ſhip, to be tranſported for Pruſſia, for the which he truely paide at Briſtow, the cuſtoms & ſubſidies due vnto our ſoueraign lord the king: which ſhip with the foreſaid goods arriuing at London: the cuſtomers of the pety-cuſtome and of the ſubſidie there would not permit the ſaid ſhip with the goods to paſſe vnto the parts aforeſaid, vntil the ſaid Peter had paid another cuſtome for the ſame goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithſtanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

The cuſtomers of the ſubſidie.

Itē, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a ſchedule wherein his name was written, for a ſpecification & certificat of the quantity of his goods in the ſaid ſchedule to be found at the arriual of the ſhip, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome do compel thē to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at yͤ arriual of their goods out of euery ſhip wherein the ſaid goods are found, what commodities & marchandize ſoeuer they be: whenas notwithſtanding, if there be a cheſt or any other ſmal matter, there ſhould not therfore be any cuſtome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maieſties vſe. In like maner do the cuſtomers of the ſubſidy deale. Wheras alſo the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance & tranſportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written therein) more then 4. d. of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtom do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the ſame cocket, 4. d. and in like ſort do the cuſtomers of the ſaide ſubſidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it ſelf vnto a great ſumme, to the vnknown preiudice of our lord the king, more then any man could ſuppoſe, (for the cuſtomers enioy their fees and commodities from his Maieſtie that they may doe him faithfull ſeruice) and likewiſe to the great damage of the ſaid marchants.

Itẽ, pitifully complaining the ſaid marchants do alleage that they are conſtrained to pay for ſubſidy, ſometime 12.d. and ſomtime 6.d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithſtanding when their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the cuſtomers prolong & delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they wil take cuſtome for their goods, in the which ſpace other marchants ſel their goods, the cuſtomers not regarding whether the goods aforeſaid take wet or no; to the great damage aſwel of our lord the king, as of the ſaid marchants: becauſe, if they had quicke diſpatch, they might pay cuſtome vnto his Maieſtie oftner then they doe.

Item, the ſaid marchants doe farther alleage, that the cuſtomers of the petie cuſtome, and of the ſubſidie in the port of London haue appointed among themſelues certaine men to ſeale vp the goods of the ſaide marchants, ſo ſoon as they are arriued at the port of ſafetie, vntil the ſaid goods be cuſtomed. By meanes of the which ſealing, the foreſaide parties doe compell the marchants aboue-named, (vpon an vſe and cuſtome whereof themſelues haue bene the authors) to paye a certaine ſumme of money, to the great hinderance of the ſayde marchants, and contrarie to iuſtice and to their charter. Moreouer, the ſaide cuſtomers haue ordained betweene themſelues, that the ſaide marchants ſhall put or make vp no cloth into fardels, to tranſport out of the realme, vnleſſe certaine men appointed by them for the ſame purpoſe bee there preſent, to ſee what maner of clothes they bee, vnder paine of the forfeiture of the ſaide goods. Alſo of late, when the ſayde marchants would haue made vp ſuch fardels, the foreſayde parties aſſigned to be ouerſeers refuſed to come, vnleſſe they might haue for their comming ſome certaine ſumme of money, delaying and procraſtinating from day to day, ſo long as themſelues liſted, to the great loſſe and vndoing of the foreſaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: becauſe the foreſaide cuſtomers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therefore to bee paide vnto them by the ſaide marchants: for that they doe enioy from our ſoueraigne Lorde the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may ſerue him and euery marchant iuſtly and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be impoſed anewe vpon the ſayde marchants, of cuſtome.

Item, the ſaid marchants doe alleage, that the cuſtomers & bailifs of the town of Southhampton do compel them to pay for euery laſt of herrings, pitch, & ſope aſhes brought thither by thẽ 2.s. more then the kings cuſtome: and for ech hundreth of bowſtaues & boords called Waghenſcot, 2.d. for euery hundreth of boords called Richolt, 4.d. & for al other marchandize brought by the foreſaid marchants vnto the ſame towne: which contributions they neuer paid at any time heeretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewiſh of Pruſſia, bringing diuers goods & marchandizes vnto Newcaſtle vpon Tine, & there paying the vſual cuſtom of 3.d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailifs of the ſaide towne, againſt all reaſon, exacted 7. pound ſterling at his hands more then the cuſtome: whereupon the foreſaide marchant got a briefe from the kings maieſty, for the recouery of the ſaid 7.li. according to equity & reaſon: howbeit, that at the comming of the ſaid briefe the foreſaid bailifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue ſlaine their foreſaid aſſociate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Eſturmy knight, & Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne, being by yͤ moſt mighty prince & lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England & France & lord of Ireland, ſufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, & agree wͭ the common ſociety of yͤ marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning & about the redreſſing & reformation of vniuſt attẽpts happening between our ſaid ſoueraign L. the king his liege people & ſubiects on the one part, & between the cõmon ſociety aforeſaid, the cities, towns, & particular perſons therof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our ſaid ſouraign L. the king, with a mind & intention to haue al & ſingular yͤ things vnderwritten to come to the knowledge of the ſaid common ſociety) intimate, declare, & make known vnto you (hond. ſirs) Henr. Weſthoff citizen & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, & deputy of the city of Hamburgh, M. Simõ Clawſten clerk, ſir Iohn de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Roſtok, Herman Meyer deputy of the citie of Wiſmar, being, as the procurators, meſſengers, & commiſſioners of the foreſaid cities, aſſembled together at the town of Hage in Holland, with yͤ forenamed Will. & Iohn in regard of the foreſaid redres & reformation: that, euen as our ſaid ſoueraign L. the king his meaning is not to diſturb or hinder ſuch priuiledges as haue bin heretofore granted & vouchſafed vnto the cõmon ſociety of the marchãts aforeſaid, by the renoumed kings of England, & the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, & by himſelf alſo vnder a certain form confirmed: euen ſo he is determined (without yͤ preiudice of forren lawes) vpon iuſt, mature and ſober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withſtand ſuch priuiledges, as by reaſon of the abuſe thereof; haue bene infinitely preiudiciall vnto himſelfe and his ſubiects.

Inprimis the ſaid ambaſſadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and euery the Marchants of the ſaid company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories & dominions ſubiect vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king, admitted and ſuffered (according to the tenor of the forenamed priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and ſecurely to traffique and conuerſe with any of his Maieſties liege people and ſubiects whatſoeuer, or with other people of whatſoeuer nation liuing in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforeſaid: the ſaid common ſociety of marchants by their publike & deliberate common counſel did appoint & ordain, yͭ no ſociety in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any ſuch ſociety (there being no lawfull or reaſonable cauſe why) ſhoulde in any wiſe admit any marchants of the realm of England reſorting vnto their cities or other places for marchandiſe, to enioy intercourſe of traffike: but that the ſaide Engliſh marchants ſhould bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall conuerſation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants alſo of the foreſaid ſocietie practiſing the contrary.

Item, that immediatly after, the foreſaid parties enacting and ordaining publiſhed their ſayde ſtatute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the ſaid ſocietie were conuerſant.

Item, that after that publication, the ſtatute and ordinance aforeſaid by euery of the marchants of the forenamed ſociety were inuiolably obſerued.

Item, that the ſaid ſtatute and ordinance hath bene ſo rigorouſly put in execution, that whereas immediatly after certaine Engliſh marchants with their ſhips, mariners, and marchandize beeing in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foreſaide ſocietie, vtterly deſtitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to ſell their wollen clothes of England, onely to prouide themſelues of neceſſary victuals: yet the marchants of the ſaide citie, ſtoutely perſiſting in their ſtatute and ordinance aforeſaid, ſtraightely prohibited the buying of ſuch clothes, vnchriſtianly denying meate and drinke vnto the ſaid Engliſh marchants.

Item, the foreſaid ſociety decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the ſaide company ſhould in any place or countrey whatſoeuer, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by Engliſh men) or, hauing bought any, ſhould, after the terme prefixed, ſel them, impoſing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, beſides the forfeiture of the clothes ſo bought or ſold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the ſaid ſtatute and ordinance, the foreſaide ſocietie decreed, that all marchants of the ſaid companie, hauing among their wares and marchandiſe any woollen clothes made in England, ſhould either ſell the ſaide clothes, or within a ſhort ſpace then limited ſhould, vnder penaltie of forfeiting the ſaid clothes, vtterly renounce the vſe and commoditie thereof: Not withſtāding a grieuous penaltie of money being impoſed vpon the violaters of the ſame ſtatute.

The Hans ſocietie determineth the ouerthrow of Engliſh marchāts.

Item, that the ſtatutes and ordinances aforeſaid might with more ſpeed and celerity be put in execution, the ſaid authors and publiſhers thereof imagining, according to their deſire, that by this meanes an vtter extirpation and ouerthrow of Engliſh marchants might, yea & of neceſſity muſt enſue: vpon their ſerious & long premeditated deliberation, ſtraitely commanded & inioyned, vnder pain of loſing the benefit of all priuileges, wheresoeuer, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magiſtrates of what Cities or townes ſoeuer vouchſafed vnto the ſaid common ſocietie, that not only the aldermen of that ſociety in al places throughout the realme of England, but alſo al other marchants of the ſaid company, after the maner of marchants conuerſing in the ſaide Realme, ſhould, without exception of perſons, vtterly abſtein from all intercourſe of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforeſaid: yea, and that they ſhoulde depart out of the ſaid kingdome within a very ſhort ſpace limited. For the diſpatching of al which premiſſes without delay, it was according to their commandement effectually prouided.

Statutes againſt yͤ Engliſh marchants in Norway and in Swedland.

Item, that the ſociety aforeſaid hath approued diuers very vnreaſonable ſtatutes & ordinances, made & publiſhed by the marchants of the ſame ſociety reſiding in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great preiudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet doth couertly and expreſly do approue the ſame, vniuſtly putting them in daily execution.

Item, whereas in the priuileges & indulgences granted by yͤ renoumed princes ſomtimes kings of Englād, yͭ worthy progenitors of our ſoueraign lord the king yͭ now is, vnto the ſociety aforeſaid, it is prouided, yͭ the ſaid marchants ſhal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor ſhal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company: whereas alſo in the confirmation of the ſayd priuiledges made by our ſoueraigne lord that nowe is, it is manifeſtly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, vnder the colour of their priuiledges in England, ſhall not vpon paine of the perpetuall fruſtration and reuocation of the foreſayd priuiledges, receiue any ſtranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings cuſtome may in any ſort be withholden or diminiſhed: & yet the contrary vnto al theſe prouiſoes hath bin euery yere, for theſe 20. yeres or thereabout notoriouſly practiſed and committed, as well ioyntly by the generall counſell, and toleration of the foreſayd ſociety, as alſo ſeuerally by the aduiſe and permiſſion of diuers particular cities of the foreſayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maieſties cuſtome, the eſtimation whereof the foreſayd ambaſſadors are not able at this preſent fully to declare. But that all occaſions of the laſt aboue mentioned diminution may bee preuented for the time to come, the ſayd ambaſſadors doe demand to haue from the foreſayd ſocietie a declaration in writing, what and what maner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the ſayd ſociety challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enioy the priuiledges granted vnto their marchants, as is aboue mentioned.

How many & which be the Hans townes.

Moreouer, it is required by the foreſaid ambaſſadors, if the ſocietie aforeſayd hath not decreed nor ordayned the things aboue written, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining ſuch ſtatutes & ordinances, may by the ſayd common ſociety either now or at ſome other times and places conuenient for the ſame purpoſe, be expreſſed and ſet downe in writing.

A letter of *Henry* the fourth king of *England* &c. vnto *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* the maſter generall of *Pruſsia.*

Henrie &c. to the moſt noble and mighty perſonage of ſacred religion Fr: Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our moſt deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your meſſengers and ambaſſadors were of late perſonally preſent in Holland, and there expected the arriual of our ambaſſadors vntill the firſt day of the moneth of Nouember laſt expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie prouided in regard of certaine iniuries pretended to be offered, by both our ſubiects one againſt another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to haue ſent vnto Dordract, at the foreſaid daye, our welbeloued and faithfull knight William Sturmy, and our welbeloued clerke Iohn Kington, vpon our ambaſſage-affayres: hauing as yet in our deſires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our foreſayd ambaſſadors, by reaſon of the ſhortnes of time, or the finding out of ſome other remedie and happy concluſion of all and ſingular the foreſaid attempts concerning the principall buſines, could by no meanes at that inſtant attaine vnto) that vpon ſome other more conuenient day (to the end your ambaſſadors might not returne home altogether fruſtrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conferẽce & agreement with your foreſayd ambaſſadors, euen as by other letters of ours directed vnto your ſayd ambaſſadors the ſecond day of the moneth of Nouember aforeſayd wee haue deliuered our mind vnto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambaſſadors into their owne countrey, that no ſufficient ſhipping could be found wherein our ſayd ambaſſadors might haue ſecure and ſafe paſſage vnto Dordract, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they ſhould get any paſſage at all, till the ſhips at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the more ſtrongly wafted ouer. And ſo by reaſon of the departure of your ambaſſadours, all matters remaine in ſuſpenſe till ſuch time as the ſayd ambaſſadors ſhall againe meete with ours to adde perfection vnto the buſines as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend vnfainedly beloued) deſiring from the bottome of our heart that the integritie of loue, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our & your ſubiects, may in time to come alſo be kept inuiolable, we haue thought good once again to ſend one of our foreſaid ambaſſadors, namely William Eſturmy knight to Dordract, giuing him charge thither to make haſte, and there to ſtay, till ſome of your meſſengers, at your commandement doe in time conuenient repayre vnto that place, there (by Gods aſſiſtance) to bring the matter vnto an happy concluſion. May it pleaſe you therefore of your vnfayned friendſhip, without all inconuenience of delay, to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our forenamed knight an anſwere in writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it ſeeme ſtrange vnto you, that we haue not at this preſent ſent our forenamed Iohn Kington clerke together with the ſayd William: for the cauſe of his abode with vs is, that he may in the meane ſeaſon employ his care and diligence about thoſe matters which muſt be preparatiues for the finall concluſion of the foreſayd buſines. Honorable ſir, and moſt deare friend, we doe moſt heartily wiſh increaſe of proſperity and ioy vnto your perſon. Giuen in our palace of Weſtminſter the 14. day of Feb. in the yeare of our Lord 1407. 1407.

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir *VVilliam Sturmy* ſent at this preſent by the moſt ſoueraigne King of *England* &c. as his ambaſſadour vnto *Dordract*, his moſt ſincere friend.

Honorable ſir, our moſt entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of the moſt mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, ſent vnto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of February (which we receiued at our caſtle of Marienburgh the 11. of April) containing, amongſt other matters, that his Maieſties purpoſe was once againe to ſende one of his ambaſſadors, namely your ſelfe our very ſincere friend vnto Dordract, giuing you in charge that you would make haſte thither & there ſtay, vntill ſome of our ſubiects might at our commandemēt, in conuenient time repaire vnto the ſame place, there (by Gods aſſiſtance) to bring our matters vnto a happy concluſion. And then he requeſted that wee ſhould without delay write our determination vnto you, as the concluſion of the ſaid letter importeth. Howbeit (our moſt deare friend) the treaties & conferences about the redreſſe or reformation of vniuſt attempts committed by the ſubiects of our ſayd lord the king & our ſubiects, one againſt another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common ſocietie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And ſo our commiſſioners vpon our full and abſolute commandement, ſhal, for the managing of theſe and of other affaires of the foreſaid ſocietie, many waies vrgent and difficult, vpon the feaſt of our Lords Aſcenſion next to come, meet with the ſaid ſocietie at Lubec, there to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this preſent buſines & in others for their owne behalfe. For we wil giue our ambaſſadours which are there to appeare, ſtreightly in charge that according to the kings requeſt aforeſayde they doe without delay procure an anſwere to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the foreſayd ſocietie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in *Elbing*, general vice-maſter and lieutenant in the roome of the Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. *Marie* &c. of late deceaſed.

The letters of *Henry* the 4. king of *England* &c. vnto *Vlricus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of *Pruſsia*, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the laſt agreement made at *Hage* in *Holland*.

A meeting at Hage the 28. of Auguſt 1407.

Henry &c. vnto the honourable and religious perſonage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our moſt deare friend, greeting and dayly increaſe of our accuſtomed amity and friendſhip. We doe by theſe preſents giue your honour to vnderſtand, that our faithfull & welbeloued William Eſturmy knight, and Maſter Iohn Kington clerke, our ambaſſadors and meſſengers ſent of late on our behalfe, vnto the preſence of your predeceſſour for the redreſſing of certaine grieuances and damages being contrary to iuſtice offered againſt vs and our liege ſubiects by the people & ſubiects of your predeceſſors, & againſt them alſo by our ſubiects as it is aforeſayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation vnto vs and to our counſell, that hauing conferred with your forenamed predeceſſour about the foreſayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely firſt of all, that at a certaine day and place they ſhould meete in Holland with his ambaſſadors and meſſengers, to hold a friendly conference between them about the redreſſing and reformation of the grieuances and damages aforeſayd: and that they ſhould by the equall waight of diligent examination ponder, & in the balance of iuſtice diſcuſſe & define al & ſingular the foreſaid grieuances & damages inflicted on both parts. Howbeit at length after ſundry prorogations then made & continued on this behalfe, our ambaſſadors & meſſengers aforeſaid vpon the 28. of Auguſt laſt paſt, aſſembling themſelues for our part at the towne of Hage in Holland, the hon. & diſcreete perſonages Arnold Heket burgomaſter of the towne of Dantzik, & Iohn Crolowe, for the behalf of your ſubiects of Pruſſia, and Tidman de Meule, & Iohn Epenſcheid for the behalfe of Liuonia, being aſſembled as meſſengers and commiſſioners about the redreſſe and reformation aforeſayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our ambaſſadours and meſſengers abouenamed 25034. nobles & half a noble, for the grieuances & damages offered (as it was thē ſaid) to your ſubiects of Pruſſia, and 24082. nobles, 12. s. 8. d. in recompenſe of the damages offered vnto thoſe your ſubiects of Liuonia. And when the ſubſtance of thoſe articles about the grieuances & loſſes aforeſayd was by the ſayd ambaſſadours and meſſengers thoroughly examined and diſcuſſed, by their generall conſent it was finally agreed, that your ſubiects, in conſideration of all and ſingular the foreſayd grieuances and damages offered vnto them by our people, should within three yeares after the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, at three equall payments receiue from vs, namely they of Pruſsia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liuonia 22496. nobles, ſixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, and no more, ſo that we our ſelues thought good to condeſcend thereunto. Howbeit, foraſmuch as certaine other articles of your ſubiects of Pruſsia, and alſo certaine articles in the behalfe of our ſubiects containing grieuous complaints in them, being propounded before the ambaſſadors & meſſengers aforeſaid, for the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages & grieuances offered on both parts, could not as thē, for the great obſcurity of diuers of the ſayd articles, and alſo for want of ſufficiēt proofe at the laſt meeting appointed and held by the foreſayd ambaſſadors at the towne of Hage in Holland, ſufficiently to be examined, diſcuſſed, and defined, it was agreed vpon by the ambaſſadors and meſſengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then laſt expired vnto the feaſt of Eaſter now next enſuing, and from thenceforth within one whole yere immediatly following, the plaintiffes of both parts should thoroughly declare before our chancelour of England for the time being, the foreſayd obſcurities cōcerning the ſubſtance of their articles, and that they should, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of iuſtice at our ſayd chancelours hands, peremptorily miniſter neceſſary probations, vnder paine of perpetuall excluſion from the petition of thoſe things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

Prouided alwayes, that if at the laſt it ſhall be by lawfull proofes made manifeſt concerning the ſummes aboue written or any part or parcell thereof, that due ſatiſfaction hath beene made to him or them vnto whom it was due, or that thoſe goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your ſubiects haue pertained or doe appertaine vnto others, or any other iuſt, true, and reaſonable cauſe may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the foreſayd ſummes or any of them ought not to be performed: that then ſo much only is to be cut off or deducted from the ſayd ſummes as ſhall be found to be already payd or to pertaine vnto others, or elſe vpon ſome true, iuſt, and reaſonable cauſe (as is aforeſayd) not to be due. We therefore conſidering that the ſayd friendly conference, and the finall agreement enſuing thereupon are agreeable vnto reaſon and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very ſame conference and agreement. And foraſmuch as it hath bene alwayes our deſire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obſerued betweene our and your ſubiects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inuiolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our common weale but alſo for the commodity and peace of both parts, according to their woonted maner, aſſemble themſelues and enioy the faithfull and mutuall conuerſation one of another: we will cauſe in our citie of London, with the ſumme of 8957. nobles ſatiſfaction to bee made vnto the Pruſſians, and with the ſumme of 22496. nobles, ſixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompenſe to be performed vnto the Liuonians, in regard of the damages and iniuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our conſent) by our ſubiects offered vnto them, as it is aforeſayd, and within three yeares after the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing the ſayd ſummes of money to bee payed at three payments, and by three equall portions. Conditionally that vnto our ſubiects which be endamaged correſpondent ſatiſfaction be likewiſe on your part within the terme of the foreſayd three yeeres performed, with paying the ſummes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and alſo with the payment of ſuch ſummes as within one yeere immediately enſuing the feaſt of Eaſter aforeſayd, ſhalbe found by ſufficient delarations and proofes to be made on the behalfe of our ſubiects (as is aforeſayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make ſatiſfaction vnto your ſubiects within our citie aforeſayd. Now as touching the requeſt of your ambaſſadors and of the Liuonians, whereby we were required to procure ſome holeſome remedy for the ſoules of certaine drowned perſons, as conſcience and religion ſeemeth to challenge (in regard of whom we are moued with compaſſion, and do for their ſakes heartily condole their miſhaps) you are (our entier friend) of a certaintie to vnderſtand, that after we ſhall be by your letters aduertized of the number, ſtate, and condition of the ſayd parties drowned, we will cauſe ſuffrages of prayers and diuers other holeſome remedies profitable for the ſoules of the deceaſed and acceptable to God and men, religiouſly to be ordained and prouided: vpon condition, that for the ſoules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie prouided by you. The almighty grant vnto your ſelfe and vnto your whole Order, that you may proſperouſly triumph ouer the enemies of Chriſt his croſſe. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale at our palace of Weſtminſter the 26. of March, in the yere of our Lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

The letters of *Fr: Vlricus* Maſter of *Pruſsia* directed *vnto the king of* England, *ſignifying that he is contented with* the agreements concluded by his meſſengers at *Hage.*

To the moſt renowmed prince and mighty lord L. *Henrie* king of *England* and *France*, and lord of *Ireland*, our moſt gracious lord.

VNto your highnes pleaſure at all aſſaies humbly recommending my voluntarie ſeruice &c. Moſt renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becommeth vs, by our welbeloued Arnold de Daſſel the bearer of of theſe preſents, your Maieſties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongſt other matters of certaine appointments firſt made and concluded betweeen the noble and worthy perſonages William Eſturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambaſſadours and meſſengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtenſten great cõmander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hoſpitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treaſurer, being the procuratours and commiſſioners of Fra. Conradus de Iungingen our laſt predeceſſour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redreſſing, reformation, and amendement of vniuſt attempts committed on both ſides, at our caſtle of Marienburgh, and alſo very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth Auguſt in the yeare immediately paſt, betweene your foreſayde ambaſſadours William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clerke, for your part, and our truſty and welbeloued commiſſioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaſter of our citie of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolow citizen of the ſame citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowlege in this behalfe, our ſayd commiſſioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counſell, that aſſociating vnto themſelues our meſſengers of Liuonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epenſheid, together with your foreſaid ambaſſadours and meſſengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned ſummes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforeſayd. With this ſpeciall prouiſo, that in like manner ſatiſfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our damnified ſubiects of Pruſſia, namely ſuch whoſe goods or the true value thereof haue bene finally adiudged by the iudges or profeſſors of our lawes, and vnto ſuch who hauing brought their articles of complaints vnto the audience of the moſt dread and mighty prince and lorde, our lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes moſt ſoueraigne, were in concluſion to haue the eſtimations of their goods to be adiudged by the ſentence of the ſayd lord, with the aduiſe of two of his counſellers, and alſo vnto other of our ſubiects who haue brought in ſufficient proofe of damages vniuſtly inflicted vpon them by your ſubiects, ouer and beſides the premiſſes. So that in like maner ſatiſfaction be made vnto the common ſocietie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament ſet downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboue prouided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will reſt contented with our ſubiects in the courſes and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere vnto them in this behalfe. Afterward our meſſengers aforeſayd, both they of Pruſſia and of Liuonia demanded conuenient, iuſt, and ſpeedy ſatiſfaction, with the payment of all and ſingular the ſummes aboue mentioned, due vnto both parts (ſo farre foorth as equity and reaſon would yeeld vnto, for the recompenſe of the parties iniuried and endamaged on both ſides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt expired vnto the very ſame feaſt next to come in the yere immediatly following, & that in three ſeueral termes of payment, by three portions of the ſaid ſummes equally to be diuided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and ſtoode vpon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all vniuſt attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwiſe your ambaſſadors aforeſayd decreed that the ſayd ſatiſfaction ſhould be performed vnto the parties iniuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt. And when your ambaſſadours were not contented with the maner of ſatiſfaction ſet downe by our men, nor our commiſſioners were willing in any ſort to conſent vnto that courſe which was thought conuenient by your ambaſſadors, the honorable meſſengers of the ſea-townes of the Hans being there at that time preſent, made a motion that the foreſayd ſatiſfaction might be performed within two yeeres and an halfe, accompting from the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, often before mentioned: yet vnder a cer-

Here relation is had vnto ẏ king of the Romans.

a certaine prouocation, namely if both parties ſhould agree vnto that forme of ſatiſfaction, and if they ſhould thinke good finally and concluſiuely to yeeld their conſent vnto it. Which kind of ſatiſfaction alſo conceiued by the meſſengers, your ſayd ambaſſadours without giuing notice therof vnto your royall Maieſtie, refuſed finally to approue; being rather deſirous to make a true & faithfull report of the ſayd forme of ſatiſfaction laſt aboue mentioned vnto your kingly highneſſe, and that in ſuch ſorte, that (as they hoped) effectuall ſatiſfaction and payment of all and ſinguler the ſummes due and to bee due on both partes ſhould more conueniently and ſpeedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more ſpeedy and conuenient appointments of termes, for the ſayd ſatiſfaction friendly on both parts to be performed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (moſt mighty prince) albeit it was neuer the meaning of our foreſayd predeceſſor, ſo farfoorth as theſe affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the ſayd buſines ſo many and ſuch long diſtances of time, and that for diuers reſpects, both becauſe reſtitution vnto the parties robbed conſiſted herein, and alſo becauſe the ſayd reſtitutions and ſatiſfactions are to be made vnto poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miſerable creatures, diuerſly and miſerably ſlaine and oppreſſed: notwithſtanding we being moued with hearty & feruent zeale and ſpeciall affection vnto your royall crowne of England, and hauing due regard and conſideration of your moſt excellent Maieſtie, vpon the aduiſe of our honourable brethren our counſellers, doe thankfully receiue, & by the tenour of theſe preſents totally ratifie and approue ſuch ſatiſfactions of the foreſayd ſummes howſoeuer due vnto our ſubiects both Pruſſians and Liuonians, in friendly ſorte to be performed at ſuch times and ſeaſons limited and prefixed by your highnes as are expreſſed in your maieſties letters, and alſo of other ſummes which within one yeare immediately enſuing after the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, by ſufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London ſhall be found due vnto them. Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premiſſes. In like maner alſo we our ſelues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will procure ſatiſfaction to be without fayle performed vnto your ſubiects endamaged, with the ſumme of *766.* nobles, being in regard of their loſſes, of the which they haue giuen vp ſufficient informations, due vnto them: and with other like ſummes alſo which are by ſufficient proofes, within the yeare aforeſayd, and in maner and forme preſcribed to be exhibited before our treaſurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchſafe proſperouſly and long time to preſerue your maieſties royal perſon. Giuen at our caſtle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Septem. 27. 1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. *Maries* hoſpital of *Ieruſalem*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. ſent vnto *Fr. Vlricus* maſter general of *Pruſſia*, wherein he doth abſolutely approue the foreſaid conference holden at *Hage*, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene *England* and *Pruſſia*.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, vnto the noble & mighty perſonage of ſacred religion Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increaſe of vnfained friendſhip. After diuers conferences had in ſundry places beyond the ſeas, betweene the ambaſſadours and meſſengers of your late predeceſſor and of your ſelfe alſo, on the one parte, and betweene our eſpeciall ambaſſadors and meſſengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & reſtitutions in certaine maner & forme to be performed vnto our ſubiects of both parts, in regard of manifold iniuries practiſed againſt them both, and after that, in the laſt conference holden by the ambaſſadours of vs both at the towne of Hage in Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of ſatiſfaction, by way of finall concluſion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambaſſadours condeſcended vnto, becauſe they durſt not proceede vnto the ſame concluſion without our priuitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before vs and our counſel: we returned vnto your honour an anſwere in writing by our letters vnder our priuie ſeale, of our full purpoſe and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this preſent referre our ſelues, as if they were here againe expreſly written) what we thought good to haue done in this behalfe: ſo that wee alſo might by your friendly letters be certaynly informed of your will and expreſſe conſent, being likewiſe conformable vnto your foreſayd intention. Nowe whereas ſince that time we haue of late receiued the certaintie of the matter by your letters written vnto vs from your caſtle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September laſt paſt, conteyning in effect amongſt other matters, that you being mooued with a feruent zeale and ſpeciall affection (as you write) vnto the royall crowne of our realme, and hauing due regard and conſideration of our royall maieſtie, vpon the aduiſe of your honourable brethren your counſellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the ſaid letters of yours totally approue the concord of a certaine ſatiſfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine ſummes of money howſoeuer due vnto your ſubiects as well of Pruſſia as of Liuonia, expreſſed in our former letters, within the termes prefixed by our conſent and limited in our ſaid letters, and alſo of other ſummes which within one whole yeare immediatly following the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, by ſufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London; ſhall be found due vnto them: conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the premiſſes be performed as they ought to be. And that your ſelfe alſo will without fayle, vpon the termes appoynted for the ſaid payments, procure ſatiſfaction to be made accordingly vnto our endamaged ſubiects with the ſummes due vnto them by reaſon of their loſſes, whereof they haue ſufficient information. Wherefore in regard of thoſe your friendly letters, and your courteous anſwere returned by them vnto vs, as is aforeſaid, wee doe yeelde vnto you right vnfained thanks. But becauſe it will vndoubtedly be moſt acceptable and pleaſing both vnto vs and vnto our people, and vnto you and your ſubiects, that the zeale and feruencie of loue which hath from auncient times growen and increaſed betweene our progenitours for them and their ſubiects, and your predeceſſors and their ſubiects, and which by the inſolencie of of certayne lewde perſons, without any conſent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the ſubiects of vs both, may be put in perpetuall vre and obtaine full ſtrength in time to come, ſithens hereupon (by Gods aſſiſtance) it is to be hoped, that vnſpeakeable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it ſeeme good vnto your diſcretion, as it ſeemeth expedient vnto vs, that ſome meſſengers of yours ſufficiently authoriſed to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendſhip, may with all conuenient ſpeede be ſent vnto our preſence. At whoſe arriuall, not onely in this buſines ſo profitable and behoouefull, but alſo in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and concluſions, they may, yea and of neceſſitie muſt greatly auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloued friend) euen as vpon confidence of the premiſſes we haue thought good to grant vnto the marchants and ſubiects of our realme full authority to reſort vnto your dominions, ſo we doe in like maner graunt vnto your marchants and ſubiects free licence and liberty with their marchandiſes and goods ſecurely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to ſtay, and at their pleaſures thence to returne home. Moreouer, if Arnold Daſſel, who laſt of all preſented your foreſayd letters vnto vs, ſhal thinke good in the meane ſeaſon to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by ſerious conſideration and deliberate conſulting with our commiſſioners more conueniently and proſperouſly finde out wayes and meanes, for the more ſpeedy expedition of all the premiſſes. Fare ye well in Chriſt. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale at our palace of Weſtminſter, the ſeuenth of March, in the yere of our lord 1408, according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A motion for a perpetuall league.

A new concord concluded between king *Henry* the 4. and *Vlricus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

By this indenture or letters indented be it euidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Chriſtians, that the noble & honourable perſonages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Maſter Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the ſame citie, the commiſſioners of the moſt ſoueraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaſter of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commiſſioners, deputies and meſſengers of the right noble and religious perſonage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpital of Ieruſalem, hauing in the names of the ſayd king and Maſter by vertue of the power on both parts committed vnto them, ſufficient authority, haue appointed and with one conſent agreed vpon all and ſingular the things vnderwritten.

Inprimis

1 Imprimis for the conſeruation of mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and for the tranquillitie of ſweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and ſingular the liege people & ſubiects of the Realme of England and the Marchants of the territories & dominions of the ſaid Realme and all other perſons of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer, ſhall and may ſafely and ſecurely as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Pruſſia; and there mutually conuerſe, and freely after the maner of Marchants exerciſe traffique as well with the Pruſſians as with others of what nation or qualitie ſoeuer, there alſo make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and ſo often as they ſhall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatſoeuer: faithfully paying in the meane time all rights & cuſtomes due in regard of their ſaid wares and marchandize. Reſerued alwaies vnto the ſaid Maſter and his ſucceſſours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchſafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention ſhall be made in the articles following.

2 Item it is ordained, that all and ſingular the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall and of his order, of what ſtate and condition ſoeuer, ſhall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually conuerſe, and freely after the maner of Marchants exerciſe traffique as well with all Engliſh people as with others of what nation or qualitie ſoeuer, and there alſo make their abode, and thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will and as oft as they ſhall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatſoeuer: truely paying in the meane time all rights and cuſtomes due in regard of their ſaid wares and Marchandize. Reſerued alwayes vnto the ſaid ſoueraigne king, his heires and ſucceſſours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted vnto them in certaine obligations, by the commiſſioners and procurators of the ſaid Maſter generall aboue-named, and in the name of the ſaid Maſter generall.

3 Item it is with one conſent agreed vpon, promiſed, and graunted that for all and ſingular damages, grieuances, and robberies howſoeuer done and committed before the date of theſe preſents againſt the foreſaid ſoueraigne Prince and his ſubiects whatſoeuer, and all others which at the time of the grieuances, damages, and robberies aforeſaid, were, or at this preſent are the ſaid ſoueraigne king his ſubiects; there are due to be payed vnto the ſaid king or his ſucceſſours by the ſaid Maſter generall or his ſucceſſours, in full ſatiſfaction and recompence of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aboue-written, certaine ſummes of Engliſh money: euen as in the letters obligatorie made by the ſaid Maſter generall his procurators, and meſſengers aboue-named in this behalfe, and ſealed with their ſeales, and deliuered vnto the forenamed procurators and commiſſioners of our ſaid Lord the king it is expreſſed more at large.

4 Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promiſed, that no ſubiect of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours, by reaſon or occaſion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforeſaid, ſhall, by the ſaid ſoueraigne king or his ſucceſſours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any other perſon whatſoeuer who in regard of the foreſaid loſſes, grieuances and robberies hath bene moleſted and damnified, or at the procurement or inſtant ſuite of any, be attached, arreſted, impriſoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the ſaid Maſter generall, or of his ſucceſſors, or of any of them, ſhalbe laid hold on, arreſted, or detained.

5 Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and ſubiects of the ſayde Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſors ſhall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next aboue-written, chance to be moleſted or endamaged: that then the foreſaid ſoueraigne Lord the King and his ſucceſſors the kings of England are bound to make full ſatiſfaction for all ſuch loſſes as the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours or any of them ſhall for that cauſe haue vniuſtly ſuſtained, vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foreſaid ſoueraigne Prince, or his ſucceſſours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requeſted by the letters of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours, ſhall refuſe to doe, that then after the terme of ſixe moneths immediatly following the ſaid deniall or refuſall, it ſhalbe right lawfull for the Maſter generall that now is and for any of his ſucceſſors in time to come (hauing firſt made conuenient proofe that the foreſaid requeſt was by him or them exhibited) to arreſt ſo many goods of the foreſaid king his ſubiects found in the land of Pruſſia, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable ſatiſfaction and recompenſe of any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer vniuſtly moleſted in this behalfe; and alſo to detaine the ſaid goods vnder arreſtes, vntill condigne ſatiſfaction and amends be made vnto the party or parties moleſted.

6 Item by the commiſſioners and procuratours often aboue-named it is couenanted, promiſed, and graunted, that for all and ſingular the damages, moleſtations, and robberies by the foreſayde

ſoueraigne king his liege people & ſubiects howſoeuer before the date of theſe preſents committed and offred againſt the ſaid Maſter general or againſt any of his ſubiects whether Pruſſians or Liuonians, and againſt all others who at the time of the damages, grieuances & robberies aforeſaid were, or at this preſent are the ſubiects of the Maſter generall aforeſaid (except notwithſtanding certaine damages & grieuances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof alſo ſome prouiſoes ſhalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before yͤ date of theſe preſents by yͤ ſaid ſoueraigne king his liege people and ſubiects inflicted vpon certaine ſubiects of the foreſaid general Maſter, eſpecially them of Pruſſia which hereafter ſhalbe named) there are certaine ſummes of money due to be payed vnto the ſaid Maſter generall or vnto his ſucceſſors by the ſaid ſoueraigne Prince or his ſucceſſours for the full ſatiſfaction of the foreſaid damages, moleſtations and robberies inflicted vpon the Pruſſians and Liuonians, and the others aboue mentioned, euen as in the letters obligatorie of the ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered vnto the ſaid Maſter generall his procuratours and meſſengers, it is declared more at large.

7 Item, it is couenanted, graunted and promiſed, that none of the liege people or ſubiects of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince or of his heires ſhall, by reaſon or occaſion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforeſaid, by the ſayd Maſter generall or his ſucceſſours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in reſpect of the ſaid damages, grieuances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath beene moleſted or damnified, or by any of their procurements or inſtant ſuites, ſhalbe attached, arreſted, impriſoned or detained; nor that any goods of the ſubiects of the ſaid ſoueraigne king or his heires or any of them, ſhall bee attached, arreſted, or detained. Reſerued alwayes vnto the forenamed Maſter generall and his ſubiects all right and remedie any way requiſite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforeſaid.

8 Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or ſubiects of the ſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires and ſucceſſours ſhall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee moleſted or endamaged; that then the ſaide Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours, for all loſſes and hinderances which the liege people and ſubiects the foreſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires or ſucceſſours, ſhall by that meanes haue vniuſtly ſuſtained, are bound to make full ſatiſfaction vnto the partie endamaged. Which if the Maſter generall aforeſaid or his ſucceſſours being conueniently requeſted by the letters of the ſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires, ſhall refuſe to doe; that then, after the ſpace of ſixe monethes next enſuing the time of the foreſayde requeſt, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed ſoueraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time ſhall be (conuenient proofe being firſt brought, that the foreſayd requeſt had conueniently beene exhibited) to arreſt ſo many goods of the ſayde Maſter generall his ſubiects founde in the Realme of England, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable ſatiſfaction and amends of any perſon or perſons vniuſtly moleſted in this behalfe; and alſo to detaine the ſayde goods vnder ſafe cuſtodie, vntill condigne ſatiſfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieued.

9 Item it is couenanted, that beſides the ſummes due vnto the ſayde Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours in the behalfe of his ſubiects both of Pruſſia and of Liuonia (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to bee payed vnto the ſayde Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours, for ſundry other damages, grieuances, and robberies againſt himſelfe and diuers other of his ſubiects of Pruſsia, namely Matthewe Ludekenſſon, Arnold Aſſhen, Henri Culeman, Iohn Vnkelkop, Iohn Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerſtene of Elbing, done and committed by the ſayde ſoueraigne king his liege people and ſubiects vnder-written, euen before the date of theſe preſents, for the full ſatiſfaction of the ſayde damages, grieuances and robberies, certaine ſummes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tutburie, and Teny of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due vnto yͤ foreſaid Matthew Ludekinſon. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the ſonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the foreſayd Arnold de Aſchen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henrie Culeman aforeſayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whoſe Capitaine was one Pideuille) 125. nobles which are due vnto the ſaid Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whoſe Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foreſayde Iohn Halewater, in reſpect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the ſelfe ſame parties, being due vnto the ſayde Iohn Halewater by reaſon that they detained his ſhip from him three monethes and more, which ſhip was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foreſayde time fiue and fourtie ſeruants maintained at the expenſes of the ſayde Iohn Halewater. Item that Sir

A ſhip of the burthen of 300. Tonnes.

William de Echingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the ſea, muſt bee ſummoned to alleage a reaſonable cauſe (for that the ſayd Sir William with his ſeruants expelled the ſaid Iohn Halewater out of his ſhip for the ſpace of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the goods and victuals of the ſaid Iohn to the ſumme of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the ſaid ſumme of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforeſaid: which if hee ſhall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the firſt of April next enſuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee muſt be compelled to pay vnto the foreſaid Iohn the ſaid 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whoſe captaines were Michael Scot, Biſhop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foreſayde Eggard Scoff, becauſe the ſaide ſoueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the ſaid Michael Scot and the reſt concerning the payment of the ſumme aforeſaid. Item by Iohn Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas Wolmerſten of Elbing. Which ſummes of nobles muſt by the kings authoritie bee leuied at the hands of his ſubiects aboue-mentioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feaſt of the Purification of the bleſſed virgine which ſhall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and payed vnto the ſayd Maſter generall or his lawfull procurator, or vnto his ſucceſſours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, vpon the feaſt aforeſaid.

Item it is couenanted that beſides the ſummes ſpecified in the foreſayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the ſaid ſoueraigne prince, there are due to be paied vnto one Iohn Marion of Werſingham lately deceaſed being in his life-time the liege ſubiect of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince 200. nobles of Engliſh money in regard of certaine iniuries and robberies done and committed before the date of theſe preſents againſt the foreſayde Iohn; by one Eghard Scoff ſubiect vnto the ſaid Maſter generall, for the full ſatiſfaction of the ſaide damages and robberies to bee made vnto the ſaid deceaſed Iohn, his wife, children, heires or executors by the ſaid Egghard, his heires, or by the adminiſtrators of his goods at the time and place aboue-mentioned.

Item it is couenanted, confirmed, and promiſed, that for all the iniuries and robberies done and committed againſt one Iohn Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time ſubiect vnto the ſayd Maſter generall, by the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaid ſoueraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of theſe preſents; for the full recompenſe of all ſuch iniuries and robberies, there muſt bee payed vnto one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of Engliſh money, vpon the feaſt of Eaſter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitiue ſentence condemned vnto the ſaid Iohn in the ſumme of 800. nobles by reaſon of the iniuries and robberies aforeſaid. Except the lawfull expenſes in this behalfe layed out: they are alſo taxed in due time for the iſſue. And therefore the foreſayde condemned parties (whoſe names are in the ſentence againſt them pronounced in this behalfe, more expreſly contained) muſt in the meane ſeaſon by the kings authoritie be compelled and conſtrained really and actually to obey the foreſaid ſentence, namely by deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the ſumme of 800. nobles at the time and place aboue mentioned, with reaſonable expences, wherein alſo the ſaid parties ſtand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reſerued. 10

Item it is couenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the yonger after they ſhall come vnto lawfull age, and ſhall haue attained vnto the poſſeſſions and goods of their inheritance, muſt be compelled by the kings authoritie (iuſtice going before) to make ſatiſfaction vnto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the ſumme of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foreſaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the ſaid great procuratour, for the vſe of the caſtle of Zuchberwik. In teſtimonie and confirmation of all the which premiſſes, the ſaid Tedericus, Lefardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their ſeales vnto theſe preſent letters indented, in the preſence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kington, and William Askam, commiſſioners for the behalfe of England. Giuen at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

1404.

Carta Henrici quarti Anno quinto regni ſui conceſſa mercatoribus *Angliæ in partibus Pruſsiæ, Daciæ,* Norwegiæ, Swethiæ, *& Germaniæ*, de gubernatore inter ipſos ibidem conſtituendo.

HEnricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quod cum, vt accepimus, ob defectum boni & ſani regiminis & gubernationis, diuerſa damna, diſſenſiones, grauamina, & anguſtiæ inter mercatores Regni noſtri Angliæ in partibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Hanſæ, & Swethiæ commorantes ſæpius ante hæc tempora mota fuiſſent & perpetrata, ac maiora exinde, quod abſit, futuris temporibus veriſimiliter euenire formidantur, niſi pro meliori gubernatione inter eoſdem mercatores mutuò habenda manus noſtras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte imminentibus præcauere, & eoſdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno noſtro ad partes prædictas venturos iuſte & fideliter regi & pertractari intime deſiderantes, volumus & tenore præſentium concedimus eiſdem mercatoribus, quod ipſi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honeſto, vbi ſibi placuerit, ſe congregare & vnire, & certas perſonas ſufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores ſuos in eiſdem partibus inter ſe ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes vlterius & concedentes huiuſmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores ſic eligendis, quantum in nobis eſt, poteſtatem & authoritatem ſpeciales, omnes & ſingulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero venientes & declinantes per ſe vel ſufficientes loca ſua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in ſuis cauſis & querelis quibuſcunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis vel mouendis plenam & celerem iuſticiam faciendi & quaſcunque quæſtiones, contentiones, diſcordias, & debatas inter ipſos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas ſeu mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi ſedandi, & pacificandi, & quaſcunque tranſgreſſiones, damna, meſpriſiones, exceſſus, violencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas ſeu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, reſtaurandi, & emendandi, conſimileſque reſtitutiones, reparationes, reſtaurationes & emendationes de ipſis mercatoribus partium prædictarum ſeu deputatis ſuis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi aſſenſu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum ſtatuta, ordinationes, & conſuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione ſtatus eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & ſtabiliendi, & omnes & ſingulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus ſic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus ſeu eorum alicui, aut alicui ſtatutorum, ordinationum, & conſuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti ſui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes inſuper omnia iuſta & rationabilia ſtatuta, ordinationes & conſuetudines per dictos gubernatores ſic eligendos in forma prædicta facienda & ſtabilienda, nec non omnes iuſtas & rationabiles ordinationes per nuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi aſſenſu eorundem mercatorum pro huiuſmodi gubernatione ſua in partibus prædictis iuxta priuilegia & authoritates ſibi per magiſtrum Pruciæ ſeu alios dominos partium prædictarum conceſſa, factas & ſtabilitas, ſeu per prædictos gubernatores nunc vt præmittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia prædicta, ſeu alia priuilegia eiſdem mercatoribus Anglicis per prædictos magiſtrum & dominos in poſterum concedenda, facienda & ſtabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuiolabiliter obſeruari. Damus autem vniuerſis & ſingulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præſentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eiſdem gubernatoribus ſic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis ac alijs gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes ſint, conſulentes, obedientes & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterij ſub magni ſigilli noſtri teſtimonio ſexto die Iunij Anno regni noſtri quinto.

Nota.

A Charter of King *Henry* the fourth graunted in the fift yeere *of his reigne to the Engliſh Marchants reſident in the partes of Pruſsia,* Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and Germanie for the chuſing of Gouernours among themſelues.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, ſendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and diſcreete rule and gouernement, ſundry damages, ſtrifes, oppreſſions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue bene moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Pruſſia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans ſteeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnleſſe we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better gouernement to be maintained among the ſaid Marchants: wee heartily deſiring to preuent the perils and dangers which are like to fall out in this caſe, and that the ſayde Marchants and others which ſhall trauaile out of our ſaid Realme into the partes aforeſaid may iuſtly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of theſe preſents to the ſaid Marchants, that they may freely and without danger aſſemble and meete together as often and whenſoeuer they pleaſe in ſome conuenient and honeſt place where they ſhall thinke good, and that they may chooſe among themſelues certaine ſufficient and fit perſons for their gouernours in thoſe parts at their good liking. And furthermore we giue and graunt to the ſaid Gouernours which are in ſuch ſort to be choſen by the aforeſaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth, ſpeciall power and authoritie to rule and gouerne all and ſingular the Engliſh Marchants which hereafter ſhall come or repayre to the parts aforeſaid by themſelues or their ſufficient Deputies, and to miniſter vnto them and euery of them in their cauſes and quarels whatſoeuer, which are ſprung vp or ſhall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforeſaid full and ſpeedie iuſtice, and to reforme all maner of queſtions, contentions diſcords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the Engliſh Marchants remayning in thoſe parts, and to ſeeke reformation, to redreſſe, appeaſe, and compound the ſame. And further to redreſſe, reſtore, repayre and ſatiſfie all tranſgreſſions, damages, miſpriſions, outrages, violences, and iniuries done or to be done by the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants againſt the Marchants of thoſe parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like reſtitutions, reparations, ſatiſfactions and amends of the Marchants of thoſe parts or of their deputies. And by the common conſent of the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants to make and eſtabliſh ſtatutes, ordinances, and cuſtomes, as ſhall ſeeme expedient in that behalfe for the better gouernement of the ſtate of the ſaid Engliſh Marchants: and to puniſh with reaſon according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and ſingular the Engliſh Marchants which ſhall withſtand, reſiſt or diſobey the aforeſaid gouernours ſo to be choſen or their deputies, or any of them; or any of the aforeſaid ſtatutes, ordinances, or cuſtomes. Moreouer we doe ratifie, confirme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued, wee command firmely and inuiolably there to be obſerued all iuſt, and reaſonable ſtatutes, ordinances, and cuſtomes which ſhalbe made and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid gouernours, ſo to be choſen, in forme aforeſaid, and alſo all iuſt and reaſonable ordinances made & eſtabliſhed by the late gouernours of the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants with the common conſent of the ſayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforeſayd, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Maſter of Pruſſia, or other Lords of the partes aforeſayd, or which ſhall be made and eſtabliſhed by the aforeſayd gouernours now as is mentioned to be choſen according to the aforeſaid priuileges heretofore graunted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the ſayde Engliſh Marchants by the aforeſayde Maſter and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of theſe preſents wee ſtraitely commaund all and ſingular the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants, that they attend, aduiſe, obey and aſſiſt, as it becommeth them, the ſayde gouernours ſo to bee choſen, and their deputies in all and ſingular the premiſſes, and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our Palace at Weſtminſter vnder the teſtimonie of our great Seale the fift day of Iune in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ſhips of *King Henry* the fift, *mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the Sea, taken out of a Chronicle* in the Trinitie Church of Wincheſter.

EOdem Anno quo victoria potitus eſt videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni ſui Anno tertio, poſt bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Nauibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Anglia miſit fratrem ſuum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordia & An-

degania, qui pugnauit cum eis & vicit, & Naues cepit, & quaſdam ſubmerſit: cæteri fugerunt cum Hiſpanis nauibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratia 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege compoſuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his ſic conductis a Francis ita metricè ſcribitur.

Naues maximæ Henrici quinti.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hiſpanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,
Vaſtat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of *Henry* the *ſixt, for the trade to Norwey, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.*

ITem becauſe that the kings moſt deare Vncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sweueland, as the ſame our ſoueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderſtood, conſidering the manifold & great loſſes, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened aſwell to him and his, as to other forraines and ſtrangers, and alſo friends and ſpeciall ſubiects of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king of his Realme of England, by yͤ going in, entring & paſſage of ſuch forrain & ſtrange perſons into his realme of Norwey & other dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions & places ſubdued and ſubiect to him, ſpecially into his Iles of Fynmarke, and elſwhere, aſwell in their perſons as their things and goods: for eſchuing of ſuch loſſes, perils, hurts & damages, and that ſuch like (which God forbid) ſhould not hereafter happen: our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and ſtatuted, that all and ſingular ſtrangers, aſwell Engliſhmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his Realme of Norwey and other dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions, Iles & places aforeſaid with their ſhips, to the intent to get or haue fiſh or any other Marchandiſes, or goods, ſhall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the ſaid king of Denmarke hath ſpecially ordained and ſtabliſhed his ſtaple for the concourſes of ſtrangers and ſpecially of Engliſhmen, to the exerciſe of ſuch Marchandiſes: granting to the ſaid Engliſhmen that they ſhall there inioy in and by all things the ſame fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy. Therefore our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmely obſerued, which betwixt his ſaid Vncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, ſtreites, territories, iuriſdictions and their ſaid places, and the ſame our ſoueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, ſubiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby ſuch amities by reaſon of any diſſenſions, enemities or diſcords might be broken: by the aduiſe of the Lords ſpirituall & temporall & of the cōmons of his ſaid Realme of England, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor ſubiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie preſume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, ſtraits, territories, iuriſdictions & places of the ſaid king of Denmarke againſt yͤ ordinance, prohibition & interdictiō of yͤ ſame his Vncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the ſame, vpō paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & impriſonment of their perſons at the kings will.

Another branch of a ſtatute made in the tenth yeere of the *reigne of Henry the ſixt concerning the ſtate of the Engliſh Marchants in the* dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITem becauſe that our ſoueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impoueriſhed, vndone, & in point to be deſtroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our ſoueraigne Lord, becauſe that they do daily take of his ſaid faithful ſubiects their goods, ſo that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kingſton vpon Hul goods & marchandiſes to the valour of v.M.li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of yͤ Realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx.M.li. whereof they haue no remedie of the ſaid king of Denmarke, nor of none other, foraſmuch as none of them cōmeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the ſame Realme of England, & that yͤ goods be taken out of the ſame Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his ſaid liege people, hath ordeined & eſtabliſhed, that if yͤ goods of any of yͤ ſaid his lieges be or ſhalbe taken by the ſaid king of Denmarke or any of his ſaid lieges, the keeper of the priuie ſeale for yͤ time being, ſhall haue power to make to yͤ partie grieued letters of requeſt vnder the priuie ſeale, without any other purſuite to be made to any for reſtitution to be had of yͤ goods ſo taken & to be taken. And if reſtitution be not made by ſuch letters, the king our ſoueraigne lord by the aduiſe of his counſel ſhal prouide to the partie grieued his couenable remedy, according as yͤ caſe requireth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the proceſſe of the Libel of *Engliſh policie, exhorting all England to keepe the ſea, and namely the narrowe ſea:* ſhewing what profite commeth thereof, and alſo what worſhip and ſaluation to *England*, and to all Engliſh-men.

Incipit liber de cuſtodia Maris præſertim arcti inter Doueram & Caliſiam.

The true proceſſe of Engliſh policie
Of vtterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner ſay of ſooth but it is one of the beſt,
Is this, that who ſeeth South, North, Eaſt and Weſt,
Cheriſh Marchandiſe, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Maſters of the narrowe ſee.

Sigiſmond died 1438. He was here 1416. Videns imperator Sigiſmundus duas villas inter cæteras Angliæ ſcilicet Caliſiam & Doueriam, ponens ſuos duos digitos ſuper duos ſuos oculos, ait regi: Frater, cuſtodite iſtas duas villas ſicut duos veſtros oculos.

For Sigiſmond the great Emperour,
Which yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And euer well kept round about the ſee.

And to the king thus hee ſayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Calais and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuſe of one and other,
To keepe the ſea and ſoone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe theſe two Townes ſure, and your Maieſtie
As your tweyne eyne: ſo keepe the narrowe ſee.

For if this ſea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere paſſe without danger and woe?
Who may eſcape, who may miſchiefe differre?
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe?
For needs hem muſt take trewes euery foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, truſt to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow ſee.

The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor conſiderantur in moneta aurea Angliæ, quæ dicitur Nobile: ſcilicet Rex, Nauis, gladius, & Mare: Quæ deſignant poteſtatem Anglicorum ſuper Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenſes & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de veſtro Nobile nauem & imponite ouem. Intendentes, quod ſicut quondam à tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus ſunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obſeruandum velut oues.

Therefore I caſt mee by a litle writing
To ſhewe at eye this concluſion,
For conſcience and for mine acquiting
Againſt God and ageyne abuſion,
And cowardiſe, and to our enemies confuſion.
For foure things our Noble ſheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the ſee.

Where ben our ſhips, where ben our ſwerds become?
Our enemies bed for the ſhip ſet a ſheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well ſay that lordſhip ſhould take keepe?
I will aſſay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,
For very ſhame to keepe about the ſee.

Shall any Prince, what ſo be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,
Bee Lord of ſee: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and ſo make fade the flowers
Of Engliſh ſtate, and diſteyne our honours?
For cowardiſe alas it ſhould ſo bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the ſee.

Of the commodities of *Spaine* and of *Flanders.* *The firſt Chapter.*

Figges,
Raiſins,
Wine,
Baſtard,
Dates,
Lycoras,
Ciuil Oyle,
Graynes,
White Paſtel,
Sope,
Waxe,
Iron,
Wadmolle,
Gotefell,
Kidfell,
Saffron,
Quickeſiluer.

KNowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who ſo will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raiſins, wine Baſtard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,
White Paſtill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell alſo:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they twoo:
Saffron, Quickeſiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders ſhipped full craftily,
Unto Bruges as to her ſtaple fayre:
The Hauen of Scluſe hir Hauen for her repayre
Wich is cleped Swyn tho ſhippes giding:
Where many veſſels and fayre are abiding.
But theſe Marchandes with their ſhippes great,
And ſuch chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes muſt nede take on hand
By the coaſts to paſſe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els ſuch matter bring about?

And when theſe ſayd Marchants diſcharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders neere the ſee,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fuſtian, and alſo Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great ſubſtance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our Engliſh wooll.

Flemiſh cloth made of Engliſh Wooll.

Then may it not ſinke in mannis brayne,
But that it muſt this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our coſtes paſſe:
Hee that ſayd nay in witte was like an aſſe.
Wee ſhould haue peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this ſee were kept, I dare well ſayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And nether may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our Engliſh commodities:

The neceſſarie connection of Spaine and Flanders.

Wolle and Tynne: for the wolle of England
Suſteineth the Commons Flemings I underſtand,
Then if England ſhould her wolle reſtraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede muſt with us haue peace,
Or els ſhee is deſtroyed without lees.
Alſo if Flanders thus deſtroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For deſtroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be coſted and menged well
Amongſt the Engliſh wolle the greter delle.
For Spaniſh wooll in Flaunders drayed is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:

And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who ſo will eſpie,
It is of little value, truſt unto mee,
With Engliſh wooll but if it menged bee,
Thus if the ſea be kept, than herken hether,
If theſe two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders paſſe nought
That in the narrowe ſee it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the fumoſe wine,
Ner into Bytonuſe Bay for ſalt ſo fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders alſo?
As who ſayd, nought, the thrift is agoe.
For the little land of Flanders is
But a ſtaple to other lands ywiſt
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and ſeede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede,
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings liefe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemiſh Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in ſubſtance
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
Without wich they may not liue at eaſe.
Thus muſt hem ſterue, or wich vs muſt haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The ſecond Chapter.

Wine, Oſey, Waxe, Graine, Figs, Reiſins, Hony, Cordeweyne, Dates, Salt, Hides.

The Marchandy alſo of Portugal
By diuers lands turne into ſale.
Portugalers with vs haue trouth in hand:
Whoſe Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee Engliſh paſſen into their countreys.
Her land hath wine, Oſey, Waxe, and Graine,
Figges, Reyſins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and ſuch Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders paſſe for by,
They ſhould not bee ſuffred ones ner twyes,
For ſupporting of our cruell enemies,
That is to ſay Flemings with her gyle:
For changeable they are in little while.
Then I conclude by reaſons many moe,
If we ſuffred neither friend nor foe,
What ſo enemies, and ſo ſupporting
Paſſe for by vs in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cauſe
Of our hindring, if reſon leue this clauſe:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs ſought,
And other lands ſhould ſeeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Chriſtianitie.

Note well.

The commodities of pety Britaine, with *her Rouers on the ſea.*

The third Chapter.

Furthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat ſpeaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,

Salt, and wine, creſt cloth and cannas.
And the land of Flaunders ſickerly
Is the ſtaple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not paſſe away
But by the coaſt of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who ſo trueth louis,
Are the greateſt rouers and the greateſt theuis,
That haue bene in the ſea many one yeeres
That our Marchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this ſide ſee, theſe falſe pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Wich to their Duke none obeyſance will bere:
With ſuch colours wee haue bee hindred ſore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coaſts many
Of our England, more then rehearſe can I:
In Norfolke coaſtes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and ſlaine by many a rowte:
And they haue alſo ranſomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of boſt haue run her ſowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and ſhame:
They that the ſea ſhould keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of eaſie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

The Britons great Rouers and Theeues.

A ſtorie of Edward the third his ordinance *for Britayne.*

Hiſtoria oſtendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra deprædatores marinos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos & ſubiugandum Britannos minores.

HEre bring I in a ſtorie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a ſcrowe;
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.
But when noble King Edward the third
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner geloſie
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the ſee,
Whereby Marchants might haue proſperitee.
That for Harflew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At laſt to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But ſoone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee ſpedde neuer the better for truce ſake.
They loſt her good, her nauy and ſpending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he ſent,
And complained that ſuch harme was hent;
By conuention and peace made ſo refuſed:
Wich Duke ſent againe, and him excuſed,
Rehearſing that the mount of Saincte Michael,

And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be ſubiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeyſance:
And ſo they did withouten him that deede,
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte ſet a iudgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduiſe
To fortifie anon he did deuiſe
Of Engliſh Townes three, that is to ſay,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puiſance
With inſiſtence ſet them in gouernance
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Thoſe good ſea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke priſoners, and made them for to lowte.
And efte the Duke, an enſample wiſe,
Wrote to the king as he firſt did deuiſe,
Him excuſing: But our men wood
With great power paſſed ouer the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny deſtroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should haue loſt all his natiue Countrie,
He vndertooke by ſuretie true not falſe,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as ſayd was, were not fayne.
The Duke hymſelfe for all did vndertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.

He made a ſtatute for Lombards in this land,
That they ſhould in noe wiſe take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and diſchardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of ſuch appreiſſe
Kept his Marchants and the ſea from miſchiefe.

Of the commodities of *Scotland* and draping *of her wolles in* Flanders. *The fourth Chapiter.*

MOreouer of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleeſe.
And all theſe muſt paſſe by vs away
Into Flanders by England, ſooth to ſay.
And all her woolle was draped for to ſell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell;
Which my Lord of Gloceſter with ire
For her falſhed ſet vpon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could neuer drape her wooll for any thing,
But if they had Engliſh wooll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is ſo generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other coſtes, this ſentence is not falſe:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon you,

Anno Domini 1436. Hen. 6. 14.

I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders ſekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdaſhers Ware,
And halfe her ſhippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in ſubſtance:
Thus moſt rude ware are in her cheueſance,
So they may not forbeare this Flemiſh land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee ſhould right ſoone haue peace for all her boſts,
For they muſt needes paſſe by our Engliſh coſts.

Of the commodities of *Pruce*, and *High Dutch men*, and *Eaſterlings*. The fifth Chapitle.

Nowe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people haue ſuch vſe,
That is to ſay, High Duch men of Pruſe,
And Eſterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the ſubſtance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,
Or they riſe once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: ſo ſore they hall and pull,
Vnder the board they piſſen as they ſit:
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leyſure lacked
To holde their ſiege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might truſſe, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed faſt,
My Lord of Glocester made hem ſo agaſt
With his comming, and ſought hem in her land,
And brent and ſlowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durſt not bide, nor ſtere,
They fled to mewe, they durſt no more appeare,
Rebuked ſore for euer ſo ſhamefully,
Vnto her vtter euerlaſting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruſe ybrought
Into Flanders, as loued and farre yſought:
Oſmond, Copper, Bow-ſtaues, Steele, and Were,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe:
And Colleyne threed, Fuſtian and Canuas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among theſe things dere,
In common louen beſt Bakon and Beere.
Alſo Pruſe men maken her aduenture
Of Plate of ſiluer of wedges good and ſure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
Which is increaſe full great vnto their land,
And they bene laden, I vnderſtand,

Pitch, Tarre, Board, Flexe, Collein threed, Fuſtian, Canuas, Cardes, Bukeram, Siluer-plate, Wedges of ſiluer and Mettall.

With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,
For ſalt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly ſtoppe hem in the ſee:
They ſhould not paſſe our ſtreemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we ſhould hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. *Chap. 6.*

The Genuois comen in ſundry wiſes
Into this land with diuers marchandiſes
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, ſilke, and pepper blacke
Or, Woad. They bring with them, and of crood great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad aſhen, by veſſel in the ſee,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with ſuch things as they bye,
That is their chefe ſtaple ſekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They ſhould not paſſe our ſtremes with marchandiſe.

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees. *Chap. 7.*

The great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All ſpicery and of groſſers ware:
With ſweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Iapes, and marmuſets tayled,
Niſles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is waſtable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable,
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are ſuch commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practiſe both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded ſure,
Which that we gleder with our English cure:
That we ſhould haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al ſo ſpeedefull,
That growen here, as thoſe things ſayd,
Let of this matter no man be diſmayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the ſea.
And yet they ſhould except be any thing
It were but ſugre, truſt to my ſaying:
He that truſteth not to my ſaying and ſentence,
Let him better ſearch experience,
In this matter I will not ferther preaſe,
Who ſo not beleeueth, let him leaue and ceaſe.

Thus theſe galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our beſt chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I ſayd before,
Out of this lond worſt might be forbore,
For ech other land of neceſſitie
Haue great neede to buy ſome of them three:
And we receiue of hem into this coſte
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loſte,
And would Ieſus, that our Lordis wold
Conſider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,
Of ſuch lands, and of ſuch nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as diſcouered our counſailes,
And falſe colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies; that doth vs hindering
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wiſe men haue ſhewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

ALſo they bere the gold out of this land,
And ſucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waſpe ſouketh honie fro the bee,
So miniſheth our commoditee.
Now wol ye here how they in Cotteſwold
Were wont to borrow or they ſhold be ſold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ſhip this marchandie:
Then ſoone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vtterne there the chaffare by the peiſe,
And lightly als there they make her reiſe,
And when the goods beene at Venice ſold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their ſubtiltie to ſaue,
To Engliſh marchants to yeue it out by eſchange
To be payed againe they make not ſtrange,
At the receiuing and ſight of a letter,
Here in England, ſeeming for the better,
by foure pence leſſe in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than muſt him needes aſſent
To eight pence loſſe, that is ſhillings twaine
In the Engliſh pound; as eft ſoone againe,
For two moneths twelue pence muſt he pay.
In the Engliſh pound what is that to ſay,
But ſhillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when Engliſh marchants haue content
This eſchange in England of aſſent,
That theſe ſayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold ſoone
Ouer the ſee into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders, ſooth to ſaine,
And in London with ſuch cheuiſance,
That men call vſury, to our loſſe and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

NOw leſten well how they made vs a valeys
When they borowed at the town of Calcis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they ſhould make payment.
And ſometime als two yere and two yeare.
Or, loue.
This was fayre ‖ loue: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And ſell it faſt for ready money in hand,
For fifty pounds of money of loſſe they wold not wond
In a thouſand pound, and liue thereby
Till the day of payment eaſily,
Come againe in exchange : making
Full like vſury, as men make vndertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thouſand pound
Was well content, they ſhould haue chaffare ſound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receiue againe three thouſand pound in woll.
In Cotteſwold alſo they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them liſt with freedome and franchiſe,
More then we Engliſh may gitten many wiſe.
But would God that without lenger delayes
Theſe galees were vnfraught in fortie dayes,
And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oſte, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right ſoe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worſhip wold fall to Engliſh wit:
What profite alſo to our marchandie
Which wold of nede be cheriſhed hertilie:
Note diligently
For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth,
When manie a foe vs at our doore aſſayleth.
Now in theſe dayes, that if there come a nede,
A woful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come.
What nauie ſhould we haue it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time paſt, full worthy warriours:
A ſtorie of deſtruction of Denmarke for deſtruction of their marchants.
Which when they had their marchants deſtroyed,
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And ſo they ſtand at miſchiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cheriſhed to her ſpeede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede,
If they be rich, then in proſperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worſhip. Now thinke I on the ſonne
The prayſe of Richard of Whitingdon marchant.
Of marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That load ſterre, and chiefe choſen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet laſteth dayly in worthines:
That pen and paper may not me ſuffice
Him to deſcribe: ſo high he was of price

Aboue marchants, that ſet him one of the beſt:
I can no more, but God haue him in reſt.

Now the principal matter.

What reaſon is it that we ſhould goe to oſte
In their countries, & in this Engliſh coſte
They ſhould not ſo: but haue more liberty
Then we our ſelues now alſo motte I thee.
I would to gifts men ſhould take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to ſpeede.
For this we ſee well euery day at eye,
Gifts and feſts ſtopen our policie.
Now ſee that fooles ben either they or wee:
But euer we haue the worſe in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oſte go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oſte, and yee ſhall ſee
Moch auantage, and moch profite ariſe,
Moch more then I can write in any wiſe.

Of our charge and diſcharge at her marts.

COnceiue wel here, that Engliſhmen at martes
Be diſcharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine haſtily
In the ſame dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they ſhould forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it ſhould no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With Engliſh cloth full good and fayre to ſeene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdaſher ware, and with groſſerie:
To which marts, that Engliſh men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
Engliſh, and French, Lombards, Ieunoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Iriſhmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of ſale hides.
And I here ſay that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vſe then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the Engliſh ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they bye more, and fro purſe put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the ſee, ſhippes ſhould not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thider ſtretch:
And ſo thoſe marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the ſee.

Of the commodities of *Brabant* and *Zeland* and *Henauld* and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

YEt marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
Madre, Woad — The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand

To

Garlicke, Onions, ſaltfiſh.

To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And ſaltfiſhe als for huſband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Engliſhmen hem ſelles.
And the chaffare that Engliſhmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by ſee,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in ſubſtance,
Therefore at marts if there be a reſtraint,
Men ſeyne plainely that liſt no fables paynt,
If Engliſhmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and loſſe to her affray:
As though we ſent into the land of France
Ten thouſand people, men of good puiſſance,
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our Engliſh marchants neceſſarie.
If it be thus aſſay, and we ſhall witten
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.
For ſayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in ſhippes thider,
Which Engliſhmen bye moſt and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, ſhame to ſay,
But Engliſhmen thider dreſſe her way.

What our marchants bye in that coſte more then all other.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the ſea.

Than I conclude, if neuer ſo much by land
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the ſea were kept in gouernance
They ſhould by ſea haue no deliuerance.
Wee ſhould hem ſtop, and we ſhould hem deſtroy,
As priſoners we ſhould hem bring to annoy.
And ſo we ſhould of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not ſuffered for to paſſe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glaſſe
And alſo brittle, not thought neuer abiding;
But when grace ſhineth ſoone are we ſliding;
We will it not receiue in any wiſe:
That maken luſt, enuie, and couetiſe:
Expone me this; and yee ſhall ſooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then ſhuld worſhip vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maieſtie:
Liche as the ſeale the greateſt of this land
On the one ſide hath, as I vnderſtand,
A prince riding with his ſwerd ydraw,
In the other ſide ſitting, ſoth it is in ſaw,
Betokening good rule and puniſhing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is ſo, God bleſſed mought he bee.
So in likewiſe I would were on the ſee
By the Noble, that ſwerde ſhould haue power,
And the ſhips on the ſea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne wineleſſe, alſo thriue I:

If men were wiſe, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no ſtate in ſea by werring.

Of Hankin lions.

Then Hankin lyons ſhuld not be ſo bold
To ſtoppe wine, and ſhippes for to hold
Vnto our ſhame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to ſhend the old Engliſh fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of couetiſe;
With falſe colours caſt beforn our eyes:
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons ſuccours,
To purge the ſea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the ſayle,
And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their priſes well departe,
As reſon wold, iuſtice and equitie;
To make this land haue lordſhip of the ſea.

Lombards are cauſe enough to hurt this land, although there were none other cauſe.

Then ſhall Lombards and other fained friends
Make her chalenges by colour falſe offends,
And ſay their chaffare in the ſhippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amiſſe.

Falſe colouring of goods by Lombards.

For thus may al that men haue bought to ſore,
Ben ſoone excuſed, and ſaued by falſe colour:
Beware yee men that bere the great in hand

Alas for bribes & gift of good, feaſts & other means, that ſtoppen our policie.
This is the very ſtate of our time.

That they deſtroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And ſilke, and other: ſay yee not this ſoth is?
But if we had very experience
That they take meede with priuie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleaſance,
Whereby ſtopped ſhould be good gouernance:
And if it were as yee ſay to mee,
Than wold I ſay, alas cupiditie,
That they that haue her liues put in drede,
Shalbe ſoone out of winning, all for meed,
And loſe her coſtes, and brought to pouerty,
That they ſhall neuer haue luſt to goe to ſea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance againſt colour of maintainers and excuſers of folkes goods.

It is a maruellous thing that ſo great a ſicknes and hurt of yͤ land may haue no remedie of ſo many as take thẽſelues wiſe men of gouernance.

FOr this colour that muſt be ſayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our ſeamen wol by many wiſe
Spoile our friends in ſteede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counſayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends ſhould from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends ſpared:
The remedy of hem muſt be declared.
Thus may the ſea be kept in no ſell,
For if ought be ſpoken, wot yee well,
We haue the ſtrokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the ſinning.
We liue in luſt and bide in couetiſe:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandiſe,
And policie that wee haue on the ſea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Iriſh: with *an incident of Wales.* Chap. 9.

I Caſt to ſpeake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fiſh, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Iriſh wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandiſe,
Hertes Hides, and other of * Venerie.

* Or, hunting.

Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Iriſh hare,
Of ſheepe, lambe, and Foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the ſea,
Becauſe the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus alſo Hyberniæ,
Old poſſeſſed by Progenitours:
The Iriſh men haue cauſe like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie ſhould hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the ſea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good aſſayes,
At Waterford, and coſtes many one.
And as men ſayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ſhips in to ride,
No more ſure for enemies to abide.
Why ſpeake I thus ſo much of Ireland?
For all ſo much as I can vnderſtand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who luſt to knowe,
So large, ſo good, and ſo commodious,
That to declare is ſtrange and maruailous.

Mynes of ſiluer and gold in Ireland.

For of ſiluer and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Iriſh though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no ſkill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Iriſh might we finde the cure,
As in London ſaith a Iuellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be ſeene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will anſwere at laſt iudgement,
That for ſlought and for racheſhede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not loſt.
For it is a boteraſſe and a poſt,
Vnder England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing
That I ſhall ſay with auiſement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be ſhent:
It muſt awey, it wol bee loſt from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Ieſu gracious,
And giue vs grace al ſlought to leue beſide,

For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatiſe I caſte to write
Made al onely for that ſoile and ſite,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Iriſh wirlinge
Should be choſen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueſte for our laſt puiſſance,
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
Wiſe men ſeyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Iriſh ſo much of ground haue gotten
There vpon vs, as likeneſſe may be
Like as England to ſherris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Iriſh haue wonne on vs vnable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true compariſon.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee loſt, as Chriſt Ieſu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,

This is now to be greatly feared.

For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And ſo haue enemies enuiron round about.
I beſeech God, that ſome prayers deuout
Mutt let the ſaid apparance probable
Thus diſpoſed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I ſee
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men ſay, in all Chriſtendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, ſo good, ſo plenteous, ſo riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee ſemeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To vs to leſe this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld haue the ground obeyſant wilde and tame,
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground ſubiect to the Lord.
And that it is poſſible to bee ſubiect,
Unto the king wel ſhal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of ſpake,
I trowe reſon al this wol vndertake.
And I knowe wel howe it ſtante,
Alas fortune beginneth ſo to ſcant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.
For ſo miniſheth parties of our puiſſance,
In that land that wee leſe euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.

This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would vndertake it, in pain of loſſe of al his liuelihood. But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo malè.

I herd a man ſpeake to mee full late.
Which was a lord of full great eſtate;
Than expenſe of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puiſſance
This ſaid ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet becauſe England might not forbere
Theſe ſaid expenſes gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,

Might winne Ireland to a ſmall conqueſte,
In one ſole yeere to ſet vs all at reſte.
And how ſoone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yeerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who ſo luſte to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But couetiſe, and ſingularitie
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,
And muſters made that ſhame is to ſay:
Our money ſpent al to litle auaile,
And our enimies ſo greatly doone preuaile,
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte
I may vnneth write more for ſore of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Chriſt Ieſu muſt vs keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,
Ne vs alſo, ſo if it goe his way,
By vnwarenes: ſeth that many a day
Men haue bee ferde of her rebellion,
By great tokens and oſtentation:
Seche the meanes with a diſcrete auiſe,
And helpe that they rudely not ariſe
For to rebell, that Chriſt it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,
Vnfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,
That conſcience for ſlought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben vſed,
Or afore God muſte yee ben accuſed.

Of the commodious Stockfiſh of Iſland, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow ſea, with *an incident of the keeping of Caleis.* Chap. 10.

The trade of Briſtow to Iſland.

OF Iſland to write is litle neede,
Saue of Stock-fiſh: Yet forſooth in deed
Out of Briſtowe, and coſtes many one,
Men haue practiſed by nedle and by ſtone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough vnto the coſtes cold.
And nowe ſo fele ſhippes this yeere there ware,
That moch loſſe for vnfreyght they bare:
Iſland might not make hem to bee fraught
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commodites
For which neede is well to kepe the ſeas:
Eſte and Weſte, South and North they bee,
And chiefly kepe the ſharpe narrow ſee,
Betweene Douer and Caleis; and as thus
that foes paſſe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our coſtis and Caleis in our ſtrength.

The old trade of Scarborough to Iſland and the North.

An exhortation for the ſure keeping of *Caleis*.

ANd for the loue of God, and of his bliſſe
Cheriſh yee Caleis better then it is.

See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for ſlought ſo great offence,
But that redreſſed it bee for any thing:
Leſte a ſong of ſorrow that wee ſing.
For litle wenith the foole who ſo might cheſe
What harme it were good Caleis for to leſe:
What wo it were for all this Engliſh ground.

The ioy of Sigiſmond the Emperour that Caleis was Engliſh.

Which wel conceiued the Emperour Sigiſmound,
That of all ioyes made it one of the moſte,
That Caleis was ſubiect vnto Engliſh coſte.
Him thought it was a iewel moſt of all,
And ſo the ſame in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I caſt to write within a litle ſcrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the firſt to get;
And by my counſell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee leſe it with ſhame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew cried vpon, and Rone,
That they were likely for ſlought to be gone;
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right ſo,

Harflew was loſt in the yere 1449 in the 27. of Henry the ſixth.

Farewell *Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can ſay no better:
My ſoule diſcharge I by this preſent letter.

After the Chapitles of commodities of diuers lands, ſheweth the concluſion of keeping of the ſea *enuiron, by a ſtorie of King Edgar and two incidents of* King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. *Chap.* 11.

NOwe ſee we well then that this round ſee
To our Noble by pariformitee
Vnder the ſhip ſhewed there the ſayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With ſwerd drawen bright and extent
For to chaſtiſe enimies violent;
Should be lord of the ſea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Chriſtianitee
Maſter and lord enuiron of the ſee:
All liuing men ſuch a prince to dreed,
Of ſuch a a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a * Chronicle anon ſhalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into Engliſh, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O moſt maruellous
Prince liuing, wittie, and chiualrous:
So good that none of his predeceſſours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.

*Dicit Chronica, quod iſte Edgarus cunctis prædeceſſoribus ſuis fælicior, nulli ſanctitate inferior, omnibus morum ſuauitate præſtantior fuerit. Fuit ipſe Anglis non minus memorabilis, quàm Cyrus Perſis, Carolus Francis, Romulus verò Romanis.

Hee was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee paſſed all in vertuous ſweetnes.
Of English kings was none ſo commendable:
To English men no leſſe memorable,
Then Cyrus was to Perſe by puiſſance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the ſee without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boyſtrous windes put ſee men into fere;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee paſſed through, perceiuing his princes,
Lords, and others of the communitee,
Who was oppreſſour, and who to pouertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by miſchiefe and by ſtrife
With ouer leuing and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aſpied: and his miniſters als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durſt take in hand
To diſobey his ſtatutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of theſe he made ſubtile inueſtigation
Of his owne eſpie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great buſines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppreſſion.
Thus was hee wont in this Winter tide
On ſuch enforchiſe buſily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing.
Thus was hee occupied: a paſſing holy King.
Nowe to purpoſe, in the Sommer faire
Of luſty ſeaſon, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie ſhippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a ſtore:
Full three thouſand and ſixe hundred alſo
Stately inough on our ſea to goe.
The Chronicles ſay, theſe ſhippes were full boyſteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
And in cuſtome to be ful redie ſoone,
With multitude of men of good array
And inſtruments of werre of beſt aſſay.
Who could hem well in any wiſe deſcriue:
It were not light for eny man aliue.
Thus he and his would enter ſhippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleete
Of See werres, that ioyfull was to ſee

Dick Chronica, preparauerat naues robuſtiſſimas numero tria millia ſexcenta: in quibus redeunte æſtate omnem inſulam ad terrorem extraneorū, & ad ſuorum exercitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare conſueuerat.

Such a nauie and Lord of Maieſtee,
There preſent in perſon hem among
To ſaile and rowe enuiron all along,
So regal liche about the Engliſh iſle;
To all ſtrangers terrours and perile.
Whoſe fame went about in all the world ſtout;
Unto great fere of all that be without,
And exerciſe to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of nede muſt haue exerciſe,
Thus occupied for eſchewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie eſpied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the ſee
Should bene our ſubiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worſhip and for profite alſo
To defend his land fro euery foo.

Dicit Chronica &c, vt non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita bonorum operum mercedem donauerit: cum aliquando ad maximam eius feſtiuitatem, reges, comites, multarumq; prouinciarum protectores conueniſſent, &c.

That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:
Saffe onely this I may not paſſe away,
A worde of mightie ſtrength till that I ſay,
That graunted him God ſuch worſhip here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That ſometime at his great feſtiuitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there preſent,
And many Lords came thider by aſſent,
To his worſhip: but in a certaine day
Hee bad ſhippes to bee redie of aray:
For to viſit Saint Iohns Church hee liſt
Rowing vnto the good holie Baptiſt,
Hee aſſigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ſhips right goodly to ſights:
And for himſelfe and eight kings mo
Subiect to him hee made kepe one of tho,
A good ſhippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they ſit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I vnderſtand,
And he himſelfe at the ſhippe behinde
As ſteris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well ſay,
Was not ſeene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in ſee, that I may not ſuffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had vpon the ſee.

An incident of the Lord of the ſea King *Edward* the third.

Of king Edward I paſſe and his prowes
On lande, on ſea yee knowe his worthines:
The ſiege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it laſted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Creeye was ydoe:

Caleis was yelded to ẏ Engliſh 1347.

Howe it was cloſed enuiron about,
Olde men ſawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt,
Old Knightes ſay that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ship on ſee made no beſieging there,
For want of ſhippes that durſt not come for feare.
It was nothing beſieged by the ſee:
Thus call they it no ſiege for honeſtie.
Gonnes aſſailed, but aſſault was there none,
No ſiege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping haue knightes ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.
But king Edward made a ſiege royall,
And wanne the towne: and in eſpeciall
The ſea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whoſe time was no nauie on the ſee
That might withſtand his maieſtie.
Battell of Scluſe yee may rede euery day,
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
It was ſo late done that yee it knowe,
In compariſon within a litle throwe:
For which to God giue we honour and glorie;
For Lord of ſee the king was with victorie.

King Edward had 700 Engliſh ſhips, and 14151. Engliſh mariners before Calcis.

The battell of Scluſe by ſea.

Another incident of keeping of the ſee, in the time of the marueilous werriour and victorious *Prince, King* Henrie *the fifth, and of his great* ſhippes.

And if I ſhould conclude all by the King
Henrie the fift, what was his purpoſing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which paſſed other great ſhips of all the commons;
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghoſt,
And other moe, which as nowe bee loſt.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo ſhippes, and what in minde hee meant?
It was not ellis, but that hee caſt to bee
Lorde round about enuiron of the ſee.
And when Harflew had her ſiege about,
There came caracks horrible great and ſtoute
In the narrow ſee willing to abide,
To ſtoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Deſtroyed they were by that diſcomfiture.
This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to ſiege had begonne;
That all was ſlaine or take, by true relation,
To his worſhippe, and of his Engliſh nation.
There was preſent the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell otherwiſe then I:
Aſke him, and witte; I paſſe foorth haſtily.
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wiſedome, and prudence?
Prouiſion, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, iuſtice, and agilitee,
Diſcretion, ſubtile auiſedneſſe,

The great ſhips of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.

Great caracks of Genua taken by the Duke of Bedford.

1416.

The French nauie thus ouerthrowen was of fiue hundred ſaile.

Attemperance, Nobleſſe, and worthineſſe:
Science, proweſſe, deuotion, equitie,
Of moſt eſtate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the ſaide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on liue a man more victorious,
And in ſo ſhort time prince ſo maruellous?
By land and ſea, ſo well he him acquitte,
To ſpeake of him I ſtony in my witte.
Thus here I leaue the king with his nobleſſe,
Henry the fift, with whom all my proceſſe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of ſea keeping, entending victorie
I leaue endly: for about in the ſee
No Prince was of better ſtrenuitee.
And if he had to this time liued here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghoſt.

His great ſhips ſhould haue ben put in preeſe,
Unto the ende that he ment of in cheeſe.
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
Lord and maſter about the round ſee:
And kept it ſure to ſtoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne vs good, and wiſely brought it thence:
That no paſſage ſhould be without danger,
And his licence on ſee to moue and ſterre.

Of vnitie, ſhewing of our keeping of the ſee: with an endly or finall proceſſe of peace by authoritie. *Chap.* 12.

NOw than for loue of Chriſt, and of his ioy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and ſet a gouernance,
Set many wits withouten variance,

Exhortatio generalis in cuſtodiam totius Angliæ, per diligentiam cuſtodiæ circuitus maris circa littora eiuſdem quæ debet eſſe per vnanimitatẽ Conſiliariorum regis, & hominum bonæ voluntatis.

To one accord and vnanimitee,
Put to good will for to keepe the ſee,
First for worſhip and profite alſo,
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.
Thus ſhall worſhip and riches to vs long.
Than to the Noble ſhall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they muſt dreſſe hem to peace in haſte,
Or ellis their thrift to ſtanden, and to waſte.
As this proceſſe hath proued by and by
All by reaſon and expert policy;
And by ſtories which proued well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,
But many londs would ſeche her peace for nede,
The ſee wel kept: it muſt bee don for drede.
Thus muſt Flanders for nede haue vnitee
And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
Within ſhort while: and ambaſſadours
Would bene here ſoone to treate for their ſuccours.

Tres ſunt cauſæ prædictæ cuſtodiæ: ſcilicet, honor, commodum regni, & oppreſſio inimicis.

This vnitee is to God pleaſance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace ſikerly,
And power cauſeth peace finally.
Kept than the ſea about in ſpeciall,

Which of England is the towne wall,
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the ſee.
Kepe then the ſea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at eaſe withouten doubt.
And thus ſhould euery lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
And liue togither werreleſſe in vnitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In reſt and peace, to Chriſtes great pleaſance,
Without ſtrife, debate and variance.
Which peace men ſhould enſerche with buſineſſe,
And knit it ſadly holding in holineſſe.
The Apoſtle ſeith, if ye liſt to ſee,

Ephes.4. Solliciti ſitis ſeruare vnitatem ſpiritus in vinculo pacis.

Bee yee buſie for to keepe vnitee
Of the ſpirit in the bond of peace.
Which is needful to all withouten leſe.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To purſue it, this is holy deſire.
Our Lord Ieſu ſaith, Bleſſed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.

Matth.5. Beati pacifici, quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.

For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the ſonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and ſlugly not to ſleepe
In ſhame of ſinne: that our verry foo
Might be to vs conuerts, and turned ſo.

Cum placuerint Domino: viæ hominis, eius inimicos ad pacem conuertet.

For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpoſe
Plaine inough without any gloſe:
When mens weyes pleaſe vnto our Lord,
It ſhall conuert and bring to accord
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, reſt and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and ſtyed vp with our nature,
Or hee aſcended, he yaue to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, agayne ſtriffe and debate,
More giue vs peace, ſo well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feſte
Wee may haue peace in the land of beheſte,

Vrbs beata Ieruſalem dicta pacis viſio.

Ieruſalem, which of peace is the ſight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There gloriſied in reſt with his tuition,
The Deitie to ſee with full fruition:
Hee ſecond perſon in diuineneſſe is,
Who vs aſſume, and bring vs to the bliſs. Amen.

Here endeth the true proceſſe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe *the ſea enuiron: ſhewing what profit and ſaluation,* with worſhip commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

Go furth Libelle, and meekely ſhewe thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,

In oppoſaile and cheriſhing the auance,
To hardines if that not variance
Thou haſt fro trought by full experience
Authors and reaſons: if ought faile in ſubſtance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this ſcience;
That ſeth it is ſoth in verray fayth,
That the wiſe Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerſeene, and verely he ſaith
That thou art true, and thus hee doeth record,
Next the Goſpel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Chriſt defend thy right.

The wiſe lord of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke.

Explicit libellus de Politia conſeruatiua maris.

A large Charter granted by K. *Edward* the 4. in the ſecond yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England reſident eſpecially in the Netherland, *for their chuſing of a maſter and gouernor among themſelues, which* gouernement was firſt appointed vnto one William Obray: with expreſſe mention, what authoritie he ſhould haue.

1462

EDward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lord of Ireland, to al thoſe which ſhal ſee or heare theſe letters, ſendeth greeting, & good wil. Know ye, that whereas we haue vnderſtood, as well by the report of our louing and faithfull Counſellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, diſcords, annoyes, diſſentions, & damages, haue heretofore bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our ſubiects of our realmes of France & England, & our lordſhips of Ireland and Wales, & of other our dominions, ſeigneuries, and territories, becauſe that good diſcretion and authority hath not bin obſerued among our ſaide ſubiects, which abide, frequent, conuerſe, remain, inhabit, & paſſe, aſwel by ſea as by land, into yͤ parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and diuers other countreis & ſeigneuries belonging aſwell to the high and mighty prince, our moſt deere and louing couſin yͤ Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lords, which are in friendſhip, alliance, & good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that through the ſaide inconuenience and occaſion, many diſcommodities may enſue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) vnles we ſhould prouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe for our ſubiects aforeſaid: wherefore we deſiring moſt effectually and heartily to auoide the miſchiefe of the ſaide inconueniences & to prouide conuenient remedy for the ſame, to the end that the ſaid common marchants and mariners and others our ſubiects of our ſaid realms & dominions, which at this preſent & hereafter ſhal haunt and frequent yͤ ſaid countreis, may be iuſtly & lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis aforeſaid, and that equity, reaſon, & iuſtice may be miniſtred vnto them and euery of them, according as the caſes ſhal require, we being wel aſſured and hauing ful confidence, in the diſcretion, faithfulnes, wiſdome, experience, & good diligence of our moſt deare & welbeloued ſubiect Will. Obray our ſeruant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable ſeruices, which he hath done vs in our realm & among our ſubiects in times paſt, & hoping that he wil do alſo hereafter, we haue made, ordained, conſtituted, committed, and eſtabliſhed, and by the tenour of theſe preſents, of our ſpecial grace, ful power, & authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and eſtabliſh, (during our pleaſure) to be gouernor, iudge, warden of iuſtice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we haue or may haue ouer our ſaid common ſubiects the marchants trauailing hereafter as wel by ſea as by land, and abiding in the ſaid countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the ſea, as is aforeſaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accuſtomed, & as the ſaid Will. Obray at other times hath had and receiued of our ſaid ſubiects, when he had, vſed, and exerciſed the ſaid office of gouernor, & alſo with other ſuch rights and profits, as hereafter ſhal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we haue giuen him, and by theſe preſents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleaſure, ful power, authority, and ſpecial commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cauſe to be gouerned and ruled with good iuſtice by himſelfe, or by his ſufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and euery our foreſaid ſubiects the common marchants & mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, paſſing, & repairing from henceforth into the ſaid countreis of Brabant, Flanders,

ders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreyes beyond the ſea, as it is ſaid, and to keep and cauſe to be kept, to exerciſe and maintein, for vs and in our place, the ſaid office of gouernour, and to doe all ſuch things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do, and to take knowledge and adminiſtration of the cauſes of the ſaid common marchants and mariners, our ſubiects, and of euery of them, and of their cauſes and quarels moued, or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforeſaid, or within the limits & borders therof, and to doe them full & ſpeedy iuſtice. And to reforme, cauſe reformation, gouerne, appeaſe, and pacifie all contentions, diſcords, queſtions, or debates betweene thoſe our ſaid ſubiects moued, or to moued: and to right, redreſſe, repaire, reſtore, and amend all tranſgreſſions, domages, enterpriſes, outrages, violences and iniuries committed, or to be cōmitted: and like wiſe to require, to aſke, demand, and receiue, reſtitutions, reparations, reſtaurations, and amends of our ſaid ſubiects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factors in the cōtreis aforeſaid. And that, whenſoeuer and as often as it ſhal pleaſe the ſaid gouernor or his deputies, they may in ſome conuenient and honeſt place within the ſaid countreis make or cauſe to be made, ſomon, and hold in our name iuriſdictions, courts, and aſſemblies: and in our ſaid name take adminiſtration and knowledge of cauſes, as it is aforeſaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and vmpires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to miniſter iuſtice, to ordaine, appoint, cenſure, and conſtraine our ſaide ſubiects to ſweare and take all kind of oathes, which order of iuſtice and cuſtome require and afforde, and to enioy our authoritie, and to vſe, execute and accompliſh, by way of equitie and iuſtice, and to doe, or cauſe to be done all execution and exerciſe of law and iuſtice; and to ordain, appoint, & eſtabliſh ſixe ſergeants or vnder, to doe the executions & arreſts of our ſaid court, by the commandement of the ſaid gouernour or of his deputies, or at the requeſt of the partie or otherwiſe, according as the caſe ſhall require by their aduiſe, and to diſcharge and diſplace the ſaid ſergeants, as ſhall ſeeme good vnto him, as often and whenſoeuer as it ſhall pleaſe him, and change them, and appoint and ſet others in their roomes, and to require returne and anſwere of the court, whenſoeuer need ſhal be, of all cauſes, quarels, and buſineſſes in regard of the ſaid office belonging vnto vs and to our ſaid ſubiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the caſe ſhall permit and require: and generally and ſpecially to doe as much for vs and in our ſtead, in the caſes before mentioned, and which hereafter ſhalbe declared, as we could doe or cauſe to be done, could ſay or require, if we were there preſent in our owne perſon. Moreouer wee will, and by the tenour of theſe preſents wee giue and graunt vnto the ſaide gouernour, and to our ſaide ſubiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whenſoeuer it pleaſe them, they may meet and aſſemble in ſome honeſt and conuenient place, and by the conſent of the ſaide gouernour to chooſe and appoynt among them at their pleaſure, freely and without danger, certaine ſufficient and fit perſons to the number of twelue or vnder, which we wil haue to be named Iuſticers, vnto the which Iuſticers ſo elected by the ſaide gouernour and our ſaide ſubiects, as it is ſaid, and to euerie of them, we giue and graunt eſpeciall power and authoritie to ſitte and aſſiſt in court, with the ſaid gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and aſſiſtance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our ſaid ſubiects their ſuites, pleas, and the ſtate of their cauſes and quarels whatſoeuer moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cauſe, and at the requeſt of the ſaide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to ſay, propound, and plainely to expreſſe and declare their opinions, according to right and conſcience, vpon the cauſes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counſell and aduiſe the ſaide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and cenſure, iudge and determine, and ende the ſame iuſtly and equally, according as the caſe ſhall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all iuſt and reaſonable ſtatutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and conſtitutions made and eſtabliſhed, or to be made and eſtabliſhed, in the countreys aforeſaide, by the conſent of the ſaid gouernour, and of the ſaie Iuſticers, ſhalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they ſhall ſee to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the eſtate of the common marchants and mariners our ſaide ſubiects, and ſhalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approue them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inuiolably obſerued, kept and obeyed. And alſo, of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the conſent of our ſaid gouernour, our ſaid ſubiects the common marchants and mariners may make and ſet downe in the ſaid countreis, by their common conſent, as often as they ſhall thinke good for their better gouernment and eſtate, ſuch iuſt and reaſonable lawes, ſtatutes, ordinances, decrees, conſtitutions, and cuſtomes, as they ſhal thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we cōmand to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approued, auailable, and eſtabliſhed. Prouided alwaies, that they do not nor ſeeke any thing preiudicial to this preſent power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the ſaide gouernour, in any poynt or article herein compriſed, by any meanes or way whatſoeuer: in which caſe if they ſhoulde doe any thing, or ought ſhould happen, we will that it ſhal take no place, force, vigour, ſtrength, nor vertue: neither that it ſhalbe of any effect, but it ſhalbe aboliſhed, diſanulled, and vtterly fruſtrate; and as aboliſhed, diſanulled, and vtterly fruſtrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the ſame. And ſo to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and abſolute power, & ſpeciall authority to our ſaid ſeruant William Obray, & to his ſaid lieutenants. And likewiſe, to the end that yͤ courſe of marchandiſe may be kept in good eſtate, and that by order of iuſtice a firme and conſtant rule may be ſet downe among thoſe our ſaid ſubiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue conſented & doe conſent, and by theſe preſents haue giuen & do giue ful power & eſpeciall authority to our ſaid ſeruant Will. Obray gouernour aforeſaid, that at al time and times when he ſhal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuſe, and appoint, in the countreis aforeſaid, ſuch miniſters, officers, and ſeruitours as hereafter ſhalbe named, and ſuch others as he ſhal think neceſſary, and to diſcharge them, and to change them, & ſet others in their roomes, at his good will and pleaſure, vnto ſuch a number as he ſhall thinke good and reaſonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he ſhal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our ſaid ſubiects and others with whom they ſhal haue to do or to deale in the foreſaid countreis: and alſo as many alnagers to alner and meaſure al kinds of marchandiſes which they ſhal buy or ſel by the yard: and alſo as many weighers to weigh the marchandiſe which ſhalbe ſold or bought by weight: and alſo ſo many folders to fold their clothes, and ſo many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baſkets, and other things needefull for the defence & preſeruation of their marchandize. Al which miniſters, officers, and ſeruitors, ſo choſen, elected, charged, admitted, and eſtabliſhed by the ſaide gouernour, as is ſaide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances vpon the ſaid marchants, according to the cuſtome of the ſaid countreis, and as they haue bene accuſtomed to take of the ſaid marchants before theſe preſents by vs giuen and graunted. And hereupon we haue giuen and doe giue expreſſe charge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our ſaid ſubiects common marchants and mariners, and to euery of them which ſhall frequent, come, remaine, paſſe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforeſaid, that they ſhall not make contract or bargaine, ſell or buy, nor ſhall not cauſe any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the ſaid countreis ſell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandiſes, ſecretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatſoeuer, with any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, countrey, or condition ſoeuer they be, without he hath ſome of the ſaid brokers at the bargain making, to preſent, report, and to teſtifie the ſaid contracts or bargains before the ſaid gouernor or others, if need require, and ſtrife or contention ſhould grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cauſe to be packed any goods or marchandiſes belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, cheſts, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without hauing ſome deputy preſent thereat: nor to take or cauſe to be taken or ſet on worke in the ſaid countreis, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforeſaid ſo choſen, admitted, eſtabliſhed, and ordained by the ſaide gouernor, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is ſaid, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our diſpleaſure, and of forfeiture, and confiſcation of all ſuch goods, wares, and marchandiſes, which ſhalbe found to haue paſſed by other hands or order, then that or thoſe which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiſcations ſhall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our ſaide ſubiects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland; the other fourth part to vs, & our vſe; the third fourth part to our ſaid couſin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the ſaide goods ſhall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which ſhall diſcouer, detect, or finde out the ſaide fraude. And alſo that none of our ſaid ſubiects ſhall vnlade or cauſe to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor otherwiſe, nor vnpacke, in the countreis aboueſaide, no kind of wares, goods, nor marchandiſes whatſoeuer, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to bee brought into the countreyes aforeſaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeyſance, without firſt and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriuall, and craue leaue, and deliuer, ſhewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the ſaide goods and marchandiſes haue truly and lawfully payde vnto vs our rights and cuſtomes, and not to vnpacke them but in the preſence of the ſaide gouernour, his lieuetenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfaiture, and confiſcation of the ſaide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foreſaide article. And if it bee found by the viſitation of the ſaide gouernor, his lieuetenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandiſes whatſoeuer be arriued and diſcharged in the countreis aforeſaid, belonging to our ſaide ſubiectes, not lawfully cuſtomed and acquited towarde vs of our right and cuſtome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet, as is metioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze vpon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiſcate and forfeit the ſame, diſtributing the ſame into foure parts in maner aforeſayd. And alſo wee will, that euery one of the ſayd packes, fardels, baſkets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the ſayd marchandiſes ſhalbe packed, to be ſent out of the ſaid countreis, ſhall not be laden vpon ſhips, carts, nor horſes, to come into our dominion, without being firſt ſealed with a ſeale ordayned by vs and giuen by the ſayd gouernour, vpon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiſcated to vs and into our hand, if they be found vnſigned and not ſealed with the ſeale. And for euery piece of marchandiſe which ſhall be ſealed with the ſayd ſeale, they ſhall pay to the ſayd ſealer two pence of groſſe money of Flanders, which ſhall goe to the profite of the ſayd gouernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conſcience, we ought not to vſe the labour, trauels, nor ſeruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reaſon and equity, eſpecially when we doe appoint any perſon or perſons to doe or cauſe to be done ſo great trauels, labours, buſines, and executions, as theſe which are contayned in this preſent charter, aſwell for the benefit and profit of vs and our ſelues, as for the holeſome, perfect, & good gouernment of our ſayd ſubiects: we by the good aduiſe and deliberation of the ſayd lords of our priuie counſell, haue granted and giuen, and as before, doe grant and giue, of our ſayd grace, to the ſayd William Obray our ſayd ſeruant and gouernour abouenamed, during our pleaſure, for part of his wages and fee of the ſayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liuer of groſſe money of Flanders, vpon al and ſinguler the goods, wares and marchandiſes of our ſayd ſubiects frequenting the ſayd countreis, to be leuyed, gathered, receiued, and payed vnto the ſayd William Obray or to his deputies, vpon the ſayd wares and marchandiſes belonging vnto our ſayd ſaid ſubiects buying and ſelling, or which they ſhall cauſe to ſell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys abouesaid, aſwell of the goods and marchandiſes which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into the ſayd countries, as of all other goods which they ſhall lade and carie, or cauſe to bee caried and conueyed out of thoſe countreis into our dominion or elſewhere into any other part whatſoeuer. And to cauſe the ſame to be gathered, receiued, leauied and payed, we haue giuen, and by theſe preſents doe giue full power and ſpeciall authoritie vnto the ſayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforeſayd, to leauy, gather, and cauſe to bee leauied and receiued the ſayd money, in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vſe, during our pleaſure: and to enioy and vſe the ſame as his proper goods, without any contradiction, conſtraining and arreſting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our ſaid ſubiects, their ſayd goods, and euery of them, by way of law and iuſtice, and to cauſe them to yeelde and pay the ſayd money, vpon the ſaid goods and marchandiſes, as is aforeſayd. For ſuch is our pleaſure, and ſo will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleaſure. And alſo we will that the ſayd William Obray, ouer and aboue that which is ſayd, ſhall take, gather, and receiue of our ſayd ſubiects from henceforth yearely, during our pleaſure, all ſuch and like wages and profits, as he had and receiued of our ſayd ſubiects, in the yeare 1458. when hee held and exerciſed the ſaid office of gouernour, without diminiſhing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithſtanding this preſent augmentation made, increaſed, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: and that hee ſhall gather, take, and receiue the ſame in ſuch forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the ſayd William Obray may haue and take poſſeſſion, ſeaſon, and enterance of the ſaid office of gouernour in our name we haue and doe place him, by the deliuery of theſe preſents, in poſſeſſion, ſeaſon, and entrance of the ſaid office, and of the rights, profits, ſtipends, wages, and moneis aforeſayd, to begin to exerciſe the ſayd office of gouernour in our name, the firſt day of May next enſuing after the date of theſe preſents, for the ſayd William Obray to hold and exerciſe, practiſe and vſe the ſame, during our pleaſure, with the ſayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites aboue mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and ſingular our ſubiects the common marchants and mariners, which ſhall be contrary, rebellious, and diſobedient to the ſaid gouernour ſo ordayned by vs, to his ſaid lieutenants, to the ſayd iuſticers ſo choſen, or to any of them, or to any of the ſtatutes, lawes, decrees, ſentences, ordinances, and cuſtomes, offices, gifts, and grants aboueſayd, let them grieuouſly be puniſhed by the ſayd gouernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the caſes. We doe ſommon, commaund, ſtraitly and expreſly enioine by theſe preſents all and euery our ſaide ſubiects, that vnto the ſayd gouernour ſo by vs ordained, to his lieutenants, attorneis, or deputies, and alſo to the ſaid iuſticers, officers, and miniſters, in all and euerie the things aforeſaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our ſaid ordinances, their gouernmẽt and rule, the circumſtances and dependances theron that they giue their attendance, counſayle, comfort, obedience, and ayde, diligently without fault or difficulty, ſurely, ſafely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or ſuffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any diſturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatſoeuer: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the preiudice of theſe preſents, they ſhall remoue and cauſe the ſame to be remooued, and that which ſhall be hindered they ſhall ſet at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high diſpleaſure. For ſuch is our pleaſure and ſo will wee haue it, notwithſtanding anie letters falſely crept in, obtayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our ſubiects, the common marchants and mariners, ſo behaue your ſelues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that ſuch as ſhall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will ſee them ſo puniſhed without redemption, that they ſhall bee an example to all rebellious perſons. We pray and moſt inſtantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, aſwell princes and potentates, as their iuſticers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commiſſaries, and ſubiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchſafe, and that it would pleaſe them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, aſſiſtance, and priſons if neede require, to our ſayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commiſſaries, deputies, iuſticers, & others our officers and miniſters aforeſayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may pleaſe them herein to doe ſo much, that we may haue occaſion to thanke them, and to accompt our ſelues beholding for the ſame: and as they would that we ſhould do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our ſelues at Weſtminſter, the ſixteenth of April, in the ſecond yere our reigne.

A declaration of the *Indies* and lands diſcouered, and *ſubdued vnto the Emperour, and the king of* Portingal: *And alſo of* other partes of the *Indies* and rich countries to be diſcouered, which the worſhipfull M. *Robert Thorne* merchant of *London* (who dwelt long in the citie of *Siuil* in *Spaine*) exhorted king *Henrie* the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

Experience prooueth that naturally all princes bee deſirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marueiled, to ſee them euery day procure the ſame, not regarding any coſt, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marueiled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For ſurely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and ſpirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the deſires of Princes haue bene ſo feruent to obtaine their purpoſe, that they haue aduentured and prooued things to mans coniecture impoſſible, the which they haue made poſſible, and alſo things difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpoſe, haue in maner turned vp and downe the whole world ſo many times, that the people inhabiting in the fartheſt region of the Occident haue purſued with great diſtreſſe, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the fartheſt regions of the Orient: and in like wiſe thoſe people of the ſaid parts of the Orient haue had no leſſe labour and deſire to enter and penetrate into the fartheſt land of the Occident, and ſo following their purchaſe haue not ceaſed vntill they could paſſe no farther by reaſon of the great ſeas.

This naturall inclination is cauſe, that ſcarſely it may be ſaid, there is any kingdome ſtable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath prouided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and ſet it in ſo fruitfull a place, and within ſuch limites, that it ſhould ſeeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foreſayd deſire. One ſpeciall cauſe is, for that it is compaſſed with the Sea: by reaſon thereof it ſeemes, this notwithſtanding, their deſires and noble courages haue beene moſt commonly like vnto others: and with marueilous great labours, coſtes and perils, they haue traueiled and paſſed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but alſo with them of farre countries, and ſo haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And alſo now of late your Grace hauing like courage and deſire, and not without iuſt cauſe, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that preſent ye reſtrained, your Grace in perſon paſſed with a great power into France, putting your Graces perſon to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriouſly you had conquered the ſayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduerſary had not reconciled himſelfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and ſo promiſed truly to pay the tribute then due, & fulfill your requeſt in all things, and alſo deſired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuſe.

Now I conſidering this your noble courage and deſire, and alſo perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleaſure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little coſt, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your ſubiects, amplifie and inrich this your ſayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifeſt this ſecret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I ſuppoſe, hath beene hid: which is, that with a ſmall number of ſhips there may bee diſcouered diuers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace ſhall winne perpetuall glory, and your ſubiects infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to diſcouer, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it ſeemeth three parts are diſcouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue diſcouered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: ſo that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they haue compaſſed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the courſe or way of the middeſt of the day, and ſo then was diſcouered a great part of the ſame Seas and coaſtes by the Spaniards. So that now reſt to be diſcouered the ſayd North parts, the which it ſeemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Becauſe the ſituation of this your Realme is thereunto neereſt and apteſt of all other: and alſo for that you haue already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not ſeeme well to leaue ſo great and profitable an enterpriſe, ſeeing it may ſo eaſily and with ſo little coſt, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, & found not the commodity thereby as you truſted, at this time it ſhall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cauſe that your Graces deſire tooke no full effect, which is, the courſes to be changed, & followed the foreſaid new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhippes, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reaſon whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. Surely the coſt herein will be nothing, in compariſon to the great profit. The labour is much leſſe, yea nothing at all, where ſo great honour and glory is hoped for: and conſidering well the courſes, truely the danger & way is ſhorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by euident reaſons appeareth.

A ſecrete.

The diſcouery of the North.

By Sebaſtian Cabot and ſir Thomas Pert in the eight yere of his reigne. And this is the voyage ſpoken of by Gonſaluo Ouiedo, that came to S. Domingo.

And now to declare ſomething of the commoditie and vtilitie of this Nauigation and diſcouerie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men ſay, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impoſſible to paſſe, that thoſe ſame Seas be nauigable and without anie ſuch danger, but that ſhippes may paſſe and haue in them perpetuall cleereneſſe of the day without any darkeneſſe of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the nauigants, to ſee at all times round about them, as well the ſafegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leeſe the moſt part of euery foure and twentie houres the ſaid light, and goe in darkeneſſe groping their way, I thinke there is none ſo ignorant but perceiueth this more plainely, then it can be expreſſed. Yea what a vantage ſhal your Graces ſubiects haue alſo by this light to diſcouer the ſtrange landes, countries, and coaſtes? For if they that be diſcouered, to ſaile by them in darkeneſſe is with great danger, much more then the coaſtes not diſcouered be dangerous to trauell by night or in darkeneſſe. Yet theſe dangers or darkeneſſe hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other, to diſcouer many vnknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which conſidered (and that your Graces ſubiects may haue the ſame light) it will ſeeme your Graces ſubiects to be without actiuitie or courage, in leauing to doe this glorious and noble enterpriſe. For they being paſt this litle way which they named ſo dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they paſſe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence foorth the ſeas and landes are as temperate as in theſe partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleaſure of the mariners, to chooſe whether they will ſayle by the coaſtes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being paſt the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they liſt.

Note.

Nauigation vnder the Pole

If they will goe toward the Orient, they ſhall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land moſt Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coaſts that returne toward the Occident, they ſhall fall in with Malaca, and ſo with all the

Tartaria.

China.

the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speranſa: and thus they ſhall compaſſe the whole worlde. And if they will take their courſe after they be paſt the Pole, toward the Occident, they ſhall goe in the backe ſide of the new found land, which of late was diſcouered by your Graces ſubiects, vntill they come to the backe ſide and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And ſo continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the ſtreight of Magellan to this countrey, and ſo they compaſſe alſo the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be paſt the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Iſlands ſituated between the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they ſhall finde there the richeſt landes and Iſlands of the world of golde, precious ſtones, balmes, ſpices, and other thinges that we here eſteeme moſt: which come out of ſtrange countries, and may returne the ſame way.

New found land diſcouered by ẏ Engliſh.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduantage of the riches, but alſo your ſubiects ſhall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforeſayd.

The booke made by the right worſhipful M. *Robert Thorne* in the *yeere* 1527. *in* Siuil, *to Doctour* Ley, *Lord ambaſſadour for king Henry* the eight, to *Charles* the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, diſcouered by him and the king of *Portingal*: and alſo of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

RIght noble and reuerend in &c. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procured and ſent to know of your ſeruant, who, your Lordſhip wrote, ſhould be ſicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and ſhipt. I cannot iudge but that of ſome contagious ſickneſſe hee died, ſo that the owner of the houſe for defaming his houſe would bury him ſecretly, and not be knowen of it. For ſuch things haue often times happened in this countrey.

Alſo to write vnto your Lordſhippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Iſlands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the ſaid Iſlands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamondes, Balaſſes, Granates, Iacincts, and other ſtones & pearles, as all other lands, that are vnder and neere the Equinoctiall. For we ſee, where nature giueth any thing, ſhe is no nigard. For as with vs and other, that are aparted from the ſaid Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, ſo theirs be Gold, Siluer, and Copper. And as our fruits and graines bee Apples, Nuts, and Corne, ſo theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Ieat, Amber, Criſtall, Iaſper, and other like ſtones, ſo haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Balaſſes, Saphyres, Iacincts, and other like. And though ſome ſay that of ſuch precious mettals, graines, or kind of ſpices, and precious ſtones, the abundance and quantity is nothing ſo great, as our mettals, fruits or ſtones aboue rehearſed: yet if it be well conſidered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which ſpace is found the ſayd Golde, ſpices and precious ſtones) is as much in quantity, as almoſt all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more quantity of the ſayd mettals, fruites, ſpices, and precious ſtones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearſed. And I ſee that the preciouſnes of theſe things is meaſured after the diſtance that is between vs, and the things that we haue appetite vnto. For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was diſcouered, that theſe Iſlands nothing ſet by golde, but ſet more by a knife and a nayle of iron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reaſon, as the thing more neceſſary for mans ſeruice. And I doubt not but to them ſhould be as precious our corne and ſeedes, if they might haue them, as to vs their ſpices: & likewiſe the pieces of glaſſe that here we haue counterfeited are as precious to them, as to vs their ſtones: which by experience is ſeene daylie by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of thoſe countries is ſufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether it may bee profitable to the Emperor or no? it may be without doubt of great profite: if, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a merchant, and prouide ſhippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of theſe Iſlands for himſelfe. But other greater buſineſſe withholdeth him from this. But ſtill, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the ſhippes comming in ſafetie, there would thither many euery yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that come from thence the fift part for his cuſtome cleare without any coſt. And beſides this hee putteth in euery flote a certaine quantitie of money, of which hee enioyeth of the gaines pound and pounds like as other aduenturers doe. In a fleete of three ſhippes and a Carauel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill laſt paſt, I and my partener haue one thouſand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the ſayd fleete, principally for that two Engliſh men, friends of mine, which are ſomewhat learned in Coſmographie, ſhould goe in the ſame ſhippes, to bring me certaine relation of the ſituation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of thoſe ſeas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduiſe that I deſire to knowe eſpecially. Seeing in theſe quarters are ſhippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they ſaile, though much vnlike ours, that they ſhould procure to haue the ſaid cards, and learne how they vnderſtand them, and eſpecially to know what nauigation they haue for thoſe Iſlands Northwards, and Northeaſtward.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot diſcouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

For if from the ſayd Iſlands the ſea did extend, without interpoſition of land, to ſaile from the North point to the Northeaſt poynt one thouſand ſeuen hundred or one thouſand eight hundred leagues, they ſhould come to the New found Iſlands that we diſcouered, and ſo we ſhould be neerer to the ſayd Spicerie by almoſt two thouſand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingal are. And to aduiſe your Lordſhip whether of theſe Spiceries of the king of Portingal or the Emperours is neerer, and alſo of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without ſome demonſtration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue cauſed that your Lordſhip ſhall receiue herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, ſhall put your Lordſhip to more labour to vnderſtand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in ſo litle roome that it cannot be but obſcurely ſet out, that is deſired to be ſeene in it, and alſo for that I am in this ſcience little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficulty, it is neceſſary to declare to your Lordſhip my intent, with which I truſt you ſhall perceiue in this Card part of your deſire, if, for that I cannot expreſſe mine intent, with my declaration I doe not make it more obſcure.

Note.

The Newe found Iſlands diſcouered by the Engliſh.

A Mappe of the world.

Firſt, your Lordſhip knoweth that the Coſmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they meaſure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South ſtarres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right vnder the North ſtarre the ſaid ninetie degrees: and as much from the ſayd line Equinoctiall to the South ſtarre be other ninety degrees. And as much more is alſo from either of the ſayd ſtarres agayne to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to bee round, is ſoone perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be conſumed in the ſaid foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: ſo that this latitude is the meaſure of the worlde from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are alſo counted other 360, is counted from Weſt to Eaſt, or from Eaſt to Weſt, as in the Card is ſet.

The ſayd latitude your Lordſhip may ſee marked and diuided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: ſo that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coaſt ſtandeth, take a compaſſe, and ſet the one foot of the ſame in the Equinoctial line right againſt the ſaid region, & apply the other foote of the compaſſe to the ſaid region or coaſt, & then ſet the ſayd compaſſe at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foote of the compaſſe ſtanding in the line Equinoctial, the other will ſhew in the ſcale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the ſaid region is in. Alſo the longitude of the world I haue ſet out in the nether part of the Card, conteining alſo 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptoleme and other Coſmographers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is ouer againſt a little croſſe made in the part Occidental, where the diuiſion of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the ſame Capo Verde.

To know the latitudes.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordſhip muſt take a ruler or a compaſſe, and ſet the one foot of the compaſſe vpon the land or coaſt whoſe longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compaſſe to the next part of one of the tranſuerſall lines in the Oriental or Occidental part: which done, ſet the one foot of the compaſſe in the ſaid tranſuerſal line at the end of the nether ſcale, the ſcale of longitude, and the other foot ſheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordſhip muſt vnderſtand that this Card, though little, conteineth the vniuerſall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part deſcendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whoſe diſtance meaſureth the ſcale of longitude. And that which is without the two ſaid tranſuerſall lines, is onely to ſhew how the Orientall part is ioined with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is ſet without the line in the Oriental part, is the ſame that is ſet within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is ſet without the line in the Occidentall part, is the ſame that is ſet within the line in the Orientall part, to ſhew that though this figure of the

To know the longitudes.

world in plaine or flatte ſeemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this ſayd Card were ſet vpon a round thing, where the endes ſhould touch by the lines, it would plainely appeare howe the Orient part ioyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is deſcribed and figured.

And for more declaration of the ſaid Card, your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the firſt land that is ſet out, is the maine land and Iſlands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coaſt goeth Northward, and finiſheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the ſayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

Now called the ſtraight of Magelane.

The ſayd coaſt from the ſayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordſhippe may ſee, commeth to a certaine ſtraight Sea, called Eſtrecho de todos Santos: by which ſtraight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I ſhall declare more at large: the which ſtraight Sea is right againſt three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The firſt land from the ſayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Iſlands of the Canaries, and Iſlandes of Capo verde. But the firſt maine land next to the line Equinoctial is the ſayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the ſtraight of this ſea of Italie. And ſo followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the higheſt parte toward the North. And ouer againſt Flanders are our Iſlands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coaſtes within the ſtreights I haue ſet out onely the Regions, diuiding them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordſhip may ſee, in what ſituation euerie region is, and of what highneſſe, and with what regions it is ioyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Aſia and Affrica I could not ſo wel make the ſayd diuiſiōs: for that they be not ſo wel knowen, nor need not ſo much. This I write becauſe in the ſaid Card be made the ſaid lines & ſtrikes, that your Lordſhip ſhould vnderſtand wherefore they doe ſerue. Alſo returning to the foreſaid Capo verde, the coaſt goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona ſperanſa: which is right ouer againſt the 60. & 65. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordſhip may ſee in the headland ouer againſt the 130. degree. Frō the ſayd Cape of Buona ſperanſa the coaſt returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and paſſing forth, entreth the red ſea, & returning out, entreth again into the gulfe of Perſia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforeſayd, and from thence the coaſt making a gulfe, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coaſt goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer againſt this laſt gulfe and coaſt be many Iſlands, which be Iſlandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Vpon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note.

The ſayd coaſt goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right againſt the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coaſt not yet plainely knowen, I may ioine to the New found lande found by vs, that I ſpake of before. So that I finiſh with this briefe declaration of the Card aforeſayd. Well I know I ſhould alſo haue declared how the coaſts within the ſtraightes of the Sea of Italie runne. It is playne that paſſing the ſtreightes on the North ſide of that Sea after the coaſt of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coaſt of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the ſayd gulfe is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the ſtreits of Conſtantinople, and then the ſea called Euxinus, which is within the ſayd ſtreightes: and comming out of the ſayd ſtreightes, followeth Turcia maior (though now on both ſides it is called Turcia.) And ſo the coaſt runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer againſt the ſayd Turcia are the Iſlands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer againſt Italie are the Iſlands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer againſt Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulfe of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coaſt toward the Occident, till it commeth to the ſtreightes where we began, which all is the coaſt of Affrike and Barbarie. Alſo your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand that the coaſtes of the Sea throughout all the world, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Iſlands: and all without the line ſo coloured to bee Sea: whereby it is eaſie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other deſcription would rather haue made it obſcure then cleere. And the ſayd coaſts of the Sea are all ſet iuſtly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approoueth them throughout all the Card, ſaue onely the coaſtes and Iſles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from ouer againſt the 160, to the 215. degrees of longitude. For theſe coaſtes and ſituations of the Iſlands, euery of the Coſmographers and pilots of Portingal & Spayne do ſet after their purpoſe. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, becauſe they ſhould appeare to appertaine to the Emperour: & the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they ſhould fal within their iuriſdiction. So that the pilots and nauigants thither, which in ſuch caſes ſhould declare the truth, by their induſtrie do ſet them falſly euery one to fauour his prince. And for this cauſe can be no certaine ſituation of that coaſt and Iſlands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpoſe of your Lordſhips demaund touching the difference betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to vnderſtand it better, I muſt declare the beginning of this diſcouerie. Though peraduenture your Lordſhip may ſay that in that I haue written nought of purpoſe, I fall in the prouerbe, A gemino ouo bellum: But your Lordſhip commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixious, and ſhalbe peraduenture tedious, but your Lordſhip knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verboſius.

Doctor Leys demaund.

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Caruels to diſcouer this Spicerie. Then foraſmuch as he feared that being diſcouered, euery other prince woulde ſende and trade thither, ſo that the coſt and perill of diſcouering ſhould be his, and the profite common: wherefore firſt hee gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Chriſtened, ſaying that hee would ſeeke amongſt the infidels newe poſſeſſions of regions, and therefore would make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the coſt of the ſayd armie, he ſhould enioy his part of the profite or honour that ſhould come of it. And as then this diſcouering was holden for a ſtrange thing and vncertaine. Nowe they ſay, that all the Princes of Chriſtendome anſwered, that they would be no part of ſuch an armie, nor yet of the profit that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpoſe, and of the anſwere of all the Princes, deſiring him that ſeeing that none would helpe in the coſts, that he would iudge all that ſhould bee found and diſcouered to be of his iuriſdiction, and commaunding that none other princes ſhould intermeddle therewith. The Pope ſayd not as Chriſt ſaith, Quis me conſtituit iudicem inter vos? He did not refuſe, but making himſelfe as Lord and Iudge of all, not onely granted that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Orient to Occident, ſhould be the kings of Portingal, but alſo, that vpon great cenſures no other Prince ſhould diſcouer but he. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingal. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497 were diſcouered the Iſlands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the ſpice he hath.

The Pope reprehended.

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to diſcouer lands toward the Occident without making any ſuch diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Caruels, and then diſcouered this India Occidentall, eſpecially two Iſlands of the ſayd India, that in this Card I ſet forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he ſent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the ſayd Iſlands. For that by the ſentence of the Pope all that ſhould be diſcouered was his, and that hee ſhould not proceede further in the diſcouerie without his licence. And at the ſame time it ſeemeth that out of Caſtil into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Chriſtians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and ſiluer. So that it ſeemeth that the king of Spaine anſwered, that it was reaſon that the king of Portingal aſked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would giue him the ſayd Iſlands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the ſayde kings, that none ſhould receiue the others ſubiects fugitiues, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal ſhould pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had caryed out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in ſo doing he would giue theſe Iſlands, and deſiſt from any more diſcouering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not giue theſe Iſlands, but procure to diſcouer more where him thought beſt. It ſeemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his eaſe pay this money. And ſo not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to diſcouer: ſo that he enterpriſed not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And conſented to the king of Spaine, that touching this diſcouering they ſhould diuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the ſayd ſcale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finiſheth in this Card right ouer againſt a litle croſſe made at the ſaid 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the ſaid Croſſe towarde the Occident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Croſſe in the Orient, which conteineth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land ouer againſt the ſaid hundreth & eightie degrees vntill it finiſh in the three hundred and ſixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the iuriſdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they diuided the world betweene them.

Now for that theſe Iſlands of Spicery fall neere the terme and limites betweene theſe princes (for as by the ſayd Card you may ſee they begin from one hundred and ſixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it ſeemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, ſhould be of Portingal: and all the reſt of Spaine. And for that their Coſmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the ſituation of the ſayde Iſlandes (for the Portingals ſet them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards ſet them all without:) and for that in meaſuring, all the Coſmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to meaſure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude; for that there is no ſtarre fixed from Eaſt to Weſt, as are the ſtarres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooueth with the mouing diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee meaſured, but by coniectures, as the Nauigants haue eſteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifeſt that Spaine had the ſituation of al the landes from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of yͤ Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto ſet the ſaide Iſlands within their limitation of the ſayd 180 degrees, (though they knewe very well of the Iſlands,) till now that the Spaniards diſcouered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to theſe Iſlands afore, but would neuer ſuffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for ſo much as he knew that it fell out of his dominion: leaſt by going thither there might come ſome knowledge of thoſe other Iſlands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Marchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much deerer then they would haue coſt, if he had ſent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes ſecret. And now that it is diſcouered he ſeides and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

The longitudes hard to be found out.

Alſo it ſhould ſeeme that when this foreſaid conſent of the diuiſion of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingal had already diſcouered certaine Iſlandes that lie ouer againſt Cape Verde, and alſo certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he ſette Braſill, and called it the land of Braſil. So for that all ſhould come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and ſeuentie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this, his 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, ſhould begin in the Carde right ouer againſt the 340 degrees, where I haue made a little compaſſe with a croſſe, and ſhould finiſh at the 160 degree, where alſo I haue made another little marke. And after this computation without any controuerſie, the Iſlands of the ſpicery fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards ſay to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the ſayde Cape Verde, to the intent they ſhould extende more toward the Orient, and ſo to touch thoſe Iſlandes of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two croſſes made in this Card, that then the Iſlands of Cape Verde and the lande of Braſil that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the ſayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyond the ſaid Cape Verde, to include in it the ſaid Iſlands and lands of Braſil, then plainely appeareth the ſaid 180 degrees ſhould finiſh long before they come to theſe Iſlands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordſhip may ſee. For their limits ſhould begin at the 340 degrees of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I haue made two little markes of the compaſſe with croſſes in them.

So that plainely it ſhould appeare by reaſon, that the Portingals ſhould leaue theſe Iſlands of Cape Verde and land of Braſil, if they would haue part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding theſe, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals ſay, that they will beginne their 180 degrees from the ſelfe ſame Cape Verde: for that it may extende ſo much more toward the Orient, and touch theſe Iſlandes of the Emperours: and would winne theſe Iſlandes of Cape Verde and land of Braſil neuertheleſſe, as a thing that they poſſeſſed before the conſent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the beſt reaſon. They be not yet agreed, Quare ſub Iudice lis eſt.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reaſon) the ſayd Iſlands fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the moſt part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, ſaue thoſe which they haue falſified of late purpoſely.

New found land diſcouered by the Engliſhmen.

But now touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether that which we diſcouered toucheth any thing the foreſayd coaſtes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newefound land that we diſcouered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the gold and pearles: and ſo continueth of coaſt more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the ſaid New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward vp till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues.

So that to the Indias it ſhould ſeeme that we haue ſome title, at leaſt that for our diſcouering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

Note.

Now then if from the ſayd New found lands the Sea be nauigable, there is no doubt, but ſayling Northward and paſſing the Pole, deſcending to the Equinoctial line, we ſhall hit theſe Iſlands, and it ſhould be a much ſhorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals haue. For we be diſtant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2489, and miles 7440: Where we ſhould find theſe Iſlands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may ſee, from Spaine to the Iſlandes of Canarie, and from theſe Iſlandes they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Auguſtine, and from this Cape Southwards to the ſtraites of Todos Santos, in the which nauigation to the ſaid ſtraites is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from theſe Straites being paſt them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Iſlands of Spicerie, which are diſtant from the ſaide Straites 4200, or 4300. leagues.

To ſaile by the Pole.

Or the ſtraites of Magelane.

The nauigation of the Portingals to the ſaid Iſlandes is departing from Portingal Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape paſſing the line Equinoctial called Capo de bona ſperanſa, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Iſlands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is ſayd,) if betweene our New found lands or Norway, or Iſland, the ſeas toward the North be nauigable, we ſhould goe to theſe Iſlands a ſhorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though we went not to the ſayd Iſlandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, wee ſhoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no leſſe riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are vnder the ſayd line Equinoctiall: and alſo ſhould, if we may paſſe vnder the North, enioy the nauigation of all Tartarie. Which ſhould be no leſſe profitable to our commodities of cloth, then theſe Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingal.

Note

Benefite to England.

But it is a generall opinion of all Coſmographers, that paſſing the ſeuenth clime, the ſea is all ice, and the colde ſo much that none can ſuffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was vnhabitable.

Obiection.

Yet ſince (by experience is proued) no land ſo much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the ſame ſhould be found vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all iudge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I iudge, there is no land vnhabitable, nor Sea innauigable. If I ſhould write the reaſon that preſenteth this vnto me, I ſhould be too prolixe, and it ſeemeth not requiſite for this preſent matter. God knoweth that though by it I ſhould haue no great intereſt, yet I haue had and ſtill haue no litle mind of this buſineſſe: So that if I had facultie to my will, it ſhould be the firſt thing that I woulde vnderſtand, euen to attempt, if our Seas Northward be nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reaſon, that as ſome ſickeneſſes are hereditarious, and come from the father to the ſonne, ſo this inclination or deſire of this diſcouerie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Briſtow named Hugh Eliot, were the diſcouerers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, the lands of the Weſt Indies (from whence all the gold commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coaſt, as by the Carde appeareth, and is aforeſayd.

Anſwere.

A true opiniō.

A voyage of diſcouery by the Pole.
M. Thorne and M. Eliot diſcouerers of New found land.
The cauſe why the Weſt Indies were not ours: which alſo Sebaſtian Gabot writeth in an Epiſtle to Bapiſta Ramuſius.

Alſo in this Carde by the coaſtes where you ſee C. your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand it is ſet for Cape or headland, where I. for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Alſo in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the ſituation of the land, ſaue onely in theſe Ilands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is ſayd) euery one ſetteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they ſtand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a conſummate Carde ſhould haue, or that a right good demonſtration deſireth. For there ſhould be expreſſed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the ſea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue ſet, but not in this Carde, for the litle ſpace would not conſent.

Your Lordſhip may ſee that ſetting onely the names almoſt of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Iſlands are alſo left out, for the ſaid lack of roome, the names almoſt of all Portes put to ſilence, with the roſes of the windes or poines of the compaſſe: For that this is not for Pilots to ſayle by, but a ſummary declaration of that which your Lordſhip commaunded. And if by this your Lordſhip cannot wel perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not marueile, by reaſon of the rude compoſition of it, will it pleaſe your Lordſhip to aduiſe mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cauſe one to be made. For I know my ſelfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet ſemper diſcens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam ſcientiam perueniens. Alſo I know, to ſet the forme Sphericall of the world in Plano after the true rule of Coſmographie, it would haue bene made otherwiſe then this is: howbeit the demonſtration ſhould not haue bene ſo plaine.

And alſo theſe degrees of longitude, that I ſet in the lower part of this card, ſhould haue bin ſet along by the line Equinoctiall, & ſo then muſt be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bigneſſe to them in the Equinoctiall. But theſe are ſet ſo, for that ſetting them a long the Equinoctial, it would haue made obſcure a great part of the map. Many other curioſities may be required, which for the nonce I did not ſet downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to ſatiſfie your doubt touching the ſpicerie, as for that I lack leaſure and time. I truſt your Lordſhip correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordſhips ſeruice. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordſhip will rather commaund me to keepe ſilence, then to be large, when you ſhall be wearied with the reading of this diſcourſe. Ieſus proſper your eſtate and health.

Your Lordſhips
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALſo this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be ſhewed or communicated there with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cauſe of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make theſe Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for maſters, as for that peraduenture it would not ſound well to them, that a ſtranger ſhould know or diſcouer their ſecretes: and would appeare worſt of all, if they vnderſtand that I write touching the ſhort way to the ſpicerie by our Seas. Though peraduenture of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is vnpoſſible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor elſe where is it to be ſpoken of. For to moue it amongſt wiſe men, it ſhould bee had in deriſion. And therefore to none I would haue written nor ſpoken of ſuch things, but to your Lordſhip, to whom boldly I commit in this all my fooliſh fantaſie as to my ſelf. But if it pleaſe God that into England I may come with your Lordſhip, I will ſhew ſome coniectures of reaſon, though againſt the generall opinion of Coſmographers, by which ſhall appeare this that I ſay not to lacke ſome foundation. And till that time I beſeeche your Lordſhip let it be put to ſilence: and in the meane ſeaſon it may pleaſe God to ſend our two Engliſhmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may alſo bring more plaine declaration of that which in this caſe might be deſired.

Alſo I knowe I needed not to haue beene ſo prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordſhip, if the ſayd Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Coſmographie. For your Lordſhip would ſoone vnderſtand it better then I, or any other that could haue made it: and ſo it ſhould appeare that I ſhewed Delphinū natare. But for that I haue made it after my rude maner, it is neceſſary that I be the declarer or gloſer of mine own worke, or els your Lordſhip ſhould haue had much labour to vnderſtand it, which now with it alſo cannot be excuſed, it is ſo groſſely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I truſt your Lordſhip will accept this, and hold me for excuſed. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this preſent they write no larger: but I muſt finiſh, aſking pardon that at this preſent I write ſo largely. Ieſus preſerue your Lordſhip with augmentation of dignities.

Your ſeruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, ſepulti in Eccleſia Templariorum Londini.

RObertus iacei hic Thorne, quem Briſtolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim ſemper magnæ Reſpublica curę,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopi auxilium, triſtes componere lites,

Dulce huic conſilio quóſque iuuare fuit,
Qui pius exaudis miſerorum vota precéſque,
Chriſte huic cœli des regione locum.

A briefe Treatiſe of the great Duke of *Moſcouia* his genealogie, being taken out of the Moſcouites manuſcript Chronicles written by a Polacke.

IT hath almoſt euer bene the cuſtome of nations, in ſearching out the infancie and firſt beginnings of their eſtate, to aſcribe the ſame vnto ſuch authors as liued among men in great honour and endued mankinde with ſome one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred deſire of all nations to blaze and ſet foorth their owne petigree hath ſo much preuayled with the greater part, that leauing the vndoubted trueth, they haue betaken themſelues vnto meere fables and fictions. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in diuers and ſundrie ages doe teſtifie the ſame. Euen ſo the Grecians boaſted that they were either Autocthones, that is earthbredde, or els lineally deſcended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father vnto their firſt founder Romulus. Right well therefore and iudicially ſayth Titus Liuius: Neither meane I to auouch (quoth he) ne to diſable or confute thoſe thinges which before the building and foundation of the Citie haue beene reported, being more adorned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and ſacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in ioyning together matters hiſtoricall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to ſeeme the more honourable. For ſith antiquity it ſelfe is accompted ſuch a notable argument of true nobilitie, euen priuate men in all ages haue contended thereabout. Wherefore citizens of Rome being deſirous to make demonſtration of their Gentrie, vſe to haue their aunceſtours armes painted along the walles of their houſes: in which regarde they were ſo puffed vp, that oftentimes they would arrogantly diſdaine thoſe men, which by their owne vertue had attained vnto honour. In like ſorte Poets, when the originall of their worthines and braue champions was either vtterly vnknowen or ſomewhat obſcure, would ofte referre it vnto their Gods themſelues. So in theſe our dayes (to lette paſſe others) the Turkiſh Emperour with greet preſumption boaſteth himſelfe to bee deſcended of the Troian blood. Likewiſe the great duke of Moſcouie, to make himſelfe and his predeceſſours ſeeme the more ſoueraigne, deriueth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea euen from Auguſtus Cæſar. Albeit therefore no man is ſo fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly ſet downe what the Moſcouites haue written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Auguſtus (beleeue it who liſteth) had certaine brethren or kinſfolkes which were appoynted gouernours ouer diuers prouinces. Amongſt the reſt one Pruſſus (of whome Pruſſia was named) had his place of gouernment aſſigned vnto him vpon the ſhore of the eaſtern or Baltick ſea, and vpon the famous riuer of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor, who likewiſe inhabited in the very ſame places. Whereas therefore at the very ſame time the Ruſſians or the Moſcouites without any ciuill regiment poſſeſſed large and ſpacious territories towards the north, the foreſayd three brethren, vpon the perſwaſion of one Goſtomiſlius the chiefe citizen of Nouogrod, in the yeare ſince the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Lord 572, were ſent for, to beare rule. And ſo ioyning their kinſman Olechus vnto them, and diuiding theſe huge countreys among themſelues, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and ſauage people vnto a ciuill kinde of life.

Ruſſia became ciuill in yͤ yere of our Lord 572.

Sinaus and Truuor deceaſing without iſſue, Rurek ſucceeded and lefte a ſonne behinde him named Igor; who not being of ſufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed vnto the protection of his kinſman Olechus. The ſayde Igor begate of Olha daughter vnto a citizen of Pleſco (who, after her huſbande was ſlaine by his enemies, taking her iourney to Conſtantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a ſonne called Stoſlaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoſlaus was ſlayne by his foe, who making a drinking cup of his ſkull, engraued therupon in golden letters this ſentence: Seeking after other mens, he loſt his owne. He left behind him three ſonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir hauing ſlaine his two brethren, became ſole gouernour of Ruſsia, or (as the Moſcouites call it) Roſſeia, his owne ſelfe. This man beginning at length to loath and miſlike the ethnik religion, and the multitude of falſe gods, applyed his minde vnto the religion of Chriſt, and hauing taken to wife Anna ſiſter vnto Baſilius and Conſtantinus Emperours of Conſtantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Chriſt 988. baptized, and imbraced the Chriſtian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Baſilius.

Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Baſilius Emperour of Conſtantinople ſent a biſhop vnto the Ruſſians, by whoſe meanes they were conuerted vnto the Chriſtian faith. He reporteth moreouer that they would not be perſwaded vnleſſe they might ſee a miracle: whereupon the ſaid biſhop hauing made his prayers vnto almighty God, threwe the booke of the Euangeliſts into the fire, which remained there vnconſumed. And that by this miracle they were mooued to giue credite vnto the doctrine of Chirſt, and to conforme themſelues thereunto.

The ſonnes of Vulodimir were Vuiſeſlaus, Iſoſlaus, Iaroſlaus, Suatopolcus, Boriſſus, Glebus, Stoſlaus, Vulzeuolodus, Staniſlaus, Sudiſlaus, and Podius who died in his childhood. Amongſt the reſidue all Ruſsia was diuided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but inuading each other, were moſt of them ſlaine by their mutuall contentions. Boriſſus and Glebus in regard of their holy conuerſation were regiſtred for Saints, whoſe feaſts are euery yeere celebrated with great ſolemnitie vpon the twelfth of Nouember.

At length Iaroſlaus only got the Soueraigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure ſonnes, Vvlodimir, Iſoſlauus, Weceſlauus, and Vuſzeuolodus.

Kiow. The foreſaid Vulodimir ſonne of Iaroſlaus kept his reſidence at the ancient citie of Kiow ſtanding vpon the riuer of Boriſthenes, and after diuers conflicts with his kinſmen, hauing ſubdued all the prouinces vnto himſelfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champoin. This man (for I thinke it not amiſſe to report thoſe things which their owne Manuſcript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre againſt Conſtantine the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and when he had waſted & ouerrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich ſpoyles, and making preparation for new wars, Conſtantine ſent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Epheſus and two Biſhops, with the gouernour of Antiochia, and Euſtaphius the Abbat of Ieruſalem, to preſent rich and magnificent gifts vnto him; as namely, part of the croſſe of our Sauiour Chriſt, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiouſly made of Sardonyx ſtone, a cloake ſet all ouer with precious ſtones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to ſalute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooued by many arguments, ſignifieth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a moſt inuiolable league of amity and friendſhip with him.

The foreſayd Vulodimir begate Vuſzeuolodus the ſecond. This Vuſzeuolodus lefte eight ſonnes behind him, Miſciſlaus, Iſoſlaus, Stoſlaus, Teropolcus, Weceſlaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The ſonnes of George were Roſeſlaus, Andrew, Baſilius, and Demetrius.

1237. Demetrius begat George, who in the yere 1237. was ſlaine by one Bathy a Tartarian duke, which Bathy waſted Moſcouia, and ſubdued the ſame vnto himſelfe. Since which time the Ruſſians were tributary to the Tartars, and were gouerned by ſuch dukes as they pleaſed to ſet ouer them. Howbeit the Tartars ſo greatly abuſed that authoritie, that when they ſent their ambaſſadours vnto the prince of Moſcouie, he was conſtrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbortus Fulſtinius in his Polonian hiſtorie reporteth) to offer them a baſon full of mares milk, and if they had ſpilt any whit thereof vpon their horſes maines, to licke it off with his toung, and hauing conducted them into his princely court, to ſtand bareheaded before them while they ſate downe, and with all reuerence to giue eare and attendance vnto them. But by what meanes they ſhooke off at the length this yoake of ſeruitude, I will forthwith declare.

About the ſame time almoſt all Polonia, and the dukedome of Sileſia were ouerrun by the Tartars with fire and ſword. Who hauing burnt Preſla the chiefe citie of Sileſia, & being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a moſt cruel and bloody field, wherin was ſlain duke Henrie himſelfe being ſonne vnto the moſt holy and deuout lady Heduice, with many others, whoſe monuments and graues be as yet extant in ſundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common ſouldiers, inſomuch that the Tartars filled nine great ſackes with the eares of them which they had ſlaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, preſented vnto the view of our ſouldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique vpon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being ſhaken and mooued vp and downe breathed foorth a moſt loathſome ſtench, & ſtrooke ſuch a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were aſtoniſhed with the ſnaky viſage of Meduſa, they were vtterly daunted and diſmayed.

From thence Bathy and his company with the ſame bloodthirſtie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almoſt ſlaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his ſonne eſcaping by flight did ſcarcely ridde themſelues out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almoſt was exceedingly terrified at the cruell inuaſions of this moſt barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth ſending ambaſſadours vnto Bathy obtained peace for fiue yeeres: but to forſake his heatheniſh ſuperſtitions and to become a Chriſtian, hee would by no meanes bee perſwaded. For he was by the inſtigation of the Saracens infected with deuiliſh opinions of Mahomet, as being more agreeable vnto his barbarous rudenes, which euen vnto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes alſo.

These ambaſſadours were Iohan.de Plano Carpini & Frier Benedict a Poloniam.

This Bathy had a ſonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moſcouites call Temirkutla, who likewiſe, as it is recorded in hiſtories, attained vnto great renoume. For he caried about with him in a cage Baiazet the Turkiſh Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing ſtocke vnto all men.

Let vs now returne vnto the Ruſſians. George being ſlaine, Iaroſlaus his brother ſucceeded in his roome, and left behinde him three ſonnes, Theodorus, Alexander and Andreas, Daniel the ſonne of Alexander firſt eſtabliſhed his royall ſeate in the citie of Moſco, and magnificently building the caſtle which before time had bene obſcure, he tooke vpon him the title of the great Duke of Ruſſia. He had fiue ſonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Boriſſus, Ophonias, and Iohn. This Iohn ſucceeded his father, and becauſe he continually caried a ſcrippe about with him to beſtow almes, he was ſirnamed Kaleta, which word ſignifieth a ſcrippe. His ſonnes were, Simeon, Iohn, and Andrew. He gaue vnto his ſonne Simeon the prouinces of Vvlodimiria and Moſcouia: which Simeon deceaſing without iſſue his brother Iohn ſucceeded, who begate a ſonne called Demetrius. This Demerius had ſeuen ſonnes, namely Daniel, Baſilius, George, Andrew, Peter, Iohn, & Conſtantine. Baſilius reigned after his fathers death. This mã diſinheriting his ſonne which was called after his owne name, becauſe he ſuſpected his mother of adulterie, at his death ſurrendred his Dukedome vnto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in priſon. Howbeit at his death, though himſelfe had two ſonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being ſtricken perhaps with remorſe of conſcience, he beſtowed the Dukedome vpon his nephew Baſilius. Againſt whom his two couſins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length hauing taken him by a wyly ſtratageme they put out his eyes. Notwithſtanding the Boiarens (for ſo the Moſcouites call their nobles) continued their duetifull alleageance vnto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindnes they called Cziemnox, that is to ſay, darke or darkened. He left a ſonne behinde him called Iuan Vaſilowich who brought the Ruſſian common wealth, being before his time but obſcure, vnto great excellencie and renowme. Who that he might the better get all the ſuperiority into his owne hands put to death ſo many ſonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take vpon him the title of the great Duke of Vvlodimiria, Moſcouia, and Nouogardia, and to call himſelfe the Monarch or Czar of all Ruſſia. He brought vnder his ſubiection two principall cities, namely Pleſco being the only walled citie in all Moſcouie, and Mouogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike moſt riche and flouriſhing cities, and hauing bin ſubiect vnto the Lithuanians for the ſpace of 50. yeeres before. The treaſure of Nouogrod was ſo exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to haue carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and ſiluer.

The citie of Moſco firſt made the ſeate of the great Duke.

Iuan Vaſilowich.

The name of the Moſcouites firſt aduanced.

He alſo was the firſt man that waged warre againſt the Polonians and the Liuonians: againſt Polonia he pretended a quarell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married vnto Alexander the great Duke of Lithuania, which was afterward king of Polonia) was euil intreated, and was withdrawen from the Greekiſh religion vnto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But againſt the Liuonians for none other cauſe, but onely for an incredible deſire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulſiue cauſes of litle or no moment happened in the mean ſeaſon, we will in another place more plainely declare. Notwithſtanding he was very often and in diuers battels vanquiſhed by Plettebergius the great maſter of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpoſe to ſtand any longer vpon this diſcourſe.

He was married firſt vnto Marie the Duke of Tyuersky his daughter, and of her hee begate Iohn, vnto whom in his life time he ſurrendred his Dukedome, and married him vnto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldauia: which Iohn, after he had begotten his ſonne Demetrius, deceaſed before his father.

Afterward Iuan Vaſilowich aforeſaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter vnto Thomas Palælogus, which is reported to haue had her dowry out of the Popes treaſury, becauſe the Moſcouite had promiſed to conforme himſelfe vnto the Romiſh Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aſpiring minde, and often complaining that ſhe was married vnto the

Tartars

The yoke of the Tartars ſhaken off.

Tartars vaſſal, at length by her inſtant intreatie and continual perſwaſions, and by a notable ſtratageme ſhe caſt off that ſlauiſh yoke very much vnbeſeeming ſo mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Moſcouites court, who dwelt in their owne houſes built within the very caſtle of Moſco, and were eye witneſſes of all affaires which were there performed: Sophia ſaid ſhe was admoniſhed from heauen to builde a Temple in the ſelfe ſame place where the Tartars houſe ſtoode, and to conſecrate it vnto Saint Nicholas. Being therfore deliuered of a ſonne ſhe inuited the Tartarian Duke vnto the ſolemne baptizing of him, and beeing come, ſhee requeſted him to giue her his houſe, and obtained it at his hands. Which houſe being razed and thoſe Tartarian eſpials beeing excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaued and vtterly diſpoſſeſſed of their authoritie which they had exerciſed ouer the Ruſſians for many yeres, and could neuer yet recouer it; albeit they haue giuen ſundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate ſixe children, namely, a daughter called Helena, & fiue ſonnes, that is to ſay, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The Dukedome of right appertayned vnto Demetrius the ſonne of Iohn, which was the ſonne of Vaſilowich by his firſt marriage. Howbeit Sophia preuailed ſo with her husband, that neglecting his graund-childe Demetrius, hee beſtowed his Dukedome vpon Gabriel his ſonne.

Andrew the younger had a ſonne called Vvlodimir, of whom Mary was borne, which in the yeere of Chriſt 1573. was maried vnto Magnus the Duke of Holſt.

Baſilius.

Gabriel hauing obtained the great dukedome of Ruſſia, changed his name calling himſelfe Baſilius, and applied his minde to the atchieuing of high and great enterprizes. For hee reduced a great part of the dukedome of Moſcouie, which Vitoldus the great Duke of Lithuania helde in poſſeſſion, vnder his owne iuriſdiction, and wonne vpon the riuer of Boriſthenes (which the Ruſſians call Neiper) many cities and eſpecially Smolenſco, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. Hauing

Iuan Vaſilowich.

diuorced his firſt wife, hee begate of Helena daughter vnto Duke Glinskie, Iuan Vaſilowich, which now this preſent 1580. reigneth as great Duke. Hee was borne in the yeere of our Lorde 1528, the 25. of Auguſt, ſixe houres after the riſing of the ſonne. The great dukedome of Ruſſia fell vnto the ſaid Iuan Vaſilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, hauing his vncle George for his great protector: being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a ſtrong body and of a couragious mind he ſubdued the Tartars of Cazan and Aſtracan vpon the riuer of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chieftaines into captiuitie.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercceſſion of the moſt ſacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the ſpace of fifty yeeres, was expired) hauing renewed warres againſt Liuonia, hee brought that moſt flouriſhing prouince into extreame miſerie, vſing for the ſame purpoſe a new pretenſe, and alleadging that it belonged vnto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large hiſtorie, which perhaps in time and place conuenient ſome more learned then my ſelfe will take vpon them to addreſſe.

He is exceedingly addicted vnto piety and deuotion, and doth oftentimes obſerue very ſtrict faſtings and abſtinence with his monks: and wheras the Ruſſes in doing reuerence & adoration vnto God doe beate their foreheads againſt the ground, this Iuan Vaſilowich with performing of the ſame ceremonie cauſeth his forehead to be ful of boines and ſwellings, and ſometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches & ſpareth no coſt for that purpoſe. Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to be the cauſe) by reaſon of his ſubiects malice & treacherie, he be ſo addicted vnto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, eſpecially ſithens he hath not an illiberal or miſhapen countenance, as Attila is reported to haue had. Of his firſt wife which was ſiſter vnto Mikita Romanowich, beeing nowe great

Theodore.

ſteward of his houſhold, he begate two ſonnes, namely Iuan and Theodore. And albeit he was fiue times married, yet had he not one childe more.

Whereas this Iuan Vaſilowich vpon certaine friuolous reaſons calleth himſelfe the naturall lord of Liuonia, I thought it not amiſſe to adde an Epiſtle hereunto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the ſame matter.

S. All wee which inhabite this Prouince with all ſeemely reuerence and ſubmiſſion of mind, do offer moſt humble thanks vnto the Emperors moſt ſacred and peereleſſe maieſty our moſt gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Chriſtendome, and for the good & commodity of this our diſtreſſed and afflicted countrey, which theſe many yeres hath bin in ſtead of a bulwarke againſt the inuaſion of barbarous nations, he hath ſent his ambaſſadors vnto the great duke of Moſcouia. In regard of which his fatherly loue and great benefite vouchſafed on vs, wee are ready when occaſion ſhall ſerue, to aduenture our liues and goods: praying in the meane ſeaſon vnto Almightie God, who is the onely eſtabliſher and confounder of common wealths, to bring this excellent worke, the foundation whereof is already laide vnto a proſperous concluſion. But as touching the title which the Moſcouite maketh to this prouince, to ſay the very trueth, we greatly wondred and were aſtoniſhed at the declaration thereof. For it is moſt apparant, not onely out of all ancient and credible hiſtories, but euen from the experience and ſtate of theſe regions, that the ſaid title and allegations are fabulous and famed. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names ſoeuer they bee called (whereof there are diuers extant among vs) it cannot be proued by any mention, nor yet by any likelihoode or coniecture, that thoſe things which the Moſcouite affirmeth concerning the people which were gouernors of theſe regions in times paſt, and concerning the right and title of his anceſtors vnto this prouince, are grounded vpon truth.

For it is not vnknowen by what meanes this prouince, partly through the induſtry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of nauigation, was firſt diſcouered: neither is it vnknowen howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted vnto heatheniſh ſuperſtitions and idolatrie, were by the croiſed knights (who drew other knights profeſſing the ſame order in Pruſſia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterpriſe) and that with great labour and difficultie, conuerted vnto the Chriſtian faith: when as at the ſame time the Liuonians had no knowledge at all of the iuriſdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moſcouie: who had not onely no conuerſation nor dealings with the Moſcouites, but were eſtranged alſo from all other nations whatſoeuer: for leading a miſerable, poore, barbarous, and heatheniſh life, in ſauage maner among wilde beaſtes, and in the deſert and ſolitary woods, they were vtterly ignorant of God and deſtitute of ciuil magiſtrates. Howbeit this kind of gouernment was peculiar vnto them, namely that all of one familie and ſociety vſed a kinde of reuerence vnto their elders more then to any other, whom alſo, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families conſiſted of a 100. perſons) they obeyed them in al reſpects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal ſeruice. At the very ſame time the Moſcouites had receiued the religion, and the Eccleſiaſticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Eaſterne Church, which religion they publiſhed and diſperſed throughout all prouinces ſubiect to their dominion, vſing their owne proper letters and characters for the ſame purpoſe. Of all which things the Liuonians which very barbarouſly inhabited a lande beeing enuironed with Ruſſia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Pruſſia, and the Balthic ſea, neuer heard any report at all. It is moreouer to be noted that neuer at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Liuonia, there haue bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Ruſſes: which verily muſt needs haue come to paſſe, if the Moſcouites, Ruſſes, or any other nations which vſe the foreſaid particulars, had borne rule and authority ouer the Liuonians: yea there had beene left ſome remainder and token, either of their religion and diuine worſhip, or of their lawes and cuſtomes, or at the leaſt of their maners, language, and letters. This indeed we can in no wiſe deny, that euen in Liuonia it ſelfe, there haue bin in times paſt and at this preſent are many and diuers languages ſpoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moſcouian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moſcouite pretendeth that there hath bin vſually paide a penſion or tribute vnto himſelfe and his predeceſſours out of the whole prouince, it is as incredible as the former.

The commodities of traffike and of nauigation.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moſcouite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition vnder ſome faire pretenſe, amongſt other of his demaunds, made mention alſo of a tribute which ſhould be due vnto him out of the biſhop of Dorpat his iuriſdiction, whereof notwithſtanding hee could neither bring any iuſt account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man liuing to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any ſuch tribute was euer paid vnto the Moſcouite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation vnto the maſter of the Liuonian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could therof from the men of Dorpat, & vrged the tribute, ſaying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remitte: at length it was found recorded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Pleſco contained nothing but woods and forreſts for wilde beaſtes, that the peſaunts of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the conſent of the Ruſſian borderers, enioyed Bee-hiues in the ſaid woods, and paid euery yeere in lieu thereof vnto the Ruſſian gouernours, ſixe ſhillings of Liuonian coine. But ſo ſoone as the Ruſſians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the ſaide penſion ceaſed together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the ſaide ſixe ſhillings were neuer ſince that time either demanded by the Ruſſes or paid by the Liuonians. Theſe things which I knew concerning the cauſes of the Liuonian warres I thought good to ſignifie vnto you. Giuen the 22, of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Ordinan-

Ordinances, inſtructions, and aduertiſements of and for the direction *of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliue*red by the right worſhipfull M. Sebaſtian Cabota Eſquier, gouernour of the myſterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of Regions, Dominions, Iſlands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our moſt dread ſoueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth ſupreame head.

FIrſt the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the maſters, marchants & other officers, to be ſo knit and accorded in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree on all ſides, that no diſſention, variance, or contention may riſe or ſpring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that diſſention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrown many notable intended and likely enterpriſes and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as euery perſon hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial ſubiects, and liege men to the kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſors, and for the obſeruation of all lawes & ſtatutes, made for the preſeruation of his moſt excellent Maieſtie, & his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to ſerue his grace, the Realme, and this preſent voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, or leaue off the ſaid voyage and enterpriſe vntill it ſhalbe accompliſhed, ſo farre forth as poſſibilitie and life of man may ſerue or extend: Therfore it behoueth euery perſon in his degree, as well for conſcience, as for dueties ſake to remember his ſaid charge, and the accompliſhment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore euery mariner or paſſenger in his ſhip, hath giuen like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and maſter in his ſhip, for the obſeruation of theſe preſent orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter ſhalbe made by the 12. counſailers in this preſent book named, or the moſt part of them, for the better conduction, and preſeruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honeſty, reaſon, and duetie to be miniſtred, ſhewed & executed, in aduancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is conuenient that this preſent booke ſhall once euery weeke (by the diſcretion of the Captaine) be read to the ſaid companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conſcience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, euery perſon by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good wil (as farre forth as him ſhall complie) all, and euery ſuch act and acts, deede and deeds, as ſhalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the aſſent of the Counſell and aſſiſtants, as well in and during the whole Nauigation and voyage, as alſo in diſcouering and landing, as caſes and occaſions ſhall require.

5 Item, all courſes in Nauigation to be ſet and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, maſters, & maſters mates, with the aſſents of the counſailers and the moſt number of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, ſo that the Captaine generall, ſhall in all counſailes and aſſemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete ſhal keep together, and not ſeparate themſelues aſunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & maſters ſhall ſpeedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he ſhall ſeeme to haue iuſt cauſe to aſſemble them for counſaile or conſultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other ſkilful perſons in writing, ſhal daily write, deſcribe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obſeruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the ſunne, courſe of the moon and ſtarres, and the ſame ſo noted by the order of the Maſter and pilot of euery ſhip to be put in writing, the captaine generall aſſembling the maſters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather ſhal ſerue) to conferre all the obſeruations, and notes of the ſaid ſhips, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they diſſent, and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and concluſion determined, to put the ſame into a common leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Aſtrolabes, and other inſtruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterpriſes and exploits of diſcouering or landing to ſearch Iles, regions, and ſuch like, to be ſearched, attempted, and enterpriſed by good deliberation, and common aſſent, determined aduiſedly. And that in all enterpriſes, notable ambaſſages, ſuites, requeſts, or preſentment of giftes, or preſents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in

perſon, or by ſuch other, as he by common aſſent ſhall appoint or aſſigne to doe or cauſe to be done in the ſame.

9 Item, the ſteward and cooke of euery ſhip, and their aſſociats, to giue and render to the captaine and other head officers of their ſhippe weekely (or oftner) if it ſhall ſeeme requiſite, a iuſt or plaine and perfect accompt of expenſes of the victuals, as wel fleſh, fiſh, biſket, meate, or bread, as alſo of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualling vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them ſo to order and diſpende the ſame, that no waſte or vnprofitable exceſſe be made otherwiſe then reaſon and neceſſitie ſhall commaund.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he ſhalbe, ſhalbe tried vntrue, remiſſe, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vſe himſelfe in his charge accordingly, then euery ſuch officer to be puniſhed or remoued at the diſcretion of the captaine and aſſiſtants, or the moſt part of them, and the perſon ſo remoued not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoue, any more for an officer, but to remaine in ſuch condition and place, as hee ſhall be aſſigned vnto, and none of the companie, to reſiſt ſuch chaſtiſement or worthie puniſhment, as ſhalbe miniſtred vnto him moderately, according to the fault or deſert of his offence, after the lawes and common cuſtomes of the ſeas, in ſuch caſes heretofore vſed and obſerued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour ſhalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is preſently ſhipped for, ſuch perſon may bee vnſhipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maieſties realme & dominion, and one other perſon more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the diſcretion of the captaine and maſters, & order to be taken that the partie diſmiſſed ſhalbe allowed proportionably the value of that he ſhall haue deſerued to the time of his diſmiſſion or diſcharge, & he to giue order with ſureties, pawn, or other aſſurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he ſhall haue receiued, which he ſhall not haue deſerued, & ſuch wages to be made with the partie newly placed as ſhalbe thought reaſonable, and he to haue the furniture of al ſuch neceſſaries as were prepared for the partie diſmiſſed, according to right and conſcience.

12 Item, that no blaſpheming of God, or deteſtable ſwearing be vſed in any ſhip, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be ſuffred in the company of any ſhip, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diueliſh games to be frequented, whereby enſueth not onely pouertie to the players, but alſo ſtrife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter deſtruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods moſt iuſt wrath, and ſworde of vengeance. Theſe and all ſuch like peſtilences, and contagions of vices, and ſinnes to bee eſchewed, and the offenders once moniſhed, and not reforming, to bee puniſhed at the diſcretion of the captaine and maſter, as appertaineth.

A miniſter in the voyage.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common ſeruices appointed by the kings Maieſtie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and ſaide in euery ſhip daily by the miniſter in the Admirall, and the marchant or ſome other perſon learned in other ſhips, and the Bible or paraphraſes to be read deuoutly and Chriſtianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.

14 Item, that euery officer is to be charged by Inuentorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diffraying of the ſame together with modeſt & temperate diſpending of powder, ſhot, and vſe of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be miſuſed, but diligently to be preſerued for the neceſſary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all inſtruments of your Nauigation, and other requiſites.

15 Item, no liquor to be ſpilt on the ballaſt, nor filthines to be left within bord: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals & pages to bee brought vp according to the laudable order and vſe of the Sea, as well in learning of Nauigation, as in exerciſing of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the captaine, when he ſhall ſee cauſe to muſter or ſhewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to bee redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it ſhal be thought conuenient for euery perſon to haue the ful vſe of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other paſſenger ſhal haue neede of any neceſſarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conſeruation of his health, the ſame ſhall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the aſſignement of the captaine and Maſter of that ſhippe, wherein ſuch needie perſon ſhall be, at ſuch reaſonable price as the ſame coſt, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the ſame to be diſcounted off the parties wages, that ſo ſhal receiue, and weare the ſame.

18 Item the ſicke, diſeaſed, weake, and viſited perſon within boord, to be tendred, relieued, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery maner of perſon, without reſpect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuſe ſuch labour as ſhall be put to him, for the moſt benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterpriſe, to be atchieued exactly.

19 Item if any perſon ſhal fortune to die, or miſcarry in the voyage, ſuch apparell, and other goods, as he ſhall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Maſter of the ſhippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and conſerued to the vſe of his wife, and children, or otherwiſe according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he ſhall haue deſerued to his death, and what ſhall reſt due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this preſent voyage, ſhall not make any ſhew or ſale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their ſubiects, without the conſent, priuitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the aſſiſtants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Maior, and cape marchant to be three, and euery of the pettie marchants to ſhewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them ſhall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the aſſent aboueſaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandiſe, trucke, or any other reſpect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conſerued in one maſſe entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntil the ſhippes ſhall returne to the right diſcharges, and inuentorie of al goods, wares, and marchandiſes ſo trucked, bought, or otherwiſe diſpended, to be preſented to the Gouernor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Maieſtie may be truly anſwered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our moſt bound duties, and the whole companie alſo to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelment ſhall be vſed, but the truth of the whole voyage to bee opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and myſterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

King Edwards corporation.

21 Item, no particular perſon, to hinder or preiudicate the common ſtocke of the company, in ſale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchaſe to be employed to any ſeuerall profite, vntill the common ſtocke of the companie ſhall be furniſhed, and no perſon to hinder the common benefite in ſuch purchaſes or contingents, as ſhal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, induſtrie, or chance, nor no contention to riſe in that behalfe, by any occaſion of iewel, ſtone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it ſhall chance the ſame to riſe, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or giuen: but euery perſon to be bounden in ſuch caſe, and vpon ſuch occaſion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell ſhall eſtabliſh and determine, to whoſe order and diſcretion the ſame is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22 Item not to diſcloſe to any nation the ſtate of our religion, but to paſſe it ouer in ſilence, without any declaration of it, ſeeming to beare with ſuch lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you ſhall arriue.

23 Item for as much as our people, and ſhippes may appeare vnto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours: it is to be conſidered, how they may be vſed, learning much of their natures and diſpoſitions, by ſome one ſuch perſon, as you may firſt either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ſhips, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or diſhoneſtie.

24 Item the perſon ſo taken, to be well entertained, vſed, and apparelled, to be ſet on land, to the intent that he or ſhe may allure other to draw nigh to ſhewe the commodities: and if the perſon taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you ſhal know the ſecrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not paſſe further into a land, then that they may be able to recouer their pinneſſes, or ſhips, & not to credit the faire words of the ſtrange people, which be many times tried ſubtile, and falſe, nor to be drawen into perill of loſſe, for the deſire of golde, ſiluer, or riches, and eſteeme your owne commodities aboue al other, and in countenance ſhew not much to deſire the forren commodities: neuertheleſſe take them as for friendſhip, or by way of permutation.

26 Item euery nation and region is to be conſidered aduiſedly, & not to prouoke them by any diſdaine, laughing, contempt, or ſuch like, but to vſe them with prudent circumſpection, with al gentlenes, and curteſie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you ſhall haue attained the moſt worthy place ẏ may be found, in ſuch ſort, as you may returne wᵗ victuals ſufficient proſperouſly.

27 Item the names of the people of euery Iſland, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the ſame, their natures, qualities, and diſpoſitions, the ſite of the

ſame, and what things they are moſt deſirous of, & what commodities they wil moſt willingly depart with, & what mettals they haue in hils, mountaines, ſtreames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28 Item if people ſhal appeare gathering of ſtones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the ſand, your pinneſſes may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, vſing or playing vpon the drumme, or ſuch other inſtruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantaſie, or deſire to ſee, and heare your inſtruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and ſhewe to them no poynt or ſigne of rigour and hoſtilitie.

29 Item if you ſhall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers houſe, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in ſuch order of ſtrength, that you may be ſtronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambuſhes, and that your weapons be not out of your poſſeſſions.

30 Item if you ſhall ſee them weare Lyons or Beares ſkinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that ſight: for ſuch be worne oftentimes more to feare ſtrangers, then for any other cauſe.

31 Item there are people that can ſwimme in the ſea, hauens, & riuers, naked, hauing bowes and ſhafts, coueting to drawe nigh your ſhips, which if they ſhal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil aſſault, deſirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you reſiſt them, they diue, and ſo will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in ſome Iſlands.

32 Item if occaſion ſhal ſerue, that you may giue aduertiſements of your proceedings in ſuch things as may correſpond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of ſucceſſe in the voyage, paſſing ſuch dangers of the ſeas, perils of ice, intollerable colds, and other impediments, which by ſundry authors & writers, haue miniſtred matter of ſuſpition in ſome heads, that this voyage could not ſuccede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of paſſage, & ſuch like, which haue cauſed wauering minds, and doubtfull heads, not onely to withdraw themſelues from the aduenture of this voyage, but alſo diſſwaded others from the ſame, the certaintie whereof, when you ſhall haue tried by experience, (moſt certaine Maſter of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth, which you ſhall haue experted, you may by common aſſent of counſell, ſende either by land, or otherwaies, ſuch two or one perſon, to bring the ſame by credite, as you ſhal think may paſſe in ſafetie: which ſending is not to be done, but vpon vrgent cauſes, in likely ſucceſſe of the voyage, in finding of paſſage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or ſuch other like, whereby the company being aduertiſed of your eſtates and proceedings, may further prouide, foreſee, and determine that which may ſeeme moſt good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the ſame: either prouiding before hand ſuch things, as ſhall bee requiſite for the continuance of the voyage, or elſe otherwiſe to diſpoſe as occaſion ſhall ſerue: in which things your wiſedomes and diſcretions are to be vſed, and ſhewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many perſons, as well the kings Maieſtie, the Lords of his honorable Counſel, this whole companie, as alſo your wiues, children, kinſfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be repleniſhed in their hearts with ardent deſire to learne and know your eſtates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterpriſe, which is hoped no leſſe to ſucceed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias haue to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whoſe ſubiects induſtries, and trauailes by ſea, haue inriched them, by thoſe lands and Iſlands, which were to all Coſmographers, and other writers both vnknowne, and alſo by appearances of reaſon voide of experience thought and reputed vnhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried moſt rich, peopled, temperate, and ſo commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

Reaſon voide of experience.

33 Item no conſpiracies, partakings, factions, falſe tales, vntrue reports, which be the very ſeedes, and fruits of contention, diſcord, & confuſion, by euill tongues to be ſuffered, but the ſame, & all other vngodlines to be chaſtened charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vſed and practiſed by al perſons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conſcience ſake towards God, vnder whoſe mercifull hand nauigants aboue all other creatures naturally bee moſt nigh, and vicine, but alſo for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, conſidering and alwaies hauing preſent in your mindes that you be all one moſt royall kings ſubiects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praiſe, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the ſame, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauailers therein, your wiues, and children, and ſo to endeuour your ſelues as that you may ſatiſfie the expectation of them, who at their great coſts, charges, and expenſes haue ſo furniſhed you in good ſort, and plentie of all neceſſaries, as the like was neuer in any realme ſeene, vſed, or knowen requiſite and needful for ſuch an exploit, which is moſt likely to be atchieued, and brought to good effect, if euery perſon in his vocation ſhall endeuour himſelfe according to his charge, and moſt bounden duetie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accom-

pliſh your charge to his glorie, whoſe merciful hand ſhal proſper your voyage, and preſerue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof I Sebaſtian Gabota, Gouernour aforeſaide, to theſe preſent ordinances, haue ſubſcribed my name, and put my ſeale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counſellors appointed in *this voyage.*

1 Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape marchant.
4 Maſter Richard Stafford Miniſter.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 Iames Dalabere Gentleman.
7 William Gefferſon Maſter of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Burrough Maſter of the Edward Bonauenture.
9 Gornelius Durfurth Maſter of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilſon. }
11 Iohn Buckland. } Maſters mates.
12 Richard Ingram. }

Exemplar Epiſtolæ ſeu literarum Miſsiuarum, quas illuſtriſsimus *Princeps Eduardus ejus nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hi*berniæ Rex, miſit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni ſui anno ſeptimo, & vltimo.

EDuardus ſextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Iudicibus terræ, & Ducibus eius, quibuſcunque eſt excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ ſunt ſub vniuerſo cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus veſtris quæ imperio veſtro ſubiacent, cuiq; veſtrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis alijs viuentibus, cor & deſiderium tale, vt appetat quiſque cum alijs ſocietatem inire, amare, & viciſſim amari, beneficijs afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia ſtudeat, ideò cuique pro facultate ſua hoc deſiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conſeruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc deſiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingreſſi ſunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc deſiderium fuiſſe declararunt. Inſuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumq; noſtrorum exempla inuitant, qui ſemper humaniſſimè ſuſceperunt & benigniſſimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum ſe protectioni commendantes. Quod ſi omnibus id præſtare æquum eſt, certè mercatoribus imprimis præſtari debet, qui per vniuerſum orbem diſcurrunt, mare circumluſtrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & vtiles, quę Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotiſſimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde viciſſim referant, quòd ſuæ regioni vtile ibi repererint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non deſtituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipſi ſint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè conſulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita ſtabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, ſinguliq; omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac ſtabiliendæ amicitiæ deſiderio moti viri quidam regni noſtri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones inſtituerunt, vt inter noſtros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, noſq; rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni illorum annuentes, conceſſimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, & alijs qui cum eo ſunt ſeruis noſtris fidis & charis, vt pro ſua voluntate, in regiones eis prius incognitas eant, quæſituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex noſtris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, ſitq; amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indiſſolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus ſuperabundant in regnis

nis ſuis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis noſtris res, quibus deſtituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua eſt poteſtas in terra, vt viris iſtis noſtris, tranſitum permittatis per regiones veſtras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus veſtris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipſi ſunt. Et ſi qua re caruerint, oramus pro veſtra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes viciſſim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, & ſubditi noſtri, nos gereremus erga ſeruos veſtros, ſi quando tranſierint per regiones noſtras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, perq; vitam noſtram, & tranquillitatem regnorum noſtrorum, nos pari benignitate ſeruos veſtros accepturos, ſi ad regna noſtra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & ſubditis noſtris, ac ſi nati fuiſſent in regnis noſtris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam noſtris exhibueritis. Poſtquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogauimus, vt humanitate & beneficentia omni proſequamini ſeruos noſtros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum noſtrum, vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas eſt primaria regni noſtri, Anno 5515. à creato mundo, menſe Iiar, 14. die menſis, anno ſeptimo regni noſtri,

The copie of the letters miſſiue, which the right noble Prince *Edward the ſixt ſent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates,* inhabiting the Northeaſt partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay, at ſuch time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Chriſt 1553. and the ſeuenth and laſt yeere of his raigne.

Edward the ſixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Iudges, and Gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the ſame, in all places vnder the vniuerſall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Foraſmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other liuing creatures, ſuch an heart and deſire, that euery man deſireth to ioine friendſhip with other, to loue, and be loued, alſo to giue and receiue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increaſe this deſire in euery man, with well deſeruing to all men, and eſpecially to ſhew this good affection to ſuch, as being moued with this deſire, come vnto them from farre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, ſo much the more doe they thereby declare that this deſire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore alſo, the examples of our fathers and predeceſſors doe inuite vs hereunto, foraſmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated ſuch as of friendly mind came to them, aſwell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themſelues to their protection. And if it be right and equity to ſhew ſuch humanitie toward all men, doubtleſſe the ſame ought chiefly to be ſhewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, ſearch both the land and the ſea, to carry ſuch good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the ſame, ſuch things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both aſwell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be deſtitute of ſuch commodities as their Countries bring not foorth to them, as that alſo they may be partakers of ſuch things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things ſhould be found in one region, to the ende that one ſhould haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed among all men, , and euery one ſeeke to gratifie all. For the eſtabliſhing and furtherance of which vniuerſall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooued hereunto by the ſaid deſire, haue inſtituted and taken vpon them a voyage by ſea into farre Countreis, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and cary out marchandizes, deſiring vs to further their enterpriſe. Who aſſenting to their petition, haue licenſed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our truſty and faithfull ſeruants, which are with him, according to their deſire, to goe to countreis to them heeretofore vnknowen, aſwell to ſeeke ſuch things as we lacke, as alſo to cary vnto them from our regions, ſuch things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may enſue both to them and vs, but alſo an indiſſoluble and perpetuall league of friendſhip be eſtabliſhed betweene vs both, while they per-

mit vs to take of their things, ſuch whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them ſuch things of ours, whereof they are deſtitute We therfore deſire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto theſe our ſeruants free paſſage by your regions and dominions: for they ſhall not touch any thing of yours vnwilling vnto you. Conſider you that they alſo are men. If therefore they ſhall ſtand in neede of any thing, we deſire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with ſuch things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them ſuch things as they ſhall bee able to giue you in recompenſe. Shew your ſelues ſo towards them, as you would that we and our ſubiects ſhould ſhewe our ſelues towards your ſeruants, if at any time they ſhall paſſe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promiſe you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your ſeruants, if at any time they ſhall come to our kingdomes, where they ſhall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue ſhewed to our men. Thus after we haue deſired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued ſeruants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer ſhall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the fourteenth day of the moneth, and ſeuenth yeere of our reigne.

Iiar. I would reade Mair, that is, in the Saraſen language, mixt of Turkiſh and Aegyptian, Februarie, interpreted by them the moneth to ſet ſhips to the ſea.

This letter was written alſo in Greeke, and diuers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ſhips, *to wit, the* Speranza, *which wintred in Lappia, where ſir Hugh Willoughby* and all his companie died, being frozen to death, Anno 1553.

The voiage intended for the diſcouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Iſlands, and places vnknowen, ſet forth by the right worſhipful, maſter Sebaſtian Cabota Eſquire, and Gouernour of the myſterie and company of the Marchants Aduenturers of the citie of London: which fleete being furniſhed, did ſet forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the ſeuenth yeere of our moſt dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the ſixt.

The names of the ſhippes of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counſellors, Pilot Maior, Maſters of the ſhips, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt ſhip.

The Bona Eſperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.
William Gefferſon, Maſter of the ſhippe.
Roger Wilſon, his Mate.
William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the cuſtome, and vſe of the Seas,

John Brooke, Maſter Gunner.
Nicholas Anthony, Boateſwaine.
Iohn Web, his Mate.
Chriſtopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauiſon, Robert Roſſe, Thomas Simpſon, quarter Maſters.
William White, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.
Richard Gwinne, George Goiſwine, Carpenters.
Robert Gwinne, Purſer.
Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.
Richard Morgan, Cooke.
Thomas Naſhe, his Mate.
William Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelſie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.
Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Diſcharged at Harwich, by reaſon of ſicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.
For picherie ducked at the yards arme, and ſo diſcharged Thomas Naſh.

The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.
Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot maior of the fleete.
Stephen Borowgh, Maſter of the ſhip.
Iohn Buckland, his Mate.
George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.
Iohn Stafford, Miniſter.
Iames Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, Iohn Segſwike, Thomas Francis, Iohn Haſſe, Richard Iohnſon, William Kempe.

The ſecond ſhip.

Iohn Stafford Miniſter.

Mariners and officers, according to the cuſtome and vſe of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Maſter Gunner.
Iohn Walker, his Mate.
Iames Long, Iohn Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas Walter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateſwaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
Iohn Robinſon, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Liſhbie, quarter Maſters.
Iohn Auſten, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Auſten Iacks, Cooke.
William Euery, Cowper.
Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Stelſton, Thomas Townes, Iohn Robinſon, Iohn White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watſon, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterſon, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, Iohn Williams.

M. William Burrough nowe comptroller of her Maieſties nauie.

The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Maſter of the ſhippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henrie Dorſet, Marchants.

The third ſhip.

Mariners and officers, according to the vſe and cuſtome of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Maſter Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
Wiliam Hamane, Boateſwaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenſon, Iohn Haye, William Shepwaſh, quarter Maſters.
Iohn Reyne, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Laſſie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, Iohn Moore, William Chapman, Brian Cheſter, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibſon, Iohn Clarocke, Eraſmus Bently, Iohn Duriforth.

The *Iuramentum*, or othe, miniſtred to the Captaine.

YOu ſhall ſweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyal ſubiect in all points, and duties, that to a ſubiect appertaineth, to our ſoueraigne Lord the kings Maieſtie, his heires, and ſucceſſors: and that you ſhall wel and truely to the vttermoſt of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, ſerue this preſent voiage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp, nor ſooner intermit the ſame, vntil you ſhall haue atchieued the ſame, ſo farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and loſſe of the fleete: you ſhall giue good, true, and faithful counſell to the ſaid ſocietie, and to ſuch as ſhal haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to diſcloſe the ſecrets, or priuities of the ſame to any perſon by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You ſhal miniſter iuſtice to all men vnder your charge, without reſpect of perſon, or any affection, that might moue you to decline from the true miniſtration of iuſtice. And further, you ſhal obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued, as much as in you lieth, all and ſingular rules, articles, prouiſions hitherto made, or hereafter to be made for the preſeruation or ſafeconduct of the fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You ſhall not permit nor ſuffer the ſtocke or goods of the company to be waſted, imbezled, or conſumed, but ſhall conſerue the ſame whole and entire, without diminiſhment, vntill you ſhall haue deliuered, or cauſe to be deliuered the ſame, to the vſe of the companie. And finally you ſhal vſe your ſelfe in all points, ſorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie ſhall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe miniſtred to the Maiſter of the ſhip, &c.

YOu ſhall ſweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the uttermoſt of your knowledge, and good vnderſtanding in mariners ſcience and craft, ſhall in your vocation doe your beſt to conduct the good ſhippe called the N. &c. whereof you nowe are Maiſter vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your diſcouerie, and ſo vſe your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, diſcharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the ſame ſhippe, as may be moſt for the benefite and profite of this right worſhipfull fellowſhip: and you ſhall not priuately bargein, buy, ſell, exchange, barter, or diſtribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatſoeuer (neceſſary tackles and victuals for the ſhippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer. And further, If you ſhall know any boatſwaine, mariner, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, to buy, ſell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, marchandizes, or things for priuate account, reckoning, or behalfe, you ſhall doe your beſt to withſtand and let the ſame: and if you cannot commodiouſly ſo doe, that then before the diſcharge of ſuch goods bought for priuat account, you ſhal giue knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this ſaid fellowſhip for the time being. And you ſhal not receiue nor take, nor ſuffer to be receiued or taken into your ſaid ſhip during this voyage any maner perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, going or returning, but onely thoſe mariners which without fraud or guile ſhall be hired to be of your company, and to ſerue in mariners craft and ſcience onely: So helpe you God, &c.

Theſe foreſaid ſhippes being fully furniſhed with their pinneſſes and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things neceſſary for their defence with al the men aforeſaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed vnto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, paſſing by Greenwich, ſaluting the kings Maieſty then being there, ſhooting off our ordinance, & ſo valed vnto Blackwall, and there remained vntil the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and ſo the ſame night vnto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth vnto Grauesend, and there remained vntil the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Grauesend vnto Tilberie Hope, remaining there vntill the two and

May. twentieth day.

The 22. day from Tilbery Hope to Hollie hauen.

The 23. day from Hollie Hauen, till we came againſt Lee, and there remained that night, by reaſon that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southweſt in the morning, we ſailed along the coaſt ouer the Spits, vntill we came againſt S. Oſyth, about ſixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Oſyth, and ſo ſailed forward vnto the Naſe, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at fiue of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and ſailed ouer the Naſe, the winde being at the Southweſt, vntill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28. day.

The ſame day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and ſailed til we came athwart Walſurſye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we ſtayed that day, where we conſulted which way, and what courſes were beſt to be holden for the diſcouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning wee ſet ſaile, and came againſt Yermouth about three leagues into the ſea, riding there at anker all that night.

The laſt of May into the Sea ſixe leagues Northeaſt, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very ſore.

June. The firſt of June the winde being at North contrary to vs, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there vntill the 15. day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpoſe.

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we ſet forward, and ſayled vntill we came athwart Alburrough, and there ſtayed that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orfordneſſe, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of Iune the wind being faire in the Southweſt we hailed into the ſeas to Orfordneſſe, and from thence into the ſeas ten leagues Northeaſt: then being paſt the ſands, we changed our courſe ſixe leagues Northnortheaſt: about midnight we changed our courſe againe, and went due North, continuing in the ſame vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about ſeuen of the clocke Northnorthweſt 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veared to the Weſt, ſo that we could lie but North and by Weſt, continuing in the ſame courſe 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we ſayled North 16 leagues by eſtimation, after that North and by Weſt, & Northnorthweſt, then Southeaſt, with diuers other courſes, trauerſing and tracing the ſeas, by reaſon of ſundry and manifolde contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of Iuly: and then the ſunne entring into Leo, we diſcouered land Eaſtward of vs, vnto the which we ſayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on ſhore with our Pinneſſe, & found little houſes to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs.

Iuly.

The land was all full of little Iſlands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordneſſe North and by Eaſt, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The diſtance betweene Orfordneſſe and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we ſailed from thence 12 leagues Northweſt, and found many other Iſlandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinneſſe, and went on ſhore to the Iſlands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the ſhore and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable ſort of Iſlands, which were called the Iſles of Roſt, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable ſort of foules of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

In this land dwelt Other as it ſeemeth.

Roſt Iſlands.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Roſt, ſailing Northnortheaſt, keeping the ſea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was ſtill Eaſt of vs: then went foorth our Pinneſſe to ſeeke harborow, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our ſhippes, which was called Stanſew, and the land being Iſlands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being alſo vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntil the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foreſaid Roſt about 30 leagues Northnortheaſt.

Stanſew harbor.

Lofoot.

The 30 day of Iuly about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and ſayled along theſe Iſlands Northnortheaſt, keeping the land ſtill in ſight vntill the ſecond day of Auguſt: then hailing in cloſe aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a ſkiffe of the Iſland aboord of vs, of whom we aſked many queſtions, who ſhewed vnto vs, that the Iſland was called Seynam, which is the latitude of ſeuenty degrees, and from Stanſew thirtie leagues, being alſo vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandiſe there, but onely dryed fiſh, and traine oyle. Then we being purpoſed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he ſaid, that if we could beare in, we ſhould haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs to Finmarke, vnto the Wardhouſe, which is the ſtrongeſt holde in Finmarke, and moſt reſorted to by report. But when wee would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery ſide, there came ſuch flawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were conſtrained to take the ſea agayne, our Pinneſſe being vnſhipt: we ſailed North and by Eaſt, the wind increaſing ſo ſore that we were not able to beare any ſaile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the ſtorme ouerpaſſe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickeneſſe of miſts, we were not able to keepe together within ſight, and then about midnight we loſt our pinneſſe, which was a diſcomfort vnto vs. Aſſoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpaſt, we looked about, and at the laſt we deſcried one of our ſhippes to Leeward of vs: then we ſpyed an hullocke of our foreſaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not ſee. Then the flaw ſomething abating, we and the Confidence hoyſed vp our ſailes the fourth day,

Auguſt.

Seynam in 70 degrees.

ſayling Northeaſt and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouſe, as we did conſult to doe before, in caſe we ſhould part company. Thus running Northeaſt and by North, and Northeaſt fiftie leagues, then we ſounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherfore we changed our courſe the ſixt day, and ſailed Southeaſt and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouſe.

The eight day much winde riſing at the Weſtnorthweſt, we not knowing how the coaſt lay, ſtrook our ſayles, and lay a drift, where we ſounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind vearing to the South Southeaſt, we ſailed Northeaſt 25 leagues.

The tenth day we ſounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could ſee any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeaſt, we ran Southeaſt about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we ſounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire ſand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by Eaſt, we lay with our ſaile Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North 30 leagues.

Willoughbies land, in 72 degrees.

The 14 day early in the morning, we deſcried land, which land we bare with all, hoiſing out our boat to diſcouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was ſo ſhoale, where was very much ice alſo, but there was no ſimilitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam Eaſt and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeaſt, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and ſtocked, we thought it good to ſeeke harbour for her redreſſe: then we bare roome the 18 day Southſoutheaſt, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we ſounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we ſounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, ſo ſhoalder and ſhoalder water, and yet could ſee no land, where we marueiled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the ſea all that night Northweſt and by Weſt.

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The next day we ſounded, and had 20. fadoms, then ſhaped our courſe, and ran Weſt Southweſt vntill the 23. day: then we deſcried Low land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then wee plyed Weſtward along by that lande, which lyeth Weſt Southweſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt, and much winde blowing at the Weſt, we haled into the ſea North and by Eaſt 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeaſt, we ſailed Weſt Northweſt: after that, the winde bearing to the Northweſt, we lay with our ſailes Weſt ſouthweſt, about 14. leagues, and then deſcried land, and bare in with it, being the 28. day, finding ſhoale water, and bare in till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiuing it to be ſhoale water, and alſo ſeeing drie ſands, we haled out againe Northeaſt along that land vntil we came to the point therof. That land turning to the Weſtwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northweſt: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bin there, by croſſes, and other ſignes: from thence we went all along the coaſt Weſtward.

September.

The fourth day of September we loſt ſight of land, by reaſon of contrary winds, and the eight day we deſcried land againe. Within two dayes after we loſt the ſight of it: then running Weſt and by South about 30. leagues, we gat the ſight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee ſhore, we gat vs into the ſea, to the end to haue ſea roome.

The 12. of September we hailed to ſhoareward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the ſhoare, and the tide almoſt ſpent, wee ranne to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coaſt, which lay Northweſt and by Weſt, and Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the ſhoare, hauing 60. fadoms.

In this hauen they died.

Or, Ellons.

There we went a ſhore with our boat, & found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we ſee none. The 15 day we ran ſtill along the coaſt vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it beſt to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and ſo we bare roomer with the ſame, howbeit we could not accõpliſh our deſire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many ſeale fiſhes, & other great fiſhes, and vpon the maine we ſaw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers ſtrange beaſts, as Jguloines, and ſuch other which were to vs vnknowen, and alſo wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the ſpace of a weeke, ſeeing the yeare farre ſpent, & alſo very euill wether, as froſt, ſnow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought beſt to winter there. Wherefore we ſent out three men

Southſouthweſt, to ſearch if they could find people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we ſent other three Weſtward foure daies iourney, which alſo returned without finding any people. Then ſent we three men Southeaſt three dayes iourney, who in like ſorte returned without finding of people, or any ſimilitude of habitation.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following were written vpon the outſide of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was ſeparated from the Edward Bonauenture.

2 Our ſhippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Iſland Lofoote.

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ſhips periſhed for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ſhip that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and moſt of the company were aliue in Ianuary 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of *Ruſsia*, *and Duke of* Moſcouia, *and of the dominions orders and commo*dities thereunto belonging: drawen by *Richard Chancelour.*

Forasmuch as it is meete and neceſſary for all thoſe that minde to take in hande the trauell into farre or ſtrange countreys, to endeuour themſelues not onely to vnderſtande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulneſſe thereof, but alſo to applie them to the ſetting forth of the ſame, whereby it may incourage others to the like trauaile: therefore haue I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearſall of the orders of this my trauaile in Ruſsia and Moſcouia, and other countreys thereunto adioyning: becauſe it was my chaunce to fall with the North partes of Ruſsia before I came towards Moſcouia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Ruſsia is very plentifull both of land and people, and alſo welthy for ſuch commodities as they haue. They be very great fiſhers for Salmons and ſmall Coddes: they haue much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the moſt whereof is made by a riuer called ‖ Duina. They make it in other places, but not ſo much as there. They haue alſo a great trade in ſeething of ſalte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they haue their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greeſſe Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and redde, Minkes, Ermines, Miniuer, and Harts. There are alſo a fiſhes teeth, which fiſh is called a Morſſe. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Poſteſora, which bring them vpon Hartes to Lampas to ſell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro, where the hie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the Weſt of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanoue, in our language Nouogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and alſo much waxe and honie. The Dutch marchants haue a Staplehouſe there. There is alſo great ſtore of hides, and at a place called Pleſco: and thereabout is great ſtore of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that towne is from Colmogro 120 miles.

‖ Duyna

Note.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not ſo great plentie as is in Gratanoue. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a riuer called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the ſea. Colmogro ſerueth Gratanoue, Vologda and the Moſco with all the countrey thereabout with ſalte and ſaltfiſh. From Vologda to Ieraſlaue is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and tallowe, and corne in great plenty, and ſome Waxe, but not ſo plentifull as in other places.

The Moſco is from Ieraſlaue two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with ſmall Villages, which are ſo well filled with people, that it is wonder to ſee them: the ground is well ſtored with corne which they carie to the citie of Moſco in ſuch abundance that it is wonder to ſee it. You ſhall meete in a morning ſeuen or eight hundred ſleds comming or going thither, that carrie corne, and ſome carie fiſh. You ſhall haue ſome that carie corne to the Moſco, and ſome that fetch corne from thence, that at the leaſt dwell a thouſand miles off: and all their cariage is on ſleds. Thoſe which come ſo farre dwell in the North partes of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will ſuffer no corne to grow, it is ſo extreme. They bring thither fiſhes, furres, and beaſtes ſkinnes. In thoſe partes they haue but ſmall ſtore of cattell.

The Moſco it ſelfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the ſuburbes: but it is very rude, and ſtandeth without all order. Their houſes are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Caſtle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they ſay they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeue it, it doth not ſo ſeeme, notwithſtanding I doe not certainely know it: for no ſtranger may come to viewe it. The one ſide is ditched, and on the other ſide runneth a riuer called Moſcua which runneth into Tartarie and ſo into the ſea called Mare Caſpium: and on the North ſide there is a baſe towne, the which hath alſo a bricke wall about it, and ſo it ioyneth with the Caſtle wall. The Emperour lieth in the caſtle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therin are religious men. Alſo there is a Metropolitane with diuers Biſhops. I will not ſtande in deſcription of their buildinges nor of the ſtrength thereof becauſe we haue better in all points in England. They be well furniſhed with ordinance of all ſortes.

The Emperours or Dukes houſe neither in building nor in the outward ſhew, nor yet within the houſe is ſo ſumptuous as I haue ſeene. It is very lowe built in eight ſquare, much like the olde building of England, with ſmall windowes, and ſo in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming before his Maieſtie: After I had remained twelue daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of ſtrangers did ſend for me, aduertiſing me that the Dukes pleaſure was to haue me to come before his Ma. with the kings my maſters letters: whereof I was right glad, and ſo I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the vtter chamber, where ſate one hundred or moe gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very ſumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counſaile chamber, where ſate the Duke himſelfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they ſate round about the chamber on high, yet ſo that he himſelfe ſate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne vpon his head, and a ſtaffe of Criſtall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour ſtoode vp with the Secretary before the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my maſter, and I anſwered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my truſt was that he was now in the ſame. Upon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancelour preſented my preſent vnto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to ſpeake to the Duke, but when he ſpake to me. So I departed vnto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was ſent for againe vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I ſaw no cauſe why it ſhould be ſo called; for I haue ſeene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and ſo I came into the hall, which was ſmall and not great as is the Kings Maieſties of England, and the table was couered with a tablecloth; and the Marſhall ſate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of veſſell of golde: and on the other ſide of the hall did ſtand a faire cupborde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himſelfe ſate at his table without cloth of eſtate, in a gowne of ſiluer, with a crowne emperiall vpon his head, he ſate in a chaire ſomewhat hie: There ſate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables ſet round about the chamber, which were full ſet with ſuch as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Alſo the places where the tables ſtoode were higher by two ſteppes then the reſt of the houſe. In the middeſt of the chamber ſtoode a table or cupbord to ſet plate on; which ſtoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongſt all the reſt there ſtoode foure maruellous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and ſiluer: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupborde ſtoode two gentlemen with napkins on their ſhoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold ſet with pearles and precious ſtones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups: when he was diſpoſed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his ſeruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich ſeruice: for all were ſerued in gold, not onely he himſelfe, but alſo all the reſt of vs, and it was very maſſie: the cups alſo were of golde and very maſſie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred perſons, and all were ſerued in golden veſſell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they ſerued him with their caps on their heads. Before the ſeruice came in, the Duke ſent to euery man a great ſhiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party ſo ſent to by his name aloude, and ſayd, Iohn Baſiliuich Emperour of Ruſſia and great Duke of Moſcouia doth reward thee with bread: then muſt all men ſtand vp, and doe at all times when thoſe wordes are ſpoken. And then laſt of all he giueth the Marſhall bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and ſo doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes ſeruice of the Swannes all in pieces, and euery one in a ſeuerall diſh: the which the Duke ſendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer ſayth the ſame wordes as he ſayd before. And as I ſayd before, the ſeruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in diſh by diſh: and then after that the Duke ſendeth drinke, with the like ſaying as before is tolde. Alſo before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; ſo that I ſaw three ſeuerall crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his ſeruice was all come in hee gaue to euery one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & ſo likewiſe drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man ſhall know perfectly his ſeruants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, hauing ſo many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leaue this, and ſpeake no more of him nor his houſhold: but I will ſomewhat declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the warrs. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreis, & his power is marueilous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thouſand men: he neuer goeth into the field himſelfe with vnder two hundred thouſand men: And when he goeth himſelfe he furniſheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no ſmall number. He leaueth on the borders of Liefland fortie thouſand men, and vpon the borders of Letto 60 thouſand men, and toward the Nagayan Tartars ſixtie thouſand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee neuer take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horſemen: he vſeth no footmen, but ſuch as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thouſand. The horſemen are all archers, with ſuch bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride ſhort as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a ſkull on their heads. Some of their coates are couered with veluet or cloth of gold: their deſire is to be ſumptuous in the field, and eſpecially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very coſtly, and partly I haue ſeene it, or elſe I would ſcarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himſelfe is richly attired aboue all meaſure: his pauilion is couered either with cloth of gold or ſiluer, and ſo ſet with ſtones that it is wonderfull to ſee it. I haue ſeene the Kings Maieſties of England and the French Kings pauilions, which are fayre, yet not like vnto his. And when they bee ſent into farre or ſtrange countreys, or that ſtrangers come to them, they be very gorgious. Els the Duke himſelfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reaſonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Moſco the Duke ſent two ambaſſadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the leſt fiue hundred horſes; their ſumptuouſnes was aboue meaſure, not onely in themſelues, but alſo in their horſes, as veluet, cloth of golde, and cloth of ſiluer ſet with pearles and not ſcant. What ſhall I farther ſay? I neuer heard of nor [illegible] men ſo ſumptuous: but it is no dayly guiſe, for when they haue not occaſion, as I ſayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the moſt part they neuer giue battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by ſtelth. But I beleeue they be ſuch men for hard liuing as are not vnder the ſun: for no cold will hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at ſuch time as it ſhall freeſe more then a yard thicke, the common ſouldier hath neither tent nor any thing elſe ouer his head: the moſt defence they haue againſt the wether is a felte, which is ſet againſt the winde and weather, and when Snowe commeth hee doth caſt it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him downe thereby. Thus doe the moſt of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which haue other prouiſion of their owne. Their lying in the fielde is not ſo ſtrange as in their hardnes: for euery man muſt carie & make prouiſion for himſelfe & his horſe for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himſelfe ſhal liue vpon water & otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horſe ſhal eat green wood, & ſuch like baggage, & ſhal ſtand open in the cold field without couert, & yet wil he labour & ſerue him right wel. I pray you amongſt all our boaſting warriors how many ſhould we find to endure the field with thē but one moneth. I know no ſuch region about vs that beareth that name for man & beaſt. Now what might be made of theſe men if they were trained & broken to order and knowledge of ciuill wars? If this Prince had within his countreys ſuch men as could make thē to vnderſtand ỹ things aforeſaid, I do beleeue that 2 of the beſt or greateſt princes in Chriſtendome were not wel able to match with him, cōſidering the greatnes of his power & the hardnes of his people & ſtraite liuing both of people and horſe, and the ſmall charges which his warres ſtand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to ſtrangers. They haue a yeerely ſtipend & not much. As for his own countrey men euery one ſerueth of his owne proper coſtes and charges, ſauing that he giueth to his Harcubuſiers certaine allowance for powder & ſhot: or elſe no man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. But if any man hath done very good ſeruice he giueth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee readie with ſo many men as the Duke ſhall appoynt: who conſidereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and ſo many ſhall he bee bound to furniſh at all and euery ſuch time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but hee is bound likewiſe, whether the Duke call for either ſouldier or labourer, to furniſh them with all ſuch neceſſaries as to them belong.

Alſo, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without iſſue male, immediatly after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithſtanding he haue neuer ſo many daughters, and peraduenture giueth it foorthwith to another man, except a ſmall portion that he ſpareth to marrie the daughters withall. Alſo if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of liuing, which is ſtriken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke ſeruice, ſome other gentleman that is not able to liue and more able to doe ſeruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, ſaying, your Grace hath ſuch an one, which is vnmeete to doe ſeruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewiſe your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good ſeruice, your Grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe thoſe that want. Immediatly the Duke ſendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be ſo proued, he ſhall be called before the Duke, and it ſhall bee ſayd vnto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnſeruiceable to your prince, leſſe will ſerue you, and the reſt will ſerue other men that are more able to ſerue. Whereupon immediatly his liuing ſhal be taken away from him, ſauing a little to find himſelfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for anſwere he will ſay, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot ſay, as we the common people in England ſay, if wee haue any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may ſay, that theſe men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one muſt giue and grant his goods which he hath bene ſcraping and ſcratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleaſure and commandement. Oh that our ſturdie rebels were had in the like ſubiection to knowe their duety towarde their Princes. They may not ſay as ſome ſnudges in England ſay, I would find the Queene a man to ſerue in my place, or make his friends tarrie at home if money haue the vpper hand. No, no, it is not ſo in this countrey: for hee ſhall make humble ſute to ſerue the Duke. And whom he ſendeth moſt to the warres he thinketh he is moſt in his fauour: and yet as I before haue ſayde, hee giueth no wages. If they knewe their ſtrength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them ſhould haue any reſt of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horſe that knoweth not his ſtrength, whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great ſtrength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden againſt the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will ſtand no longer in the rehearſall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and puniſhments, and the execution of iuſtice. And firſt I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery gentleman hath rule and iuſtice vpon his owne tenants. And if it ſo fall out that two gentlemens ſeruants or tenants doe diſagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and ſoe giue the ſentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controuerſie, but either of the gentlemen muſt bring his ſeruant or tenant before the high iudge or iuſtice of that countrey, and there preſent them, and declare the matter and caſe. The plaintiſe ſayth, I require the law; which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arreſteth the party defendant, and vſeth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, vntill ſuch time as he findeth ſureties to anſwere the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme puniſhments till he come to his anſwere: And the Iuſtice demaundeth if it be for debt, and ſayth: Oweſt thou this man any ſuch debt? He will perhaps ſay nay. Then ſayth the Iudge: art thou able to denie it? Let vs heare how? By othe ſayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leaue beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Lawe to pleade their cauſes in any court: but euery man pleadeth his owne cauſe, and giueth bill and anſwere in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a ſupplication, & made to the Dukes Grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue iuſtice as in his complaint is alleaged.

The duke giueth ſentence himſelfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very cōmendable, that ſuch a Prince wil take paines to ſee miniſtration of iuſtice. Yet notwithſtanding it is wonderfully abuſed: and thereby the Duke is much deceiued. But if it fall out that the officers be eſpied in cloking the trueth, they haue moſt condigne puniſhment. And if the plaintife can nothing prooue, then the defendant muſt take his oth vpon the crucifixe whether he bee in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintife be any thing able further to make proofe: if hee bee not; then ſometimes he will ſay, I am able to prooue it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, ſo requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aſwell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they ſweare vpon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one ſhall make the other to confeſſe the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and ſo they goe both to the battell armed with ſuch weapons as they vſe in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & ſeldome the parties themſelues do fight, except they be Gentlemen. for they ſtand much vpon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with ſuch as are come of as good an houſe as themſelues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted vnto them, and no champion is to ſerue in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwiſe by champions there is. For although they take great othes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often ſeene: becauſe the common champions haue none other liuing. And aſſoone as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to priſon, and there is ſhamefully vſed till he take order. There is alſo another order in the lawe, that the plaintiffe may ſweare in ſome cauſes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he ſhalbe ſet vnder the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintife muſt ſweare ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his houſe, and vſeth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any ſuch as neede him, vntill ſuch time as his friends make prouiſion for his redemption: or elſe hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will ſell themſelues to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bondmen, to haue during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to haue a piece of mony. yea and ſome will ſell their wiues and children to bee bawdes and drudges to the byer. Alſo they haue a Lawe for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his firſt offence; but may keepe him long in priſon, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other puniſhment: and there he ſhall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purſe, as there be very many, the ſecond time he is taken, he hath a piece of his Noſe cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in priſon till hee finde ſureties for his good behauiour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the firſt time he is extremely puniſhed and not releaſed, except hee haue very good friends, or that ſome Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in ſo doing, he ſhall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietneſſe. But they be naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them. They be naturally giuen to hard liuing aſwell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Ruſſian ſay, that is was a great deale merrier liuing in priſon then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well diſpoſed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue moſt miſerably: for I haue ſeene them eate the pickle of Hearring and other ſtinking fiſh: nor the fiſh cannot be ſo ſtinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praiſe it to be more wholeſome then other fiſh or freſh meate. In mine opinion there be no ſuch people vnder the ſunne for their hardneſſe of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe obſerue the lawe of the Greekes with ſuch exceſſe of ſuperſtition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vſe ſuch idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worſhip nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (ſay they) haue pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and ſo be not ours: They ſay, Looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, ſo we doe worſhip them, and they worſhip none before they be Chriſtened. They ſay we be but halfe Chriſtians: becauſe we obſerue not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themſelues more holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will ſuffer no other in their countrey among them. All their ſeruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the olde and newe Teſtament, which are daily read among them: and yet their ſuperſtition is no leſſe. For when the Prieſts doe reade, they haue ſuch tricks in their reading, that no man can vnderſtand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Prieſt readeth, the people ſit downe and one talke with another. But when the Prieſt is at ſeruice no man ſitteth, but gagle and ducke like ſo many Geeſe. And as for their prayers they haue but litle ſkill, but vſe to ſay As bodi pomele: As much to ſay, Lord haue mercy vpon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot ſay the Pater noſter. And as for the Creede, no man may be ſo bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they ſay it ſhoulde not bee ſpoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Cōmandements, and they wil ſay they were giuen to Moſes in the law, which Chriſt hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and paſſion: therefore, (ſay they) we obſerue little or none thereof. And I doe beleeue them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commaundements together, they ſhoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee haue. They preſent them in a diſh in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church vpon the Prieſtes head, and ſo doe miniſter at all ſuch times as any ſhall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and ſometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule penſe, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greateſt. Looke as we doe begin on the Wedneſday, ſo they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeue there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkenneſſe. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie ſunday, and endeth on Saint Peters euen. If they ſhould breake that faſt, their beliefe is, that they ſhould not come in at heauen gates. And when any of them die, they haue a teſtimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the ſoule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the ſame to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Ruſsian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeuen. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Chriſtmas Eeuen: which Lent is faſted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greateſt Saints in that countrey. In theſe Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheeſe; but they are very ſtraitely kept with Fiſh, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obſerue truely the Wedneſdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate fleſh. Furthermore they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no fleſh throughout the yeere, but fiſh, milke and Butter. By their order they ſhould eate no freſh-fiſh, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages; ſalt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radiſh and ſuch like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quaſſ. They haue ſeruice daily in their Churches; and vſe to goe to ſeruice two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Maſſe: that ended, to dinner: and after that to ſeruice againe: and then to ſupper. You ſhall vnderſtand that at euery dinner and ſupper they haue declared the expoſition of the Goſpel that day: but howe they wreſt and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whoredome and drunkenneſſe there be none ſuch liuing: and for extortion, they be the moſt abhominable vnder the ſunne. Nowe iudge of their holineſſe. They haue twiſe as much lands as the Duke himſelfe hath: but yet hee is reaſonable euen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and ſimple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of of their houſes dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and vnmoueable: ſo that the ſucceſſour buieth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the beſt Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, truſting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worſhipfull and my ſingular good Vncle,
Maſter Chriſtopher Frothingham, giue theſe.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Teſtimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, *concerning the Booke following.*

AND whereas (ſaith he) I haue before made mention howe Moſcouie was in our time diſcouered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebaſtian Cabota, who long before had this ſecret in his minde: I ſhall not neede here to deſcribe that voyage, forſmuch as the ſame is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, ſchoolemaſter to the Queenes henſhmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the ſaid Richard Chanceler.

The newe Nauigation and diſcouerie of the kingdome of *Moſcouia, by the Northeaſt, in the yeere 1553: Enterpriſed by Sir Hugh* Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot maior of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.

Vpon what occaſions, and by whom this voyage was ſet out, and of the diſcouerie of Moſcouie by the North.

At what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to bee in ſmall requeſt with the countreys and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that thoſe Marchandizes which ſtrangers in the time and memorie of our aunceſters did earneſtly ſeeke and deſire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandiſes in great accompt, and their priſes wonderfully raiſed: certaine graue Citizens of London, and men of great wiſedome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themſelues, howe this miſchiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their deſires, for the auoyding of ſo great an inconuenience: for ſeeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the diſcouerie and ſearch of newe trades and Countreys was maruellouſly increaſed, ſuppoſing the ſame to be a courſe and meane for them alſo to obteine the like, they thereupon reſolued vpon a newe and ſtrange Nauigation. And whereas at the ſame time one Sebaſtian Cabota, a man in thoſe dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began firſt of all to deale and conſult diligently with him, and after much ſpeech and conference together, it was at laſt concluded that three ſhippes ſhould bee prepared and furniſhed out, for the ſearch and diſcouerie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and paſſage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships furniſhed for the diſcouerie.

And whereas many things ſeemed neceſſary to bee regarded in this ſo hard and difficult a matter, they firſt make choyſe of certaine graue and wiſe perſons in maner of a Senate or companie, which ſhould lay their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide things requiſite and profitable for all occaſions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine ſumme of money ſhould publiquely bee collected to ſerue for the furniſhing of ſo many ſhippes. And leſt any priuate man ſhould bee too much oppreſſed and charged, a courſe was taken, that euery man willing to be of the ſocietie, ſhould diſburſe the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: ſo that in ſhort time by this meanes the ſumme of ſixe thouſand pounds being gathered, the three ſhippes were bought, the moſt part whereof they prouided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very ſtrong and well ſeaſoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrights, they with daily trauaile, and their greateſt ſkill doe fitte them for the diſpatch of the ſhippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the reſt, they make one moſt ſtanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the ſtrongeſt oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the reſt to bee imployed in this voyage might bee free and ſafe from this danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the ſhippe with thinne ſheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the ſhips, and furniſhed them with armour and artillerie, then followed a ſecond care no leſſe troubleſome and neceſſarie then the former, namely, the prouiſion of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to haue the Eaſt part of the world ſayled vnto, and yet that the ſea towards the ſame was not open, except they kept the Northren tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any paſſage yea or no, they reſolued to victuall the ſhips for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reaſon. For our men being to paſſe that huge and colde part of the world, they wiſely foreſeeing it, allowe them ſixe moneths victuall to ſaile to the place, ſo much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and ſo much more alſo for the time of their comming home.

Prouiſion of victuals for 18. moneths.

Choiſe of Captaines and Pilots.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

Nowe this prouiſion being made and caried aboord, with armour and munition of all ſorts, ſufficient Captaines and gouernours of ſo great an enterpriſe were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and ſome voyde of experience) offered themſelues, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a moſt valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earneſtly requeſted to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whom before all others, both by reaſon of his goodly perſonage (for he was of a tall ſtature) as alſo for his ſingular ſkill in the ſeruices of warre, the company of the Marchants made greateſt accompt: ſo that at the laſt they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appoynted to him the Admirall, with authoritie and commaund ouer all the reſt. And for the gouernement of other ſhips although diuers men ſeemed willing, and made offers of themſelues thereunto, yet by a common conſent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great eſtimation for many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this buſineſſe reſted. This man was brought vp by one maſter Henry Sidney, a noble yong Gentleman and very much beloued of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent ſpeech or Oration, and ſpake to them after this maner following.

Maſter Henry Sidney his Oration.

My very worſhipfull friends, I cannot but greatly commend your preſent godly and vertuous intention, in the ſerious enterpriſing (for the ſingular loue you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours wee alſo of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing ſo deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in ſo commendable a cauſe. But principally I reioyce in my ſelfe, that I haue nouriſhed and maintained that witte, which is like by ſome meanes and in ſome meaſure, to profite and ſteede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chanceler, not becauſe I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderſtand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this buſineſſe, and that the authoritie and eſtimation which hee deſerueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by ſpeech and companie, but I by the daily triall of his life haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are alſo to remember, into howe many perils for your ſakes, and his countreys loue, he is nowe to runne: whereof it is requiſite that wee be not vnmindefull, if it pleaſe God to ſend him good ſucceſſe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all things moſt deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We ſhall here liue and reſt at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnruly Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares ſhall hee trouble and vexe himſelfe? with how many troubles ſhall he breake himſelfe? and howe many diſquietings ſhall hee bee forced to ſuſtaine? We ſhall keepe our owne coaſtes and countrey: Hee ſhall ſeeke ſtrange and vnknowen kingdomes. He ſhall commit his ſafetie to barbarous and cruell people, and ſhall hazard his life amongſt the monſtrous and terrible beaſtes of the Sea. Wherefore in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs: and if it fall ſo happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie alſo, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or ſome ſuch like ſpeech, much more eloquently then I can poſſiblie report it, the companie then preſent beganne one to looke vpon another, one to queſtion and conferre with another: and ſome (to whom the vertue and ſufficiencie of the man was knowen) began ſecretly to reioyce with themſelues, and to conceiue a ſpeciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and ſhining to the world would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to ſome ſilence, it ſeemed good to them that were of greateſt grauity amongſt them, to inquire, ſearch and ſeeke what might be learned & knowen, concerning the Eaſterly part or tract of the world. For which cauſe two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were ſent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be preſent, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation: But they were able to anſwere nothing to the purpoſe: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly ſaid) to toſſe pottes, then to learne the ſtates and diſpoſitions of people. But after much adoe and many things paſſed about this matter, they grewe at laſt to this iſſue, to ſet downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the ſhippes: becauſe diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the beſt time of the yeere was already ſpent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would bee ſtopt and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought beſt by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Mariners ſhould take ſhipping, and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleaſed God. They hauing ſaluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinſfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinſfolkes, were preſent and ready at the day appoynted: and hauing wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and ſailing eaſily, came

They departed from Ratcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

firſt to Greenewich. The greater ſhippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or ſkie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) preſently vpon the newes therof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, ſtanding very thicke vpon the ſhoare: the priuie Counſel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the reſt ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the ſhippes hereupon diſcharge their Ordinance, and ſhoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the ſea, inſomuch that the tops of the hilles ſounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the Mariners, they ſhouted in ſuch ſort, that the ſkie rang againe with the noyſe thereof. One ſtoode in the poope of the ſhip, and by his geſture bids farewell to his friendes in the beſt maner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the ſhrowds, another ſtands vpon the maine yard, and another in the top of the ſhippe. To be ſhort, it was a very triumph (after a ſort) in all reſpects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in reſpect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe was abſent from this ſhewe, and not long after the departure of theſe ſhips, the lamentable and moſt ſorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The ſhippes going downe with the tyde came at laſt to Woolwich, where they ſtayed and caſt ancre, with purpoſe to depart therehence againe, as ſoone as the turning of the water, and a better winde ſhould drawe them to ſet ſaile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they ſtayed long, not without great loſſe and conſuming of time: yet at the laſt with a good winde they hoyſed vp ſaile, and committed themſelues to the ſea, giuing their laſt adieu to their natiue Countrey, which they knewe not whether they ſhould euer returne to ſee againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, conſidering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the ſea they were to make triall of.

Amongſt the reſt, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, was not a little grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggeſheads of wine alſo leaked, and were not ſtanch: his naturall and fatherly affection alſo ſomewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little ſonnes, which were in the caſe of Orphanes if he ſpedde not well: the eſtate alſo of his companie moued him to care, being in the former reſpects after a ſort vnhappie, and were to abide with himſelfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of ſorowes and cares, after many dayes ſayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ſhips: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Roſt Iſland, where they ſtayed certaine dayes, and afterwards ſet ſaile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they eſpied certaine other Iſlands, which were called the Croſſe of Iſlands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foreſight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and ſet out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefeſt men of the other ſhippes, that by the helpe and aſſiſtance of their counſels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the ſhippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempeſt ſhould ariſe at any time, and happen to diſperſe and ſcatter them, euery ſhippe ſhould indeuour his beſt to goe to Wardhouſe, a hauen or caſtell of ſome name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there firſt in ſafetie ſhould ſtay and expect the comming of the reſt.

The very ſame day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, ſo great a tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, and the Seas were ſo outragious, that the ſhips could not keepe their intended courſe, but ſome were perforce driuen one way, and ſome another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdeſt voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earneſtly requeſted him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he ſailed ſtill ſo faſt: for the Admirall was of better ſaile then his ſhippe. But the ſaid Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his ſailes, was caried away with ſo great force and ſwiftneſſe, that not long after hee was quite out of ſight, and the third ſhip alſo with the ſame ſtorme and like rage was diſperſed and loſt vs.

The ſhippe boate of the Admirall (ſtriking againſt the ſhippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the ſight and viewe of the Mariners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are already returned and arriued, they know nothing of the reſt of the ſhips what was become of them.

They returne the next yeere not knowing what was become of the other 2. ſhips.

But if it be ſo, that any miſerable miſhap haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the

Sea haue deuoured thoſe good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in ſtrange Countreys, I muſt needs ſay they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wiſh them ſafetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God ſend them a Chriſtian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his ſhippe and company being thus left alone, and become very penſiue, heauie, and ſorowfull, by this diſperſion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) ſhapeth his courſe for Wardhouſe in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes. And being come thither, and hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purpoſed voyage. And as hee was preparing himſelfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and ſpeech with certaine Scottiſhmen: who hauing vnderſtanding of his intention, and wiſhing well to his actions, beganne earneſtly to diſſwade him from the further proſecution of the diſcouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reaſon that might ſerue to that purpoſe. But hee holding nothing ſo ignominious and reprochfull, as inconſtancie and leuitie of minde, and perſwading himſelfe that a man of valour coulde not commit a more diſhonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and ſhunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or diſcouraged with the ſpeeches and words of the Scots, remaining ſtedfaſt and immutable in his firſt reſolution: determining either to bring that to paſſe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Maſter Chanceler in his ſhippe, although they had great cauſe of diſcomfort by the loſſe of their companie (whom the foreſaid tempeſt had ſeparated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in reſpect of their doubtfull courſe: yet notwithſtanding, they were of ſuch conſent and agreement of minde with Maſter Chanceler, that they were reſolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or miſtruſt of future dangers. Which conſtancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increaſe their Captaines carefulneſſe: for hee being ſwallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared leſt through any errour of his, the ſafetie of the companie ſhould bee indangered. To conclude, when they ſawe their deſire and hope of the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes to be euery day more and more fruſtrated, they prouided to ſea againe, and Maſter Chanceler held on his courſe towards that vnknowen part of the world, and ſailed ſo farre, that hee came at laſt to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightneſſe of the Sunne ſhining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleaſed God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and ſomewhat farre within it caſt ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they eſpied a farre off a certaine fiſher boate, which Maſter Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to common with the fiſhermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the ſtrange greatneſſe of his ſhippe, (for in thoſe partes before that time they had neuer ſeene the like) beganne preſently to auoyde and to flee: but hee ſtill following them at laſt ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) proſtrated themſelues before him, offering to kiſſe his feete: but hee (according to his great and ſingular courteſie,) looked pleaſantly vpon them, comforting them by ſignes and geſtures, refuſing thoſe dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing ſort from the ground. And it is ſtrange to conſider howe much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchaſe to himſelfe. For they being diſmiſſed ſpread by and by a report abroad of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, of a ſingular gentleneſſe and courteſie: whereupon the common people came together offering to theſe newe-come gheſts victuals freely, and not refuſing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vſe and cuſtome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and conſent of the king.

They arriue in the Bay of Saint Nicholas.

The diſcouerie of Ruſsia.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Ruſsia, or Moſcouie, and that Iuan Vaſiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in thoſe places. And the barbarous Ruſſes asked likewiſe of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto anſwere was made, that they were Engliſhmen ſent into thoſe coaſtes, from the moſt excellent King Edward the ſixt, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and ſeeking nothing els but his amitie and friendſhip, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the ſubiects of both kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard theſe things very gladly, and promiſed their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with ſo honeſt and a reaſonable requeſt.

In the meane time Maſter Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hoſtages of them likewiſe for the more aſſurance of ſafetie to himſelfe and his company. To whom the Gouernours anſwered, that they knewe not in that caſe the will of their king, but yet were willing in ſuch things as they might lawfully doe, to pleaſure him: which was as then to afoord him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe while theſe things were a doing, they ſecretly ſent a meſſenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, and withall to knowe his pleaſure concerning them. Which meſſage was very welcome vnto him, inſomuch that voluntarily hee inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reaſon of the tediouſneſſe of ſo long a iourney, they thought it not beſt ſo to doe, then hee granted libertie to his ſubiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promiſed, that if it would pleaſe them to come to him, hee himſelfe would beare the whole charges of poſte horſes. In the meane time the gouernours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuſes, and ſaying one while that the conſent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their anſwere: and this they did of purpoſe, ſo long to protract the time, vntill the meſſenger (ſent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleaſure.

But Maſter Chanceler, (ſeeing himſelfe held in this ſuſpenſe with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they poſted the matter off ſo often,) was very inſtant with them to performe their promiſe: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moſcouites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had ſuch wares and commodities as they greatly deſired, they at laſt reſolued to furniſh our people with all things neceſſarie, and to conduct them by land to the preſence of their king. And ſo Maſter Chanceler beganne his iourney, which was very long and moſt troubleſome, wherein hee had the vſe of certaine ſleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are caried themſelues vpon ſleds, and all their carriages are in the ſame ſort, the people almoſt not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cauſe whereof is the exceeding hardneſſe of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in thoſe places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will ſay ſomething.

But nowe they hauing paſſed the greater part of their iourney, mette at laſt with the Sleddeman (of whom I ſpake before) ſent to the king ſecretly from the Iuſtices or gouernours, who by ſome ill happe had loſt his way, and had gone to the Sea ſide, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to haue found our ſhip. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the laſt in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courteſie and in the moſt louing maner that could be: wherein expreſſe commandement was giuen, that poſt horſes ſhould bee gotten for him and the reſt of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their iourney ſo willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight alſo in ſtriuing and contending which of them ſhould put their poſt horſes to the ſledde: ſo that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) Maſter Chanceler came at laſt to Moſco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the ſeate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himſelfe, and of the principall cities of Moſcouie, wee will ſpeake immediatly more at large in this diſcourſe.

The Emperours courteous letters to M. Chanceler.

Of Moſcouie, which is alſo called Ruſsia.

Moſcouie, which hath the name alſo of Ruſſia the white, is a very large and ſpacious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the Eaſt, it is compaſſed with Tartaria: the Northren ſide of it ſtretcheth to the Scytian Ocean: vpon the Weſt part border the Lappians, a rude and ſauage nation, liuing in woods, whoſe language is not knowen to any other people: next vnto theſe, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and laſt of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moſcouie, hath alſo very many and great riuers in it, and is marſh ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greateſt and moſt famous amongſt all the reſt, is that, which the Ruſſes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boriſthenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of theſe, to wit, Rha, and Boriſthenes yſſuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiuing many other pleaſant riuers into it, & running from the very head or ſpring of it towards the Eaſt, after many crooked turnings and windings, diſchargeth it ſelfe, and all the other waters and riuers that fall into it by diuers paſſages into the Caſpian Sea. Tanais ſpringing from a fountaine of great name in thoſe partes, and growing great neere to his head, ſpreds it ſelfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth ſo runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and therehence fetching a very crooked courſe, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but diſdaining as it were the company of any other riuer, doth there turne it ſelfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at laſt into the Lake of Mœotis. Boriſthenes, which comes from the ſame head that Rha doth, (as wee ſayde before) carieth both it ſelfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refuſing the mixture of other ſmall riuers: and running by many great and large Countreys fals at laſt into Pontus Euxinus. Beſides theſe riuers, are alſo in Moſcouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fiſh by the celeſtiall influence: and amongſt them all, the chiefeſt and moſt principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reaſon of a very ſtrong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moſcouie reſerue and repoſe their treaſure in all time of warre and danger.

The mightie lake of Bealozera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the ſnow lieth continually, and where hence in times paſt it was thought that Tanais the riuer did ſpring, and that the reſt of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde, were there to be ſeene: our men which lately came from thence, neither ſawe them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and had gotten in that time ſome intelligence of the language of Moſcouie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large & ſpacious woods, wherein is great ſtore of Firre trees, a wood very neceſſarie, and fit for the building of houſes: there are alſo wilde beaſtes bred in thoſe woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolues, and another kinde of beaſt vnknowen to vs, but called by them Roſſomakka: and the nature of the ſame is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring foorth, it ſeeketh out ſome narrow place betweene two ſtakes, and ſo going through them, preſſeth it ſelfe, and by that meanes is eaſed of her burden, which otherwiſe could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the moſt part a horſebacke, but their Beares a foot, with wooden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be ſo cold, that the very ice or water which diſtilleth out of the moiſt wood which they lay vpon the fire is preſently congealed and frozen: the diuerſitie growing ſuddenly to be ſo great, that in one and the ſelfe ſame firebrand, a man ſhall ſee both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth ſtill more & more increaſe by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde ſlake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth diſſolue the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ſhip in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes ſo ſuddenly taken away, that they eftſoones fell downe as men very neere dead, ſo great is the ſharpeneſſe of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are ſomewhat more temperate.

The ſharpnes of the winter in Moſcouie.

Of Moſco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of *the Emperour thereof.*

IT remaineth that a larger diſcourſe be made of Moſco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince alſo, as before we haue promiſed. The Empire and gouernment of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And becauſe the citie of Moſco is the chiefeſt of al the reſt, it ſeemeth of it ſelfe to challenge the firſt place in this diſcourſe. Our men ſay, that in bigneſſe it is as great as the Citie of London, with the ſuburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and faireneſſe, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages alſo, but built out of order, and with no handſomneſſe: their ſtreetes and wayes are not paued with ſtone as ours are: the walles of their houſes are of wood: the roofes for the moſt part are couered with ſhingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Caſtle, ſtrong, and furniſhed with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly

Their manner of building.

towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles alſo of the Caſtle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickeneſſe eighteene foote. This Caſtle hath on the one ſide a drie ditch, on the other ſide the riuer Moſcua, whereby it is made almoſt inexpugnable. The ſame Moſcua trending towards the Eaſt doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

In the Caſtle aforeſaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vnhanſome, which are vſed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whom there is after a ſort, a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerend Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Caſtle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neateſt, onely in forme it is foure ſquare, and of lowe building, much ſurpaſſed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houſes of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and ſome of them by glaſſe, ſome other by lettiſſes admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none ſuch there: they build and ioyne to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houſes.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue dayes in the Citie, there was then a Meſſenger ſent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings houſe: and they being after a ſort wearied with their long ſtay, were very ready, and willing ſo to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there ſate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there-hence being conducted into the chamber of preſence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maieſtie of the Emperour: his ſeate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldſmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garniſhed, and beſet with precious ſtones: and beſides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maieſtie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his eſtate: on the one ſide of him ſtood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other ſide, the great Commander of ſilence, both of them arayed alſo in cloth of gold: and then there ſate the Counſel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like ſort arayed, and of great ſtate. This ſo honorable an aſſemblie, ſo great a Maieſtie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well haue amazed our men, and haue daſht them out of countenance: but notwithſtanding Maſter Chanceler being therewithall nothing diſmaied ſaluted, and did his duetie to the Emperour, after the maner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of our king, Edward the ſixt. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a litle to queſtion with them, and to aſke them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men anſwered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men preſented ſome thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the deliuery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time couered: and ſo the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, diſmiſſed them from his preſence: and going into the chamber of him that was Maſter of the Requeſts to the Emperour, & hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of two howres, at the laſt, the Meſſenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for ſo they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour ſitting vpon an high and ſtately ſeate, apparelled with a robe of ſiluer, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed ouer againſt him, ſit downe: in the middes of the roome ſtoode a mightie Cupboord vpon a ſquare foote, whereupon ſtoode alſo a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery ſteppe roſe vp more narrowe then another. Vpon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was ſo much, that the very Cupboord it ſelfe was ſcant able to ſuſtaine the waight of it: the better part of all the veſſels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongſt the reſt, there were foure pots of very large bigneſſe, which did adorne the reſt of the plate in great meaſure: for they were ſo high, that they thought them at the leaſt fiue foote long. There were alſo vpon this Cupbord certaine ſiluer caſkes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reſerued the Emperours drinke: on each ſide of the Hall ſtood foure Tables, each of them layde and couered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company aſcended by three ſteps or degrees: all which were filled with the aſſemblie preſent: the gheſts were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich ſkinnes within, and ſo did notably ſet out this royall feaſt. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth firſt of all croſſe himſelfe vpon his forehead: they that are in ſpeciall fauour with the Emperour ſit vpon the ſame bench with him, but ſomewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himſelfe, according to an ancient cuſtome of the kings of Moſcouy, doth firſt beſtow a piece of bread vpon euery one of his gheſts, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moſcouie, and chiefe Emperour of Ruſſia, Iohn Baſiliwich (& then the officer nameth the gheſt)

King Edwards letters deliuered.

doth giue thee bread. Whereupon al the gheſts riſe vp, and by & by ſit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Vſher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of ſeruants, carying the diſhes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and ſeuen other of his fellowes, to be cut vp: which being perfourmed, the meate is then diſtributed to the gheſts, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Vſher receiues his bread, and taſteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the reſt of the diſhes, becauſe they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of diſhes, and drinking veſſels, which were then for the vſe of a hundred gheſts, was all of pure golde, and the tables were ſo laden with veſſels of gold, that there was no roome for ſome to ſtand vpon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. ſeruitors arayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thriſe their habit and apparell, which ſeruitors are in like ſort ſerued with bread from the Emperour, as the reſt of the gheſts. Laſt of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his gheſts and Noble men by their names, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwiſe occupied in great matters of eſtate, ſhould ſo well remember ſo many and ſundry particular names. The Ruſſes tolde our men, that the reaſon thereof, as alſo of the beſtowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houſhold: and withal, that ſuch as are vnder his diſpleaſure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the diſcipline of warre among the Ruſſes.

Whenſoeuer the iniures of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee neuer armeth a leſſe number againſt the enemie, then 300. thouſand ſoldiers, 100. thouſand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the reſt in gariſon in ſome fit places, for the better ſafetie of his Empire. He preſſeth no huſbandman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is ſo populous, that theſe being left at home, the youth of the Realme is ſufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe prouide all things of their owne coſt: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horſebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile without is gilded, or els adorned with ſilke, although it pertaine to a commom ſoldier: they haue a great pride in ſhewing their wealth: they vſe bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances alſo into the field. They ride with a ſhort ſtirrop, after the maner of the Turks: They are a kinde of people moſt ſparing in diet, and moſt patient in extremitie of cold, aboue all others. For when the ground is couered with ſnowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the froſt, this Ruſſe hangs vp his mantle, or ſouldiers coate, againſt that part from whence the winde and Snowe driues, and ſo making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his ſerues him for his bed, wall, houſe and all: his drinke is colde water of the riuer, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himſelfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and ſo ſitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the hard ground, roſteth as it were his wearie ſides thus daintily ſtuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & ſome blocke or ſtone his pillow: and as for his horſe, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his maſter, faring both alike. How iuſtly may this barbarous, and rude Ruſſe condemne the daintineſſe and niceneſſe of our Captaines, who liuing in a ſoile & aire much more temeprate, yet commonly vſe furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common ſouldiers. But thoſe that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himſelfe, it is then aboue all other times, moſt notable. The couerings of his tent for the moſt part, are all of gold, adorned with ſtones of great price, and with the curious workemanſhip of plumaſiers. As often as they are to ſkirmiſh with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuiſions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the moſt part, in ambuſh, doe ſuddenly ſet vpon the enemie. Their horſes can well abſtaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the moſt tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this ſcant and miſerable maner of liuing, both the horſe and his Maſter can well endure, ſometimes for the ſpace of two moneths, luſtie, and in good ſtate of body. If any man behaue himſelfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he beſtoweth vpon him in recompenſe of his ſeruice, ſome farme, or ſo much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithſtanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male iſſue. For although his daughters be neuer ſo many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodneſſe, giue ſome portion of the land amongſt them, to beſtowe them withall. As for the man, whoſoeuer he be, that is in this ſort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great ſumme, to maintaine ſo many ſouldiers for the warre, when need ſhall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all thoſe, to whom any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male iſſue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreouer, if there be any rich man amongſt them, who in his owne perſon is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath ſuch wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers preſent his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by ſent for, and in that inſtant, depriued of all his riches, which with great paines and trauell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps ſome ſmall portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people ſo willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make reſtitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken theſe goods into his hands, beſtoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deſerts: and the oftener that a man is ſent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I ſaid before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour of Moſcouie.

The Moſcouite, with no leſſe pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue ſpoken of, ſends his Ambaſſadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of eſtate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Moſco, there were two Ambaſſadors ſent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horſes, and the greater part of the men were arayed in cloth of gold, and of ſilke, and the worſt apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to ſpeake nothing of the trappings of the horſes, which were adorned with gold and ſiluer, and very curiouſly embrodered: they had alſo with them one hundred white and faire ſpare horſes, to vſe them at ſuch times, as any wearineſſe came vpon them. But now the time requireth me to ſpeake briefly of other Cities of the Moſcouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

Next vnto Moſco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefeſt of Ruſſia: for although it be in Maieſtie inferior to it, yet in greatneſſe it goeth beyond it. It is the cheifeſt and greateſt Marte Towne of all Moſcouie: and albeit the Emperours ſeate is not there, but at Moſco, yet the commodiouſneſſe of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Moſco it ſelfe. This towne excels all the reſt in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeeldes alſo hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemings there ſometimes had a houſe of Marchandize, but by reaſon that they vſed the like ill dealing there, which they did with vs, they loſt their priuileges, a reſtitution whereof they earneſtly ſued for at the time that our men were there. But thoſe Flemings hearing of the arriuall of our men in thoſe parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour againſt them, accuſing them for pirats and rouers, wiſhing him to detaine, and impriſon them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceiued feare, that they ſhould neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and falſe ſuggeſtions of the Flemings, vſed no ill intreatie towards them.

The knauery of the Flemings againſt our men.

Yeraſlaue.

Yeraſlaue alſo is a Towne of ſome good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there alſo to bee ſolde, although other places haue greater ſtore: this Yeraſlaue is diſtant from Moſco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld ſuch ſtore of corne, that in conuaying it towards Moſco, ſometimes in a forenoone, a man ſhall ſee ſeuen hundred or eight hundred ſleds, going and comming, laden with corne and ſalt fiſh: the people come a thouſand miles to Moſco, to buy that corne, and then cary it away vpon ſleds: and theſe are thoſe people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is ſo terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it ſpring vp, it neuer comes to ripeneſſe. The commodities that they bring with them, are ſaltfiſh, ſkinnes, and hides.

Vologda.

Vologda being from Moſco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe alſo: although the greateſt ſtore of Flaxe is ſolde at Nouogrode.

Pleſco.

The Towne of Pleſco, is frequented of Marchants for the good ſtore of Honie and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

The North parts of Ruſſia yeelde very rare and precious ſkinnes: and amongſt the reſt, thoſe principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath alſo Martins ſkinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe ſkinnes, ſkinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarouſly, as Beuers, Minxes, and Minuers. The ſea adioyning, breedes a certaine beaſt, which they call the Mors, which ſeeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Ruſſes vſe to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. Theſe commodities they cary vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the ſale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, ſerues all the Countrey about it with ſalt, and ſalt fiſh. The Ruſſians alſo of the North parts, ſend thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a riuer called ‖ Vna, although it be alſo made elſe-where: and here they vſe to boile the water of the ſea, whereof they make very great ſtore of ſalt.

‖ Or, Dwina.

Of controuerſies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

Hauing hitherto ſpoken ſo much of the chiefeſt Cities of Ruſſia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we ſpeake ſomewhat of the lawes, that the Moſcouits doe vſe, as farre forth as the ſame are come to our knowledge. If any controuerſie ariſe among them, they firſt make their Landlords Iudges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magiſtrate. The plaintif craueth of the ſaid Magiſtrate, that he may haue leaue to enter law againſt his aduerſarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a ſuretie for him: but if he be not of ſuch credite, as to procure a ſurety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Iudge. The Iudge then aſketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then ſaith the Iudge, How canſt thou deny it? the defendant anſwereth, By an othe: thereupon the officer is commaunded to ceaſe from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocate, and both the complaint of the accuſer, and the anſwere of the defendant, are in maner of petition deliuered to the Emperour, intreating iuſtice at his hands. The Emperour himſelfe heareth euery great controuerſie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthy of ſpeciall commendation, in the Maieſtie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpoſe of mind, yet the corrupt Magiſtrates do wonderfully peruert the ſame: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth puniſh them moſt ſeuerely. Now at the laſt, when ech partie hath defended his cauſe with his beſt reaſons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuſer, whether he hath any more to ſay for himſelfe: he anſwereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or elſe intreateth, that in fight betwixt themſelues the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them ſeeme vnfit for that kinde of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. Theſe Champions are armed with yron axes, and ſpeares, and fight on foote, and he whoſe Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and impriſoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduerſarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge granteth it: in which caſe they may not vſe publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be baſely borne, and wil not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himſelfe, or to ſome other man, whoſe wages he taketh vp. And there are ſome among them, that vſe willingly to make themſelues, their wiues, and children, bondſlaues vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the firſt into their hands, and ſo for euer after content themſelues with meate and drinke: ſo little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of puniſhments vpon theeues.

If any man be taken vpon committing of theft, he is impriſoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the firſt offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the ſecond time hath his noſe cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurſes among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoyded.

Of their religion.

They maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they ſuffer no grauen images of ſaints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and caſt holy water vpon them, without other honour. They ſay that our images which are ſet vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houſes they haue images for their houſhold ſaints, and for the moſt part, they are put in the darkeſt place of the houſe: hee that comes into his neighbours houſe doth firſt ſalute his ſaints, although he ſee them not. If any forme or ſtoole ſtand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his browe vpon the ſame, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worſhippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Prieſts, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receiued and held amongſt them for a rule, and cuſtome, that if a Prieſts wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a ſecond wife: and therefore they of ſecular Prieſts, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chaſtitie for euer is commanded. Their diuine ſeruice is all done and ſaid in their owne language, that euery man may vnderſtand it: they receiue the Lords Supper with leauened bread, and after the conſecration, they carry it about the Church in a ſaucer, and prohibite no man from receiuing and taking of it, that is willing ſo to doe. They vſe both the Olde and the Newe Teſtament, and read both in their owne language, but ſo confuſedly, that they themſelues that doe reade, vnderſtand not what themſelues doe ſay: and while any part of either Teſtament is read, there is libertie giuen by cuſtome to prattle, talke, and make a noiſe: but in the time of the reſt of the ſeruice they vſe very great ſilence and reuerence, and behaue themſelues very modeſtly, and in good ſort. As touching the Lords praier, the tenth man amongſt them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the leaſt very fewe of them doe either know them or can ſay them: their opinion is, that ſuch ſecrete and holy things as they are ſhould not raſhly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongſt them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements alſo are aboliſhed by the death and blood of Chriſt: all ſtudies and letters of humanitie they vtterly refuſe: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate foure ſeuerall faſtes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the firſt beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The ſecond is called amongſt them the faſt of S.Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and laſt begins vpon S.Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wedneſday, ſo they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Saturday they eate fleſh: whenſoeuer any of thoſe faſting feaſtes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the ſame weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language they call thoſe weekes, the faſt of Butter.

In the time of their faſts, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and viſite one another, and kiſſe one another with kiſſes of peace, in token of their mutuall loue and Chriſtian concord: and then alſo they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When ſeuen dayes are paſt, from the beginning of the faſt, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themſelues at home, and vſe often prayer: and for that ſeuennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that ſeuennights faſt is once paſt, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable toſpots. As for the keeping of their faſting dayes, they doe it very ſtreightly, neither doe they eate any thing beſides hearbes, and ſalt fiſh, as long as thoſe faſting dayes doe endure: but vpon euery Wedneſday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they faſt.

There are very many Monaſteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongſt them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the leaſt poſſeſſe the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moſcouite Empire. To thoſe Monkes that are of this order, there is amongſt them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no fleſh: and therefore their meate is onely ſalt fiſh, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and cuſtomes of their religion, to eate any freſh fiſh at all: and at thoſe foure faſting times, whereof we ſpake before, they eate no fiſh at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpoſe cauſe and take order to grow and ſpring, for their vſe and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and ſmall. For the diſcharge of their office, they do euery day ſay ſeruice, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in ſuch ſort, and with ſuch obſeruation begin their ſeruice, that they will be ſure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they haue ſo done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to ſeruice, and the like alſo after ſupper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is ſome expoſition or interpretation of the Goſpel vſed.

Note.

Whenſoeuer any Abbot of any monaſterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his houſholde ſtuffe, beaſtes, flockes of ſheepe, golde, ſiluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to ſucceede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all thoſe things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the moſt part are couered with ſhingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vſually build ſome entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine houſe of wood, wherein they ſet vp their bels, wherein ſometimes they haue but one, in ſome two, and in ſome alſo three.

There is one vſe and cuſtome amongſt them, which is ſtrange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongſt them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or cheſt, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle ſcroule, & in the ſame there are theſe wordes written, that the ſame man died a Ruſſe of Ruſſes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the ſame. This writing or letter they ſay they ſend to S. Peter, who receiuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Chriſtians of the Latine church, reputing themſelues to be followers of a more ſincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Chriſtians, and themſelues onely to be the true and perfect church: theſe are the fooliſh and childiſh dotages of ſuch ignorant Babarians.

Of the Moſcouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to *Tartaria*.

Aurea vetula, or Zelotibaba,

There is a certaine part of Moſcouie bordering vpon the countreys of the Tartars, wherein thoſe Moſcouites that dwell are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idole amongſt them, which they call the Golden old wife: & they haue a cuſtome that whenſoeuer any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or ſuch like, then they goe to conſult with their idol, which they do after this maner: they fall down proſtrate before the idol, & pray vnto it, & put in the preſence of the ſame, a cymbal: & about the ſame certaine perſons ſtand, which are choſen amongſt them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a ſiluer doue, and ſound the cymball, and to whomſoeuer of thoſe lotted perſons that doue goeth, he is taken, and by and by ſlaine: and immediately, I know not by what illuſions of the deuill, or idols, he is againe reſtored to life, & then doth reueale and deliuer the cauſes of the preſent calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houſes, and of the apparell of the people.

The common houſes of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe ſo receiue the round holowneſſe of the vppermoſt, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they reſiſt, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is ioined together, there they ſtop the chinks with moſſe. The forme & faſhion of their houſes in al places is foure ſquare, with ſtreit and narrow windowes, whereby with a tranſparent caſement made or couered with ſkinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houſes are made of boords couered without with yͤ barke of trees: within their houſes they haue benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they ſleepe vpon, for the common people knowe not the vſe of beds: they haue ſtooues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the ſame fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole houſe.

The apparell of the people for the moſt part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and ſharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a ſigne and repreſentation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth ſuppoſed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Concluſion to Queene *Marie*.

These are the things moſt excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Ruſſia haue brought home concerning the ſtate of that countrey: wherfore if your maieſtie ſhall be fauourable, and grant a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be ſpred amongſt thoſe nations, whereunto three onely noble perſonages from the verie creation haue had acceſſe, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moſcouie and Emperour of *Ruſsia* his letters, ſent to King *Edward* the ſixt, by the hands of *Richard Chancelour*.

The Almighty power of God, and the incomprehenſible holy Trinitie, rightfull Chriſtian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vaſiliuich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Aſtracan, lord of Pleſko, and great duke of Smolenſko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Nouograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaueley, Bealozera, Lieſland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England &c. according to our moſt hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly deſire, & according to our holy Chriſtian faith, & great gouernance, & being in the light of great vnderſtãding, our anſwere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the requeſt of your faithfull ſeruant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they ſhall let you wiſely know, is this. In the ſtrength of the twentieth yeere of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our ſea coaſtes arriued a ſhippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and ſayd, that hee was deſirous to come into our dominions, and according to his requeſt, hath ſeene our Maieſtie, and ‖ our eyes: and hath declared vnto vs your Maieſties deſire, as that we ſhould grant vnto your ſubiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our ſubiects, to frequent free Marts, with all ſortes of marchandizes, and vpon the ſame to haue wares for their returne. And they haue alſo deliuered vs your letters, which declare the ſame requeſt. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that whereſoeuer your faithful ſeruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your ſeruant Richard can declare.

Iuan Vaſiliuich, that is to ſay, Iohn the ſonne of Baſilius.

‖That is, come into our preſence.

And we with Chriſtian beliefe and faithfulnes, and according to your honourable requeſt, and my honourable commandement will not leaue it vndone: and are furthermore willing that you ſend vnto vs your ſhips and veſſels, when and as often as they may haue paſſage, with good aſſurance on our part to ſee them harmeleſſe. And if you ſend one of your maieſties counſel to treate with vs whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they ſhall haue their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleaſure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our ſeale which we haue commaunded to be vnder ſealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the caſtle of Moſco, in the yeare 7060, the ſecond moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moſcouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad ſeale hanging at the ſame, ſealed in paper vpon waxe. This ſeale was much like ẏ broad ſeale of England, hauing on the one ſide the image of a man on horſeback in complete harneſſe fighting with a dragon. Under this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moſcouian letters. These letters were ſent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and meaſures vſed in *Ruſſia*, written by Iohn Haſſe, in the yere, 1554.

Foraſmuch as it is moſt neceſſary for al marchants which ſeeke to haue traffique in any ſtrange regions, firſt to acquaint thẽſelues with the coines of thoſe lands with which they do intend to ioyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the higheſt piece to the loweſt, and in what ſort they make their paiments, as alſo what their common weighes and meaſures be: for theſe cauſes I haue thought good to write ſome thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new aduenture may the better vnderſtand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will ariſe.

No coines of gold in Ruſſia, but all of ſiluer

Firſt, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Ruſſia hath no other coines then ſiluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongſt merchants, yet notwithſtanding there is a coine of copper, which ſerueth for the reliefe of the poore in Moſco, & no where els, and that is but only for quaſſe, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and ſuch other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the leaſt of the ſiluer coines, 18. But I will not ſtand vpon this, becauſe it is no currant money among merchants.

Of ſiluer coines there be three ſortes of pieces: the leaſt is a Poledenga, the ſecond a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to ſay in Engliſh as halfepenie, penie, and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they paſſe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in ſumming of money is this: as we ſay in England, halfpenie, penie, ſhilling and pound, ſo ſay they Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, ſix Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

The weights in Ruſſia.

Concerning the weights of Ruſſia they are theſe: There are two ſorts of pounds in vſe amõgſt them, the one great, yͤ other ſmall: the great pound is iuſt two ſmall pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beaſemar, and the ſmal they call the Skalla weight: with this ſmal weight they weigh their ſiluer coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to euery ſmall pound three Rubbles of ſiluer, and with the ſame weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almoſt al other wares which come into the land, except thoſe which they weigh by the Pode, as hops ſalt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with diuers others, notwithſtanding they vſe to weigh batrie more often by the ſmall weight then by the great.

Whenſoeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, conſider that to be the great weight, and the pound to be the ſmall. Alſo they diuide the ſmall pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers ſell their wares out of their ſhops, as Goldſmiths, Grocers, Silkeſellers and ſuch other like as we doe vſe to retaile by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beaſemar, they ſel by pode, or ſhippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the ſmal 80: there goe 10, podes to a ſhippond.

Yet you muſt conſider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but aboue 12 I thinke it be. But for your iuſt proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Ruſſia money with our pound weight, and then ſhal you ſee what it lacketh: for 6 Rubbles of Ruſſia is by the Emperors ſtanderd, the great pound: ſo that I thinke it the next way to know the iuſt waight, as well of the great pound as of the ſmall.

The weight of Wardhouſe.

There is another weight needfull to be knowen, which is the weight of Wardhouſe, for ſo much as they weigh all their drie fiſh by weight, which weight is the Beaſemar, as they of Ruſſia doe vſe, notwithſtanding there is another ſorte in it: the names of thoſe weights are theſe: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the ſhippond. The marke pound is to be vnderſtood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a ſhippound.

The Ruſſia meaſures.

Now concerning their meaſures. As they haue two ſortes of weighes, ſo they haue alſo two ſortes of meaſures: wherewith they meaſure cloth both linnen and wollen: they cal the one an Areſhine, and the other a Locut: the Areſhine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an Engliſh yard: with their Areſhine they may mete all ſuch ſorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all ſuch cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themſelues. And whereas we vſe to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do giue nothing but bare meaſure.

¶ They haue alſo a meaſure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Oſmine: this Setforth I take take to bee three buſhels of London meaſure. And as for their drinke meaſure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer ſaw any true rate, but that ſome was greater then other ſome. And as for the meaſures of Wardhouſe wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference betweẽ that and the meaſure of Danske, which is halfe an Engliſh ell.

The meaſure of Wardhouſe in cloth, is the meaſure of Danske.

Cõcerning the tolles & cuſtoms of Ruſſia, it was reported to me in Moſcouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie cuſtome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and aboue that they pay for all ſuch goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which yͤ buyer or ſeller muſt make report to of the Maſter of the beame: they alſo pay a certaine horſe toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horſe.

The Turkes and Arinenians pay cuſtome.

The Emperors beame.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithſtanding for certaine offences, they had loſt their priuiledges which they haue recouered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Iuſtice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thouſand Rubbles, and alſo that Rye, Dorpte and Reuel haue yeelded themſelues vnder the gouernment of the Emperour of Ruſſia: whether this was a bragge of the Ruſſes or not, I know not, but thus he ſayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambaſſadour out of Liefland, for the aſſurance of their priuiledges.

The Dutch nation loſt their priuiledges, & renued them with a great ſumme.

To ſpeake ſomewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be vnderſtood, that there is a certaine place foure ſcore miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there reſort all the ſortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfiſh, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of ſaltwater by the ſea ſide: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great ſtore which is brought out of the Bay where our ſhippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to ſell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and ſo ſell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefiſh and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouſe: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Moſco, and their drie fiſhe they carrie to Nouogrode, and ſell it there to the Lieflanders.

The commodities of Ruſſia.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Woolueringꝭ, and white Foxes, with Deere ſkinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powſtezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted ſauage people: and the merchants that bring theſe Furres doe vſe to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Battrie, & ſuch other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Moſco, & ſell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little eſteeme.

If our merchants do deſire to know the meeteſt place of Ruſſia for the ſtanding houſe, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne ſtanding in the heart of Ruſſia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all ſuch wares as are raiſed in Ruſland, but ſpecially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is alſo great ſtore of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko.

The towne of Vologda is meeteſt for our marchants, becauſe it lieth amongeſt all the beſt towns of Ruſſia, and there is no towne in Ruſſia but trades with it: alſo the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themſelues in Moſco or Nouogrode, their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not ſo in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place ſo meet. It is likely that ſome will thinke yͤ Mosko to be the meeteſt by the reaſon of the court, but by that reaſon I take it to be worſe: for the charge there would be ſo great by trauers and expenſes, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly conſumed, which in the other place will bee ſaued. And yet notwithſtanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to ſerue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himſelfe of waxe and ſables, which with good foreſight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moſcouia, beſides thoſe aboue rehearſed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes conſidering the charges of cariage ouer land.

Vologda and the ſtate thereof.

The Emperor of Moſcouie is a marchant himſelfe.

Our marchants may doe well to prouide for the Ruſſes ſuch wares as the Dutch nation doeth ſerue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they ſhal ſerue better and with leſſe charge then they of Rye or Dorpe, or Reuel: for it is no ſmal aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of theſe places, and their charge not litle to cary them ouer lande to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Ruſſian miles.

This Nouogrode is a place wel furniſhed with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the beſt flaxe in Ruſſia is brought thither and there ſold by the hundred bundles, which is done alſo at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to other.

Two ſorts of flaxe.

They haue in Ruſſia two ſorts of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other ſmall: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels then the ſmall: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the ſmall flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a ſhippound, there goeth not of the greater ſort aboue 22. or 24 at the moſt. There are many other trifles in Ruſſia, as ſope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

The letters of king *Philip* and Queene *Marie* to *Iuan Vaſiliuich* the Emperour of *Ruſſia* written the firſt of April 1555 and in the ſecond voyage.

Philip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith. Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right High, right Mightie, and right excellent Prince, garniſhed with all gifts of nature, by Gods grace Iohn Vaſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great Duke of Smolenſko, of Tueria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskay, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting. Whereas by the conſent and licence of our moſt deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the ſixt, whoſe ſoule God pardon, ſundrie of our ſubiects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper coſts and aduenture furniſh three ſhippes to diſcouer, ſerch, and find lands, Iſlands, regions, and territories before this aduenture not knowen, ne commonly haunted and frequented by ſeas. The one of the which three ſhippes, named the Edward Bonauenture, (whereof our right welbeloued Richard Chancelour was then gouernour and great Captaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the ſayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the North part of your Empire of Ruſſia. Foraſmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect, that your Maieſtie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall preſence and ſpeech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but alſo being thereunto requeſted partly by the letters of our ſaid brother, & partly by requeſt of the ſayd Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters patents vnder your ſeale among other things granted: That all ſuch marchants as ſhall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil trauel or occupie within your dominions, The ſame marchants with their marchandiſes in al your lordſhip may freely, & at their libertie trauaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of loſſe: And of your farther ample goodneſſe haue promiſed that our ambaſſadours, if wee ſend any, ſhall with free good will paſſe to and from you without any hinderance or loſſe, with ſuch meſſage as ſhall come vnto you, and to returne the ſame to our kingdomes well anſwered, as by the ſame your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Caſtle of Moſco in the yeere 7063 the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodneſſe, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace, extended to the ſayd Richard Chancelour, and others our ſubiects marchants: Euen ſo theſe are to pray and requeſt you to continue the ſame beneuolence toward them, and other our marchants and ſubiects, which doe or hereafter ſhall reſort to your countrey: And for the more aſſurance and incouragement to trade and exerciſe the feate of marchandiſe with your ſubiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may pleaſe you at this our contemplation to aſſigne and authoriſe ſuch Commiſſaries as you ſhall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloued ſubiects and marchants, the ſayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, & Richard Graie, bearers of theſe our letters: who are by vs authoriſed for that purpoſe: and to confirme and graunt ſuch other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Communaltie of the fellowſhip of the ſaide Marchants, as the ſaid bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their ſafe conduct, good gouernment, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your ſaide dominions; And this with ſuch your clemencie and expedition, as wee, vpon the next arriuall of the ſaide Richard Chancelour may bee enformed of your gracious diſpoſition and anſwere. Which your beneuolences ſo to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your ſubiects Marchants, that ſhal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt haue you in his bleſſed keeping. Giuen vnder our ſeale at our Palace of Weſtminſter, the firſt of April, in the yere from the bleſſed incarnation of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, 1555. and in the firſt and ſecond yeeres of our reignes.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commiſſion of the *Merchants of this company reſiant in Ruſsia, and at the VVarhouſe, for* the ſecond voyage, 1555. the firſt of May, as followeth.

FIrſt, the Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants and whole company aſſembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and ſeuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturneis generall and ſpeciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, ſel, trucke, change and permute al, and euery kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the ſaid company appertaining, now laden & ſhipped in the good ſhip called the Edward Bonauenture, appointed for Ruſſia, the ſame to vtter and ſell to the beſt commoditie, profit and aduantage of the ſaid corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandiſes, or truck, preſently, or for time, as occaſion & benefit of the company ſhal require: and all ſuch wares as they or either of them ſhal buy, trucke, or prouide, or cauſe to be bought for the company to lade thē homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent courſe of marchandiſes, ſhall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth alſo to Iohn Brooke for the Wardhouſe, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commiſſion appeareth.

2 Item, it is alſo committed, as aboue, to the ſaid Agents, to binde & charge the ſaid company by debt for wares vpon credit, as good opportunitie and occaſion ſhal ſerue, with power to charge and bind the ſaid company, and their ſucceſſors, for the paiments of ſuch things as ſhalbe taken vp for credite, and the ſaid Agents to be relieued ab opere ſatis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the ſaid firſt named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to preſent the king and Queenes Maieſties letters, written in Greeke, Poliſh, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the marchants preſents at ſuch time and place as ſhalbe thought moſt expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly deſire of yͤ Emperour ſuch further grants and priuiledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the ſame, to continue in traffike with his ſubiects, according to ſuch inſtructions as bee in this behalfe deuiſed and deliuered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and ſome one of theſe perſons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the ſame, as to their diſcretions ſhalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the ſaide Agents doe well conſider, ponder and weigh ſuch articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, diſpoſitions, lawes, cuſtomes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countreis where they ſhal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the ſubtilties of their bargaining, buying and ſelling, making as fewe debtes as poſſiblie may bee, and to bee circumſpect, that no lawe neither of religion nor poſitiue bee broken or tranſgreſſed by them or any miniſter vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other perſon of our nation, and to foreſee that all tolles, cuſtomes, and ſuch other rites be ſo duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiſcation may enſue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things paſſe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they ſhall arriue or traffique.

5 Item, that prouiſion bee made in Moſco or elſwhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade ſhall be found for a houſe or houſes for the Agents, and companie to inhabite and dwell at your accuſtomed diets, with warehouſes, ſellers, and other houſes of offices requiſite, and that none of the inferiour miniſters of what place or vocation ſoeuer he be, doe lie out of the houſe of the Agents without licence to be giuen, and that euery inferiour officer ſhalbe obedient to the or-

ders, rules and gouernments of the ſaid Agents, and in caſe any diſobient perſon ſhall be found among any of them, then ſuch perſon to be puniſhed for his miſbehauiour, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Agents, or of one of them in the abſence of the other.

6 Item, if any perſon of the ſaid miniſters ſhall be of ſuch pride or obſtinacie, that after one or two honeſt admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the ſaide Agents to diſplace euery ſuch perſon from the place or roume to him heere committed, and ſome other diſcreete perſon to occupie the ſame, as to the ſaide Agents by their diſcretions ſhal ſeeme meete.

7 Item, if any perſon ſhall bee found ſo arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the ſaid Agents or by one of them in the abſence of the other, then the ſayde perſon to bee deliuered to the Iuſtice of the countrey, to receiue ſuch puniſhment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the ſaide Agents and factours ſhall daily one houre in the morning conferre and conſult together what ſhall bee moſt conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and ſuch orders as they ſhall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpoſe, and no inferiour perſon to infringe or breake any ſuch order or deuiſe, but to obſerue the ſame exactly, vpon ſuch reaſonable paine as the Agents ſhall put him to by diſcretion.

9 Item, that the ſaid Agents ſhall in the ende of euerie weeke, or oftener as occaſion ſhall require, peruſe, ſee and trie, not onely the Caſhers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the ſame with their handes, but alſo ſhall receiue and take weekly the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the emptions, and alſo of the ſtate of the houſhold expenſes, making thereof a perfect declaration as ſhall appertaine, the ſame accounts alſo to bee firmed by the ſaide Agents hands.

10 Item, that no inferiour miniſter ſhall take vpon him to make any bargaine or ſale of any wares, marchandiſes or goods, but by the Commiſſion and Warrantiſe of the ſayde Agents vnder their handes, and hee not to tranſgreſſe his Commiſſion by any way, pretenſe or colour.

11 Item, that euery inferiour miniſter, that is to vnderſtand, all Clerks and yong merchants being at the order of the ſaide Agents, ſhall ride, goe, ſaile and trauaile to all ſuch place, and places, as they or hee ſhall be appointed vnto by the ſaide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them ſhall be committed, well and truely to the moſt benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their maſters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at euery moneths end, all accounts and reckonings ſhalbe brought into perfect order, into the Ledger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the priuileges, and copies of letters, may and ſhall be well and truely written by the ſecretarie, in ſuch forme as ſhalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be ſent home with the ſaid ſhip at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and obſerue all kinde of wares, as wel naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be ſold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of theſe Weſt partes bee moſt vendible in thoſe Realmes with profite, giuing a perfect aduiſe of all ſuch things requiſite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole maſſe of your ſtock, and will haue the trade of it to veter to his owne ſubiects, then debating the matter prudently among your ſelues, ſet ſuch high priſes of your commodities, as you may aſſure your ſelues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at ſuch baſe priſes, as you may here alſo make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue diſbrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they ſuſtaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which muſt bee requited by the wiſe handling of this voyage, which being the firſt preſident ſhalbe a perpetual preſident for euer: and therefore all circumſpection is to be vſed, and foreſeene in this firſt enterpriſe, which God bleſſe and proſper vnder you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maieſtie, and the Lords of the Councell haue conceiued great hope, whoſe expectations are not to be fruſtrated.

Note.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vſe all wayes and meanes poſſible to learne howe men may paſſe from Ruſſia, either by land or by ſea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ſhips, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauailed perſons, either naturall or forrein, ſuch as haue trauailed from the North to the South.

Inquirie for the way to Cathaya.

16 Item, it is committed to the ſaid Agents, that if they ſhall be certified credibly, that any

of our ſaid firſt ſhips be arriued in any place whereunto paſſage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the diſcretion of the Agents ſhall bee appointed to be ſent to them, to learne their eſtate & condition, to viſite, refreſh, relieue, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries and requiſites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our ſocietie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertiſing Sir Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long abſence, with our deſire to heare of them, with all other things done in their abſence for their commoditie, no leſſe then if they had bene preſent.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ſhips ſhal arriue at this going foorth at the Wardhouſe, that their Agents, with maſter Chancelor grand pilot, Iohn Brooke marchant, deputed for the Wardhouſe, with Iohn Buckland maſter of the Edward, Iohn Howlet maſter, and Iohn Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, ſhall conferre and conſult together, what is moſt profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to conſider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the caſtle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongſt the coaſt for a large quantity of fiſh, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reaſonable for trucke of cloth, meale, ſalt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other ſeaſon of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found ſufficient lading for both the ſayd ſhippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit wil ſo ariſe to the company, and to conſider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouſe any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it ſhall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouſe the returne of the Edward out of Ruſſia, or getting that ſhe may returne with the firſt good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and ſo to conclude & accord certainely among themſelues vpon their arriuall, that the certaintie may (vpon good deliberation) be ſo ordered and determined betweene both ſhips, that the one may be aſſured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ſhip, according to ſuch order as ſhall be taken betweene them.

The Philip and Mary.

18 Item, that Iohn Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouſe take good aduiſe of the reſt of our Agents, how to vſe himſelfe in al affaires, whiles the ſhip ſhalbe at the Wardhouſe, he to ſee good order to be be kept, make bargains aduiſedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, diſpoſitions & fidelities ſhal be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be truſted then to truſt. Note diligently what be the beſt wares for thoſe parts, and howe the fiſhe falleth on the coaſt, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the moſt aduantage, what kindes and diuerſities of ſortes in fiſhes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caſke.

Note.

Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye & circumſpection to the beere, ſalt, and other liquid wares, and not to ſuffer any waſte to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require aduiſe, counſel, and conſent of the maſter and pilot, the marchant to be our houſwife, as our ſpeciall truſt is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor cuſtomes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, abſteine from all exceſſe of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to vſe and behaue themſelues as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to apperteine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward ſhall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently & profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Ruſſia, and the reſt to be taken in at the Wardhouſe, as by the Agents ſhall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreſeene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole aduertiſements of the marchants, with ſuch further aduiſe for the next yeeres prouiſion, as they ſhall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolably to be obſerued, that when the good ſhips, or either of them (by Gods grace) ſhall returne home to the coaſtes of England, that neither of them ſhall ſtay or touch in any Hauen or Port of England, otherwiſe then wind and weather ſhall ſerue, but ſhall directly ſaile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right diſcharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, cheſt, fardell, truſſe, barrel, fat, or whatſoeuer thing it ſhall be, be brought out of the ſhippe, vntill the companie ſhall giue order for the ſame, and appoint ſuch perſons of the companie as ſhall be thought meet for that purpoſe, to take viewe, and conſider the ſhippe and her lading, and ſhall giue order for the breaking vp of the ſaide bulke, or giue licence by diſcretion, for things to be brought to land. And that euery officer ſhall ſhewe the inuoiſe of his charge to him firſt committed, and to examine the waſtes and

loſſes, and to deliuer the remainder to the vſe and benefit of the company, according to ſuch order as ſhall be appointed in that behalfe.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the ſaid Agents, pilots, maſters, marchants, clerkes, boatſwaines, ſtewards, ſkafemaſters, and all other officers and miniſters of this preſent voyage, being put in charge and truſt dayly to peruſe, reade, and ſtudie ſuch inſtructions as be made, giuen, & deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Ruſſia, Moſcouia, Wardhouſe, and other places, their diſpoſitions, maners cuſtomes, vſes, tolles, cariages, coines, weights, numbers, meaſures, wares, merchandiſes, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be ſo well taught, perfited, and readily inſtructed in all the premiſſes, that by ignorance, no loſſe or preiudice may grow or chance to the company: aſſuring themſelues, that forasmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured ſo in theſe their inſtructions to them giuen, that euery man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eſchew all loſſes, hurts and damages that may inſue by pretenſe or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iuſt cauſe of excuſe, in that which ſhall be miſordered by negligence, the burden whereof ſhall light vpon the negligent offending perſon, eſpecially vpon ſuch as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may ariſe, without the commiſſion of the Agents as aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation muſt be had. Note.

23 Foraſmuch as it is not poſſible to write and indite ſuch preſcribed orders, rules and commiſſions to the Agents and factours, but that occaſion, time and place, and the pleaſures of the princes, together with the operation or ſucceſſe of fortune ſhall change or ſhift the ſame, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the ſaid company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloued Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commoditi and wealth of this company, as by your diſcretions, vpon good aduiſed deliberations ſhalbe thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and eſtimation of the ſame companie be conſerued and preſerued: which to confirme we beſeech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praiſes.

Finally for the ſeruice, and due accompliſhment of all the premiſſes, euery Agent and miniſter of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangeliſts to obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued, this commiſſion, and euery part, clauſe and ſentence of the ſame, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other perſon, but alſo haue bounde themſelues and their friendes to the companie in ſeuerall ſummes of money, expreſſed in the actes and records of this ſocietie, for the trueth and fidelities of them, for the better, and alſo manifeſter teſtification of the trueth, and of their othes, promiſes, and bands aforeſaid, they haue to this Commiſſion ſubſcribed particularly their ſeuerall hands, and the company alſo in confirmation of the ſame, haue ſet their ſeale. Yeuen the day, moneth, and yeeres firſt aboue mentioned.

The othe miniſtred to the ſeruants of the fellowſhip.

YE ſweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye ſhal wel, faithfully and truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, ſerue this right worſhipfull company in that order, which by this fellowſhips Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Ruſſia, &c. ſhall bee vnto you committed, by commiſſion, commandement, or other his direction. And that you ſhall bee obedient and faithfull to the ſame our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightly according to the commiſſion, charge, commãdement, or other direction of the ſaid Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you ſhall proſecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefite and profite of the ſaid fellowſhip: and you ſhall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exerciſe or vſe any trade or feate of marchandizes for your owne priuate account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other perſon or perſons, without conſent or licence of this ſaid fellowſhip, firſt obtained in writing. And if you ſhall know or vnderſtand any other perſon or perſons to vſe, exerciſe or doe any trade, traffike or feat of marchandiſe, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye ſhall truely and plainly diſcloſe, open, vtter and reueale, and ſhew the ſame vnto this ſaid fellowſhip, without fraude, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies firſt *Agent* in Moſcouie, *touching their interteinement in their ſecond voyage.* Anno 1555. the 27. of Nouember in *Moſco.*

Right worſhipfull, my duetie conſidered, &c. It may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, ſaue onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the riuer out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares vp, and ſold very litle: but one marchant would haue giuen vs 12. robles for a broad cloth, and he ſaid he would haue had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of ſugar, but we did refuſe it becauſe he was the firſt, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, truſting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithſtanding we did for the beſt. And the houſe that our wares lie in coſts from that day vntill Eaſter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our ſelues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Chriſtopher Hudſon, Iohn Segewicke, Richard Iohnſon, and Richard Iudde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Priſe, Robert Beſt and I ſhould goe to Moſco. And we did lade the Emperours ſuger, with part of all ſorts of wares to haue had to the Moſco with vs, but the way was ſo deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leaue it ſtill at Vologda till the froſt. And we went forth with poſte horſe, and the charge of euery horſe being ſtill ten in number, comes to 16.s.7.d. halfe penie, beſides the guides. And wee came to the Moſco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a ſimple houſe: but the next day we were ſent for to the Emperour his ſecretarie, and he bade vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull words, and wee ſhewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he deſired to ſee them all, and that they might remain with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and ſo we did: and then we were appointed to a better houſe: and the ſeuenth day the ſecretary ſent for vs againe, and then he ſhewed vs that we ſhould haue a better houſe, for it was the Emperour his will, that we ſhould haue all things that we did lacke, and did ſend vs meade of two ſorts, and two hens, our houſe free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, ſeuen altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our houſe, and to doe that whereunto we would ſet him. And wee had giuen many rewards before, which you ſhal perceiue by other, and ſo we gaue the meſſengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were ſent to make vs readie to ſpeak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were ſent vs, that wee might deliuer them our ſelues, and we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his preſence we went thorow a great chamber, where ſtood many ſmall tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of ſiluer, I meane, like waſhing bowles, all parcel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein ſate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace ſate, and there I thinke were more then in the other chamber alſo in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, and ſhewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your preſent which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her couſin, ſaying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his preſence, and were ſet with our faces towards his grace, and none in the chamber ſate with their backes towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all ſerued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not ſlender but very maſſy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, ſtanding ſtill on the cupboord, not moued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace ſent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the ſame night his grace ſent certaine gentlemen to vs with diuers ſortes of wine and meade, to whome wee gaue a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by diuers Italians counſelled to take heed whom we did truſt to make the copie of the priuileges that we would deſire to haue, for feare it ſhould not be written in the Ruſſe tongue, as we did meane. So firſt a Ruſſian did write for vs a breuiat to the Emperor, the tenour whereof was, that we did deſire a ſtronger priuilege: and when the Secretary ſaw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our mindes, and hee would ſee it, and ſo we did. And his grace is ſo troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee haue no anſwere: but we haue byn required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelor, to know what wares we had

Queene Maries letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

The Italians counſell to our people.

brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may bee had in this Realme: and we ſhewed them, and they ſhewed the Emperor thereof. And then they ſaid his graces pleaſure was, that his beſt marchants of the Moſco ſhould be ſpoken to, to meet and talk with vs. And ſo a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretarie his office, and there was the vnder Chancelor, who was not paſt two yeeres ſince the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the concluſion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would deſire to haue a houſe or houſes, that wee might come to them as to our owne houſe, and for marchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our priſes of our wares and friſe: and we anſwered, that for our prices they muſt ſee the wares before we could make any price thereof, for the like in goodneſſe hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all ſorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the firſt ſled way, and then they ſhould ſee them, and then we would ſhew them the prices of them: and likewiſe we could not tell them what we would giue them iuſtly, till we did knowe as well their iuſt weights as their meaſures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and meaſures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promiſe vnto vs before) ſaide, that we ſhould haue all the iuſt meaſures vnder ſeale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or ſel with any other meaſure then that, the law was, that he ſhould be puniſhed: he ſaid moreouer, that if it ſo happē that any of our marchants do promiſe by couenāt at any time to deliuer you any certain ſum of wares in ſuch a place, and of ſuch like goodneſſe, at ſuch a day, for ſuch a certaine price, that then becauſe of variance, we ſhould cauſe it to be writtē, according as the bargain is, before a iuſtice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenant & promiſe in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what loſſe or hinderance we could iuſtly proue that we haue therby, he ſhould make it good if he be worth ſo much: and in like caſe we muſt do to them: and to that we did agree, ſaue onely if it were to come ouer the ſea, then if any ſuch fortune ſhould bee (as God forbid) that the ſhip ſhould miſchance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that ſuch kind of wares were laden, the Engliſh marchants to beare no loſſe to the other marchant. Then ẏ Chancelor ſaid, me thinks you ſhall do beſt to haue your houſe at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles frō the right diſcharge of the ſhips, and yet I truſt the ſhips ſhal come neerer hereafter, becauſe the ſhips may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants ſhall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and ſo ſhall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is ſalt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his ſaying: for we ſhal neuertheleſſe, if we luſt, haue a houſe at Vologda, & at the Moſco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we wil in Ruſland: But the three & twentieth of this preſent we were with the ſecretary, and then among other talke, we moued, that if we ſhould tary at Colmogro with our wares, and ſhould not come to Vologda, or further to ſeeke our market, but tary ſtil at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Moſco and others ſhould not come and bring their wares, and ſo the ſhips ſhould come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great loſſe and hinderance for vs: then ſaide hee againe to vs, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they ſhould come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they ſhould not find wares there ſufficient to ſerue them, that then they ſhould be at great loſſe and hinderance, they leauing their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did anſwere, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they ſhould neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they ſhould find that our marchants would haue at the leaſt for a thouſand robles, although the ſhips were not come: ſo that he ſaide, that then wee muſt talke further with the marchants: ſo that as yet I know not, but that we ſhall haue neede of one houſe at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee ſhalbe ſure to buy ſome at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

The diuerſitie of weights & meaſures in Ruſſia.

Colmogro.

Vologda.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this ſpace we ſhall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to ſaue our ſelues beſt, and where to plant our houſes, and where to ſeeke for wares: for the Moſco is not beſt for any kind of wares for vs to buy, ſaue onely waxe, which we cannot haue vnder ſeuen pence the Ruſſe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I haue bought more, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which ſtands mee in eight pence farthing the Ruſſe pound one with another. And if wee had receiued any ſtore of money, and were diſpatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we ſhalbe ſhortly (you know what I meane) then as ſoone as we haue made ſale, I doe intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Pleſco, whence all the great number of the beſt tow flaxe commeth, and ſuch wares as are there I truſt to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God ſend vs health, deſiring you to prepare fully for

Nouogrode.

one ſhip to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coaſt of England.

Concerning all thoſe things which we haue done in the wares, you ſhal receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth theſe from vs is a marchant of Terwill and he was cauſed to cary theſe by the commandement of the Emperour his ſecretarie, whoſe name is Iuan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it pleaſe you to ſend any letters to Dantiske to Robert Elſon, or to William Watſons ſeruant Dunſtan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may pleaſe you to incloſe ours in a letter ſent from you to him, written in Poliſh, Dutch, Latine or Italian: ſo incloſed, comming to the Moſco to his hands, he wil conuey our letters to vs whereſoeuer we be. And I haue written to Dantiske already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence.

The Ruſſian ſecretary his name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men ſay that theſe hundred yeres was neuer ſo warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yeſternight wee receiued a letter from Chriſtopher Hudſon from a citie called Yeraſlaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceiue him, ſo that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours preſent was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the ſled did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was loſt, which made vs all very ſory.

I pray you be not offended with theſe my rude letters for lacke of time: but aſſoone as ſales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with ſpeed: for the way is made ſo doubtful, that the right meſſenger is ſo much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect ſent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of theſe: and to ſay the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another ſhift beſide, which I truſt ſhall ſerue the turne till he come, if ſales be made before he be readie, which is and ſhall be as pleaſeth God: who euer preſerue your worſhip, and ſend vs good ſales. Written in haſte.

By yours to commaund
GEORGE KILLINGVVORTH
Draper.

A copie of the firſt Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of *Ruſſia* to the Engliſh Marchants in the yeere 1555.

IOhn Vaſiliuich, by the grace of God Emperor of Ruſſia, great duke of Nouogrode, Moſcouia, &c. To all people that ſhal ſee, reade, heare or vnderſtand theſe preſents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with ſundry cõmodities, ſo as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means thereof traffike is vſed from one to another, and amity thereby increaſed: and for that as amongſt men nothing is more to be deſired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good diſpoſition can liue in quietnes, ſo that it is as troubleſome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other neceſſaries moſt requiſite for the conſeruation and maintenance thereof in health: conſidering alſo how needfull marchandize is, which furniſheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the ſatiſfying of their delights, and all other things conuenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the ſame commodities from diuers quarters in ſo great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourſe of marchandizes is receiued and imbraced) generally in ſuch ſort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Upon theſe reſpects and other weighty and good conſiderations, vs hereunto mouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gracious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauour of her ſubiects, merchants, the gouernour, conſuls, aſſiſtants, and communaltie of merchants aduenturers for diſcouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace ſpeciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, do giue and grant as much as in vs is and lieth, vnto Sebaſtian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Conſuls: Sir Iohn Greſham, &c. Aſſiſtants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſours for euer, and to the ſucceſſours of euerie of them, theſe articles, graunts, immunities, franchiſes, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them hereafter following, expreſſed and declared. Videlicet:

1 Firſt, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, do by theſe preſents giue and graunt free licence, facultie, authority and power vnto the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and communalty of the ſaid fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſors for euer, that all and ſingular the marchants of the ſame company, their Agents, factours, doers of their buſineſſe, atturneys, ſeruants, and miniſters, and euery of them may at all times hereafter for euer more ſurely, freely and ſafely with their ſhippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatſoeuer ſaile, come and enter into all and ſingular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, caſtles, portes, iuriſdictions and deſtraicts by ſea, land or freſh waters, and there tary, abide and ſoiourne, and buy, ſell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatſoeuer nation, rite, condition, ſtate or degrees they be, and with the ſame or other ſhips, wares, marchandizes, goods & things whatſoeuer they be, vnto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleaſure and liberty by ſea, land or freſh waters may depart, and exerciſe all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and euery part thereof freely and quietly without any reſtraint, impeachment, price, exaction, preſt, ſtraight cuſtome, toll, impoſition, or ſubſidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demāded, taxed, ſet, leuied or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, ſhips, wares, marchandizes and things, of, for or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, ſhips, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, ſo that they ſhall not need any other ſafe conduct or licence generall, ne ſpeciall of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, neither ſhall be bound to aſke any ſafe conduct or licence in any of the aforeſaid places ſubiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and graunt to the ſaid marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, ſhal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, caſtles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iuriſdiction, at any time heereafter attached, ſtaied, arreſted ne diſturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or ſureties, ne alſo for any offence or treſpaſſe committed, or that ſhall be committed, but onely for ſuch as they or any of them ſhall actually commit, and the ſame offences (if any ſuch happen,) ſhall bee by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the ſaid Marchants ſhal and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, chooſe and aſſigne brokers, ſhippers, packers, weighers, meaſurers, wagoners, and all other meet and neceſſary laborers for to ſerue them in their feat of marchandiſes, and miniſter and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to ſerue them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may puniſh and diſmiſſe them, and from time to time chooſe, ſweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or diſturbance, either of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, or of any other our Iuſtices, officers, miniſters or ſubiects whatſoeuer.

4 Item, we giue and graunt vnto the ſaide Marchants and their ſucceſſours, that ſuch perſon as is, or ſhalbe commended vnto vs, our heires or ſucceſſors by the Gouernour, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaid fellowſhip reſiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and ſhal haue ful power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Engliſhmen that haue had, or ſhall haue acceſſe, or repaire in or to this ſaid Empire and iuriſdictions, or any part thereof, and ſhal and may miniſter vnto them, and euery of them good iuſtice in all their cauſes, plaints, quarrels, and diſorders betweene them moued, and to be moued, and aſſemble, deliberate, conſult, conclude, define, determine and make ſuch actes, and ordinances, as he ſo commended with his Aſſiſtants ſhall thinke good and meete for the good order, gouernment and rule of the ſaid Marchants, and all other Engliſhmen repairing to this our ſaide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to ſet and leuie vpon all, and euery Engliſhmen, offender or offenders, of ſuch their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or impriſonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the ſaide Marchants, or other Engliſhman, as one or more doe rebell againſt ſuch chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not diſpoſe him or themſelues to obey them and euery of them as ſhall appertaine, if the ſaide Rebels or diſobedients doe come, and bee founde in our ſaide Empire and iuriſdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promiſe and graunt, that all and euery our officers, miniſters, and ſubiects ſhall effectually ayde and aſſiſt the ſaide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power ſhall really worke, to bring ſuch rebell or diſobedient rebels, or diſobedients to due obedience: And to that intent ſhall lende vnto the ſame Factour or Factours, and their

deputies vpon requeſt therefore to be made, priſons, and inſtruments for puniſhments from time to time.

6 Item, we promiſe vnto the ſaide Marchants, and their ſucceſſours vpon their requeſt to exhibite and doe vnto them good, exact and fauourable iuſtice, with expedition in all their cauſes, and that when they or any of them ſhall haue acceſſe, or come to or before any of our Iuſtices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our ſubiects or other ſtranger, and them, or any of them, that then they ſhalbe firſt and forthwith heard, as ſoon as the party which they ſhal find before our Iuſtices ſhalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and aſſoone as may be, the ſaid Engliſh marchants ſhall be next and diſpatched: And if any action ſhall be moued by or againſt any of the ſaid Marchants being abſent out of our ſaide empire and dominions, then ſuch Marchants may ſubſtitute an Atturney in all and ſingular his cauſes to be followed as need ſhall require, and as ſhall ſeeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promiſe to the ſaide Marchants, and to their ſucceſſours, that if the ſame Marchants or any of them ſhall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) ſlaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof giuen, Wee and our Iuſtices and other officers ſhall execute due correction and puniſhment without delay, according to the exigence of the caſe: ſo that it ſhall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it ſhall chaunce the factors, ſeruants, or miniſters of the ſaide Marchants or any of them to treſpaſſe or offende, whereby they or any of them ſhall incurre the danger of death or puniſhment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Maſters ſhall not therefore bee forfaited, confiſcated, ſpoiled ne ſeiſed by any meanes by vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, or by any our officers, miniſters or ſubiects, but ſhall remaine to their vſe, franke, free, and diſcharged from all puniſhment and loſſe.

8 Item, we graunt that if any of the Engliſh nation be arreſted for any debt, he ſhal not be laid in priſon, ſo farre as he can put in ſufficient ſuretie and pawne: neither ſhall any ſergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to priſon, before he ſhall haue knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies ſhalbe ſureties, or bring in pawne for ſuch arreſted: then the officers ſhal releaſe the partie, and ſhall ſet him or them at libertie.

9 Moreouer, wee giue, graunt and promiſe to the ſaide Marchants, that if any of their ſhips or other veſſels ſhall bee ſpoyled, robbed, or damnified in ſayling, anchoring or returning to or from our ſaide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other perſon, whatſoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in ſuch caſe, wee will doe all that in vs is to cauſe reſtitution, reparation, and ſatiſfaction to bee duely made to the ſaid Engliſh marchants by our letters and otherwiſe, as ſhall ſtand with our honour, and be conſonant to equitie and iuſtice.

10 Item, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, wee doe promiſe and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, autenticate, and obſerue all and ſingular the aforeſaide liberties, franchiſes, and priuileges, like as preſently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the ſame by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the ſaid Engliſh Marchants, and their ſucceſſours for euer.

And to the intent that all and ſinguler the ſaide giftes, graunts and promiſes, may bee inuiolably obſerued and performed, we the ſaid Iohn Vaſiliuich by the grace of God Emperor of Ruſſia, great Duke of Nouogrode, Moſco, &c. for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in ſtead of an othe, haue and doe promiſe by theſe preſents, inuiolably to maintayne and obſerue, and cauſe to be inuiolably obſerued and maintained all and ſinguler the aforeſayd giftes, graunts and promiſes from time to time, and at all and euery time and times hereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue cauſed our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Caſtle of Moſco the 20. day of in the yeere.

The offenders [illegible] puniſhed for [illegible]

[illegible] Reſtitution to bee procured [illegible] of the [illegible] companie.

The Charter of the Marchants of *Ruſsia*, graunted vpon the diſcouerie of the ſaide Countrey, by King *Philip* and Queene *Marie*.

PHilip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all maner of officers, true Iurie men, miniſters and ſubiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elſewhere vnder our obeyſance, iuriſdiction, and rule, or otherwiſe vnto whome theſe our letters ſhall bee ſhewen, ſeene, or read, greeting.

Sir George Barne, William Garret, Anthony Huſe, Ioh. Southcot, are the firſt 4. Conſuls.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right truſtie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counſailors, William Marques of Wincheſter Lord high Treaſurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our houſholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our ſaide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, coſts and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine ſhips, pinneſſes, and other meete veſſels, and the ſame furniſhed with all things neceſſary haue aduanced and ſet forward, for to diſcouer, deſcrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by our ſubiects before this not commonly by ſea frequented, which by the ſufferance and grace of Almightie God, it ſhall chaunce them ſailing Northwards, Northeaſtwards, and Northweſtwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or courſe which other Chriſtian Monarches (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their ſaid aduenture, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illuſtrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increaſe of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our ſubiects of the ſame: And to this intent our ſubiects aboue ſpecified and named, haue moſt humbly beſeeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie may be graciouſly extended vnto them in this behalfe: Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foreſaide our Counſailours, ſubiects and marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nouriſh them in their ſaid godlie, honeſt, and good purpoſe, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the ſame, Of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto our ſaid right truſtie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counſailours, and the other before named perſons, that they by the name of marchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouery of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, Iles & ſeigniories vnknowen, and not by the ſeas, and Nauigations, before their ſaide late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſents, and that the ſame fellowſhip or communalty from henceforth ſhalbe, and may haue one Gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

The diſcouerie principally intended for Gods glory.

And in conſideration that one Sebaſtian Cabota hath bin the chiefeſt ſetter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and conſtitute him the ſaid Sebaſtian to be the firſt and preſent gouernour of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, by theſe preſents. To haue and enioy the ſaid office of Gouernour, to him the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his naturall life, without amouing or dimiſſing from the ſame roome.

Sebaſtian Cabota firſt gouernour of the Muſcouie companie.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie and their ſucceſſors, that they the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors after the deceaſe of the ſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient and honeſt, aſſemble themſelues together, or ſo many of them as will or can aſſemble together, as well within our citie of London, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them, in ſuch ſort and maner, as other worſhipfull corporations of our ſaide citie haue vſed to aſſemble, and there yeerely name, elect and chooſe one Gouernour or two, of themſelues, and their liberties, and alſo as well yeerely during the natural life of the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota now Gouernour, as alſo at the election of ſuch ſaide Gouernour or gouernours before his deceaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint eight and twenty of the moſt ſad, diſcreete, and honeſt perſons of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue ſpecified, and 4. of the moſt expert and ſkilfull perſons of the ſame 28. to be named and called Conſuls, and 24. of the reſidue, to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls for the time being, which ſhal remaine and ſtand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it ſhall fortune the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaid fellowſhip, and communalty, to elect and chooſe of themſelues other Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in the place and ſteede of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to die, to ſerue out the ſame yeere.

And further we doe make, ordeine, and conſtitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our ſaide Citie, Athonie Huſie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the firſt and preſent 4. Conſuls of the ſaid fellowſhip and communalty by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid George Barnes, William Garret,

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Huſie, Ioh. Suthcot, the firſt 4. Conſuls.

Anthony Huſie, & Iohn Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after y date of theſe our letters patents: And we doe likewiſe make, ordeine and conſtitute Sir Iohn Greſham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir Iohn Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdſon, Iohn Hopkins, William Watſon, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Elliot, Iohn Sparke, Blaſe Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the firſt and preſent 24. Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls, and to the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of aſſiſtants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of theſe our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, as much as in vs is, will & graunt by theſe preſents vnto the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip & company of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, & to their ſucceſſors, that the ſaid gouernour or gouernours, 4. Conſuls, & 24. aſſiſtants, that now by theſe patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaide fellowſhip & communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which ſhalbe then preſent, ſo from time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be 15. at the leaſt wholy agreed thereof, the ſaid Gouernour or gouernours, or one of them, and 2. of the ſaid Conſuls ſhalbe there, and 12. of the reſidue of the ſaid number of 15. ſhall be of the ſaide aſſiſtants, and in the abſence of ſuch Gouernour, that then 3. of the ſaid Conſuls, and 12. of the ſaide aſſiſtants at the leaſt for the time being, ſhal & may haue, vſe and exerciſe ful power and authoritie to rule and gouerne all and ſingular the Marchants of the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and ſpeedie iuſtice to them, and euery of them, in all their cauſes, differences, variances, controuerſies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & iuriſdictions onely moued, and to be moued touching their marchandiſe, traffikes, and occupiers aforeſaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Alſo wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſo much as in vs is, doe likewiſe by theſe preſents graunt, that the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors ſhall and may haue perpetuall ſucceſſion, and a common Seale which ſhall perpetually ſerue for the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie. And that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may bee for euer able perſons, and capax in the lawe, for to purchaſe and poſſeſſe in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life or liues, or for terme of yeeres or otherwiſe, lands, tenements, rents, reuerſions, and other poſſeſſions, and hereditaments whatſoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations for the diſcouerie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and before the ſaide laſt aduenture or enterpriſe by ſeas not frequented, as before is ſpecified, and by the ſame names ſhall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and ſet the ſame or any part thereof to any perſon or perſons able in the lawe to take and receiue the ſame. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the ſame, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without ſpeciall licence of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, firſt had and obteined.

Alſo wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the ſaide Marchants and to their ſucceſſours, that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may lawfully purchaſe vnto them and their ſucceſſors for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatſoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of threeſcore ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not aboue, as well of ſuch lands, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or ſhall be holden of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, as of any other perſon or perſons, the ſtatutes prouided againſt alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clauſe in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, cuſtome, ſtatute or prouiſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, for the diſcouerie of lands territories, Iles, dominions and Seigniories vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſeas frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall and may be able in the law to implead, and be impleaded, to anſwere, and to be anſwered, to defende, and to be defended before whatſoeuer Iudge or Iuſtice, temporall or ſpirituall, or other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court, or courts, and in all actions perſonall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of nouel diſſeiſon, and alſo in all plaints, ſuites, quarels, affaires, buſineſſes and demaunds whatſoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſame onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

Moreouer, wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaide, and to their ſucceſſours, that the ſaide Gouernour, or Gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, and their ſucceſſors, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearſed, ſhall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordein, eſtabliſh and erect all ſuch ſtatutes, actes and ordinances, for the gouernement, good condition, and laudable rule of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, as to them ſhall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and neceſſarie, and alſo to admit vnto the ſaide Corporation and fellowſhip to be free of the ſame, ſuch and as many perſons, as to them ſhal bee thought good, meete, conuenient and neceſſarie. And that euery ſuch perſon or perſons, as ſhall fortune hereafter to bee admitted into the ſaide fellowſhippe, communaltie and corporation, ſhal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the ſame. And alſo wee will, and by theſe preſents graunt for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, and to their ſucceſſours, that the Gouernour, or gouernors, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſame, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearſed, and their ſucceſſours for the time being, ſhall, and may haue full power and authoritie by theſe preſents from time to time, as to them ſhal ſeeme good, to limite, ſet, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & impriſonments, or any of them vpon any offender of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, for any offence touching the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, and alſo that all acts and ordinances by them or their ſucceſſours to bee made, which time ſhall thinke not neceſſarie or preiudiciall to the ſaide fellowſhip or communaltie, at al times to reuoke, breake, fruſtrate, annihilate, repeale and diſſolue at their pleaſure and libertie. And further, wee will, that if any of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie ſhalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or diſobedient to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, and the ſaid aſſiſtants for the time being, or to any ſtatutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, and the ſaide aſſiſtants, in maner, forme, and number aboue ſpecified, for the time being, ſhall and may by vertue of theſe preſents, mulct, and puniſh euery ſuch offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good diſcretions.

And further, we will that none of the ſaide offender or offenders ſhall decline from the power of the ſaide Gouernour, or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in maner, forme, and number aboueſaide for the time being: ſo alwayes, that the ſaide actes, ſtatutes and ordinances, doe onely touch and concerne the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, and the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, and none other; And ſo alwayes, that ſuch their acts, ſtatutes and ordinances bee not againſt our prerogatiue, lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the ſeuerall duetie of any our ſubiects towards vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor alſo to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any perſon or perſons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, iuſtly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchiſes, priuileges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by vs, or anie our Progenitours, heeretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, will, and by theſe preſents, doe graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernors, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of our Marchants aforeſaid, that their ſaid Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, and their ſucceſſors for the time being, in maner, forme and number aboue rehearſed, ſhal haue full power and authoritie to aſſigne, conſtitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforeſaide Citie of London, as alſo in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or elſe where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowſhip or communalty of the ſaid marchants, and that the ſaid ſergeant or ſergeants, ſhall and may haue full power and authoritie by theſe preſents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulctes of euery perſon and perſons, of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie conuict, and that ſhalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any ſtatutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants for the time being.

And further, wee will and alſo graunt for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, that the ſaide officer or officers ſhall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for diſobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to ſet handes and arreſt aſwell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of ſuch offender, and offenders, & tranſgreſſers, in euery place and places not franchiſed. And if it ſhall fortune any ſuch offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchiſed or priuileged, where the ſaid officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, ſhirifes, bayliffes, and other head officers, or miniſters, within euery ſuch citie, borough, towne incorporate, or place or places franchiſed, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaid fellowſhip, in number and forme aforeſaid, vnder the common ſeale of the ſayd fellowſhip and communaltie for the time being, ſhall and may attach & arreſt the body or bodies of ſuch offender or offenders, as alſo take, and ſeiſe the goods and chattels of all and euery ſuch offender or offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and the ſame body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery ſuch offender and offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and euery part therof ſo attached and ſeaſed, ſhall according to the tenor and purport of the ſayd precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the ſayd officer or officers of the aforeſaid fellowſhip, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by theſe preſents, that all, and euery ſuch Maior, ſhirife, baylife, or other head officers or miniſters of any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other places franchiſed, ſhall not be impeached, moleſted, vexed or ſued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the ſaid precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, & certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant vnto the ſayd gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their ſucceſſors, and to the Factor and Factors, aſſigne and aſſignes of euery of them, ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to ſaile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Iſles, Ilands, and coaſtes of the ſea, whereſoeuer before their late aduenture or enterpriſe vnknowen, or by our Marchants and ſubiects by the ſeas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, ſtanderd, flags and enſignes, with their ſhippe, ſhips, barke, pinneſſes, and all other veſſels of whatſoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in ſuch ſhippe or ſhippes, or other veſſels at their owne and proper coſts and expences, for to traffique, deſcrie, diſcouer and ſearche, whatſoeuer Iſle, Ilands, countreis, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the ſea, riuers & ſtreames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, gouernor or Lord whatſoeuer he or they ſhalbe, and in whatſoeuer part of the world they be ſituated, being before the ſayd late aduenture or enterpriſe vnknowen, and by our Marchants and ſubiects not commonly frequēted: and to enter and land in the ſame, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, cuſtomes or ſtatutes to our vſe, or to the vſe of our heires or ſucceſſors for the ſame.

K. Philip and Queene Mary hereby do diſanull Pope Alexanders biſſion.

And we haue alſo granted, and by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe graunt vnto the ſayd Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie, and to their ſucceſſours, and to their Factors and aſſignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and faſten our banners, ſtandards, flags, and Enſignes, in whatſoeuer citie, towne, village, caſtle, Iſle, or maine lande, which ſhall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforeſayde, and that the ſayd fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors, Factors & aſſignes and euery of them ſhall and may ſubdue, poſſeſſe and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Iſles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or ſhall be by them, or any of them newly founde or deſcried, as our vaſſals and ſubiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iuriſdiction of the ſame Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Villages, Iſles, and maine landes, which ſhall bee by them, or any of them newly diſcouered or found vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſours for euer.

Conqueſt permitted.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our ſubiects in this laſt yeere attempted by Nauigation, towards the diſcouerie and diſcloſure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Ilandes, and Dominions by the ſeas not frequented, it hath pleaſed Almightie God to cauſe one of the three ſhippes by them ſet foorth for the voyage, and purpoſe aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our couſin and brother, Lord Iohn Baſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, Volodomer, great duke of Moſcouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and marchants our ſubiects into his protection, and Princely preſence, but alſo receiued and intertained them very graciouſly, and honourably, granting

Anno 1554.

The Moſcouites priuiledges vnto the Engliſh.

granting vnto them by his letters addreſſed vnto vs, franke acceſſe into all his Seigniories and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandiſe, with diuers other gracious priuiledges, liberties and immunities ſpecified in his ſayde letters vnder his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and ſpeciall grace, for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant vnto the ſame Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, and communalty aboue named, and to their ſucceſſours, as much as in vs is, that all the mayne landes, Iſles, portes, hauens, creekes, and riuers of the ſaid mighty Emperour of all Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſco, &c. And all and ſinguler other landes, dominions, territories, Iſles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the ſea, of al and euery other Emperor, king, prince, ruler and gouernor, whatſoeuer he or they before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen, or by our foreſayd marchants and ſubiects by the ſeas, not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeaſtwards, or Northweſtwards, as is aforeſayd, by ſea ſhall not be viſited, frequented nor haunted by any our ſubiects, other then of the ſayd company and felowſhip, and their ſucceſſours without expreſſe licence, agreement and conſent of the Gouernour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid felowſhip and communaltie aboue named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforeſayd, for the time being, vpon paine of forfeiture and loſſe, as well of the ſhippe and ſhippes, with the appurtenances, as alſo of all the goods, marchandiſes, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe our ſubiects, not being of the ſayd felowſhip and communalty, which ſhall attempt or preſume to ſaile to any of thoſe places, which bee, or hereafter ſhall happen to bee found, and traffiked vnto: the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of us, our heires and ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſayd fellowſhip and communaltie. And if it ſhall fortune anie ſtranger or ſtrangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the ſame marchants, their factors, deputies or aſſignes, or any of them in ſailing, going or returning at any time in the ſayd aduenture, or for to ſaile or trade to or from any thoſe places, landes or coaſts, which by the ſayd marchants, their factors, deputies and aſſignes haue bene, or ſhall bee deſcried, diſcouered and found, or frequented, aſwell within the coaſts and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the ſayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and euery other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and gouernour whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſayd late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen by any our ſaid marchants and ſubiects, by the ſeas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northweſtwards or Northeaſtwards as aforeſaid, then wee will and grant, and by theſe preſents doe licence, and authoriſe for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the ſaid marchants, their factors, deputies, and aſſignes, and euery of them to doe their beſt in their defence, to reſiſt the ſame their enterpriſes and attempts. Willing therefore, and ſtraightly commanding and charging al and ſinguler our Officers, Maiors, Sheriffes, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bayliffes, and all and ſinguler other our miniſters and liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to bee ayding, fauouring, helping & aſſiſting vnto the ſayd gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communalty, and to their ſucceſſors and deputies, factors, ſeruants, and aſſignes, and to the deputies, factors and aſſignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premiſſes, as well on land as in the ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you ſhall be thereunto required. In witneſſe whereof, &c.

The largenes of the priuiledge of the Moſcouite companie.

Anno 1555.

Apud Weſtmonaſterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum noſtrorum, primo & ſecundo.

Certaine inſtructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for *Ruſsia*, to euery Purſer and the reſt of the ſeruants, taken for the voyage, which may ſerue as good and neceſſary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1 FIrſt you ſhall before the ſhip doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and ſhall there take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduiſe of the Maſter, or of ſome other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, ſhot, powder, artillerie, and of all other neceſſaries whatſoeuer doth belong to the ſayd ſhip: and the ſame iuſtly taken, you ſhall write in a booke, making the ſayd Maſter, or ſuch officer priuie of that which you haue ſo written, ſo that the ſame may not be denied, when they ſhall call accompt thereof: that done, you ſhall write a copie of the ſame with your owne hand, which you ſhall deliuer before the

ſhippe ſhall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iuſtly anſwered the ſame, when time ſhall require: and this order to be ſeene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the Purſers of the companies owne ſhip, in any wiſe.

2 Alſo when the ſhippe beginneth to lade, you ſhall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter ſuch goods as ſhall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, fardell, truſſe, or packet, corouoys, cheſt, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caſke, maunde, or baſket, or any other thing, which may, or ſhall be packed by any other manner of waies or deuiſe. And firſt, all ſuch packes, or truſſes, &c. as ſhal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you ſhall doe the beſt to let that the ſame be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the ſame is, that is ſo brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of ſuch goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as alſo to ſend or bring word thereof to the Agent, and to ſome one of the foure Marchants with him adioined ſo ſpeedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforeſaid: and when the ſayd ſhippe hath receiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you ſhal make a iuſt copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainely, which you ſhall likewiſe deliuer to the ſayd bookekeeper to the vſe aforeſayd.

3 Alſo when the ſhip is ready to depart, you ſhall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and ſhall ſhew him all ſuch letters as you haue receiued of any perſon or perſons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any perſon or perſons in Ruſſia or elſewhere, and alſo to declare if you know any other that ſhall paſſe in the ſhip either maſter or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed frõ any perſon or perſons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters ſo by you receiued, you ſhall not carie with you, without you be licenced ſo to doe by the Agent here, and ſome of the foure merchants, as is aforeſayd: and ſuch others as do paſſe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you ſhal all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Ruſſia: and alſo if you haue or do receiue, or ſhal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or ready money to be imployed in Ruſſia, or to bee deliuered there to any perſon or perſons from any perſon or perſons, other then ſuch as bee the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you ſhall before the ſhip doeth depart, declare the ſame truely to the ſayd Agent, and to ſome of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Alſo when the ſhippe is ready to depart, and hath the maſter and the whole company aboord, you ſhall diligently foreſee and take heede, that there paſſe not any priuie perſon or perſons, other then ſuch as be authorized to paſſe in the ſaid ſhip, without the licence and warrant of one of the Gouernours and of the aſſiſtants, for the ſame his paſſage, to be firſt ſhewed. And if there be any ſuch perſon or perſons that is to paſſe and will paſſe without ſhewing the ſame warrant, you ſhall let the paſſage of any ſuch to the vttermoſt of your power: And for that there may no ſuch priuie perſon paſſe vnder the cloke and colour of ſome mariner, you ſhall vpon the weying of your ſhips anker, call the maſter and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may ſee that you haue neither more nor leſſe; but iuſt the number for the voyage.

5 Alſo you muſt haue in remembrance, that if it ſhall chance the ſhippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coaſt by contrary windes or otherwiſe in making the voyage, to ſend word thereof from time to time as the caſe ſhall require, by your letters in this maner. To maſter I.B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he muſt haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you ſhall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally ſee that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you ſhall pleaſe God, and the voiage will haue the better ſucceſſe thereby, and the company proſper the better.

7 Alſo in calme weather and at other times when you ſhall fortune to come to anker in the ſeas during the voyage, you ſhall for the companies profite, and for the good huſbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boatеſwaine and other of the company to vſe ſuch hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fiſh with, that ſuch fiſh ſo taken may bee eaten for the cauſe aforeſayd: and if there bee no ſuch engines aboord, then to prouide ſome before you goe from hence.

8 And when God ſhall ſend you in ſafetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you ſhall goe a ſhore with the firſt boate that ſhall depart from the ſhip, taking with you ſuch letters as you

haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then ſend the companies letters to Colmogro to him by ſome ſure mariner or otherwiſe, as the maſter and you ſhall thinke beſt, but goe not your ſelfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ſhip, vnleſſe it bee a ſhore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ſhip that you be appointed in, which you ſhall applie diligently to haue done ſo ſpeedily as may be. And for the diſcharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, ſee that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there be none other goods ſent a ſhore then the companies, and according to the notes entred in your booke as is aforeſaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the ſayd goods, in ſuch ſort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Alſo there a ſhore, and likewiſe aboord, you ſhall ſpie and ſearch as ſecretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and ſelling there is with the maſter and the mariners of the ſhippe and the Ruſſes, or with the companies ſeruants there: and that which you ſhall perceiue and learne, you ſhall keepe a note thereof in your booke ſecretly to your ſelfe, which you ſhall open and diſcloſe at your comming home to the gouernours and aſſiſtants, in ſuch ſorte as the trueth of their ſecret trades and occupyings may be reuealed and knowen. You ſhal need alwayes to haue Argos eyes, to ſpie their ſecret packing and conueyance, aſwell on land as aboord the ſhippe, of and for ſuch furres and other commodities, as ſecretly they doe vſe to buy, packe and conuey hither. If you will bee vigilant and ſecrete in this article, you cannot miſſe to ſpie their priuie packing one with another, either on ſhore or aboord the ſhippe: worke herein wiſely, and you ſhall deſerue great thanks of the whole company.

10 Alſo at the lading againe of the ſhippe, you ſhall continue and abide aboord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all ſuch goods and marchandiſes as ſhall be brought and laden, which you ſhall orderly note in all ſortes as heretofore, as in the ſecond article partly it is touched: and in any wiſe put the Maſter and the company in remembrance, to looke and foreſee ſubſtantially to the roomaging of the ſhippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you ſhall ſee and thinke will ſerue for the beſt.

11 Thus when the ſhippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a ſhore to the Agent for your letters, and diſpatch away: you ſhall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth therof, you ſhal repaire to the companies ſtorehouſe there at S. Nicholas, to ſee if there be any goods left in the ſayd ſtorehouſe: if there be, you ſhal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be ſo left: and ſeeing any of the ſhippes there not fully laden, you ſhall put the Agent in remembrance to lade thoſe goods ſo left, if any ſuch be to be laden, as is aforeſayd. And thus God ſending you a faire wind, to make ſpeede and away.

12 Finally, when God ſhall ſend you to arriue againe vpon this coaſt in ſafetie, either at Harewich, or elſewhere, goe not you aland, if you may poſſiblie, to the ende that when you be gone a ſhore, there may no goods be ſent priuily aſhore to be ſolde, or elſe to be ſolde aboord the ſhip in your abſence, but keepe you ſtill aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the cauſes aforeſaid, and write the company a letter from the ſhippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey to them by land by ſome boy or mariner of the ſhippe, or otherwiſe as you ſhall thinke beſt: and likewiſe when God ſhall ſend you and the ſhippe into the riuer here, doe not in any wiſe depart out of the ſhippe that you be in, vntil the company doe ſend ſome other aboord the ſhippe, in your ſteede and place, to keepe the ſhippe in your abſence.

The Nauigation and diſcouerie toward the riuer of *Ob*, made by Maſter *Steuen Burrough*, Maſter of the Pinneſſe called the Serchthrift, with diuers things worth the noting, paſſed in the yere 1556.

Aprill 23. WE departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Satturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

27 The 27 being Munday, the right Worſhipfull Sebaſtian Cabota came aboord our Pinneſſe at Graueſende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinneſſe, and taſted of ſuch cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on ſhore, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Maſter Cabota gaue to the poore moſt liberall almes, wiſhing them to pray for the good fortune, and proſperous ſucceſſe of the Serchthrift, our Pinneſſe. And then at the ſigne of the Chriſtopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very ioy that he had

to ſee the towardnes of our intended diſcouery, he entred into the dance himſelfe, amongſt the reſt of the young and luſty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed moſt gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God.

Tueſday we rode ſtill at Graueſend, making prouiſion for ſuch things as we wanted. 28

Wedneſday in the morning we departed from Graueſende, the winde being at Southweſt, 29 that night we came to an anker thwart our Lady of Hollands.

Thurſday at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were 30 at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture, where the worſhipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, vntill the ſayd good ſhip arriued at Wardhouſe. Then I returned againe into the pinneſſe.

Note May 15.

Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the ſhore, on the coaſt of Norway: the latitude at a South ſunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we ſaw three ſailes, beſide our owne company: and thus we followed the ſhoare or land, which lieth Northnorthweſt, North and by Weſt, and Northweſt and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

Saturday at an Eaſt ſunne we came to S. Dunſtans Iſland, which Iſland I ſo named. It 26 was off vs Eaſt two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeaſt: the latitude this day at a South ſunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Alſo the high round mountaine bare Eaſt of vs, at a ſouth ſunne: and when this hill is Eaſt of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point Weſterly, from this ſayd South ſunne, vnto a North ſunne twenty leagues Northweſt alongſt the ſhoare.

Upon Sunday at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, the fartheſt land that we could ſee that lay 17 Northnorthweſt, was Eaſt of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eaſtwards of the North, which headland I iudged to be Scoutſneſſe. At ſeuen of the clocke we changed our courſe and went North, the wind being at Southſoutheaſt, and it waxed very thick and miſtie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheaſt. At a South ſunne we loſt ſight of the Serchthrift, becauſe of the miſt, making our way North. And when we loſt ſight of the ſhoare and pinneſſe, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the ſhoare: the laſt land that we ſaw when this miſt came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowtſneſſe, lay Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and we made our way North vntill a weſt ſunne fiue leagues.

From that vntill Munday three a clocke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheaſt: and then 18 we went North and by Eaſt, becauſe the winde came at the Weſtſouthweſt with thicke miſte: the latitude this day at a South ſunne ſixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this ſeaſon we had ſight of our Pinneſſe againe.

From that vntill Tueſday a South ſunne Northnortheaſt fortie foure leagues, and then 19 Northeaſt. From a South ſunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeaſt.

From that vntill Wedneſday a South ſunne Northnortheaſt, except the firſt watch North- 20 eaſt: then had we the latitude in ſixtie ſeuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that vnto a Northweſt ſunne eighteen leagues Northeaſt, & then we were within two leagues off the ſhore, and ſaw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the miſt, and then we went North and by eaſt.

From the ſayd Northweſt ſunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by Eaſt 21
ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheaſt vntill a South ſunne, the latitude being ſixtie
nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre paſt ſeuen of the clocke, Northnorth-
eaſt eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeaſt ten leagues. From that 3 leagues 22
and a halfe Eaſtnortheaſt, and then we ſawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on
the broad ſide of vs the winde being then at Southſouthweſt.

From that vntill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning Eaſtnortheaſt, and to the 23 Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came vp at North, wee being aboord the ſhore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I ſuppoſe is called Kedilwike: then we caſt the ſhippes head to the ſeawards, becauſe the winde was verie ſcant: and then I cauſed the Pinneſſe to beare in with the ſhore, to ſee whether ſhe might find an harborough for the ſhips or not, and that ſhe found and ſaw two roaders ride in the ſound: and alſo they ſawe houſes. But notwithſtanding, God be prayſed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occaſion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinneſſe bare her Myſſen maſt ouer boord with flagge and all, and loſt the flagge: with the maſt there fell two men ouer boord, but God be praiſed, they were ſaued: the flagge was a token, whereby we might vnderſtand whether there were a good harbour there or not.

Kedelwike chappell.

At a North ſunne the North cape (which I ſo named the firſt voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eaſtwards of the foreſayd Chappel from the Eaſtermoſt point of it.

The North cape ſo named by Steuen Burrowe.

Iune

Iune.

7 The ſunday we weied in Corpus Chriſti Bay, at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne: the Bay is almoſt halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Chriſti point, lyeth Southeaſt and by Eaſt, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the leaſt two leagues ouer: ſo doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Chriſti poynt ten leagues Southeaſt and by Eaſt: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by Weſt moone full ſea. From that we went vntill ſeuen a clocke at after noone twentie leagues Southeaſt and by South: and then we tooke in all our ſailes, becauſe it was then very miſtie, and alſo we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southſoutheaſt with our foreſayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we ſhot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one ſee the other, becauſe of the thicke miſte: at a Northweſt ſunne it began ſomewhat to cleere, and then we ſawe a head lande, and the ſhoare trended to the Southweſtward, which I iudged to be about Croſſe Iſland: it was off vs at a Northnorthweſt ſunne, Weſtſouthweſt.

8 From this Northnorthweſt ſunne, vntill Munday, we went Southeaſt, and this morning we
came at anker among the ſhoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt
ſunne, the wind being at Eaſtſoutheaſt. At this poynt Looke out, a ſouth Moone maketh a full
ſea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Iſle of Croſſes Southeaſt, and betweene them is tenne
leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eaſtſoutheaſt, and betweene them
are ſixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eaſtſoutheaſt, and halfe a point
to the Southwards, and betweene them are ſixe leagues. There is betweene theſe two points,
a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of ſhoales and dangers. At a Southeaſt ſunne we
weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eaſtſoutheaſt: and at a Southeaſt
ſunne, we came to an anker, being then a full ſea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It hieth at
this place where we roade, and alſo at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a Weſtnorth-
9 weſt ſunne we weyed, and driued to the windewards, vntill Tueſday, a Northnortheaſt ſunne,
and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Cola, in eight fadome wa-
ter. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeaſt and by South, and betwixt
them are ſixe leagues, and alſo betwixt them is the Riuer Cola, into which Riuer wee went this
euening.

The latitude of Cola.

10 Wedneſday we roade ſtill in the ſayd riuer, the winde being at the north: we ſent our ſkiffe aland to be dreſſed: the latitude of the mouth of the riuer Cola is ſixtie fiue degrees, fortie and eight minutes.

A Ruſſe Lodia.

11 Thurſday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Ruſſe Lodiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. The maſter of the boate preſented me with a great loafe of bread, and ſixe ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dryed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gaue vnto the Maſter of the boate, a combe, and a ſmall glaſſe: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being ſomewhat broken, they gently departed. The Maſters name was Pheodor.

Whereas the tenth day I ſent our Pinneſſe on ſhoare to be mended, becauſe ſhe was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced ſo, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our ſhippe. All that time they were without prouiſion of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they ſpent by Thurſday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had liſted, but winde and weather denied them: inſomuch that they were faine to eate graſſe, and ſuch weedes as they could finde then aboue grounde, but freſh water they had plentie, but the meate with ſome of them could ſcant frame by reaſon of their queazie ſtomackes.

14 From Thurſday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride ſuch a road ſted that it was to be marueiled, without the helpe of God, how ſhe was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeaſt ſhoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you ſhall haue no land Northnortheaſt of you then, I proued with our pinneſſe, that the depth goeth on the Southeaſt ſhoare.

18 Thurſday we weyed our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea ſeuen or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it conſtrained vs to goe againe backe into the ſayd riuer, where came aboord of vs ſundry of their Boates, which decla-

red vnto me that they were alſo bound to the Northwards, a fiſhing for Morſe, and Salmon, and gaue me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

As we roade in this riuer, wee ſawe dayly comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had leaſt, had foure and twentie men in them, and at the laſt they grewe to thirtie ſaile of them: and amongſt the reſt, there was one of them whoſe name was Gabriel, who ſhewed to me very much friendſhippe, and he declared vnto mee, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fiſhing for Salmons, and Morſes: inſomuch that hee ſhewed mee by demonſtrations, that with a faire winde wee had ſeuen or eight dayes ſailing to the Riuer Pechora, ſo that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel promiſed to giue mee warning of ſhoales, as hee did indeede.

Lodias hauing 24 men a peice.

From Cola to Pechora is but 7 or 8 dayes ſayling.

Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of Meade, and one of his ſpeciall friends gaue me a barrell of beere, which was caryed vpon mens backs at leaſt 2 miles. 21

Monday we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the reſt of the ſaid Lodias, but ſailing before the winde, they were all too good for vs: but according to promiſe, this Gabriel and his friend did often ſtrike their ſayles, and taried for vs forſaking their owne company. 22

The curteſie of one Gabriel.

Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne we were thwart of Cape S. John. It is to be vnderſtood, that from the Cape S. John vnto the riuer or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all ſunke land, and full of ſhoales and dangers, you ſhall haue ſcant two fadome water, and ſee no land. And this preſent day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the ſayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were aboue 20 ſaile that went into the ſayd creeke, the wind being at the Northeaſt. We had indifferent good landfang. 23

A good & neceſſarie note.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his ſkiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs ouer the ſhoales with two ſmall ivory combes, and a ſteele glaſſe, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithſtanding, his firſt company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wedneſday being Midſummer day, we ſent our ſkiffe aland to ſound the creeke, where they found it almoſt drie at a low water. And all the Lodias within were on ground. 24

Although the harborough were euil, yet the ſtormie ſimilitude of Northerly winds tempted vs to ſet our ſayles, & we let ſlip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in ſuch iourneis varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did ſhrink ſo ſuddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue flatted the ſhippe before the winde, we ſhould haue bene on ground on the lee ſhore, ſo that we were conſtrained to let fall an anker vnder our ſailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his ſkiffe, and ſo did ſundry others alſo, ſhewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpoſe, for they were likely to haue bene drowned for their labour, in ſo much that I deſired Gabriel to lend me his anker, becauſe our owne ankers were two big for our ſkiffe to lay out, who ſent me his owne, and borrowed another alſo and ſent it vs. Then we layd out one of thoſe ankers, with a halſer which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we ſhorted vpon ẏ ſaid warpe the anker came home, ſo that we were faine to heaue the end of the warpe, that we ruſhed in vpon the other ſmall anker that Gabriel ſent aboord, and layd that anker to ſeawards: and then betweene theſe two ankers we trauerſed the ſhips head to ſeawards, and ſet our foreſaile and maine ſayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the halſer, and ſo gate the ſea to our friends, and tryed out al that day with our maine corſe.

The Thurſday we went roome with Cape S. Iohn, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheaſt wind, and for a neede, for a North and by Weſt winde. 25

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eaſtſoutheaſt, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our halſer: & as ſoone as we were at an anker, the foreſaid Gabriel came aboord of vs, with 3 or foure more of their ſmall boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ & Meade, profeſſing vnto me very much friendſhip, and reioiced to ſee vs againe, declaring that they earneſtly thought that we had bene loſt. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had ſaued both the ankers and our hauſer, and after we had thus communed, I cauſed 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them figs, and made them ſuch cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of thē, there came another of their ſkiffes aboord with one who was a Kerill, whoſe name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foreſaid Kerill ſaid vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene ſufficient. And as I continued in one accuſtomed 26 maner, that if the preſent which they brought were worth entertainment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therfore I regarded him but litle. And thus we ended, & they tooke their leaue and went a ſhore. At their comming aſhore, Gabriel and Keril were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderſtand: the cauſe was becauſe the one had better entertainment then the other: but you ſhal vnderſtand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, becauſe there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

Twentie eight Lodias belonging to Cola.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the leaſt, and all of them belonging to the riuer Cola.

27 And as I vnderſtood Keril made reckoning that the hawſer which was faſt in his anker ſhould haue bene his owne, and at firſt would not deliuer it to our boat, inſomuch that I ſent him worde that I would complaine vpon him, whereupon he deliuered the hawſer to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I ſent our boat on ſhore to fetch freſh water and wood, and at their comming on ſhore this Keril welcomed our men moſt gently, and alſo banketed them: and in the meane time cauſed ſome of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his beſt ſilke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, & brought his preſent with him: and thus hauing more reſpect vnto his preſent then to his perſon, becauſe I perceiued him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a diſh of figs: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to ſhew me pleaſure, and not Gabriel, who was but a prieſts ſonne.

28 After their departure from vs we weied, and plyed all the ebbe to the windewards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very ſtormie, ſo that of force we were conſtrained to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which ſtorme wee loſt our ſkiffe at our ſterne, that wee bought at Wardhouſe, and there we rode vntill the fourth of Iuly. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full ſea marke, as I iudge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & alſo without ſtones or rockes, and conſiſts onely of blacke earth, which is ſo rotten, that if any of it fall into the ſea, it will ſwimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the ſhore you ſhall not haue aboue 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. Iohn 66 degrees 50 minutes.

Earth ſwimming aboue water like wood.

Iulie.

4 Saturday at a Northnorthweſt ſunne the wind came at Eaſtnortheaſt, & then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues ſhot paſt the Cape, we ſaw a houſe ſtanding in a valley, which is dainty to be ſeene in thoſe parts, and by and by I ſaw three men on the top of the hil. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards proued, that they were men which came from ſome other place to ſet traps to take vermin for their furres; which trappes we did perceiue very thicke alongſt the ſhore as we went.

5 Sunday at an Eaſt ſunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Ruſſes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the moſt part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and ſpent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South ſunne it was high water. All alongſt the coaſt it floweth litle, onely a South moone makes a full ſea: and as we were a weying we eſpied the Ruſſe Lodias, which we firſt loſt. They came out of a creeke amongſt the ſandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheaſt from Cape S. Iohn.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheaſt frō the place where we ſaw the Ruſſes come out: and there the Ruſſes harboured themſelues within a ſunke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

At a North ſunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, vntill a South ſunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende thoſe ſandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by Weſt, South and by Eaſt, and Northnorthweſt, and to the Weſtwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a Northweſt ſunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the ſhore, where wee had good plenty of fiſh, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

8 Wedneſday we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland, which is called Caninoz, the wind being at Eaſt and by North.

9 Thurſday the wind being ſcant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minutes.

Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpoſe: and as we rode at an anker, 10
we ſaw the ſimilitude of a ſtorme riſing at Northnorthweſt, & could not tell where to get rode nor ſuccor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee ſhore. And as I was muſing what was beſt to be done, I ſaw a ſaile come out of a creeke vnder the foreſayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forſooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eaſtwards, & then we weyed and followed him, and went Eaſt and by South, the wind being at Weſtnorthweſt, and very miſtie.

Saturday we went Eaſtſoutheaſt & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough 11
called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, & we had vpon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were paſt in ouer the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being mored, I ſent ſome of our men to ſhoare to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Seapies, and others, whereof the Ruſſes would eate none, whereof we were nothing ſorry, for there came the more to our part.

Morgiouets an harbour.

Drift wood.

Sunday our men cut wood on ſhoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balaſſed our ſhippe with ſtones. 12

This morning Gabriel ſaw a ſmoke on ẏ way, who rowed vnto it with his ſkiffe, which ſmoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northweſt ſunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then ſtrange vnto vs, and he preſented me with three young wild geeſe, and one young barnacle.

A Samoed.

Munday I ſent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs aboord 8 barricoes of 13
freſh water: the latitude of the ſaid Morgiouets is ſixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southſouthweſt moone full ſea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water.

At a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we departed from this place, and went Eaſt 25 leagues, and then 14
ſaw an Iſland North and by Weſt of vs eight leagues, which Iſland is called Dolgoieue: and from the Eaſtermoſt part of this Iſland, there lyeth a ſand Eaſt and by South 7 leagues long.

Dolgoieue an Iſland.

Wedneſday at a North and by Eaſt ſunne Swetinoz was South of vs 5 leagues. This day 15
at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fadome water.

Pechora.

Thurſday we road ſtill. 16

Friday I went on ſhoare and obſerued the variation of the Compaſſe, which was three de- 17
grees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt: the latitude this day was ſixtie nine degrees ten minutes.

The variation of the Compas

From two or three leagues to the Eaſtward of Swetinoz, vntill the entering of the riuer Pechora, it is all ſandy hilles, and towards Pechora the ſandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southweſt moone a full ſea.

Munday at a North & by Eaſt ſunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the ſayd dangerous barre, 20
where wee had but fiue foote water, inſomuch that wee found a foote leſſe water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reaſon was, becauſe when we went in the winde was off the ſea, which cauſed the ſands to breake on either ſide of vs, and wee kept in the ſmootheſt betweene the breaches, which we durſt not haue done, except we had ſeene the Ruſſes to haue gone in before vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the ſhoare, and fayre weather, and then the ſands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ſhip did draw ſo little water.

When we were a ſeaboord the barre the wind ſcanted vpon vs, and was at Eaſtſoutheaſt, inſomuch that we ſtopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eaſtnortheaſt.

Tueſday at a Northweſt ſunne we thought that we had ſeen land at Eaſt, or Eaſt & by North 21
of vs: which afterwards prooued to be a monſtrous heape of ice.

Within a little more then halfe an houre after, we firſt ſaw this ice, we were incloſed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull ſight to ſee: for, for the ſpace of ſixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our ſhippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarſe. And when we had paſt from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eaſtwards cloſe by the wind.

Ice.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice. 22

Thurſday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the 23
latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes.

The lat. 70 degrees 11 min.

We had not runne paſt two houres Northweſt, the wind being at Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the ſeawards, and made way Weſt 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeaſt ſunne we caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the wind being at Northnortheaſt: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. Iames his day bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in ſeuenty degrees twentie minutes. The ſame day at a Southweſt ſunne, there was a monſtrous Whale aboord of vs, ſo neere to our ſide that we might haue thruſt a ſworde or any other weapon in him, which we durſt not doe for feare hee ſhould haue ouerthrowen our ſhippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs ſhouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the bredth of our pinneſſe, and at his falling downe, he made ſuch a terrible noyſe in the water, that a man would greatly haue marueiled, except hee had knowen the cauſe of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we ſpied certaine Iſlands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeaſt ſunne, & named the Iſland S. Iames his Iſland, where we found freſh water.

S. Iames Iſland.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode ſtill.

27 Munday I went on ſhoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compaſſe was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt.

The variation of the Compas 7 degrees and a halfe.

28 Tueſday we plyed to the Weſtwards alongſt the ſhoare, the wind being at Northweſt, and as I was about to come to anker, we ſaw a ſayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I ſent a ſkiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man ſaid hee had bene in our company in the riuer Cola, and alſo declared vnto them that we were paſt the way which ſhould bring vs to the Ob. This land, ſayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to ſay, the New land: and then he came aboord himſelfe with his ſkiffe, and at his comming aboord he told mee the like, and ſayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the higheſt mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Bolſhay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I ſaw it not: he made me alſo certaine demonſtrations of the way to the Ob, and ſeemed to make haſte on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, becauſe the yeere was farre paſt, and his neighbour had ſet Pechora, and not he: ſo I gaue him a ſteele glaſſe, two pewter ſpoones, and a paire of veluet ſheathed kniues: and then he ſeemed ſomewhat the more willing to tary, and ſhewed me as much as he knew for our purpoſe: he alſo gaue me 17 wilde geeſe, and ſhewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loſhak.

The relation of Loſhak.
The way to the riuer of Ob.
A mighty hill in Noua Zembla.

Loſhak.

29 Wedneſday, as we plied to the Eaſtwards, we eſpied another ſaile, which was one of this Loſhaks company, and we bare roome, and ſpake with him, who in like ſort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thurſday, we plied to the Eaſtwards, the winde being at Eaſtnortheaſt.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increaſe, and came Weſterly withall, ſo that by a Northweſt ſunne we were at an anker among the Iſlands of Vaigats, where we ſaw two ſmall lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and preſented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who ſeemed to be the chiefeſt among them in killing of the Morſe.

The Iſlands of Vagats.

There were ſome of their company on ſhoare, which did chaſe a white beare ouer the high cliffs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of vs killed in our ſight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we ſaw ſo much ice driuing a ſeaboord, that it was then no going to ſea.

Auguſt.

1 Saturday I went aſhore, and there I ſaw three morſes that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morſe, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare ſkin at three robles & two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Iſland, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houſes, but onely couerings made of Deers ſkins, ſet ouer them with ſtakes: they are men expert in ſhooting, and haue great plenty of Deere.

Samoeds.

This night there fell a cruell ſtorme, the wind being at Weſt.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of ſnow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Iſland, which was fiue leagues Eaſtnortheaſt from vs: and there I met againe with Loſhak, and went on ſhore with him, and hee brought

me to a heape of the Samoeds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worſt and the moſt vnartificiall worke that euer I ſaw: the eyes and mouthes of ſundrie of them were bloodie, they had the ſhape of men, women and children, very groſly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was alſo ſprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde ſticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I ſaw much of the footing of the ſayd Samoeds, and of the ſleds that they ride in. There was one of their ſleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I ſaw a deers ſkinne which the foules had ſpoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table whereon they offered their ſacrifice: I ſaw alſo the inſtruments, whereupon they had roaſted fleſh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the ſpit.

The maners of the Samoeds.

Loſhak being there preſent tolde me that theſe Samoeds were not ſo hurtfull as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houſes, as indeede I ſaw none, but onely tents made of Deers ſkins, which they vnderproppe with ſtakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers ſkins, and when they come on ſhoare they cary their boates with them vpon their backes: for their carriages they haue no other beaſtes to ſerue them, but Deere only. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Ruſſes bring it to them: their knowledge is very baſe, for they know no letter.

The Samoeds of the Ob very hurtfull and ſhrewd people.

4 Tueſday we turned for the harborough where Loſhaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Iſland. And there he came aboord of vs and ſaid vnto me: if God ſende winde and weather to ſerue, I will goe to the Ob with you, becauſe the Morſes were ſcant at theſe Iſlands of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he ſayd hee would goe to the riuer of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether ſo ſauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee ſhewed me that they will ſhoot at all men to the vttermoſt of their power, that cannot ſpeake their ſpeech.

Naramzay.

5 Wedneſday we ſaw a terrible heape of ice approch neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought good with al ſpeed poſſible to depart from thence, and ſo I returned to the Weſtwards againe, to the Iſland where we were the 31 of July.

6 Thurſday I went a ſhoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compaſſe was 8 degrees from the North to the Weſt.

The latitude. The variation of the compas.

Loſhak and the two ſmall Lodias of Pechora departed from this Iſland, while I was on ſhoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I marueiled why he departed ſo ſuddenly, and went ouer the ſhoales amongſt the Iſlands where it was impoſſible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weatherwiſe.

7 Friday we road ſtill, the winde being at Northnortheaſt, with a cruell ſtorme. The ice came in ſo abundantly about vs at both ends of the Iſland that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull ſight to behold: the ſtorme continued with ſnow, raine, and hayle plenty.

8 Saturday we road ſtill alſo, the ſtorme being ſomewhat abated, but it was altogether miſty, that we were not able to ſee a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeaſt and by Eaſt.

9 Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Iſland, the winde being at Southeaſt, and as we were cleere a ſea boord the ſmall Iſlandes and ſhoales, it came ſo thicke with miſtes, that we could not ſee a baſe ſhotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our ſailes to make little way.

At a Southeaſt ſunne it waxed cleere, and then we ſet our ſayles, and lay cloſe by the wind to the Southwards alongſt the Iſlands of Vaigats. At a Weſt ſunne we tooke in our ſayle againe becauſe of the great miſt and raine. Wee ſounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fadomes water, and ſoft blacke oze, being three leagues from the ſhoare, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, but ſtill miſty.

10 Munday at an Eaſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, ſtill miſty: at noone wee ſounded againe, and had 26 fadome, ſtill miſty.

11 Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the miſt ſtill continuing.

12 Wedneſday at three of the clocke in the morning the miſt brake vp, the wind being at Northeaſt & by Eaſt, and then we ſaw part of the Iſlands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eaſtſoutheaſt cloſe by the winde: at a Weſt ſunne we were at an anker vnder the Southweſt part of the ſaid Vaigats, and then I ſent our ſkiffe to ſhoare with three men in her, to ſee if they might ſpeake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

They land vpon Vaigats.

10 Thurſday the wind came Weſterly, ſo that we were faine to ſeeke vs another place to ride in, becauſe the wind came a ſeaboord land, and although it were miſty, yet wee followed the ſhoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a Weſt ſunne

the miſt brake vp, ſo that we might ſee about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a ſound.

This afternoone we tooke in two or three ſkiffes lading of ſtones to balaſt our ſhippe withall. It hyeth here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

The vncerteintie of ebbing & flowing.

14 Friday we road ſtill in the ſound, the wind at Southweſt, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it waxed againe miſtie.

15 Saturday there was much winde at Weſt, and much raine, and then againe miſtie.

16 Sunday was very miſtie, and much winde.

17 Munday very miſtie, the winde at Weſtnorthweſt.

18 Tueſday was alſo miſtie, except at noone: then the ſunne brake out through the miſt, ſo that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was miſty againe, the wind being at Weſtnorthweſt.

19 Wedneſday at three of the clocke afternoone the miſt brake vp, & the wind came at Eaſtnortheaſt, and then we weyed, and went South & by Eaſt, vntil ſeuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had ſight of the ſandie hilles that are to the Eaſtwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northweſt ſunne we took in our maine ſaile, becauſe the wind increaſed, & went with a foreſaile Weſtnorthweſt, the wind being at Eaſtnortheaſt: at night there grewe ſo terrible a ſtorme, that we ſaw not the like, although we had indured many ſtormes ſince we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke ſuch monſtrous & terrible ſeas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer faileth them at neede, that put their ſure truſt in him.

20 Thurſday at a Southſouthweſt ſunne, thanks be to God, the ſtorme was at the higheſt, & then the winde began to ſlake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Weſtermoſt point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Weſtſouthweſt ſunne we ſet our maine ſayle, and lay cloſe by the winde, the winde being at Northweſt and by North, making but little way, becauſe the billow went ſo high: at midnight wee caſt about, and the ſhippe caped Northnortheaſt, making little way.

They were within 15 leagues of Pechora

21 Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we ſounded, and had 29 fadomes ſand, and in maner ſtreamy ground. At a Weſt ſunne we caſt about to the Weſtwards, and a little after the wind came vp at Weſt.

22 Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we ſounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze ſignified that we drew towards Noua Zembla.

And thus we being out of al hope to diſcouer any more to the Eaſtward this yeere, wee thought it beſt to returne, and that for three cauſes.

They returne the 22 of Auguſt.

The firſt, the continuall Northeaſt and Northerly winds, which haue more power after a man is paſt to the Eaſtwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in theſe Northerly regions.

Second, becauſe of great and terrible abundance of ice which we ſaw with our eies, and we doubt greater ſtore abideth in thoſe parts: I aduentured already ſomewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my ſafe deliuerance from it.

Third, becauſe the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his ſtormes: and therefore I reſolued to take the firſt beſt wind that God ſhould ſend, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to ſee if we might do any good there, if God would permit it.

This preſent Saturday we ſaw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it
ſhewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might ſee from Northweſt off
vs to the Eaſtwards: and this afternoone the Lord ſent vs a little gale of wind at South, ſo that
we bare cleere off the Weſtermoſt part of it, thanks be to God. And then againſt night it waxed
24 calme againe, and the winde was at Southweſt: we made our way vntill Sunday noone North-
weſt and by Weſt, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at South-
weſt: there was a billow, ſo that we could not diſcerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reaſo-
nable geſſe.

25 Sunday there was a prettie gale of wind at South, ſo that wee went Weſt and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: at a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke ſandie oze, & then we were Northeaſt 5 leagues from the Northeaſt part of the Iland Colgoieue.

26 Tueſday the wind all Weſterly we plyed to the wind wards.

27 Wedneſday the wind was all Weſterly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Iland Colgoieue.

28 Thurſday, we went roome about the Weſtermoſt part of the Iland, ſeeking where we might

finde a place to ride in for a Northweſt winde, but could find none, and then we caſt about againe to the ſeawards, and the winde came at Weſtſouthweſt, and this morning we had plenty of ſnow.

Friday, the winde being at Southweſt and by Weſt, we plied to the windewards. 29

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Weſtwards, and at afternoone the miſt brake vp, and then we might ſee the land ſeuen or eight leagues to the Eaſtwards of Caninoz: we ſounded a litle before and had 35. fadoms and oze. And a while after wee ſounded againe, and had 19. fadome and ſand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the ſhore, and towards night there came downe ſo much winde, that we were faine to bring our ſhip a trie, and laide her head to the Weſtwards.

Sunday, the winde became more calme, and then it waxed verie myſtie: At noone wee caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we caſt about and caped Weſt ſouthweſt: we ſounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oze like clay. 30

Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill ſome fiſh if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuſe, which Nuſes were there ſo plentie, that they would ſcarcely ſuffer any other fiſh to come neere the hookes: the ſaid Nuſes caried away ſundrie of our hookes and leads. 31

A litle after at a Weſt Sunne, the winde began to blow ſtormie at Weſt ſouthweſt, ſo that we were faine to wey and forſake our fiſhing ground, and went cloſe by the winde Southweſt, and Southweſt and by Weſt, making our way South ſouthweſt.

September.

Tueſday at a Weſt Sunne we ſounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilke ſhels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24. leagues Northnortheaſt from vs. 1

The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceede farther in our intended diſcouerie for the Ob: which (by reaſon of our imploiments to Wardhouſe the next ſpring for the ſearch of ſome Engliſh ſhips) was not accordingly performed. 11

Certaine notes vnperfectly written by *Richard Iohnſon* ſeruant to Maſter *Richard Chancelour*, which was in the diſcouerie of *Vaigatz* and *Noua Zembla*, with *Steuen Burrowe* in the Serchthriſt 1556. and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whoſe deuiliſh rites hee deſcribeth.

1556

FIrſt, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coſte lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are vnder the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their ſpeech from the Danes, for they ſpeake North. And North of Northbern lie the Iſles of Roſte and Lofoot, and theſe Iſlands pertaine vnto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and ſpeake the language of the Iſlanders. And at the Eaſtermoſt part of that land is a caſtle which is called the Ward houſe, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Ruſſes may not goe to the Weſtward of that caſtle. And Eaſt Southeaſt from that caſtle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to ſay, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and theſe people liue in tents made of Deares ſkinnes: and they haue no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of ſmall ſtature, and are clothed in Deares ſkinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but fleſh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adioyning to them ẏ be much like to them in al condicions: but the Emperour of Ruſſia hath of late ouercome manie of them, and they are in ſubiection to him. And this people will ſay that they beleeue in the Ruſſes God. And they liue in tents as the other doe. And Southeaſt and by South from Lappia lyeth a prouince called Corelia, and theſe people are called Kerilli. And South ſoutheaſt from Corelia lyeth a countrey called Nouogardia. And theſe three nations are vnder the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the Ruſſes keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write ſomewhat like as the Greekes write, and they ſpeake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither haue they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worſhippe any carued Image, yet they will worſhippe paynted Images on tables or boordes. And in Ruſſia their Churches,

Norway.

Roſte & Lofoot.

Finmarke.

Wardhouſe.

Lappia.

The Scrickfinnes.

The Lappians.

Corelia.

Nouogardia.

The Ruſſes.

Tartaria.

Lampas a mart or faire of the Ruſſes, Tartars and Samoeds.
The Samoeds countrey.
Ob, Pechora, Vaigatz.

Noua Zembla.
Store of foule.
White Foxes.
White beares.

The maner of the Samoeds ſacrifices, about the riuer of Pechere.

ches, ſteeples, and houſes are all of wood: and their ſhippes that they haue are ſowed with withes and haue no nayles. The Kerilles, Ruſſians and Moſcouians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Moſcouians lye the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and liue in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will ſay, when they will curſe any of their children, I would thou mighteſt tary ſo long in a place that thou mighteſt ſmell thine owne dung, as the Chriſtians doe: and this is the greateſt curſe that they haue. And Eaſt Northeaſt of Ruſſia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Ruſſes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twiſe a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And Northeaſt from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the riuer of Pechere, and theſe Samoeds bee in ſubiection to the Emperour of Ruſſia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere ſkinnes, and they vſe much witchcraft, and ſhoot well in bowes. And Northeaſt from the riuer Pechere lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not ſuffer the Ruſſes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Ruſſes: and they liue in heards, and haue all their carriages with deere, for they haue no horſes. Beyond Vaygatz lyeth a lande called Noua Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee ſawe no people, and there wee had Foule inough, and there wee ſawe white Foxes and white Beares. And the ſayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in ſubiection to the Emperour of Ruſſia, when they will remoue from one place to another, then they will make ſacrifices in maner following. Euerie kinred doeth ſacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is moſt auncient is their Prieſt. And firſt the Prieſt doeth beginne to playe vpon a thing like to a great ſieue, with a ſkinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the ſticke that he playeth with is about a ſpanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, couered with the ſkinne of an Harte. Alſo the Prieſt hath vpon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is couered with a piece of a ſhirt of maile, with manie ſmall ribbes, and teeth of fiſhes, and wilde beaſtes hanging on the ſame maile. Then hee ſingeth as wee vſe heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or ſhowte at houndes, and the reſt of the company anſwere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Prieſt replieth againe with his voyces. And they anſwere him with the ſelfeſame wordes ſo manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, hauing nothing on him but a ſhirt, lying vpon his backe I might perceiue him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay ſo, and they anſwered mee, Nowe doeth our God tell him what wee ſhall doe, and whither wee ſhall goe. And when he had lyen ſtill a litle while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they vſe theſe three calles, hee riſeth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee roſe vp and ſang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience anſwered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill fiue Olens or great Deere, and continued ſinging ſtill both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a ſworde of a cubite and a ſpanne long, (I did mete it my ſelfe) and put it into his bellie halfe way and ſometime leſſe, but no wounde was to bee ſeene, (they continuing in their ſweete ſong ſtill) Then he put the ſworde into the fire till it was warme, and ſo thruſt it into the ſlitte of his ſhirte and thruſt it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his nauill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his ſhirt behinde, I layde my finger vpon it, then hee pulled out the ſworde and ſate downe. This beeing done, they ſet a kettle of water ouer the fire to heate, and when the water doeth ſeethe, the Prieſt beginneth to ſing againe they anſwering him, for ſo long as the water was in heating, they ſate and ſang not. Then they made a thing being foure ſquare, and in height and ſquareneſſe of a chaire, and couered with a gown very cloſe the forepart therof, for the hinder part ſtood to the tents ſide. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water ſtill ſeething on the fire, and this ſquare ſeate being ready, the Prieſt put off his ſhirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with thoſe things which couered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hoſen of deeres ſkins with yͤ haire on, which came vp to his buttocks. So he went into the ſquare ſeat, and ſate down like a tailour and ſang with a ſtrong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a ſmall line made of deeres ſkinnes of foure fathoms long, and with a ſmal knotte the Prieſt made it faſt about his necke, and vnder his left arme, and gaue it vnto two men ſtanding on both ſides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was ſet before him in the ſquare ſeat, al this time the ſquare ſeat was not couered, and then it was couered wͭ a gown of broad cloth without lining, ſuch as the Ruſſes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold yͤ ends of the line ſtill ſtanding there, began to draw, & drew til they had drawn the ends of the line ſtiffe and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I asked them that ſate by me what it was that fell into the water that ſtoode before him. And they anſwered me, that it was his head, his ſhoulder and left arme, which the line had cut off, I meane the knot which I ſawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I roſe vp and would haue looked whether it were ſo or not, but they laid hold on me, and ſaid, that if they ſhould ſee him with their bodily eyes, they ſhoulde liue no longer. And the moſt part of them can ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue to bee vnderſtood: and they tooke me to be a Ruſſian. Then they beganne to hallow with theſe wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus ſinging & outcalling, I ſawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thruſt through the gowne from the Prieſt. I asked them that ſatt next to me what it was that I ſawe, and they ſaide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I ſaw appeare through the gowne was a beaſt, but what beaſt they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked vpon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee ſeene: and then at the laſt the Prieſt lifted vp his head with his ſhoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their ſeruice which I ſawe during the ſpace of certaine houres: but how they doe worſhip their Idoles that I ſaw not: for they put vp their ſtuffe for to remoue from that place where they lay. And I went to him that ſerued the Prieſt, and asked him what their God ſaide to him when he lay as dead. Hee anſwered, that his owne people doeth not know, neither is it for them to know: for they muſt doe as he commanded. This I ſaw the fift day of Ianuarie in the yere of our Lord 1556, after the Engliſh account.

A diſcourſe of the honourable receiuing into England of the firſt Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Ruſſia, in the yeere of Chriſt 1556, and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene *Marie*, ſeruing for the third voyage to *Moſcouie*. Regiſtred by Maſter *Iohn Incent* Protonotarie.

IT is here recorded by writing and autenticall teſtimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to poſteritie in time to come, that whereas the moſt high and mightie Iuan Vaſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſcouia and Nouogrode, Emperor of Caſſan, and of Aſtrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie, and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Roſtoskie, Yeraſlaueskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord ouer all thoſe partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, folowing the account of yͤ Latin church, 1556. ſent by the ſea from the port of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, his right honorable ambaſſador ſirnamed Oſep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the moſt famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Haſpurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambaſſador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with certain preſents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifeſt argument and token of a mutual amity and friendſhip to be made and continued betweene their maieſties & ſubiects reſpectiuely, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of July imbarked and ſhipped in, and vpon a good Engliſh ſhip named the Edward Bonauenture, belonging to the Gouernor, Conſuls and company of Engliſh marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland maſter of the ſaid ſhip. In which was laden at the aduenture of the foreſaid Ambaſſador, and marchants at ſeuerall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in ware, traneople, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and ſuchlike, to the ſumme of 20000. li. ſterling, together with 16. Ruſſies attendant vpon the perſon of the ſaid Ambaſſador. Ouer and aboue ten other Ruſſies ſhipped within the ſaid Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ſhip to the ſaid company alſo belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the ſaid Orators & marchants to the value of 6000. lib. ſterling, as by the inuoiſes and letters of lading of the ſaid ſeueral ſhips (whereunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ſhips comming in good order into the ſeas, & trauerſing the ſame in their iourney towards the coaſt of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempeſts of weather ſeuered the one from the other, that is to ſay, the ſaide Bona Speranza with two other Engliſh ſhips alſo appertaining to the ſaide company, the one ſirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coaſt of Norway, into Drenton water, where the ſaide Confidentia was ſeene to periſh on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie perſons ſeemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this preſent day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our

Foure ſhips.

Lord,

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Bay of Pettiſlego, Nouemb. 7. 1556.

Lord one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſeuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauerſing the ſeas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of Nouember of the aforeſaide yeere of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred, fiftie and ſixe, arriued within the Scottiſh coaſt in a Bay named Pettiſlego, where by outragious tempeſts, and extreme ſtormes, the ſaid ſhip being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the rockes on ſhore, where ſhe brake and ſplit in pieces in ſuch ſort, as the grand Pilot vſing all carefulneſſe for the ſafetie of the bodie of the ſayde Ambaſſadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the ſaid ſhip, truſting to attaine the ſhore, and ſo to ſaue and preſerue the bodie, and ſeuen of the companie or attendants of the ſaide Ambaſſadour, the ſame boat by rigorous waues of the ſeas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein periſhed not only the bodie of the ſaid grand Pilot, with ſeuen Ruſſes, but alſo diuers of the Mariners of the ſayd ſhip: the noble perſonage of the ſaide Ambaſſadour with a fewe others (by Gods preſeruation and ſpeciall fauour) onely with much difficultie ſaued. In which ſhipwracke not onely the ſaide ſhippe was broken, but alſo the whole maſſe and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the Countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, ſpoyled and caried away, to the manifeſt loſſe and vtter deſtruction of all the lading of the ſaid ſhip, and together with the ſhip, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thouſand pounds, of all which was not reſtored toward the coſts and charges to the ſumme of fiue hundred pound ſterling.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As ſoone as by letters addreſſed to the ſaid companie, and in London deliuered the ſixt of December laſt paſt, it was to them certainely knowen of the loſſe of their Pilote, men, goods and ſhip, the ſame merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maieſties moſt gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the ſaide Ambaſſadour, his traine and companie, with preſeruation and reſtitution of his goods, as in ſuch miſerable caſes, to Chriſtian pitie, princely honour and meere Iuſtice appertaineth, but alſo addreſſed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie and eſtimation, videlicet, Maſter Lawrence Huſſie Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requiſites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, aſſiſt, and relieue him and his there, and alſo to conduct the Ambaſſadour into England, ſending with them by poſte a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the ſeruice of the ſayde Ambaſſadour, truſting thereby to haue the more ample and ſpeedie redreſſe of reſtitution: which perſonages vſing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the ſaide moneth of December, who firſt viſiting the ſaide Ambaſſadour, declaring the cauſes of their comming and Commiſſion, ſhewing the letters addreſſed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his ſolace and furniture of all ſuch things as hee woulde haue, together with their daily and readie ſeruice to attend vpon his perſon and affaires, repaired conſequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon they receiued gentle anſweres, with hope and comfort of ſpeedie reſtitution of the goods, apparell, iewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene ſent firſt certaine Commiſſioners with an Harold of armes to Pettiſlego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all ſuch perſons (no degree excepted) as had any part of ſuch goods as were ſpoyled and taken out or from the ſhip to bring them in, and to reſtore the ſame with ſuch further order as her grace by aduiſe of her Councel thought expedient: by reaſon whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) diuers ſmall parcels of Ware, and other ſmall trifling things of no value, were by the poorer ſort of the Scottes brought to the Commiſſioners, but the Iewels, rich apparell, preſents, gold, ſiluer, coſtly furres, and ſuch like, were conueyed away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the requeſt of the ſaid Ambaſſadour, cauſed diuers perſons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called perſonally before her princely preſence, to anſwer to ẏ ſaid ſpoile, & really to exhibit and bring in all ſuch things as were ſpoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the ſame, whereof not onely good teſtimonie by writing was ſhewed, but alſo the things themſelues found in the hands of the Scottiſh ſubiects, who by ſubtile and craftie dealings, by conniuence of the commiſſioners, ſo vſed or rather abuſed themſelues towards the ſame Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall reſtitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of February next enſuing, diſtruſting any reall and effectual rendring of the ſaide goods and marchandizes and other the premiſſes, vpon leaue obtained of the ſaide Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the ſaid two Engliſh Gentlemen and others (leauing neuertheleſſe in Scotland three Engliſhmen to purſue the deliuerie of ſuch things as were collected to haue bene ſent by ſhip to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not before

His departure from Scotland towards England.

befor imbarked for London, was not at this preſent day here arriued) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maieſties letters and commandement honourably receiued, vſed and interteined by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the Eaſt marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly iourneys done ordinarily did lie, in ſuch order, maner and forme, as to a perſonage of ſuch eſtate appertaineth. He proſecuting his voyage vntil the 27. of Februarie approched to the citie of London within twelue Engliſh miles, where he was receiued with fourſcore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men ſeruants in one vniforme liuerie, as alſo in and vpon good horſes and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants houſe foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of gold, veluet and ſilke, with all furniture thereunto requiſite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, repoſing himſelfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the laſt day of Februarie, he was by the merchants aduenturing for Ruſſia, to the number of one hundred and fortie perſons, and ſo many or more ſeruants in one liuerie, as abouesaid, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the Foxe and ſuch like ſport ſhewed him, but alſo by the Queenes maieſties commandement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viſcount Montague, ſent by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with diuers luſtie knights, eſquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horſes led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was preſented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimſon veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furniſhed in moſt glorious faſhion, of the preſent, and gift of the ſayde merchants: where vpon the Ambaſſadour at inſtant deſire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the firſt limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their ſkarlet did receiue him, and ſo riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viſcount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable perſonages riding before, and a large troupe of ſeruants and apprentiſes following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plauſibilitie of the people running plentifully on all ſides, and repleniſhing all ſtreets in ſuch ſort as no man without difficultie might paſſe) into his lodging ſituate in Fant church ſtreete, where were prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole houſe, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all ſorts, to furniſh and ſerue him at all meales, and other ſeruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, vntil the third day of May: during which time daily diuers Aldermen and the graueſt perſonages of the ſaid companie did viſite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his ſeruants, with al ſorts of Officers to attend vpon him in good ſort and condition, as to ſuch an ambaſſadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

1557. Febr. 27.

His honorable receiuing into the citie of London.

It is alſo to be remembred that at his firſt entrance into his chamber, there was preſented vnto him on the Queenes Maieſties behalfe for a gift and preſent, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth of tiſſue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raiſed with crimoſin veluet, a piece of crimoſin veluet in graine, a piece of purple veluet, a piece of Damaſke purpled, a piece of crimoſin damaſke, which he moſt thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreſhing and preparing himſelfe and his traine with things requiſite he abode, expecting the kings maieſties repaire out of Flanders into England, whoſe highneſſe arriuing the one and twentie of March, the ſame Ambaſſadour the fiue and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day twelue moneth he tooke his leaue from the Emperour his maſter) was moſt honourably brought to the King and Queenes maieſties court at Weſtminſter, where accompanied firſt with the ſaid Viſcount and other notable perſonages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Weſtminſter bridge, was there receiued with fiue lords, conducted into a ſtately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treaſurer, Priuie ſeale, Admirall, biſhop of Elie, and other Counſellers, hee was viſited and ſaluted: and conſequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maieſties preſence, ſitting vnder a ſtately cloth of honour, the chamber moſt richly decked and furniſhed, and moſt honourably preſented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the ſame made both in Engliſh and Spaniſh, in moſt louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainment, in ſight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies eftſoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the aſſignement of the King and Queenes maieſties, repaired and conferred with him ſecretly two graue Counſellers, that is, the lord Biſhop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretarie to their Highneſſe, who after diuers ſecret talkes and conferences, reported to their highneſſe their proceedings, the grauitie, amitie, wiſedome, and ſtately behauiour of the ſayd Ambaſſadour, in ſuch ſort as was much to their maieſties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed vnder the great ſeale of England.

Finally concluding vpon ſuch treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maieſties moſt graciouſly vnder the great ſeale of England to him by the ſayd counſellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The three and twentieth of April, being the feaſt of S. George, wherein was celebrated the ſolemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Weſtminſter, the ſame lord ambaſſadour was eftſoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the ſayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their maieſties preſence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both giuen and receiued, hee moſt honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with ſpecial honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens maieſties, in the ſight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a ſtately ſeate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords laſt aboue mentioned, and many other honorable perſonages, was preſent at the whole ſeruice, in ceremonies which were to him moſt acceptable: the diuine ſeruice ended, he eftſoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and ſo repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuerſally, as before.

Foure goodly ſhips of the merchants prouided for Ruſſia, 1557.

The time of the yeere haſting the profection and departure of the Ambaſſador, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed ſhippes laden with all kinds of merchandiſes apt for Ruſſia, the ſame Ambaſſadour making prouiſion for ſuch things as him pleaſed, the ſame ſhips in good order valed downe the Riuer of Thames, from London to Graueſend, where the ſame Ambaſſadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God proſper in all felicitie.

It is alſo to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the ſayd Ambaſſadour in England, the Agents of the ſayde marchants did not onely proſecute and purſue the matter of reſtitution in Scotland, and cauſed ſuch things to be laden in an Engliſh ſhippe hired purpoſely to conuey the Ambaſſadours goods to London, there to be deliuered to him, but alſo during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worſhipfull mens houſes, feaſting and banquetting him right friendly, ſhewing vnto him the moſt notable and commendable ſights of London, as the kings palace and houſe, the Churches of Weſtminſter and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and ſuch like memorable ſpectacles. And alſo the ſaid 29. day of April, the ſaid merchants aſſembling themſelues together in the houſe of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gaue vnto yͤ ſaid Ambaſſador, a notable ſupper garniſhed with muſicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was ſignified to him that the whole company with moſt liberal and friendly hearts, did frankly giue to him and his all maner of coſts and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and vntill ſetting of ſaile aboord the ſhip, requeſting him to accept the ſame in good part as a teſtimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tenderneſſe towards him and his countrey.

It is to be conſidered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this preſent day, nor yet of the arriuall of the ſhips or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambaſſadour departed from London to Graueſend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard ſet him aboord the noble ſhippe, the Primroſe Admiral to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both ſides and parts, after many imbracements and diuers farewels not without expreſſing of teares.

The King and Queens ſend letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

Memorandum, that the firſt day of May the Counſellers, videlicet, the Biſhop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Maieſties repairing to the lorde Ambaſſadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highnes letters of recommendations vnder the great ſeale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but alſo on their maieſties behalfe gaue and deliuered certaine notable preſents to the Emperours perſon, and alſo gifts for the lord Ambaſſadours proper vſe and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with ſuch further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their ſubiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maieſties haue ſhewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, ſo haue likewiſe the merchants and fellowſhip of the Aduenturers, for and to Ruſſia, manifeſted to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commenſed voyage, as by the diſcourſe aboue mencioned, and other the notable actes ouer long to be recited in this preſent memoriall, doeth and may moſt clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any preſident or hiſtorie to bee ſhewed.

Foraſmuch as it may bee doubted how the ſhip named the Edward Bonauenture ſuffered ſhipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were ſpoiled and deteined, how little reſtored, what charges and expenſes enſued, what perſonages were drowned, how the reſt of the ſhips either arriued or periſhed, or howe the diſpoſition of almightie God hath wrought his pleaſure in them, how the ſame ambaſſadour hath bene after the miſerable caſe of ſhipwracke in Scotland unreuerently abuſed, and conſequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vſed, honoured, and finally in good ſafetie towards his returne, and repaire furniſhed, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly diſmiſſed, to the intent that the trueth of the premiſſes may bee to the moſt mightie Emperour of Ruſſia ſincerely ſignified in eſchewment of all euents and miſfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambaſſadours perſon, traine, and goods, this preſent memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the ſayde Ambaſſadour his ſeruants, whoſe names be vnderwritten, and traine in preſence of the Notarie, and witneſſes vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which inſtrument into euery of the ſayde Shippes one teſtimoniall is deliuered, and the firſt remaineth with the ſayde Companie in London.

Giftes ſent to the King and Queenes Maieſties of England *by the Emperour of Ruſsia, by the report of the Ambaſſadour, and ſpoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.*

1 Firſt, ſixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Luſarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, ſixe large and great ſkinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for worthineſſe.
6 Item, a large and faire white Ierfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Gooſe, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of ſiluer, the hoopes gilt, vſed for a lure to call the ſayd Hawke.

Giftes ſent to the Emperour of Ruſsia by the King and *Queenes Maieſties of England.*

1 Firſt, two rich pieces of cloth of Tiſſue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Brigandines with a Murrian couered with Crimſon veluet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Giftes giuen to the Ambaſſadour at his departure, ouer and *aboue ſuch as were deliuered vnto him at his firſt arriuall.*

1 Firſt, a chaine of golde of one hundred pounds.
2 Item, a large Baſon and Ewer, ſiluer and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all ſuch Ruſsies as were attendant vpon the *Ambaſſadour, at and before his departure out of England.*

Iſaak Fweſſchepeke.
Demetre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroſſia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the houſe of the worſhipfull Iohn Dinmocke Citizen and Draper of London, ſituate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the aboue named honourable Oſep Gregorywich Napea Ambaſſadour and Orator aboue mentioned, perſonally conſtituted and preſent, hauing declared vnto him by the mouth of the right worſhipfull maſter Anthonie Huſſie Eſquire, the effect of the cauſes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Beſt his interpreter ſworne, recognized, and knowledged in preſence of me the Notarie & perſonages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, aſwell for his owne perſon as for his ſeruants aboue named, who did not ſubſcribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the ſame. In witneſſe whereof, I Iohn Incent Notarie Publike, at the requeſt of the ſaid Maſter Anthonie Huſſie, and other of the Marchants haue to theſe preſents vnderwritten ſet my accuſtomed ſigne, with the Subſcription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being preſent the right Worſhipfull,

Andrew Iudde. } Knights. } Aldermen of London.
George Barne. } Knights. } Aldermen of London.
William Cheſter. } Knights. } Aldermen of London.
Raſe Greeneaway. } Aldermen of London.
Iohn Merſh Eſquier.
Iohn Dimmock.
Blaſe Sanders.
Hubert Huſſie, and
Robert Beſt aboue mentioned.

The voyage of the foreſaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from *Colmogro to Wardhouſe, which was ſent to ſeeke the Bona Eſperanza, the Bona Confidentia*, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

23 Vpon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compaſſe, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the Eaſt.

26 Wedneſday we came to the Iland called Pozanka, which Iland is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua. It floweth here at an Eaſt and by South Moone full ſea.

29 Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berôzoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and ſounded the ſaid Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the beſt vpon the ſhoaldeſt of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth vpon this barre, in ſpring ſtreames 3. foote water: and an Eaſt Moone maketh a full ſea vpon this barre.

30 Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the ſhoalds in fiue fadome, vntill I had ſight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee caſt about to the Coia Reca. Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt, and betweene

twene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coſcaynos. Coſcaynos & the middes of the Iſland called Mondeuſtoua oſtroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South and by Eaſt, North and by Weſt, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may ſay from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coſcaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

Coſcaynos.

Munday at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne we were thwart of Coſcaynos. 31

Dogs noſe lieth from Coſcaynos Northnorthweſt, and betweene them are eight leagues: and Dogs noſe ſheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both ſides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs noſe there ſtandeth a croſſe alone.

Iune.

FRom Dogs noſe to Forenoſe are three leagues, North and by Weſt. 1

The 2. day of Iune I went on ſhoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs noſe, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a ſhoare at this place, at an Eaſt Moone full ſea, and the ſhippe lay thwart to wende a flood in the off, at a Southſoutheaſt moone. So that it is to be vnderſtoode, that when it is a full ſea on the ſhoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compaſſe at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the Eaſt. 2

Dogs noſe. The variation of the Compaſſe 4. degrees.

This day the Northnorthweſt winde put vs backe againe with Dogs noſe, where a ſhip may ride thwart of a ſalt houſe, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landfange for a North and by Weſt winde: which Salt houſe is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs noſe. 3

Friday at a Southſouthweſt Sunne, wee departed from this Salt houſe. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs noſe there growe no trees on the banke by the water ſide: and the bankes conſiſt of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe ſome trees: ſo that Dogs noſe is the better to be knowen becauſe it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not ſeene in all that Countrey. 4

A head of Fore noſe a league from the ſhoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Fore noſe and Zolaticſa there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Fore noſe.

Fore noſe.

Sunday I ſounded the barre of Zolsticſa, which the Ruſſes told me was a good harborow, but in the beſt of it I found but 4. foote water. 6

Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecoſt ſixe leagues South of vs. 7

Poynt Pentecoſt.

Wedneſday I went on land at Croſſe Iſland, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24. minutes. 9

Croſſe Iſland.

We being one league Northeaſt of Croſſe Iſland, I ſawe the land on the Eaſtſide, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eaſtſoutheaſt of vs 9. leagues.

Cape good fortune.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeaſt from Croſſe Iſland.

There are 2. Iſlands 5. leagues Northnortheaſt from Cape grace, the Southermoſt of them is a little long Iſland almoſt a mile long, and the Northermoſt a little round Iſland, and they are both hard aboord the ſhore.

Cape grace.

Cape Race is from the Southermoſt Iſland North and by Weſt, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthweſt, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Ruſſes haue a Stanauiſh or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Weſtwards of the ſaid poynt, there is a ſhoale bay.

Cape Race.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the ſhoare in this latitude I found it to be a full ſea at a North and by Eaſt moone. I had where we rode two and twentie fadome, and the tallow which is taken vp is full of great broken ſhels, and ſome ſtones withall like vnto ſmall ſand congealed together. 10

From a South ſunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by Eaſt, wee driued to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ſhips head to the Eaſtwards. And then when we caſt her head to the Weſtwards, we ſounded, and had 22. fadome broken ſhels, and gray ſand; this preſent day was very miſtie, with froſt on the ſhrowds as the miſt fell.

Froſt in Iune.

Friday in the morning at an Eaſt ſunne, the miſt brake vp a little, the winde being at North and by Weſt a ſtiffe gale, our ſhrowdes and roapes ouer head being couered with froſt, and likely to be a ſtorme: I thought it good to ſeeke an harborow, and ſo plied roome with the Iſlands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within theſe Iſlands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at theſe Iſlands two fadome water: it floweth in the

Tri Oſtroue. harborow at this place at a Southſoutheaſt moone ful ſea: and a ſea boord it floweth at a Southſouthweſt moone a full ſea. The Ruſſes call this Iſland, Tri Oſtroue.

You may come in betweene the little Iſland and the great Iſland, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any ſide, let it bee on the greateſt Iſland; and you ſhall haue at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be ſhot ſo farre in as the narroweſt, which is betweene the Northermoſt point of the greateſt Iſland, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right againſt it, and then hale to the Northwards with the croſſe which ſtandeth in the maine, and you ſhall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire ſand. And if you be diſpoſed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northweſt ſhoare aboorde, for on the Iſland ſide after you be ſhotte ſo farre in as the croſſe, it is a ſhoale of rockes halfe the ſound ouer: which rockes do laſt vnto the Southerly part of the great Iſland, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be conſtrained to ſeeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the ſea, hale in with the Southerly part of the great Iſland, giuing the Iſland a faire birth, and as you ſhoote towards the maine, you ſhall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, ſixe and ſeuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Alſo within this great Iſland (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a ſhip in: the great Iſland is almoſt a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16 Ice. The variation. This ſtorme of Northerly winde laſted vntill the *16.* of this moneth, and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on ſhore at the croſſe, and tooke the latitude, which is *66.* degrees, *58.* minutes, *30.* ſeconds: the variation of the Compaſſe 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the Eaſt.

17 Thurſday being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with ſailes and oares: wee ſtopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the ſhoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke ſand, and broken ſhels. And when the ſlake came wee wayed and made aboord to the ſhoare-wards, and had

18 within two cables length of the ſhoare, *eighteene* fadomes faire gray and blacke ſand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and ſo to the Weſtwards.

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Chriſti poynt, you may haue Landfang for a North and by Eaſt winde, and from that to the Weſtwards in 23. fadome almoſt a mile from ſhoare, and faire ſand, and amongſt the ſand little yong ſmall limpets, or ſuch like as growe vpon muſcles: and within two cables length and leſſe of the ſhoare are eighteene fadomes, and the ſounding aforeſaid, but the yong limpets more plentifull. It was a full ſea where we roade, almoſt a mile from ſhoare, at a South and by Weſt moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Chriſti point is the vttermoſt land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Weſtwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eaſtwards, and betweene them are ſixe leagues. Riding this day ſixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at North-

19 northweſt, with miſt and froſt, at noone the ſunne appeared through the miſt, ſo that I had the latitude in *67.* degrees, *29.* minutes.

21 Corpus Chriſti poynt. Munday we were thwart of Corpus Chriſti point, two leagues and a halfe from ſhoare, or rather more, where we ſounded, and had *36.* fadoms, and broken cocle ſhels, with brannie ſand, but the broken ſhels very thicke.

22 Cape Gallant. Tueſday in the morning we were ſhotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Ruſſes call Sotinoz. And as we were ſhot almoſt halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came vp at the Northweſt, and after to the Northwards, ſo that we were faine to beare roome to ſeeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the leaſt 7. fadome water betweene S.Iohns Iſlands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was *68.* degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of ſnowe.

At a Weſt ſunne there came aboord vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of ſixteene perſons, and amongſt them there were two wenches, and ſome of them could ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue: I aſked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, beſides women and children, but a litle from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to ſeeke meate among the rockes, ſaying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I ſawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth graſſe when ſhee is hungrie. I ſawe them alſo eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes alſo that were in the egges.

I obſerued certaine wordes of their language, which *I thought good to ſet downe for their vſe, that hereafter ſhall haue occaſion to continue* this voyage.

Cowghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Auanchythocke, get thee hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrue, good morrowe.
Iomme lemauſes, I thanke you.
Paſſeuellie, a friend.
Olmuelke, a man.
Capeella, a woman.
Alke, a ſonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a noſe.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannes, teeth.
Neughreema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallee, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Kear, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a ſhirt.
Tol, fire.
Keatſe, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Ariea, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyue, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peyuezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laſte, ſtarres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, ſleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieue, a weeke.
Iſckie, a yeere.
Keſſe, Sommer.
Talue, Winter.
Iowkſam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatykye, a ſtone.
Sellowpe, ſiluer.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.
Veskue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybx, a knife.
Axſhe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Ieauegoat, meale.
Pencka, the winde.
Iowte, a platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keeſtes, gloues.
Sapege, ſhoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatſa, the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of number are theſe as followeth.

Ofte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Keydeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Oſtretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.
Vittie nombelocke,	15.
Cowtenombelocke,	16.
Keydamnombelocke,	17.
Kaſts nombelocke,	18.
Owght nombelocke,	19.
Coffreylocke,	20.
Colmelocke,	30.
Nelly locke,	40.
Vitte locke,	50.
Cowtelocke,	60.
Keydemlocke,	70.
Kafftelocke,	80.
Oughcheteloke,	90.
Tewet,	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Iohns Iland: to the Weſtwards thereof, a mile from the ſhoare, we ſounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie ſand,

Iuana Creos.

Iuana Creos is from Cape gallant Weſtnorthweſt, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Iſland, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northweſt and by North, and almoſt the 3. part of a point to the Weſtwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S.Georges Iſlands.

Cape comfort.

The Eaſtermoſt of S.Georges Iſlands, or the 7. Iſlands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northweſt, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The vttermoſt of the 7. Iſlands, & Cape comfort lieth Northweſt, & by North, Southeaſt, and by South.

Vnder the Southermoſt Iſland you ſhall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northweſt to the Northeaſt. From the Southeaſt part of the 7. Iſlands, vnto the Northweſt part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

S.Peters Iſlands.

From the Northweſt part of the Iſlands aforeſaid, vnto S.Peters Iſlands, are 11. leagues Northweſt.

26 S.Peters Iſlands riſe an indifferent low point, not ſeeming to be an Iſland, and as if it had a caſtle vpon it.

S.Pauls Iſlands.

S.Pauls Iſlands lie from S.Peters Iſlands Northweſt and to the Weſtwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within theſe Iſlands there is a faire ſandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere.

Cape Sower beere lyeth from S.Pauls Iſlands Northweſt and by Weſt, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Kildina.

Cape comfort, which is the Iſland of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues Weſt Northweſt, and it is altogether a bay betweene them ſeeming many Iſlands in it.

Cape Bonauenture.

From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northweſt, and a litle to the Weſtwards. Chebe Nauoloche is a faire point, whereon ſtandeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butte ſtanding a head.

Kegor.

From Chebe Nauoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northweſt, and halfe a poynt to the Weſtwards, Kegor riſeth as you come from the Eaſtwards like 2. round hommocks ſtanding together, and a faire ſadle betweene them.

Domſhaff.

27 It floweth where we rode this Munday to the Eaſtwards of Kegor, at a Southeaſt and by Eaſt moone, a full ſea: we rode in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the ſhoare: at a Northweſt Sunne the miſt came downe ſo thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within leſſe then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the ſounding like to the ſkurfe of a ſkalde head.

Wardhouſe.

| Which were the Bona Eſperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Whereof the two firſt were loſt.

28 Munday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouſe, although it were very miſtie. Then I ſent a man a ſhoare to know ſome newes, and to ſee whether they could heare any thing of our | ſhips.

29 Tueſday I went on ſhoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himſelfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they ſaid that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northweſt and by North ſunne we departed from Wardhouſe, toward Colmogro.

| Or, Dronton.

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia caſt away.

30 Wedneſday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at Eaſt Southeaſt, ſo that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Weſtwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. ſmall ſhips, that ſhall not drawe paſt 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an Eaſt Northeaſt winde is the worſt. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds frõ the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we ſaw there a barke which was of | Dronton, & three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: ſo when I came a ſhoare, I met firſt with the Dutchmen, amongſt whom was the Borrow-maſters ſonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he ſhewed me that the Confidence was loſt, and that he had bought her ſailes for his ſhip. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I ſawe the Lappians chepen of the ſaid Dutchmen, both ſiluer platters and diſhes, ſpoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of ſiluer & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necks, with ſiluer chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie ſtrong beere, I am certaine that our Engliſh double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would laſt.

Here I ſawe the Dutchmen alſo haue courſe cloth, both blew, greene and reede, and ſo horſe-fleſh colour. And hither they bring alſo Otters caſes and foxe caſes, both blacke and redde: our Engliſh foxe caſes are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderſtand any of their priſes, but as I otherwiſe vnderſtood they bartered 2. load of ſiluer for 100 of ſtockfiſh, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they had made a notable good yeere this preſent yeere 1557. They tolde me that they ſhould be faine to goe to Wardhouſe with one lading, and lay it on land there, and ſo come againe and fetch another. The Dutch maſter ſent vnto me, that he would go to Amſterdam with his lading of ſtockfiſh, who gaue me a barrell of ſtrong beere, and brought it in aboord our ſhip himſelfe.

After this I went among the Ruſſes and Kerils, who offered me fiſh to ſell, and likewiſe the Lappians deſired me to looke vpon their fiſh. I made them anſwere, that I had now no wares nor money to barter with them, and ſaid that I came only to ſee if I might meete with our Engliſh ſhips. Then they deſired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I ſaid to them, If I ſhould come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fiſh ynough to ſerue the Dutchmen and vs alſo. They anſwered me, that if more ſhips did reſort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fiſh: and further they ſaid, that ſome of them came thither a fiſhing 8. weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more ſpeedily then horſes will.

A gainefull trade of fiſhing at Kegor.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Ruſſia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) ſent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar ſalutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ſhips came thither. I anſwered him, becauſe we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then ſaid he, If you will come hither, here would more people reſort to kill fiſh. I thinke it good (ſaid he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one Engliſh ſhip ſhould come thither.

Becauſe I ſawe the ſeruants of the king of Denmarke there alſo gathering the tribute, I asked Vaſilie Pheodorouich the Ruſſe deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we ſhould come to this Kegor. And he ſaid, no, they ſhould not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians ſolde no fiſh, vntill the ſaid deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to ſell. I asked him what wares were beſt for vs to bring thither, and he ſaid, ſiluer, pearles, cloth, blewe, red, and greene, meale, ſtrong beere, wine, pewter, fine caſes, and golde.

Commodities for Kegor.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Ruſſia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the Riuer Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we ſhould haue great plentie of ſalmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Ruſſia: for then poore men would reſort thither to kill ſalmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, becauſe they could not ſell all their fiſh, and that which they ſold was as pleaſed the Dutchmen, and at their owne price. I asked the Kerils at what price they ſold their fiſh to the Ruſſes, & they ſaid good cheape: wee ſell 24. fiſhes for 4. altines. I thinke they ſolde little aboue 20. pence, the 25. fiſhes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the beſt ſtockfiſh is made at Kegor. I ſawe at Vaſilies tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes here, with their quiuers of arrowes, & likewiſe ſwords with other weapons: Otherwiſe I ſawe no weapons there.

I was alſo conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I ſawe a paire of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they ſaid no, but onely for their owne company if they ſhould chance to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be truſted, for they will ſteale as well as the Ruſſes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, becauſe the winde was ſcant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eaſtwards of the point Kegor, and ſent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their prouiſion.

Inſtructions giuen to the Maſters and Mariners to be obſerued in *and about this Fleete, paſſing this yeere 1577. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in* Ruſſia, for this preſent Race to be made & returne of the ſame by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right diſcharge, as in the Articles enſuing is deduced.

First, it is accorded and agreed betweene the ſeuerall proprietaries and owners, maſters and companies of the foure ſhips, ſurnamed the Primroſe, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Conſuls, aſſiſtants and companie of the Marchant aduenturers, that the aboue named foure ſhips ſhall in good order and conſort, ſaile, paſſe, and trauaile together in one fleete, going, and conſerue of ſocietie, to be kept inuiolably and not to be ſeuered, but within continuall ſight, ſo farre foorth as (by winde & weather) by poſſibilitie ſhall or may be without any ſeparation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ſhip named the Primeroſe, ſhalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Ienkinſon Gentleman, ſhalbe Captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ſhips ſhall enſue and folow her in all courſes, and that no courſe nor waying (in harborough eſpecially) ſhall be made without aduice, conſent and agreement of the ſayd Captaine, the Maſter, his mate, and two other officers of the ſaid ſhip, or of three of them at the leaſt.

3 Item, that the ſaid Anthonie is and ſhalbe reputed & taken for Captaine general of the ſaid flote together with all ſuch orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of ſeas is due and accuſtomed to a Captaine during his abode and exerciſe of the ſame.

4 It is alſo ordeined, that if any one or moe of the ſaid 3. ſhips ſhalbe out of ſight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the reſt of the ſhips ſhall tacke or take off their ſailes in ſuch ſort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the conſortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is conſtituted, that if any ſhips ſhalbe ſeuered by miſt or darke weather, in ſuch ſort as the one cannot haue ſight of the other, then and in ſuch caſe the Admiral ſhall make ſound and noiſe by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwiſe or meanes, that the ſhips may come as nigh together, as by ſafetie and good order they may.

6 It is alſo to be obſerued, that euery day once the other three ſhippes ſhall ſend and come aboord the Admirall, and there conſult and determine of ſuch matter and things as ſhall be for the aſſurance of their Nauigation, and moſt expedition of the ſame.

7 Item, that notes & entries be daily made of their Nauigations put in writing & memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & cauſed to learne and obſerue the ſame.

8 It is accorded that the ſaid Captaine ſhall haue the principall rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but alſo all other the ſailers, ſhalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reaſon appertaineth.

9 Alſo that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be ſpilt vpon the balaſt, or other place of the ſhip, whereby any anoyance, ſtinke, or other vnſauorineſſe ſhall growe in the ſhippe to the infection or hurt of the perſons in the ſame.

10 Item, that the Captaine by diſcretion ſhall from time to time diſſhip any artificer or Engliſh ſeruingman or apprentice out of the Primroſe into any of the other three ſhips, and in lieu of him or them, take any ſuch apprentice as he ſhall thinke conuenient and moſt meete to ſerue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great reſpect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eſchewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that ſingular care and reſpect be had to the ports of the ſhip, aſwell in Nauigation as in harborow, and eſpecially in lading and vnlading of the ſhippes, that nothing be lacking or ſurcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eſchuement of ſuch loſſes, as may enſue.

13 Special foreſight is to be had, that at the Wardhouſe no treacherie, inuaſion, or other peril of moleſtation be done or procured to be attempted to our ſhips by any kings, princes, or companies, that do miſlike this new found trade by ſeas to Ruſſia, or would let & hinder the ſame, whereof no ſmall boaſt hath bene made: which giueth occaſion of more circumſpection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will ſerue, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouſe then to come in and ancre there, leſt any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted againſt vs, our goods and ſhips as aboue.

15 It is thought good that Richard Iohnſon, late ſeruant to M. Chanceler, ſhall be ſent home in this next returne, to inſtruct the company of the ſtate of the Countrey, and of ſuch queſtions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertiſements and reſolutions, in ſuch doubtes as ſhall ariſe here: and that he ſhall haue the roome of the Captaine in ſuch ſort, as Maſter Ienkinſon is in this preſent cocket aſſigned vnto. And if Iohnſon can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the ſaid place, then any other perſon to be preferred thereunto, as by the diſcretion of our ſaid Captaine, with conſent of our Agents, ſhall be thought meete and apt to ſupply the ſame.

16 Prouided alway, that the ſhips returning be not diſfurniſhed of one ſuch able man, as ſhall occupie the Captainſhip in like order, as is, and hath bene in ſuch caſe appoynted, as reaſon and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuiſes, made and prouided for the good order of our ſhips, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diuerſe, to theſe articles, and the contents of the ſame, ſhall be, and ſtand in full force and effect, to be in all reſpects obſerued and kept of all and euery perſon and perſons, whom the ſame doth or ſhall touch or concerne.

In witneſſe of the premiſſes faithfully to be obſerued and kept,the owners and Maſters of the ſaid foure ſhips, together with the ſaid Captaine, to theſe ſeuenteene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper,haue ſubſcribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May,in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primeroſe.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Cheſter.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Caſteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangeliſt.
Andrew Iudde.
William Cheſter.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants aduenturers to *Ruſsia vnto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane* their Agents there, to be deliuered in Colmogro or els where: ſent in the Iohn Euangeliſt.

After our heartie commendations vnto you and to either of you: your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the ſale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we receiued about the ende of Nouember out of the Edward, with heauie newes of the loſſe of the ſayde good ſhippe and goods at Petſlego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embaſſadours ſeruants, and he himſelfe with nine of his ſeruants eſcaped very hardly onely by the power of God: but all his goods and ours in maner were loſt and pilfered away by the Scots,and that that is ſaued is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will ſkant pay the charges for the recouering of it. No remedy but patience: and to pray to God to ſend vs better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiuing and entertaining of the Embaſſadour and his retinue ſince his comming to England at the king and Queenes Maieſties hands,with the Counſell & Lords of this Realme,and the Marchants that be free in Ruſſia with feaſting and beneuolence giuen him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke haue not bene ſeene nor ſhewed here of a long time to any Ambaſſadour. The Philip and Marie arriued here tenne dayes paſt: ſhee wintered in Norway. The Confidence is loſt there. And as for the Bona Eſperanza, as yet we haue no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading receiued in your generall letters we perceiue what wares are laden in them both. Your letters haue no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and ſirmed by you George Killingworth and Richard Gray: both it and the other Letters and Bookes came ſo ſore ſpoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You ſhall vnderſtand we haue fraighted for the parts of Ruſſia foure good ſhippes to be laden there by you & your order: That is to ſay, The Primeroſe of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Maſter vnder God Iohn Buckland: The Iohn Euangeliſt of 170. Tunnes, Maſter vnder God Laurence Roundal: The Anne of London of the burthen of 160.tunnes, Maſter vnder God Dauid Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140. Tunnes, Maſter vnder God Iohn Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare: which you may require to ſee for diuers cauſes. You ſhall receiue, God willing, out of the ſaid good ſhips, God ſending them in ſafety for the vſe of the Company, theſe kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25.fardels containing 207.ſorting clothes,one fine violet in graine,and one ſkarlet,and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1.and ending with number 52. The ſorting clothes may coſt the firſt peny 5.li.9.s.the cloth,one with the other. The fine violet 18.li.6.s.6.d. The ſkarlet 17.li.13.s.6.d. the cottons at 9.li.10.s.the packe,accompting 7.cottons for a packe.more 500.pieces of Hampſhire kerſies,that is 400.watchets,43.blewes,53.reds,15.greenes,5.ginger colours,and 2.yelowes which coſt the firſt penny 4.li.6.s.the piece,& 3.packes containing 21.cottons at 9.li.10.s. the packe: and part of the clothes is meaſured by Arſhines. More 9.barrels of Pewter of Thomas Haſels making,&c. Alſo the wares bee packed and laden as is aforeſayde, as by an Inuoyce in euery Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it ſhall pleaſe God

1557.

Wares ſent into Ruſſia out of England.

The Arſhine is a Ruſſe meaſure.

God to ſend the ſaid good ſhips to you in ſafetie, you are to receiue our ſaid goods, and to procure the ſales to our moſt aduantage either for ready money, time or barter: hauing conſideration that you doe make good debts, and giue ſuch time, if you giue any, as you may employ and returne the ſame againſt the next voyage; and alſo foreſeeing that you barter to a profit, and for ſuch wares as be here moſt vendible, as wexe, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we deſire no great plentie, becauſe they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wiſe you ſend any. And whereas you haue prouided tarre, and as as we ſuppoſe, ſome hempe ready bought, our aduiſe is, that in no wiſe you ſend any of them hither vnwrought, becauſe our fraight is 4. li. a tunne or little leſſe: which is ſo deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we haue ſent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their couenants here incloſed ſhall appeare. Whom we wil you ſet to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al ſorts, from the ſmalleſt rope to xii. inches: And that ſuch tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water ſide, they may there make it out, and after that you ſettle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you ſhall thinke good, where their ſtuffe may be neereſt to them: at which place and places you doe aſſigne them a principall ouerſeer aſwell to ſee the deliuerie of the ſtuffe vnwrought, as alſo to take charge of the ſtuffe wrought, & to foreſee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering; and alſo to furniſh them ſo with labourers, workemen and ſtuffe, as hereafter when theſe workmen ſhall come away, we be not deſtitute of good workmen, and that theſe may diſpatch as much as poſſibly they may, doing it ſubſtancially: for we eſteeme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counſel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence be vſed, that at the returne of theſe ſhippes we may ſee ſamples of all ropes & cables if it be poſſible, and ſo after to continue in worke, that we may haue good ſtore againſt the next yeere. Therefore they haue neede to haue a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them haue helpe ynough to ſpinne their ſtuffe: for ſeeing you haue great plentie of hempe there, and at a reaſonable price, we truſt we ſhalbe able to bring as good ſtuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently vſed, and haue a good ouerſeer.

7. Ropemakers ſent into Ruſſia.

Cables and Ropes a principall commoditie.

Danſke the old chiefe place for Cables.

Let the chiefeſt lading of theſe foure ſhippes be principally in wexe, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then theſe ſhips be able to take in, then leaue that which is leaſt in valew and groſſeſt in ſtowage vntill the next ſhipping: for wee doe purpoſe to ground our ſelues chiefly vpon theſe commodities, as wexe, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and ſome linen yarne. As for Maſts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any ſuch other like, they would not beare the charges to haue any, conſidering our deere fraight. We haue ſent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and ſee ſuch furres as you ſhall cheape or buye, not minding neuertheleſſe, that you ſhall charge your ſelues with many, except thoſe which bee moſt vendible, as good marterns, minuers, otherwiſe called Lettis, and Mynkes. Of theſe you may ſend vs plentie, finding them good and at a reaſonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not euery mans money: therefore you may ſend the fewer, vſing partly the diſcretion of the ſkinner in that behalfe.

Commodities not bearing the charges of long fraight.

Furres moſt vendible.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of ſteele in Ruſſia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you ſent vs part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what ſtore is to be had: for we heare ſay there is great plentie, and that the Tartars ſteele is better then that in Ruſſia. And likewiſe we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and ſend vs ſome for an example. Alſo we would haue you to certifie vs what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Reuel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Ruſſia, and ſend the ſkantlings of them with part of the liſts, and a full aduiſe of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be ſtrained or not: and what number of them may be vttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make prouiſion for them for the like ſortes, and all other Flemiſh wares which they bring thither and be moſt vendible there. And to certifie vs whether our ſet clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and ſhorne: becauſe oftimes they goe vndreſt. Moreouer, we will you ſend vs of euery commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then ſuch as is before declared. And likewiſe euery kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great ſtore bought yeerely by the Eſterlings and Duches for hie Almaigne and Germanie.

Steele.

Copper.

Wollen cloth of Rie and Reuel, of Poland and Lettowe.

Ruſſian lether.

More, that you doe ſend vs for proofe a quantity of ſuch earth, hearbes, or what thing ſoeuer it be, that the Ruſſes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and alſo part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it muſt be vſed in dying and colouring. Moreouer, that you haue a ſpeciall foreſight in the chuſing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie & conſume.

Things good to die withall.

Alſo that you certifie vs the trueth of the waights and meaſures, and howe they doe anſwere with ours, and to ſend vs 3. robles in money, that we may trie the iuſt value of them.

Ten yong men ſent into Ruſſia.

Alſo we doe ſend you in theſe ſhips ten yong men that be bound Prentiſes to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you ſhall there finde moſt apt and meete, ſome to keepe accompts, ſome to buy and ſell by your order and Commiſſion, and ſome to ſend abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for vnderſtanding and knowledge. And we will you ſend vs aduertiſement from time to time aſwell of the demeanours of our Prentiſes which we doe ſend now, as alſo of ſuch other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remiſſe, negligent, or otherwiſe miſuſe themſelues and will not be ruled, that then you doe ſend him home, and the cauſe why.

Henry Lane Agent.

And becauſe we doe perceiue the Countrey to be large, and that you haue three houſholds, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to ioyne with you in all your doings, and to haue like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray haue: not doubting but you three will ſo conferre together, as both our Prentiſes and others may be appoynted and diuided euery of them to his office, and to that he can beſt ſkill of: and you alſo ſo diuide your ſelues euery of you to an houſe, as by aduertiſement one from another, our buſineſſe and trafficke may take good ſucceſſe. And for diuers conſiderations, to auoyde many troubles and buſineſſe that might happen, wee haue appoynted that hee which ſhall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee moſt meeteſt Henry Lane) ſhall haue with him there ſuch of our yong men, as can beſt ſkill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there ſhall be the place, where our bookes ſhalbe kept: becauſe it is nearer the ſea ſide, where our goods ſhalbe diſcharged and our ſhips laden. And the ſaid Henry Lane to be charged with all ſuch goods as we ſhall diſcharge there out of our ſhips, according to our Inuoyces. Which goods are to be ſent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Moſco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt thẽ to be ſold, ſo that Henry Lane be one. And ſo frõ time to time immediatly as any thing is ſold, doe you certifie the ſame to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwiſe he ſhould be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ſhips, when he ſhould ſend vs the accompt of the whole yeere paſſed. And we will alſo that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next ſend either of you vnto Henry Lane a whole, perfit, & iuſt accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you haue ſolde and bought vntill that time, and what remaineth vnſolde: and alſo the accompt of all maner coſts of wares, and charges of you and the yong men vnder you particularly in ſuch ſort as the ſaid accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furtheſt: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite againſt the comming of our ſhips: and in any wiſe to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it ſelfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will haue you to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it ſelfe, euen ſo wee would haue all the whole coſtes and charges of euery yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the laſt yeere muſt be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere preſent, muſt in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wiſedome is ſuch, that you will not take it in euill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the reſt. For we doe it for none other cauſe, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the yonger man, may beſt take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of euery kinde of wares by it ſelfe, to the intent wee may perceiue wherein is our moſt gaine. And alſo in the making of your returne, in any wiſe name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the firſt, ſecond, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the ſame by the numbers or otherwiſe as you ſhall thinke good by your wiſedomes, putting the charges of the ſaide wares vnto them, as nigh as you can. And all ſuch money as ſhall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your diſcretion, where it ſhall remaine vntill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Moſco, or els where. And likewiſe wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readineſſe about the beginning of Iune euery yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere paſſed: in ſuch ſort that wee may receiue the ſame by our ſhippes: and that wee may plainely perceiue what ſales are made, and what remaineth of the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges haue bene layde out for the ſayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they coſt, and for what voyage euery parcell thereof is: and to ſend vs a copie of the ſame accompt in euery ſhippe. And alſo forasmuch as at this time we haue ſent you but ſmall ſtore of wares in compariſon of that we haue hope will bee vttered in ſhort ſpace, and yet neuertheleſſe much more then you wrote for, whereby there ſhall not be ſufficient to make any ample

The fourth voyage.

returne

The olde traffike of Ruſſia to Rie, Reuel and Poland turned to Saint Nicholas.

returne: and vnderſtanding that there is great quantitie of goods ſtayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue mooued the Embaſſador that you may haue credite for ſuch quantitie as ſhall ſeeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwiſe haue, we would you bought as much Wexe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey ſo great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the beſt commoditie we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may ſerue our owne countrey and others. Therefore ſeeing the Emperour doth minde, that ſuch commodities as bee in his dominions ſhall not paſſe to Rie and Reuel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reſerued for vs: therefore we muſt ſo lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to ſell, alwayes hauing conſideration in the price and time as our next diſpatch may correſpond. Whereof you may ſend a certaine aduiſe, as well what you ſhall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as alſo what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well conſidered, you may aduertiſe vs as well for how many hundreth tonnes we muſt prouide fraight againſt the next yeere, as alſo what ſortes, quantities and qualities of wares we ſhall ſend you, as well to pay your credite, as alſo to furniſh the next aduenture after. Of this we would be anſwered largely. For we truſt by this time you are able to giue full inſtructions of the ſtate of the countrey: according to the articles of your firſt Commiſſions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewiſe what of our cõmodities haue moſt vtterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requiſite and neceſſary to be knowen.

The articles of their firſt Commiſſion giuen 1555.

Leonard Brian ſent to ſearch out Yewe in the North parts of Ruſſia.

Alſo we doe vnderſtand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewiſe in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be deſirous to haue knowledge of, becauſe it is a ſpeciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee haue ſent you a yong man, whoſe name is Leonard Brian, that hath ſome knowledge in the wood, to ſhew you in what ſorte it muſt be cut and clouen. So our minde is if there be any ſtore, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie againſt the next yeere for the comming of our ſhippes: and if there can bee found none that will ſerue for our purpoſe, then you may ſet the ſayd Leonard Brian to any other buſineſſe that you ſhall finde moſt fitteſt for him, vntill the returne of our ſhips the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpoſe. We doubt not but that hee ſhall doe you good ſeruice there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene moſt in Danske, and hath good vnderſtanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Alſo we doe ſend you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readineſſe all ſuch caſke as ſhalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing elſe. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue ſuch Yewe as he ſhall like there. And becauſe we be not ſure what timber they ſhall finde there to make Caſke, we haue laden in theſe ſhips 140. tunnes emptie Caſke, that is 94. tunnes ſhaken Caſke and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thouſand hoopes, & 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bigneſſe of the Caſke they ſhall make. Neuertheleſſe, all ſuch Buttes and Hoggeſheads as may be found to ſerue we will ſhalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

2. Coopers ſent into Ruſſia.

Alſo we charge you that you ſuffer no goods nor marchandies of any perſons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wiſe in our ſhips either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embaſſadour minde to ſend any thing to the King and Queenes Maieſties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewiſe that you ſuffer any goods that goe in theſe ſhips to be brought on land there, except the Ambaſſadours goods, and the Phyſitions & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandiſe. And becauſe our ſhips be freighted by the great, it ſhalbe very needefull that you do appoynt certaine to ſee the romaging of the ſhips, and to giue the maſter or Boatſwaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to ſee the goods well romaged. If it be iii.d. or iiii.d. the tunne, it ſhall not be amiſſe. For if it be not ſubſtantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Alſo becauſe we reckon that from the Moſco will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occaſion ſhall ſerue, our Agents ſhall write to him that ſhall lie at Moſco of all things that ſhall paſſe, that hee may giue vs large inſtructions, aſwell what is ſolde and bought, as alſo what lading we ſhall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we ſhall ſend. For hitherto we haue had but a ſlender aduiſe, more like a bill to ſerue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to ſerue a kingdome. For we muſt procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, eſpecially the commodities of our Realme, although we afford a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and ſo to bring our ſelues and our commodities in eſtimation, and likewiſe to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and ſuch others, that other nations may bee ſerued by vs and at our hands. For wee doe vnderſtand that the greateſt quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Ruſſia. Therefore if wee ſhould buy part, and they alſo buy, it would raiſe the price there, and would bee litle worth here. And all ſuch letters of importance and ſecrecie as you doe ſend by land for any wares or otherwiſe, you muſt write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke ſent you in the ſhippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may vnderſtand them by the ſame booke heere, and to ſend them in ſuch ſort, that we may haue them here by Chriſtmas or Candlemas, if it be poſſible. And becauſe you cannot ſo certainly aduertiſe vs by letters of your doings, but ſome doubt may ariſe, whereof we would moſt gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with theſe ſhips you ſend vs home one ſuch yong man as is moſt expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can beſt certifie vs in ſuch queſtions as may be demanded, whome we will remit vnto you againe in the next ſhips. We thinke Arthur Edwards wil be fitteſt for that purpoſe: neuertheleſſe vſe your diſcretion in that matter.

The marchãts letters ouer land written in cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our ſhips at Colmogro and Vologda we truſt by this time they are reſtored againe, and the malefactors ſo puniſhed that other may take example for doing the like, otherwiſe it will be an euill preſident. Moreouer, wee doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy maſtes to ſend into England, they will not quit the coſtes, except we had a ſhip of purpoſe for them. And likewiſe that Steuen Burrow is returned from his diſcouerie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to ſet forth in the beginning of Iune next to ſeeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to ſpeede him well, and truſt to haue him here in England this yeere to bring vs good newes.

The voyag of Steuen Burrowe for the diſcouerie of the riuer of Ob.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot vpon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleaſure vnto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to diſcouer. Alſo we haue ſent you one Anthonie Ienkinſon Gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vſe in further trauelling, according to a Commiſſion deliuered him, ſubſcribed by maſter Anthonie Huſe and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of ſuch painfull young men as he ſhal thinke meeteſt for his purpoſe: and likewiſe ſuch money and wares as he ſhal think beſt to take with him. He muſt haue fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he will demaund it of you, ſo let him haue it from Eaſter laſt. Alſo the prices of wares here at this preſent are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at ſixteene ſhillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no ſhippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſon his firſt trauaile intended for Cathay by the Caſpian ſea and Boghar.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this preſent. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recouered out of the Edward Bonauenture: and nowe we doe perceiue that the caſke that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you ſhall lade it all in ſuch barrels of the bigger ſort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor ſmall. And that caſke that wee haue ſent may ſerue for the Tallow or anie other ware that is not leakage. Neuertheleſſe, this voyage you muſt take ſuch as you can get.

Good caſke made in Ruſſia.

Alſo if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any ſumme of money, or good Ware at as reaſonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you ſhall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our aduenture, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the ſhippes in Veluets, Sattens, or any other kinde of ſilke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tiſſue, or according as his Commiſſion ſhall bee that hee ſhall ſende vs in the ſhippes, and according to ſuch paternes as hee ſhall ſend. Wee doe not finde the Ambaſſadour nowe at the laſt ſo conformable to reaſon as wee had thought wee ſhoulde. Hee is very miſtruſtfull, and thinketh euerie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any ſuch, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to ſet them downe in writing. For they bee ſubtill people, and doe not alwaies ſpeake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themſelues. Therefore we would haue none of them to ſend any goods in our ſhippes at any time, nor none to come for paſſengers, vnleſſe the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforeſaid, for his owne perſon.

Alſo we charge you not to ſuffer any of our nation to ſend any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our ſhips; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwiſe: and to haue conſideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after ſixteene ſhillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth paſt 12, or 13, ſhillings ſterling.

Moreouer, you had neede to ſende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward bee marred and torne, ſo that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewiſe to write vs a perfect note of all the goodes which you receiued the laſt voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile.

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huſe.
William Garrard.
William Cheſter.

A Letter of Maſter *Thomas Hawtrey* to the worſhipfull Maſter *Henrie Lane* Agent at *Colmogro*, written in *Vologda* the 31. of Ianuarie 1557.

1557

Worſhipfull Sir, heartie commendations premiſed. Theſe may bee to aduertiſe you, that yeſterday the thirtieth of this preſent came hither Robert Beſt, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercouite, maſter Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for Iohn Sedgewicke hath bought for ſixe or ſeuen hundred robles worth at Nouogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercouite, and better cheape: and white Nouogrode flaxe is there at three robles the bercouite. I truſt hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe vnderſtand, Richard Iohnſon is gone to Nouogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Maſter Gray hath aduertiſed you of all their doings, both at the Moſco and at Nouogrod. And touching our doings heere, you ſhall perceiue that wee haue ſolde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie robles, beſides fiftie robles of the ſecond and third voyage ſince the giuing vp of my laſt account, and for wares of the Countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that I haue bought tried and vntried for 77. robles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, beſides foure hundred podes that I haue giuen out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in Lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I haue bought ſeuenteene bercouites, ſixe podes and ſixteene pound, which coſt 28. robles, eleuen altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I haue bought none as yet. And for maſtes to bee prouided, you ſhall vnderſtand that I wrote a letter to Totma the 28. of this preſent for fiftie maſtes, to wit, for 25. of fifteene fathoms, and 25. of foureteene fathoms, to be an arſhine and a halfe at the ſmall ende. And more, I haue written for 30. great trees to be two arſhines and a halfe at the ſmall end, and for the other that were prouided the laſt yeere, I truſt they ſhall be ſent downe in the ſpring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you ſhall vnderſtand that their abiding place ſhall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Maſter Gray hath aduertiſed you. For, as Roger Bontinge Maſter of the workes doeth ſay, there is no place more meete for their purpoſe then with you: and there it will be made with leſſer coſt, conſidering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to ſet one pale more to that, and ſo for to couer it ouer, which as they ſay, will be but little coſt. They doe pray that it may bee made ſixteene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long: and that in the midde way twentie foote from the pale towarde the water ſide there may be a houſe made to tarre in, ſtanding alone by it ſelfe for danger of fire. The Tarre houſe that they woulde haue made, is to bee fifteene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that houſe ſhould be made firſt: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they deſire that you will prouide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee haue ſmall ſtore, but when the time commeth that it ſhoulde be made, I will prouide as much as I can here, that it may bee ſent downe when the Naſade commeth. The ſtuffe that they haue readie ſpunne is about fiue thouſand waight, and they ſay that they truſt to haue by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in ciphers Maſter Gray hath written hither that Robert Auſten had one, which he willed that he ſhoulde deliuer to you. Thus I ſurceaſe, beſeeching God to preſerue you in health, and to ſend you your hearts deſire.

Iohn Sedgewick at Nouogrode.

Maſts of 30. yards.

An Arſhine is 3. quarters of a yard or more.

A rope houſe erected at Colmogro.

A tarre houſe.

Robert Auſten.

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

A Letter

A Letter of Maſter *Richard Gray* one of the firſt Agents of the *Moſcouie* companie to Maſter *Henrie Lane* at *Moſco*, written in *Colmogro* the 19. of Februarie 1558.

1558

WOrſhipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You ſhall vnderſtand that this Lent commeth to Lampas ſuch a number of men of diuers nations with wares, as hath not bene ſeene theſe ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Vgori: therefore I would haue bene there my ſelfe, and alſo haue receiued ſuch money as is owing vs in wares by Kerill his brother and Oſep Boſcouo. For as you well know, thence they will goe with their wares to the Moſco, and make vs payment with delayes, as they haue done theſe other yeeres paſt. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with ſeuen ſleddes laden with victuals. Others alſo are gone to that Mart. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I aſſure you ſince our comming to this countrey haue not ſo many perſons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Truſting that God will ſend good ſtore of traine oyle, I will cauſe as much caſke to bee in a readineſſe as I can, if you ſhall thinke it meete to ſend ſome money before. All our olde hempe is ſpunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the leaſt, and thirteene Hauſers from ſixe ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh while eight and twenty thouſande pounde weight and vpwarde. There is in hempe ockam fiue thouſand pound two hundred weight in twelue caſkes at the leaſt: the flaxe that came downe in the Naſſadaes with thoſe ſeuen podes that came laſt is all ſpunne with a good part of that hempe that came laſt. God ſend more ſhortly, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other ſleddes, will bee diſpatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within theſe few dayes I bought thirteen podes, ſeuen pound of hempe that coſt two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, ſhall bee laide in dipping and ſounding lines, for it is very good. There are ſpent aboue fiftie barrels of tarre alreadie: you ſhall vnderſtand that theſe eight workemen will ſpinne and lay aboue fourescore and tenne thouſand pound of hempe, ſo it bee dreſſed readie to their hands, hauing two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde vp. Therefore I haue agreed with theſe two boyes to ſerue the worſhipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth vp and is very apt to ſpinne: therefore I will haue two other young men Ruſſes to ſpinne, if they can finde good ſureties for their trueth. I haue bene in hand with theſe two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but vnder ſeuen pound a yeere they will not ſerue, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his ſeruant. Therefore I would haue three Ruſſes at the leaſt to ſpinne, fiue of them will be as good as theſe three, and will not be ſo chargeable all, as one of theſe would be. I thinke it were good that our Naſſada were ſomewhat ſtrengthened in her floore on both ſides with plankes of fiue or ſixe ynches thicke, from the ſtemme to the ſterne, as I haue written to Thomas Hawtrey at Vologda. Alſo if you ſhall ſo thinke meet, your ware and tallowe ſhall bee laden in two Doſnickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the ſhippes: I doe intend to ſet vp an houſe at Boroſeua ouer againſt the place whereas the ſhippes ſhall ride, your aduiſe therein I expect, it ſhall not coſt aboue three robles, and yet if we will, there ſhall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this preſent I haue not to trouble you withall, and if it would pleaſe you I would be glad to heare ſome good newes of Maſter Ienkinſon. Thus Ieſus be with you and be his guide.

Lampas a great mart for the Samoeds in the North.

What quantitie of hempe & workmen will worke in a yeere.

Poſtſcriptum.

As for theſe our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayled, but indeede are Iarfawkons. Theſe dayes paſt our Olen died. So this yeere our Maſters of the companie are like to haue none, nor any white beares. Neither may any paſſe out of the realme without a ſpecial licence from the Emperour.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or fiue kerſeys with me, but as for money there is ſmall ſtore here to carie.

White hawks & white beares prohibited without licence.

Maſter Grayes iourney to Lampas.

Yours, Richard Gray.

A Letter of *Thomas Alcocke* to the worſhipfull *Richard Gray*, and *Henrie Lane* Agents in *Moſcouia* from *Tirwill* in *Polonia*, written in *Tirwill* the 26. of Aprill 1558.

1558

MY duety premiſed vnto your worſhips, with cōmēdations &c. It may pleaſe you to be aduertiſed, ẏ my laſt I ſent frō Smoleſco, which I truſt you haue receiued wᵗ other letters to diuers of our Engliſh men, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as alſo of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Saterday the ſixe and twentieth of Februarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refreſh our horſes, intending to haue gone away on Munday earely. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at ſuch a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Moſco, and woulde ride to Danske, ſaying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent ridde to the King to ſhewe him thereof, ſo that without any delay there was ſent out for mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings houſe, and one of the Meſnickes of the Towne with ſixe Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left mee nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and ſo brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines houſe, where before I dyned, I had a payre of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I ſate vntill it was Munday in the Eaſterweeke. On which day, after long and earneſt calling to the Captaine as hee ridde by the windowe, hee commaunded the Marſhall that mine yrons ſhoulde be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I ſhould be deliuered out of captiuitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had before the Marſhall, who declared vnto me that the Kings Maieſtie had ſhewed his mercie and goodneſſe towardes mee: for his pleaſure was that I ſhould be deliuered out of priſon to depart into England, but no way elſe. So after I had giuen thankes for the Kings Maieſties goodneſſe ſhewed vnto me, I deſired him that he woulde be a meane that I might haue the remaynder of ſuch thinges as were taken from me reſtored vnto me againe. Hee made me anſwere, that I might thanke God that I eſcaped with my head, and that if euer there came any more of vs through the land, they ſhould not ſo doe. The weeke before Eaſter they deliuered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, fiue ſhillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Ruſſe money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Maſter Doctour Standiſhes, with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (Maſter Gray) that you ſent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns deliuered mee the thirde weeke of mine impriſonment to paye for my charges, which ſtoode mee in a Doller a weeke. So that at the day of my deliuerie I had but three gyldernes left me. For the reſt I made a ſupplication to the Captaine and had the like anſwere giuen mee as the Marſhall gaue me. So that all the reſt of the thinges before written are loſt, and no recouerie to bee had, which grieueth me more for the tokens ſakes then doeth mine eight weeks impriſonment. They haue alſo my ſword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolenſco, which coſt me foure marks, my ſled, my felt, the combold, a booke of the Flowres of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all theſe I can get nothing againe, not ſo much as my two bookes.

Doctor Standiſh the Emperours Phiſition.

After I had remayned there fiue and thirtie dayes, I was had before the Captaine vp into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cauſe of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lordes of Danske. They demaunded of mee where my letters were, I declared vnto them that I had none: your Officers (ſayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they ſearched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they ſhall finde them among my ſtuffe which they haue. They aſked mee then, for what cauſe I went home ouer lande? I declared vnto them, that the Winter beeing a warme ſeaſon, and hauing intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and ſuppoſing this Sommer it would be nauigable, I was onely ſent to prouide a Shippe to bee ſent to paſſe the ſayde Seas to diſcouer Cataia: which if God graunted wee might doe, it woulde not onely bee a commoditie to the Realme of Englande, but vnto all Chriſtian landes, by the riches that might bee brought from thence, if the hiſtories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the ſame voyage. Then he demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Ruſſia, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the ſame vnto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thouſandes of ordinance, as alſo of harneis, ſwordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them anſwere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred ſhirtes of mayle, ſuch olde thinges newe ſcowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moſcouia too long to commit to writing.

At my comming hither heere were Ambaſſadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as alſo out of Liefland to deſire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to ſtoppe all ſuch ſhippes as ſhoulde goe out of England for Moſcouia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their ſhippes. So that I am afraide that either theſe our enemies, or the great warres that we haue with France and Scotland will be an occaſion that you ſhall haue no ſhippes at Colmogro this yeere.

An attempt to hinder our trade to Moſcouia by the Hans townes & Eaſterlings.

To conclude, although I haue no tokens to deliuer them, that the tokens taken from me were ſent unto, yet I will declare unto them that I had tokens for them, with the miſchance. And thus I commit you to Almightie God with the reſt of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleaſure.

By yours to commaund
Thomas Alcocke.

A Letter of Maſter *Anthonie Ienkinſon* vpon his returne from *Boghar* to the worſhipful Maſter *Henrie Lane* Agent for the *Moſcouie* companie reſident in Vologda, written in the *Moſco* the 18. of September, 1559.

1559

WOrſhipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premiſed with moſt deſire to God of your welfare and proſperous ſucceſſe in all your affaires. It may pleaſe you to bee aduertiſed that the fourth of this preſent I arriued with Richard Iohnſon and Robert Iohnſon all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the inceſſant and continuall warres, which are in all theſe brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this preſent impoſſible to paſſe, neither went there any Carauan of people from Boghar that way theſe three yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene ſo miſerable, dangerous, and chargeable with loſſes, charges and expenſes, as my penne is not able to expreſſe the ſame: yet ſhall wee bee able to ſatiſfie the worſhipfull Companies mindes, as touching the diſcouerie of The Caſpian Sea, with the trade of merchandiſe to bee had in ſuch landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of thoſe Countries able to anſwere the principall with profite: wiſhing that there were vtterance for as great a quantitie of kerſies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the ſales of a ſmall quantitie, (all ſuch euill fortunes beeing eſcaped as to vs haue chaunced this preſent voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade worthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I truſt you will be here ſhortly (which I much deſire) I will deferre the diſcourſe with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, Iohn Lucke departed from hence toward England the ſeuenth of this preſent, and intendeth to paſſe by the way of Sweden, by whom I ſent a letter to the worſhipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe unto Colmogro to be readie there at the next ſhipping to imbarke my ſelfe for England, declaring that my ſeruice ſhal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to ſerue their worſhips in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, ſo farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Chriſtopher Hudſons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but litle buſineſſe to doe, I ſend you Richard Iohnſon to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you moſt heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who ſend you health with hearts deſire.

Maſter Ienkinſons voyage intended for Cathay.

The diſcouery of the Caſpian ſea.

Paſſage to and from Moſcouia by Sweden.

This was a yong Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterward.

Your aſſured to command,
Anthonie Ienkinſon.

A Letter of the *Moſcouie* companie to their Agents in *Ruſſia*, Maſter *Henrie Lane*, *Chriſtopher Hudſon*, and *Thomas Glouer* ſent in their ſeuenth voyage to Saint *Nicholas* with three ſhips, the *Swallowe*, the *Philip* and *Marie*, and the *Ieſus* the fifth of May, 1560.

AFter our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the laſt moneth here arriued in ſafety, thanks be to God, our two ſhips, & by them we receiued your letters & inuoices very

well

Tallowe.

Waxe.

well perceiuing what you haue laden in them. The tallowe came euill conditioned and broken, by reaſon it came in Corrobias, wee loſe and ſpoyle more then the Caſke will coſt, and much of this tallowe is verie euill, blacke, ſoft and putriſied. Touching the Waxe, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will riſe, by reaſon that ſome of it was loſt in the barkes. The weight of the laſt yeeres waxe did not riſe ſo well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede to bee taken in the weighing. Alſo much of this Waxe had a great foote and is not ſo faire waxe as in times paſt wee haue had. You muſt cauſe the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or elſe you muſt ſeeke to haue a good allowance for it.

Traine oyles.

The traine Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caſke was good and of a good ſiſe. But if they were made a little bigger it were the better, for they be not hogſheads. You haue written to vs to ſend you caſke which is not heere to be had, neither doe wee thinke it ſo beſt if it were heere, conſidering it muſt goe either ſhaken and bounde vp, or elſe emptie, which will bee peſterable, and likewiſe will ſhrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you ſhall cauſe ſo much caſke to bee made there of the ſiſe of hogſheads as will ſerue both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and ſeames, and ſtand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee ouerſeer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the worſt caſke you may put the tallowe in. Hee that ſeeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceiue you haue bought and haue in a readineſſe one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may haue more ſtore. Wherefore we doe minde to ſend you ſhipping for three hundred tunnes and vpwards, becauſe we would haue this next Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as alſo ſuch of our wares as you haue that are not vendible, or will not be ſolde or bartered, becauſe we would haue a ful knowledge and ſtate of our accounts.

Sables.

The Sables which you ſent this yeere be very baſe, among them all we could not make one principall timber: we haue alwayes written vnto you to ſend them that bee good or elſe none.

Wolnerings.
Luſerns.
Lettes.
Ermines.
Squirels.

The Wolnerings were indifferent, and ſome of the wolues, the reſt verie baſe, the Luſernes but meane, the Lettes not ſo large ſkinnes as we haue had: the beſt is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they coſt more there with you, then we can ſell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee loſt the one halfe in the other.

Flaxe.
Cables and ropes.

The wares that we would haue you prouide againſt the comming of the ſhippes are, Waxe, Tallowe, trayne Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, ſuch as we haue written to you for in our laſt letters by the ſhippes: and from henceforth not to make any great prouiſion of any rich Furres except principall Sables & Lettes:

A proclamation againſt forren Furres.

for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres ſhall be worne here, but ſuch as the like is growing here within this our Realme.

3000. podes of Tallow a yere.

Alſo we perceiue that there might be a great deale of tallowe more prouided in a yeere then you ſend. Therefore our minde is, you ſhould enlarge ſomewhat more in the price, and to ſend vs if you can three thouſand podes a yeere: for we doe moſt good in it. And likewiſe the Ruſſes, if you would giue them a reaſonable price for their wares, woulde be the willinger to buy and ſell with you, and not to carie ſo much to Nouogrode as they doe, but woulde rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Waxe, Tallowe, Flaxe, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey.

500. Loſh hides.

Our minde is you ſhould prouide for the next ſhips fiue hundred Loſh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickeſt in hand, and to be circumſpect in the chooſing, that you buy them that bee killed in ſeaſon and well dryed and whole. If they bee good we may ſell them here for ſixteene ſhillings and better the piece, wee would haue the whole ſkinnes, that is, the necke and legges withall, for theſe that you ſent now lacke their neckes and legges.

Note.

Neuertheleſſe for this time you muſt ſende them as you may get them: if you coulde finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they woulde not take ſo much roome in the ſhippes as they doe. We perceiue by your letters that the prices of Waxe doe riſe there with you, by reaſon that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Ruſſia by licence: which, if there ſhoulde bee peace betweene them, woulde bee an occaſion that all other commodities in Ruſſia woulde riſe to a bigger price, and not bee ſufficient to ſerue them and vs too, and likewiſe woulde bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you ſhoulde make a ſupplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Reuel to vs, eſpecially for ſuch wares as wee doe buy: promiſing that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reaſonable price, as wee haue bought them in times paſt: and likewiſe that wee will bring to them ſuch wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and to ſell them at ſuch reaſonable prices as wee haue done. If this ſhoulde not come to paſſe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: but that we haue a further hope of ſome good trade to be found out by Maſter Antonie Ienkinſon: by reaſon we doe perceiue by your letters, that raw ſilke is as plentifull in Perſia, as flaxe is in Ruſſia: beſide other commodities that may come from thence. Wee vnderſtand by your letters that you be at a point with the Ruſſe for the Waxe, Tallow, and Traine oyle that he ſhipped the laſt yere for 311 robles 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it, but becauſe they ſhould not vnderſtand our reckonings. We much marueil what you meane to buy Seale ſkins and tanne them. All that you haue ſent in times paſt lie here vnſold, and will yeelde no money. If you ſend 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee ſolde, as afore. In our ſhippe we will ſend you ſuch things as you write to haue for the ropers: and wee would they ſhould make more ſtore of ſmall cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. inches. For theſe great cables be not for euery man; and the greateſt cables bee not beſt laied: and likewiſe ſmall ropes for ſhroudes, ſholes, and other ſmall tackeling: and that you looke better to the ſpinning of their yarne that it be euen and well tarred. The cables that you doe minde to ſend vs let them be principall and fayre, and not paſt foure or fiue timbars. For they will not be ſo commonly worne here as they haue bin with noble men: and likewiſe of Luſerns ſend fewe and principall good. We minde to ſend you in our ſhippes 100 tunnes of ſalte. And becauſe we perceiue that balaſt is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you ſhould haue in a readineſſe 100 tunnes of the white ſtones whereof you ſent vs home an example two yeres paſt. And likewiſe to haue in a readineſſe maſtes of all ſortes for our ſhippes: for we know not what neede wee ſhall haue of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be ſuffered the the laſt yeare to paſſe through Poland. And as we wrote vnto you in our ſhippes, hee is our ſeruant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honeſt, true and painefull, our mind is he ſhalbe placed where he may do beſt ſeruice. He doth know the commodities and diſcommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe ſend vs. Therefore we would you ſhould credite his ſayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as alſo wherein is moſt our profit. We ſee by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers ſhould remaine there two yeres more; and that you haue prouided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we haue ſolde none of our cables nor halſers, neither is the proofe of them knowen; becauſe the firſt you ſent vs were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like moſſe. And thoſe which you ſent vs now laſt, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and haue loſt their colour: by meanes whereof they be not ſo vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we truſt God will ſend vs a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Maſter Antonie Ienkinſon. We perceiue by his letters that Aſtracan is not ſo good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter ſhould be ſo good, and good chepe there, and from whence it ſhould come. And whereas you write that you will come for England in our next ſhippes, we would gladly haue you to remaine there vntill the next yere following, for the better inſtruction of our ſeruants there; who haue not had ſo long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you haue had. Neuertheleſſe if you will needs come away, we haue no doubt, but that you will leaue good order with our ſeruants there, namely with Chriſtopher Hodſon and Thomas Glouer, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will vſe themſelues ſo diſcreetely and wiſely in all their doings, as ſhall be to the worſhip and benefite of this company. And as we haue a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: ſo haue we no leſſe hope in all the reſt of our ſeruants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (conſidering what roome they be in) but alſo will be carefull, paineful, diligent, and true euery one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the abſence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elſewhere. And if you find any to be diſobedient and ſtubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you ſhall ſend him home in our ſhippes: who ſhall find ſuch ſmall fauour and friendſhip during the time that he hath to ſerue, as by his diſobedience and euill ſeruice hee hath deſerued. And whereas Chriſtopher Hodſon hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cauſe, conſidering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his ſpecial friends in his abſence, we doubt not but that he will remain in the roome, which we haue appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till further order be taken: and for his ſeruice and paines hee ſhall be conſidered, as reaſon is, as friendly as if his friends were liuing. Thus we truſt you will take ſuch order the one to remaine at the Moſco, and the other at Colmogro, or elſewhere, as moſt neede is. Thomas Alcocke is deſirous to be in the Moſco: neuertheleſſe you ſhall find him reaſonable to ſerue where he may doe moſt good. The

Hope of trade to be found by maſter Antonie Ienkinſon.

Seale ſkinnes tawed.

Small cables beſt vendible.

Maſts of all ſorts to be prepared.

Aſtracan no great good marte.

Chriſtopher Hodſon and Thomas Glouer appointed Agents 1560.

62 robles which you receiued of Iohn Boucher we haue payed him here, and alſo the 8 robles, which you receiued the yere before of Chriſtopher Roſe, and the money which you receiued more of George Burton, for the which we haue you our debtors. Thus we reſt, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and ſo God haue you in his keeping. Alſo we will that you ſhould ſend vs in our ſhippes 200 horſe-clothes more. The things before written wee would that you ſhould let our ſeruants ſee and reade, to the intent they may perceiue our mindes.

Another letter to the foreſaid parties. 1560.

Stockholme.

John Luck taken priſoner in Lieflande.

The Swallow.

The Philip and Marie.

The Ieſus.

This letter before written is the copie of one ſent you by Thomas Alcock, truſting that hee was with you long ſince. The 26 day of the laſt moneth we receiued a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of Ianuary, and we perceiue by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Moſco, who informed him that our friend Maſter Antony Ienkinſon was returned to the Moſco in September laſt paſt, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Alſo he wrote that one Iohn Lucke a Ioyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in priſon. As yet wee haue not heard from the ſayd Iohn Lucke, nor know not whether he be releaſed out of priſon or not. We ſuppoſe that by him you wrote ſome letter which as yet is not come to our hands: ſo that we thinke hee is yet in priſon, or otherwiſe diſpatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee receiued a letter from Chriſtopher Hodſon, dated in the Moſco the 29 of Iuly, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of ſuch another receiued from him in our ſhippes. You ſhal vnderſtand that we haue laden in three good ſhippes of ours theſe kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Maſter vnder God Steuen Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad ſhort clothes, and foure fardels N° 38 Hampſhire Kerſies: and 23 pipes of baſtards and ſeckes, and 263 pieces of raiſins and 4 hogſheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogſheds and poncheons of prunes, and one dryfatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Maſter vnder God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampſhire Kerſies, and thirtie pipes of ſeckes and baſtards, and 100 pieces of raiſins. And in the Ieſus of London, Maſter vnder God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade ſhorte clothes, and twenty ſeuen pipes of baſtards and ſeckes, as by the Inuoices herewith incloſed may appeare: Alſo you ſhall receiue ſuch neceſſaries as you did write to bee ſent for the rope makers: truſting that you ſhall haue better ſucceſſe with them which you ſhall ſend vs in theſe ſhips, then with the reſt which you haue ſent vs yet: for we as yet haue ſold none of them. And whereas we wrote vnto you in our former letter, that we would ſend you a hundred tunnes of ſalte, by reaſon it is ſo deare here we doe ſend you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it coſt here ten pence the buſhell the firſt penie: namely in the Swallow 6 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Ieſus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogſheds of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforeſaid. We ſend you three ſhips, truſting that you haue prouided according to our former writing good ſtore of lading for them. If yee haue more wares then will lade the ſhips, let it be Traine oyles that you leaue behinde: the price is not here ſo good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you ſhould let the ſmaller ſhip bring as much of the traine as ſhe can cary: And that the maſters of the ſhips do looke wel to the romaging, for they might bring away a great deale more then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and beſtowe the traine by it ſelfe, and the ware and tallowe by it ſelfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the ſkinner, if you thinke good, he may come home in theſe ſhippes. We haue no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in theſe ſhips as you requeſted, will leaue ſuch good order there with our ſeruants as ſhall bee for our moſt profite and their preferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and truely. If our friend Maſter Antonie Ienkinſon bee returned, and meane to come away in theſe ſhips to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require and he be ſo minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Ianuarie or before. But as we be vncertaine whether he be returned or not: ſo we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may riſe hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good diſcretions. Wee ſend you Thomas Hawtrey which is our ſeruant for yeeres: our minde is he ſhould be placed, where he may doe beſt ſeruice.

Nicholas Chancelour.

Alſo we ſend you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our minde is hee ſhould be ſet about ſuch buſineſſe as he is moſt fit for: he hath been kept at writing ſchoole long: he hath his Algoriſme, and hath vnderſtanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We ſend you now but 100 Kerſies: but againſt the next yeere, if occaſion ſerue, wee will ſend you a greater quantitie, according as you ſhal aduiſe vs: One of the pipes of ſeckes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compaſſes vpon the bung, is to be preſented to the Emperour: for it is ſpecial good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of prunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly vpon the head of euery puncheon: and the nete weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raiſins, prunes, and almonds you were beſt to diſpatch away at a reaſonable price, and principally the raiſins. for in keeping of them will be great loſſe in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you prouide againſt the next yeere for the comming of our ſhippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and ſalted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were beſt to ſaue ſome of this ſalt that we doe ſend you in theſe ſhips for the purpoſe. The ſalte of that countrey is not ſo good. In this you may take the opinion of the maſters of the ſhippes. Fore ſkins, white, blacke, and ruſſet will be vendible here. The laſt yere you ſent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they ſhall be regiſtred in our purſers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We deſire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we ſent in our ſhips, as an anſwere to the letter that came in his name and vnder his ſeale for the ſixe thouſand dallers. Thus wee reſt, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

The ſalt of Ruſſia is not ſo good as Bay ſalte.

Fore ſkinnes white, blacke, and ruſſet vendible in England

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the gouernours haue not firmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blaſe Sanders.

The maner of Iuſtice by lots in *Ruſsia*, written by Maſter *Henrie Lane*, and executed in a controuerſie betweene him and one *Sherky Coſtromitskey* in *Moſco*. 1560.

After the comming home into Ruſſia of Ioſeph Napea the firſt ambaſſadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, ſundrie Ruſſian marchants by Ioſephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and paſſe in our ſhips for England: which thing vpon good conſideration I anſwered and refuſed. They were then driuen to credite vs and compound in value vntill the next returne. At which time, notwithſtanding good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe queſtion by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moſcouia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to haue their ſumme double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was prouided of a ſtrong willing Engliſhman, Robert Beſt, one of the companies ſeruants: whome the Ruſſes with their Champion refuſed. So that we had the words of our priuiledge put in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his caſtle in his palace and high Court of Moſcouia was thus. The Emperours two Treaſurers, being alſo Chancelours and chiefe Iudges, ſate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the great preſſe within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to ſit downe ſome diſtance from them: the aduerſe parties being without at the barre. Both parties were firſt perſwaded with great curteſie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Ruſſes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithſtanding that I proteſted my conſcience to be cleere, and their gaine by accompt to bee ſufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magiſtrates requeſt I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then ſentence paſſed with our names in two equall balles of waxe made and holden vp by the Iudges, their ſleeues ſtripped vp. Then with ſtanding vp and wiſhing well to the trueth attributed to him that ſhould be firſt drawen, by both conſents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, ſaying: Thou with ſuch a coate or cap, come vp: where roome with ſpeede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne vpright in ſight, his arme not abaſing. With like circumſpection, they called at aduenture another tall gentleman, commanding him to ſtrip vp his right ſleeue, and willed him with his bare arme to reach vp, and in Gods name ſeuerally to take out the two balles: which he did, deliuering to either Iudge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball firſt taken out was mine: which was by open ſentence ſo pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true partie. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Coſtromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the ſumme by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or ſinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people tooke our nation to be true and vpright dealers, and talked of this iudgement to our great credite.

Triall by combat or lot.

Note.

The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, ſhould *all followe* M. Ienkinſons *voyage to* Boghar.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, from the Citie of *London* toward the land of *Ruſsia*, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

Firſt by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the ſayd Citie, and the ſame day at Grauesend embarked my ſelfe in a good ſhippe, named the Primeroſe, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the ſame, and alſo of the other 3 good ſhips, to ſay, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing alſo the conduct of the Emperour of Ruſsia his ambaſſadour named Oſep Nepea Gregoriwich, who paſſed with his company in the ſayde Primeroſe. And thus our foure tall ſhippes being well appointed, aſwell for men as victuals as other neceſſarie furniture, the ſaide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the ſaide Grauesend, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Eaſterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primeroſe, vpon a ſand called the blacke taile, where we ſate faſt vntill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be prayſed, ſhe came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Eaſterly, & there remayned vntill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balſey ſlade, and ſo into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the ſayd Goldemore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the ſaid gate, and was like to be bilged and loſt. But by the aide of God, at the laſt ſhe came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primeroſe remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three ſhippes bare into Orwel hauen, where I cauſed the ſayd Trinitie to be grounded, ſearched, and repaired. So we remayned in the ſaid hauen, vntill the 28 day: and then the winde being Weſterly, the three ſhippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the Iohn Enangeliſt came on ground vpon a ſand, called the Andros, where ſhe remained one tide, and the next full ſea ſhe came off againe without any great hurt, God be praiſed.

Iune.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ſhips weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordneſſe, where we came to an anker, becauſe the wind was Northerly: And about ſixe of the clock at night, the wind vered to the Southweſt, and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the neſſe, and then ſet our courſe Northeaſt & by North vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth ſands. Then we winded North and by Weſt, and Northnorthweſt, vntill the firſt of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued ſo vntill the ſecond day at noone: then the winde came at Northweſt, with a tempeſt, and much raine, and we lay cloſe by, and caped Northnortheaſt, and Northeaſt and by North, as the winde ſhifted, and ſo continued vntill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Weſterly againe, and we went North our right courſe, and ſo continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northweſt againe and blew a freſh gale, and ſo continued vntill the ſeuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our ſhippes cloſe by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coaſt of England againe, and fell ouerthwart Newcaſtle, but went not into the hauen, & ſo plied vpon the coaſt the eight day & the ninth.

Heilick Iſlands in 66 degrees 40 minutes.

Roſt Iſlands.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthweſt, & we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the ſeuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe North and by Eaſt, and ſo continued the ſame with a mery winde vntill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the ſunne, and had the latitude in ſixty degrees. Then we ſhifted our courſe, and went Northnortheaſt, and Northeaſt and by North, vntil the 25 day. Then we diſcouered certaine Iſlands, called Heilick Iſlands, lying from vs Northeaſt, being in the latitude of ſixtie ſixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by Weſt, becauſe we would not come too nigh the land, and running that courſe foure houres, we diſcouered, and had ſight of Roſt Iſlands, ioining to the main land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our courſe along the coaſt of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre ſhot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the ſame day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a rainebow, like a ſemicircle, with both ends vpwarde. Note that there is betweene the ſaid Roſt Iſlands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Maleſtrand, which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe flood, maketh ſuch a terrible noiſe, that it ſhaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houſes of the ſayd Iſlands tenne miles off. Alſo if there commeth any Whale within the current of the ſame, they make a pitifull crie. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of ſtreams, and after with the ebbe be caſt out againe, the ends and boughs of them haue bene ſo beaten, that they are like the ſtalkes of hempe that is bruiſed. Note, that all the coaſte of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being couered all the yere with ſnow. And hard aboord the ſhoare of this coaſt, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and ſailing forward, we fell with an Iſland called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Iſland we ſaw many Whales, very mõſtrous, about our ſhips, ſome by eſtimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cried terriblie. From thence we fell with an Iſland, called Kettelwicke.

Maleſtrand a ſtrange whirle poole.

Zenam Iſland.

Kettelwike Iſland.

This coaſt from Roſt vnto Lofoot lieth North and ſouth, and from Lofoot to Zenam Northeaſt and ſouthweſt, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt. From the ſaid Kettelwike we ſailed Eaſt and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger ſound, where we fiſhed, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coaſt, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermoſt land that wee paſſe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger ſound Eaſt, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the ſecond day of Iuly, we had the ſunne at North 4 degrees aboue the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouſe, hauing ſuch miſts that we could not ſee the land. This Wardhouſe is a Caſtle ſtanding in an Iſland 2 miles from the maine of Finland, ſubiect to the king of Denmarke, and the Eaſtermoſt land that he hath. There are two other Iſlands neere adioining vnto that, whereon the Caſtle of Wardhouſe ſtandeth. The inhabitants of thoſe three Iſlands liue onely by fiſhing, and make much ſtockefiſh, which they dry with froſt: their moſt feeding is fiſh; bread and drinke they haue none, but ſuch as is brought them from other places. They haue ſmall ſtore of cattell, which are alſo fed with fiſh. From Wardhouſe we ſailed Southſoutheaſt ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, the Northermoſt part of the lande of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouſe, and the ſaid Cape is a great Bay, called Dommes haff, in the South part whereof is a Monaſterie of Monkes of the Ruſſes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and ſayling along the coaſt of the ſaid land of Lappia, winding Southeaſt, the fourth day through great miſts and darkenes we loſt the company of the other three ſhips, and met not with them againe, vntill the ſeuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great ſtone, to the which the barkes that paſſed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnleſſe they did ſo, their barkes or veſſels ſhould there periſh, as it hath bene oftentimes ſeene: and there it is very darke and miſtie. Note that the ſixt day we paſſed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company periſhed, which is called Arzina reca, that is to ſay, the riuer Arzina.

Inger ſound.

The North Cape.

Wardhouſe.

Cattell fed with fiſh.

The Monaſtery of Pechinchow.

Arzina reca the riuer where ſir Hugh Willoughbie was frozen.

The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing ſnow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the ſummer time neere the ſea ſide, and vſe to take fiſh, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue vp into the countrey into the woods, where they vſe hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beaſts, with whoſe fleſh they be nouriſhed, and with their ſkinnes apparelled in ſuch ſtrange faſhion, that there is nothing ſeene of them bare but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the ſeaſon of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely ſhooting, which they exerciſe dayly, as well men as women, and kill ſuch beaſts as ſerue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coaſt from Swetinoz aforeſaid, the ninth day of Iuly wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and ſundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southweſt and Northeaſt. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to Croſſe Iſland, which is ſeuen leagues from the ſayd Cape Southweſt: and from this Iſland, wee ſet ouer to the other ſide of the Bay, and went Southweſt, and fell with an headland called Foxenoſe, which is from the ſayd Iſland 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Croſſe Iſland to the neereſt land on the other ſide is ſeuen leagues ouer. From Foxenoſe proceeding forward the twelfth day of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, all our foure ſhips arriued in ſafetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Ruſſia, where we ankered, and had ſailed from London vnto the ſaid roade ſeuen hundred and fifty leagues. The Ruſſian amballadour and his company with great ioy got to

The Lappians couered all ſauing their eies.

The current at Cape Grace.

The entring of the Bay of S. Nicholas is ſeuen leagues broad at the leaſt.

ſhore

August.

Pinego riuer.

The towne of Yemps.

Vſting.

The deſcription of their Naſſades.

ſhore, and our ſhips here forthwith diſcharged themſelues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward England the firſt of Auguſt. The third of the ſayd moneth I with other of my company came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verſtes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I tarried at the ſaid Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of Dwina, which runneth very ſwiftly, and the ſelfe ſame day paſſed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our lefte hand fifteene verſtes from Colmogro. On both ſides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alablaſter, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lien there ſince Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a town called Yemps, an hundred verſtes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and aſhes of Aſpen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vſtiug, an ancient citie the laſt day of Auguſt. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforeſaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer Iug hath his ſpring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Vſtiug, and paſſing by the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is verie ſhallow, and ſtonie, and troubleſome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Naſſades, and Doſneckes, to paſſe that way: wherein marchandiſe are tranſported from the aforeſayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. Theſe veſſels called Naſſades, are very long builded, broade made, and cloſe aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde ſerueth, they are made to ſayle. Otherwiſe they haue many men, ſome to hale and drawe by the neckes with long ſmall ropes made faſt to the ſayd boats, and ſome ſet with long poles. There are many of theſe barks vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the moſt part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the ſaid boates with carying of ſalte from the ſea ſide vnto the ſayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer paſſeth through the midſt of the ſame. The houſes are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houſes are foure ſquare without any iron or ſtone worke, couered with birch barkes, and wood ouer the ſame: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery pariſh, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

On the toppes of their houſes they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are ſore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleuen minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verſtes.

Good counſell for trauellers.

All the way I neuer came in houſe, but lodged in the wilderneſſe, by the riuers ſide, and caried prouiſion for the way. And he that will trauell thoſe wayes, muſt carie with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and ſeethe meate, when he hath it: for there is ſmall ſuccour in thoſe parts, vnleſſe it be in townes.

December.

The firſt day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poſte in a ſled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moſcua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verſtes, ſo to Olmor 25 verſtes, ſo to Teloytske 20 verſtes, ſo to Vre 30 verſtes, ſo to Voſhansko 30 verſtes, then to Yeraſlaue 30 verſtes, which ſtandeth vpon the great riuer Volga, ſo to Roſtoue, 50 verſtes, then to Rogarin 30 verſtes, ſo to Peraſlaue 10 verſtes, which is a great towne, ſtanding hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verſtes, ſo to Godoroke 30 verſtes, ſo to Owchay 30 verſtes, and laſt to the Moſco 25 verſtes, where I arriued the ſixt day of December.

There are 14 poſtes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Moſco, which are accompted 500 verſtes aſunder.

The 10 day of December I was ſent for to the Emperors Caſtle by the ſayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretary, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were tranſlated, I was anſwered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I deſired.

The 25 day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperors preſence, and kiſſed his hand, who ſate aloft in a goodly chaire of eſtate, hauing on his heade a crowne moſt richly decked, and a ſtaffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garniſhed with precious ſtones.

There ſate diſtant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boy of twelue yeares of age, who was inheritor to ẏ Emperor of Caſan, conquered by this Emperor 8 yeares paſt. Then ſate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and ſtone. And after I had done obeiſance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and ſo I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at ſixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midſt whereof was a pillar foure ſquare, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables ſet, and at the vppermoſt part of the hall, ſate the Emperour himſelfe, & at his table ſate his brother, his Uncles ſonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Caſan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one ſide. There were diuers Ambaſſadors, & other ſtrangers, as well Chriſtians as heathens, diuerſly apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the ſayd hall, beſides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themſelues to the Emperour, & were appointed to ſerue him in his wars againſt the Lieflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was ſet at a litle table, hauing no ſtranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus ſet and placed, the Emperour ſent me diuers bowles of wine, and meade, & many diſhes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table ſerued all in gold and ſiluer, and ſo likewiſe on other tables, there were ſet bowles of gold, ſet with ſtone, worth by eſtimation 400 pounds ſterling one cup, beſides the plate which ſerued the tables.

There was alſo a Cupbord of plate, moſt ſumptuous and rich, which was not vſed: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and dragons heads, alſo diuers barrels of gold and ſiluer, with Caſtles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was ſerued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gaue me drinke with his own hand, & ſo I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company ſtand vp, and at euery time he drinketh or taſteth of a diſh of meate he bleſſeth himſelfe. Many other things I ſawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of January, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all moſt richly apparelled with gold, pearles, precious ſtones, and coſtly furres, with a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian faſhion, went to the Church in proceſſion, with the Metropolitan, and diuers biſhops and prieſts. That day I was before the Emperour again in Ruſſe apparell, and the Emperour aſked if that were not I, and his Chancelor anſwered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the proceſſion vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there ſtanding bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great ſolemnitie and ſeruice, and did caſt of the ſayd water vpon the Emperors ſonne and the Nobility. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the ſaid water to carie home to their houſes, and diuers children were throwen in, and ſicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars chriſtened: all which the Emperour beheld. Alſo there were brought the Emperours beſt horſes, to drink at the ſayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and ſate in a woodden houſe, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300 ſtrangers, and I ſate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke ſent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Moſco is great, the houſes for the moſt part of wood, and ſome of ſtone, with windowes of iron, which ſerue for ſummer time. There are many faire Churches of ſtone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large caſtle, walled foure ſquare of bricke, high, and thicke, ſituated vpon a hill, 2 miles about, and the riuer on the Southweſt ſide of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is ſeparated from the reſt of the Caſtle, by a long wall going north and ſouth, to the riuer ſide. In his palace are Churches, ſome of ſtone and ſome of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the ſayd Caſtle, and for ſundry things ſundry markets, and euery ſcience by it ſelfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the caſtle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is ſold corne, earthen pots, tubs, ſleds, &c. The caſtle is in circuit 2900 paſes.

The countrey is ful of mariſh ground, & plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as alſo of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Samoeds, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great ſubiection: all matters paſſe his iudgement, be they neuer ſo ſmall. The law is ſharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himſelfe liſteth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vſe the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worſhip many images painted on tables, and ſpecially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Prieſts be maried, but their wiues being dead, they may not marie the ſecond time, and ſo become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shroftide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many ſortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of groſſe meates, and ſtinking fiſh. Before they drinke they vſe to blowe in the cup: their greateſt friendſhip is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or truſt in their words, flatterers and diſſemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, & are kept ſtraightly from going abroad, but at ſome ſeaſons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impawned himſelfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that paſſe by, knowing the cauſe, and hauing peraduenture compaſſion vpon him, giue the money, and ſo he is ranſomed.

In euery good towne there is a drunken Tauerne called a Curſemay, which the Emperour ſometime letteth out to farme, & ſometimes beſtoweth for a yeare or two on ſome duke or gentleman, in recompenſe of his ſeruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and ſpoiling, and doing what pleaſeth him: and then he being growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and ſent to the warres againe, where he ſhall ſpend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: ſo that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vſe ſadles made of wood & ſinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, & the ſeat couered with cloth, ſometimes of golde, and the reſt Saphian leather, well ſtitched. They vſe little drummes at their ſadle bowes, by the ſound whereof their horſes vſe to runne more ſwiftly.

The Ruſſe is apparelled in this maner: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, ſilke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of ſiluer, or els laces of ſilke, ſet on with brooches, the ſleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with ſilke buttons, with a high coller ſtanding vp of ſome colour, and that garment is made ſtraight. Then his ſhirt is very fine, and wrought with red ſilk, or ſome gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his ſhirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hoſe without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of ſiluer, gold, pearle, or ſtone, and vnder it a blacke Foxe cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horſebacke to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a ſword of the Turkiſh faſhion, and his bowe and arrowes of the ſame maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fiſh, called the Morſe.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with ſleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and ſmooth with ſnow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horſe with a ſled, will draw a man vpon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Ruſſe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his houſe in the winter, but vpon his ſled, and in Summer vpon his horſe: and in his ſled he ſits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares ſkinne: the ſled is drawen with a horſe well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his ſeruants ſtand vpon the taile of the ſled &c.

The voyage, wherein Oſep Napea the Moſcouite Ambaſſadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arriuall, at *Colmogro*: and a large deſcription of the maners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Grauelend, foure good ſhippes well appointed for Marchants, which were preſently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia: with which ſhippes was tranſported, or caried home, one Oſep Gregoriwich Napea, who was ſent Meſſenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moſcouia. The foure ſhips were theſe, whoſe names follow, viz.

The Primeroſe Admirall.
The Iohn Euangeliſt Viceadmirall.

The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of July, the foreſayd foure ſhippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, before an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the ſayde Meſſenger, Oſep Gregoriwich Napea went a ſhoare, and as many Engliſh men as came to ſerue the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the ſpace of ſixe daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a ſhoare, and laden the ſame in barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verſtes, and euery verſte is about three quarters of an Engliſh mile.

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the ſame, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the ſayd Meſſenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had preſents innumerable ſent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some ſent white bread, ſome rie bread, and ſome buttered bread & pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fiſhes, ſwannes, geeſe, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fiſh and fleſh, in the beſt maner, that the rude people could deuiſe: for among them, theſe preſents are highly eſteemed.

Preſents vſed in Ruſſia are all for the moſt part of victuals.

The 29 of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of Auguſt we came to Vſtiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of Auguſt, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 daies vnlading the barkes, and lading our cheſtes and things in ſmall waggons, with one horſe in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with theſe Telegoes they caried our ſtuffe from Vologhda vnto the Moſco, which is 500 verſtes: and we were vpon the ſame way 14 daies: for we went no faſter then the Telegoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Moſco and Vologhda, that is to ſay, Yeraſlaue, Roſtaue, & Pereſlaue. Vpon one ſide of Yeraſlaue runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caſpian ſea, and it deuideth it ſelfe before it come into the Mare Caſpium, in 50 parts or more, and neere vnto the ſame ſea there ſtands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of the which are called by the ſame name.

The citie of Boghar.

The people of the ſaid Citie doe traffique vnto the Citie of Moſco: their commodities are ſpices, muſke, ambergreeſe, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring alſo many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Moſco: the ſayd people are of the ſect of Mahomet.

The 12 of September we came vnto the citie of Moſco, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large houſe, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed.

They arriue at Moſco.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediatly after our comming we were brought into his preſence, vnto whom each of vs did his duetie accordingly, and kiſſed his right hand, his maieſtie ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, with his crowne on his head, and a ſtaffe of goldſmiths worke in his left hand well garniſhed with rich and coſtly ſtones: and when we had all kiſſed his hand and done our dueties, his maieſtie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, & therupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maieſtie, and ſo departed vntill the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were ſet on one ſide of a table that ſtoode ouer againſt the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold vs al: and when we came into the foreſayd chamber, we found there readie ſet theſe tables following.

Firſt at the vpper end of one table were ſet the Emperour his maieſtie, his brother, & the Emperour of Cazan, which is priſoner. About two yardes lower ſate the Emperour of Cazan his ſonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him ſate the moſt part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was ſet a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well ſerued as the Emperour. At another table ſate another kind of people called Chirkaſſes, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to ſerue againſt his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforeſayde were couered onely with ſalt and bread, and after that we had ſitten a while, the Emperour ſent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen and deliuered vnto euery man ſeuerally by theſe words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he ſent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by theſe words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. All the tables aforeſayd were ſerued in veſſels of pure and fine golde, as well baſons and ewers, platters, diſhes and ſawcers, as alſo of great pots, with an innumerable ſorte of ſmall drinking pottes of diuers faſhions, whereof a great number were ſet with ſtone. As for coſtly meates

I haue many times ſeene better: but for change of wines, and diuers ſorts of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time ſo much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bin ſet, and as far as I could perceiue, all the reſt were in the like maner serued.

In the dinner time there came in ſixe ſingers which ſtood in the midſt of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperor, who ſang there before dinner was ended three ſeuerall times, whoſe ſongs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morſell of meate in his mouth, but he firſt bleſſeth it himſelfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he eſteemeth his religious men aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the ſpace of fiue houres, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midſt of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperors maieſtie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his own hands a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & ſo ended that dinner. And becauſe the Emperour would haue vs to be mery, he ſent to our lodging the ſame Euening three barrels of meade of ſundry ſortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogſhed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour ſent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horſe to ride from place to place as we had occaſion, for that the ſtreetes of Moſco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

M. Standiſh doctor of Phiſicke.

The 18 of September there were giuen vnto maſter Standiſh doctor in Phiſick, and the reſt of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and gold, and ſome of red damaſke, of which maſter Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the reſt were furred ſome with white Ermine, and ſome with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought vnto the Emperor vnto whom we did our duties accordingly: wherupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, and ſo with thanks vnto his maieſtie, we departed vntill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and ſalt as at the firſt: & after that we were all ſet vpon one ſide of the table, the Emperors maieſtie according to his accuſtomed maner ſent vnto euery man a piece of bread by ſome of the Dukes which attended on his highneſſe.

And whereas the 14 of September we were ſerued in veſſels of gold, we were now ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and yet not ſo abundantly as was the firſt of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in ſiluer boles which conteined at the leaſt ſixe gallons a piece, and euerie man had a ſmal ſiluer cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with meade, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whenſoeuer the Emperors pleaſure is that any ſtranger ſhall dine with him, he doth ſend for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies obſerueth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standiſh 70 rubles in money, and to the reſt of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were ſerued as before.

Long dinners

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feaſts which the Moſcouites hold: we were ſerued in ſiluer veſſels and ordered in all points as before, and it was paſt 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

The Emperors maieſtie vſeth euery yeare in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Moſco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houſes of Wood filled within with earth: againſt which two houſes there were two faire white markes ſet vp, at which markes they diſcharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may ſee what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of braſſe of all ſortes, baſes, faulcons, minions, ſakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, baſiliſkes long and large, they haue ſixe great pieces whoſe ſhot is a yard of height, which ſhot a man may eaſily diſcerne as they flee: they haue alſo a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they ſhoote wild fire.

Ordinance in Ruſſia.

A yeerly triumph.

The 12 of December the Emperors Maieſtie and all his nobility came into the field on horſebacke, in moſt goodly order, hauing very fine Iennets & Turkie horſes garniſhed with gold & ſiluer abundantly. The Emperors maieſtie hauing on him a gowne of rich tiſſue, & a cap of ſkarlet on his head, ſet not only with pearles, but alſo with a great number of rich and coſtly ſtones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them there went 5000 harquebuſiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, euery of them carying his gun vpon his left ſhoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foreſayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors maieſtie came into the field, there was a certaine ſtage made of ſmall poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about threeſcore yardes off from the ſtage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and ſixe foote high ſet vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the ſtage of poles, and as ſoone as the Emperors maieſtie came into the field, the harquebuſiers went vpon the ſtage of poles where they ſetled themſelues in order. And when the Emperors maieſtie was ſetled where he would be, and where he might ſee all the ordinance diſcharged and ſhot off, the harquebuſiers began to ſhoot off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any ſkirmiſh or battel, who ceaſed not ſhooting, vntill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they ſhot off their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly ſight to behold. And after this, they began to diſcharge the ſmal pieces of braſſe, beginning with the ſmalleſt and ſo orderly bigger and bigger, vntill the laſt and biggeſt. When they had ſhot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and ſo ſhot them al off 3 times after the firſt order, beginning with the ſmalleſt, and ending with the greateſt. And note that before they had ended their ſhooting, the 2 houſes that they ſhot vnto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were very ſtrongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the leaſt 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the ſame order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is diſcharged euery yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Chriſtmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maieſtie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were ſerued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer ſaw the like or ſo much before. There dined that day in the Emperors preſence aboue 500 ſtrangers, and two hundred Ruſſes, and all they were ſerued in veſſels of gold, and that as much as could ſtand one by another vpō the tables. Beſides this there were foure cupbords garniſhed with goodly plate both of gold & ſiluer. Among the which there were 12 barrels of ſiluer, conteining aboue 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about ſixe houres.

Euery yeare vpon the 12 day they vſe to bleſſe or ſanctifie the riuer Moſcua, which runneth through the citie of Moſco, after this maner.

First, they make a ſquare hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the ſides & edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with proceſſion towards the riuer in this wiſe.

The hallowing of the riuer of Moſco.

First and foremoſt there goe certaine young men with waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the croſſe, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie vpon their ſhoulders: after the images follow certaine prieſts to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two prieſts, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maieſtie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the proceſſion vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the prieſts ſet thēſelues in order round about it. And at one ſide of the ſame poole there was a ſcaffold of boords made, vpon which ſtood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was ſet, but the Emperours maieſtie ſtood vpon the ice.

After this the prieſts began to ſing, to bleſſe and to ſenſe, and did their ſeruice, and ſo by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being ſanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his hands, and caſt it on the Emperour, likewiſe vpon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the prieſts that ſate about the water: but that preaſſe that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moſcouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himſelfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preaſſe was a litle gone, the Emperours Iennets and horſes were brought to drinke of the ſame water, and likewiſe many other men brought their horſes thither to drinke, and by that meanes they make their horſes as holy as themſelues.

All theſe ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Ruſſes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Eaſter: the firſt weeke they eate egs, milke, cheeſe & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and ſuch other things, one friend viſiting another, & from the ſame Sunday vntill our Shroueſunday there are but few Ruſſes ſober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accompted for no reproch or ſhame among them.

The Ruſſes Lent.

The next weeke being our firſt weeke at Lent, or our clenſing weeke, beginning our Shroueſunday, they make and keepe a great faſt. It is reported, and the people doe verily beleeue that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and they ſay that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Maieſtie eateth but one morſel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houſes during that time, ſo that the ſtreetes are almoſt void of company, ſauing a fewe poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other ſixe weekes they keepe as we doe ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheeſe, egs or milke.

On Palme ſunday they haue a very ſolemne proceſſion in this maner following.

Firſt, they haue a tree of a good bigneſſe which is made faſt vpon two ſleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raiſins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midſt of ẏ ſame tree ſtand 5 boyes in white veſtures, which ſing in the tree before the proceſſion: after this there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning, & a great lanterne that al the light ſhould not go out: after them followed two with long banners, & ſixe with round plates ſet vpon long ſtaues: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: then followed 6 carying painted images vpon their ſhoulders, after the images followed certaine prieſts to the number of 100 or more, with goodly veſtures, wherof 10 or 12 are of white damaſke, ſet and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as peaſe, and among them certaine Saphires and other ſtones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperors maieſtie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

Firſt, there is a horſe couered with white linnen cloth downe to ẏ ground, his eares being made long with the ſame cloth like to an aſſes eares. Vpon this horſe the Metropolitane ſitteth ſidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldſmiths worke vpon the couer, which he holdeth faſt with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a croſſe of gold, with which croſſe he ceaſeth not to bleſſe the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which ſpread abroad their garments before the horſe, and as ſoone as the horſe is paſt ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and ſpred them againe, ſo that the horſe doth alwayes go on ſome of them. They which ſpred the garments are all prieſts ſonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperor leadeth ẏ Metropolitans horſe in proceſſion.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horſe by the head, but the Emperour himſelfe going on foote leadeth the horſe by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the reſt of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the caſtle, about the diſtance of two flights ſhot: and ſo returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their ſeruice. Which being done, the Emperours maieſtie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his houſe to dinner, where of delicate fiſhes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The reſt of this weeke vntill Eaſter day they kept very ſolemnely, continuing in their houſes for the moſt part, and vpon Munday or Thurſday the Emperour doth alwayes vſe to receiue the Sacrament, and ſo doe moſt of his nobles.

Vpon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vſe euery yere on good Friday to let looſe a priſoner in the ſtead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they ſleepe vntill the next morning, & at Eaſter they haue the reſurrection, & after euery of the Lents they eat fleſh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Eaſter which they alwaies obſerue, and that is this: euery yere againſt Eaſter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the prieſt of their Pariſh vpon Eaſter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vſe to carie in their hands one of their red egs, not onely vpon Eaſter day, but alſo three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen haue egs gilded which they cary in like maner. They vſe it as they ſay for a great loue, and in token of the reſurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Eaſter holy dayes, they come & take one another by the hand: the one of them ſayth, the Lord or Chriſt is riſen, the other anſwereth, it is ſo of a truth, and then they kiſſe and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kiſſing 4 dayes together.

Kiſſing vſed in the Greeke church.

The 12 of Aprill being Tueſday in the Eaſter weeke, maſter Ienkinſon and maſter Graie, and certayne other of vs Engliſh men dined with the Emperor, where we were ſerued as we had bin before time. And after diner the Emperours maieſtie gaue vnto maſter Ienkinſon and vnto M. Gray, and ſo orderly vnto euery one of vs a cup of Mead, according to his accuſtomed maner

Which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Ienkinſon ſtepped into the midſt of the chamber before the Emperours maieſtie, and gaue thanks to his highneſſe for his goodneſſe vnto him extended, deſiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did maſter Gray. His maieſtie did not onely licence them to depart, but alſo granted vnto maſter Ienkinſon his letters vnder his great ſeale, vnto all princes through whoſe dominions maſter Ienkinſon ſhould haue occaſion to paſſe, that he might the ſooner and quietlier paſſe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, maſter Ienkinſon and Gray lowly ſubmitted themſelues, thanking his maieſtie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cuppe of meade to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleaſure in Gods peace.

With these letters M. Ienkinſon tooke his voyage the ſame Aprill to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards England, the Chancellor ſent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they ſhewed vs a great number of the Emperors iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had ſeene there.

The Emperours wardrobe.

The chiefeſt was his maieſties crowne, being cloſe vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanſhip of ſo much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious ſtones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which ſtood a handfull higher then the top of the crown vpon a ſmall wier, it was as big as a good beane: the ſame crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. robles.

Wee ſawe all his maieſties robes which were very richly ſet with ſtones, they ſhewed vs many other great ſtones of diuers kindes, but the moſt part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more eſteeme the greatneſſe of ſtones, then the proportion of them.

We ſaw two goodly gownes which were as heauie as a man could eaſily carrie, all ſet with pearles ouer and ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garniſhed with ſaphires and other good ſtones abundantly. One of the ſame gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the reſt of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tiſſue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had ſufficiently peruſed all theſe things, they willed maſter Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, ſuch iewels and rich clothes as he had ſeene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly beſtow his money vpon ſuch things.

So we tooke our leaue the ſame time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, vſages, and ceremonies of the Ruſſes.

Of the Emperour.

The Emperours name in their tongue is Iuan Vaſiliuich, that is as much to ſay, as Iohn the ſonne of “Vaſilie and by his princely ſtate hee is called Oteſara, as his predeceſſors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Oteſara his maieſties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, ſo that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Ruſſia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Rueſe Velike, that is to ſay, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Iuan Vaſiliuich, doeth exceede his predeceſſors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen ſo much by report he doeth exceede them in ſtoutneſſe of courage and valiantneſſe, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

“Or, Baſilius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the moſt part are theſe: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Lifland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a ſtoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vſeth great familiaritie, as wel vnto all his nobles and ſubiects, as alſo vnto ſtrangers which ſerue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleaſure is that they ſhall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his preſence, and beſides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but alſo had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, ſo that I thinke no prince in Chriſtendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euil or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maieſties preſence againe of a long time if he be not ſent for, but will faine him to be very ſicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or ſhauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperors diſpleaſure: for when they be in their proſperitie, they account it a ſhame to weare long haire, in conſideration whereof, they vſe to haue their heads ſhauen.

Note.

His maieſty heareth all complaints himſelfe, and with his owne mouth giueth ſentence, and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane.

His maieſtie retaineth and well rewardeth all ſtrangers that come to ſerue him, and eſpecially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other paſtime, nor in hearing inſtruments or muſicke, but ſetteth all his whole delight vpon two things: Firſt, to ſerue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuoute in his religion, and the ſecond, howe to ſubdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and ſiluer in his owne handes or treaſurie: but the moſt part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are ſo much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth 2.3.or 4.grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

The Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors maieſty iudgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himſelfe; for that, ſaith he, he is Gods ſpiritual officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maieſtie ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horſe vpon Palme ſunday, and giuing him leaue to ſitte on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Moſco was in bleſſing, his maieſtie ſtanding on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the cauſes and giueth ſentence as himſelfe liſteth, and is authorized ſo to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will muſt needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monaſteries: they keepe great hoſpitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monaſteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very ſtrongly like a caſtle, and much ordinance of braſſe vpon the walles of the ſame. They told me themſelues that there are ſeuen hundred brethren of thẽ which belong vnto that houſe. The moſt part of the lands, towns, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong vnto the ſame. They ſhewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the roofe of the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garniſhed with gold, rubies, ſaphirs and other rich ſtones abundantly. In the midſt of the church ſtood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bigneſſe, & there ſtands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They ſhewed me a coffin couered with cloth of gold which ſtoode vpon one ſide within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (ſuppoſing that I had beleeued them) that he healeth many diſeaſes, and giueth the blind their ſight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief becauſe I ſaw him worke no miracle whileſt I was there.

After this they brought me into their ſellers, and made me taſte of diuers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quaſſe, of ſundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they haue in their ſellers, I doe ſuppoſe few princes haue more, or ſo much at once.

Their barrels or veſſels are of an vnmeaſurable bignes & ſiſe: ſome of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they containe 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their ſellers of their owne making that are leſſe then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of thoſe barrels which are ſeldome remooued: for they haue trunks which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in ſundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the caske right vnder it to receiue the ſame, for it ſhould be a great trouble to bring it all downe the ſtayres.

The hoſpitalitie of their monaſteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but alſo when they depart, to ſerue them by the way.

There are a great number of ſuch monaſteries in the Realm, and the Emperors maieſty rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The ſame monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Ruſſia, and doe occupy buying and ſelling as much as any other men, and haue boats which paſſe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no fleſh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tueſday, Thurſday and Saturday it is lawful for them to eate egges, butter, cheeſe and milke, and at all times to eate fiſh, and after this ſort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and ſo doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

They haue no preachers no not one in al the land to inſtruct the people, ſo that there are many, & the moſt part of the poore in the country, who if one aſke them how many gods there be, they wil ſay a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours maieſty himſelfe wil bleſſe and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in ſo much that they will crie earneſtly vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to haue thoſe images in their houſes, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images ſet vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads againſt the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or croſſe they do in like maner. And when they come to any houſe, they bleſſe themſelues 3. or 4. times before they will ſalute any man in the houſe.

Want of preachers cauſe of great ignorãce and idolatry.

They reckon and hold it for great ſinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with gold, ſiluer and ſtones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The prieſtes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of ſome ſad colour, being round, yͭ reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are ſhauen, but the reſt of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, ſo that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their ſhoulders: their beards they neuer ſhaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They miniſter the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup vnto the wine, and commonly ſome are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a ſpoon together with part of the wine, and ſo take it themſelues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the ſame maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they ſay, according to the Greeke Church vſed at this preſent day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their ſacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they aſſemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I haue before ſaid, that ſome will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their ſeruice is in the Ruſſe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other praiers but this, Ghoſpodi Ieſus Chriſtos eſine voze ponuloi naſhe. That is to ſay, O Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, ſonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, ſo that the moſt part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noſter, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commaundements, nor ſcarcely vnderſtand the one halfe of their ſeruice which is read in their Churches.

All their ſeruice is in their mother tongue.

Of their Baptiſme.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized vntil the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it muſt tary vntil the ſecond Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formoſt, carying the childe, yͭ the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midſt of the Church, where there is a ſmall table ready ſet, and on it an earthen pot ful of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, ſettle themſelues: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a ſmal waxe candle burning, then commeth the prieſt, and beginneth to ſay certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers muſt anſwere word for word, among which one is, that the childe ſhal forſake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they muſt all ſpit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he bleſſeth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh al the candles which the goſſeps haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is ſanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a ſmall tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childs head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with ſpittle, and making certaine croſſes with oyle vpon the backe, head, and breſt of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and ſpeaketh vnto the images, deſiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Chriſtian man or woman ought to doe, with many other wordes. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a a paire of ſheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the prieſt chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Chriſt, and that it be inſtructed to clinege and bow to the images, and ſo they make an end: then one of the Godfathers muſt hang a croſſe about the necke of the childe, which he muſt alwayes weare, for that Ruſſe which hath not a croſſe about his necke they eſteeme as no Chriſtian man, and thereupon they ſay that we are no Chriſtians, becauſe we do not weare croſſes as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

Their matrimonie is nothing ſolemnized, but rather in moſt points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wiſe following.

Firſt, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man ſendeth vnto the woman a ſmall cheſt or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, ſilke, linnen cloth, ſheares, and ſuch neceſſaries as ſhee ſhall occupie when ſhe is a wife, and perhaps ſendeth therwithall raiſins, figs or ſome ſuch things, giuing her to vnderſtand, that if ſhe doe offend, ſhe muſt be beaten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that ſhe ſhould apply her ſelfe diligently to ſowe, and do ſuch things as ſhee could beſt doe, and by the raiſins or fruites he meaneth if ſhe doe well, no good thing ſhalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and ſhe ſendeth vnto him a ſhirt, handkerchers, and ſome ſuch things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they ſhall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wiſe conſent to go out of the houſe, but reſiſteth and ſtriueth with thē that would haue her out, and faineth her ſelfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered cloſe, becauſe of her diſſimulatiō, that it ſhould not be openly perceiued: for ſhe maketh a great noiſe, as though ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, vntil ſhe come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they cary with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the prieſt coupleth them together much after our order, one promiſing to loue and ſerue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and firſt the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, haſting immediatly to tread vpon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and whether of them tread firſt vpon it muſt haue the victorie and be maſter at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readieſt to ſet his foot on it, becauſe he letteth it fall himſelfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face beeing vncouered. The boyes in the ſtreetes crie out and make a noyſe in the meane time, with very diſhoneſt wordes.

When they come home, the wife is ſet at the vpper end of the table, and the huſband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance haue a minſtrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the companie. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and ſiluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then ſitteth down in the chamber, croſſing his legges, and then the bride muſt plucke off one of his boots, which ſhe will, and if ſhe happen on the boote wherein the money is, ſhe hath not onely the money for her labor, but is alſo at ſuch choyſe, as ſhe need not euer from that day forth to pul off his boots, but if ſhe miſſe the boot wherin the money is, ſhe doth not onely looſe the money, but is alſo bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the ſame three daies he is called a Duke, & ſhee a dutches, although they be very poore perſons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongſt them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, ſhe will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women ſay, that if their huſbands did not beate them, they ſhould not loue them.

They vſe to marry there very yong, their ſonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they vſe to keepe their wiues very cloſely, I meane thoſe that be of any reputation, ſo that a man ſhall not ſee one of them but at a chance, when ſhe goeth to church at Chriſtmas or at Eaſter, or els going to viſite ſome of her friends.

The moſt part of the women vſe to ride a ſtride in ſaddles with ſtyrrops, as men do, and ſome of them on ſleds, which in ſummer is not commendable.

The huſband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they vſe ordinarily to paynt themſelues: it is ſuch a common practiſe among them, that it is counted for no ſhame: they greaſe their faces with ſuch colours, that a man may diſcerne them hanging on their faces almoſt a flight ſhoote off: I cannot ſo well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as ieat.

The women of Ruſſia paint their faces.

The beſt propertie that the women haue, is that they can ſowe well, and imbroder with ſilke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

VVhen any man or woman dieth, they ſtretch him out, and put a new paire of ſhooes on his feete, becauſe he hath a great iourney to goe: then doe they winde him in a ſheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a teſtimonie in his right hand, which the prieſt giueth him, to teſtifie vnto S. Nicholas that he died a Chriſtian man or woman. And they put the coarſe alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinſemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands ſmall waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or ſuch like, haue no teſtimonie with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their paſport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of ſuſtenance, which is a pitifull caſe to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a ſmall time, within theſe two yeeres, aboue 80. perſons young and old, which haue died onely for lacke of ſuſtenance: for if they had had ſtraw and water enough, they would make ſhift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to drie ſtraw and ſtampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the leaſt they eate it in ſtead of bread. In the ſummer they make good ſhift with graſſe, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times, There is no people in the world, as I ſuppoſe, that liue ſo miſerably as do the pouerty in thoſe parts: and the moſt part of them that haue ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo to relieue others that need, are ſo vnmerciful that they care not how many they ſee die of famine or hunger in the ſtreets.

Bread made of ſtraw.

The vnmercifulneſſe of the Ruſſes toward the poore.

It is a countrey full of diſeaſes, diuers, and euill, and the beſt remedie is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often vnto the hote houſes, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twiſe euery weeke, and all the houſholde ſweate, and waſh themſelues therein.

Stooues or bathes vſuall with the Muſcouites.

The names of certaine ſortes of drinkes vſed in *Ruſsia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours* Court.

THe firſt and principall meade is made of the iuice or licour taken from a berrie called in Ruſſia, Malieno, which is of a maruellous ſweete taſte, and of a carmoſant colour, which berry I haue ſeene in Paris.

Reported by Thomas Bulley.

The ſecond meade is called Viſnoua, becauſe it is made of a berry ſo called, and is like a blacke gooſeberrie: but it is like in colour and taſte to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, ſhort, of a ſmall berry much like to the ſmall reyſin, and groweth in great plentie in Ruſſia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is alſo a delicate drinke drawen from the root of the birch tree, called in the Ruſſe tongue Berozeuites, which drinke the noble men and others vſe in Aprill, May, and Iune, which are the three moneths of the ſpring time: for after thoſe moneths, the ſappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The voyage of Maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon*, made from the citie of *Moſco* in *Ruſſia*, to the citie of *Boghar* in *Bactria*, in the yeere 1558: written by himſelfe to the Merchants of London of the Moſcouie companie.

The 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (hauing obtained the Emperor of Ruſsia his letters, directed vnto ſundry kings and princes, by whoſe dominions I ſhould paſſe) I departed from Moſco by water, hauing with mee two of your ſeruants, namely, Richard Iohnſon, & Robert Iohnſon, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, diſtant from the Moſco 20. leagues, & paſſing one league beyond the ſaide Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Moſco falleth, and looſeth his name: and paſſing downe the ſaid riuer Occa 8. leagues, we came vnto a caſtle called Terreuettisko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the ſecond day of May, we came vnto another caſtle called Peroſlaue, diſtant 8. leagues, leauing it alſo on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where olde Rezan was ſituate, beeing now moſt of it ruined and ouergrowen, and diſtant from the ſaid Peroſlaue, 6, leagues: the 4. day we paſſed by a caſtle called Terrecouia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6. day we came to another caſtle called Caſſim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vtzar Zegoline, ſometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now ſubiect vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia. But leauing Caſſim on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a faire town called Morom, from Caſsim 20. leagues, where we took the ſonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another faire town & caſtle called Nyſe Nouogrod, ſituated at the falling of the foreſaid riuer Occa into the worthie riuer of Volga, diſtant from the ſaide Morom 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. Frō Rezan to this Nyſe Nouogrod, on both ſides the ſaid riuer of Occa, is raiſed the greateſt ſtore of waxe and hony in all the land of Ruſsia. We tarried at the foreſaid Nyſe Nouogrod vntil the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was ſent by the Emperour to rule at Aſtracan, who beeing arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, ſome laden with victuals, ſouldiers, and munition: and other ſome with merchandiſe, departed altogether the ſaid 19. day from the ſaid Nyſe Nouogrod, and the 22. we came vnto a caſtle called Vaſiliagorod, diſtant 25. leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or caſtle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vaſilius, and gorod in the Ruſſe tongue is as much to ſay as a caſtle, ſo that Vaſiliagorod is to ſay, Vaſilius caſtle: and it was the furtheſt place that the ſaid Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this preſent Emperour his ſonne, called Iuan Vaſiliwich, hath had great good ſucceſſe in his warres, both againſt the Chriſtians and alſo the Mahometiſts and Gentiles, but eſpecially againſt the Tartars, inlarging his Empire euen to the Caſpian ſea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countreis thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforeſaide, wee came to another caſtle called Sabowſhare, which wee left on our right hand, diſtant from Vaſiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordouits, and the habitants did profeſſe the law of the Gentiles; but nowe beeing conquered by this Emperour of Ruſsia, moſt of them are chriſtened, but lie in the woods and wilderneſſe, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we paſſed by another caſtle called Swyasko, diſtant from Shabowſhare aforeſaid 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Iland one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foreſaide Volga. Cazan is a faire town after the Ruſſe or Tartar faſhion, with a ſtrong caſtle, ſituated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Ruſsia hath giuen order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free ſtone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it ſelfe, and did more vexe the Ruſſes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeres paſt, this Emperour of Ruſsia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but young is nowe baptiſed, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were alſo kings of the ſaid Cazan, and being ech of thē in time of their reignes in danger of their ſubiects through ciuil diſcord, came and rendred themſelues at ſeueral times vnto the ſaid Emperor, ſo that at this preſent there are three princes in the court of Ruſsia, which had bene Emperours of the ſaid Cazan, whom the Emperour vſeth with great honour.

Cazan.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the ſame day paſſed by an Iland called the Iland of merchants, becauſe it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Ruſſes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and diuers other nations did reſort to keepe mart for buying and ſelling, but nowe it is forſaken, and ſtandeth without any ſuch reſort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Moſco vnto Mare Caſpium.

The Iland of merchants.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we paſſed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the ſaid Cazan and the ſaid riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and liue in the wilderneſſe without houſe or habitation: and the countrey on the other ſide of Volga ouer againſt the ſaid riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the ſaid Volga from the ſaid riuer vnto Aſtracan, and ſo following the North and Northeaſt ſide of the Caſpian ſea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whoſe inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all deſtroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Aſtracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanied with famine, peſtilence, and ſuch plagues, in ſuch ſort that in the ſaid yeere there were conſumed of the people, in one ſort and another, aboue one hundred thouſand: the like plague was neuer ſeen in thoſe parts, ſo that the ſaid countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great paſture, remaineth now vnrepleniſhed to the great contentation of the Ruſſes, who haue had cruel warres a long time together.

The riuer of Cama.

Nagay Tartars.

The Nagayans when they flouriſhed, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murſe. Towne or houſe they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Murſe or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing conſumed the paſture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue houſes like tents ſet vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, & therin their wiues, children, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and euery man hath at the leaſt foure or fiue wiues beſides concubines. Vſe of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other neceſſaries. They delight in no arte nor ſcience, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they be paſturing people, and haue great ſtore of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much fleſh, and eſpecially the horſe, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are ſeditious & inclined to theft and murther. Corne they ſowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, and diſabling our ſtrengths, ſaying we liue by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the ſame, allowing their great deuouring of fleſh, and drinking of milke to be the increaſe of their ſtrength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney.

Hordes.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer againſt the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Aſtracan, is the land of Crimme, whoſe inhabitants be alſo of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the moſt part according to the faſhions of the Nagayes, hauing continual wars with the Emperour of Ruſsia, and are valiant in the fielde, hauing countenance, and ſupport from the great Turke.

The Crimme Tartars.

The 16. day of Iune we paſſed by certaine fiſhermens houſes called Petowſe twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fiſhing for Sturgeon, ſo continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and paſſing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforeſaide countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the ſaide riuer of Volga. The 28. day wee came vnto a great hill, where was in times paſt a caſtle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iuſt midway betweene the ſaid Cazan and Aſtrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Vpon all this ſhore groweth abundance of Licoris, whoſe root runneth within the ground like a vine.

The riuer of Samar.

Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward the firſt day of Iuly we came to a place called Perouolog, ſo named becauſe in times paſt the Tartars caried their boates from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, otherwiſe called Don, by land, when they would robbe ſuch as paſſed downe the ſaid Volga to Aſtracan, and alſo ſuch as paſſed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Aſou, Caffa, or any other towne ſituated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which ſea Tanais falleth, who hath his ſprings in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this ſtreight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not ſo euill as it hath bene, by reaſon of the Emperour of Ruſsia his conqueſts.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wilderneſſe on both ſides, wee ſawe a great heard of Nagayans, paſturing, as is aboueſaid, by eſtimation aboue a thouſand Camels drawing of cartes with houſes vpon them like tents, of a ſtrange faſhion, ſeeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murſe called Smille, the greateſt prince in all Nagay, who hath ſlaine and driuen away all the reſt, not ſparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Ruſſia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: ſo that now the Ruſſes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue mortall warres together.

Aſtracan.

Store of Sturgions.

The 14. day of Iuly paſſing by an old caſtle, which was Old Aſtracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Aſtracan, which this Emperour of Ruſſia conquered ſixe yeeres paſt, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Moſco vnto Aſtracan ſixe hundreth leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Aſtracan is ſituated in an Iland vpon a hill ſide, hauing a caſtle within the ſame, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor ſtrong: The towne is alſo walled about with earth: the buildings and houſes (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) moſt baſe and ſimple. The Iland is moſt deſtitute and barren of wood and paſture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there moſt infected, by reaſon (as I ſuppoſe) of much fiſh, and ſpecially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great ſcarſitie of fleſh and bread. They hang vp their fiſh in their ſtreets and houſes to dry for their prouiſion, which cauſeth ſuch abundance of flies to increaſe there, as the like was neuer ſeene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the ſayd Aſtracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and ſpecially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the ſame time came thither in great numbers to render thẽſelues to the Ruſſes their enemies, & to ſeeke ſuccour at their hands, their countrey being deſtroyed, as I ſaid before: but they were but ill entertained or relieued: for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iland through in heapes dead, and like to beaſts vnburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were alſo ſold by the Ruſſes, and the reſt were baniſhed from the Iland. At that time it had bene an eaſie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Chriſtian faith, if the Ruſſes themſelues had bene good Chriſtians: but how ſhould they ſhew compaſſion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thouſand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to ſay, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread worth ſixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any ſuch merchandiſe. This Aſtracan is the furtheſt hold that this Emperour of Ruſſia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caſpian ſea, which he keepeth very ſtrong, ſending thither euery yere prouiſion of men, and victuals, and timber to build the caſtle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandiſe there vſed, but as yet ſo ſmall and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefeſt commodities that the Ruſſes bring thither are redde hides, redde ſheepes ſkinnes, wodden veſſels, bridles, and ſaddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought ſilkes: and they that come out of Perſia, namely from Shamacki doe bring ſowing ſilke, which is the courſeſt that they vſe in Ruſſeland, Craſko, diuers kinds of pide ſilkes for girdles, ſhirts of male, bowes, ſwords, and ſuch like things: and ſome yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all ſuch things in ſuch ſmall quantitie, the merchants being ſo beggerly and poore that bring the ſame, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all thoſe parts worth the folowing.

The length of the Iland of Aſtracan.

They enter into the Caſpian ſea.

This foreſaid Iland of Aſtracan is in length twelue leagues, and in bredth three, & lieth Eaſt and Weſt in the latitude of fortie ſeuen degrees, nine minutes: we taried there vntil the ſixt day of Auguſt, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Perſians, we laded our goods and imbarked our ſelues, and the ſame day departed I, with the ſaid two Iohnſons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the ſayd riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caſpian ſea the tenth day of Auguſt at the Eaſterly ſide of the ſayd riuer, being twentie leagues from Aſtracan aforeſayd, in the latitude of fortie ſix degrees, twentie ſeuen minutes.

The blew ſea.

Volga hath ſeuentie mouthes or fals into the ſea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the Northeaſt ſhore, and the eleuenth day we ſailed ſeuen leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and came vnto an Iland hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the ſea. From thence Eaſt tenne leagues, we fell with another Iland called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within theſe two Ilands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew ſea. From thence wee ſailed Eaſt and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a fadome water, and ſo rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great ſtorme at Southeaſt, being a moſt contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe Southeaſt, and that day ſailed eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee loſt ſight of land, and the ſame day ſailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding Eaſt, and fell with a land called Baughleara, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the ſaid Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coaſt lying neereſt Eaſt and by South, and Weſt and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great deuotion is vſed of all ſuch Mahometiſts as doe paſſe that way.

Baughleara being 74. leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being Weſt, and we winding Eaſtſoutheaſt, we ſailed tenne leagues, and paſſed by a great riuer called Iaic, which hath his ſpring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the foreſaid riuer Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caſpium. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a Towne called Serachick, ſubiect to the aforeſaid Tartar prince called Murſe Smille, which is nowe in friendſhip with the Emperour of Ruſſia. Here is no trade of merchandize vſed, for that the people haue no vſe of money, and are all men of warre, and paſturers of cattel, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker againſt this riuer Iaic, and all our men being on land, ſauing I, who lay ſore ſicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, becauſe he came from Mecka, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, aſked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that theſe rouers ſtaied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, baniſhed from their countrey, and out of liuing, & came to ſee if there were any Ruſſes or other Chriſtians (which they call Caphars) in our barke? To whom this Azi moſt ſtoutly anſwered, that there were none, auowing the ſame by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and vpon his wordes departed. And ſo through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were ſaued, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding Eaſt and Southeaſt, that day being the 20. of Auguſt ſailed 16. leagues.

Iaic riuer.

Serachick.

The 21. day we paſſed ouer a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Iſlands at the Southeaſt part thereof, being a good marke in the ſea: & doubling that Cape the land trendeth Northeaſt, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, ſpringing out of the land of Colmack.

The Countrey of Colmack.

The 22, 23, and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee ſailed that day 20. leagues, and paſſed by an Iſland of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and ſands: and to the Northward of this Iſland there goeth in a great Bay, but we ſet off from this Iſland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with ſhoalds & flats, and ran that courſe 10. leagues, then Eaſt Southeaſt 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and paſſing along the coaſt 20. leagues, the further we ſailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we croſſed ouer a Bay, the South ſhore being the higher land, and fel with a high point of land: & being ouerthwart the Cape, there roſe ſuch a ſtorme at the Eaſt, that we thought verily we ſhould haue periſhed: this ſtorme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we paſſed to a port called Manguſlaue. The place where we ſhould haue arriued at the Southermoſt part of the Caſpian ſea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being ſore tormented and toſſed with this foreſaid ſtorme, were driuen vnto another land on yͤ other ſide the Bay, ouerthwart the ſayd Manguſlaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the hauen, as of thoſe brute field people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs.

The port of Manguſlaue.

But yet here we ſent certaine of our men to land to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vſage at their handes, as alſo for prouiſion of camels to carry our goods from the ſayd ſea ſide to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our meſſengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promiſes of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we diſcharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutiſh people, for they ceaſed not daily to moleſt vs, either by fighting, ſtealing or begging, raiſing the price of horſe and camels, & victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we did drinke: which cauſed vs to haſten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the price of ſuch as wee bought, with other prouiſion, according to their owne demaund: So that for euery camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to giue three hides of Ruſſia, and foure wooden diſhes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the ſayd people, one ninth, and two ſeuenths: Namely, nine ſeuerall things, and twiſe ſeuen ſeuerall things: for money they vſe none.

They goe on land.

The countrey of Manguſlaue.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Carauan of a thouſand camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, we came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine Tartars on horſebacke, being well armed, and ſeruants vnto the ſaide Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the ſaid countrey of Manguſlaue, where wee meant to haue arriued and diſcharged our barke, if the great ſtorm aforeſayd had not diſappointed. Theſe aforeſaid Tartars ſtayd our Carauan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke ſuch things as they thought beſt for their ſaide prince without money, but for ſuch things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much diſſenſion) I ridde vnto the ſame Prince, and preſented my ſelfe before him, requeſting his fauour, and paſport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor ſpoiled of his people: which requeſt he granted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well feaſted with fleſh and mares milke: for bread they vſe none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for ſuch things as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Ruſſe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gaue me his letter, and a horſe worth ſeuen rubbles. And ſo I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderſtoode his commaundement was, that I ſhould haue beene robbed and deſtroyed.

This Soltan liued in the fieldes without Caſtle or towne, and ſate, at my being with him, in a litle rounde houſe made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, eſteemed of the people, as the Biſhop of Rome is in moſt parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demaunded of me many queſtions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as alſo the cauſe of my comming into thoſe parts, with my further pretence. To whom I anſwered concerning all things, as vnto me ſeemed beſt, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed and ouertooke our Carauan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the ſea ſide without ſeeing towne or habitation, carying prouiſion of victuals with vs for the ſame time, and were driuen by neceſſity to eate one of my camels and a horſe for our part, as other did the like: and during the ſaid 20. daies we found no water, but ſuch as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackiſh and ſalt, and yet ſometimes paſſed two or three dayes without the ſame. And the 5. day of October enſuing, we came vnto a gulfe of the Caſpian ſea againe, where we found the water very freſh and ſweete: at this gulfe the cuſtomers of the king of Turkeman met vs, who took cuſtome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the ſaide king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refreſh our ſelues.

20. dayes trauaile in the wilderneſſe, with ſcarcitie of water.

Another gulfe of the Caſpian ſea.

Note that in times paſt there did fal into this gulf the great riuer Oxus, which hath his ſprings in the mountains of Paraponiſus in India, & now cõmeth not ſo far, but falleth into another riuer called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & conſumeth himſelf in the ground paſſing vnder ground aboue 500. miles, and then iſſueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Will. de Rubricis deſcribeth this riuer of Ardok, cap. 4.

We hauing refreſhed our ſelues at the foreſaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the ſeuenth day arriued at a caſtle called Sellizure, where yͤ king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his preſence, to whom I deliuered the Emperors letters of Ruſſia: and I alſo gaue him a preſent of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and cauſed me to eate in his preſence as his brethren did, feaſting me with fleſh of a wilde horſe, and mares milk without bread. And the next day he ſent for me again, and aſked of me diuers queſtions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Ruſſia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I anſwered as I thought good: ſo that at my departure he gaue me his letters of ſafe conduct.

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

Letters of ſafe conduct.

This Caſtle of Sellizure is ſituated vpon an high hill, where the King called the Can lyeth, whoſe palace is built of earth very baſely, and not ſtrong: the people are but poore, and haue litle trade of marchandiſe among them. The South part of this Caſtle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bigneſſe and full of moyſture, which the people doe eate after meate in ſteade of drinke. Alſo there growes another fruite called a Carbuſe of the bigneſſe of a great cucumber, yellow and ſweete as ſugar: alſo a certaine corne called Iegur, whoſe ſtalke is much like a ſugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluſter of grapes: the water that ſerueth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great deſtruction of the ſaid riuer, for which cauſe it falleth not into the Caſpian ſea as it hath done in times paſt, and in ſhort time all that land is like to be deſtroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus ſhal faile.

The

Vrgence.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Caſtle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the ſame we arriued at a citie called Vrgence, where we paid cuſtome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horſes. And hauing there ſoiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Coraſan, within the borders of Perſia, which he lately had conquered from the Perſians, with whom he and the reſt of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king alſo I was commanded to come, to whom I likewiſe preſented the Emperors letters of Ruſſia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me diuers queſtions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of ſafeconduct.

The countrey of Turkeman.

This city or towne of Vrgence ſtandeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by eſtimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are alſo of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long ſtreet that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and loſt 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not ſell aboue 4. kerſeis. The chiefeſt commodities there ſold are ſuch wares as come from Boghar, and out of Perſia, but in moſt ſmal quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caſpian ſea to this Citie of Vrgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is ſubiect to the ſaid Azim Can, and his brethren which be fiue in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed ſauing in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother ſeeketh alwayes to deſtroy another, hauing no natural loue among them, by reaſon that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of ſlaues, either Chriſtians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Sultan hath at the leaſt 4. or 5. wiues, beſides yong maidens and boyes, liuing moſt viciouſly: and when there are warres betwixt theſe brethren, (as they are ſeldome without) he that is ouercome if he be not ſlaine, flieth to the field with ſuch companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wilderneſſe reſorting to watering places, and ſo robbeth and ſpoileth as many Carauans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this ſort his wicked life, vntil ſuch time as he may get power and aide to inuade ſome of his brethren againe. From the Caſpian ſea vnto the Caſtle of Sellizure aforeſaid, and all the Countries about the ſaid Sea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they haue great ſtore, as camels, horſes, and ſheepe both tame and wilde. Their ſheepe are of great ſtature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horſes which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order.

The hawkes are lured to ſeaſe vpon the beaſts neckes or heads, which with chaſing of themſelues and ſore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth ſlay the horſe with his arrow or ſword. In all this lande there groweth no graſſe, but a certaine bruſh or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bow, arrowes, and ſword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleaſure, and they are good archers both on horſebacke, and on foote alſo. Theſe people haue not the vſe of golde, ſiluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other neceſſaries, they barter their cattell for the ſame. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor ſow: they be great deuourers of fleſh, which they cut in ſmal pieces, & eat it by handfuls moſt greedily, & eſpecially the horſefleſh. Their chiefeſt drink is mares milke ſowred, as I haue ſaid before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the ſame. They haue no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foreſaid gulf, diſtant from the place of our landing 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water wherof is ſaltiſh, & yet diſtant the one from the other two daies iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, ſitting with their legs double vnder them, and ſo alſo when they pray. Art or ſcience they haue none, but liue moſt idlely, ſitting round in great companies in the fields, deuiſing, and talking moſt vainely.

The riuer of Ardock falleth into the lake of Kitay.

The 26. day of Nouember, we departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauailed by the riuer Oxus, 100. mile, we paſſed ouer another great riuer called Ardock, where we paid a certaine petty cuſtome. This riuer Ardock is great, and very ſwift, falling out of the foreſaid Oxus, and paſſing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then conſumeth it ſelfe in the ground, and paſſing vnder the ſame about 500. mile, iſſueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared.

The caſtle of Kait.

The 7. of December following, we arriued at a Caſtle called Kait, ſubiect to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who meant to haue robbed all the Chriſtians in the Carauan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefeſt counſellers, who willed vs to make him a preſent, which he tooke, and deliuered: beſides we paid at the ſaid caſtle for cuſtome, of euery camel one red hide of Ruſsia, beſides petty gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at reſt, and our watch ſet, there came vnto vs foure horſemen, which we tooke as ſpies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confeſſed that they had ſeene the tract of many horſemen, and no footing of camels, & gaue vs to vnderſtand, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Carauan, where there be many camels: and horſefeeting new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we conſulted & determined amongſt our ſelues, and ſent a poſte to the ſaid Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himſelfe with 300. men, and mette theſe foure ſuſpected men which we ſent vnto him, and examined them ſo ſtreightly, and threatned them in ſuch ſort, that they confeſſed, there was a baniſhed Prince with 40. men 3. daies iourney forward, who lay in wait to deſtroy vs, if he could, and that they themſelues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderſtanding, that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himſelfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeues with him. Theſe ſouldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, conſuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very early they ſet out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wilderneſ for the ſpace of foure houres, they mette vs, comming towards vs as faſt as their horſe could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of horſes not farre from vs, perceiuing well that we ſhould meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our ſelues for them, and asked vs what wee would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refuſed our offer, and would haue more, and ſo we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went backe to their Soltan, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conſpiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (becauſe they had bene at Mecha) cauſed the whole Carauan to ſtay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee ſhould proſper in our iourney and whether we ſhould meet with any ill company or no: To which, our whole Carauan did agree. And they tooke certaine ſheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the ſame, and firſt ſodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the ſaid ſheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the ſaide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the ſame blood, vſing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the ſame deuined and found, that wee ſhoulde meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but ſhould ouercome them, to which ſorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the ſouldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we eſcried farre off diuers horſemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our ſelues together, being 40. of vs wel appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, profeſſing to liue and die one with another, and ſo prepared our ſelues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and ſwords, and the captaine a prince baniſhed from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our ſelues, or els to be ſlaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they ſhotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and ſo continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horſes and camels being wounded and ſlaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and vſed, we had bene ouercome and deſtroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were alſo better archers then we; But after wee had ſlaine diuers of their men and horſes with our gunnes, they durſt not approch ſo nigh, which cauſed them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our ſelues vpon a hill, and made the faſhion of a Caſtle, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horſes and camels within the ſame to ſaue them from the ſhotte of arrowes: and the theeues alſo incamped within an arrowe ſhotte of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great diſcomfort, becauſe neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Diuination by ſorcerie.

Handgunnes very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was ſpent, the Prince of the theeues ſent a meſſenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan Baſha, who anſwered the meſſenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe vnto the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that the Prince with all his companie will ſweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I ſend a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderſtanding as well himſelfe as his company, ſwore ſo loude that we might all heare. And then we ſent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the ſame meſſenger. The meſſage was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Carauan Baſha, and of all you that be Buſſarmans, (that is to ſay circumciſed) not deſiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Chriſtians) as are among you with their goods, and in ſo doing, hee will ſuffer you to depart with your goods in quietneſſe, and on the contrary, you ſhall be handled with no leſſe crueltie then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Carauan Baſha anſwered, that he had no Chriſtians in his company, nor other ſtrangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that ſhould he know when day appeared. And ſo paſſing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much diſcomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confeſſe any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had ſlaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was ſpent, in the morning we prepared our ſelues to battel againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & asked much of vs: And to be briefe, the moſt part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing litle to looſe, & ſafeconduct to paſſe, we were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues 20 ninths (that is to ſay) 20 times 9 ſeuerall things, and a camell to cary away the ſame, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the wildernes to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where we refreſhed our ſelues, hauing bene 3 dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making mery with our ſlaine horſes and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the ſaid theeues againe or ſuch like, we left the high way which went along the ſaid riuer, and paſſed through a wildernes of ſand, and trauelled 4 dayes in the ſame before we came to water: and then came to a wel, the water being very brackiſh, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horſes and camels to eate.

Buſſarmans. Caphar.

The riuer of Oxus.

A wildernes of ſande.

In this wildernes alſo we had almoſt fallen into the hands of theeues: for one night being at reſt, there came certaine ſcoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle ſeparated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great ſhoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and droue ſore till we came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the ſaid riuer: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the ſame theeues were far from vs when the ſcouts diſcouered vs, we know not, but we eſcaped that danger.

So vpon the 23 day of December wee arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is ſituated in the loweſt part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the ſame: it is diuided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and euery ſcience hath their dwelling and market by themſelues. The Citie is very great, and the houſes for the moſt part of earth, but there are alſo many houſes, temples and monuments of ſtone ſumptuouſly builded, and gilt, and ſpecially bathſtoues ſo artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearſe. There is a little riuer running through the middeſt of the ſaid Citie, but the water thereof is moſt vnholſome, for it breedeth ſometimes in men that drinke thereof, and eſpecially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the fleſh and the ſkinne, and is plucked out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practiſed therein, and if ſhee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day ſhe commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and ſo worketh till ſhe be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whoſoeuer is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten moſt cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the ſame, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans houſe, to ſearch if he haue either Aquauitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the ſame, doe breake the veſſels, ſpoile the drinke, and puniſh the maſters of the houſe moſt cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he ſhall not eſcape their hands.

Boghar a citie of Bactria.

A ſtrange worme in mens legs.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who cauſeth this law to bee ſo ſtreightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depoſe the king, and place another at his will and pleaſure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predeceſſour, by the meanes of the ſayd Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night ſlewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Chriſtians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was ſometime ſubiect to the Perſians, & do now ſpeake the Perſian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it ſelfe, and hath moſt cruel warres continually with the ſayd Perſians about their religion, although they be all Mahometiſts. One occaſion of their wars is, for that the Perſians will not cut the haire of their vpper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great ſinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Chriſtians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but ſmall, and he is moſt mainteined by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there ſolde, as well by the craftſmen as by the marchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great ſubiection, and when he lacketh money, he ſendeth his officers to the ſhoppes of the ſayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kerſey. Their money is ſiluer and copper, for gold there is none currant: they haue but one piece of ſiluer, & that is worth 12 pence Engliſh, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the ſaid 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the ſiluer, which the king cauſeth to riſe and fall to his moſt aduantage euery other moneth, and ſometimes twiſe a moneth, not caring to oppreſſe his people, for that he looketh not to reigne aboue 2 or 3 yeres before he be either ſlaine or driuen away, to the great deſtruction of the countrey and merchants.

The coyne of Boghar.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the ſaid king, to whom I preſented the Emperour of Ruſſia his letters, who interteined vs moſt gently, and cauſed vs to eate in his preſence, and diuers times he ſent for me, and deuiſed with me familiarly in his ſecret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as alſo of our countries, lawes, and religion, and cauſed vs to ſhoote in handguns before him, and did himſelfe practiſe the vſe thereof. But after all this great interteinement before my departure he ſhewed himſelfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and ſaw me not payd before his departure. And although indeede he gaue order for the ſame, yet was I verie ill ſatiſfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the reſt contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was ſo to be paid and diſpatched.

But yet I muſt needs praiſe & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arriuall at Boghar, hauing vnderſtoode our trouble with the theeues, ſent 100 men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either ſlaine or taken the ſayd theeues. Who according to their commiſſion ranged the wildernes in ſuch ſort, that they met with the ſaid company of theeues, and ſlew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were ſore wounded in our ſkirmiſh with our gunnes: And after the king had ſent for me to come to ſee them, he cauſed them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, becauſe they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of ſuch goods as were gotten againe, I had part reſtored me, and this good iuſtice I found at his hands.

There is yerely great reſort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Carauans from the countries thereabout adioining, as India, Perſia, Balgh, Ruſſia, with diuers others, and in times paſt from Cathay, when there was paſſage: but theſe Marchants are ſo beggerly and poore, and bring ſo little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3 yeeres to ſell the ſame, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of theſe foreſayd Countreys, are theſe following.

Marchandiſe of India.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, & al other kinds of whites, which ſerue for apparell made of coton wooll and craſko, but golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, and ſpices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all ſuch trade paſſeth to the Ocean ſea, and the vaines where all ſuch things are gotten are in the ſubiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought ſilkes, red hides, ſlaues, and horſes, with ſuch like, but of Kerſeis and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of thoſe Countreis, which came from the furtheſt parts of India, euen from the countrey of Bengala, & the riuer Ganges, to giue them Kerſies for their commodities, but they would not barter for ſuch commoditie as cloth.

Marchandiſe of Perſia.

The Perſians do bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, diuers kindes of wrought pide ſilkes, Argomacks, with ſuch like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other Ruſſe wares, and ſlaues, which are of diuers countreies, but cloth they will by none, for that they bring thither themſelues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Ruſſes doe carie vnto Boghar, redde hides, ſheepeſkinnes, wollen cloth of diuers ſorts, woodden veſſels, bridles, ſaddles, with ſuch like, and doe carie away from thence diuers kindes of wares made of cotton wooll, diuers kinds of ſilkes, Craſca, with other things, but there is but ſmal vtterance. From the Countreis of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace,

Marchandiſe of Ruſſia.

and when the way is open, muſke, rubarbe, ſatten, damaſke, with diuers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Carauans out of all theſe foreſaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cauſe why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the ſaid Boghar and the ſaid Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles a Mahometiſts bordering to the ſaid Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caſkar, and the people that warre againſt Taskent are called Caſſaks of the law of Mahomett: and they which warre with the ſayd countrey of Caſkar are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. Theſe 2 barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fields without houſe or towne, & haue almoſt ſubdued the foreſaid cities, & ſo ſtopped vp the way, that it is impoſſible for any Carauan to paſſe vnſpoiled: ſo that 3 yeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vſed trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths iourney.

Marchandiſe of Cathay.

Taskent & Caſcar.

To ſpeake of the ſaid countrey of Cathay, and of ſuch newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it beſt to reſerue it to our meeting. I hauing made my ſolace at Boghar in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquiſition, the trade thereof, as alſo of all the other countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and alſo the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I aduertiſed by the Metropolitan himſelfe, that I ſhould depart, becauſe the towne was like to bee beſieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney ſome way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Perſia, and to haue ſeene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my ſelfe ſufficiently thereof, as well at Aſtracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I ſhould haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occaſions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were deſtroyed: and there was a Carauan deſtroied with rouers & theeues, which came out of India and Perſia, by ſafe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part ſlaine. Alſo the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Ruſſia from me, without which I ſhould haue bene taken ſlaue in euery place: alſo all ſuch wares as I had receiued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in paiment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in Perſia: for which cauſes, and diuers others, I was conſtrained to come backe againe to Mare Caſpium, the ſame way I went: ſo that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the ſaid Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to haue loſt life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & beſieged the ſaid Citie of Boghar, the king being abſent, and gone to the wars againſt another prince, his kinſman, as the like chanceth in thoſe Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is maruell, if a King reigne there aboue three or foure yeres, to the great deſtruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

He returneth the eight of March 1559.

The 25 of March, we came to the foreſayd towne of Vrgence, and eſcaped the danger of 400 rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the moſt of them of kindred to that company of theeues, which we met with going forth, as we perceiued by foure ſpies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambaſſadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were ſent vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia. And after hauing taried at Vrgence, and the Caſtle of Sellyſure, eight daies for the aſſembling, and making ready of our Carauan, the ſecond of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambaſſadors in our companie, ſent from the king of Vrgence, and other Sultans, his brethren, vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia, with anſwere of ſuch letters as I brought them: and the ſame Ambaſſadors were alſo committed vnto my charge by the ſayde Kings and princes: to whome I promiſed moſt faithfully, and ſwore by our law, that they ſhould be well vſed in Ruſland, and ſuffered to depart from thence againe in ſafetie, according as the Emperor had written alſo in his letters: for they ſomewhat doubted, becauſe there had none gone out of Tartaria into Ruſſia, of long time before.

Vrgence.

The king of Balke, or Bolgh.

The 23 of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caſpium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor ſaile: neuertheleſſe wee brought hempe with vs, and ſpunne a cable our ſelues, with the reſt of our tackling, and made vs a ſaile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being deuiſing to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Aſtracan, with Tartars and Ruſſes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we ſet ſaile and departed, I, and the two Iohnſons being Maſter and Mariners our ſelues, hauing in our barke the ſaid ſixe ambaſſadors, and 25 Ruſſes, which had bene ſlaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and theſe ſlaues ſerued to rowe when neede was. Thus ſailing ſometimes along the coaſt, and ſometimes out of ſight of lande, the 13. day of May, hauing a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the ſhoare, & there roſe a ſore ſtorme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne ſpinning, brake, and loſt our anker, and being off a lee ſhoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoyſed our ſaile, and bare roomer with the ſaid ſhoare, looking for preſent death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a creeke ful of oze, and ſo ſaued our ſelues with our barke, & liued in great diſcomfort for a time. For although we ſhould haue eſcaped with our liues the danger of the ſea, yet if our barke had periſhed, we knew we ſhould haue bene, either deſtroyed, or taken ſlaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beaſts, without houſe or habitation. Thus when the ſtorme was ſeaſed, we went out of the creeke againe: and hauing ſet the land with our Compaſſe, and taken certaine markes of the ſame, during the time of the tempeſt, whileſt we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which wee loſt: whereat the Tartars much marueiled, how we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheeles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found out yron anker againe. Within two dayes after, there aroſe another great ſtorme, at the Northeaſt, and we lay a trie, being driuen far into the ſea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from ſinking, the billowe was ſo great: but at the laſt, hauing faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from vs, we fel with the Riuer Yaik, according to our deſire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee ſhould haue bene driuen to the coaſt of Perſia, whoſe people were vnto them great enemies.

The Engliſh flag in the Caſpian ſea.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, wee ſet vp the redde croſſe of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Chriſtians, which I ſuppoſe was neuer ſeene in the Caſpian ſea before. We paſſed in this voyage diuers fortunes: notwithſtanding the 28. of May we arriued in ſafetie at Aſtracan, and there remained till the tenth of Iune following, as well to prepare vs ſmall boates, to goe vp againſt the ſtreame of Volga, with our goods, as alſo for the companie of the Ambaſſadours of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to bee brought to the preſence of the Emperour of Ruſſia.

A notable deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.

This Caſpian ſea (to ſay ſome thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any iſſue to other ſeas: to the Eaſt part whereof, ioyneth the great deſert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the Weſt, the countreyes of the Chyrcaſſes, the mountaines of Caucaſus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the ſaid Caſpian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part ioyne the countreys of Media and Perſia. This ſea is freſh water in many places, and in other places as ſalt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it ſelfe except it be vnder ground. The notable Riuers that fall into it, are firſt the great Riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which ſpringeth out of a lake in a marriſh or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode in Ruſſia, and it is from the ſpring to the Sea, aboue two thouſande Engliſh miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Alſo out of the mountaines of Caucaſus, the Riuers of Cyrus and Araſh, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Perſia, I haue enquired, and do well vnderſtand, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vtterance, and ſmall profite: and I haue bene aduertiſed that the chiefe trade of Perſia is into Syria, and ſo tranſported into the Leuant ſea. The fewe ſhippes vpon the Caſpian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Aſtracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them kerſies for their wares, but they would not, ſaying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was ſixe rubbles for a kerſie, that I aſked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Perſia, Cloth, and diuers commodities of our countries, which were ſold as good cheape, as I might ſell ours.

The tenth day of Iune, we departed from Aſtracan towards the Mosco, hauing an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the ſafe conduct of the Tartar Ambaſſadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of Iuly folowing, wee arriued at the citie of Cazan, hauing bene vpon the way from Aſtracan thither, ſixe weekes and more, without any refreſhing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The ſeuenth of Auguſt folowing, wee departed from Cazan, and tranſported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: ſo that the ſecond of September, we arriued at the citie of Moſco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, kiſſed his hand, and preſented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Alſo I brought before him all the Ambaſſadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Ruſſe ſlaues: and that day I dined in his Maieſties preſence, and at dinner, his Grace ſent me meate by a Duke, & aſked me diuers queſtions touching the lands and countreis where I haue bene. And thus I remained at the Moſco about your affaires, vntil the 17. day of Februarie that your wares were ſent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperors Maieſtie to depart, the 21. day I came to your houſe at Vologhda, and there remained vntil the breaking vp of the yce: and then hauing ſeene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the ſame, and arriued withall in ſafetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I ceaſe for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large diſcourſe, which by reaſon of the varietie of matter, I could make no ſhorter, and I beſeech God to proſper all your attempts.

His arriual at Moſco the 2. of September.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Ruſſia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Moſco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the leſſe	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Aſtracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caſpian ſea.	46	72
Manguſlaue beyond the Caſpian ſea.	45	00
Vrgence in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō the Caſpian ſea.	42	28
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō Vrgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by *Richard Iohnſon* (which was at Boghar with *M. Anthony Ienkinſon*) of the reports of, Ruſſes and other ſtrangers, of the wayes of *Ruſſia* to *Cathaya*, and of diuers and ſtrange people.

The firſt note giuen by one named *Sarnichoke* a *Tartarian* ſubiect to the Prince of *Boghar*, which are alſo *Tartars* bordering vpon *Kizilbaſh* or *Perſia*, declaring the way from *Aſtracan*, being the furtheſt part of *Ruſſia*, to *Cathaya* as foloweth.

First from Aſtracan to Serachick by land, trauailing by leyſure as Merchants vſe with wares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachick to a towne named * Vrgenſhe, 15. dayes.

*Or, Vrgence.

From Vrgenſhe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Caſcar, 30. dayes.

From Caſcar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

By the ſame partie a note of another way more ſure to traueile, as he reporteth.

From Aſtracan to Turkemen by the Caſpian ſea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by lande ſpecially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenſhe.

From Vrgenſhe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of thoſe parts and the Cathayans.

Alſo the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Caſcar is one moneths iourney, and from Caſcar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and fortes by the way) is alſo a moneths trauel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not hauing bene in thoſe parts himſelfe) ſhips may ſaile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the ſeas lie by any coaſt hee knoweth not.

The inſtruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of *Boghar*, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which haue bene there.

First from Aſtracan by ſea to Serachick is 15 daies: affirming alſo that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Vrgence is 15 dayes.

From Vrgence to Boghar alſo 15 dayes.

Note. Theſe laſt 30 daies iourney is without habitation of houſes: therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate, their ſeuerall prouiſions: and for drinke there bee many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre diſtant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent eaſie trauelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Caſcar 20 daies. This Caſcar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reſhit can.

From Caſcar to Sowchick 30 daies iourney, which Sowchick is the firſt border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies iourney, and from Camchick to Cathay is a moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & wel repleniſhed with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praiſe to be ciuill & vnſpeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay, the moſt part therof ſtretching to the ſunne riſing, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion alſo, as the Tartars report, is chriſtian, or after the maner of Chriſtians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforeſaid, but wolues white and blacke. And becauſe that woods are not of ſuch quantitie there, as in theſe parts of Ruſſia, but in maner rather ſcant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but ſome other beaſts (as namely one in Ruſſe called Barſe) are in thoſe coaſts. This Barſe appeareth by a ſkinne of one ſeene here to ſell, to be nere ſo great as a big lion ſpotted very faire and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Angrim.

Note that 20 daies iourney from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liueth the beaſt that beareth the beſt Muske, & the principall therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are tawnie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to ſay: the men weare the ſunne round like a boſſe vpon their ſhoulders, and women on their priuie parts. Their feeding is raw fleſh in the ſame land, and in another called * Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worſhip the fire, and it is 34 dayes iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with kniues of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of ſmall people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

Mandeuille ſpeaketh hereof.

Or Kitay.

Small people.

The inſtructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and alſo another way neere the ſea coaſt, as foloweth, which note was ſent out of Ruſſia from *Giles Holmes*.

Pechora but ſix dayes iourney by land or water from Ob.

First from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traueiling with Olens or harts, is ſixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Ruſſe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-leſe, to ſay in Engliſh, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his deſcription after the Iriſh faſhion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioulc Calmachey three dayes iourney, & from thence to Chorno Callachay three dayes tending to the Southeaſt.

Theſe two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, *and vpon the ſea coaſts beyond the ſame, taken out of the Ruſſe tongue* word by word, and trauailed by a Ruſſe borne in *Colmogro*, whoſe name was *Pheodor Towtigin*, who by report, was ſlaine in his ſecond voyage in one of the ſaid countreys.

VPon the Eaſt part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the moſt Weſtermoſt part thereof. Vpon the ſea coaſt dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomſey, whoſe meate is fleſh of Olens, or Harts, and Fiſh, and doe eate one another ſometimes among themſelues. And if any Marchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their ſakes to feaſt them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and ſo doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewiſe. They be euill of ſight, and haue ſmall noſes, but they be ſwift and ſhoote very well, and they trauaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts ſkinnes. They haue no Marchandiſe but Sables onely.

Trauelling on dogs & harts.

2 Item, on the ſame coaſt or quarter beyond thoſe people, and by the ſea ſide alſo doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the ſea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond theſe people, on the ſea coaſt, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is fleſh and fiſh, and their merchandiſe are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Ruſſes call Pſcles) and Harts ſkinnes, and Fawnes ſkinnes.

The relation of *Chaggi Memet* a Perſian Marchant, to *Baptiſta Ramuſius*, and other notable citizens of *Venice*, touching the way from *Tauris* the chiefe citie of *Perſia*, to *Campion* a citie of *Cathay* ouer land: in which voyage he himſelfe had paſſed before with the Carauans.

FRom Tauris to Soltania.	6	dayes iourney.	From Acſu to Cuchi.	20	dayes iourney.
From Soltania to Casbin.	4		From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6		From Chialis to Turſon.	10	
From Veremi to Eri.	15		From Turſon to Camul.	13	
From Eri to Boghara.	20		From Camul to Succuir.	15	
Frō Boghara to Samarchand.	5		From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Samarchand to Caſcar.	25		From Gauta to Campion.	6	
From Caſcar to Acſu.	20				

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greateſt quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

A letter of *Sigiſmond* king of *Polonia*, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to *Elizabeth* the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of *England*, &c.

1559

Sigiſmudus Auguſtus by the grace of God king of Polonia, great Duke of Lituania, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Maſſouia, and Samogetia, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the moſt Noble Princeſſe Ladie Elizabeth by the ſame grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. our deare ſiſter and kinſewoman, greeting, and increaſe of all felicitie. Whereas your Maieſtie writeth to vs that you haue receiued two of our letters, wee haue looked that you ſhould haue anſwered to them both. Firſt to the one, in which we intreated more at large in forbidding the voyage to Narue, which if it had bene done, we had bene vnburdened of ſo often writing of one matter: and might haue anſwered your Maieſtie much better to the purpoſe. Now we thus anſwere to your Maieſtie to thoſe matters of the which you writte to vs the 3 of October from Windſore. Firſt, forasmuch as your Maieſtie at the requeſt of our letters hath diſcharged the arreſt of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of Danske our ſubiects, which was ſet vpon them by the commaundement of your Maieſtie: and alſo haue reſtored the olde and ancient libertie of traffique, we acknowledge great pleaſure done vnto vs in the ſame: and alſo thinke it to bee done according to common agreement made in times paſt. Neither were we euer at any time of any other opinion touching your Maieſtie, but that wee ſhould obtaine right and reaſon at your hands. Forasmuch as we likewiſe ſhall at all times be ready to grant to your Maieſtie, making any requeſt for your ſubiects, ſo farre as ſhall ſtand with iuſtice, yet neither will we yeeld any thing to your Maieſtie in contention of loue, beneuolence, and mutuall office, but that we iudge

The trade to Narue forbidden by the K. of Poland.

The ancient couenants of trafficke betweene England & Pruſſia.

The olde libertie of trafficke.

The meanes of increaſe of the power of the Moſcouite.

euery good turne of yours to be recompenſed by vs to the vttermoſt: and that ſhall we proue as occaſion ſhall ſerue. Therefore we ſhall command the arreſts, if any be made by our ſubiects (as it is vnknowen to vs) of merchants goods and Engliſh names to be diſcharged: and ſhall conſerue the olde libertie of trafficke, and all other things which ſhall ſeeme to appertaine to neighbourhood betweene vs and your Maieſty: ſo that none of the ſubiects of your Maieſty hereafter preſume to vſe the nauigation to the Narue forbidden by vs, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but alſo to the open deſtruction of all Chriſtians and liberall nations. The which as we haue written afore, ſo now we write againe to your Maieſty that we know and feele of a ſurety, the Moſcouite, enemy to all liberty vnder the heauens, dayly to grow mightier by the increaſe of ſuch things as be brought to the Narue, while not onely wares but alſo weapons heretofore vnknowen to him, and artificers & arts be brought vnto him: by meane whereof he maketh himſelfe ſtrong to vanquiſh all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narue is vſed, can not be ſtopped. And we perfectly know your Maieſty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the ſaid enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he vſeth on his ſubiects, and in what ſeruile ſort they be vnder him. We ſeemed hitherto to vanquiſh him onely in this, that he was rude of arts, and ignorant of policies. If ſo be that this nauigation to the Narue continue, what ſhall be vnknowen to him? Therefore we that know beſt, and border vpon him, do admoniſh other Chriſtian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their ſubiects to a moſt barbarous and cruell enemy, as we can no leſſe do by the duty of a Chriſtian prince. For now we do foreſee, except other princes take this admonition, the Moſcouite puffed vp in pride with thoſe things that be brought to the Narue, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and ſhippes, will make aſſault this way on Chriſtendome, to ſlay or make bound all that ſhall withſtand him: which God defend. With which our admonition diuers princes already content themſelues, and abſtaine from the Narue. The others that will not abſtaine from the ſayd voyage ſhalbe impeached by our nauie, and incurre the danger of loſſe of life, liberty, wife and children. Now therfore if the ſubiects of your Maieſty will forbeare this voyage to Narue, there ſhalbe nothing denied to them of vs. Let your Maieſty well weigh and conſider the reaſons & occaſions of our ſtopping of ſhips going to the Narue. In which ſtopping, our ſubiects of Danske be in no fault, as we haue already written to your Maieſty, neither vſe we their counſell in the ſame. In any other matter, if there be any fault in them againſt your Maieſty or your ſubiects, we will gladly do iuſtice vpon them, that your Maieſty may well vnderſtand that we be carefull of you and your ſubiects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburgh, or any other place to iudge the matter: for we haue our councell & iudgement ſeat at Rie, where your Maieſty & your ſubiects, or any other, ſhal haue iuſtice adminiſtred vnto them, with whom we haue had ancient league and amity. And thus much we haue thought good to let your Maieſty vnderſtand. Fare ye well. Dated the ſixt of December the 39 of our reigne.

Sigiſmundus Auguſtus Rex.

The Queenes Maieſties Letters to the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, requeſting licence, and ſafe conduct for M. *Anthony Ienkinſon* to paſſe thorow his *kingdome of* Ruſsia, *into* Perſia, *to the Great Sophie.* 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, ſereniſſimo & potentiſſimo principi, D. Ioanni Baſiliuich, Imperatori totius Ruſſiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum proſperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Potentiſſime Princeps, res eſt nobis ad memorandum longè gratiſſima, illa veſtræ Maieſtatis erga nos & noſtros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœliciſſimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi ſexti, fratris noſtri chariſſimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò veſtra non ſolùm ſingulari humanitate alta atque fota, ſed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ veſtræ officijs ſic firmata eſt atque conſtabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriuſque noſtrum, ad publicam noſtrorum vtrobique regnorum immenſam commoditatem, ad priuatam ſingulorum vtrinque ſubditorum optatam ſpem, certámque fœlicitatem multis ſit deinceps ſeculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc veſtra bonitas, pleniſſimè ſeſe effudit in omnes noſtros ſubditos, qui ſeſe in vllas imperij veſtri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes noſtras, vt par eſt, gratias veſtræ Maieſtati habemus, veſtríſque viciſſim in omni opportunitatis loco libentiſſimè feremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis veſtræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando noſtrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinſon, qui has perfert literas, ſeorſim nobis gratiſſima exiſtit. Nam præterquam quòd nullis non locis veſtri Imperij & magna libertate, & ſumma humanitate veſtræ ſerenitatis non permiſſu ſolùm, ſed iuſſu etiam frueretur, veſtra bonitas tamen non in hac domeſtica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, ſed perlibentèr & vltró eundum noſtrum hunc perdilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouerſus ipſe iter ſuum inſtituerat, literis ſuis, ſuo magno Imperiali ſigillo conſignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam ſine vllo periculo, propter publicam veſtram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter veſtram commendationem, optatè quidem & fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc veſtra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in veſtro regno negotiantibus ſubditis noſtris vniuerſis, tum iſta ſeorſim præſtita huic Antonio Ienkinſon, perfideli noſtro famulo, nobis in mente non ſolùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel opportunam compenſationem, firmiſſimè defixa eſt: ita, petimus a veſtra Maieſtate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ veſtræ rationem & communem noſtris vniuerſis, & priuatam huic noſtro dilecto famulo, vtriſque deinceps dignetur tueri, atq; conſeruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem fauorem veſtra Maieſtas anteà ſua ſponte Antonio Ienkinſon, tum quidem priuato oſtendit, eundem nunc noſtro rogatu eidem Antonio in noſtrum iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à veſtra Maieſtate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem noſtro famulo, literas ſuas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac ſaluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præſidio, ſit illi, familiaribus ſuis, & ſeruis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, ſarcinis, equis, & bonis ſuis vniuerſis, inuehendis euehendiſque, per veſtra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut ſuis libitum fuerit. Et ſicut non dubitamus, quin veſtra Maieſtas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immenſa bonitate ſuæ naturæ benignè & largiter huic famulo noſtro ſit conceſſura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt veſtra Maieſtas eodem noſtrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus ſuis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis ſuis dignetur commendare, præſertim verò atque ſeorſim Magno Sophi, Perſarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noſter famulus gratia potiſſimè experiundi peregrina commercia, proficiſci vnà cum ſuis conſtituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia noſtra poſtulata pro famuli ſpe, pro noſtra expectatione, pro veſtra bonitate, pro noſtrorum vtrinque ſubditorum commoditate, fauſta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam veſtræ Maieſti, & noſtris vtrobíque perquam vtilia euaſura. Deus veſtræ Maieſtatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima noſtra Ciuitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti 1561, regnorum verô noſtrorum tertio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord Iohn Baſiliwich, Emperour of all Ruſſia, &c. greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maieſtie towards vs and our ſubiects is very pleaſant to vs to be remembred, which being begun by the goodneſſe of God in the reigne of our moſt deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the ſixt, and afterwards, through your not onely ſingular humanitie, fed, and nouriſhed, but alſo through your incredible goodneſſe increaſed, and augmented, is now firmed and eſtabliſhed, with all maner of tokens of your beneuolence, that now we doubt not, but that from henceforth, during many ages, the ſame ſhall endure to the praiſe of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate deſired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our ſubiects. And although that this your goodneſſe hath bene abundantly extended to all our ſubiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reaſon is) your Maieſtie right heartie thankes, and will againe ſhew the like vnto yours, right willingly, whenſoeuer opportunitie ſhall require: yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiuing, and alſo in entertaining our faithfull and beloued ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, the bringer of theſe our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For beſides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maieſties ſufferance, but alſo by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendſhip, your goodneſſe not ceaſing in this your domeſticall diſpoſition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the ſame our welbeloued ſeruant, by your letters ſealed with your Imperiall ſeale, to ſundrie forren Princes, vnto whom he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchaſe vnto him happily, according to his deſire, both paſſage without all perill, through your notable credit, and alſo atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation. Therefore like as theſe your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our ſubiects frequenting that your Realme, and alſo this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull ſeruant Anthonie Ienkinſon, is right aſſuredly faſtened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but alſo for a mutuall and meet compenſation: ſo we deſire of your Maieſtie, to vouchſafe from henceforth to conſerue and continue the geminate diſpoſition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our ſubiects, and alſo priuately to this our beloued ſeruant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will againe graciouſly ſhew vnto the ſame Anthony, now admitted into our ſeruice, the like fauor as heretofore your Maieſty of your meere motion did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate perſon. And therefore we deſire your Maieſty eftſoones to grant to the ſame our ſeruant, your letters of licence, paſport, & ſafe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his ſeruants, together with their merchandiſes, baggages, horſes, and goods whatſoeuer, that ſhall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may ſurely and freely iourney, go, paſſe, repaſſe, depart, and there tary ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him: and from thence returne whenſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Maieſty in the goodneſſe of your nature will graciouſly and abundantly grant all theſe good offices of humanity, ſo we do heartily deſire that your Maieſty wil likewiſe vouchſafe to commend the ſame our ſeruant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and ſpecially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Perſia, into whoſe empire and iuriſdictions the ſame our ſeruant purpoſeth with his for to iourney, chiefly for triall of forren merchandiſes.

We therefore doe truſt that all theſe our demands ſhall tend, and haue effect, according to the hope of our ſeruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our ſubiects, lucky to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maieſty, and very profitable to our ſubiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maieſty long and happy felicity in earth, and euerlaſting in heauen. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Ieſus Chriſt 1561, and of our reigne the third.

The Queenes Maieſties Letters to the Great Sophy of *Perſia*, ſent by M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon*. 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hibetniæ Regina, &c. Potentiſſimo & inuictiſſimo Principi, Magno Sophi Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltrà Tygrim fluuium, & omnium intra Mare Caſpium, & Perſicum ſinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, & rerum proſperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum eſt, vt quas gentes, non ſolum immenſa terrarum ſpacia, & inſuperabiles marium vaſtitates, ſed & ipſi etiam cœlorum cardines longiſſimè diſiunxerunt, ipſæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter ſe & opportunè poſſint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus, & fidelis noſter famulus Antonius Ienkinſon, qui has literas noſtras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia noſtra hoc Angliæ noſtræ regnum excedere, & in Perſiam vſque, veſtráſque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare conſtituerit, hoc illius inſtitutum perlaudabile quidem grato noſtro fauore proſequi, & promouere ſtuduimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs facimus, quoniam hoc eius propoſitum ex honeſto ſtudio commercij conſtituendi potiſſimum cùm veſtris ſubditis, alijſque peregrinis hominibus, ad veſtra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum ſit, Propterea nobis & ſcribendum ad veſtram Maieſtatem, ab eaque petendum eſſe duximus, vt noſtro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo noſtro Antonio Ienkinſon literas publicæ fidei, & ſalui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præſidio, licitum, liberúmque ſit illi, vnà cum ſuis familiaribus, ſeruis, ſarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuerſis, per veſtra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & ſine impedimento proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel ſuis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc ſancta hoſpitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, noſtra regna, noſtióſque ſubditos libentèr conſtitui, ſincerè coli, & conſtantèr conſeruari queant, ſperamus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, noſtris ad ſumma commoda atque vſus, aliquando ſint oritura: ſiquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longiſſimè ſeperandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmiſſimè coniungendos plus virium habuiſſe videatur. Deus ſalutem omnem, & fœlicem in terris, & perpetuam in coelis, veſtræ concedat Maieſtati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri noſtra vrbe Londino, 25 die menſis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, 1561, regnorum verò noſtrorum tertio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This letter was alſo written in Hebrew, and Italian.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Perſians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this ſide, and beyond the riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caſpian ſea, and the gulfe of Perſia, greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. By the goodneſſe of the Almightie God it is ordeined, that thoſe people, which not onely the huge diſtance of the lands, and the inuincible wideneſſe of the ſeas, but alſo the very quarters of the heauens do moſt farre ſeparate, and ſet aſunder, may neuertheleſſe through good commendation by writing, both eaſe, and alſo communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gracefull offices of humanitie, but alſo many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued ſeruant Anthonie Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe our letters, is determined with our licence, fauour, and grace, to paſſe out of this our Realme, and by Gods ſufferance to trauell euen into Perſia, and other your iuriſdictions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to ſet forward, and aduance that his right laudable purpoſe: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterpriſe is onely grounded vpon an honeſt intent, to eſtabliſh trade of merchandiſe with your ſubiects, and with other ſtrangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherefore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maieſtie, and alſo to deſire the ſame, to vouchſafe at our requeſt, to grant to our ſayd ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, good paſports, and ſafe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, ſeruants, cariages, merchandiſe, and goods whatſoeuer, thorow your Realmes, Dominions, Iuriſdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, paſſe, repaſſe, and tary ſo long as he ſhall pleaſe, and from thence to returne whenſoeuer he or they ſhall thinke good. If theſe holy duties of entertainment, and ſweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, ſincerely embraced, and firmely obſerued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and ſubiects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to paſſe, that of theſe ſmall beginnings, greater moments of things ſhall hereafter ſpring, both to our furniture and honours, and alſo to the great commodities, and vſe of our peoples: ſo it will be knowen that neither the earth, the ſeas, nor the heauens, haue ſo much force to ſeparate vs, as the godly diſpoſition of naturall humanity, and mutuall beneuolence haue to ioyne vs ſtrongly together. God grant vnto your Maieſtie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Ieſus Chriſt, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the company of Merchants trading into *Ruſſia*, the eight day of May 1561, to our truſtie friend *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, at his departure towards *Ruſſia*, and ſo to *Perſia*, in this our eight iourney.

First you ſhall vnderſtand that we haue laden in our good ſhip, called the Swallow, one Cheſt, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliuer you, and alſo a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the ſayd Cheſt, and what euery thing did coſt: and becauſe, as you know, the ſayd Cheſt is of charge, we deſire you to haue a ſpeciall regard vnto it, and when God ſhall ſend you vnto Moſco, our minde and will is, that you, with the aduiſe of our Agents there, doe appoint ſome ſuch preſents for the Emperour and his ſonne, either wine, cloth of golde, ſcarlet, or plate, as to your good diſcretion ſhall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maieſties Letters, and our ſayd preſent in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble ſute vnto his Highneſſe in our name, to get his licence or ſafe conduct for you and all other our ſeruants or Agents at all times hereafter with ſuch wares and merchandiſe as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times ſhall thinke good to paſſe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Perſia, or other places, and alſo to returne vnto Moſco with ſuch wares and merchandiſes as you ſhall bring or ſend from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make compoſition with the emperor or his officers for ſome certeine cuſtome or tole vpon ſuch goods as we ſhall paſſe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauored, we refer it to your deſcretion, foreſeeing that ẏ opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the ſale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, ſaphyres, and other iewels, we put our truſt and confidence in you principally to ſell them for ready mony, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, ſo that you make our other Agents priuy how and for what price you ſell any of the premiſſes, and alſo deliuer ſuch ſummes of money, billes or wares, as you ſhall receiue, vnto our ſaid Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be ſold for profit before your departure from the Moſco, that then you cauſe them to be ſafe packed, and ſet order they may be ſent hither againe in our ſhippes the next yeere, except you perceiue that there may be ſome profit in carrying ſome part of them into Perſia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue alſo laden in the ſayd Swallow and the other two ſhips 80 fardles, conteining 400 kerſies, as by ẏ inuoice doth appeare, which fardles be packed, & appointed to be caried into Perſia: neuertheleſſe, if you chance to finde good ſales for them in the Moſco, we thinke it were good to ſell part of them there, and to cary the leſſe quantity with you, becauſe we be vncertaine what vent or ſale you ſhall finde in Perſia or other places where you ſhall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to paſſe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforeſaid, & that you perceiue you may ſafely do the ſame, our minde is, that at ſuch time as you thinke beſt and moſt conuenient for that purpoſe, you do appoint ſo many, and ſuch of our hired ſeruants or apprentiſes as you thinke neceſſary & meet for our affaires, and may beſt be ſpared, to go with you in your ſaid voyage, whereof we would one to be ſuch as you might make priuy of all your doings for diuers conſiderations and cauſes that may happen: which ſeruants and apprentiſes, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to goe with you, and to doe ſuch things as you command them in your preſence, but alſo to goe vnto ſuch countreys or places as you ſhall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, & there to remaine and continue ſo long as you ſhall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuſe to do ſuch things as you do appoint them, as aforeſaid, or that any of them (be he hired ſeruant or apprentiſe) do miſuſe himſelfe by any maner of diſobedience or diſorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you ſend him backe to the Moſco, with ſtraight order that he may be ſent from thence hither, & let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hired ſeruant we may pay him his wages according to his ſeruice, and if he be an apprentiſe we may vſe him according to his deſerts.

We will alſo that you take with you ſuch karſies, ſcarlet, and other clothes, or any other ſuch wares of ours, as you ſhall thinke good, and ſo in the name of God to take your iourney towards Perſia, either by the way of Aſtracan and Mare Caſpium, or otherwiſe, as you ſhall ſee cauſe: and when God ſendeth you into Perſia, our minde is, that you repaire vnto the great Sophy with the Queenes Maieſties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caſpian ſea for you to trauell, and that you make him ſuch a preſent as you ſhall thinke meet, and if you paſſe by any other kings, princes, or gouernors, before or after you come to the preſence of the Sophy, likewiſe to make them ſome preſent, as you ſee cauſe, according to their eſtate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or ſafeconduct of the ſayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the ſure eſtabliſhing of further trade in merchandiſe by vs heereafter to be made, frequented and continued in thoſe parts, not onely that we may freely ſell in all places within his dominions ſuch wares as we cary thither, but alſo buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandiſe whatſoeuer it be, that is for our purpoſe and commoditie within his dominions, with free paſſage alſo for vs at all times, to paſſe as often as we will with our goods and merchandiſe into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne thorow his dominions into Ruſſia or elſwhere.

And for the ſale of our kerſies or other wares that you ſhall haue with you, as our truſt is that you will doe for our moſt profit and commoditie: euen ſo we referre all vnto your good diſcretion, aſwell in the ſale of our ſayd goods, as to make our returne in ſuch things as you ſhall finde there, and thinke beſt for our profit. But if paſſage cannot be had into Perſia by Aſtracan, or otherwiſe, the next Summer, which ſhalbe in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to ſell our kerſies, & other ſuch wares as are appointed for Perſia, in the Moſco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may ſell them for any reaſonable price, and then to employ your ſelfe with ſuch other of your ſeruants, as you ſhall thinke meet for the ſearch of the paſſage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes, that if you do perceiue or vnderſtand, that paſſage is like to be had into Perſia the Summer folowing, which ſhalbe

The paſſage of Noua Zembla.

ſhalbe in the yeere 1563, and that you can not ſell our kerſies in the Emperours dominions, as aforeſayd, at a reaſonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the ſaid Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Perſia as aforeſayd. If paſſage into Perſia cannot be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of paſſage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good ſale of our kerſies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to ſee if you can practiſe to cary your ſaid wares by ſafe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes into Conſtantinople, or els where you thinke beter ſale may be had, then in Ruſſia.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderſtand our meanings in this intended aduenture: but foraſmuch as we do conſider and know, that if we ſhould preſcribe vnto you any certeine way, or direct order what you ſhould doe, we might ſo worke cleane contrary to our purpoſe and intent: therefore knowing your approued wiſedome with youre experience, and alſo your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good ſucceſſe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the ſaid aduenture wholly vnto your good diſcretion, praying God ſo to proſper you, as may be firſt for his glory, ſecondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increaſe of your good name for euer.

And yet further deſiring, and alſo moſt earneſtly requiring you, as you tender the ſtate of our company, that you will haue a ſpeciall regard vnto the order of our houſes & our ſeruants, aſwell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Moſco, and to ſee and conſider if any miſorder be amongſt our ſeruants or apprentiſes, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or loſſe of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you doe not onely ſee the ſame reformed, but alſo to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our truſt is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of ſuch things as we do partly ſuppoſe you ſhall finde in the partes of Ruſsia, we doe heerewith deliuer you a quantitie of certeine drugges, wherby you may perceiue how to know the beſt, and alſo there are noted the prices of ſuch wares and drugges as be heere moſt vendible: alſo we deliuer you heerewith one pound and one ounce weight in braſſe, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of ſilks, we need not to giue you any inſtructions thereof, other then you know.

Weights and drugs deliuered to M. Ienkinſon.

And if you vnderſtand that any commoditie in Ruſsia be profitable for vs to haue with you into Perſia or other places, our minde is that our Agents ſhall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouiſion your ſelfe. And becauſe the Ruſſes ſay that in trauelling Eaſtwardes from *Colmogro* thirty or forty dayes iourney, there is the maine ſea to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnſon might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Moſco time enough to goe with you into Perſia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the ſea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the Eaſt from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the ſtraight and paſſage that way, if any be there to be had.

The maine ſea within thirtie dayes Eaſtward of Colmogro.

William Gerard. } Gouernors. { William Merike.
Thomas Lodge. } Gouernors. { Blaſe Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. *Anth. Ienkinſon*, from the famous citie of *London* into the land of *Perſia*, paſſing in this ſame iourney thorow *Ruſsia*, *Moſcouia*, and *Mare Caſpium*, alias *Hircanum*, ſent and imployed therein by the right worſhipfull Societie of the *Merchants Aduenturers*, for diſcouerie of Lands, Iſlands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May, *Anno 1561*, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Maieſtie that now is: this preſent declaration being directed and written to the foreſayd Societie.

1561

FIrſt imbarking my ſelfe in a good ſhippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Grauesend, hauing a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our ſailing diuerſitie of windes, & thereby forced to direct and obſerue ſundry courſes (not here rehearſed, becauſe you haue bene thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of Iuly, the yere aforeſayd I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſsia: and the ſixe and twentieth day of the ſame moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worſhips affaires, I departed from thence, paſſing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of Auguſt then following, I came to Vologda, which is diſtant from Colmogro, ſeuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boats, wherein was laden a cheſt of iewels with the preſent, by your worſhips appointed for the Emperors Maieſty: which being arriued, and the cheſt receiued, I therewith departed toward the city of Moſco, and came thither the twentith day of the ſame moneth, where I immediatly cauſed my comming to be ſignified vnto the Secretary of the Imperiall Maieſty, with the Queenes Highneſſe letters addreſſed vnto the ſame his Maieſtie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highneſſe hauing great affaires, and being at that preſent ready to be married vnto a Ladie of Chircaſsi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no ſtranger, Ambaſſadour, nor other, ſhould come before him for a time, with further ſtreight charge, that during the ſpace of three dayes that the ſame ſolemne feaſt was celebrating, the gates of the citie ſhould be ſhut, and that no perſon, ſtranger or natiue (certeine of his houſhold reſerued) ſhould come out of their ſaid houſes during the ſaid triumph, the cauſe thereof vnto this day not being knowen.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

The firſt of September following, the Emperour made a great feaſt, whereunto were called all Ambaſſadours and ſtrangers being of reputation, and hauing affaires: amongſt whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary firſt to come, and to ſhew him the Queenes Maieſties letters, I refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying I would deliuer the ſame vnto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwiſe: which heard, the Secretarie anſwered, that vnleſſe he might firſt peruſe the ſayd letters, I ſhould not come into the Emperors preſence, ſo that I was not at the feaſt. Neuertheleſſe, I was aduertiſed by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maieſtie, although the cauſe of my abſence was to his Maieſtie vnknowen. The next day following, I cauſed a ſupplication to be made, and preſented it to his Highneſſe owne hands, and thereby declared the cauſe of my comming, ſignified by the Queenes Maieſties letters, and the anſwere of his ſayd Secretary, moſt humbly beſeeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the ſame her Highneſſe letters, with ſuch honour and friendſhip, as his letters ſent by Oſep Napea were receiued by the hands of our late Soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, or els that it would pleaſe his Highnes to diſmiſſe me, ſaying that I would not deliuer the ſaid letters but vnto his owne hands, for that it is ſo vſed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my ſupplication well digeſted, I was forthwith commanded to come with the ſaid letters before his Maieſtie, and ſo deliuered the ſame into his owne hands (with ſuch preſents as by you were appointed) according to my requeſt, which were gratefully accepted, & the ſame day I dined in his Graces preſence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I deſired to know whether I ſhould be licenced to paſſe thorow his Highneſſe dominions into the land of Perſia, according to the Queenes Maieſties requeſt: hereunto it was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſſe thither, for that his Maieſtie meant to ſend an armie of men that way into the land of Chircaſsi, whereby my iourney ſhould be both dangerous & troubleſome, and that if I ſhould periſh therein, it would be much to his Graces diſhonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expreſſed. Thus hauing receiued his anſwere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, hauing in that time ſolde the moſt part of your kerſies and other wares appointed for Perſia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I deſired paſport, and poſt horſes for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my paſport, ready to depart, there came vnto our houſe there Oſep Napea, who perſwaded me that I ſhould not depart that day, ſaying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardneſſe of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the ſame Secretary and Oſep Napea together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maieſtie were ſpoken with againe touching my paſſage: wherewith I was content, & within three dayes after ſending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleaſure was, that I ſhould not onely paſſe thorow his dominions into Perſia, but alſo haue his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearſe: whereupon I appointed my ſelfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yeere aforeſaid, I dined againe in his Maieſties preſence in company of an Ambaſſadour of Perſia and others, and receiuing a cup of drinke at his Maieſties hands, I tooke my leaue of his Highneſſe, who did not onely giue me letters, as aforeſayd, but alſo committed matter of importance and charge vnto me, to be done when I ſhould arriue in thoſe countreys whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readineſſe for the ſame voyage, I departed from the city of Moſco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the ſaid Ambaſſadour of Perſia, with whom I had great friendſhip and conference all the way downe the ſame riuer vnto Aſtracan, where we arriued all in health the 10 day of Iune.

Requeſt to paſſe into Perſia thorow Moſcouie.

Oſep Napea Ambaſſadour from the Emperor of Ruſſia to Q. Mary.

An ambaſſador of Perſia.

Aſtracan.

And as touching the ſituations of the cities, townes, caſtles and countreys, aſwell of Mahometans as alſo of Gentils adioyning to the ſame, whereby I paſſed from Moſco vnto Aſtracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearſe, for that I heretofore haue declared the ſame moſt amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Aſtracan, as is aforeſayd, I repaired vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maieſty, with great charge that he not only ſhould ayd and ſuccor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but alſo to ſafeconduct me with 50 gunners wel appointed in two ſtroogs or brigantines into the Caſpian ſea, vntil I had paſſed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accuſtome to haunt, and hauing prepared my barke for the ſea, the Ambaſſador of Perſia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of July, the yeere aforeſayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the ſayd Aſtracan, and the next day at a Weſt ſunne, paſſed the mouth of the ſaid riuer being twenty miles diſtant, lying next Southeaſt. The 18 at a Southweſt ſunne, we paſſed by three Iſlands being diſtant nine miles from the ſaid mouth of Volga, and Southſouthweſt from thence, ſailing Southſouthweſt the next day, at a Weſt & by North ſun we fel with the land called Challica Oſtriua, being foure round Iſlands together, diſtant from the ſaid three Iſlands forty miles. From thence ſailing the ſaid courſe the next day, we had ſight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rouers do vſe: for feare of whom we haled off into the ſea due Eaſt forty miles, and fell vpon ſhallowes out of the ſight of land, and there were like to haue periſhed, eſcaping moſt hardly: then the 22 day we had ſight of a goodly Iſland called Chatalet, diſtant from the ſaid Challica Oſtriua an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a ſtiffe gale, we were not able to ſeize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the ſame ſixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being diſtant from the maine land to the Weſtward of vs, which was called Skafcayl or Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and ſo riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouiſion, we loſt one of them, the ſtorme and ſea being growen very ſore, and thereby our barke was ſo full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with loſſe of our boat, and our ſelues thereby in great danger like to haue periſhed either in the ſea or els vpon the lee ſhore, where we ſhould haue fallen into the hands of thoſe wicked infidels, who attended our ſhipwracke: and ſurely it was very vnlike that we ſhould haue eſcaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the ſtorme continued ſeuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtieth day of the ſame moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the Weſt with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our ſaile diſplayed, lying South, the next day haling to the ſhore with a Weſt ſunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shyruanſha, and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrary, being diſtant from the ſaid Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of Auguſt, then hauing a faire winde, winding Southſoutheaſt, and ſailing threeſcore miles, the next day at a Southeaſt ſunne we arriued at a city called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and ſaluting the captaine there with a preſent, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking freſh water I departed.

M. Ienkinſons voyage to Boghar.

He paſſeth the Caſpian ſea.

The countrey of Tumen.

The Iſland of Chatalet.

The land of Shiruanſha.

Derbent.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne hauing an olde caſtle therein, being ſituated vpon an hill called Caſtow, builded all of free ſtone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was firſt erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred againſt the Perſians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull height and thickneſſe, extending from the ſame city to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall city thereof named Tewfliſh, which wall though it be now raſed, or otherwiſe decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the ſaid Alexander ſhould not lightly flee, nor his enemies eaſily inuade. This city of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophy of Perſia, bordereth vpon the ſea, adioyning to the foreſaid land of Shalfcall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence ſailing Southeaſt and Southſoutheaſt about 80 miles, the firſt day of Auguſt, the yere aforeſaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke diſcharged: the goods layd on ſhore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, whereof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the ſaid countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, entertained me very gently, vnto whom giuing a preſent, he appointed for my ſafegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, vntil he might haue newes from the king of Shiruan. The 12 day of the ſame moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I ſhould repaire vnto him with all ſpeed: and for expedition, aſwell camels to the number of fiue and forty to cary my goods, as alſo horſes for me and my company were in readineſſe, ſo that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the ſaid twelft day, on the 18 of the ſame moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the ſaid countrey of Hircan, otherwiſe called Shiruan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were diſcharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was ſent for to come to the king, named

A mighty wall.

Or Tiphlis.

Fortie one degrees.

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernour.

Obdolowcan,

King Obdolowcan.

The maieſty & attire of king Obdolowcan.

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, diſtant from the ſayd Shamaki twentie miles, to auoyd the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his preſence, who gently interteined me, and hauing kiſſed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to ſit downe not farre from him. This king did ſit in a very rich pauillion, wrought with ſilke & golde, placed very pleaſantly, vpon a hill ſide, of ſixteene fathom long, and ſixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane ſtature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of ſilke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and ſtone: vpon his head was a tolipane with a ſharpe end ſtanding vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India ſilke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left ſide of his tolipane ſtood a plume of fethers, ſet in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and ſet with precious ſtones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, ſet in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, & vnder himſelfe was ſpred a ſquare carpet wrought with ſiluer & golde, and therupon was layd two ſutable cuſhions. Thus the king with his nobility ſitting in his pauillion with his legs a croſſe, and perceiuing that it was painfull for me ſo to ſit, his highneſſe cauſed a ſtoole to be brought in, & did will me to ſit thereupon, after my faſhion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were ſpred vpon the ground, and ſundry diſhes ſerued, and ſet in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 diſhes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others ſpred, a banket of fruits of ſundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 diſhes, were brought in: ſo that two ſeruices occupied 290 diſhes, and at the end of the ſayd dinner & banket, the king ſaid vnto me, Quoſhe quelde, that is to ſay, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and taſting thereof, did deliuer me the reſt, demanding how I did like the ſame, and whether there were ſo good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I anſwered in ſuch ſort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me ſundry queſtions, both touching religion, and alſo the ſtate of our countreys, and further queſtioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Ruſsia, or the great Turke, were of moſt power, with many other things too long here to rehearſe, to whom I anſwered as I thought moſt meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cauſe of my comming: vnto that I anſwered, that I was ſent with letters from the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty of England vnto the great Sophy, to intreat friendſhip and free paſſage, and for his ſafeconduct to be granted vnto Engliſh merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like alſo to be granted to his ſubiects, when they ſhould come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their ſubiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearſe. This ſayd king much allowing this declaration ſayd, that he would not onely giue me paſſage, but alſo men to ſafeconduct me vnto the ſayd Sophy, lying from the foreſayd citie of Shamaki thirtie dayes iourney, vp into the land of Perſia, at a caſtle called Casbin: ſo departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of Auguſt the yere aforeſaid, he ſent for me againe: vnto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being riſen out of his bed (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he ſleepeth moſt in the day) did giue one commandement that I ſhould ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they ſhould ſhew me ſo much game and paſtime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then riſen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his ſight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey faſhion, ſide, downe to the ground, the one of ſilke, and the other of ſilke and golde, ſent vnto me from the king, and after that they cauſed me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke veluet furred with Sables, they put the ſayd two garments vpon my backe, and ſo conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kiſſing his hand, he commanded me to ſit not farre from him, and ſo I dined in his preſence, he at that time being very mery, and demanding of me many queſtions, and amongſt other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner ſo ended, I required his highneſſe ſafeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who diſmiſſing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambaſſadour (which returned out of Ruſsia) and others, to ſafeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a faire horſe with all furniture, and cuſtome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained vntill the ſixt of October, to prouide camels, horſes, and other neceſſaries for my ſayd intended iourney.

The deſcription of Hircania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpoſe to write ſomething of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shiruan, with the townes and commodities of the ſame. This countrey of Hircan in

Danger by diuerſitie in religion.

Barbarous crueltie

The citie of Arraſh or Eres.

The commodities of this countrey.

The ſtrong caſtle of Gulliſtone defaced.

in times paſt was of great renowme, hauing many cities, townes, and caſtles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Perſia: but now it is not onely otherwiſe (for that the cities, townes, and caſtles be decayed) but alſo the king is ſubiect to the ſayd Sophie (although they haue their proper king) and be at the commandement of the ſayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeeres paſſed, for their diuerſity in religion, and cauſed not onely all the nobility & gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but alſo ouer and beſides, raſed the walles of the cities, townes, and caſtles of the ſaid realme, to the intent that there ſhould be no rebellion, and for their great terror, cauſed a turret of free ſtone and ſlimes to be erected in the ſayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of ſlimes of the ſayd turret, did ſet the heads of the ſayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is diſtant from the ſea ſide, with camels, ſeuen dayes iourney, but now the ſame being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arraſh, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefeſt and moſt opulent in the trade of merchandiſe, & thereabouts is nouriſhed the moſt abundant growth of raw ſilke, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other ſtrangers do reſort and trafficke. There be alſo diuers good and neceſſary commodities to be prouided & had in this ſayd realme: viz. galles rough and ſmooth, cotton wooll, allome, and raw ſilke of the naturall growth of that countrey: beſides, here all kinde of ſpices and drugges, and ſome other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the leſſe quantity, for that they be not aſſured to haue vent or vtterance of the ſame: but the chiefeſt commodities be there raw ſilks of all ſorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the ſayd city of Shamaki, there was an olde caſtle called Gulliſtone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was eſteemed to be one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles in the world, and was beſieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the ſayd caſtle was a Nunry of ſumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Channa, who ſlew herſelfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (ſhe profeſſing chaſtity) to haue married with a king of Tartarie: vpon which occaſion the maidens of that countrey do reſort thither once euery yere to lament her death.

Alſo in the ſayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquiſs, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoſte, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horſe, and a taile like a Cow. It is further ſayd, that this monſter kept a paſſage thereby, vntill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamſhe, a kinſeman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the ſayd hill, and combating with the ſayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but alſo his woman called Lamiſache, with his ſonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) ſauoureth ſo ill, that no perſon may come nigh vnto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

The towne of Yauate.

The city of Ardouill.

The city Tebris or Tauris.

Now to returne to the diſcourſe of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforeſayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforeſaid, and hauing iourneyed threeſcore miles, came to a towne called Yauate, wherein the king hath a faire houſe, with orchards and gardens well repleniſhed with fruits of all ſorts. By this towne paſſeth a great riuer called Cor, which ſpringeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & paſſing thorow the countrey of Hircania aforeſayd, falleth into the Caſpian or Hircan ſea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, ſituate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence iſſueth further, paſſing thorow a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with paſturing people, which dwell in the Summer ſeaſon vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remoue into the valleyes without reſorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remooue, they doe iourney in carrauans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now paſſing this wilde people ten dayes iourney, comming into no towne or houſe, the ſixteenth day of October we arriued at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hoſpitall builded with faire ſtone, and erected by this Sophies father named Iſmael, onely for the ſuccour and lodging of ſtrangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horſe, for three dayes and no longer. This foreſayd late prince Iſmael lieth buried in a faire Meſkit, with a ſumptuous ſepulchre in the ſame, which he cauſed to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderraugan, wherein the Princes of Perſia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he inuaded the Perſians. Foure dayes iourney to the Weſtward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greateſt citie in Perſia, but not of ſuch trade of merchandiſe as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great inuaſion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almoſt to the ſayd citie of Tauris, which the ſayd Turke once ſacked, and thereby cauſed the Sophie to forſake the ſame, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the ſayd citie of Casbin.

M. Ienkinſons arriuall at the Sophies court 2. Nouember, 1562.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforeſayd, trauelling for the moſt part ouer mountaines all in the night ſeaſon, and reſting in the day, being deſtitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vſe for fewell the dung of horſes & camels, which we bought deare of the paſturing people. Thus paſſing ten dayes iourney the yere aforeſayd, the ſecond day of Nouember we arriued at the foreſayd citie of Casbin, where the ſayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, ſonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforeſayd, to ſend for me to his houſe, who aſked me in the name of the ſaid Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and ſo from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I ſent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our moſt gracious Soueraigne lady the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of the Realme of England, vnto the ſayd Sophy, and that the cauſe of my comming was expreſſed in the ſame letters, deſiring that at conuenient time I might come into his Maieſties preſence, who aduertiſing the Sophy thereof, ſhortly after anſwered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finiſhed, I ſhould come before his preſence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my preſent if I had any to deliuer.

The Turkes Ambaſſadour to the Sophy.

At this time, the great Turkes Ambaſſadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was ſent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the ſame great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a preſent in golde, and faire horſes with rich furnitures, and other gifts, eſteemed to be worth forty thouſand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feaſts, triumphs and ſolemnities, corroborated with ſtrong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to obſerue the ſame, and to liue alwayes after as ſworne brethren, ayding the one the other againſt all princes that ſhould warre againſt them, or either of them. And vpon this concluſion the Sophy cauſed the great Turkes ſonne named Baiſet Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the ſpace of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the ſayd Turkes ſonne had cauſed mortall warres betwixt the ſayd Princes, and much preuailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his ſonne to be ſent vnto him, & the Sophy refuſed thereunto to conſent. But now being ſlaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy ſent him his head for a preſent, not a litle deſired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Diſcourſing at my firſt arriuall with the king of Shiruan of ſundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the ſayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that we of England had friendſhip with the Turks or not: I anſwered, that we neuer had friendſhip with them, and that therefore they would not ſuffer vs to paſſe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre diſtant from vs, which are in great league with the ſayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the ſame for raw ſilks, which (as we vnderſtand) come from thence: and that if it would pleaſe the ſayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to ſuffer our merchants to trade into thoſe dominions, and to giue vs paſport and ſafe conduct for the ſame, as the ſayd Turke hath granted to the ſayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it ſhould grow to ſuch a trade to the profit of them as neuer before had beene the like, and that they ſhould be both furniſhed with our commodities, and alſo haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perſwading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderſtanding the matter liked it marueilouſly, ſaying, that he would write vnto the Sophy concerning the ſame: as he did in very deed, aſſuring me that the Sophy would graunt my requeſt, and that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of ſafe conduct, and priuileges. The Turks Ambaſſadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to haue furthered my purpoſe, but it chanced otherwiſe.

The Turkes merchants withſtand M. Ienkinſon.

For the Turks Ambaſſadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkiſh merchants there at that time preſent, declared to the ſame Ambaſſadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part deſtroy their trade, and that it ſhould be good for him to perſwade the Sophy not to fauour me, as his Highneſſe meant to obſerue the league and friendſhip with the great Turke his maſter, which requeſt of the Turkiſh merchants the ſame Ambaſſadour earneſtly preferred, and being afterwards diſmiſſed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks ſonnes head as aforeſayd, and other preſents.

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The 20 day of Nouember aforeſayd, I was ſent for to come before the ſayd Sophy, otherwiſe called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horſe at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the

Sophies owne ſhoes termed in the Perſian tongue Baſmackes, ſuch as hee himſelfe weareth when he ariſeth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feet, for without the ſame ſhoes I might not be ſuffred to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Chriſtian, and called amongſt them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: eſteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleeue as they do, in their falſe filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the ſayd Court gate the things that I brought to preſent his Maieſtie with, were deuided by ſundry parcels to ſundry ſeruitors of the Court, to cary before me, for none of my company or ſeruants might be ſuffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Maieſtie with ſuch reuerence as I thought meete to be vſed, I deliuered the Queenes Maieſties letters with my preſent, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe? Unto whom I anſwered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was ſent thither from the moſt excellent and gracious ſoueraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the ſaide Realme for to treate of friendſhip, and free paſſage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subiects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I anſwered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well ſaid he, we haue none within our Realme that vnderſtand thoſe tongues. Whereupon I anſwered that ſuch a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the ſame. Then he queſtioned with me of the ſtate of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of moſt power: whom I anſwered to his contentation, not diſpraiſing the great Turke, their late concluded friendſhip conſidered. Then he reaſoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to ſay, an vnbeleeuer, or a Muſelman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Unto whom I anſwered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Chriſtian. What is that, ſaid he vnto the king of the Georgians ſonne, who being a Chriſtian was fled vnto the ſaid Sophie, and he anſwered that a Chriſtian was he that beleeueth in Ieſus Chriſtus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greateſt Prophet. Doeſt thou beleeue ſo, ſaid the Sophie vnto me? Yea that I do, ſaid I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer, ſaid he, we haue no neede to haue friendſhip with the vnbeleeuers, and ſo willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Baſanet of ſand, ſifting all the way that I had gone within the ſaid pallace, euen from the ſaid Sophies ſight vnto the court gate.

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies queſtions.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the ſaid night Shally Murzey ſonne to the king of Hircan aforeſaid, who fauoured me very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I ſhould haue good ſucceſſe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

The curteſie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly reſorting vnto me diuers gentlemen ſent by the Sophie to conferre with me, eſpecially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Ruſſia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and ſo with the Portingals ſhips. Unto whom I anſwered, that I durſt not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertiſed that the ſaide Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged mee that I had bene come for a ſpie to paſſe through his dominions vnto the ſaide Portingals, thinking them and vs to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended againſt the Portingals.

After this the ſaid Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counſel concerning me, who perſwaded that he ſhould not entertaine me wel, neither diſmiſſe me with letters or gifts, conſidering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perſwading that if he did otherwiſe, and that the newes thereof ſhould come to the knowledge of the Turke, it ſhould be a meane to breake their new league and friendſhip lately concluded: diſſwading further becauſe he had no neede, neither that it was requiſite for him to haue friendſhip with vnbeleeuers, whoſe Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was beſt for him to ſend me with my letters vnto the ſaid great Turke for a preſent, which he was fully determined to haue done at ſome meet time, meaning to ſend his Ambaſſadour vnto the ſaid great Turke very ſhortly after.

But the king of Hircanes ſonne aforeſaide, vnderſtanding this deliberation, ſent a man in poſt vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpoſe vnto him, who as a gracious prince, conſidering that I had paſſed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he vnderſtood of his ſaid determination, & that it ſhould not ſtand with

The king of Hircans ſecond letters in M. Ienkinſons behalfe.

his Maieſties honour to doe mee any harme or diſpleaſure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, ſeeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by conſtraint, and that if hee vſed mee euil, there would few ſtrangers reſort into his countrey, which would bee greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perſwaſions: which after that the ſaide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and digeſted (much eſteeming the ſame king of Hircane, being one of the valianteſt princes vnder him and his nigh kinſeman) changed his determined purpoſe, and the twentieth of March 1562. he ſent to me a rich garment of cloth of golde, and ſo diſmiſſed me without any harme.

Conference with Indian Merchants.

During the time that I ſoiourned at the ſayde City of Casbin, diuers merchants out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of ſpices: whereunto they anſwered that they would bring of all ſorts ſo much as we would haue, if they were ſure of vent, whereof I did promiſe to aſſure them, ſo that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M. Jenkinsons returne.

The ſame twentieth day of March I returned from the ſaide Citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, hauing ſent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the ſaide Citie of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of April vnto Zauat aforeſayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that preſent, who immediatly ſent for me, and demaunding of me many queſtions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly caſt away, and ſent to the great Turke for a preſent by the Sophie, through the euill perſwaſion of his wicked counſell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and moouers thereof: but the Sophie himſelfe ment mee much good at the firſt, and thought to houe giuen me good entertainement, and ſo had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to haue bene cōcluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd he, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and ſo he intreated mee very gently, in whoſe Court I remained ſeuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of ſafe conductes and priuiledges in your names to bee free from paying cuſtome, which I deliuered vnto your ſeruants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Perſia for your affaires: and his highneſſe did giue mee two garments of ſilke, and ſo diſmiſſed me with great fauour, ſending with me his Ambaſſadour againe vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, and committed the chiefeſt ſecret of his affaires vnto me, to declare the ſame vnto the Emperours Maieſtie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouiſion of Camels downe to the Sea ſide, I ſent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readineſſe. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came vnto me an Armenian ſent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable eſtate of the ſame king, that being encloſed betwixt thoſe two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the ſaid great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Chriſt and as I was a Chriſtian, that I would ſend him comfort by the ſaid Armenian, and aduiſe how he might ſend his Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour of Ruſſia, and whether I thought that he would ſupport him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his neceſſitie vnto the ſame Emperour at my returne: adding further that the ſaid king would haue written vnto me his minde, but that hee doubted the ſafe paſſage of his meſſenger. Vnto whom I did likewiſe anſwere by word of mouth, not onely perſwading him to ſende his Ambaſſadour to Ruſſia, not doubting but that hee ſhould finde him moſt honourable and inclined to helpe him, but alſo I directed him his way how the ſayde king might ſend by the Countrey of Chircaſſi, through the fauour of Teneruk king of the ſayd Countrey, whoſe daughter the ſaid king had lately married. And thus diſmiſſing the ſaide Armenian, within two dayes after I ſent Edward Cleark your ſeruaunt vnto the Citie of Arraſh, where the moſt ſtore of Silkes is to be had, giuing him Commiſſion to haue paſſed further into the ſaide Countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the ſayde king. And after my commendations premiſed, and my minde declared to haue purſued for ſafeconduct of the ſame Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with ſpeede. The ſame your ſeruaunt iourneying to the ſayd Citie of Arraſh, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promiſed to goe to the ſayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Chriſtian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderſtanding that he could not paſſe further without great ſuſpition, anſwered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and ſhewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and ſo returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the ſixteene of the ſame moneth, and the one and twentie therof comming to the Sea ſide, and finding my backe in a readineſſe, I cauſed your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

Priuiledges obtained of Obdolowcan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian ſent to M. Ienkinſon from the king of Georgia.

Teneruk king of Chircaſſi.

But before I proceede any further to ſpeake of my returne, I intend with your fauours ſomewhat to treate of the countrey of Perſia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

The deſcription of Perſia.

The chiefe Cities of Perſia.

This land of Perſia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gillan, Coraſan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, townes and caſtles in the ſame. Euery prouince hath his ſeuerall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefeſt Cities be theſe: Teueris, Caſbin, Keſhan, Yeſſe, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arraſh with many others. The countrey for the moſt part toward the ſea ſide is plaine and full of paſture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and ſharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the Eaſt Ocean. To the North vpon the Caſpian ſea and the lands of Tartaria. To the Eaſt vpon the prouinces of India, and to the Weſt vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within theſe dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, ſonne to Iſmael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his puſillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countreys, euen nigh vnto the Citie of Teueris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forſaken the ſame, is chiefly reſident at Caſbin aforeſaide, and alwayes as the ſaid Turke purſueth him, he not being able to withſtand the Turke in the fielde, truſting rather to the mountaines for his ſafegard, then to his fortes and caſtles, hath cauſed the ſame to bee raſed within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies purſuing him, they ſhould not ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſame.

The difference of religion.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reaſonable ſtature, hauing fiue children. His eldeſt ſonne he keepeth captiue in priſon, for that he feareth him for his valiantneſſe and actiuitie: he profeſſeth a kinde of holyneſſe, and ſaith that hee is deſcended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although theſe Perſians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this falſe fained Murtezalli, ſaying that hee was the chiefeſt diſciple that Mahomet had, curſing and chiding dayly three other diſciples that Mahomet had called Ouear, Vſiran, and Abebeck, and theſe three did ſlay the ſaide Murtezalli, for which cauſe and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or leſſe Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I ſhall not need at this preſent. Theſe perſons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, eſteeming themſelues to bee beſt of all nations, both for their religion and holineſſe, which is moſt erroneous, and alſo for all other their faſhions. They be martial, delighting in faire horſes and good harneſſe, ſoone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and nowe I returne to diſcourſe the proceeding of the reſt of my voyage.

The 30. of May 1563.

My barke being ready at the Caſpian ſea as aforeſaide, hauing a faire winde, and committing our ſelues vnto God the 30. day of May 1563, we arriued at Aſtracan, hauing paſſed no leſſe dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then wee ſuſtained in our going foorth, and remayning at the ſaid Aſtracan, vntill the tenth day of Iune, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto mee for my ſafegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of Iuly I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and ſo diſmiſſing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the Citie of Moſco, where I arriued the twentieth day of Auguſt 1563. in ſafetie, thankes bee to God, with all ſuch goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours ſtocke and accompt, as alſo of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treaſurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered thoſe parcels of wares which were for his Maieſties accompt, videlicet, precious ſtones, and wrought ſilkes of ſundry colours and ſortes, much to his highneſſe contentation, and the reſidue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe ſilkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought vnto your houſe, whereof part there remained, and the reſt was laden in your ſhippes lately returned.

Shortly after my comming to the Moſco, I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, and preſented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whoſe highneſſe conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein it pleaſed him ſo to accept, that they were much to his contentation, ſaying vnto mee, I haue perceiued your good ſeruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the ſame, wiſhing that I would trauell againe in ſuch his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I anſwered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my ſeruice was ſo acceptable vnto his highneſſe, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humbly beſeeching his grace to continue his goodneſſe vnto your worſhips, and euen at that inſtant I humbly reque-

New priuiledges obtained hereafter following.

ſired his Maieſtie to vouchſafe to graunt vnto you a newe priuiledge more ample then the firſt, which immediately was graunted, and ſo I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note howe I meant to haue the ſame priuiledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the ſame, and obtained it vnder his Maieſties broade ſeale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the cuſtody of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copy whereof, and alſo of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue already deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all that winter at Moſco, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours Maieſtie, I ſent away your ſeruant Edward Clarke hither ouerland with aduiſe, and alſo made preparation for ſending againe into Perſia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your ſeruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of Iune laſt, I departed in poſte from the ſaid Moſco, and comming to Colmogro and ſo downe to the Sea ſide, I found your ſhips laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my ſelfe in your good ſhip called the Swallow, the 9. of Iuly, one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie foure, and hauing paſſed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of loſſe of ſhippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September laſt (God be praiſed) we arriued here at London in ſafetie.

28. Septemb. 1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant ſouldier, which aduentureth both fame, member and life, to ſerue faithfully his ſoueraigne, eſteemeth not the perils and dangers paſſed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon deſireth any thing more, then that his ſeruice bee well taken of him for whom he enterpriſed it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my ſelfe therewith in great part recompenſed: beſeeching Almightie God ſo to proſper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no ſmall dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the ſame, to the illuſtrating of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, the honour and commoditie of this her highneſſe Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your ſucceſſion, & poſteritie for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by *Obdolowcan* King of *Hircania*, to the company of Engliſh merchants Aduenturers for *Ruſſia*, *Perſia*, and *Mare Caſpium*, with all the lands and countreys adioyning to the ſame, obtained by *M. Anthonie Ienkinſon* at his being there about the affaires of the ſaid company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of our fauoured and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinſon Ambaſſadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worſhipfull Sir William Garret, ſir William Cheſter, ſir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, ſafe conduct, and licence to come or ſende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and ſell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, ſo long as they will, and to goe away when they liſt, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleaſure is, that the ſaid Engliſh merchants with their company, ſhall pay no maner of cuſtome for wares, which they or their factors ſhal buy or ſel within our dominions. And if at any time our cuſtomers or other officers, or any of them, doe diſturbe, miſuſe, force or conſtraine the ſaid Engliſh merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of cuſtome or duetie for any wares they bring in or cary out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the ſame be knowen vnto vs, then we will that the ſaide cuſtomers and officers ſhall looſe & be put out of their ſaid offices, with our further diſpleaſure, and the ſaide Engliſh merchants to haue reſtored all ſuch money & wares as our cuſtomers haue taken of them for our ſaid cuſtome. And whenſoeuer the ſaide Engliſh merchants or their factors ſhall bring any maner of wares meete for our treaſurie, then our treaſurer ſhall take the ſaid wares into our treaſurie, and ſhall giue vnto the ſaid Engliſh merchants, either ready money or raw ſilkes, to the value of their ſaide wares. And whereſoeuer this our letter of priuileges ſhall bee ſeene and read within our dominion, we ſtraightly will and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yere aboue written, and ſealed with our princely ſeale, and ſigned by our Secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The

The ſecond voiage into *Perſia* made by *Tho. Alcock*, who was ſlaine there, and by *George Wrenne*, & *Ric. Cheinie* ſeruants to the worſhipfull companie of *Moſcouie* merchants in Anno 1563. written by the ſaid *Richard Cheinie*.

IT may pleaſe your worſhips to vnderſtand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Ienkinſon, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Ruſſia, to goe for Perſia in your worſhips affaires, one Thomas Alcock hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worſhips ſeruants being ioyned with him in your buſines, hauing with vs, as they ſaid 1500. rubbles. And if it ſhall pleaſe you I cannot tell certainly what ſumme of money we had then of the Emperors: for I receiued none, nor diſburſed any of it in wares for the voyage. Alſo, God I take to record, I could not tell what ſtocke your worſhips had there, for the bookes were kept ſo priuily that a man could neuer ſee them. The 10. of May anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraſlaue vpon our voyage toward Perſia. The 24. of Iuly we arriued at Aſtracan: and the ſecond of Auguſt wee departed from Aſtracan, and the 4. of the ſame moneth we came to the Caſpian ſea, and the 11. day of the ſaid moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the ſaid Auguſt wee arriued at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the fielde. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arriuall at Shammaki wee were called before the king: we gaue him a preſent, and he entertained vs very well.

A rubble is a marke Engliſh.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who ſate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a croſſe, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to ſit downe, the King appointing euery man his place to ſit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Ruſſelands Merchants to riſe vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leauing mee at Shammaki to recouer ſuch debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recouer but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leuuacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in ſafetie with all ſuch goods as he had with him. During his abode there for ſeuen dayes he made ſuite to the king for ſuch money as the dukes ought him. But the king was diſpleaſed for that the Emperour of Ruſſelands merchant had ſlaine a Boſerman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke ſeeing the king would ſhewe vs no fauour, and alſo hearing from Shammaki, that the Ruſſes ſent their goods to the ſea ſide, for that they feared that the king of Perſia ſhould haue knowledge of the death of the Boſerman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all ſuch goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

A Boſerman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was ſlaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderſtanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some ſaid I was, ſome ſaide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worſhips had no other ſeruant there but mee among thoſe heathen people. Who hauing ſuch a ſumme of goods lying vnder my handes, and ſeeing howe the Ruſſes ſent their goods with as much haſt as they might to the ſea ſide, and hauing but foure men to ſende our wares to the ſea ſide, I vſed ſuch diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was ſlaine, I ſent in company with the Ruſſes goods, all your worſhips goods with a Mariner, William Auguſt, and a Swethen, for that they might the ſafer arriue at the ſeaſide, being ſafely layd in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Ruſſeland in good condition, Maſter Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I ſent then out of thoſe parties into Ruſſeland. Concerning my ſelfe, I remained after I had ſent the goods into Ruſſeland ſixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recouery of ſuch debts as were owing, and at laſt with much trouble recouered to the ſumme of fiftene hundreth rubbles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of me at my comming to Moſco, and all ſuch goods as I brought with me out of Keſelbaſh, as by a note of my hand that hee hath ſhall appeare. Alſo he hauing the receipt of all ſuch goods as I ſent into Ruſſeland by theſe two aboue named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubbles, one Richard Iohnſon twentie rubles, one Thomas Pette fiftie rubles, one Euan Chermiſin a Tartar ſeuentie rubles. All theſe had their returne: M. Glouer allowed himſelfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Perſia in your worſhips affaires.

Thomas Alcocke ſlaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammaki.

Keſelbaſh, or Ieſilbaſh.

And whereas he ſaith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can ſee, knowing what the wares coſt in thoſe partes, hee had treble. If they gaue him ſo much wares, all charges turned to your worſhips, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue ſowen the ſeede, and other men haue gathered the harueſt: I haue trauailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a ſorrowfull heart, aſwell for the ſafegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the beſt, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of thoſe miſeries which I ſuffered for your ſeruice among thoſe heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true ſeruant ought to do, I beſeech your worſhips (although I haue but ſmall recompence for my ſeruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will proſper you the better.

Gillan in Perſia.

Alſo, to informe your worſhips of your Perſian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you haue had no traffique, liueth al by marchandiſe: and it is neere Casbin, and not paſt ſix weekes trauaile from Ormus, whither all the ſpices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be eſtabliſhed: But your worſhips muſt ſend ſuch men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkards. For if ſuch men goe, it wil be to your diſhonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565, when as Richard Iohnſon went to Perſia, whoſe iourney had bene better ſtayed then ſet forward. For whereas before wee had the name among thoſe heathen people to be ſuch marchants as they thought none like in all reſpects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worſe then the Ruſſes.

Againe, if ſuch men trauaile in your affaires in ſuch a voyage, you ſhall neuer know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can ſuch men imploy themſelues to ſeeke the trade, that are inclined to ſuch vices? or howe can God proſper them in your affaires? But when a trade is eſtabliſhed by wiſe and diſcreet men, then wil it be for your worſhips to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made euil at the firſt, is the occaſion that your worſhips ſhal neuer vnderſtand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

1565.

The thirde voyage into *Perſia*, begun in the yeere 1565. by *Richard Iohnſon*, *Alexander Kitchin*, and *Arthur Edwards*.

A letter of *Arthur Edwards* to *M. Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the worſhipful company trading into *Ruſſia* and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into *Perſia*.

MAſter Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with deſire of God for the preſeruation of you and yours: you ſhall vnderſtand that the ſecond of March I was ſent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ieraſlaue, appointed to receiue ſuch goods as ſhould come from Vologhda, as alſo ſuch kinde of wares as ſhould be bought and ſent from Moſco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Perſia. And further, I was to prouide for biſcuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to aduiſe. Thus I remained here vntil the comming of your Agent, which was the 12, of May, who taried here three dayes, to ſee vs ſet forwards on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Perſia) Richard Iohnſon. For my part I am willing, as alſo haue bene & ſhalbe content to ſubmit my ſelfe vnder him, whom the Agent ſhall appoint, although he were ſuch a one as you ſhould thinke in ſome reſpects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carſeis are all of that kinde of cloth that we ſhall haue with vs. The other 18. packs that ſhould haue gone, were ſold in Moſco. What other goods are ſhipped for our voyage, you ſhall vnderſtand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honeſt man) was appointed Agent for Perſia, as one for thoſe parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this preſent life the 16. of March laſt paſt. I wiſhed of God for my part he had liued: for my deſire was in his company to haue trauelled into Perſia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caſpian ſea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the moſt. It is handſomly made after the Engliſh faſhion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and prouiſion of victuals. If the worſhipful company would ſend hither a Shipwright, being ſkilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but ſixe foote water at the moſt when it is laden, I thinke it ſhould be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the ſame, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much leſſened: And ſo it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be ſaued, and your ſeruants and goods in farre greater aſſurance: for their boates here are dangerous to ſaile with and to paſſe the Caſpian ſea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to inſtruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for thoſe that goe for your voyage of Perſia are yet vnknowen vnto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this preſent) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know)

Ieraſlaue a towne vpon the riuer of Volga.

Richard Iohnſon chiefe of the third voyage into Perſia.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Ieraſlave 1564. to paſſe the Caſpian ſeas.

it was the Gouernors minde I ſhould be acquainted with greater affaires then theſe. Howbeit I doubt not but I ſhall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things ſhall be bought when they ſhall ſee time and haue more laiſure. Thus in haſt (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almightie God; who preſerue you in perfect health with increaſe of worſhip. From Ieraſlaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elſewhere
during life. *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of the ſaid M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 26. of April 1566. in *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worſhipful Sir *Thomas Lodge* Knight and Alderman: and in his abſence to M. *Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the right worſhipfull companie trading into Ruſſia, Perſia, and other the North and Eaſt partes, touching the ſucceſſe of *Richard Iohnſon* in the third voiage into *Perſia*.

1566

WOrſhipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preſeruation of you and yours in perfect health with increaſe of worſhip. It may pleaſe you that my laſt letter I ſent you was from Aſtracan the 26 of Iuly 1565. From whence Richard Iohnſon, my ſelfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the ſame. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of Auguſt before we came to our deſired port named Nazauoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and ſtrength of men, as alſo windleſſes deuiſed and made, we haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peble ſtones into a ſmall Riuer, ſending your ſhips apparell with other things to an houſe hired in a village thereby. And as ſoone as we might get camels, being the fift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the ſame: and the 17. day folowing, we preſented vnto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or neſt of ſiluer cups parſill gilt, three Morſes teeth, 4. Arſhines of ſkarlet, 3. pieces of karſeis, with 40. red foxes.

They departed from Aſtracan the 30. of Iuly 1565.

September.

Preſents to the king Abdollocan.

He receiued our preſents with giuing vs thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Ienkinſon were in good health, and whether he would returne into theſe parts againe. He willed vs alſo himſelfe to ſit downe before him the diſtance of a quoits caſt from his tent, where he ſate with diuers of his counſaile and nobilitie, ſending vs from his table ſuch meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, he ſayd, if he might perceiue or know any maner of perſon to doe vs any wrong, he would puniſh them in example of others, whereby we ſhould liue in quietneſſe, and haue no cauſe to complaine, giuing vs a litle houſe for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in ſuch place as we ſhould thinke moſt meete, neuer willing vs to riſe or depart, vntill ſuch time as we of our ſelues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, hee willed vs to put our whole minds and requeſts in writing, that he might further vnderſtand our deſires, But while we were about to doe ſo, God tooke this good king our friend out of this preſent life the 2. of October paſt. The want of him hath bene the cauſe that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we ſhall recouer all ſuch ſummes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are paſt hope of recouerie, which had not bene loſt if the king had liued. We truſt in the place of him, God will ſend as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) ſhall bee his ſonne named the Murſay: who ſince the death of his father, at our being with him, promiſed to ſhew vs more friendſhip then euer we found: God grant the ſame.

A houſe giuen our men in Shamaki by the king.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Murſay the new king of Media.

Great troubles haue chanced in theſe parts. Of thoſe which were of the old kings counſell or bare any rule about him in theſe quarters, ſome are in priſon, ſome are pinched by the purſe, and other ſent for vnto the Shaugh. Theſe troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not ſold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnſon bought foure horſes, minding to haue ſent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October laſt: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners, whoſe ſoules I truſt the Lord hath receiued to his mercy. We are now deſtitute of others to ſupply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to ſaile your barke, whereof at this preſent we haue but one, whoſe name is William Smith, an honeſt yong man, and one that doeth good ſeruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that ſhould know their labours, we all were like to be caſt away in a ſtorme. For all the broad ſide of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recouer it, but God of his mercy deliuered vs. Mariners here may doe you good ſeruice all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ſhip their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One merchant at this preſent is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading fraight to Aſtracan. Such barkes as muſt paſſe theſe ſeas, may not draw aboue fiue foote of water, becauſe that in many pla-

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

The Caſpian ſea very ſhoald in diuers places.

ces are very ſhallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Ruſſian boates more ſtrong, and they ſhall ſerue our turnes very well.

And whereas ſome in times paſt tooke great paines, trauell and care, and could not haue their deſire in the getting of the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: Now, I truſt (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to thoſe that ſhal remaine here, although heretofore things haue chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, we ſhall liue in quietneſſe and reſt, and ſhall ſhortly grow into a great trade for ſilkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of ſpices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Ienkinſon is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertiſed the Companie thereof.

The murthering of Thomas Alcock.

The trueth of the ſlaughter of Thomas Alcock your ſeruant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your ſayd ſeruant was earneſt in demanding of your debts: upon whoſe words he was ſo offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, falſe knaues lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and ſo ſlew him. I doubt not though this miſfortune hath chanced, that things ſhall come well to paſſe, and that we ſhall be better beloued when we ſhall be more knowen.

Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation.

Honeſt merchants are glad of our being here, and ſeeke to grow in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, & haue ſpoken in our fauours to the chiefeſt of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendſhip, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of theſe parts ſet a good ſtay in things ſince the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinſon, his name is Cozamomet. Alſo another Duke named Ameddin-beck is our great friend: And his ſiſter is the Shaughes wife. Theſe two haue promiſed your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but alſo that I ſhall haue the debts paied me of thoſe that went from hence to Caſbin, if we would ſend one with them. In conſideration whereof, I was vpon ſhort warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Iohnſon, all excuſes laied apart, preſently to put my ſelfe in readineſſe, and to depart in company with theſe noblemen: with charge, when God ſhould ſend me to Caſbin, to vſe my diſcretion with their aduiſe, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I ſhall haue with mee one interpreter and two bought ſeruants: one of which partly vnderſtandeth this tongue, and may be put in truſt whatſoeuer ſhould

The value of a tumen.

become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in ready money, 200. ſhaughs is a tumen, reckoning euery ſhaugh for ſixe pence Ruſſe. I haue further receiued two timbers of Sables, one to be ſold, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I ſhall ſee good to thoſe that ſhall further my ſuite, and as occaſion ſerueth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I ſhall willingly do my beſt, putting my truſt in God that he will ſend me well to ſpeed in this iourney.

For all kind of wares bought or ſold, you ſhal throughly be aduertiſed by your Agent Richard Iohnſon, whoſe reckonings or accompts at no hands I might ſee or be priuie vnto. Your karſeis were good and well ſorted, they are and will be ſold from 150. ſhaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were ſold vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would haue bene giuen, if circumſpection had bene vſed. They were ſold to thoſe noble men aforeſayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I ſhould haue gone with them. They may ſtand vs much in ſtead, as they haue promiſed vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England, 11. packes of rawe ſilke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery

What a batman is.

packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of Engliſh waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. ſhaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle courſe at this time was to be had. And where courſe ſilke might be had being at Groſin, we could not ſend thither: for that time was neglected at the firſt. When wee ſhall haue lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the firſt hand of the countrey people that bring it to ſell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to haue a vent to make ſales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thouſand pounds yeerely.

Varas a great mart for ſilke.

And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others ſawe there ſo great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may beſtow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thouſand pounds: beſides ſilke of all colours died in graine, bound vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here ſold for 23. ſhaughs, at 6. d. the ſhaugh, may be 11. s. 6. pence.

Gilan 7. dayes ſailing from Aſtracan. Alom.

From Aſtracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may ſaile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) ſhall ſerue our purpoſe beſt to goe vnto. Alom is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and ſold here for two biſts their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and ſo I haue bought to bee ſent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe ſilke enough for the companies ſtocke. I beleeue, if any great ſtore of wares be ſent from you, that muſt be the place: & from thence a man may trauell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better ſales, at which place your commodities are to be ſold. For there be the chiefe and beſt merchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardouil, and Caiſhan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and merchants are better vſed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers merchants both Ruſſes and others that haue bene in thoſe parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the ſame to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into theſe parts. And from Casbin to Orthus, is about 30, daies trauelling with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for ſpices and ſome drugs which I do know.

Gilan 4. dayes iourney from Casbin.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths trauel with camels.

Alſo you ſhall vnderſtand here is plentie of yew for bowſtaues. I cauſed three horſe loades to be bought vs for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of ſeaſon this moneth of April, the ſap being in them. Three moneths I neuer left ſpeaking to the Countrey men to bring ſome. Your Agent will ſend ſome home for example.

This day being the 26, of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God giue me a good houre and well to ſpeed, with a merry heart in returning againe, as my hope is I ſhall. I haue written my mind to M. Glouer your Agent, what Ruſſian wares I thinke beſt to be bought for this Countrey, and to ſend ſome one hither that hath the Ruſſe tongue, for we haue need. And the companie ſhall do well hereafter in taking of ſeruants to be ſent hither, to ſee that they be ſuch as haue diſcretion, and be ſomething broken in the world, and ſeene in the trade of merchandiſe, and one (if they can get ſome ſuch) as can ſpeake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good ſeruice, as thoſe that ſhall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a ſlaue that can ſpeake this language and the Portingal tongue alſo, which ſhall then interprete vnto vs in all your ſecret doings, not making the Ruſſes priuy: for they are ſory that we doe trade into theſe partes, for we are better beloued then they are: becauſe they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of theſe people. It is to be wiſhed that none ſhould ſerue your worſhips in theſe parts that be giuen to that kind of vice. And that your chiefe Agent and Factor ſhould be able to rule and gouerne himſelfe, that no diſhoneſtie ſhould be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vſage he paied here 24. rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to haue conuaied away from a Teſicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to ſweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he ſhould not pay it. If he were honeſt he might do your worſhips good ſeruice becauſe of his Ruſſian tongue.

The ſecret doings of the Moſcouie company.

Your London reds are not to be ſent hither, for they will not giue aboue 18. ſhaughes their arſhine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people ſpecially weare karſeis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You ſhall doe well to ſend fiue or ſixe broad clothes, ſome blackes, pukes, or other ſad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. ſhaughes the arſhine, and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus wiſhing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my ſcribled letter, and after you haue red it, that M. Nicols may haue a ſight thereof.

By your ſeruant to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Perſia, *with their prizes there.*

1 Karſeis are ſold there for 180. ſhaughes: ſo that a karſey is ſold there in Perſia for foure pounds ten ſhillings: for euery ſhaugh is ſixe pence Engliſh, and euery Biſt is two pence halfepeny Engliſh, and in Ruſſe money three pence.
2 Tinne is ſold in Perſia for 14. and 18. ſhaughes the batman. The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.
3 Braſil is at 10. and 12. ſhaughes the batman.
4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. ſhaughes the yard.
5 Copper at 20. and 25. ſhaughes the batman.

A ſhaugh is 6. d. Engliſh.

Commodities

Commodities to be brought out of Perſia for England.

1 RAw ſilke at 60. ſhaughs yͤ batman.
2 Pepper at 32. ſhaughs yͤ batman.
3 Ginger at 18. & 20. ſhaughs yͤ batman.
4 Nutmegs at 30. ſhaughs the batman.
5 Brimſtone at 4. ſhaughs the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. Engliſh.
6 Allom at 2. biſts and a halfe the batman and leſſe.
7 Rice at halfe a biſt the batman.
8 Gals at halfe a biſt the batman.
9 Cloues at 40. ſhaughs the batman.
10 Yew for bow ſtaues, at

A letter of M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 8. of Auguſt 1566. from the towne of *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worſhipfull the Gouernours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and generalitie of the companie of Ruſſia, &c. Shewing his acceſſe vnto the Emperour of Perſia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priuiledge, with diuers other good obſeruations.

His arriual at Casbin the 25. of May.

Conference & demands of the Shaugh.

All ſorts of cloth to be ſent, ſpecially Weſterne dozens died into ſkarlet.

Londō clothes much talked of in Perſia.

Much Venice cloth worne in Perſia.

RIght worſhipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with moſt humble commendations and like requeſt to God for the preſeruation of your good healths, with the reſt of the companie, &c. It may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that the laſt letter which I ſent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this preſent yeere by Richard Iohnſon at my departure towards Casbin: to which citie I came the 25. of May folowing, not ſlacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the ſpeedie bringing me before the preſence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the ſame moneth brought before him, with whoſe maieſtie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twiſe to come neerer him, demanding what were my requeſts: and hauing heard them, he promiſed me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twiſe againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes maieſtie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we deſired: and then of other countries adioyning to vs and their commodities, as alſo of king Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turks at the ſiege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Ruſſeland and Moſcouia, and in what ſpace we might ſaile out of England into Ruſſeland, & how many weekes trauell it is from Colmogro to Aſtracan: and then came to diſcourſe of Ruſſeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himſelfe moſt of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worſhips ſhould ſend him of all ſorts of clothes, but of one eſpecially which maidens do make (as he ſayd:) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Weſterne dozens, died into ſcarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his maieſty. It was ſtrange to his people (knowing our religion) to ſee me ſo long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was deſirous of: to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all ſorts for example, being well ſhorne and dreſt. Violets in graine and fine reds be moſt worne, but other good colours will away, when they ſhall ſee them. I wore a garment of London ruſſet, being much eſteemed. You ſhall doe well to ſend ſuch ſorts as be liuely to the ſight, and ſome blacks for womens garments, with ſome Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are deſirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threed, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being crompliſted a yard and a halfe broad, and ſold here from 24. to 30. ſhaughes their arſhine, being longer by two inches then the Ruſſe arſhine is. I wiſh alſo that you ſend ſome good chamlets & veluets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: becauſe theſe are moſt worne. Alſo ſome blacks with other colours: ſome cloth of gold, tiſſue & botky, ſome veluets wrought with gold, with ſattins and damaſkes, moſt purple, and reds of all ſorts. You may not forget to ſend ſome Weſtern karſeis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and cloſe ſhut in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and ſome ſkarlets: for I thinke there is no ſuch cloth for their caps.

The ſecond admiſſion to the Shaughs preſence, the 29. of Iune 1566. at which time he receiued the priuiledge.

Your worſhips ſhall vnderſtand, that after my firſt departure from the preſence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readineſſe at ſuch time as I ſhould againe bee called before the preſence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of Iune laſt. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your ſeruants, and then I receiued your letters or priuiledge, according to my deſire, ſealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Prayſed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The 29. of Iune is one of their chiefe feſtiuall daies, ſo that all his nobilitie was there preſent, with two Ambaſſadors in companie with his maieſtie, who ſayd vnto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they ſhould be mended. Whereupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his highneſſe moſt humble and heartie thanks, ſaying, that with as much ſpeed as might bee, our Queenes Maieſtie ſhould vnderſtand of his goodneſſe towardes her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of requeſt vnto his Highnes, in ſuch forme & order as by them ſhould be thought meete and requiſite for their good aſſurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with theſe wordes; when wee ſhall ſee their reaſonable requeſts, we will ſhew them our farther good will, and ſo I departed.

The Shaughs promiſe to increaſe the priuiledge.

Since the receiuing of the Shaughs letters, I haue eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day ſome would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne diſh. Likewiſe in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I ſate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee vnbidden, when I wiſhed them further off: for I ſpared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my ſelfe. I doubt not but we ſhall liue here from henceforth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vſed with the beſt.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thouſand pieces of kerſies, and clothes. And I anſwered him, ſaying, your worſhips were able to furniſh his countrey with two hundred thouſand. Whereat his Highneſſe reioyced: for the Turkes Ambaſſador the laſt yere, as diuers haue told me, did put the Shaugh in deſpaire, ſaying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, beſides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, ſaffron, ſkins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great ſtore of ſpices. Alſo the Armenians yeerly receiue at the Venetians hands, karſies in barter for rawe ſilks, giuing ſometimes 60. pieces of karſies for 70. batmans of ſilke of this countrey, and 40. pieces for Grofin ſilke. And karſies ſold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the piece, (the ducket being here worth 12. ſhillings) may coſt the firſt peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karſie. By report it is one moneths trauel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, ſix dayes iourney: and from Tripoils to Venice by water, a moneth or fiue weekes ſailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may eaſily be trauelled in leſſe then three moneths. Therefore I wiſh your worſhips to procure ſome truſtie and aſſured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be ſent. For I can haue them here to put in ſuerties to deliuer my letters, and to bring anſwers. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

Armenians barter with the Venetians.

The diſtance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

The Armenians and other are deſirous to barter with vs, giuing ſilke for karſies, and alſo will ſerue vs of all kind of ſpices, we giuing them ſufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliuer it vs in Shamaky at theſe prizes.

Armenians and other, deſirous to barter ſilke and ſpices for karſies.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, euery Shaugh is ſixepence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.

Cloues for 40. Shaughs the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.

Sinamom for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in ſpices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is ſix weeks trauel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in ſeuen or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with cattel vnladen. But here in all places as men trauel, they muſt carie their owne prouiſion on horſes, which they are to buy, and thus they trauell but a footepaſe.

The Shaugh himſelfe is deſirous to bargaine with you, who will giue money, ſilke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may afford them, willing me himſelfe to bring ſuch wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceiue, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, fiue, and ſix thouſand pieces of karſies and clothes, beſides thoſe which other men bring. If your Worſhips might procure and find vent or ſales for rawe ſilke, and ſilke died in graine, beſides other ſilkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might ſend a great ſubſtance of wares hither. But I feare you ſhall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieue them that you doe trade into theſe partes: for in ſhort time it ſhall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the ſales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adioyning. You ſhall vnderſtand that 60. batmans of ſilke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yeerly carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of ſilke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thouſand Mules laden with karſies & Venice clothes. And 18.

The Shaugh deſirous to bargaine for our commodities.

2000. pieces of karſies to be ſent into Perſia.

pieces of karſies are a Mules lading. But I wiſh you not to ſend aboue 2000. pieces of karſies, although I haue bene willed to write for more . If I might haue had any vnderſtanding what your Worſhips had written for in your letters ſent this yeere, I ſhould in this my letter haue bene better able to haue anſwered you. They which be now in Aſtracan, might haue written ſome thing vnto me hither, if it had pleaſed them, or elſe haue ſent me ſuch letters of mine, as I hope ſome of my friends haue written to me: for here are arriued eight weekes paſt, two boates with wares and Ruſſes, by whom they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promiſed the Ruſſes to write, but promiſe was not kept. I would be ſory that any boat ſhould depart out of theſe partes, and not write vnto them, waying how all things ſtand. I heare they haue bought a boat, which coſt 40. rubbles, and ſhipped certaine wares to come hither. God ſend them in ſafetie, I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Aſtracan in thoſe boates which departed hence lately.

He departed from Casbin the 15. of July.

Rich. Iohnſons great negligence.

Cozomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

Victuals and all things deare at Casbin.

The fifteenth of July laſt, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of ẏ ſame, And the fourth of Auguſt I found meanes to arreſt the falſeſt knaue in this countrey, to wit, the Cuſtomer for 22. tumens, and 100. ſhaughs, (200. ſhaughs is a tumen.) I haue cauſed him to put in ſuerties for his foorthcomming at all times, what ende I ſhall haue with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recouered, but not yet, for he muſt pay the Shaugh 1000. rubbles. Theſe partes as yet are in no ſtay for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule , which I thinke ſhall bee the Murſey. Within 5. or 6. dayes we ſhall know, for it is time, becauſe men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I ſhould ſoone get in your debts, for they dare not diſobey the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts ſhall be paied, but alſo that we ſhall be taken heed to, ſo as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as wel vſed as we are in Ruſſeland. The bils of debts that Rich. Iohnſon left with me, had neither the parties name nor ſumme of mony in two of them, and in other bils but his own name. If I had not vſed diſcretion in cauſing to be written in our priuiledge, that ſuch debtes as are owing, ſhould be paied any of vs in the abſence of the other, ſome men would not haue paied one penie, but onely to Richard Iohnſon, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receiued in Casbin of Forackan in part of 29. tumens, 300. ſhaughs in money: the reſt he will deliuer me here in ſilke, and this is all that I haue receiued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelue tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to ſpeake with him, I ſhould be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackons money, by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who firſt owed the debt, becauſe they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather ſeeke to hinder my ſute then to further mee, but I found out a preſent remedie: for God ſent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my ſute, and brought mee to the preſence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet ſawe the Shaughs eyes . But Cozomomet in the end was my friend: for he was ſent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, vſing trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great fauour with the Emperour of Ruſſia, and what good commodities wee might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was ſent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in thoſe partes, for no man was able to aduiſe the Shaugh of the ſtate and affaires of thoſe Countreys ſo much as hee was. He owed your Worſhips ſeuen tumens and 48. ſhaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great gifts ſince his comming, which he twiſe declared vnto me. I feeling his griefe became Phyſicion to eaſe his paine, and forgaue him his debt aboueſayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karſies, that were promiſed him by Richard Iohnſon and me, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in conſideration that he ſhould with ſpeed doe what lay in him, to diſpatch me away: for I perceiue hee procured another that did helpe me in my ſute to delay me of, till time he had his purpoſe. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, and had got mee out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, becauſe they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other ſmal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we ſhall ſeeke to get them in as we may. I wiſh your Worſhips to ſend ſome bullion to bee coyned here, it will pleaſe the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three ſhaughs the batman, then it was the laſt yeere. You ſhall vnderſtand that I haue written two letters of all my proceedings, which I ſent from Casbin long ſince: to wit, the 24. and 29. of Iune laſt, by one of your ſeruants to Gilan, there to take ſhip and to goe to Aſtracan, and to deliuer the ſame vnto your Factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right ſorie to heare ſince my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in thoſe boats that went firſt, but taried for the laſt boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he ſhall make haſte hereafter in ſuch affaires. The karſies which you ſent laſt, being bought of M. Quarles, were good and full lengths and well ſorted. The Princes Ambaſſador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to Gilan, to obtaine for your worſhips the like priuiledge at the kings hand there alſo. For I haue ſomthing moued the matter, being put in ſuch comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with ſmall charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in truſt: for from Casbin to Gilan is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worſhips. There is in that Prouince good ſtore of ſilke, better cheape, & better in goodneſſe then this countrey ſilke is. Alſo great ſtore of Alom, being there ſold this townes batman, for one biſt and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence fraight into England at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not ſtand you in aboue 18. and 20. ſhillings the hundreth. You haue yeerly by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, and ſold here not vnder 3. or 4. ſhaughs their batman, being ſix pounds Engliſh waight. Graine that you die ſcarlet withall is worth the batman ready mony, 200. ſhaughs, reckoning the ſhaugh for 6. pence Ruſſe, it may be 6. rubbles their batman. Your worſhips may ſend ſome portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. s. a pound the berries, ſo you ſhall gaine both in the price and waight. If one Engliſhman more had bene here with me, to whom I might haue deliuered our bils of debts and other things, whatſoeuer ſhould haue chanced of me, I would then haue become ſeruant to mine Interpreter, and ſo haue gone to Ormus and Aleppo, which both ioyne on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe Mart townes, whereunto from all places merchants reſort. And thus would I haue ſpent 4. or 5. months in trauelling for further knowledge of things for to haue certified your worſhips of. I hope in God to vſe things in ſuch order, that yeerly you ſhall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue forth of Ruſſeland, and in thoſe ſhips. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make ſales in time, and with ſpeed receiue ſilke at the Shaughs hand, and other mens, that it may be ſent from hence to be in Aſtracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be ſent to Colmogro in three moneths and leſſe, and there to be ready with the reſt of your goods by the end of Iune for your ſhips to receiue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to paſſe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly ſetled in theſe parts, and better knowen. Moreouer you ſhall vnderſtand, that at my laſt being in the preſence of the Shaugh, it was ſayd to mee that M. Anthonie Ienkinſon did proffer to take all the rawe ſilke in thoſe parties, deliuering cloth and other commodities for the ſame. I aſſure you there is in thoſe parts to be had three or foure thouſand horſes lading, euery horſe load being 50. or 60. batmans, beſide ſilke of Groſin. Great abundance of ſilke at times is ſent out of theſe parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horſe lodes at a time by the Turkes, who bring great ſtore of ſiluer to be coined, to wit, Dollars at ten ſhaughs the piece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. ſhaughs. And hauing money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy ſilke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it firſt to be ſold. If your worſhips may bargaine with the Venetians to take ſilke at your hands, or otherwiſe deale with them, I doe not miſtruſt but to haue at the Shaughs hand ſixe batmans of ſilke for two pieces and a halfe of karſies. Your good aduiſe herein, and in other matters, I truſt you will write with conuenient ſpeed. Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon hath deſerued great commendation at all your worſhips hands: for the good report of his well and wiſe doings in thoſe parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and ſome good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to ſee your worſhips, for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a ſorowfull day and vnquiet ſleepes. Neither had I the company of one Engliſh perſon, to whom ſometimes I might haue eaſed my penſiue heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to liue.

The Ambaſſador of yͤ prince of Gilan.

Gilan but fiue dayes riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Ormus.
Aleppo.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſons offer to the Perſian.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſon commended.

Your humble ſeruant at commandement
during life, *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of *Arthur Edwards* written in Aſtracan the 16. of *Iune, 1567. at his returne in his firſt voiage out of Perſia, to the right worſhipfull Companie* trading into Ruſſia, Perſia, and other the North and Northeaſt partes.

It may pleaſe your Worſhips that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but alſo the Gouernours names, with the Conſuls, Aſſiſtants and generalitie. Alſo ſuch commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worſhips to be ſent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remem-

The Shaughs letters to the Moſcouy companie.

bred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, graunted, and giuen in the names of theſe ſixe perſons following: to wit, ſir William Garrard, ſir William Cheſter, gouernours, ſir Thomas Lodge, maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, maſter Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 Firſt, it is granted that you ſhall pay no maner of cuſtomes or tols, any kinde of wayes, now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all Engliſh merchants, ſuch as you ſhall appoint now and hereafter, ſhall and may paſſe and repaſſe into all places of his dominions and other countries adioining in the trade of merchandize, to buy and ſell all maner of commodities, with all maner of perſons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants ſhall haue their reſort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers and Iuſtices ſhall take heed vnto vs, being our aide & defence againſt all euil perſons, puniſhing thoſe that ſhall do vs any wrong.

3 Item, that for all ſuch debts as ſhall be owing by any maner of perſon, iuſtice ſhal be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of perſons of whatſoeuer eſtate or degree they be of, ſhall be ſo hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leaue and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or ſeruants, as God forbid, ſhould kill any of his ſubiects, that no part of your goods ſhall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iuſtice to bee miniſtred, and being any of vs, not to ſuffer without the Princes knowledge and aduiſe.

6 Item, that all ſuch debts as are now owing, or hereafter ſhall be, are to be paied vnto any of vs, in the abſence of the other, be the partie dead or aliue.

7 Item, that no perſon returne any kind of wares backe againe, being once bought or ſold.

8 Item, that when God ſhall ſend your goods to ſhore, preſently his people ſhall helpe vs on land with them.

Theſe articles before written, I truſt in God wil content your minds, vntill your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince, who I am aſſured will graunt your farther reaſonable requeſts, which his maieſtie hath promiſed. For I moued the queſtion, declaring vnto him that I thought your Worſhips would write your letters of requeſts, to craue his farther good will, as ſhould be thought meet for your better aſſurance in the trade of merchandize: you will hardly beleeue what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I aſſure you continued two houres, which was ſtrange vnto the people & other merchant ſtrangers. For betwixt euery queſtion that his maieſtie moued, when I had anſwered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his ſeruants, hauing ſome knowledge of our Weſterne parts & commodities, and then againe would demaund other queſtions. He cauſed his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkiſh tongue to be ſent you.) On the backe ſide of one, hee hath written what wares his Maieſtie would haue you to ſend him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

Theſe bee the names of the wares or commodities which on the *backe ſide of one of his letters the* Shaugh *hath written to you to be ſent him.*

First, ſome cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tiſſue, and cloth of Bocky, as Veluets wrought with gold.

Item, good veluets, to wit, crimoſins, purples, reds, greenes and blackes. Theſe colours his maieſtie requireth, for they are moſt worne. And though there be ſome of theſe wares made in his citie of Caſſan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to thoſe that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in theſe wares: yet for diuers conſiderations, as alſo to ſatiſfie the Princes mind, I wiſh you to ſend ſome, and thoſe that be eſpeciall good.

Item, good damaſks and ſattins of all ſortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are worth here 80. ſhaughs the piece, at ſixe pence the ſhaugh, and thoſe ſilkes to bee of thoſe colours aboue written, to wit, crimoſins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with ſome light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harneſſes that wil abide the ſhot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of ſteele, being good.

Item, ten or twelue good ſhirts of male being very good or elſe none, that may abide the ſhot of an arrow, and two buffe ierkins.

Item, ten or twelue pieces of Weſterne karſies, being thicked well and cloſe ſhut in the weauing, and died into ſcarlets and fine reds. I thinke there will be no ſuch cloth for noblemens caps.

The prince named them *karangies,ſaying, that maidens did make them, & is deſirous of them.

* By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane karſies.

Item,ſix pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with ſome other for noblemen,of a lower price.

Item,twentie handguns being good,ſome of them with fire locks,and alſo ſix good bags,with locks to trauel withall.

Item 100.bruſhes for garments (none made of ſwines haire,) for gifts, and otherwiſe to be ſold.

Item,ſix ſtone bowes that ſhoot lead pellets.

Item,a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe,finely deuiſed: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be ſent,to giue the Prince.

Item,the Prince requireth of all ſortes and colours of London clothes.I wiſh you to ſend no leſſe then 40.or 50.for I know they will be ſold to profit, eſpecially ſuch cloth as may be affoorded for 20.ſhaughs the arſhine,which is longer by two of mine inches then Ruſſia arſhine is. Let there be fine ſkarlets,violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery ſort,for the prince and other lords: the reſt of other colours liuely to the ſight,as London ruſſets, tawnies,lion colours,good liuely greenes,with other,as you ſhall thinke good: for the prince deſireth to ſee of all ſorts,which will be an occaſion that the Venetians and Turkes ſhall bee in leſſe eſtimation then they are: for they themſelues do feare,and ſecretly ſay the ſame. And truely the Princes ſubiects intend to enter into trade with vs for ſpices and other commodities that they were woont to ſell vnto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I commit you all to God,who ſend you health with increaſe of worſhip. Written in Aſtracan the 16.of Iune, 1567.

By your ſeruant during life to command,

Arthur Edwards.

Diſtances of certaine places in Ruſſia.

The way from Saint Nicholas *Baie to Moſco.*

	verſts
To Colmogro	100
To Vſtiug	500
To Totma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100
To Yeraſlaue	180
To Roſtoue	60
To Peraſlaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land Eaſt and Weſt	440

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram	300
To Smolensko	200

The way from Mosko to Nouogrod.

To Otuer	180
To Torzhoke	60
To Wiſnouolloko	60
To Nouogrod	150
Southeaſt and Northweſt	450

The way from Nouogrod to Narue.

To Teſeua	50
To the Friers	60
To Yris Niagorod	40
To Narue	15
Southweſt and Northeaſt	165

verſts

From Nouogrod to Vobsky,is 180. verſts by Eaſt.

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

To Newhouſe	50
To Gouen on yͤ borders.	All is 200.verſts
To Wenden	
To Trecado	
To Newſlot	
To Rie	

The way from Moſco to Aſtracan.

To Coſtrom	
To Niſnouogrod	
To Cazan	
To Aſtracan in all is	2800, verſts

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narue	180
Southweſt and Northeaſt	770,verſts

To go with a ſmall boat within the land from S. Nicholas *to Wardhouſe.*

To Newnox riuer
To Ouſca Gouba
To Lobſhanga
To Ouſt Nauelocki
To Orlouanos

To Soluſca Monaſterie.
To Candelox
To Ouſt Colla
To Zhemaker
To Poganna Volocki
To Chibe Nauolocke
To Kegor

To Wardhouſe in all 800. verſts Northweſt and Southeaſt.

The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

To Vſt Pinnego
To Palango
To Leuuona

To Veſcom
To Soyaua
To Coula
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda

Al is 230. verſts

The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the Loſh hides are gotten.

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Vromo

Al is 215. verſts Northeaſt and Southweſt.

The way and diſtances from Saint Nicholas, *to the Caſpian Sea.*

IF you goe ſtraight from Saint Nicholas to the Caſpian Sea, you muſt goe to Vologhda by water, as by the eaſieſt paſſage, and that is accompliſhed, paſſing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Strougs) 1100. verſts it is.

By horſe and ſleds in 8. dayes you may paſſe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of mariſhes and bogs, and not ſafely then to be paſſed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraſlaue, 180. verſts ouer land. This Yeraſlaue ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. verſts I ſay diſtant from Vologhda.

To the Caſpian ſea are 2700. verſts from Yeraſlaue.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caſpian ſea, are } 3800.80. verſts.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraſlaue is accompliſhed in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } 16. dayes.

From thence to Aſtracan men trauell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.

So betweene S. Nicholas and the Caſpian ſea, are } 46. dayes iourney.

There paſſe downe Volga euery Summer, 500. boats great & ſmal, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof ſome be of 500. tunne. They go for Minerall ſalt and for Sturgeon.

The ſalt lieth in rocks (and is whitiſh red, and in fine ſand) as it were 30. miles from Aſtracan toward the Caſpian ſea. They dig it themſelues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a peny a pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

Fiſhing for Sturgeon for 3. moneths.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this ſide Aſtracan. Along the riuer the ſpace of 20. miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, & fiſh for the ſpace of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of Auguſt, and hauing ſalt they vſe to ſalt them.

The riuer is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with ſome Iſlands.

The riuer below Yeraſlaue, where it is moſt narow, is a mile broad from ſide to ſide.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer ſides, ſaue about the townes of the fiſhing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vſtiug runneth all on chalke and ſand: the fiſh are ſweete & fat.

The Mene a fiſh with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Betweene Vobsko and Nouogrod, the ſpace of an 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole ſoile in length is ſo imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat ſoile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Poliſh border, 300. miles in compaſſe: much of the ſoile is ſo imploied.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we ſet in worke in making of cables aboue 100. men.

The Engliſhmen in making of cables, ſet on worke a 100. men in Ruſſia.

The Ruſſians do ſpin and hatchell it, and the Engliſh tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of thoſe is worth two of Danzick, becauſe the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten ſtuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no ſtrength.

Soſnoua tree, excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

Soſnoua, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the ſhauings of the wood, groweth in theſe parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree.

The wood of this tree is as heauie as hollie, and the ſhauings tough.

Roſe Iſland in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roſes damaſke and red, of violets and wild Roſemarie: This Iſland is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good paſture, and hath the name of the roſes.

The deſcription of Roſe Iſland.

The ſnow here about the midſt of May is cleared, hauing bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the graſſe is knee high within a moneth. Thē after September the froſt commeth in, the ſnow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Iſland hath Firre and Birch, and a faire freſh ſpring neere the houſe built there by the Engliſh.

The way diſcouered by water by vs *Thomas Southam* & *Iohn Sparke*, *from the towne of Colmogro, by the Weſterne bottome of the Baie of* S. Nicholas, vnto the citie of Nouogrod in Ruſſia, containing many particulars of the way, and diſtance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. *Anno 1566.*

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coaſt to a place called Soroka, & in the ſayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place beforerehearſed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the riuer of Dwina, the winde being then calme, vnto a monaſterie called S. Michael where we were conſtrained to anker becauſe of a contrary wind which there met vs.

From Colmogro to this monaſterie are 50. verſts or miles of Ruſſia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind ſomewhat faire, we ſet ſaile and departed thence.

A verſt is but 3. quarters of an engliſh mile.

21 We departed from the monaſterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind ſomwhat faire, and arriued at Roſe Iſland, ouer and againſt the monaſterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles diſtant from the monaſterie of S. Michael. By reaſon of contrary wind and tide we were conſtrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monaſterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, & came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there vntil halfe an houre paſt 10. of the clocke, and then ſet from thence, the wind being South: our courſe was Weſt vntil 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker againſt Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

At this towne Newnox Richard Chanceller in his firſt voyage, with his companie aſhipboard were relieued.

The ſayd towne of Newnox is from the monaſterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed frō Newnox hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeaſt, and our courſe Northweſt and by Weſt.

The point of Tolſtick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seuſemski lie next Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in yͤ afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reaſon of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seuſemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at Eaſt and by North, and our courſe Northweſt and by Weſt.

The ſaid land of Seuſemski & the headland going into Owna riuer lieth Eaſt and by South, weſt and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne ſet we came to an Iſland called Sogiſney paſſing betwixt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by Eaſt, our courſe was Weſt and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being paſt the ſaid Iſland 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Iſland of Sogiſney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogiſney aforeſayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at Eaſt northeaſt, & our courſe was Southweſt & by weſt, paſſing by an Iſland called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogiſney, and keeping on our courſe, we came by the headland of an Iſland called Abdon, being from the Iſland of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great prouidence of God had not preſerued vs, wee had there periſhed, being fallen amongſt them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfecteſt, which was contrary to his profeſſion as we found it.

But whoſoeuer will trauell that way muſt either keepe hard aboord the ſhore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coaſt within the rocks, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the leaſt, and ſo goe a ſeaboord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithſtanding there lay two rockes two miles to ſea boord of vs,ſo that we were incloſed with them,and ſate vpon the higheſt of them: but it pleaſed God to make it calme,and giue vs the day alſo,or els we had miſcaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Iſland of Abdon,at 4.of the clocke in the morning, directing our courſe Weſt,and at 10.of the clocke before noone, we arriued at a monaſterie named Soloſky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monaſterie we continued vntill the 31.day of this moneth. We had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monaſterie,their letter and houſe ſeale,and a ſeruant of theirs to conduct vs ſafely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The people of all thoſe parts are wild,and ſpeake another kind of language,& are for the moſt part all tenants to the monaſterie.The effect of the letter was, that they ſhould be ready to helpe and aſſiſt vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did,as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Note,that at our being at the monaſterie,there was no Abbot for the place as then choſen: for 15.dayes before our arriual there,the Abbot was ſent for by the Emperour,and made Metropolitane of the realme,as he now is . The number of monkes belonging to the monaſterie are at the leaſt 200.

31 Wee departed from the monaſterie of Soloſky, as is aforeſayde, to a faire ſtone houſe of theirs,which is 5.miles from the monaſterie,lying from it South and by Weſt.

August.

1 We departed from the Stone houſe at 3.ofthe clocke in the morning:our courſe was Weſt for 60.verſts,and then paſſing betwixt diuers and ſundry rocks,with many ſmall Iſlands round about vs for the ſpace of 20.miles,keeping moſt commonly the ſame courſe ſtill, we then ſhaped a new courſe,and yet ſundry times ſhifting,but we alwayes kept the Southweſt, and neereſt of all South ſouthweſt,vntil we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga,where we were to beare in,Weſt and by North.

The riuer Owiga.

From the riuer Owiga,to the Iſlands and rocks before mentioned,are 20.miles.

We arriued about 4.of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga,at a place named Soroka,at which place we forſooke our barke or Lodia, & continued there in making prouiſion for ſmall boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3.day of the ſame.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone,with 3.boats and 12. men to rowe,and ſet the foreſaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga,which we hired.

We went this day 7.miles to a place called Oſtroue,where we lay all night,but in the way 4. miles from Soroka,at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came ſteepe downe from a mountain,we were conſtrained to take out our goods and wares out of the ſaid boats,and cauſed them to be caried a mile ouer land,and afterwards alſo had our boates in like ſort caried or drawen ouer land by force of men which there dwelled,being tenants to the monaſterie aforeſaid.

The fall of a riuer.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid,we lanched our boats and laded our wares againe,and went to the place before named,where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Oſtroue in the morning before Sunne riſing, rowing and ſetting vp the riuer 5.miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe conſtrained to take out our wares,and to carie them and our boats three miles ouer land, ſo that with rowing, drawing and ſetting,we went this day 7.miles more to a place called Sloboday,where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne riſing,and at ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone,we came to a village called Paranda,which is from Sloboday 30.miles,where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6.of the clocke in the morning,and all that day what with ſetting and drawing our boats,we went but 11.miles,for we twiſe vnladed our wares,& drew our boats ouerland,in one place a mile & an halfe,in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and ſo we came to a place called Voyets,where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4.of the clocke in the morning,& ſo came to an Ozera or lake, called after the name of the riuer,& vnto a place called Quequenich,wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone,which is 25.miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the ſeruant which we had at the Monaſterie, being ſent by the monkes to go thus far with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that ſhould conduct vs,& giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in ſafetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouenſa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines,for ſo he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at ſunne riſing,& all that day rowed vpon the lake amongſt

many Iſlands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Iſlands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

A lake very ful of Iſlands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and ſo entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche as maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and ſo rowing, came to a place where the riuer ended, being 20. miles diſtant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forſooke our boates and vnladed our wares, and ſent a man to the towne of Pouenſa, which was ſeuen mile off, for horſes to cary vs and our wares to the ſaid place. The horſes came, and we laden our goods, and at ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouenſa, with all things in ſafetie.

This towne of Pouenſa ſtandeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in ſome places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narroweſt it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the ſhore within 6. miles, you ſhall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

The famous lake of Onega.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Pouenſa vnto the village of Soroka downe thoſe dangerous riuers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or tranſport any goods that come from Nouogrod, or the Narue, and ſuch other places: for in the Sommer it is impoſſible to cary downe any wares by reaſon of the great fals of water that doe deſcend from the rockes. Likewiſe in the Winter by reaſon of the great force and fall of waters which make ſo terrible raiſes, that in thoſe places it neuer freezeth, but all ſuch wares as come from Nouogrod to Pouenſa, are tranſported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some ſtandeth on the ſea ſide, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouenſa by land to this place of Some, with the diſtance of miles I will ſhew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouenſa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. ſmal boats which we hired to cary vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50. miles from Pouenſa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Nouogrod.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Iſland named Salaſalma, vpon the ſaid lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reaſon of contrary windes we there taried vntill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salaſalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Iſland the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reaſon of contrary winds, vntill the 21. day of the ſaid moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salaſalma.

21 We departed from Vorronia Iſland two houres before day, and arriued at S. Clements Monaſterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

S. Clement his Monaſterie.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monaſterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all a long the lake: we ſailed without ſtriking of ſaile vntil two houres within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a Monaſterie called Voſneſſino Chriſto, fiue miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried al night. It is from S. Clements Monaſtery 160. miles: the ſtreame of that riuer went with vs.

23 Wee departed from Voſneſſino Chriſto before Sunne riſing, and haled downe the riuer ſometime ſailing, and ſometime rowing, ſo that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vaſſian.

24 Wee departed from Vaſſian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called ‖ Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vaſſian.

‖ Or, Sermaxe.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day ſauing 3. houres, and then it was with vs, ſo that we ſailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the ſaid lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuſki, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrod, and runneth through the midſt of the Citie, and ſo falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not ſo broad. This lake falleth into the ſea that commeth from the Sound: where any veſſel or boat, hauing a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuski.

The lake of Ladiskai.

As ſoone as we were entred into the riuer, we came to a Monaſterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monaſterie called Goſnopoli, which is 30. miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The Monaſterie of Goſnopoli.

27 We departed from Goſnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came to a place called Moiſlaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monaſterie of Goſnopoli.

28 We departed from Moiſlaue, and the ſaide day at night came to a place called Gruſſina, 35. miles from Moiſlaue where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Gruſſina in the morning, and the ſame day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Gruſſina.

The Citie of Nouogrod.

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arriued at the Citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there ſtayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Moſco, by reaſon that the plague was then in the Citie of Nouogrod. Unto him we deliuered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we ſold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be ſo miſerable.

The right way to bring and tranſport wares from Nouogrod to Roſe Iſland into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the diſtance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.
40 Miles from thence to Gruſina.
35 Miles from thence to Moiſlaue.
46 Miles from thence to the Monaſterie Goſnopoli.
15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.
15 Miles from thence to Selunaz ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.
180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the Monaſterie of Voſneſſino Chriſto, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or ſixe miles you ſhall haue villages or ſmall townes.
160 Miles from Voſneſſino Chriſto to S. Clements Monaſtery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.
48 Miles from thence to Voronia.
67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: and there are diuers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and haue meate for man and horſe.
50 Miles from thence to Pouenſa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from *Pouenſa* to *Some* towne is this:

30 Miles from Pouenſa to Maſtelina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Oſtrouo.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it ſelfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is *936.* miles, and from the towne of Some vnto the Monaſterie of S. Nicholas or Roſe Iſland, ouer and againſt where our Ships do ride, is iuſt as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Ruſſes doe accompt it, as alſo we do iudge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261. miles or verſts.

Trauel by Sleds.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all ſuch wares as ſhall be bought at Nouogrod, and ſent to Some towne, muſt be ſent by ſled way in the Winter: for if any ware ſhould be ſent from Nouogrod by water in the ſpring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then muſt the ſaid wares remaine at Pouenſa towne al that Summer, by reaſon that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Pouenſa vnto Some towne.

At Pouenſa there are many warehouſes to be hired, ſo that if there were as much goods as ten ſhips could cary away, you might haue warehouſes to put it in: but if there ſhould remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horſes are not eaſily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: ſo that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you muſt haue cariers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there haue 2000. if you will, by the report of the Ruſſes.

2000. Sleds belonging to one towne.

For from Nouogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetche ſalt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to ſell it in the market or other wiſe.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares carried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wiſe your wares muſt bee ſent from Nouogrod by the firſt of Ianuary, ſo that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or ſoone after: for if your wares ſhould tary by the way vntill the 15. of February when the Sunne is of ſome power, then is it dangerous: for the heate of the Sunne in the day cauſeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and ſpecially of Onega to cleaue: and if there ſhould come then a ſudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe theſe lakes open and breake, whereby many men are loſt, and both men and horſe drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

A good caueat for ſeaſonable trauell.

In the towne of Some alſo there are many warehouſes, whereof we cannot be deſtitute for the repoſing of our wares, as alſo as many barkes as you wil to tranſport your wares from thence to S.Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods caryage: ſo that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto S.Nicholas road you may haue wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23. altines the tunne.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your ſelfe, and ſend it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to ſell vnto vs, conſidering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180. miles off them.

Nouogrod within 180. miles of the Narue.

Written by *Thomas Southam* a ſeruant
to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the diſcouering of new trades, made in the eight yeere of Queene *Elizabeth*. Anno 1566.

WHereas diuers very good Subiects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soueraigne Lord king Edward the ſixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the ſaid king, and by his Maieſties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increaſe of the reuenues of the Crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole Realme of England, ſet forth three ſhips for the diſcouery by Sea, of Iſles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by the Subiects of the ſayd late king not commonly by ſeas frequented: and after that Almightie God had called to his mercie the ſaid king, who died before the finiſhing and ſealing of his moſt ample and gracious letters of priuiledges promiſed to the ſaid Subiects, as wel in conſideration of the ſaid enterpriſe, as for diuers other reſpects it pleaſed our late ſoueraigne Q. Mary, at the humble ſuites of the ſame ſubiects, to graunt by her letters Patents vnder the great Seale of England, bearing date at Weſtminſter the 26. day of February, in the ſecond yeere of her raigne, for the conſiderations mentioned in the ſaid letters Patents, to the ſaide ſubiects being ſpecially named in the ſaide letters Patents, and to their ſucceſſors, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, Iſles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before their late aduenture or enterpriſe, by ſeas or Nauigations comonly frequented, ſhould be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deed and in name, and that the ſame felowſhip and communaltie from thenceforth ſhould and might haue one or two gouernours, foure Conſuls, and 24. aſſiſtants, of the ſaid felowſhip and communaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, felowſhip, and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the diſcouery of lands, territories, Iſles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, by the ſeas and Nauigations, and not before their ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe, by Seas frequented, ſhould or might be able in the lawe to implead and to bee impleaded, to anſwere and to be anſwered, to defend and to be defended, before whatſoeuer Iudge or Iuſtice temporall or ſpiritual, or other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, real, perſonal, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deſeiſon, and alſo in all plaints, ſutes, quarrels, affaires, buſineſſe, and demaunds whatſoeuer they be, touching and concerning the ſaid felowſhip and communaltie, and the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſame, only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giuing alſo, and granting vnto them by the ſaid letters Patents, diuers authorities, powers, iuriſdictions, preheminences, franchiſes, liberties and priuileges, as by the ſame letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the ſaid letters Patents, whereas one of the three ſhips, by the ſaid fellowſhip before that time ſet foorth for the voyage of diſcouery aforeſaid, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arriued within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord Iohn Vaſiliwich, Emperour of all Ruſſia, Volodimersky, great duke of Muſky, &c. who receiued the Captaine and Merchants of the ſaide ſhippe very graciouſly, granting vnto them freely to traffique with his ſubiects in all kinde of merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the ſaid late Queene by the ſame letters Patents, for her, her heires and ſucceſſors, did graunt that all the maine lands, Iſles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the ſaid mighty Emperour of all Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſco, &c. and all and ſingular other lands, dominions, territories, Iſles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the ſeas, of al and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouerner whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen, or by the aforeſaid merchants and ſubiects of the ſaid king and Queene, by the ſeas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeaſtwards, or Northweſtwards, as in the ſaid letters patents is mentioned, ſhould not be viſited, frequented nor haunted by any the ſubiects of the ſaid late Queene, other then of the ſaid company and fellowſhip, and their ſucceſſors, without expreſſe licence, agreement, & conſent of the Gouerner, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid felowſhip, and communaltie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expreſſed in the ſaide letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and loſſe aſwell of the ſhip and ſhips, with the appurtenances, as alſo of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe the ſubiects of the ſaid late Queene not being of the ſaide felowſhip and communaltie, which ſhould attempt or preſume to ſaile to any of thoſe places, which then were, or after ſhould happen to be found and traffiqued vnto, the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of the ſaid late Queene, her heires & ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſaid felowſhip & communaltie, as by the ſame letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patens, the ſaid felowſhip haue, to their exceeding great coſtes, loſſes and expences, not onely by their trading into the ſaid dominions of the ſaide mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. found out conuenient way to ſaile into the ſaide dominions: but alſo paſſing thorow the ſame, and ouer the Caſpian ſea, haue diſcouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Perſia, and other dominions in Aſia minor, hoping by Gods grace to diſcouer alſo the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very cōuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the ſame.

This is meant by Alderman Bond the elder.

And foraſmuch as diuers ſubiects of this realme, vnderſtanding the premiſes, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauel aforeſaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the ſaide fellowſhip into this Realme, out of the dominions already diſcouered, which bee within this realme of good eſtimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the ſayde fellowſhip, haue contrary to the tenor of the ſame letters patents, in great diſorder traded into the dominions of the ſaid mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the ſaide felowſhip is incorporated by the letters patents aforeſaid, is long, & conſiſteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, & the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authoritie of the ſame, that the ſaid felowſhip, company, ſociety & corporation made or created by the ſaid letters patents, ſhal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, and by the ſame name for euer ſhall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the ſame name from henceforth, ſhall implead, and be impleaded, anſwere and be anſwered, defend and be defended, ſue and bee ſued, in whatſoeuer courts and places, and ſhall and may by the ſame name bee inabled to purchaſe, haue, holde, poſſeſſe, receiue, and enioy whatſoeuer manors, landes, tenements, rents, reuerſions, ſeruices, & hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maieſtie, her heires, or ſucceſſors by knights ſeruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatſoeuer, and ſhall and may by the ſame name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and alſo ſhall haue and enioy all and ſingular the liberties, priuileges, iuriſdictions, franchiſes, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the ſayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wiſe conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Iſles, ports, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the ſeas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernor whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſaid firſt enterpriſe made by the merchants of the ſaide corporation, not knowen by the merchants and ſubiects of this Realme, or by them not commonly by ſeas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northweſtwards, or Northeaſtwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, iſles, ports, roades, hauens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be ſubiect to the ſaid high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vaſiliwich, his heires or ſucceſſours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the ſaid country of Ruſsia for the time being, his heires or ſucceſſors, nor the countries of Armenia maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Perſia, or the Caſpian ſea, nor any part of them ſhall be ſailed or traffiqued vnto, viſited, frequented, or haunted by any perſon being or that ſhall be a ſubiect or denizen

English merchants for diſcouery of new trades.

nizen of this realme, by themſelues, their factor or factors, or any other to their vſe or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, conſent, or ratification of the gouernour, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaide fellowſhip and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their ſucceſſors for the time being: vpon paine that euery perſon and perſons offending in this behalfe, ſhall forfeit and looſe, Ipſo facto, euery ſuch ſhip and ſhips, with the appurtenances, and all ſuch goods, Merchandizes, and things whatſoeuer, as by any ſuch perſon or perſons ſhalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, caried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforeſaide, contrary to the true intent of this ſtatute: the one moitie of all which forfeitures to bee to our ſaid ſoueraigne Lady the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, and the other moitie thereof to the ſayde fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, and their ſucceſſors, to be ſeized and taken wheresoeuer they may be found, by any perſon or perſons, to the vſe of our ſaid Soueraigne Lady, her heires and ſucceſſors, and of the ſaid fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, and of their ſucceſſors, or the ſame or the value thereof to bee demaunded or ſued for by the Queenes highneſſe, her heires and ſucceſſors, or by the ſaide fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, or their ſucceſſors, or their atturney or atturneis, or by any perſon or perſons being of the ſame fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, or their ſucceſſors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwiſe: in which ſuite no eſſoine, protection, wager of lawe, or iniunction ſhall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers Subiects of this Realme being not of the fellowſhip aforeſaid, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from ſome of the places prohibited by the ſaid letters patents, that the ſaid ſubiects, their heires, executors, adminiſtrators and aſſignes, or any of them ſhall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, ſued, nor moleſted for the ſame in their goods or perſons in any maner of wiſe, either by our ſaide ſoueraigne Lady, her heires or ſucceſſors, or the ſaid fellowſhip, or their ſucceſſors.

Prouided alſo, that it ſhall be lawfull for any ſubiect of this Realme, hauing preſently any ſhipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the ſaid mighty prince of Ruſſia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be viſited or traffiqued vnto by this ſtatute, or the ſaid letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the ſame, or cauſe the ſame to be brought or conueyed from thence by ſea or otherwiſe, before the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, which ſhalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568, any thing conteined in this ſtatute, or in the ſaid letters Patents to the contrary not withſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that it ſhall be lawfull for any of the ſubiects of this Realme, to ſaile to the port, towne, territorie, or caſtle of Wardhouſe, or to any of the coaſts, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, Iſlands, and land of Norway for trade of fiſhing, or any other trade there vſed by the ſubiects of this Realme, any thing in this ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Nauie and Mariners of this Realme, be it prouided and inacted, that it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaide fellowſhip and company, nor to any of them to cary and tranſport, or cauſe to be caried and tranſported any commoditie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in Engliſh ſhips, and to be ſailed for the moſt part with Engliſh Mariners, nor alſo to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their ſaide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in Engliſh ſhips, and ſailed for the moſt part by the Engliſh Mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery ſuch offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moitie ſhall be to the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, the other moitie to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen or harborough decayed, by what name ſoeuer they bee incorporate, to the reparation of ſuch harborough, that will ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no eſſoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant ſhall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided alſo, and be it enacted, that no maner of perſon or perſons ſhall from hence forth carrie or tranſport, or cauſe to bee carried or tranſported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karſies into any of the partes where the ſaid fellowſhip and ſocietie is priuileged to trade by this Act, before the ſame clothes and karſies ſhall be all dreſſed, and for the moſt part died within this Realme, vpon paine of forfeiture for euery ſuch cloth and karſie, otherwiſe caried and tranſported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, the other halfe to the Maſter and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name ſoeuer they be incorporate that will ſue for the ſame.

Prouided alſo that whenſoeuer the ſaid ſocietie or company ſhall willingly withdraw, and diſ-continue wholy by the ſpace of three yeeres in time of peace, the diſcharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Ruſſia, and doe not diſcharge their ſaid merchandizes at ſome other port or roade lying on that North coaſt of Ruſſia, or other territorie nowe ſubiect to the ſaide mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. hitherto by the ſubiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any ſuch diſcontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforeſaid, it ſhalbe lawful to all the ſubiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in Engliſh bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that euery of the Queenes Maieſties Subiects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcaſtle vpon Tine, Hull and of Boſton, hauing continually traded the courſe of merchandize by the ſpace of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that ſhalbe in Anno D. 1567. ſhal contribute, ioyne, and put in ſtocke, to, with, and amongſt the ſaid company, ſuch ſumme & ſummes of money, as any of the ſaid company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the ſaide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the ſaide 25. of December 1567. ſhall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intire portion, or ſhare, and do in all things behaue himſelfe as others of the ſaid ſocietie be bound to doe, and hereafter ſhall bee bound to do by the priuiledges, ordinances and ſtatutes of the ſaide company, ſhall from the ſame 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accoumpted free, and as one of the ſaid ſocietie and company, and ſubiect to the priuiledges, ordinances and ſtatutes of the ſaide company, reaſonably made and to be made, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by *M. Anthony Ienkinſon*, from *London* to *Moſcouia*, ſent from the Queenes Maieſtie to the Emperour, in the yeere *1566.*

The fourth day of May in the yere aforeſaid, I imbarked my ſelfe at Graueſend in the good ſhip called the Harry of London, and hauing had a proſperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſsia the 10. day of Iuly following, and immediatly I ſent in poſt to the Emperor to aduertiſe of my comming, and traueiling then thorowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Moſco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of Auguſt, and foorthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderſtand of my arriuall, who aduertiſed the Emperours Maieſtie of it, and the firſt day of September, being a ſolemne feaſt among the Ruſſes, I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, ſitting in his ſeate of honour, and hauing kiſſed his hand, and done the Queenes Maieſties commendations, and deliuered her Graces letters and preſent, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done vnto me both then and all the time of my abode in Ruſsia.

The Priuiledges graunted by the Emperour of *Ruſsia* to the Engliſh merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by *M. Anthony Ienkinſon.*

ONe onely ſtrengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worſhip in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the ſtrengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, & giue vs health to preſerue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Chriſtian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vaſiliwich of all Ruſsia, Volodimer, Moſco, Nouogrod, Cazan, Aſtracan, Pleſco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land, of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Roſtoue, Yereſlaue, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condenſa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe-land.

Whereas our ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Cheſter, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Huſsie, Iohn Marſh, Anthony Ienkinſon, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ſhips into this kingdome, and thoſe merchants, William Gerrard and his company haue required of vs that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at wil, to our city of Moſco, and to all our caſtles in our kingdomes, we for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and his company to paſſe in ſhips to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Moſco, and to all caſtles and townes in our kingdome. And ſir William Garrard & his company deſired of us, that we would grant them licence to paſſe to our inheritance of Cazan and Aſtracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Liſland to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our caſtles and townes of Liſland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without cuſtome, which requeſt we haue granted to ſir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to paſſe to our inheritance of Cazan and Aſtracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Liſland, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Liſland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and ſell at will, without cuſtome: and what wares ſoeuer they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or neceſſary, that they ſhall bring all thoſe wares needfull or neceſſary to our treaſury, & thoſe wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the ſame, ſuch wares as ſhalbe needfull for our treaſury, and the reſt being deliuered againe, to ſell and barter at their pleaſure, and to ſell none of the fine wares before they be ſeene by our chancellers, except ſorting clothes, and other wares not meet for our treaſury: and when our chanceller will ſend our treaſure out of our treaſury with them, they ſhall take it with them, and ſo ſell and barter it for wares meet for our treaſury, and bring it to our treaſury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or ſell with them, nor yet our people to buy or ſell for them their wares: and if thoſe Engliſh merchants do deſire to paſſe out of our kingdome of Aſtracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treaſure with them, and to barter and ſell it for wares neceſſary for our treaſury, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chanceller, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Aſtracan, or to any other of our caſtles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Aſtracan, and all other our people of charge ſhall not holde them, but with ſpeed let them paſſe without taking cuſtome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wiſe: and when they haue not our treaſure with them, that then likewiſe no cuſtome ſhalbe taken of them nor their wares to be ſeene of any man.

And likewiſe we haue granted them to buy and ſell in all our kingdomes and caſtles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue alſo licenced them, that when thoſe Engliſh merchants do deſire to buy & ſell with our merchants wholly together, that they ſhall haue liberty ſo to do wholly together: and they that do deſire to ſell their owne wares by retaile in their owne houſe, that then they ſell it in their own houſe by retaile to our people & other ſtrangers, as they can agree: and weighes and arſhnids to be kept in their houſe with our ſeale, and they themſelues to barter and ſell their owne wares: and no Ruſſe merchant in Moſco, or any other place in our kingdome to ſell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any ſtrangers goods. And whereas thoſe merchants of England, ſir William Garrard and his company do deſire to ſell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraſlaue, Coſtrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cazan, Aſtracan, great Nouogrod, Pleſko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes & caſtles, they ſhall haue their will to ſell it: and of their wares of England and Ruſſeland no cuſtome ſhalbe taken, neither they nor their wares ſhalbe ſtayed in any place: and when they depart out of Moſco, to aduertiſe our chancellor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they cary away: and when the Engliſh merchants, ſir William Garrard and his company do come vpon the ſea, and by misfortune haue their ſhips caſt away vpon thoſe coaſts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be ſought out with trueth, and to be deliuered to ſir William Garrard and his company, which as then ſhall be found in our countrey: and if that ſir William Garrards company be not in the Moſco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that thoſe goods of theirs ſhall be layd vp in a place of ſafegard vntill ſuch time as the ſaid ſir William Garrard or his company come to demand the ſame: and then at their comming we will that it ſhall be deliuered. And whereas heretofore we haue giuen ſir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Moſco the new caſtle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they ſhal there ſtill holde their houſe as heretofore we haue giuen them, paying no cuſtome for the ſame: and we alſo do licence them to keepe one Ruſſe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and thoſe porters ſhall dwell with them, and not ſell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And alſo I haue granted them to buy a houſe at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuſe for themſelues any good harbour, and there they to ſet vp thoſe houſes in thoſe places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houſes to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Ruſſes, and their wares to be layed vp in thoſe houſes, and to ſell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to ſell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our caſtles & townes ſhall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any cuſtome thereof: neither ſhall thoſe Engliſh merchants ſir William Garrard and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the Engliſh merchants ſhall ſend from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land ouer other kingdomes whatſoeuer they be, they may without ware ſend their owne people at their pleaſure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandiſe, then they ſhall be iudged by our chancellers, and law ſhalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be iudged by law, they then ſhalbe tried by lots, and whoſe lot is firſt taken out, he ſhall haue the right. And if it happen any of thoſe merchants to haue any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, iudges, and chiefe officers ſhall heare the matter, and adminiſter iuſtice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is firſt taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of law no cuſtome to be payed.

Triall by lots.

The riuer of Ob traffikable.

Furthermore, we for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth haue granted, that none beſide ſir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome ſoeuer it be, England or other, ſhall come in trade of merchandiſe nor otherwiſe to Colmogro, nor to the riuer Ob, nor within Wardhouſe, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Iſland of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coaſt. And if any merchant, out of what countrey ſoeuer it be, doe come with ſhip or ſhippes, buſſes, or any other kinde of veſſell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ſhip or ſhips, ſhalbe confiſcate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

Giuen in our kingdome and houſe of Moſco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conqueſt of Cazan 16, and in our conqueſt of Aſtracan 15.

Peruſed and allowed by vs:
- Anthonie Ienkinſon.
- William Rowly.
- Thomas Hawtry.
- Thomas Sowtham.
- Rafe Rutter, tranſlatour hereof out of the Ruſſe tongue.

A letter of M. *Henrie Lane* to M. *Richard Hakluit*, concerning the firſt ambaſſago to our moſt gracious Queene *Elizabeth* from the *Ruſſian* Emperour *anno* 1567, and other notable matters incident to thoſe places and times.

VOrſhipfull ſir, becauſe I finde you haue the ſucceſſe and proceedings of Oſep Napea the firſt ambaſſadour of the Ruſſian Emperour to the Maieſties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Ruſſia, & do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the firſt ambaſſage from thence to this our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whoſe Highneſſe and the ambaſſadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expreſſe it. In Auguſt Anno 1567 arriued at London with their retinue two eſpeciall authoriſed meſſengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and preſents to her Maieſty, at that time being at Otelands, where diuers of the chiefe merchants of the Ruſſian company did aſſociate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Maieſtie gaue them audience. Firſt they rehearſed the long ſtile and Maieſty of their Maſter, with his moſt friendly and hearty commendations to her Highneſſe, and then they teſtified the ſingular great ioy and pleaſure that he conceiued to heare of her moſt princely eſtate, dignitie and health: and laſtly, they deliuered their letters and preſents. The preſents ſent vnto her Maieſty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luſerns and other rich furres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furres was yet in vſe. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, eſpeciall in Court, and among Magiſtrates, not onely for the reſtoring of an olde worſhipfull Art and Companie, but alſo becauſe they be for our climate wholeſome, delicate, graue and comely: expreſſing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with ſmall coſt to be preſerued, then theſe new ſilks, ſhagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is haſtily conſumed.

The vſe of furres wholeſome, delicate, graue and comely.

Theſe ambaſſadours were appointed lodging and entertainement by the Moſcouie company at their houſe then in Seething Lane, and were ſundrie times after permitted to be in preſence.

And in May 1568 tooke their leaue at Greenwich, where they vnderſtood and had the Queenes Maieſties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highneſſe conſidering that our trade to Saint Nicholas ſince the beginning had bene offenſiue to diuers princes, ſtates, and merchants Eaſtward, vſed theſe ſpeeches or the like: Who is or ſhall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and vntrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of loue and vnitie? your Maſter and I in things that paſſe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promiſes. If he heare the contrary of me, let him ſuſpend his iudgement, and not be light of credit, and ſo will I. Theſe words they termed her Maieſties golden ſpeech: and kneeling downe, kiſſed her hand, and departed.

The trade to S. Nicholas offenſiue to diuers princes & ſtates Eaſtward.

The letters that theſe two meſſengers brought, were deliuered to me by my Lord Treaſurour, being then Secretarie, to be tranſlated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Maieſties letter I ſend incloſed herewith vnto your worſhip. I alſo haue ſent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Maieſtie, with other letters from ſome of our nation and factours, declaring the diſpleaſure for our trafficke to the Ruſſes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, eſpecially by the way of the Narue: in which yere of 1566, hauing generall procuration and commiſſion from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amſterdam, and ſometimes in company with Polacks, Danſkers, and Eaſterlings: and by reaſon I had bene a liger in Ruſſia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations and the Italians were moſt guiltie of the accuſations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigiſmundus (whoſe ambaſſadours very ſumptuous I haue ſeene at Moſco) was reported to be too milde in ſuffering the Moſcouites. Before our trafficke they ouerranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolenſco, carrying the people captiues to Moſco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they ſuffered the Ruſſe likewiſe in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewiſe the ſaid Sigiſmundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Liuonia, but loſt all, except Rie and Reuel, and the Ruſſe made the Narue his port to trafficke, not onely to vs, but to Lubec and others, generall. And ſtill from thoſe parts the Moſcouites were furniſhed out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by vs. The Italians alſo furniſhed them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike ſtratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigiſmund, the Ruſſe would taunt the Polacks, that they loued their eaſe at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigiſmund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without iſſue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Ruſſe in better order, and recouered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leaue of your worſhip.

Smolenſco won by the Ruſſe.

Polotzko taken.

Polotzko recouered by Stephanus Batore.

Your aſſured friend *Henrie Lane.*

A Letter of the moſt excellent Maieſtie of Queene *Elizabeth*, ſent by *Stephen Twerdico* and *Pheodata Pogorella*, meſſengers of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, vnto their Maſter the ninth of May 1568.

1568

Imperatori Moſcouitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas veſtræ Maieſtatis ſuperiori anno 1567, decimo die menſis Aprilis datas, veſtri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has noſtras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos veſtros mercatores in omni ſuo apud nos & noſtros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expreſſo noſtro mandato curauimus, vt non ſolum veſtræ Maieſtatis pro illis poſtulationi, ſed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè ſatisfactum eſſe confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus ſtudioſius, quod plane perſpectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, noſtros omnes, qui bona cum gratia noſtra, noſtrarúmque literarum commendatione, iſtuc, ſub veſtro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum veſtræ Maieſtatis fauore, tum veſtrorum ſubditorum humanitate, vbiuis acceptos eſſe. Quæ noſtra vtrobíque, & mutuæ inter nos amicitiæ, & gratæ inter noſtros beneuolentiæ officia, vt crebra & perpetua exiſtant, nos admodum poſtulamus. Quem animi noſtri ſenſum fuſius hi veſtri, & opportunius ſuo ſermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin veſtra Maieſtas amplam fidem ſit tributura. Deus &c. Grenouici nono die Maij 1567.

The Ambaſſage of the right worſhipfull Maſter *Thomas Randolfe*, Eſquire, to the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himſelfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Banniſter, & Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Perſia.

The 22 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboord the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie perſons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, deſirous to ſee the world.

Within one dayes ſailing, we were out of the ſight of land, and following our courſe directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we ſailed for the ſpace of twelue dayes with a proſperous winde, without tempeſt or outrage of ſea: hauing compaſſed the North Cape we directed our courſe ſlat Southeaſt, hauing vpon our right hand Norway, Wardhouſe, Lapland, all out of ſight till we came to Cape Gallant: and ſo ſailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we caſt ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Cetæ, which we might ſee ſwimming vpon the ſea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fiſhed, and tooke good ſtore of diuers ſorts.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks.

At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of July, where there ſtandeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is ſuperſtitious, in blacke hoods, as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houſes are low, and ſmall roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much giuen to drunkenneſſe, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

At my firſt arriuall I was preſented from their Prior with two great rie loaues, fiſh both ſalt and freſh of diuers ſorts, both ſea fiſh and freſh water, one ſheepe aliue, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull vnto me, and ſo with many ſolemne words inuiting me to ſee their houſe, they tooke their leaue.

The Engliſh houſe at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houſes neere the abbey, and another built by the Engliſh Company for their owne vſe.

This part of the countrey is moſt part wood, ſauing here and there paſture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Iſlands vnhabited, as the moſt part of the countrey is, for the coldneſſe in Winter.

The riuer of Dwina.

S. Nicholas ſtandeth Northeaſt: the eleuation of the pole 64 degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the ſea is called Dwina, very large, but ſhallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & vpon this riuer ſtandeth Colmogro, and many pretty villages, well ſituated for paſture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleaſant betweene hie hils of either ſide inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wilderneſſe of hie firre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 verſts, which we accoumt for three quarters of a mile euery verſt, we taried three weeks, not being ſuffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our comming, who ſent to meet vs a gentleman of his houſe, to conuey vs, and to ſee vs furniſhed of victuals, and all things needfull, vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for euery day two rubbles, beſides the charge of boats by water, and foure ſcore poſt horſes by land, with aboue 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but ſcattered houſe from houſe. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, ſauing vpon their feſtiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commodity by the Engliſh mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkenneſſe, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

An Engliſh houſe with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the Engliſh men haue lands of their owne, giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houſes, with offices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes vntill I come to Vologda, I write not, becauſe they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was fiue whole weeks vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men againſt the ſtreame, for other paſſage there is none.

Vologda ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a caſtle inuironed with a wall of ſtone, and bricke, the walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, ſome built of bricke, the reſt of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne alſo of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we paſſed by land towards Moſco in poſte, being 500 verſts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being poſt townes.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleaſant, well inhabited, corne, paſture, medowes enough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly.

The deſcription of the inland of Moſcouie.

At Yeraſlaue we paſſed the riuer of Volga, more then a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, & deſcendeth into Mare Caſpium, portable thorow of very great veſſels with flat bottomes, which farre paſſe any that our countrey vſeth.

To ſaile by this riuer into Mare Caſpium the Engliſh company cauſed a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was neuer ſeene before: This barke built, and ready rigged to the ſea with her whole furniture coſt not the company aboue one hundreth marks there.

To Moſco we came about the end of September, receiued by no man, not ſo much as our owne countreymen ſuffered to meet vs, which bred ſuſpition in me of ſome other courſe intended, then we had hitherto found.

His arriuall at Moſco.

We were brought to a houſe built of purpoſe by the Emperour for Ambaſſadours, faire and large, after the faſhion of that countrey.

A ſpecial houſe at Moſco, built for Ambaſſadours.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to ſee vs furniſhed of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to ſee that we ſhould not goe out of the houſe, nor ſuffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But ſpecially he that looked to our perſons ſo ſtraightely handled vs, that we had no ſmall cauſe to doubt that ſome euill had bene intended vnto vs. No ſupplication, ſute, or requeſt could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his preſence.

Hauing paſſed ouer 17 weeks in this ſort, the Emperour ſendeth word that we ſhould be ready againſt Tueſday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I ſhould goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Priſtaues (as they call them) came vnto me apparelled more princely then before I had euer ſeene them. They preſſe vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horſes, and the Ambaſſador vpon ſuch a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great griefe.

Two Priſtaues.

The Ambaſſadour (being my ſelfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth vſe to ſit, being there accompanied with the two foreſayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres before I was ſent for to the Emperor. In the end meſſage being brought that the Emperour was ſet, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of ſtaires thorow a large roome, where ſate by my eſtimation 300 perſons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, vpon three ranks of benches, ſet round about the place, rather to preſent a maieſtie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the firſt entry into the chamber I with my cap gaue them the reuerence, ſuch as I iudged their ſtately ſitting, graue countenances, and ſumptuous apparell required, and ſeeing that it was not anſwered againe of any of them I couered my head, and ſo paſſing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued me at the doore from my two gentlemen or gouernors, two of the Emperors counſellors, and ſhewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to ſtand ſtill, and to ſay that which I had to ſay. I by my Interpretor opened my meſſage as I receiued it from the Queene my Miſtreſſe, from whom I came, at whoſe name the Emperor ſtood vp, and demanded diuers queſtions of her health and ſtate: whereunto anſwere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, and cauſed me to ſit downe, and further aſked me diuers queſtions.

His admiſſion to the Emperors preſence.

This done, I deliuered her Maieſties preſent, which was a notable great Cup of ſiluer curiouſly wrought, with verſes grauen in it, expreſſing the hiſtories workmanly ſet out in the ſame.

The Queenes preſent.

All being ſayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his preſence, and were ſaluted by him with a nod of his head, and ſayd vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will ſend thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauor to our ſiſter the Queene of England.

The Emperors ſpeech to the Ambaſſadour.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by two other of greater calling then thoſe that brought me to the Emperors ſight, who deliuered me to the two firſt gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I firſt was, where came vnto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and ſo returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with fiftie perſons, ech of them carying a ſiluer diſh with meat, and couered with ſiluer. The duke firſt deliuered twenty loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing taſted the ſame, and deliuered euery diſh into my hands, and taſted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company ſate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themſelues well of all ſorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to ſpeake ſecretly with me, and ſent for me in the night by the Long duke: The place was farre off, and the night colde, and I hauing changed my apparell into ſuch as the Ruſſes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

A ſecond conference with the Emperor.

Hauing talked with him aboue three houres, towards the morning I was diſmiſſed, and ſo came home to my lodging, where I remained aboue ſix weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slouoda, the houſe of his ſolace. After the end of which ſixe weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slouoda aforeſayd, and ſent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our Engliſh merchants, and found him ſo graciouſly inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in generall, together with all the reſt my particular requeſts. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Sauin, as his Ambaſſadour, for the better confirmation of his priuileges granted, and other negotiations with her Maieſty. And thus being diſpatched with full contentment, the ſayd Ambaſſadour and my ſelfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of Iuly, and arriued ſafely at London in the moneth of September following.

Andrew Sauin Ambaſſadour to the Queene.

A copie of the priuiledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, &c. vnto the right worſhipfull fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants, for the diſcouerie of new trades: and hither ſent by *Thomas Randolfe* eſquire, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour, and by *Andrew Sauin* his Ambaſſadour in the yere of our Lord God 1569.

One God euerlaſting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, the bleſſed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preſeruer of all things, and repleniſher of all things euery where, who by thy goodneſſe doeſt cauſe all men to loue the giuer of wiſedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto bleſſed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, holy and euerlaſting Spirit, and now in theſe our dayes teacheſt vs to keepe Chriſtianitie, and ſuffereſt vs to enioy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in deſpight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vaſiliwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Ruſſia, Volodemer, Moſcouia, Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tuersky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Nouogrod, Chernigosky, Reſansky, Polotsky, Raſtow, Yeraſlaue, Bealoſera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward and Weſtward.

Whereas our ſiſter Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her merchants, who hath made ſute that we ſhould grant our goodneſſe to the merchants which are of one Company, and giue them free leaue to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moſcouia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our countrey to Boghar, to Perſia, Casbin, and Charday, and to all other countreys.

1 We Iohn Vaſiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Ruſſia (for our ſiſter Elizabeths ſake, Queene of England) haue giuen and granted to the Engliſh merchants, the Gouernours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants & fellowſhip, ſir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Haiward Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Eſquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Conſuls: Sir Wil. Cheſter Knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huſe, Francis Walſingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Baniſter, Iohn Harriſon, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, Iohn Somers, Richard Wilkinſon, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinſon, Aſſiſtants: Iohn Merſh Eſquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinſon, Matthew Field, & all the reſt of their company and fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſours and deputies, to come with ſhips and other veſſels

into our Countrey, at Colmogorod, & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter ſhall at any time be in our poſſeſſion, by ſea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of Moſco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Aſtracan, to Nouogorod the great, to Pleſko & Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to paſſe through our land to Boghar, Perſia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes: And whereſoeuer they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of ſale, without cuſtome of all people, and Marchants ſtrangers whatſoeuer.

And if ſo be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Perſia, Casbin, or from any other place, & thoſe their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the ſame wares into our treaſure, and our Treaſurers to view the ſame wares, and to take into our Treaſurie of the ſame ſuch as ſhalbe needfull for vs. And all ſuch wares as we ſhal not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer ye ſame: And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not ſelling any of their wares needful for vs, before our Chancellour haue ſeene the ſame. And all other groſſe and heauy wares that ſhall be needfull to our vſe, not being brought to Moſco, to declare & tell our Chancellour of the ſame wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, not brought to Moſco: and then if we neede not the ſaid wares, the Engliſh Marchants, their ſeruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neereſt way to Vſtiug the great, and ſo to Colmogorod, or elſewhere at their pleaſure, there to barter and ſell the ſame. But thoſe wares that ſhalbe needfull for our Treaſurie, they ſhall not hide from vs in any caſe.

And when our Chauncellours ſhall ſend our aduenture, with the ſaid Marchants or their Factors, they to take our aduentures with them, and to ſell, & to barter for ſuch wares as ſhalbe meete for our Treaſurie, and to returne it into our Treaſurie.

And when we ſhall ſende any aduenture into England then our Chauncellour to giue them a yeeres warning, that their ſhips may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behind them.

And to take our aduenture yeerely when they goe into Perſia,

Neither ſhall the Engliſh marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor ſell it in any wiſe: likewiſe our people not to barter for the ſayd Engliſh marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they ſhall come into our Empire of Caſan and Aſtracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Caſan and Aſtracan, and our authoriſed people, quietly to let them paſſe, not taking any toll or cuſtome of their wares, nor once to make ſearch thereof.

And when we ſhal ſend no aduenture with them, yet to ſuffer them freely to paſſe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of cuſtome. And whatſoeuer Engliſh marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the ſame at their pleaſure.

And whatſoeuer their Marchant or Factors will ſell their wares at their houſe at Moſco, which houſe I granted them at S. Maxims at the Moſco, they to ſel the ware to our people, either ſtrangers as they may beſt vtter it, keeping within their houſe, arſhines, meaſures, and waights vnder ſeales.

4 We haue granted them the ſaide houſe at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without ſtanding rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the ſaid Engliſh Marchants, ſir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the ſaid houſe one houſekeeper a Ruſſe, and two Ruſſe ſeruants, or ſome of their owne countrey men, and none other Ruſſes beſides the aforeſayde. And the ſaid houſekeepers that ſhal liue at their houſe with the Engliſh marchants, neither to buy nor ſel any wares for them, but that the ſaid marchants themſelues or their factors, ſhall buy, ſell, and barter their owne wares: And our Moſcouie marchants not to take the ſaid Engliſhmens wares to ſell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the Engliſh marchant to colour any Ruſſes wares at any towne.

5 And whatſoeuer Engliſh marchant will ſell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraſlaue, Caſtran, Nouogorod the lower, Caſan, Aſtracan, Nouogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narue, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to ſel their wares there at their pleaſure: And of all wares aſwell of other countreis as of Ruſſia, no officer or other to take any cuſtome, neither in any place to ſtay them in any wiſe, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatſoeuer.

6 And whatſoeuer marchant ſhall bargaine or buy any wares of Engliſh marchants: The ſaid Ruſſe not to returne thoſe wares vpon the marchants hands againe, but to giue ready money for the ſaid wares, otherwiſe they to craue the Iuſtice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the ſame with all expedition. And when the Engliſh marchants or factors ſhal trauaile from Moſ-

couie after the diſpatch of their wares and buſineſſe, then to ſhew themſelues vnto our Chancellours, whatſoeuer wares of theirs ſhall goe from Moſco, they not to ſhew the ſame wares to any our officers, nor pay no cuſtome nor toll in any place.

7 If it ſo happen the Engliſh marchants haue any wracke, and the ſhippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the ſaid goods to be enquired and ſought out, and to be giuen to the Engliſh merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, ſeruants, or deputies, of the Company aforeſayd, to whom we haue granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the Engliſh merchants, factors, ſeruants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at ſuch time, then we wil all the ſaid goods to be ſought out and beſtowed in ſome conuenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing theſe our letters, ſhall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be reſtored vnto them.

8 Likewiſe wee haue graunted leaue to the Engliſh merchants, their Gouernours, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants, namely, ſir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and to the Companie, to builde houſes at Vologda, Colmogro, and the ſeaſide, at Iuangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as ſhall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the ſaid houſe one houſekeeper, a Ruſſe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the ſaid houſes, making ſale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the ſaid houſekeeper not to buy or ſell for them.

9 Alſo we haue giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Merchants, their houſe which they haue by our goodneſſe at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houſes in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better aſſurance of their goods, and all ſuch as they ſhall ſet vp hereafter ſhal be of the ‖Opreſſini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opreſſini.

‖Or, choſen ſide.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouſe at Vologda, being farre from the Engliſh Merchants houſe, now we haue giuen them to build a houſe for that vſe by the ſaid Engliſh houſe, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodneſſe) ground, one hundreth and foureſcore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne requeſt.

11 Alſo, we haue of our goodneſſe giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Merchants, leaue to buy them a houſe at Wichida, and there to ſearch out mines of yron. And where they ſhal happily find it, there to ſet vp houſes for the making of the ſame yron: and to make the ſame, of our goodneſſe haue graunted them woods, fiue or ſixe miles compaſſe about the ſayd houſes, to the making of the ſayd yron, and not to exceede theſe bounds and limits: And where they ſhall cut the ſayde wood, not to ſet vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and ſo freely occupying the ſaid yron in theſe our Dominions, tranſporting alſo of the ſame home into Englande, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the ſaid yron ſhalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the ſaid yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treaſurie for the ſame: And when the ſaid Engliſh Merchants or Factors ſhal ſend their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatſoeuer, freely to ſend the ſame with our words.

13 Alſo, we of our goodneſſe haue graunted, that if any man miſuſe the ſaid Engliſh, the Factors or ſeruants, or the ſaide Engliſh Merchants, their Factors or ſeruants abuſe any other at Moſcouie, or any other out townes whatſoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandiſe or otherwiſe, then they to haue vpright iuſtice in all ſuch matters of our counſaile the Opreſſini without all let or delay: But if our Iuſtice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whoſe lotte it ſhall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that only our counſaile at Moſcouie, and none of our Captaines, or authoriſed people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the ſaid Engliſh Merchants for any thing.

14 Alſo, if any ſtranger ſhall haue matter of controuerſie with any Engliſh Merchant, Factor or ſeruant, abiding within theſe our Realmes, or contrariwiſe any Engliſh Merchant, Factor or ſeruant, againſt any other ſtranger, in all thoſe cauſes our Counſaile of the Opreſſini, to giue them Iuſtice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, ſaue our Counſaile of the Opreſſini. 15 And if any man haue action againſt any Engliſh Merchant being abſent, that then in his abſence it ſhalbe lawful for any other Engliſhman at his aſſignation to anſwere his cauſe.

16 If any Engliſhman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Ruſſe or ſtranger ſlaine or beaten. 17 Or any ſtollen goods to be found in the ſaid Engliſh houſes, then our Counſellers to cauſe the guiltie perſons to be ſought out, and to doe right and Iuſtice in the cauſe, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deſerue puniſhment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the ſaid Engliſh Merchants, factors and ſeruant, ſuſtaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Marchant, Factor, ſeruant, or deputie, ſhalbe guiltie of any fault, deſeruing our diſpleaſure, then our Counſellers to cauſe the guiltie partie to goe vnder ſureties, and their goods to be ſealed and kept, vntill our pleaſure be further knowen, and our Counſaile to examine their offence, and ſo to report it vnto vs, that we may command what ſhall be done therein, and none other to be arreſted or haue their goods ſealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to ſtay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the ſame.

19 If any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant ſhall offend, it ſhalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iuſtice vpon the ſaid partie, or to ſend him home into England at his pleaſure.

20 If any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant, haue lent or hereafter ſhall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and ſo depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the ſayde debt, to whom ſoeuer ſhall be appointed to the ſayd roome or charge, and the ſaide Engliſh Marchant, factor, or ſeruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counſell, to ſhewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counſel to command the debt to be diſcharged vnto the Engliſh Marchant, factor, or ſeruant, without delay.

21 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Marchant ſhall be arreſted for debt, then our Counſell to command the partie vnder arreſt to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no ſuertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

20 And if any Engliſhman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to caſt him in priſon, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, leſt the officer loſe him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the Engliſh Marchants to ſend our Commiſſion to all our Townes, Captaines, and authoriſed men, to defende and garde the ſaid Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill diſpoſed perſons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or ſeruants be ſpoyled on the ſea, our Counſell ſhall ſend our letters, and will them to be ſought out, and where they ſhall finde the goods, cauſe it to be reſtored againe, and the offender to be puniſhed, according to our commandement.

24 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the ſaide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Wayers, and ſuch like labourers, as ſhall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they ſhall agree.

25 We likewiſe of our goodnes, haue licenſed the Engliſh Marchants in our Townes of Moſco, Nouogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the ſaid Townes ſhall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without cuſtome, allowing for coales, and other neceſſaries, with the workemanſhip.

26 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted to the ſayd Engliſh Merchants, to take poſte horſe at needfull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not elſe, in no caſe hindering or diminiſhing our treaſurie.

27 Alſo for our ſiſter Queene Elizabeths ſake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their ſucceſſors, that no Engliſhman, nor any other ſtranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vaſiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zeleuetskyes Iſland, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northſide of Dwina, by hetherward of Wardhouſe, to any hauen, with ſhippe, Buſſe, or any other veſſell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the ſaid Engliſh companie, and their ſucceſſors, to whom we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Alſo that no Engliſh Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, ſhall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorod.

29 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Merchant, ſtranger, or other, of whatſoeuer Countrey he be, ſhall come with any ſhippe, Buſſe, or any other veſſel, to any of the ſaid hauens, of the north ſide, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriogorod, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, we to apprehende and take the ſame veſſell from thoſe ſtrangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of Engliſh Merchants.

30 Alſo of our goodnes we haue granted the ſaid company of Engliſh merchants, that no Engliſh merchants or ſtrangers ſhall paſſe through our dominions, to Boghar, Perſia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, ſaue onely the company of Engliſh merchants, and our owne meſſengers.

31 Alſo whatſoeuer Engliſhman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the ſayd company, written

within thoſe our letters, mind, and purpoſe, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleaſure, or any way abuſe himſelfe, the Agent ſhall freely ſend him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himſelfe be vnable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and ſo ſend him to priſon, and will the ſayd captaines not to hinder the ſayd Agent from ſending home ſuch euill perſons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the Engliſh merchants and factours, to haue free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuilege giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Chriſtopher Bennet, Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the ſame priuileges to be taken from them.

34 Alſo we of our goodneſſe haue granted the ſayd company of Engliſh merchants, their ſucceſſours, ſeruants and deputies, that doe or ſhall remaine at Moſco, or elſewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wiſe none of ours to force them to our law or faith againſt their will.

Moreouer, beſides and with the company of Engliſh merchants, we permit all ſtrangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Iuanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland, as they haue done beforetime. Giuen from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of Iune 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordſhip and reign 35, and of our Empire of Ruſland 23, Cazan 17, Aſtracan 15.

Other ſpeciall grants by his Maieſties priuate letters at the ſute of M. *Randolfe* Ambaſſadour.

Releaſement out of priſon of Fitzherbert, that was accuſed for writing of letters againſt the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accuſed and troubled vpon ſuſpition of his dealing with the Ambaſſadour, and licence giuen to him to trafficke as he was accuſtomed.

Andrew Atherton and his ſureties releaſed at the Narue and his ſeruant at the Moſco, that were in trouble for ſending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for iuſtice againſt them that ſtole the pearles.

His Maieſties fauor promiſed to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can beſt deſerue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Perſia, to paſſe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as alſo letters of fauour to the great Shaugh of Perſia.

A grant vnto the company that at what time ſoeuer they ſend to the diſcouery of Cataya, they ſhalbe licenced to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue ſuch conducts and guides, mariners, veſſels, men and victuals as they ſhall ſtand in need of.

It is alſo promiſed by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any Engliſh man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwiſe go about to diſcredit the worſhipfull company, and their doings, that therein they ſhall not be heard, and the doers to be puniſhed, as in ſuch caſes they ſhalbe iudged to haue deſerued.

Certaine perſons granted to be ſent home into England that ſerued the company, and were practiſers againſt them in that countrey.

A Commiſſion giuen by vs *Thomas Randolfe* Ambaſſadour for the Queenes Maieſtie in *Ruſſia*, and *Thomas Banniſter*, &c. vnto *Iames Baſſendine*, *Iames Woodcocke* and *Richard Browne*, the which *Baſſendine*, *Woodcocke*, and *Browne* we appoint ioyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of diſcouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for ſearching of the ſea, and border of the coaſt, from the riuer *Pechora*, to the Eaſtwards, as hereafter followeth *Anno* 1588. The firſt of Auguſt.

INprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you ſhall at the beginning of the yere (aſſoone as you poſſibly may) make your repaire to the Eaſterne part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Iland called Dolgoieue, and from thence you ſhall paſſe to the Eaſtwards alongſt by the Sea coaſt of Hugorie, or the maine land of Pechora, and ſailing alongſt by the ſame coaſt, you ſhall paſſe within ſeuen leagues of the Iland Vaigats, which is in the ſtraight, almoſt halfe way from the coaſt of Hugorie, vnto the coaſt of

Noua Zembla, which Iſland Vaigats and Noua Zembla you ſhall finde noted in your plat; therefore you ſhall not need to diſcouer it: but proceed on alongſt the coaſt of Hugory, towards the riuer Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the ſayd Vaigats, and the riuer Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two ſmall riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramſy, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you ſhall not need to ſpend any time for ſearching of it, but to direct your courſe to the riuer Ob (if otherwiſe you be not conſtrained to keepe alongſt the ſhore) and when you come to the riuer Ob you ſhall not enter into it, but paſſe ouer vnto the Eaſterne part of the mouth of the ſayd riuer.

Cara Reca.

Naramſi Reca.

And when you are at the Eaſterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you ſhall from thence paſſe to the Eaſtwards, alongſt by the border of the ſayd coaſt, deſcribing the ſame in ſuch perfect order as you can beſt do it. You ſhall not leaue the ſayd coaſt or border of the land, but paſſe alongſt by it, at leaſt in ſight of the ſame, vntill you haue ſailed by it ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, and the time of the yeere ſo farre ſpent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eaſtwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach ſo farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the ſaid coaſt and ſea to trend ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, yet you ſhall not leaue the coaſt at any time, but proceed alongſt by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnſearched, or ſeene, vnleſſe it be ſome bay, or riuer, that you doe certeinly know by the report of the people, that you ſhall finde in thoſe borders, or els ſome certeine tokens whereby you of your ſelues may iudge it to be ſo. For our hope is that the ſaid border of land and ſea doth in ſhort ſpace after you paſſe the Ob, incline Eaſt, and ſo to the Southwards. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your ſtarreboord ſide, as you proceed in your diſcouery, to be left vndiſcouered.

But and if the ſaid border of land do not incline ſo to the Eaſtwards as we preſuppoſe it, but that it doe proue to incline and trend to the Northwards, and ſo ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the ſea from Vaigats to the Eaſtwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongſt by the ſaid coaſt, and ſo bring vs certaine report of that forme and maner of the ſame bay.

And if it doe ſo proue to be a bay, and that you haue paſſed round about the ſame, and ſo by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla that is againſt Vaigats, whereas you may from that ſee the ſaid Iſland Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you ſhall from thence paſſe alongſt by the ſaid border and coaſt of Noua Zembla to the Weſtwards, and ſo to ſearch whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the land that ſir Hugh Willoughbie diſcouered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla 120 leagues to the Weſtwards, as your plat doeth ſhew it vnto you: and if you doe finde that land to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you ſhall proceed further along the ſame coaſt, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be ſufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Ruſſia, at your diſcretion: for we refer the ſame to your good iudgements, truſting that you will loſe no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of Auguſt, 56 yer the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her diſcouerie, to Winter in Ruſſia, and then ſhe came from the Iſland Vaigats, being forcibly driuen from thence with an Eaſterly winde and yce, and ſo ſhe came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene ſo much that yere as it was in the Streights, on both ſides of the Iſland Vaigats, they in the ſaid pinneſſe would that yeere haue diſcouered the parts that you are now ſent to ſeeke: which thing (if it had pleaſed God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reſerued it for ſome other. Which diſcouerie, if it may be made by you, it ſhall not only proue profitable vnto you, but it will alſo purchaſe perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our country. And thus not doubting of your willing deſires, and forwardneſſe towards the ſame, we pray God to bleſſe you with a lucky beginning, fortunate ſucceſſe, and happily to end the ſame. Amen.

Neceſſarie notes to be obſerued, and followed in your diſcouerie, as hereafter followeth.

When your barke with all furniture and neceſſaries ſhall be in readineſſe for you to depart to the ſea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you ſhall from thence, euen as timely in the ſpring as the yce will permit you, ſaile, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora (as your commiſſion doth leaue you) and as you paſſe by the coaſt all alongſt (notwithſtanding the plat that ſheweth you the deſcription of the ſaid coaſt, from Dwina vnto Vaigats) yet you ſhall ſeeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the ſame plat, vſing as many obſeruations, as you poſſibly can do: and theſe notes following are to be obſerued by you principally.

1 Firſt, that you do obſerue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may poſſibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do ſo obſerue the ſame.

2 Alſo that you doe diligently ſet with your compaſſe, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongſt as you goe, and to vſe your iudgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes vſe to draw the proportion, and biting of the land, aſwell the lying out of the points, and headlands, vnto the which you ſhall giue ſome apt names (at your diſcretion) as alſo the forme of the Bayes, and to make ſome marke in drawing the forme, and border of the ſame, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether ſandy hilles, or whatſoeuer: omit not to note any thing that may be ſenſible and apparant to you, which may ſerue to any purpoſe.

4 In paſſing along by any coaſt, that you keepe your lead going often times, and ſound at the leaſt once euery glaſſe, and oftener if you thinke good as occaſion doth ſerue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at euery time, how farre the ſame ſounding may be from the next ſhore to it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the ſea after you ſet off from your port, you ſhall orderly at the end of euery foure glaſſes ſound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you ſhall alſo note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Alſo that you do diligently obſerue the flowing, & ebbing in euery place, and how the tides do ſet, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the ſame tide hath to driue a ſhip in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it.

6 Alſo that you doe ſeeke to obſerue with the inſtrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Roſe Iſland, the true platformes, and diſtances, in as many places as conueniently you may, for it ſerueth very aptly your purpoſe.

7 Alſo that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall iournall or remembrance day by day, of all ſuch things as ſhall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be ſhewed and read at your returne.

8 Theſe orders if you ſhall diligently obſerue, it will be eaſie for you to make a plat and perfect deſcription of your diſcouery, and ſo ſhall your notes be ſufficient to anſwere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and vnderſtand by the report of any people whatſoeuer they be, ſo that it appertaine any way to our deſires. And thus the Lord God proſper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verſe, written by Maſter *George Turberuile* out of *Moſcouia*, which went as Secretarie thither with Maſter *Tho. Randolph*, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in *London*, deſcribing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his eſpeciall friend Maſter Edward Dancie.

My Dancie deare, when I recount within my breſt,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee aboue the reſt:
I feele a thouſand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to ſea, from bliſſe to bale did go.
I left my natiue ſoile, full like a retchleſſe man,
And vnacquainted of the coaſt, among the Ruſſes ran:
A people paſſing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, ſo quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole deſire, the pot is all their pride,
The ſobreſt head doth once a day ſtand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends, he will not ſhrinke
On them at dinner to beſtow a dozen kindes of drinke:
Such licour as they haue, and as the countrey giues,
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mouſike liues,
Small ware and waterlike, but ſomewhat tart in taſte,

The reſt is Mead of honie made, wherewith their lips they baſte.
And if he goe vnto his neighbour as a gueſt,
He cares for litle meate, if ſo his drinke be of the beſt.
No wonder though they vſe ſuch vile and beaſtly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefeſt gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their hearts, on God they neuer call,
Vnleſſe it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs againſt the wall.
The houſe that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be reſorted to, that roofe is full of ſinne.
Beſides their priuate gods, in open places ſtand
Their croſſes vnto which they crooche, and bleſſe themſelues with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forhead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greaſie garments found.
Almoſt the meaneſt man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, againſt our vſe, her trotting horſe beſtrides.
In ſundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buſkins all, that money haue on buſkins to beſtoe.
Ech woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient vſe, and ſome of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wiſe and ſadde,
And yet they follow fleſhly luſtes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no ſhame at all accompted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to conceile.
Is not the meaneſt man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee.
Wherewith ſhe deckes her ſelfe, and dies her tawnie ſkinne,
She prankes and paints her ſmoakie face, both brow, lip, cheeke, & chinne.
Yea thoſe that honeſt are, if any ſuch there bee
Within the land, doe vſe the like: a man may plainely ſee
Vpon ſome womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaiſter ſort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But ſuch as ſkilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By dayly practiſe doe it well, yea ſure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours ſo, as he that is full wiſe,
May eaſily be deceiu'd therein, if he doe truſt his eyes.
I not a little muſe, what madneſſe makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the ſtooue by meere conſtraint.
For ſeldome when, vnleſſe on Church or marriage day
A man ſhall ſee the Dames abroade, that are of beſt aray.
The Ruſſie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And ſo he mewes her to be ſure, ſhe lye by no mans ſide.
Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Ruſſia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee, and other of my friends, which I ſhall ſee with ſight:
And other ſtuffe beſides, which true report ſhall tell,
Meane while I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

If I ſhould now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'ſt a foule rebuke, and ſhame impute to mee.
For I to open ſhew did loue thee paſſing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whome I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, ſo I continue ſtill,
No better proofe thou canſt then this deſire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I ſhould away,
And that the Poſte would licence vs, no longer time to ſtay:
Thou wrongſt me by the fiſt, and holding faſt my hand,
Didſt craue of me to ſend thee newes, and how I liked the land.

It is a ſandie ſoile,no very fruitfull vaine,
More waſte and woodie grounds there are,then cloſes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they vntimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe,they mowe it on a ſtacke.
And laying ſheafe by ſheafe,their harueſt ſo they dry,
They make the greater haſte, for feare the froſt the corne deſtroy.
For in the winter time, ſo glarie is the ground,
As neither graſſe,nor other graine,in paſtures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the ſheepe,the colt,the cowe,
Faſt by his bed the Mowſike then a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds,and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowſike and his wife.
Seuen months the Winter dures,the glare it is ſo great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to ſowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of firre,as well the pooreſt men,
As thoſe of greater ſtate : the cauſe is lightly found,
For that in Winter time,they cannot come to breake the ground,
And wood ſo plenteous is,quite throughout all the land,
As rich,and poore,at time of death aſſurd of coffins ſtand.
Perhaps thou muſeſt much,how this may ſtand with reaſon,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide ſo long a ſeaſon.
Take this for certaine trothe, as ſoone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any ſtone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And ſo they lye in perfect ſtate,till next returne of Spring.
Their beaſts be like to ours, as farre as I can ſee
For ſhape,and ſhewe,but ſomewhat leſſe of bulke,and bone they be.
Of watriſh taſte, the fleſh not firme, like Engliſh beefe,
And yet it ſeru's them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their ſheepe are very ſmall, ſharpe ſingled,handfull long,
Great ſtore of fowle on ſea and land, the moriſh reedes among.
The greatnes of the ſtore doeth make the prices leſſe,
Beſides in all the land they know not how good meate to dreſſe.
They vſe neither broach nor ſpit, but when the ſtoue they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and ſo they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no diſhes but of wood,
No vſe of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good.
They vſe but wooden ſpoones, which hanging in a caſe
Eache Mowſike at his girdle ties,and thinkes it no diſgrace.
With whitles two or three,the better man the moe,
The chiefeſt Ruſſies in the land , with ſpoone and kniues doe goe.
Their houſes are not huge of building, but they ſay,
They plant them in the loftieſt ground, to ſhift the ſnow away,
Which in the Winter time,eache where full thicke doth lie:
Which makes them haue the more deſire,to ſet their houſes hie.
No ſtone worke is in vſe, their roofes of rafters bee,
One linked in another faſt,their wals are all of tree.
Of maſts both long, and large, with moſſe put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out,I neuer earſt haue ſeene
A groſſe deuiſe ſo good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke,to rid the raine,and ſudden ſhowres away.
In euery roome a ſtoue,to ſerue the Winter turne,
Of wood they haue ſufficient ſtore, as much as they can burne.
They haue no Engliſh glaſſe,of ſlices of a rocke
Hight Sluda they their windowes make,that Engliſh glaſſe doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and ſow it with a thred
In pretie order like to panes, to ſerue their preſent need.
No other glaſſe, good faith doth giue a better light:

And ſure the rocke is nothing rich,the coſt is very ſlight.
The chiefeſt place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the houſe himſelfe doth neuer ſit,
Vnleſſe his better come,to whom he yealds the ſeat:
The ſtranger bending to the god,the ground with brow muſt beat,
And in that very place which they moſt ſacred deeme,
The ſtranger lies: a token that his gueſt he doth eſteeme,
Where he is wont to haue a beares ſkinne for his bed,
And muſt,in ſtead of pillow,clap his ſaddle to his head.
In Ruſſia other ſhift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good,the boalſters are but bad.
I muſed very much, what made them ſo to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife,and feathers out of crie:
Vnleſſe it be becauſe the countrey is ſo hard,
They feare by niceneſſe of a bed their bodies would be mard,
I wiſht thee oft with vs, ſaue that I ſtood in feare
Thou wouldſt haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,
As I and Stafford did,that was my mate in bed:
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue ſped.
Loe thus I make an ende: none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beaſtly bee.
I write not all I know,I touch but here and there,
For if I ſhould,my penne would pinch,and eke offend I feare.
Who ſo ſhall read this verſe, coniecture of the reſt,
And thinke by reaſon of our trade, that I do thinke the beſt.
But if no traffique were,then could I boldly pen
The hardneſſe of the ſoile,and eke the maners of the men.
They ſay the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beaſt:
And ſo may you deeme of the great, by reading of the leaſt.

To Parker.

My Parker, paper,pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leiſure to indite:
Wherefore,reſpecting theſe,and thine aſſured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee,thou might'ſt my pen reproue,
And ſithence fortune thus hath ſhou'd my ſhippe on ſhore:
And made me ſeeke another Realme vnſeene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpoſe to declare,
And other priuate points beſides,which ſtrange and geaſon are.
The Ruſſie men are round of bodies,fully fac'd,
The greateſt part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waſte,
Flat headed for the moſt, with faces nothing faire,
But browne,by reaſon of the ſtoue,and cloſeneſſe of the aire:
It is their common vſe to ſhaue or els to ſheare
Their heads,for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Vnleſſe perhaps he haue his ſoueraigne prince diſpleas'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire,vntill he be appeas'd,
A certaine ſigne to know who in diſpleaſure be,
For euery man that viewes his head,will ſay, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendſhip ſhow.
Their garments be not gay,nor handſome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they haue,that ſtandeth very hie,
Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The beſt haue collers ſet with pearle, which they Rubaſca call.
Their ſhirts in Ruſsie long,they worke them downe before,
And on the ſleeues with coloured Silks,two inches good and more,
Aloft their ſhirts they weare a garment iacket wiſe
Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlie waſte he tyes

His portkies, which in ſtead of better breeches be:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to ſee.
A paire of yarnen ſtocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Ruſſie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
With clouting clamps of ſteele, ſharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a Shuba furd, and thus the Ruſſie goes.
Well butned is the Shube, according to his ſtate,
Some Silke, of Siluer other ſome: but thoſe of pooreſt rate
Do weare no Shubs at all, but groſſer gownes to ſight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
Theſe are the Ruſſies robes. The richeſt vſe to ride
From place to place, his ſeruant runnes, and followes by his ſide.
The Caſſacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very braue, their ſaddles are but plaine.
No bits but ſnaffles all, of birch their ſaddles be,
Much faſhioned like the Scottiſh ſeates, broad flakes to keepe the knee
From ſweating of the horſe, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they vſe ſhort ſtirrups for the warre:
For when the Ruſſie is purſued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and ſuddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in ſaddle as he ſits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very ſhort, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of ſinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being ſhot from out thoſe bowes, a cruel way will flee.
They ſeldome vſe to ſhoo their horſe, vnleſſe they ride
In poſt vpon the frozen floods, then cauſe they ſhall not ſlide,
He ſets a ſlender calke, and ſo he rides his way.
The horſes of the countrey go good foureſcore verſts a day,
And all without the ſpurre, once pricke them and they ſkippe,
But goe not forward on their way, the Ruſſie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
Yet ſhall you not a paire of ſpurres in all the countrey ſee.
The common game is cheſſe, almoſt the ſimpleſt will
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practiſe comes their ſkill.
Againe they dice as faſt, the pooreſt rogues of all
Will ſit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very ſmall, in faſhion like to thoſe
Which we doe vſe, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not ſhaking them a whit, they caſt ſuſpiciouſly,
And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing moſt apply.
At play when Siluer lacks, goes ſaddle, horſe and all,
And eche thing els worth Siluer walkes, although the price be ſmall.
Becauſe thou loueſt to play friend Parker other while,
I wiſh thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better farre at home, I wiſt it well,
And wouldeſt be loath among ſuch lowts ſo long a time to dwell.
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waſte our weary dayes were glad,
In ſuch a ſauage ſoile, where lawes do beare no ſway,
But all is at the king his will, to ſaue or els to ſlay.
And that ſans cauſe, God wot, if ſo his minde be ſuch.
But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no Saints to touch.
Conceiue the reſt your ſelfe, and deeme what liues they lead,
Where luſt is Lawe, and Subiects liue continually in dread.
And where the beſt eſtates haue none aſſurance good
Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood,
But all of cuſtome doeth vnto the prince redowne,

And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the King his crowne,
Good faith I ſee thee muſe at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleaſure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembreſt well,
And what his fortune was at laſt, I know thy ſelfe canſt tell.
Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely ſway,
And luſt is Lawe, the prince and Realme muſt needs in time decay.
The ſtrangeneſſe of the place is ſuch for ſundry things I ſee,
As if I woulde I cannot write ech priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince ſo full of pride,
The Realme ſo ſtored with Monks and nunnes, and prieſts on euery ſide:
The maners are ſo Turkie like, the men ſo full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples ſtuft with idols that defile
The Seats that ſacred ought to be, the cuſtomes are ſo quaint,
As if I would deſcribe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
In ſumme, I ſay I neuer ſaw a prince that ſo did raigne,
Nor people ſo beſet with Saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Iriſh are as ciuill as the Ruſſies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the beſt of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.
If thou bee wiſe, as wiſe thou art, and wilt be rulde by me,
Liue ſtill at home, and couet not thoſe barbarous coaſts to ſee.
No good befalles a man that ſeeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill cuſtomes to be learnd, where God beſtowes no grace.
And truely ill they do deſerue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor ſtand in awe of his aſſured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at laſt the vile and beaſtly ſort
Of ſinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefeſt ſport.
A dieu friend Parker, if thou liſt, to know the Ruſſes well,
To Sigiſmundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earſt in meſſage went vnto that ſauage King,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech reſpect did bring.
To him I recommend my ſelfe, to eaſe my penne of paine,
And now at laſt do wiſh thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into *Perſia*, made by *M. Arthur Edwards* Agent, *Iohn Sparke*, *Laurence Chapman*, *Chriſtopher Faucet*, and *Richard Pingle*, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from *Casbin* in *Perſia* by the foreſaide *Laurence Chapman* to a worſhipfull merchant of the companie of *Ruſſia* in *London*. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

Worſhipfull ſir, my duetie alwayes remembred, and your proſperous health, and good ſucceſſe in all your affaires wiſhed, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts deſire, &c. May it pleaſe you to vnderſtand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraſlaue in Iuly 1568. and the 14. of Auguſt arriued at our port called Bilbil, with your ſhip the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good ſafetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people ſo ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, & vnlading of the goods, nor yet ſo obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worſhipfull company haue bene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open & ſel as they would ſet the price, or otherwiſe it would haue bene worſe for vs. Being ſo ſatiſfied to their contentment, we were ſpeedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the firſt of September, finding it ſo throughly furniſhed with all maner of commodities by occaſion of our late comming, and by ſuch as came before vs, that no man would aſke to buy any one piece of karſie of vs, and lying then the ſpace of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwards would diſperſe vs abroade with the goods, ſuch as came out of Ruſsia afterwardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and ſpoyled thoſe ſales wee might haue made, being ſent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worſhipfull, as alſo great griefe vnto vs to ſee. To conclude, through our dayly calling vpon him, he bent himſelfe for Casbin, taking with him the greateſt ſumme of the goods, and two of the worſhipfuls ſeruants, to witte, Iohn Sparke and my ſelfe, to helpe and procure the better ſale for the ſame: and leauing at Shamaki

Their arriual at Bilbil the 14. of Auguſt 1568.

Prince Eraſbec.

Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

maki Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karſies in their handes, ſuppoſed to be ſolde there or in Arraſh before hee ſhould be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, ſo farre foorth as I can vnderſtand, lie for the greateſt part vnſolde. And being vpon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karſies with thoſe merchants for foureſcore and foure batemans of cynamom, ſelling the karſies at one hundred and fiftie ſhawghs the piece.

And being at that preſent not farre from Teueris, called the principal place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karſies, by much intreatie I perſwaded your Agent to ſend thither to prooue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karſies, as alſo his commiſſion for the ſale of the ſame, I proceeded on that voyage my ſelfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great ſtore of broad cloth and karſies brought thither, ſome part by the Turkes who be reſident there, ſome by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and ſome by the towneſmen, who trauell vnto Venice and there buy them, ſo that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie ſhawghs for a karſie: and hauing ſpeciall commiſſion and charge from your Agent not to ſtay there aboue the ſpace of ſeuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all ſpeed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worſhipfuls commodities, according to their deſire, I found meanes to barter them away for ſpices, ſuch as were there to be had, neither in goodneſſe nor yet in price to my content: neuertheleſſe, conſidering the colde ſales which were there, as well for your karſies, as alſo the hot newes, that Ormuz way was ſhut vp by occaſion that the Indians do warre againſt them, which is true in deed: and againe the deſire that the worſhipfull hath to haue ſuch commodities bought, I thought it neceſſary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt ſent to the worſhipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole ſumme of ſpices bought at this time.

Warre againſt the Portingals at Ormuz.

The gouernour of Grozin his merchant.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle deſirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karſies for his maſter called Leuontie, and offering me ſo good bands for the paiment of the money or ſilke to the merchants cõtentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me beſides his owne letter in the behalfe of his maſter, that no cuſtome ſhould be demanded for the ſame, and the obtaining alſo at his maſters hand as large a priuilege for the worſhipful to trauel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians alſo, and that he was a Chriſtian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and ſold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threeſcore ſhawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or ſilke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karſies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the ſame, which is as ſure as any here is to be deuiſed: and vpon the ſame I ſent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with ſuch goods as I bought at Teueris, and to the end hee might cauſe the worſhipfuls ſeruants there to ſee this bargen accompliſhed. At whoſe arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the Captaine would not accompliſh his bargen to take them, but ſaith, hee hath no need of them: ſuch is the conſtancie of all men in this countrey, with whomſoeuer you ſhal bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe miſlike it afterwards, they will bring it againe, and compel you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifeſteth the contrary, as a ſtraw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worſhipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people or not.

The generall inconſtancie in the merchants and dealers of thoſe parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no ſuch ſtore of ſpices as the worſhipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put a way in Teueris, ſome for money, and other ſome for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundrey pieces of karſies, being in coulers and goodneſſe to the examples here ſent you, the reſt of the karſies to make them vp a thouſand, and broad clothes to the ſumme of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, ſo farre as yet I can perceiue.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not eaſily to be broken.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not poſſible, vnleſſe the worſhipful will finde ſome meanes to receiue of them yeerly to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the ſame one third part money, the reſt cloth and karſies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey: the examples, as aboueſaid, are ſent vnto you.

At Amadia ſixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought vp yeerely by the Venetians, and be ſolde there for two biſtes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent here ſaith, maketh ſixe pound Engliſh weight, but I doubt it wil not ſo be prooued. Neuertheleſſe it is ſuppoſed much good will bee done by buying of them: which might at this preſent haue partly bene prooued, if ſo be that ſome could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teueris, as alſo in Casbin, but the goodneſſe nothing like to ſuch as be brought into England out of other places: & the price is ſo high that ſmal gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furniſhed with money, as I might haue bene, if ſome would, I would haue bought ſome, to the ende the goodneſſe of them might haue bene ſeene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of ſales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent ſaith) that yͤ Shaugh would buy all ſuch commodities as he had, and giue him ſilke and ſpices for the ſame: but by report the Shaugh neuer tooke cloth into his treaſurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw ſilke, which he ſelleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and ſuch other as vſe to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driuen off the time, not ſending to any other places: by means whereof the worſhipfuls goods lie vnſold to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a litle ſorry to ſee.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great ſtore of Dates, and ſold for a biſſe the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place ſo neere vnto vs might eaſily haue bene knowen, if hee, whoſe deeds and ſayings differ much, had bene willing to the ſame. Caſſan alſo is but ſeuen dayes iourney from hence, & a place by report where moſt ſtore of ſpices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be ſeen and prooued at this time; if this be loſſe to the worſhipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he ſpeaketh in words.

Babylon 15. dayes iourney from Casbin.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miſerable and vncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refreſh men with wholeſome victuals in time of need, but alſo ſuch ſcarſitie of water, that ſometime in three dayes iourney together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beaſt to drinke, beſides the great danger we ſtand in for robbing by theſe infidels, who doe account it remiſſion of ſinnes to waſh their hands in the blood of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant ſeuen yeeres in this Countrey, as ſome ſhall well find at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent alſo I went to Gilan, as well to ſee what harbor was there for your ſhip, as alſo to vnderſtand what commoditie is there beſt ſold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence ſo dangerous and troubleſome, that with my pen I am not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but ſuch poore people as need conſtraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie batmans vpon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the ſkirts of the ſaddle, and he eſcapeth very hardly that commeth there with the ſame.

His voyage to Gilan.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefeſt place in all that land, haue I ſeen, and Langro and Roſar alſo, which be now ouerrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be ſo ſpoiled, & the people ſo robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karſie. The beſt commoditie there to bee bought, is raw ſilke, and is ſold in the Summer time for 38. ſhaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle aboue 40. li. waight, and for ready money: alſo there is to bee had what ſtore of Alom you will, and ſold there for one biſſe the Teueris batman.

In theſe partes be many Turkie merchants reſident, which giue an outward ſhew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but ſecretly they be our mortall enemies, ſearching by all meanes to hinder our ſales, becauſe we ſhould the ſooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in proceſſe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wiſh vs to go to Hallape with the reſt of our commodities vnſold, where they ſay we ſhall haue good intertainment in ſpight of the great number of Venetians which be there reſident, and the cuſtome but two in the hundred, and our karſies to be ſold preſently, had we neuer ſo many, for twelue duckets, which maketh of this money 165. ſhaughs: but by ſuch as know the place, market and cuſtome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that ſuch karſies as ours be, are not ſold for aboue 8. duckets there: the cuſtome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is ſo well furniſhed with good cloth and karſies, and of ſo braue colour as that place is, ſuppoſing it to bee craftily purpoſed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The malice of the Turkiſh merchants.

The price of ſpices be theſe, at this preſent enhanſed by reaſon yͤ way is ſhut to Ormus, which when God ſhal ſend open, I purpoſe (God willing) to ſee, and at my returne to aduertiſe the worſhipful what benefit is there to be had in all points, ſo neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. ſhaughs the Teueris batman: Cloues 50. ſhaughs, Long pepper 25. ſhaughs, Maces large 50. ſhaughs Ginger 24. ſhaughs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the beſt ſort of rawe ſilke is ſold for 60. ſhaughs the Teueris batman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ende for this time, beſeeching God to preſerue you in continuall health.

The price of ſpices.

By your obedient ſeruant, *Laurence Chapman.*

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Perſia, begun in the *moneth of Iuly* 1568. *gathered by M.* Richard Willes *from the mouth of Maſter Arthur Edwards*, which was Agent in the ſame.

When he came firſt to the Sophies preſence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and ſtanding farre off, the Sophie (ſitting in a ſeat roiall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thriſe, vntill he came ſo neere him that he might haue touched him with his hād. Then the firſt demand that he aſked him was, from what countrey he came: he anſwered, that he came from England. Then aſked hee of his noble men, who knew any ſuch countrey? But when Edwards ſaw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble mē ſaid Londro, meaning thereby Londō, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Chriſtendom, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro he ſaid that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe city of Perſia. He aſked him many things more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it ſhould be an Iſland of ſo great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize he further vnderſtood by our traffike in Moſcouia and other countreis. He demanded alſo many things of the Queenes maieſtie, and of the cuſtomes and lawes of the realme: ſaying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla, (that is to ſay) Well ſayd. He aſked alſo many things of king Philip, & of his wars againſt the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cauſe of his reſort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he aſked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (ſayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro ſend to Venice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo & Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the ſecond and third hands, with great charges of many cuſtoms and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Perſia. What merchandize are thoſe? ſayd the Sophie. Edwards anſwered, that they were great abundance of fine karſies, of broad clothes of all ſorts & colours, as ſkarlets, violets, and other of the fineſt cloth of all the world. Alſo that the Venetians brought out of England not onely ſuch clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwiſe make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, aboue two hundred thouſand karſies, and as many broad clothes, beſide fine wooll & other merchandize, beſide alſo the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then aſked him by what means ſuch merchandize might be brought into Perſia. Right wel ſir (ſaid he) by the way of Moſcouia, with more ſafety and in much ſhorter time then the Venetians can bring them: firſt from England to Venice, and from thence into Perſia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it ſhal pleaſe your maieſtie to grant vs free paſſage into all your dominions, with ſuch priuileges as may appertaine to the ſafegard of our liues, goods and merchandize, we will furniſh your countries with all ſuch merchandize and other commodities, in ſhorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the ſame at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the ſpace of two houres: all which things liked him ſo well, that ſhortly after he granted to the ſayd Arthur Edwards other priuileges for the trade of merchandize into Perſia, all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great ſeale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who ſayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did ſit to ſeale any letters, that laſt priuiledge ſhould be ſealed & deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuiledge is one principall article for ſeruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Buſormen, that then the Agent whereſoeuer he ſhall find any ſuch ſeruant or ſeruants, to take them and put them in priſon, and no perſon to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in reſpect of a cuſtome among the Perſians, being Mahumetans, whoſe maner is friendly to receiue and wel entertaine, both with gifts and liuing, all ſuch Chriſtians, as forſaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Perſians. Inſomuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great occaſion of naughty ſeruants to deceiue and rob their maſters, that vnder the colour of profeſſing that religion, they might liue among them in ſuch ſafetie, that you might haue no lawe agaynſt them, either to puniſh them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elſewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they ſay to be a maruelous wiſe and gracious prince) ſeemed to fauour our nation, and to grant them ſuch priuiledges, the people abuſed them very much, and ſo hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels

Londro, London.

The Venetians traffike in England.

or miſbeleeuers. But after they ſaw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kiſſe their hands and vſe them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare falſe witneſſe againſt them, and ſuch merchandizes as they had bought or ſold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them liſted. And if any ſtranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one ſlaine, and for the debts of any ſtrāger would take the goods of any other of the ſame nation, with many other ſuch like abuſes, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of ſuch abuſes: which were the cauſe that no merchant ſtrangers of contrary religiō durſt come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his ſubiects.

The Articles of the ſecond priuiledge deliuered to *Laurence Chapman*, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their firſt priuiledge, to goe vnto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occaſion ſhall be giuen.

11 Item, if by miſfortune any of their ſhips ſhould breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the ſea coaſt, his ſubiects to helpe with all ſpeed to ſaue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the ſayd merchants that liueth: or otherwiſe to be kept in ſafetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to ſee their goods ſafely kept, and to be deliuered to any other of them that ſhall demand them.

13 Item, the ſaid merchants to take ſuch camel-men as they themſelues wil, being countrey people, and that no Kiſſell Baſh do let or hinder them. And the ſaid owners of the camels to bee bound to anſwere them ſuch goods as they ſhal receiue at their hands, and the camel-men to ſtand to the loſſes of their camels or horſes.

14 Item more, that the ſayd Cariers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Cariers, & haue giuen earneſt, the camel-men to ſee they keepe their promiſe.

16 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants be in feare to trauel, to giue thē one or more to go with them and ſee them in ſafetie with their goods, to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to ſay, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his ſubiects to giue them honeſt roume, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the ſayd merchants may in any place, where they ſhall thinke beſt, build or buy any houſe or houſes to their owne vſes. And no perſon to moleſt or trouble them, and to ſtand in any Carauan where they will, or ſhal thinke good.

The commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Perſia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into yͤ Eaſt Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Perſia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by ſea: for where as the citie and Iſland of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Perſia, is the moſt famous Mart towne of all Eaſt India, whither al yͤ merchandiſes of India are brought, the ſame may in ſhorter time and more ſafely be brought by land and riuers through Perſia, euen vnto the Caſpian ſea, and from thence by the countreis of Ruſſie or Moſcouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraſlaue, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water euen vnto England.

The merchandiſes which be had out of Perſia for the returne of wares are ſilke of all ſortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Alſo all maner of ſpices and drugs, pearles & precious ſtones, likewiſe carpets of diuers ſortes, with diuers other rich merchandiſes. It was told me of them that came laſt from Perſia, that there is more ſilke brought into ſome one city of Perſia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Alſo that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely fiue hundred, and ſometime a thouſand mules laden with ſilke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes iourney from Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and ſend from thence ſilks which they returne for Engliſh karſies and other clothes into all partes of Chriſtendome.

The

The maner how the Chriſtians become Buſormen, and forſake *their religion.*

I Haue noted here before that if any Chriſtian wil become a Buſorman, that is, one that hath forſaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and ſometime alſo a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forſake his faith, he reſorteth to the Soltan or gouernor of the towne, to whom hee maketh proteſtation of his diueliſh purpoſe. The gouernour appointeth him a horſe, and one to ride before him on another horſe, bearing a ſword in his hand, and the Buſorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, curſing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is ſignified by the ſword borne before him. A yong man, a ſeruant of one of our merchāts, becauſe he would not abide the correction of his maſter for his faults, was minded to forſake his faith. But (as God would) he fell ſuddenly ſicke and died, before he gaue himſelfe to the deuill. If he had become a Buſorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then haue ſaid that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges, that no Buſorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Perſia in diuers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houſhold ſtuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horſes.

Of the tree which beareth Bombaſin cotton, or Goſſampine.

IN Perſia is great abundance of Bombaſin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not paſt the height of a mans waſte or litle more: the tree hath a ſlender ſtalke like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gilliflowre, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and ſheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth ſtill in bignes vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fiſt, and beginneth to be looſe, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The ſeeds of theſe trees are as big as peaſon, and are blacke, and ſomewhat flat, and not round: they ſowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Perſia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Perſians.

ARthur Edwards ſhewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, ſubſigned with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies ſubſcription was onely one word (his name I ſuppoſe was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was alſo written on the ſame piece of red paper, being long & narow, about ẏ length of a foote, and not paſt three inches broad. The priuate ſignet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed vpon the ſame paper without any waxe or other ſeale, the letter ſeem ſo miſhapen and diſordered, that a man would thinke it were ſomwhat ſcribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they ſay that almoſt euery letter with his pricke or circumflexe ſignifieth a whole word. Inſomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almoſt in a ſheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Perſia made by M. *Thomas Baniſter*, and maſter Geofrey Ducket, *Agents for the Moſcouie companie, begun from England in the* yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by *P. I.* from the mouth of M. *Lionel Plumtree.*

The Engliſh Barke aſſaulted neere Aſtracan by the Nagaian Tartars.

VPon the 3. day of Iuly 1568. they embarked themſelues at Yeraſlaue, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and ſome 12. Engliſh men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonauenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking alſo along with them of Ruſſes to the number of 40. for their vſe and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Aſtracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of theeuiſh and cruel people, made an aſſault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, ſome with ſwords, ſome with ſpeares, and ſome others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they diſcouered to be about 300. men. They for their parts, although they could haue wiſhed a quiet voyage and iourney without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be ſpoiled with ſuch Barbarians as they were, began to defend themſelues againſt their aſſault, by meanes whereof a very terrible & fierce fight folowed and continued hot & ſharpe for two houres, wherein our men ſo wel plaied their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the loſſe of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Ruſſe priſoner, which eſcaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Aſtracan, at which towne they arriued the 20. of Auguſt.

In this towne of Aſtracan they were ſomwhat hindered of their iourney, and ſtaied the ſpace of ſixe weekes by reaſon of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither vpon the inſtigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue ſurpriſed it ſuddenly or by continuance of ſiege to win the ſame. But in the end by reaſon that the winter approched, as alſo, becauſe they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Ruſſia was in prouiding for the defence of the ſaid place, they were conſtrained to raiſe their ſiege, & to leaue the town as they found it.

Aſtracan beſieged by 70000. Turks and Tartars.

Upon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vſing the occaſion, they left Aſtracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly moleſted with ſtrange troopes of ſholcaues or foxes, which were ſo buſie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Bore that was ſent vnto them for a preſent from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing ſtaied here ſome three or foure daies in prouiding of cariages and other neceſſaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforeſayd Shauaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company ſpent out the Winter, and from thence in April folowing they tooke their iourney towards Ardouil a place of great account and much eſteemed, by reaſon of the ſepulchres of the Emperours of Perſia, which for the moſt part lie there buried, and ſo is growen to bee a place of their ſuperſtitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardouil they ſoiourned the ſpace of 5. or 6. moneths, finding ſome traffique and ſales, but to no purpoſe, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother ſought the deſtruction of the brother, and the neereſt kinſmen roſe vp one againſt another, inſomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath ſeene in one day ſometimes 14. ſlaine in a garboile. And he being further deſirous to ſee their maner of fight, or rather ſomewhat more curious to behold, then miſtruſtful of their blowes, was like to haue borne a ſhare in their bloodie tragedie, being twiſe wounded with their ſhot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas ſent a meſſenger for our men to come to his preſence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Baniſter failed not to goe, although maſter Ducket lay very ſicke at Ardouil, and in ſuch caſe that they almoſt deſpaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and ſpeciall countenance, and had the moſt part of all his requeſts granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuilege or ſufferance to tranſport and cary through his dominions certaine horſes into India, the Shaugh ſeemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to ſome further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motiō or requeſt that was not ſo ſoone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himſelfe bought there of him many kerſies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wiſh, and oftentimes would ſend his mony for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might be the ſurer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing ſomewhat ſtrange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purpoſed to ſend a great ſumme of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not ſend any money or coyne of his owne, but ſent to the Engliſh merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reaſon for the ſame, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good conſciences, and was therefore worthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppreſſion and vnhoneſt meanes, and therefore was not fit to ſerue for ſo holie a vſe.

After ſixe moneths ſpent in Casbin the ſayde Thomas Baniſter departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arriued, he found M. Ducket well recouered of his ſickneſſe, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foreſayd Maſter Ducket made ſales of the Engliſh commodities, remaining there to that purpoſe the ſpace of two yeeres and a halfe. And beſides other kindes of merchandiſes of that countrey, he bought great ſtore of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforeſayd Tauris.

After this Thomas Baniſter departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to giue order for the tranſporting of thoſe commodities which were bought for England. And hauing diſpatched them away, he went there hence to Arraſh, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe ſilke. But there by reaſon of the vnwholeſomneſſe of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and ſome other Engliſh men vnhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducket, he immediatly came from Tauris to Arraſh, to take poſſeſſion of the goods, for otherwiſe by the cuſtome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter vpon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithſtanding could not bee recouered from the officers which had ſeized and ſealed vp the ſame, vntill M. Ducket had bene in perſon with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of Thomas Baniſter and Lawrence Chapman.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in ſute for goods, vpon the perſwaſion of certaine Boghariens, made prouiſion for a iourney to Cathaia, with cariages and commodities, and hauing all things ready, departed ſecretly with a Carauan: but being gone forwards on his way ſixe dayes iourny, ſome fifty horſemen by the procurement of Humfry Greenſell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the Eaſt Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquiſition by the Portingals) were ſent after him in poſte from Soltan Erasbec, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not ſuffering him to paſſe on ſo perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow.

Humfrey Greenſell burnt at Ormus.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Caſſan, being about foure dayes iourney from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his trauel he paſſed through Perſepolis, ſometime the roiall ſeate of the Emperors of Perſia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be ſeene at this day two gates onely that are diſtant one from the other the ſpace of 12. miles, and ſome few pinnacles in the mountains and conueiances for freſh water.

The foreſaid Caſſan is a towne that conſiſteth altogether of merchandiſe, and the beſt trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great ſtore of al maner of wrought ſilkes, and ſome ſpices, and good ſtore of Turkie ſtones.

The towne is much to be commended for the ciuil and good gouernment that is there vſed. An idle perſon is not ſuffred to liue amongſt them.

The child that is but fiue yeeres old is ſet to ſome labour. No ill rule, diſorder or riote by gaming or otherwiſe, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law preſent death.

At this Caſhan they remained about the ſpace of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Skamaky, and after ſome time ſpent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe ſilke and other commodities, they came at laſt to Shauaran againe, where their ſhip was in harbour, and then they ſhipt all their goods and embarked themſelues alſo, ſetting ſayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Aſtracan. By reaſon of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caſpian ſea, they beat it vp and downe ſome 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Ruſſe Caſſaks, which are outlawes or baniſhed men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendſhip, and entred their ſhip, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & ſlew diuers of the Ruſſes that were of the ſhip vpon the hatches: Whereupon maſter Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the maſter, a man of ſingular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the ſpardecke, did ſo well behaue themſelues, that they ſkowred the hatches, and ſlew 14. of the Caſſaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the leaſt, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for ſo villanous a purpoſe.

M. Ducket notwithſtanding and the reſt aforeſaid receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were ſo hurt, and withall ſo oppreſſed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at laſt conſtrained to make an agreement with the Caſſaks by rendring the ſhip into their hands, hauing receiued firſt their othes ſworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their perſons.

The Engliſh ſhip taken by the Caſſaks.

Thus the ſhippe being taken, and all the Engliſh grieuouſly hurt, the Caſſaks immediately diſcharged the ſhip of them, putting them all into the ſhip boate with two or three Perſian targets full of horſe fleſh and ſwines fleſh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that caſe, made the beſt haſt they could to get to Aſtracan: and being come to the towne, maſter Ducket made great ſute to the captaine to haue men and boates ſet out for the reſcuing and recouering of the ſhip if it were poſſible: who immediately ſent out his ſonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to purſue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ſhip, but by reaſon of their fooliſhnes in ſtriking vp their drums before they were come neere them, the Caſſaks diſcouering the boats, cut their gables and put out to ſea, whereupon the boats not being able to follow them, returned againe to Aſtracan. After which, 60. boats more were ſent out to purſue them againe the ſecond time: & that ſecond army came to a place where they found many of thoſe Caſſaks and ſlew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the cheſts of the ſhip: all which they recouered againe for the Engliſh merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thouſand pound, but all the reſt the Caſſaks in the ſhip had caried away.

In the ſame place they found further diuers of the Caſſaks which the Engliſhmen had ſlaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt ſome in fortie or fiftie peeces of Sattin and Taffataes, and ſome in Turkie carpets cut & ſpoiled by thoſe villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Perſians who entirely loued the Engliſh merchants, were put to moſt cruell torments in all places according to their deſerts.

But our men being thus ſpoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Aſtracan for their better recouerie: & hauing gotten ſome reaſonable ſtrength, they then prouided boates and went vp the riuer of Volga to Cazan, with ſuch goods as they had recouered from the Caſſaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraſlaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where ſuddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement froſt, and therewithall the waters ſo congeled, that their boates were cruſhed and cut in ſunder with the ice, whereby they ſuſtained both a further danger of life and loſſe of goods: but as much as they could preſerue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in ſleds to Vologda, and from thence ſent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ſhips for England.

Ice in the beginning of October.

But Maſter Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with ſome parcels to the Moſko, and there ſold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie loſſe that they had ſuſtained by his owne rebellious people and ſubiects, bought himſelfe as much as hee liked, and payed preſent money for the ſame: So that Winter being ſpent out in Moſko, and ſuch wares prouided by them as ſerued for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of Auguſt: and hauing endured a very terrible paſſage in nine weekes and three dayes, with ſome hardneſſe of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other ſea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October, one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and foure, and ſo made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage: which if it had pleaſed God to proſper, that all things had come home as ſafely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richeſt voiage and moſt profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by Engliſh merchants, who, notwithſtanding all miſfortunes, loſt nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the intereſt and gaine that might haue riſen by the vſe of their ſtocke in the meane time.

1574

Further obſeruations concerning the ſtate of Perſia, taken in the foreſayd fift voyage into thoſe partes, and written by M. *Geffrey Ducket*, one of the Agents emploied in the ſame.

Shamaky is the faireſt towne in all Media, and the chiefeſt commoditie of that countrey is rawe ſilke, & the greateſt plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamaky called Araſh: and within 3. dayes iourney of Araſh is a countrey named Groſin, whoſe inhabitants are Chriſtians, & are thought to be they which are otherwiſe called Georgians: there is alſo much ſilke to be ſold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Perſia, an incredible quantitie of Haſell nuts, all of one ſort and goodneſſe, and as good and thin ſhaled as are our Filberds. Of theſe are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Groſin or Georgia.

Of the name of the *Sophy* of Perſia, & why he is called the *Shaugh*, and of other cuſtomes.

The king of Perſia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there ſo called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to cal him by the name of Sophy, becauſe that Sophy in the Perſian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is ſituate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. daies iourny in length. The towne is but euil builded, and for the moſt part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the ſunne, as is the moſt part of the building of all Perſia. The king hath not come out of the compaſſe of his owne houſe in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cauſe is not knowen, but as they ſay, it is vpon a ſuperſtition of certaine prophesies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very luſty. And to keepe him the more luſty, he hath 4. wiues alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruſeth, feeling them in all parts, taking ſuch as he liketh, and putting away ſome of them which he hath kept before, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth ſome ſuch as hath done him the beſt ſeruice. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her huſband is very glad thereof, and in recompenſe of her, oftentimes he giueth the huſband one of his old ſtore, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How ſtrangers are vſed.

If any ſtranger being a Chriſtian ſhall come before him, he muſt put on a new paire of ſhooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreth, there is digged as it were a cauſey all the way, vntil he come to the place where he ſhal talke with the king, who ſtandeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any ſtrangers: and when the ſtranger is departed, then is the cauſey caſt downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Perſians.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

Their religion is all one with the Turkes, ſauing that they differ who was the right ſucceſſor of Mahumet. The Turkes ſay that it was one Homer and his ſonne Vſman. But the Perſians ſay that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would prooue in this maner. They ſay there was a counſell called to decide the matter who ſhould be the ſucceſſor: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleaſure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleaſure that Mortus Ali ſhould be his ſucceſſor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and ſlew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a ſword that hee fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he ſtroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that ſhortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which he charged them to lay the body and ſword of Mortus Ali, and to ſuffer the Camel to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the ſaid white camell caried the ſword & body of Mortus Ali vnto the ſea ſide, and the camell going a good way into the ſea, was with the body & ſword of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whoſe returne they haue long looked in Perſia. And for this cauſe the king alwayes keepeth a horſe ready ſadled for him, and alſo of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but ſhe died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they ſay furthermore, ỷ if he come not ſhortly, they ſhalbe of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Meſſias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are now in among the Chriſtians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh or king of Perſia is nothing in ſtrength & power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebuſſes. Notwithſtanding his eldeſt ſonne Iſmael about 25. yeeres paſt, fought a great battell with the Turke, and ſlew of his armie about an hundreth thouſand men: who after his returne, was by his father caſt into priſon, and there continueth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in ſuſpicion that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himſelfe.

Their opinion of Chriſt.

Their opinion of Chriſt is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like vnto Mahumet: ſaying, that Mahumet was the laſt prophet by whom all things were finiſhed, & was therefore the greateſt. To prooue that Chriſt was not Gods ſonne, they ſay that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no ſonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furtheſt part of Perſia vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they viſite alſo the ſepulchre of Chriſt at Ieruſalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The moſt part of ſpices which commeth into Perſia is brought from the Iſland of Ormus, ſituate in the gulfe of Perſia called Sinus Perſicus, betweene the maine land of Perſia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to Eaſt India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all ſuch ſpices as are occupied in Perſia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very ſmall quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they ſell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Perſia, and the Portingals fetch their freſh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Perſia.

Their money.

Within Perſia they haue neither gold nor ſiluer mines, yet haue they coined money both of gold and ſiluer, and alſo other ſmall moneys of copper. There is brought into Perſia an incredible ſumme of Dutch dollars, which for the moſt part are there imploied in raw ſilke.

Their bookes and learning.

They haue few bookes and leſſe learning, and are for the moſt part very brutiſh in all kind of good ſciences, ſauing in ſome kind of ſilke works, and in ſuch things as pertaine to the furniture of horſes, in the which they are paſſing good.

Such was the law of the Macedonians for treaſon.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and deteſtable. And if any man offend the prince, he puniſheth it extreemely, not onely in the perſon that offendeth, but alſo in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often puniſhed, yet none otherwiſe then pleaſeth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Diſſention for religion.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his ſonnes was greateſt: inſomuch that ſometimes in the towne two or three thouſand people are together by the eares for the ſame, as I haue ſeene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and alſo in the great City of Teueris, where I haue ſeene a man comming from fighting, in a brauerie bringing in his hand foure or fiue mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they ſhaue their heads moſt commonly twiſe a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon their heads about a foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue the tuft of haire vpon their heads. They anſwer, that thereby they may eaſilier be caried vp into heauen when they are dead.

Their prieſts and preaching. Their Lent.

For their religion, they haue certaine prieſts who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vſe euery morning and afternoone to go vp to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Chriſtmas, not in abſtinence from fleſh onely, but from all meats and drinks, vntill the day be off the ſkie, but then they eate ſomtimes the whole night. And although it be againſt their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great exceſſe thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it vntill they haue ſeene the ſame: neither yet doeth their Lent end, vntill they haue ſeen the next new Moone, although the ſame (through cloſe weather) ſhould not be ſeen in long time.

Their ſaints and holy men.

Pilgrimage.

They haue among them certaine holy men whom they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their anceſtors haue bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whoſoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to viſite the ſepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his poſteritie are euer after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and haue no leſſe opinion of themſelues. And if a man contrary one of theſe, he will ſay that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie neuer ſo ſhamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then ſpirituall pride of a mind puffed vp with his owne opinion of holineſſe. Theſe Setes do vſe to ſhaue their heads all ouer, ſauing on the ſides a litle aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnſhauen, and vſe to braid the ſame as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Their praier & worſhipping of God and Mahumet.

Euery morning they vſe to worſhip God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themſelues toward the South, becauſe Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauell on the way, many of them will (as ſoone as the Sunne riſeth) light from their horſes, turning themſelues to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their ſwords and beads, and ſo ſtanding vpright worſhip to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kiſſe their beads, or ſomwhat els that lieth before them.

Waſhing and outward cleanlineſſe.

The men or women doe neuer goe to make water, but they vſe to take with them a pot with a ſpout, and after they haue made water, they flaſh ſome water vpon their priuy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water, the men do cowre downe as well as the women.

Their ſwearing.

When they earneſtly affirme a matter, they will ſweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and ſometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, ſaying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But if he will ſweare by the Shaughs head, in ſaying Shaugham baſſhe, you may then beleeue him if you will.

The kings magnificence.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although ſometimes in a moneth or ſixe weekes none of his nobilitie or counſaile can ſee him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time vntill they haue knowen his pleaſure whether hee will commaund

Purſuiuants.

them any thing or not. Hee is watched euery night with a thouſand of his men, which are called his Curſhes, who are they that hee vſeth to ſend into the Countreis about his greateſt affaires. When he ſendeth any of them (if it be to the greateſt of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the meſſenger ſhould beat any of them to death.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himſelfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathſtoue, and when he is diſpoſed to goe thither, he taketh with him fiue or ſixe of his concubines, more or leſſe, and one day they conſume in waſhing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters, The greateſt part of his life hee ſpendeth amongſt his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer eſteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they meaſure the fauour of God by a mans proſperitie, or his diſpleaſure by a mans misfortune or aduerſitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, becauſe he hath reigned king ſo long time.

The ſucceſſion of þ kingdom.

I haue ſayd before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him liſteth: and if he chance to haue any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of thoſe children ſhall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee ſo fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whom he ſo loueth beſt, he ordaineth to bee king after him.

Circumciſion.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honeſt conſciences and chaſte eares, I may not commit to writing: their faſting I haue declared before. They vſe circumciſion vnto children of ſeuen yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Their houſes and maner of eating.

Their houſes (as I haue ſaid) are for the moſt part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houſes they haue but litle furniture of houſhold ſtuffe, except it be their carpets and ſome copper worke: for all their kettles & diſhes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, ſitting on carpets croſſe legged as do Tailors. There is no man ſo ſimple but he ſitteth on a carpet better or worſe, and the whole houſe or roume wherein he ſitteth is wholy couered with carpets. Their houſes are all with flat roofes couered with earth: and in the Sommer time they lie vpon them all night.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

Women bought & ſold, and let to hire.

They haue many bond ſeruaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the beſt kind of merchandiſe that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they vſe to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horſes: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vſe as long as him liſteth, and then ſelleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is ſometimes ſold in the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne vſe, and if hee find her to be falſe to him, and giue her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

When a merchant or traueller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or ſomtimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the ſame alſo: for there they vſe to put out their women to hire, as wee do here hackney horſes.

Abundance of oile iſſuing out of the ground.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauar, which falleth into the Caſpian ſea, by a towne called Bachu, neere vnto which towne is a ſtrange thing to behold. For there iſſueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the vttermoſt bounds of all Perſia: it ſerueth all the countrey to burne in their houſes.

Oleum Petroleum.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they vſe to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine & aſſes, of which you ſhall oftentimes meet with foure or fiue hundred in a company. There is alſo by the ſaid towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that here is called Petroleum. There is alſo not farre from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and iſſueth out of the ground, whereof we haue made the proofe, that in our ſhips it ſerueth well in the ſtead of tarre.

Two ſorts of kine.

In Perſia are kine of two ſorts: the one like vnto ours in theſe partes: the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire vpon them: their milke is walowiſh ſweete: they are like vnto them which are ſpoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao ſignified the ſeuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beaſt can no man ſee.

Foxes in great plenty.

In the countrey of Shiruan (ſometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you ſhall haue about you two or three hundred foxes, which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it ſhal ſcape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

The Caſpian ſea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except ſometimes by rages of wind it ſwelleth vp very high: the water is very ſalt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga maketh the water freſh at the leaſt twentie leagues into the ſea. The Caſpian ſea is marueilous full of fiſh, but no kind of monſtrous fiſh, as farre as I could vnderſtand, yet hath it ſundry ſortes of fiſhes which are not in theſe parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the ſheepe great, hauing very great rumpes with much fat vpon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter ſent to the Emperour of Moſcouie, by *Chriſtopher Hodſdon* and *William Burrough*, Anno 1570.

MOſt mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowſhip the company of Engliſh merchants, this laſt Winter ſent hither to the Narue three ſhips laden with merchandiſe, which was left here, and with it Chriſtopher Hodſdon one of the ſayd felowſhip, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came firſt hither, and vntill ſuch time as hee had diſpatched thoſe ſhips from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene ſailes of good ſhips, againſt this ſhipping, wherefore he wrote vnto the ſayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to ſend hither this ſpring the ſayd number of thirteene ſhips. And becauſe that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the ſea, and ſuppoſing this yeere that they would be very ſtrong, he therefore gaue the ſaid ſir William and his Companie aduiſe to furniſh the ſayd number of ſhips ſo ſtrongly, as they ſhould bee able to withſtand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they haue according to his aduiſe ſent this yeere thirteene good ſhips together well furniſhed with men and munition, and all other neceſſaries for the warres, of which 13. ſhips William Burrough one of the ſaid felowſhip is captaine generall, vnto whom there was giuen in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatſoeuer robbers and theeues that are enimies to your highneſſe, he ſhould doe his beſt to apprehend and take them. It ſo happed that the tenth day of this moneth the ſayd William with his fleete, met with ſixe ſhips of the Freebooters neere vnto an Iland called Tuttee, which is about 50. verſts from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chaſe, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the reſt were fled to ſhore in their boats amongſt the woods vpon Tuttee, on which ſhip he ſet fire and burnt her. He alſo tooke foure more of thoſe ſhips which are now here, and one ſhip eſcaped him: out of which foure ſhips ſome of the men fled in their boates and ſo eſcaped, others were ſlaine in fight, and ſome of them when they ſaw they could not eſcape, caſt themſelues willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in theſe fiue ſhips were left but 83. men.

Fiue ſhips of Freebooters taken.

The ſaid Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narue, finding here Chriſtopher Hodſdon aforenamed, both the ſaid Chriſtopher and William together, in the name of ſir William Garrard and the reſt of their whole companie and felowſhip, did preſent vnto your highneſſe of thoſe Freebooters taken by our ſhips 82. men, which we deliuered here vnto Knez Voiuoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of thoſe Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whoſe name is Haunce Snarke a captaine, And the cauſe why we haue done it is this: When wee ſhould haue deliuered him with the reſt of his felowes vnto the Voiuodaes officers, there were of our Engliſhmen more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requeſting that he might be reſerued in the ſhip, and caried back into England: and the cauſe why they ſo earneſtly intreated for him, is, that ſome of thoſe our Engliſhmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues ſaued, with great fauour beſides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it pleaſe your highneſſe to permit it, we will cary him home with vs into England, wherein we requeſt your maieſties fauour: notwithſtanding what you command of him ſhalbe obſerued.

Wee haue alſo ſent our ſeruant to your highneſſe with ſuch beſtellings and writings as wee found in thoſe ſhippes: whereby your Maieſtie may ſee by whom, and in what order they were ſet out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Knez Yoriue your Maieſties Voiuoda at Pleſco, by our ſeruant. And haue requeſted his furtherance for the ſafe deliuerie of them to your maieſties hands: which writings when you haue peruſed, we deſire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our ſeruaunt, as ſpeedily as may bee: for theſe ſhips which we now haue here will be ſoone diſpatched from hence, for that we haue not goods to lade aboue the halfe of them. And the cauſe is, we haue this winter (by your maieſties order) bene kept from trafiquing, to the companies great loſſe. But hoping your maieſtie will hereafter haue conſideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to trafique in all partes of your maieſties Countries, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, we pray for your maieſties health, with proſperous ſucceſſe to the pleaſure of God. From Narue the 15. of July, Anno 1570.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient,
Chriſtopher Hodſdon. *William Borough.*

A letter of *Richard Vſcombe* to M. *Henrie Lane*, touching the burning *of the Citie of Moſco by the Crimme Tartar: written in Roſe Iſland the* 5. *day of* Auguſt, 1571.

1571

The citie of Moſco burnt by ỹ Crimme. Engliſhmen ſmothered at the burning of Moſco.

M. Glouer and M. Rowley preſerued.

MAſter Lane I haue me commended vnto you. The 27. of July I arriued here with the Magdalene, and the ſame day and houre did the Swalow and Harry arriue here alſo. At our comming I found maſter Proctor here, by whom wee vnderſtand very heauie newes: The Moſco is burnt euery ſticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May laſt, and an innumerable number of people: and in the Engliſh houſe was ſmothered Thomas Southam, Tofild, Wauerley, Greenes wife and children, two children of Rafe, & more to the number of 25. perſons were ſtifeled in our Beere ſeller: and yet in the ſame ſeller was Rafe, his wife, Iohn Browne, and Iohn Clarke preſerued, which was wonderfull. And there went into that ſeller maſter Glouer and maſter Rowley alſo: but becauſe the heate was ſo great, they came foorth againe with much perill, ſo that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they eſcaped blindfold into another ſeller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preſerued. The Emperour fled out of the field, and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and ſo with exceeding much ſpoile and infinite priſoners, they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one ſide, and with his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to miſtreſſe Lane your wife, and to M. Locke, and to all our friends.

Yours to command, *Richard Vſcombe.*

A note of the proceeding of M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, Ambaſſadour *from the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *from the* time of his arriuall there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571. vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly 1572.

THe ſaid 26. day I arriued with the two good ſhips called the Swalow and the Harry in ſafetie, at the Baie of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia aforeſayd, and landed at Roſe Iſland, from whence immediately I ſent away my interpreter Daniel Siluester in poſt towards the Court, being then at the Moſco, whereby his maieſtie might as well bee aduertiſed of my arriuall in his Dominions, as alſo to know his highneſſe pleaſure for my further acceſſe. And remaining at the ſayd Iſland two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the ſayd Agent and others your ſeruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard ſaid at the Moſco, that the princes diſpleaſure was ſuch againſt me, that if euer I came into his countrey againe, I ſhould looſe my head, with other words of diſcouragement. Whereat I was not a litle diſmaid, not knowing whether it were beſt for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ſhips for the ſafegard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my ſelfe not to haue offended his Maieſtie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promiſes not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falſly ſurmiſed: and being deſirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iuſtifie my true dealings, and to reproue my ſayd enemies as well here as there, who haue not ceaſed of late by vntrue reports to impute the cauſe of the ſayd Emperors diſpleaſure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promiſes made to him at my laſt being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Maieſtie, and by his owne words to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my ſelfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the prouidence of God to proſecute the charge committed vnto me, then to returne home in vaine, diſcouraged with the words of ſuch, who had rather that I had taried at home, then to be ſent ouer with ſuch credite, whereby I might ſift out their euil doings, the onely cauſe of your loſſe.

Wherefore, leauing the ſaid ſhips the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the ſeaſide, and the firſt of Auguſt arriued at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my ſaid meſſenger with order from his Maieſtie.

But all the Countrey being ſore viſited by the hand of God with the plague, paſſage in euery place was ſhut vp, that none might paſſe in paine of death: My meſſenger being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was ſtayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee ſuffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or ſende vnto me: by meanes whereof in the ſpace of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my ſaid meſſenger found meanes to aduertiſe the Gouernour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his ſtay, as of the cauſe of his comming thither, who ſent him word that it was not poſſible to paſſe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maieſtie, who was gone to the warres againſt the Swethens, and that he would aduertiſe his highneſſe ſo ſoone as he might conueniently: And ſo my ſaid meſſenger was forced to remaine there ſtill without anſwere. During which time of his ſtay through the great death (as aforeſaid,) I found meanes to ſend another meſſenger, with a guide by an vnknowen way through wilderneſſe, a thouſand miles about, thinking that way he ſhould paſſe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewiſe hee being paſſed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watch, and eſcaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horſes had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for ſuch as would ſeeke to paſſe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the ſmart therrof, which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that meſſenger returne backe vnto me.

And thus was I kept without anſwere or order from his Maieſtie, and remained at the ſaide Colmogro, vntill the 18. of Ianuary following, neither hauing a Gentleman to ſafegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey faſhion for Ambaſſadours, which argued his grieuous diſpleaſure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the ſame, vſed towards mee and my company ſome diſcourteſies: but about the 28. day aforeſaid, the plague ceaſed, and the paſſages being opened, there came order from his Maieſtie that I ſhould haue poſte horſes, and bee ſuffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraſlaue neere to the Court, his Maieſtie being newly returned from the ſaid warres. And I arriued at the ſaid Peraſlaue the 3. of February, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a houſe appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but ſo ſtraitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or ſende vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March folowing, I was ſent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the ſame, a poſte was ſent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with mee to the ſaid Peraſlaue, and to remaine there vntill his Maieſties further pleaſure, wherewith I was much diſmayed, and marueiled what that ſudden change ment, and the rather, becauſe it was a troubleſome time, and his Maieſtie much diſquieted through the ill ſucceſſe of his affaires, (as I did vnderſtand.) And the twentieth of the ſame, I was ſent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maieſtie, who cauſed mee to kiſſe his hande, and gaue gratious audience vnto my Oration, gracefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maieſties princely letters, and her preſent, in the preſence of all his nobilitie. After I had finiſhed my Oration, too long here to rehearſe, and deliuered her highneſſe letters, and preſent (as aforeſaid) the Emperour ſitting in royall eſtate ſtood vp and ſaid, How doth Queene Elizabeth my ſiſter, is ſhe in health? to whom I anſwered, God doth bleſſe her Maieſtie with health, and peace, and doeth wiſh the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maieſtie ſitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, ſauing the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counſell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, ſaid vnto me theſe words.

Anthony, the laſt time thou waſt with vs heere, wee did commit vnto thee our truſtie and ſecret Meſſage, to be declared vnto the Queenes Maieſtie herſelfe thy Miſtreſſe at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time wee appointed, with a full anſwere of the ſame from her highneſſe. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at ſeuerall times three meſſengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee ſent our meſſenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in ſafetie, and when thou ſhouldeſt returne vnto vs againe: but thoſe meſſengers could tell vs nothing, and did miſcall, and abuſe with euill words, both our meſſenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderſtanding that the ſaid Goodman had letters about him, we cauſed him to be ſearched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much againſt our Princely eſtate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieued, & would ſuffer none of thoſe rude meſſengers to haue acceſſe vnto vs: and ſhortly after wee were infourmed that one Thomas

Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambaſſadour from the Queene, and we ſent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Moſco, at which time we looked that thou ſhouldeſt haue returned vnto vs againe. And the ſaid Thomas being arriued at our ſaid Citie, wee ſent vnto him diuers times, that hee ſhould come and conferre with our Counſell, whereby we might vnderſtand the cauſe of his comming, looking for anſwere of thoſe our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refuſed to come to our ſaid Counſell: wherefore, and for that our ſaide Citie was viſited with plague, the ſaide Thomas was the longer kept from our preſence. Which being ceaſed, foorthwith wee gaue him acceſſe and audience, but all his talke with vs was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the ſtay of our Princely treaſures: But firſt Princes affaires are to be eſtabliſhed, and then Merchants. After this the ſaid Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie and vs might bee eſtabliſhed for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambaſſadour and vs, and thereupon wee ſent our Ambaſſadour into England with him to ende the ſame: but our Ambaſſadour returned vnto vs againe, without finiſhing our ſaid affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt vs, and your ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Thus when his Maieſtie had made a long diſcourſe, I humbly beſeeched his highneſſe to heare me graciouſly, and to giue me leaue to ſpeake without offence, and to beleeue thoſe wordes to be true which I ſhould ſpeake. Which he graunted, and theſe were my words.

Moſt noble and famous Prince, the meſſage which thy highneſſe did ſende by mee vnto the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie touching thy Princely and ſecret affaires, immediatly, and ſo ſoone as I came home, I did declare both ſecretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie her ſelfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddeſt commaund mee. Which her highneſſe did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to anſwere the ſame, the next ſhipping after, her Maieſtie did ſende vnto thee, Lord, her highneſſe Ambaſſadour Thomas Randolfe, whoſe approoued wiſedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maieſtie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee ſent to ſo worthy a Prince, who had Commiſſion not onely to treate with thy Maieſtie of Merchants affaires, but alſo of thoſe thy Princely and ſecret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cauſe (moſt gracious Prince) that I was not ſent againe, was, for that I was imployed in ſeruice vpon the Seas againſt the Queenes Maieſties enemies, and was not returned home at ſuch time as Maſter Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maieſties Countrey, otherwiſe I had bene ſent. And whereas thy Maieſtie ſaith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counſell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commiſſion: which was: Firſt to deale with thy Maieſtie thy ſelfe, which order is commonly vſed among all Princes, when they ſend their Ambaſſadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the ſaide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the ſame time, and promiſed the ſame ſhould bee perfourmed by the Queene her Maieſtie: Whereupon (Lord) thou diddeſt ſend thy Ambaſſadour with him into England, for anſwere thereof: It may pleaſe thy Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that as the ſaide Thomas Randolfe doeth confeſſe, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highneſſe, and counſell diuers times about princely affaires: euen ſo hee denieth that euer hee did agree, conclude, or make any promiſe in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwiſe then it ſhould pleaſe the Queene her Maieſtie to like of at his returne home, which hee did iuſtifie to thy Highnes Ambaſſador his face in England. Wherefore, moſt mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambaſſador did vntruly enforme thy Maieſtie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambaſſador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderſtood: and how thankefully the Queene her Maieſtie did receiue thy highnes commendations, and letters ſent by thy Maieſties Ambaſſador, and how gratiouſly ſhee gaue him audience ſundry times, vſing him with ſuch honour in all points for thy ſake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer ſhewed to any Ambaſſador in our Realme, and how honourably with full anſwere in all things, her Maieſtie diſmiſſed him, when hee had finiſhed all thy princely affaires (as it ſeemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately ſent with her highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her meſſenger Robert Beaſt, and her Maieſtie did ſuppoſe that that thy Ambaſſador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would haue bene ſatiſſied in all things: otherwiſe ſhe would haue ſent her Maieſties Ambaſſador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiuing that thy Maieſtie is not fully ſatiſfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambaſſador, nor by thine owne Ambaſſador Andrea Sauin, nor yet by her Maieſties letter ſent by the ſaid Andrea: and alſo

Andrew Sauin' Ambaſſadour from the Emperour.

ſo vnderſtanding thy great griefe and diſpleaſure towards ſir William Garret, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Maieſties dominions, hath thought good to ſend mee at this preſent vnto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as alſo to know the iuſt cauſe of thy Maieſties ſaid diſpleaſure towards the ſaid company of merchants: and hath commanded me to anſwere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth ſuppoſe thy Maieſties indignation to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of thy late Ambaſſador in England, and of ſuch wicked perſons of our nation reſident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Maieſtie, and their Countrey, then of any iuſt deſerts of the ſaid merchants, who neuer willingly deſerued thy highneſſe diſpleaſure, but rather fauour in all their doings and meanings. And ſince the firſt time of their traffiking in thy Maieſties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the ſaid merchants haue bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to ſerue thy highneſſe of all things meete for thy Treaſurie, in time of peace and of warre in deſpite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the Eaſt Seas were agreed to ſtoppe the ſound, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time ſuch commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maieſtie doeth not ſuffer to be tranſported foorth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great loſſes the ſaid ſir William Garret, with his company hath ſuſtained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by falſe ſeruants it is manifeſtly knowen: and what ſeruice the ſaid companies ſhips did vnto thy Maieſtie againſt thy enemies, two yeeres paſt in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles ſhippes Freebooters, and burnt the ſame and ſlew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue, I truſt thy highneſſe doth not forget. Wherefore moſt mighty prince, the premiſes conſidered, the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie thy louing ſiſter, doeth requeſt thy highnes to reſtore the ſaid ſir William Garret with his company into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffique with thy accuſtomed goodnes and iuſtice, to be miniſtred vnto them throughout all thy Maieſties dominions, as aforetime: and that the ſame may be ſignified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, any thy highneſſe commandement or reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. And further that it will pleaſe thy Maieſtie, not to giue credite to falſe reports, and vntrue ſuggeſtions of ſuch as are enemies, and ſuch as neither would haue mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Maieſties, nor yet entercourſe betwixt your countries. And ſuch rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, ſeeking to ſowe diſſentions betwixt your Maieſties by falſe ſurmiſes, ſpending away their maſters goods riotouſly, and will not come home to giue vp their accomptes, aduancing themſelues to be merchants, and able to ſerue thy highnes of all things fit for thy treaſurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themſelues to do thy Maieſtie any ſeruice at all: the Queenes highnes requeſt is, that it would pleaſe thy Maieſtie to commaund that ſuch perſons may be deliuered vnto me to be caried home, leaſt by their remaining here, and hauing practiſes and friendſhip with ſuch as be not thy highneſſe friendes, their euil doing might be a cauſe hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from ſir William Garret and his company, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to ſerue thy highneſſe at all times, vſing many other words to the aduancement of your credits, and the diſgracing of your enemies, and ſo I ceaſed for that time.

Then ſayd his Maieſtie, We haue heard you, and will conſider of all things further, when wee haue read the Queene our ſiſters letters: to whom I anſwered, that I ſuppoſed his Maieſtie ſhould by thoſe letters vnderſtand her highneſſe full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accompliſh in word. Wherewith his Maieſtie ſeemed to be wel pleaſed, and commaunded me to ſit downe. And after pauſing a while, his Maieſtie ſaid theſe words vnto me, It is now a time which we ſpend in faſting, and praying, being the weeke before Eaſter, and for that we will ſhortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Nouogrod, wee cannot giue you anſwere, nor your diſpatch here, but you ſhall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where wee will ſhortly come, and then you ſhall knowe our pleaſure, and haue your diſpatch. And ſo I was diſmiſſed to my lodging, and the ſame day I had a dinner ready dreſt ſent me from his Maieſtie, with great ſtore of drinkes, of diuers ſorts, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforeſayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Maieſty, ſent vnto mee a Gentleman, to ſignifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maieſties pleaſure was, I ſhould immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforeſaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Staryts, three ſcore miles from the ſayd Otwer.

Then I ſent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretary, requeſting him to further, and ſhew his fauour vnto our ſaide merchants in their ſutes, which they ſhould haue occaſion to moue in my abſence: who ſent me word againe, that they ſhould be wel aſſured of his friendſhip, and furtherance in all their ſutes. And forthwith poſt horſes were ſent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And ſo departing from the ſaid Sloboda, I arriued at the ſaid Otwer, the 28. of March aforeſaid, where I remained til the eight of May folowing. Then I was ſent for to come vnto his Maieſtie, to the ſaid Staryts, where I arriued the tenth of the ſame, and the twelfth of the ſame I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting ſaid vnto me theſe words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely peruſed the Queene her highnes letters ſent by you, and thereby doeth perceiue her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as alſo her earneſt requeſt in the merchants behalfe, but alſo hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Maieſties pleaſure is, that you let me vnderſtand what ſutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwiſe, for that to morrowe you ſhall haue acceſſe againe vnto his highnes, and ſhall haue full anſwere in all things, with your diſpatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requeſts, which I had drawen out ready, as foloweth:

1 Firſt the Queenes Maieſtie her requeſt is, that it would pleaſe the Emperors highneſſe to let me know the iuſt cauſe of his great diſpleaſure fallen vpon ſir William Garrard, & his company, who neuer deſerued the ſame, to their knowledge.

2 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highnes not to giue credite vnto falſe and vntrue reports, by ſuch as ſeeke to ſowe diſſention, and breake friendſhip betwixt the Queenes highneſſe, and his Maieſtie.

3 Alſo that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to receiue the ſaid ſir William Garrard, with his company into his fauour againe, and to reſtore them to their former priuiledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Maieſties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accuſtomed goodnes.

4 Alſo it would pleaſe his highnes to graunt, that the ſaid company of merchants may haue iuſtice of all his ſubiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout al his dominions ſuffred ſince the time of his diſpleaſure, during which time, the merchants were forced by ſeuere iuſtice to anſwer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Alſo that his Maieſtie would vnderſtand, that much debts are owing to the ſaid merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and ſome executed, and the ſaid merchants know not howe to be paide, and anſwered the ſame, except his highnes pitie their caſe, and commaund ſome order to be taken therein.

6 Alſo it would pleaſe his highnes to commaund that the ſaide merchants may be payde all ſuch ſumme or ſummes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maieſtie, for wares, as well Engliſh, as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treaſury by his officers in ſundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the ſaid company of merchants.

7 Alſo it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that at this preſent time there are in Perſia of Engliſh merchants, Thomas Baniſter, and Geffrey Ducket, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Maieſties countrey of Aſtracan, and would haue come the laſt yeere, but that the ſhip, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were ſtayed at Aſtracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the ſaid merchants. Wherefore it may now pleaſe his Maieſtie to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines and rulers, both at Aſtracan and Cazan, not onely to ſuffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to paſſe and repaſſe with their ſhippes, barkes, or other veſſels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caſpium, to fetch the ſayd Engliſh merchants, with their company and goods, out of the ſayd Perſia, into his Maieſties dominions, but alſo that it would pleaſe his highnes ſtreightly to commaund, that when the ſayd Thomas Baniſter, and Geffrey Ducket, with their charge, ſhal arriue at the ſayd Aſtracan, his Maieſties Captaine there, and in all other places vpon the riuer Volga, ſhall ſo ayde and aſſiſt the ſayd merchants, as they may be ſafely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Alſo it may pleaſe his highnes to vnderſtand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, haue bene ill vſed by his Maieſties Cuſtomers, both at Aſtracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay cuſtome for their wares, although they ſolde no part thereof, but brought the ſame into his highneſſe treaſury at Sloboda: and the ſayd Cuſtomers did not onely exact, and take much more cuſtome then was due by his Maieſties lawes, but alſo for want of preſent money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted cuſtome, and doe keepe the ſame as a pawne. It may therefore pleaſe his highnes to direct his princely letters to the ſaid Cuſtomers, to ſignifie vnto them his great goodnes againe reſtored vnto the ſaid Engliſh merchants, as alſo to commaund them to ſend the ſaid merchants their ſaid goods ſo detained, vp to the Moſco, they

paying ſuch cuſtome for the ſame, as ſhall be by his Maieſtie appointed.

9 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to grant, that ſir William Garrard with his companie may eſtabliſh their trade for merchandiſe at Colmogro in Dwina, and that ſuch wares as ſhal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treaſurie might be looked vpon, and receiued by his officers there: and that his Maieſties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the ſaide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the ſaide Engliſh merchants auoyding great troubles and charges, in tranſporting their goods ſo farre, and into ſo many places of his dominions, may ſell the ſame better cheape, to the benefite of his Maieſties ſubiects.

10 Alſo if it ſeemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewiſe from Perſia, Boghar, and all other thoſe Countreys beyond the Mare Caſpium, might be eſtabliſhed at Aſtracan, the ancient Marte towne in times paſt, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maieſty, and ſubiects, as I am well able to prooue, if it will pleaſe his highneſſe to appoint any of his counſell to talke with me therein.

11 Alſo foraſmuch as it pleaſed his Maieſtie, immediatly after the burning of the Moſco, to command that the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhould giue in a note into his Treaſury, for their loſſes ſuſtained by the ſaid fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for ſir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the ſame note conſumed with the ſaid fire did amount to the ſumme of 10000. rubbles and aboue: It may pleaſe his highnes of his accuſtomed goodnes and great clemencie to conſider of the ſame, and to giue the ſaid company ſo much as ſhal ſeeme good vnto his Maieſtie, towards their ſaid loſſes.

12 Alſo that it will pleaſe his highneſſe to vnderſtand that the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of Andrea Sauin his Maieſties Ambaſſadour, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer his great and grieuous offences towards her highneſſe committed, onely for his Maieſties ſake, but alſo commanded ſir William Garrard with his company, to deale fauourably with the ſaid Glouer in his accomptes, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their ſeruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the ſaid ſir William Garrard with his company counted with the ſaid Glouer, and ended all things euen to his ſaide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the ſaid company 4000. rubbles and aboue, and bound himſelfe both by his ſolemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the ſame immediatly after his returne into Ruſſia with the ſaid Andrea Sauin, vnto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the ſaid company of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres paſt, ſince the ſaid agreement, and that the ſaid Nicholas hath diuers and ſundry times requeſted the ſaid money of the ſaid Thomas, yet will he not pay the ſame debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleadging that his Maieſtie oweth him a great ſumme of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the ſaid merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In conſideration of the premiſſes, It may pleaſe his highneſſe to giue order that the ſaid Glouer may be payd, and that he may diſcharge his debt to the ſaid company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found ſuch mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maieſties ſake.

13 Alſo foraſmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Maieſtie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to ſir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the ſpoyles and goods of the ſaid merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotouſly ſpending the ſame, during the time that he was their ſeruant, and would not come home when he was ſent for, and alſo for that the Queenes Maieſtie doth vnderſtand, that the ſaid Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe ſeeke by all falſe meanes to ſowe diſſention, and breake amitie betwixt their Maieſties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the ſaid merchants: Her highnes requeſt is, that the ſaid Ralfe with his complices may be deliuered vnto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Maieſties ſubiects, not being of the ſocietie of the ſaid Sir William Garrard and his company, to be ſuffered to traffike within his highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to bee ſent home: for that the ſaid merchants with great charges and loſſes, both by ſhipwracke, and riotous ſeruants, did firſt finde out this trade, and haue continued the ſame theſe 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Alſo whereas diuers maſters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Maieſties ſeruice, and do finde themſelues grieued that they cannot haue licence to depart home into their natiue Countrey at their will and pleaſure: the Queenes Maieſties requeſt is, according to her highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will pleaſe his Maieſtie to permit and ſuffer ſuch artificers here reſident in the ſeruice of his highnes, to haue free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they requeſt the ſame, but alſo all other the like, which ſhall come hereafter to ſerue his Maieſty, to haue free libertie to depart likewiſe, without any let or ſtay.

15 Alſo it may pleaſe his Maieſty to vnderſtand that during the time of my long being at

Colmogro, attending his highneſſe pleaſure for my further acceſſe, I with my company haue not onely bene ill vſed and intreated there, and likewiſe the merchants there, by one Beſſon Myſſereuy his Maieſties chiefe officer, who hath diſhonoured me, and ſmitten my people, and oweth the ſaide merchants much money, and will not pay them: but alſo the ſaide Beſſon hath ſpoken wordes of diſhonour againſt the Queenes Maieſtie. Wherefore it may pleaſe his highneſſe to ſend downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to ſearch foorth his euil behauiour towards her Maieſtie, as towards me her highneſſe Ambaſſador, and to puniſh him accordingly: and alſo that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to ſende downe his letter of iuſtice, by vertue whereof the ſaid Beſſon may be forced to pay all ſuch money as he oweth to the ſayd merchants, without delay.

16 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to vnderſtand, that ſir William Garrard with his company vnderſtanding of the great dearth in his Maieſties dominions, by licence of the Queens Maieſtie, (not otherwiſe permitted) hath ſent certaine ſhips laden with corne into his highneſſe Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maieſties ſubiects, then for any gaine: yet the good wil of the ſaid merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to ſel the ſaid corne, to their great diſcouragement hereafter to ſend any more. Wherefore it may pleaſe his highneſſe, to tender the good will of the ſaid merchants, as well in ſending the ſaide corne, as in all other things, ready to ſerue his Maieſtie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to ſuffer the ſaide merchants with their company, to ſell the ſaid corne by meaſure, great or ſmall at their pleaſure, without paying cuſtome.

Theſe articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforeſayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforeſaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my ſelfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I ſhould haue acceſſe vnto the preſence of the Prince, as well to receiue anſwere of all things, as to bee diſmiſſed to goe home. At which houres I was ſent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of preſence, where his Maieſtie did ſit apparelled moſt ſumptuouſly, with a riche Crowne vpon his head, garniſhed with many precious ſtones, his eldeſt ſonne ſitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highneſſe commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and ſayde vnto me theſe wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our louing ſiſter her letters wee haue cauſed to be tranſlated, and we well vnderſtand the ſame, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared wee haue well conſidered, and doe perceiue that our ſecret meſſage vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were aduertiſed to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully ſatiſfied. And when wee did ſende our Ambaſſadour into England, about thoſe our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the ſame with the Queene our ſiſter, our Ambaſſadour coulde ende nothing for want of ſuch aſſurance as was requiſite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was diſmiſſed vnto vs againe, with letters of ſmall effect, touching the ſame, and no Ambaſſadour ſent with him from the Queene: which cauſed vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were ſet aſide, and little regarded, wherewith wee were at that time much grieued: for the which cauſe, and for the euill behauiour of your merchants, reſident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes tranſgreſſed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in al their doings) we did lay our heauie diſpleaſure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commaunding that the ſame throughout all our dominions, ſhould be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our ſiſter, touching our griefes.

The cauſes of the Emperors diſpleaſure.

And nowe her highneſſe hath ſent vnto vs againe, you her Ambaſſadour, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receiue, and are thereby fully ſatiſfied. And for that our princely, and ſecret affaires were not finiſhed to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all thoſe matters, and ſet them aſide for the time, becauſe our minde is nowe otherwiſe changed, but hereafter when occaſion ſhall moue vs to the like, wee will then talke of thoſe matters againe. And for that it hath pleaſed the Queene our louing ſiſter, to ſende vnto vs at this preſent, and doeth deſire to continue in friendſhip with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the ſame) wee of our goodneſſe for her highneſſe ſake, will not onely from henceforth put away, and forget all our diſpleaſure towardes the ſame Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had neuer offended vs) but alſo will reſtore them to their priuiledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will ſignifie the ſame by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the ſaid merchants do traffique, and we will ſhewe them fauour as aforetime, if they deſerue not the contrary. And if the Queene our ſiſter had not ſent thee Anthony vnto vs at this preſent, God knoweth what we ſhould haue done to the ſaid merchants, or whether we would haue called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beſeeched his Maieſtie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the ſaid merchants, and the offenders names, to the intent I might make report thereof vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, my miſtres, accordingly, that the ſaid offenders might receiue iuſt puniſhments for their deſerts: but he ſaid, I ſhould not know them, becauſe he had cleerely remitted al offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuſe the parties, whereby her Maieſties diſpleaſure might fall vpon them at home. Notwithſtanding I did after vnderſtand ſome part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maieſtie proceeding in talke, ſaid: As touching the articles of requeſt, concerning the merchants affaires, which you did yeſterday deliuer vnto our Secretary, we haue not onely read the ſame our ſelfe, but alſo haue appointed our ſaid Secretary to declare vnto you our minde, and anſwere to the ſame. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence ſhortly, we will diſmiſſe you to ẏ Queene our louing ſiſter, your miſtres, with our letters, & full minde by word of mouth, touching all your requeſts, & will ſend a gentleman one of our houſhold with you to ſafeconduct you to your ſhips: and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and poſt horſes, ſo many as you ſhall neede. And therewith his Maieſtie ſtanding vp, and putting off his cappe, ſaid vnto me theſe words: Doe our hearty commendations vnto our louing ſiſter, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom we wiſh long life, with happie ſucceſſe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kiſſe, and commanded his ſonne, ſitting by him, to ſend the like commendations, which he did, whoſe hand likewiſe I kiſſed. And then his Maieſtie cauſed me to ſit downe, and commaunded wine and drinkes of diuers ſorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hand, and ſo after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforeſaid, I was ſent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counſel with him, who at our meeting ſaid vnto me theſe words: We are appointed by the Emperor his maieſty, to giue you anſwere from his Highnes, touching your requeſts deliuered in writing, which his Maieſtie himſelfe hath peruſed, & anſwered as followeth.

1 To the firſt requeſt it is anſwered, that all his Maieſties griefes and diſpleaſure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, becauſe the Queenes Maieſtie did not accompliſh and ende with his ambaſſador, his ſecrete and weightie affaires, according to his expectation, and the promiſe made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and alſo of the ill behauiour of your merchants reſident here in our Countrey, as his Maieſtie did himſelfe yeſterday declare vnto you.

2 To the ſecond, his Maieſty willeth you to vnderſtand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendſhip with the Queenes Maieſty, without good and iuſt cauſe.

3 To the third, you are anſwered by the Emperors Maieſtie himſelfe, that his great goodneſſe and fauour againe vnto the merchants ſhall be reſtored, and the ſame to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his maieſty hath commanded, that your merchants here reſident ſhall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maieſties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offred them ſince the time of his Highnes diſpleaſure, and they ſhall haue iuſtice truely miniſtred throughout all his Maieſties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his maieſty doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof muſt be tried out, and thereupon anſwere to be giuen: and hereafter his maieſtie would not haue the merchants to truſt his people with too much.

6 To the ſixth, it is anſwered, that his maieſty hath commanded ſearch to be made what money is owing to the merchants, for wares receiued into his treaſury, as to the article: (the moſt of the bookes of account being burnt in the *Moſco*) and ſuch as is due, & found meete to be paid, ſhall be paid forthwith to the merchants, their factors or ſeruants, which ſhall come for the ſame. And for payment of the reſt, his maieſties further pleaſure ſhall be ſignified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Maieſtie doeth anſwere, that letters ſhall be written forthwith to his captaines of Aſtracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to ſuffer your people, both merchants, & mariners, to paſſe with their ſhips, or barkes, from Aſtracan, ouer the *Mare caſpium*, to fetche Thomas Baniſter, and Geofry Ducket, with their company, and goods out of Perſia, but alſo when they ſhall arriue within his Maieſties dominions, to aide and aſſiſt them, and ſee them ſafely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his maieſtie hath commanded letters to be written to the Cuſtomers, both of Aſtracan and Cazan, to make reſtitution to the Engliſh merchants of their goods ſo detained by

them for cuſtome, & to take cuſtome for the ſame, according to his Maieſties letters of priuilege.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maieſtie will conſider of thoſe matters, and hereafter will ſignifie his princely pleaſure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treaſury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Moſco, in their houſes there, his Maieſties pleaſure was to vnderſtande the ſame, to the intent he might know the loſſes of all ſtrangers at that preſent; but not to make reſtitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maieſtie was enformed by his Ambaſſador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the ſaid Thomas, for his ſake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the ſaid ſir William Garrard, & his company, & the ſaid Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the ſaid merchants, his Maieſtie doth not know. And as for the money which the ſaid Thomas ſaith is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maieſties pleaſure is, that ſo much as ſhall be found due, & growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treaſurie, out of the time of his Maieſties diſpleaſure, ſhall be paid forthwith to the ſaid Thomas, and the reſt is forfeited vnto his Maieſtie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Benner, accompted traitors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his diſpleaſure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the anſwere was, that as his Maieſtie will not detaine any Engliſh man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the the Queens requeſt: euen ſo will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to ſatiſfie the Queenes Maieſties requeſt, is contented at this preſent to ſend the ſaid Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter ſhall be written vnto his chiefe officer at the Moſco, to ſend the ſaid Rutter away with ſpeed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the reſt of your requeſt in the ſaid article, his Maieſties pleaſure ſhall be ſignified in the letters of priuilege, granted to the ſaid merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maieſtie will accompliſh all the Queenes Highnes requeſt in that behalfe, and now at this preſent doth licence ſuch and ſo many to depart to their natiue countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Beſſon Meſſeriuy, the Emperors maieſtie is much offended with him, and will ſend downe a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, aſwel for ſpeaking of vndecent words againſt the Queens maieſtie as you haue alleaged, as alſo againſt you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the ſaid Beſſon being found guilty, to be impriſoned & puniſhed by ſeuere iuſtice accordingly, and after to put in ſureties to anſwere the Emperors high diſpleaſure, or els to be brought vp like a priſoner by the ſaid gentleman to anſwere his offences before his Maieſtie. And his highnes doth requeſt that the Queenes highnes would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her meſſengers ſent thither two yeres paſt, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maieſtie, as may appeare by letters ſent by Daniel Silueſter from his highnes, leaſt by the bad demeanor of ſuch lewd perſons, the amity and friendſhip betwixt their maieſties might be diminiſhed.

16 To the 16 and laſt article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his maieſtie doth greatly commend them for ſo wel doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to ſuffer the ſaid merchants to ſell their corne, by meaſure great or ſmall at their pleaſure without cuſtome.

Thus I receiued a full anſwere from his maieſtie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counſel, to the 16 articles afore rehearſed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter alſo ſent by me to the Queenes maieſty. Which being done, I requeſted that the new letters of priuilege granted by his highnes vnto you might be forthwith diſpatched, to the intent I might carie the ſame with me. Alſo I requeſted that ſuch money due to you, which it hath pleaſed his maieſty to command to be payd, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuilege, the Secretary anſwered me, it is not poſſible you can haue them with you, for they muſt be firſt written and ſhewed vnto the Emperour, and then three to be written of one tenour according to your requeſt, which cannot bee done with ſpeede, for that his maieſties pleaſure is, you ſhall depart this night before him, who to morrowe himſelfe [illegible] towardes Nouogrod: but without faile the ſayd letters ſhall be diſpatched vpon the way, and ſent after you with ſpeede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here becauſe we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherefore the beſt is that you ſend one of the merchants after the Emperour to Nouogrod, & let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will paie all ſuch money as ſhall be appointed by his maieſtie to be paied after the bookes ſeene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your ſeruants with me at that preſent (although I had earneſtly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne ſeruants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my diſpatch, that he ſhould not faile to come himſelfe, or ſend one of your ſeruants to mee hither, to follow all ſuch ſutes as I ſhould commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requeſted the ſaid Secretarie that I might leaue Daniel my interpreter with him, aſwell for the receit of money, as for the ſpeedy diſpatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not be granted in any wiſe that I ſhould leaue any of mine own companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full diſpatch, and departed to my lodging, and forthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, poſt horſes and victuals for me all the way to the ſea ſide, being a thouſand and three hundred miles, as alſo to doe iuſtice of the ſayd Beſſone, as aforeſaid. And he ſaid vnto me, the Emperours pleaſure is, that you ſhall preſently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the ſaid Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforeſayd. And paſſing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Vologda the laſt of the ſayd May, where I remained fiue daies as well expecting a meſſenger to bring vnto me the new letters of priuiledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours maieſtie himſelfe commanded before my face ſhould bee ſent vnto me without faile, and I did ſee the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Moſco for the ſame. Neuertheleſſe the ſaid Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the ſudden cauſe of his ſtay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I ſuppoſe. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redreſſe, becauſe by abſence I could not complaine. Notwithſtanding I vſed my indeuour, and ſent a meſſenger Iohn Norton one of your ſeruants from Vologda to Nouogrod, where the court then lay, expreſſely with letters, as well to aduertiſe his maieſtie that the ſayd Rutter was not ſent vnto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as alſo about the diſpatch of the ſaid letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with ſtraight charge that he ſhould in any wiſe returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ſhips. And the firſt day of Iune I departed from the ſaid Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21 of Iune aforeſaid, and remained there vntill the 23 of Iuly, looking for the ſaid Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in al that time, which had reſpite fully enough in that ſpace both to go to the court to diſpatch his buſines, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after vnderſtand, and can more at large by worde of mouth declare vnto your worſhips the occaſion thereof.

Neuertheleſſe, I am well aſſured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the ſayd letters of priuiledges, and ſhall haue diſpatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maieſties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes maieſtie at this preſent, wiſhing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous diſpleaſure from you, and reſtored you againe into his fauour, ſo your Agent and others your ſeruants there reſident may behaue, & endeuour themſelues to keepe & augment the ſame, whoſe euill doings haue bene the onely occaſion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of ſuch countries as I *Anthony Ienkinſon* haue trauelled vnto, from the ſecond of October 1546, at which time I made my firſt voyage out of *England*, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned laſt out of *Ruſſia*.

First, I paſſed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the baſe countries, and from thence through Germanie, paſſing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iournied.

I haue alſo trauelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I haue ſailed through the Leuant ſeas euery way, & haue bene in all the chiefe Iſlands within the ſame ſea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth ſtoode.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countries in Aſia minor.

I haue paſſed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damaſco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galile, Philiſtine or Paleſtine, vnto Ieruſalem, and ſo through all the Holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Africa, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the golfet within the gulfe of Tunis.

I haue ſailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we haue had continuall day, and ſight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very ſtrange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Ruſſia and Moſcouia, which extende from the North ſea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caſpium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caſpian ſea, Gentiles, and Mahomeans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremiſi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of ſtrange cuſtomes and religions.

I haue ſailed ouer the Caſpian ſea, & diſcouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chircaſſi, Comul, Shaſcal, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40 daies iourney beyond the ſaid ſea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through diuers deſerts and wilderneſſes, and paſſed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and ſo to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers ſundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I paſſed againe ouer the Caſpian ſea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Perſia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamaſſo, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes maieſtie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, paſſed through diuers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Ruſſia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my reſt in mine owne houſe, chiefly comforting my ſelfe, in that my ſeruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maieſtie and the reſt by whom I haue bene imploied.

A letter of *Iames Alday* to the Worſhipfull M. *Michael Lock*, Agent in *London* for the *Moſcouie* company, touching a trade to be eſtabliſhed in *Lappia*, written 1575.

He maruelleth the company do not cōferre with him of Lappia.

I Haue in remembrance (worſhipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certeinly I haue ſomething maruelled that in all this time the right wor. your ſocietie haue not giuen order that ſome little conference (by you, or with ſome other) might haue bin had with me touching thoſe parts, conſidering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere & more, by which meanes reaſon would that I ſhould haue learned ſomething. But the cauſe why they haue not deſired to conferre with me (as I iudge) reſteth only in one of theſe 4 caſes, that is to ſay, either they thinke themſelues ſo throughly certified of that trade, as more neede not be ſpoken therof, or that they haue no luſt more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee ſo vntruſty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I ſhould beare more affectiō to others then to them, & ſo diſcouer their ſecrets: or els they think me of ſo ſimple vnderſtanding, that I am not worthy to be ſpoken with in theſe matters. To which 4 caſes I anſwere as followeth: Firſt, if they think themſelues ſo throughly certified as more need not to be ſpoken: certeinly I ſomething maruel by whom it ſhould be: for in ẏ winter paſt there lay but 5 Engliſh perſons there, vz. Chriſtopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunſtal cooper, one lad, & I: for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Moſco. And of theſe perſons, as touching Colt, I think him (if I may without offence ſpeake my conſcience) the moſt ſimple perſon that was there, (as touching the vnderſtanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke vpon him very much to his owne harme & others I doubt, for he vſed himſelfe not like a marchant, neither ſhewed diligence like a worthy ſeruant or factor, but lay ſtil in a den al ẏ whole winter, hauing wares lying vpon his hand, which he would not imploy to any vſe; although ſundry waies there were that he might haue put his wares in ready money with gaine, & no great aduenture, which money would haue bin more acceptable to the poore Lappes & fiſhermen at the ſpring, then any kind of wares: but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Goſpel, & yet he had counſel to the contrary which he diſdained, ſo that men perceiuing his captious head, left not only to counſell him, but alſo ſome, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better peraduenture then moſt men think of. Wherfore if Colt haue written or ſaid any thing touching thoſe countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, conſidering he lay ſtill all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge aſſuredly (ſpeaking ſo much as I do perfectly know, I muſt needs ſay, that he is a very honeſt yong man, & right carefull of his bu-

1574.

5 Engliſh men wintered in Lappia.

Chriſtopher Colt a ſimple marchant.

Good trade in winter in Lappia.

Henry Cocknedge honeſt, but ignorant.

ſines, and in that reſpect worthy to be praiſed. But yet he being abſent in the winter other then by hearſay he could not learne, ſo that his inſtructions may be ſomething doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, ſo am I ſure that Tunſtal the Cooper hath not yet bene ſpoken with, ſo that of thoſe parts certaine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confeſſe knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no Engliſh man liuing that hath like knowledge in thoſe countries as he hath, nor that is able to do ſo much with the people as he may: he in the winter trauailed one waies & other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made ſomthing, and learned not only the maners, conditions & cuſtoms of the people, but alſo he learned of al kind of commodities in thoſe regions how they may be bought at the moſt aduantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confeſſe, if he hath giuen intelligence to the right Wor. company, then haue they no neede to ſpeake with me or any other for to learne of thoſe countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I wil alwaies open vnto them. But the effect of ỹ beneficial ſecrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the ſecond caſe, they liſt no more to deale that waies. To which I anſwere, that if they deale not that waies, & that with ſpeede they ſeeke not to preuent others ỹ mean to deale there, although not Engliſh men, let them then not thinke long to haue any profitable trade in Ruſſia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will ſhew good reaſon, if I be demanded the queſtion. Therefore if they will maintaine the Ruſſia trade with aduantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and ſo may they keepe the Ruſſia trade as it is, and likewiſe make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therfore this is to be conſidered, rather then to prohibite Engliſhmen frõ the trade of Vedagoba. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence ſpoken) to two dogs that ſtriue for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet meane I not otherwiſe, but in ſuch order, as not Engliſhmen only, but alſo Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be iuſtly and vtterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themſelues without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wiſh to them from the bottome of my heart, as euer I wiſhed wealth to mine own perſon: And thereby hold me excuſed in the third caſe I write of. And for the fourth as touching my iudgement, as I confeſſe it is not very deepe, ſo I thanke God I am not vtterly without vnderſtanding (although I be poore) & therfore peraduenture holden out of reputation, yet God doth diſtribute his gifts as it pleaſeth him. I haue ſeen wiſe men poore in my time, & fooliſh men rich, and ſome men haue more knowledge then they can vtter by ſpeech, which fault was once obiected againſt me by a great learned man of this realme: but ſurely how weak ſoeuer my vtterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wiſh in my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray the Lord God to confound me as a falſe diſſembler. It greeueth me to ſee how of late they haue bin brought to great charges, beating the buſh, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this laſt yere hauing in Lappia 2 ſhips, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much aboue 300 barrels of traine oile, yet am I ſure there was bought beſides them of the Ruſſes, Corels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, beſides 27 barrels Colt ſold to Iacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one Northerne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconuenience ſpringing, which if it take a litle deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled vp, which for loue & good will (God is my witnes) I write of, wiſhing as to my deare friends that they ſhould looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Ruſſia or Lappia. And thus loue hath compelled me to write this aduertiſement, which I wiſh to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will haue written it.

Roger Leche expert of Lappia.

If the companie do not enter into the trade of Lappia, others wil preuent them.

The trade of Vedagoba.

He can ſay ſomewhat though not much.

1183 barrels of oyle bought by others. Colt ſold 27 barrels to a Hollander.

The requeſt of an honeſt merchant to a friend of his, to be aduiſed and directed in the courſe of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleaſure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder ſpecified.

For the prouiſion and furniture for a ſhippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fiſh in Ruſsia, paſſing from England. How many men to furniſh the ſhip.

How many fiſhermen ſkilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what faſhion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of ſuch ſkilfull men and other officers, as we ſhall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, ſpeares, cordes, axes, hatchets, kniues, and other implements for the fiſhing, and what ſort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatneſſe and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they bee ſet on triuets or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caſke, and what ſort of caſke, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be ſtaued for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ſhip for 4 moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ſhip, we ſhall not neede any out of Biſkaie, but onely men ſkilfull in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper ſkilfull to ſet vp the ſtaued caſke.

Alſo what other matters are requiſite to be knowen, and done for the ſaid voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requeſts were thus anſwered, which may ſerue as directions for all ſuch as ſhall intend the ſame voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the ſetting forth of a ſhip of 200 tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

There muſt be 55 men who departing for Wardhouſe in the moneth of April, muſt bee furniſhed with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for euery man.
250 hogſheds to put the bread in.
150 hogſheds of Cidar.
6 kintals of oile.
8 kintals of bacon.
6 hogſheds of beefe.
10 quarters of ſalt.
150 pound of candles.
8 quarters of beanes and peaſe.
Salt fiſh & herring, a quantitie conuenient.
4 tunnes of wines.
Half a quarter of muſtard ſeed, and a querne.
A grindſtone.
800 empty ſhaken hogſheds.
350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.
800 paire of heds for the hogſheds.
10 Eſtachas called rores for harping irons.
10 pieces of Arporieras.
3 pieces of Baibens for the Iauelines ſmall.
2 tackles to turne the Whales.
A halſer of 27 fadom long to turne ye whales
15 great Iauelines.
18 ſmall Iauelins.
50 harping irons.
6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.
2 doozen of macheros to minch the Whale.
2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
3 paire of Can hookes.
6 hookes for ſtaues.
3 dozen of ſtaues for the harping irons.
6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
10 great baſkets.
10 lampes of iron to carie light.
5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.
1000 of nailes for the pinnaſes.
500 of nailes of Carabelie for the houſes, and the wharfe.
18 axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
2 beetles of Roſemarie.
4 dozen of oares for the pinnaſes.
6 lanternes.
500 of Teſia.
Item, gunpowder & matches for harquebuſhes as ſhalbe needfull.
Item, there muſt be caried from hence 5 pinnaſes, fiue men to ſtrike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purſer or two.

A note of certaine other neceſſarie things belonging to the Whalefiſhing, receiued of maſter *W. Burrough.*

A ſufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baſkets.
4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6 ladles of copper.
A thouſand of nailes to mend the pinnaſes.
500 great nails of ſpikes to make their houſe
3 paire of bootes great and ſtrong, for them that ſhall cut the Whale.
8 calue ſkins to make aprons or barbecans.

The depoſition of M. *VVilliam Burrough* to certaine Interrogatories miniſtred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are ſubiect, made the 23 of Iune, 1576.

These articles ſeeme to haue bene miniſtred vpon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moſcouie company, for his trade to the Narue without their conſent.

The firſt Interrogatorie.

First, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the ſame townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as alſo in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. reſpectiuely were (as preſently they be) of the iuriſdiction, and ſubiect to the mightie prince the Emperour of Ruſſia: and whether the ſaide Emperour of Ruſſia, by all the time aforeſaide, was chiefe lord and gouernour reſpectiuely of the ſaid places, and ſo vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the ſaid townes and places, and either of them be ſituated towards the North and Northeaſt or Northweſt, and betweene the North and the Eaſt point: and be the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid priuilege, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffike, ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſaid.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent ſaith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the ſaid priuilege (as he iudgeth) were reputed reſpectiuely to be vnder the iuriſdiction, & ſubiect to the Emperour of Ruſſia, and ſo from the time of the ſaid grant, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. reſpectiuely they were (as preſently they be) of the iuriſdiction, and ſubiect vnto the mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the ſame Emperour of Ruſſia, by all the time aforeſaid, was chiefe gouernour reſpectiuely of the ſaid places, and ſo vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the ſaid places are ſituated from London Northwards, betweene the Eaſt and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and priuileges of the ſaid companie of merchants for the diſcouery of new trades, and the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid letters patents, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffike ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſaid.

Notwithſtanding the Deponent ſaith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his ſubiects or more by himſelfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the ſaid Lappies haue willingly giuen to winne fauour of the ſaide prince, and to liue quietly by his ſubiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouſe is the ſtrongeſt hold, & bordereth neere vnto them. Hee hath alſo hearde that in the time of peace betweene the ſaide Emperour of Ruſſia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes ſeruant vſeth to doe, and did demaund of them ſome tribute or duetie which they willingly paide: but ſince the late warres betweene the ſaide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: ſuch is the ſimplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all thoſe that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent ſaith, that the ſaide mightie prince the Emperour of Ruſſia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the ſaide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obſerued by them, hee takes toll and cuſtome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Chriſtians it is after the Ruſſe law. If there happen any controuerſie betweene thoſe people, ſuch as cannot be ended amongſt themſelues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their higheſt Court, and there haue it ended. Betweene the place ſpecified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforeſaide in Lappia, is the monaſterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and vſe the Ruſſe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the cleargie in Mosko.

Pechingo abbey.

Alſo in the yeere of our Lord 1557. the ſaid Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of Iune, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great aſſembly of people at a mart there, the Ruſſes, Kerils and Lappians on the one ſide ſubiects to the ſaid mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the Norwegians or Norſes and people of Finmarke ſubiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fiſh for other commodities. The deputie for the Ruſſe had the chief gouernment of the ſaid Mart, and tooke toll of theſe people ỹ were ſubiect to his maſter, and the captaine of Wardhouſe had then the gouernment of the people ſubiect to his maſter the king of Denmark. He ſaith alſo, that betweene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, vpon the border of the ſaid coaſt of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the ſhore at diuers places, where freſh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken freſh ſalmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the ſubiects of the ſaid Emperour, and he the ſaid Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he ſaith that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any ſuch riuer or creek of freſh water which falleth out of the ſaid countrey of Lappia into the ſea, betweene the ſaid abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

Item,

The ſecond Interrogatorie.

Item, whether as well before, as alſo within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the ſaid letters patents any of the Engliſh merchants (ſauing the merchants of the ſaid ſocietie) ſubiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exerciſed or frequented buſineſſe or trade in the ſaid villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the ſaid Emperour of Ruſſia.

The deponents anſwer.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent anſwereth, that the ſubiects of this realme before the graunt of the ſaid letters patents did not commonly exerciſe, neither frequent or trade to any of the ſaid places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reaſons to diſſwade the vſe of a trade to the *Narue* aforeſaide, by way through *Sweden*.

The merchandiſe of the Narue are groſſe wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place ſtandeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Ruſſia, with the king of Sweden: for all theſe merchandiſes that are brought thither come from Pleſcoue, Nouogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For tranſporting thoſe merchandiſes from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place ſhall bee thought conuenient in Sweden, it muſt be in veſſels of thoſe countries, which wilbe of ſmal force to reſiſt Freebooters, or any other that ſhall make quarel or offer violence againſt them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they muſt be diſcharged, and new laden into ſmaller veſſels, to cary the ſame by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to be vnladen and tranſported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for tranſporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as aforeſaid, beſides the ſpoile by ſo often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the ſeas, pirats, &c. will be ſuch as when it ſhalbe ſo brought to Newles it wil be as deare to the merchants in that place as it ſhall be worth to be ſold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Note.

Moreouer, when the goods ſhall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without diſliking or forcible reſiſtance of the king of Denmarke, foraſmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Ruſſia by way of S. Nicholas, through the diſpleaſure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue is alſo to be conſidered.

A remembrance of aduiſe giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for *Cola* abouesaid. 1578.

Whereas you require my counſell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be ſet forth, I anſwere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vſed, which is after this maner. Firſt of all we haue hired the ſhip by the great, giuing ſo much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the ſhippe, as the ſhip may be in bigneſſe: as if ſhee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay foureſcore pound, and ſo after that rate: and thereunto we doe victual the ſhip our ſelues, and doe ſhip all our men our ſelues, ſhipping no more men, nor giuing them more wages then we ſhould doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fiſh with one boate, & coſting vs no more charges then it ſhould do, if our men ſhould lie & doe nothing ſauing the charges of ſalt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this laſt yere paſt our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thouſand fiſh, which yeelded to vs in money with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. ſcore pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And beſides al this, our ſhip did take in ſo much oile and other commodities as we beſtowed 100. whole clothes in. But becauſe, as I doe ſuppoſe, it is not the vſe of London to take ſhips to fraight after that order before preſcribed, neither I think that the mariners wil take ſuch paines as our men will: Therefore my counſell is, if you thinke good, to freight ſome ſhip of Hul or Newcaſtle, for I am ſure that you may haue them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Beſides al this, one may haue ſuch men as wil take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it ſhal pleaſe God that the ſhip ſhal returne to come to diſcharge at Hull, which will be the moſt for your profit for the ſales of all ſuch like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fiſh, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, hee that will ſeeke a better market for the ſales then at Hull, he muſt ſeeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the beſt way that I can

Hull the beſt market of England for ſale of fiſh.

deuiſe, and moſt for your profite, and if you will, I will alſo ſet you downe all the commodities that are neceſſarie for ſuch a voyage, and which way alſo that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue off the trade of Cola which may eaſily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vſe the matter ſo that they ſhould either leaue off the trade, or els cary light ſhips with them home againe.

A dedicatorie Epiſtle vnto the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie,

written by Maſter *William Burrough* late Comptroller of her Highneſſe nauie, and annexed vnto his exact and notable mappe of *Ruſſia*, briefly containing (amongſt other matters) his great trauailes, obſeruations, and experiments both by ſea and land, eſpecially in thoſe Northeaſtern parts.

To the moſt high and renowmed Princeſſe ELIZABETH *by the grace of God Queene of* England, France *and* Ireland, &c.

My minde earneſtly bent to the knowledge of nauigation and Hydrographie from my youth (moſt excellent my dread Soueraigne) hath eftſoones beene moued by diligent ſtudie to ſearch out the chiefeſt points to them belonging: and not therewith ſufficed hath alſo ſought by experience in diuers diſcoueries and other voyages and trauailes to practiſe the ſame. I was in the firſt voyage for diſcouerie of the partes of Ruſſia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then ſixteene yeeres of age) alſo in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coaſtes of Samoed and Noua Zembla, with the ſtraightes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coaſt of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly diſcouered. Since which time, by my continuall practiſe in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, or to the Narue, and to ſome other countreys alſo by Sea: as likewiſe in paſſing from S. Nicholas to Moſco, and from Moſco to Narue, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in thoſe countreis for the companie of Engliſh merchants for diſcoueries of new trades) ſetting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true obſeruations & notes of al thoſe countreys, Iſlands, coaſts of the ſea, and other things requiſite to the artes of Nauigation and Hydrographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and deſcriptions of the wayes, riuers, cities, townes, &c. as I paſſed by land: I finde my ſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed to giue report vnto your Maieſty, and to make deſcription of thoſe North parts of the world in forme and maner of euery leagues diſtance that I haue paſſed & ſeene in all thoſe my trauels. The places herein deſcribed, which I haue not ſeene and tried my ſelfe, I haue ſet downe by the beſt authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the reſt: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eaſtward to Narue by ſea, and from thence to Moſco and to S. Nicholas by land: alſo from hence Northwards and Northeaſtwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas, and to the ſtraight of Vaigatz (firſt crauing humbly your highneſſe pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I truſt without ſuſpect of arrogancie, ſince truely I may ſay it) I haue here ſet it open to the view, with ſuch exactneſſe and trueth, and ſo placed euery thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the meridian of London, which I place in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he trauaileth, as I haue done. For as it may be truely ſaide of nauigation and Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth conuenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Aſtronomie and Coſmographie, much leſſe without theſe two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie: ſo none of the beſt learned in thoſe ſciences Mathematicall, without conuenient practiſe at the ſea can make iuſt proofe of the profite in them: ſo neceſſarily dependeth art and reaſon vpon practiſe and experience. Albeit there are diuers both learned and vnlearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of nauigation will enter deeply and ſpeake much of and againſt errours vſed therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such alſo haue written thereof, pretending ſingular great knowledge therein, and would ſo be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and ſufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it ſhall not be amiſſe in defence of rules builded vpon reaſon, and in practiſe allowed, thus much to ſay for anſwere. It is ſo, that there are rules vſed in nauigation which are not perfectly true: among which the ſtreight lines in ſea-cardes, repreſenting the 32. points of the compaſſe or windes, are not holden to be the leaſt, but noted of ſuch talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorance: yet hath the famous and learned *Gerardus Mercator* vſed them in his vniuerſal mappe. But ſuch as condemne them for falſe, and ſpeake moſt againſt their vſe cannot giue other that ſhould ſerue for nauigation to better purpoſe and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to ſay it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with ſome part of my ſtudie, I am the rather moued (in this my plot) to make ſome triall vnto you maieſtie: for that I perceiue that ſuch attempts of newe diſcoueries (whereunto this noble Iſland is moſt aptly ſituated) are by your royall maintenance ſo willingly furthered: beſeeching your highneſſe ſo to accept of theſe my trauailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall ſeruice to your maieſtie, whoſe healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightie. Amen.

Your Maieſties moſt humble ſubiect
William Burrough.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to *Shaugh Thamas* the great Sophi of *Perſia*, ſent by *Arthur Edwards*, *William Turnbull*, *Matthew Tailbois*, and *Peter Gerard* appointed Agents for the Moſcouie companie, in their ſixt voyage to *Perſia*, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the moſt noble and inuincible Emperour of Perſia, *King of* Shiruan, Gilan, Groſin, Coraſſan, *and great Gouernour of the Indies.*

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the moſt noble and inuincible Emperour of Perſia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Groſin, Coraſſan, and great gouernour euen vnto the Indies, ſendeth greeting. Moſt noble and inuincible Prince, it is now ‖ tenne yeeres ſince, or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambaſſade of the noble man Anthony Ienkinſon our welbeloued ſubiect, to your moſt noble and inuincible father performed) we laboured to bring to paſſe by Thomas Banniſter and Gefferey Ducket merchants, our ſubiects, that throughout all the kingdomes ſubiect to his empire, free power might be giuen to Will. Garrard, Thomas Offley, William Cheſter knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducket, William Allen, Thomas Banniſter, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and vnto their ſocietie, to enter into his lands and countreys at al times when they would and could, there to exerciſe & vſe their trade of merchandiſe, and from thence likewiſe after exchange or ſale made of thoſe wares, which they ſhould bring with them with his like good leaue and fauour, to carie from thence thoſe things wherwith his dominions do abound & with vs be ſcant. Which our petition the moſt noble prince your father took ſo thankfully and in ſuch good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leaue, as was deſired: but the ſame he would to bee vnto them moſt free and beneficiall, and to haue continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our ſubiects did enioy with ſuch humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reaſon of wars more and more increaſing in thoſe partes, by the which our ſubiects were to make their iourney into Perſia, they were debarred and ſhut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the ſaid ſocietie being eftſoones deſirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they haue now ſent into Perſia their factors & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their aſſociats, whom we beſeech your inuincible maieſty to entertaine with that fauour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Banniſter & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchiſe their whole ſocietie with that freedome, that neither they through any their miſdemeanours towards your ſubiects, may thereof ſeeme vnworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our ſelues otherwiſe enioy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards vs, and with the like fauourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it ſelfe & tract of time ſhall ſufficiently proue the foreſaid maner of traffike vnprofitable to neither of vs. For ſo hath one God the chiefe gouernor of all things diſpoſed of our affaires on earth, that echone ſhould need other. And as for our people & ſubiects of the Engliſh nation, in verie deed your maieſty ſhal find them made and faſhioned ſo pliant to the performance of all dueties of humanity, that it can neuer repent you to haue graunted them this franke traffike, nor ſhame vs to haue obteined it for them at your hands. That therefore it may pleaſe your maieſty to yeeld vnto them this at our requeſt, moſt earneſtly we beſeech you. And we (as it wel beſeemeth a prince) if euer hereafter we may, will ſhew our ſelfe not to bee vnmindfull of ſo great a benefit. We wiſh your maieſty wel & proſperouſly to fare. Giuen at our palace of Weſtminſter the 10. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1579, and of our reigne the 21.

‖ 1568 pag. 394.

Aduertiſe-

Aduertiſements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Perſia and Media, for the companie of Engliſh merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of ſundrie letters written by *Chriſtopher Burrough*, ſeruant to the ſaide companie, and ſent to his vncle Maſter *William Burrough.*

First it is to be vnderſtood, that the ſhips for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, in which the factors and merchandiſe for the Perſian voyage were tranſported, departed from Graueſend the 19. of Iune, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Ruſſia the 22. of Iuly, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandiſe were diſcharged & laden into doſhnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto Vologda. And the 25. day of yͤ ſaid Iulie, the doſhnikes departed from Roſe Iſland by S. Nicholas vp the riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to ſay, in poſte, by continuall ſailing, rowing, ſetting with poles, or drawing of mē, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Iulie vp the ſaid riuer Dwyna, and came to Vſtyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of Auguſt, where they ſtayed but a ſmall time, prouiding ſome victuals, and ſhifting certaine of their caſſacks or barkmen, & ſo departed thence the ſame day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted ſomewhat more then halfe the way from Vſtioug) the 15. day, where they ſhifted ſome of their caſſaks, and departed thence the ſame day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of Auguſt, where they landed their goods, and ſtaied at that place till the 30. of the ſame. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the ſame by land towards Yeraſlaue the ſaid 30. of Auguſt at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Volga ouer againſt Yeraſlaue, with 25. Telegas laden with the ſaid goods the ſeuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three ſtrugs or barks prouided to tranſport the ſaide goods to Aſtracan (where they ſhould meete the ſhip that ſhould carie the ſame from thence into Perſia) came ouer from Yeraſlaue vnto the ſame ſide of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the ſaid goods. And hauing prepared the ſaid barks ready with all neceſſary furniture they departed with them from Yeraſlaue downe the riuer of Volga on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at Niznouogrod the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they ſhewed the Emperors letters to paſſe free without paying any cuſtome, and taried there about three houres to prouide neceſſaries, and then departing, arriued at Cazan (or neere the ſame towne) on the 22. of September at fiue of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for prouiding new caſſaks in the places of ſome that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetuſhagorod, which is on the Crim ſide of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims ſide (on the Weſterne ſide of Volga) the ſixt of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Aſtracan: and heere there groweth great ſtore of Licoris: the ſoile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had beene a very faire ſtone caſtle called by the name Oueak, & adioyning to the ſame was a towne called by yͤ Ruſſes, Sodom: this towne & part of the caſtle (by report of the Ruſſes) was ſwallowed into the earth by the iuſtice of God, for the wickedneſſe of the people that inhabited the ſame. There remaineth at this day to be ſeene a part of the ruines of the caſtle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it ſeemeth haue bin laid noble perſonages: for vpon a tombe ſtone might be perceiued the forme of a horſe and a man ſitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his ſide: there was a piece of a ſcutchion alſo vpon one of the ſtones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof ſome part had beene conſumed with the weather, and the reſt left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen alſo vpon another tombe ſtone. Nowe they departed from Oueak the ſaid ſixt of October at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauolok the 10. day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but paſſed alongſt by it. This word Perauolok in the Ruſſe tongue doeth ſignifie a narrow ſtraight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is ſo called by them, becauſe from the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is counted thirty verſts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foote in one day. And ſeuen verſts beneath, vpon an Iſland called Tſaritſna the Emperour of Ruſſia hath fiftie gunners all the ſummer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Aſtracan are fiue other Carawools or watches,

Yeraſlaue.

Great ſtore of Licoris.

Perauolok.

1 The firſt is named Kameni Carawool, and is diſtant from Perauolok 120. verſts.
2 The ſecond named Stupino Carowool, diſtant from the firſt 50. verſts.
3 The third called Polooy Carowool, is 120. verſts diſtant from the ſecond.
4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. verſts diſtant from the third.
5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. verſt diſtant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Aſtracan is 30. verſts.

Aſtracan.

Peter Garrard.

The 16. of October they arriued at Aſtracan, with their three ſtrougs in ſafetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ſhip prouided for the Perſia voyage in good order & readineſſe. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe diake or ſecretary of Aſtracan (Vaſili Pheodorouich Shelepin) who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Perſia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did poſſeſſe the greateſt part of Media: alſo he laid before them that Winter was at hand, & if they ſhould put out with their ſhip to the ſea, they ſhould bee conſtrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon the ſaid factors determined to ſtay there all Winter to learne further of the ſtate of thoſe countreis.

Ice at Aſtracan for foure moneths.

The 19. of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great froſt, and much ice in the riuer: the next day being the 20. of Nouember the ice ſtood in the riuer, and ſo continued vntill Eaſter day.

The 22. of December departed this life Iohn Moore the gunner of the ſhip.

Anno 1580.

Thurſday the 7. of Ianuary betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a croſſe proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The 6. of Ianuary being Twelfe day (which they call Chreſhenia) the Ruſſes of Aſtracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, & hallowed the water with great ſolemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the ſouldiers of the towne ſhot off their ſmal pieces vpon the ice, and likewiſe to gratifie the captaine of the caſtel being a Duke, whoſe name is Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria, who ſtood hard by the ſhip, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was ſhot off all the ordinance of our ſhip being 15. pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconets, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other ſmall pieces made for the ſtrougs to ſhoote halfe ſtones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the caſtle was ſhot off.

On the 31. of Ianuary there happened a great eclipſe of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued before ſhe was cleare an houre and a halfe by eſtimation, which ended the firſt of February about halfe an houre paſt one in the morning: ſhe was wholly darkned by the ſpace of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 2. quarters of a mile of the caſtle of Aſtracan, by caſualty was ſet on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell deſtroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Ruſſia his vaſſals: It is ſuppoſed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of ſeuen thouſand. That night the Allarum was made in the caſtle and towne of Aſtracan. The captaine thereof had all his ſouldiers in very good order and readineſſe, being of them in number two thouſand gunners and caſſaks, that is to ſay, a thouſand gunners, which are accounted meere ſouldiers, and are not put to any other ſeruice then the vſe of their pieces, watch, &c. as ſouldiers which alwaies keepe the caſtle, and the caſſaks alſo vſing their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly ſet to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Aſtracan to the number of one thouſand foure hundred horſemen, which incamped round about, but the neereſt of them were two Ruſſe verſts and a halfe off from the caſtle and towne: ſome of them lay on the Crims ſide of Volga, and ſome on the Nagay ſide, but none of them came vpon the Iſland that Aſtracan ſtandeth on. It was ſaid that two of the prince of the Crims his ſonnes were amongſt them. They ſent a meſſenger on the eight day to the captaine of Aſtracan, to ſignifie that they would come and viſit him: who anſwered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great ſhot or bullet in his hand, willed the meſſenger to tel them that they ſhould not want of that geare, ſo long as it would laſt. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to aſſault the towne or caſtle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpoſe. The tenth day two Ruſſes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen came away from the Nagayes, and came into Aſtracan. The ſame day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were ſeene at Goſtine houſe, ſuppoſed to be ſpies, but were gone againe from thence before they were ſuſpected.

Aſtracan ſituate vpon an Iſland.

ſuſpected. This Goſtine houſe is a place a litle without the towne where the Tiſiks (or Perſian merchants) do uſually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the ſaid Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that houſe early in the morning, where they were taken by the Ruſſes, and brought to the captaine of the caſtle, and being examined, confeſſed that their comming was onely to ſeeke two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were deliuered to them: which fauour the ſaid captaine cōmonly ſheweth if they be not Ruſſes, and they were ſet at libertie. The 13. day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

The variation of the compas in Aſtracan was 13. deg. 40. minuts.

The 17. of April the variation of the compaſſe obſerued in Aſtracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to Weſt. This ſpring there came newes to Aſtracan that the queene of Perſia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army againſt the Turks that were left to poſſeſſe Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithſtanding Derbent, & the greateſt part of Media were ſtill poſſeſſed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company conſulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Aſtracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ſhip on their purpoſed voyage to the coaſt of Media, to ſee what might be done there: where, if they could not find ſafe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coaſt of Gilan, which is a prouince nere the Caſpian ſea bordering vpon Perſia: and therupon appointed the ſaid goods to be laden abord the ſhip, and tooke into her alſo ſome merchandize of Tiſiks or Perſian merchants.

The 29. of April Amos Riall, and Anthony Marſh, the companies ſeruants were ſent from Aſtracan by the ſaid factors, by the riuer Volga to Yeraſlaue, with letters of aduiſe to be ſent for England, and had order for ſtaying the goods in Ruſſia that ſhould come that yeere out of England for maintaining the trade purpoſed for Perſia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in thoſe parts.

May.

The firſt day of May in the morning, hauing the ſhippe in readineſſe to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodor Micalouich Proiocoorow, and the principall ſecretary Vaſili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefeſt about the duke to a banket abord the ſhip, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was ſhot off all the ordinance of the ſhip, and about nine of the clocke at night the ſame day they weyed anker, and departed with their ſhip from Aſtracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about three verſts, & then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The ſecond day at foure of the clocke in ẏ morning they weyed & plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caſpian ſea. The ſeuenth of May in the morning they paſſed by a tree that ſtandeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, & about three verſts further, that is to ſay, to the Southwards of the ſaid tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to ſay, the Ruſſe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fiſhermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Aſtracan 60. verſts: they proceeded downe the ſaid riuer without ſtaying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with ſhoald water, and were forced to lighten their ſhip by the pauos: the 11. day they ſent backe to the Vchoog for an other pauos: This day by miſchance the ſhippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had ſuſtained great loſſes, if the chiefeſt part of their goods had not beene layde into the pauos: for notwithſtanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the beſt ſhifts they could make, the ſhippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and ſtopt. The 12. day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the ſhippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them a ſmall boat, ſent by the captaine of Aſtracan, to learne whether the ſhippe were at ſea cleere of the flats. The 15. day by great induſtry and trauell they got their ſhip cleare off the ſhoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to paſſe their ſhippe in three foot water or leſſe. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Iſland of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty verſts from Vchoog, and are the furtheſt land towards the ſea. The 17. day they bare off into the ſea, and being about twelue verſts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoſes into the ſhippe, and filled their ſhippe with all things neceſſary. The 18. day in the morning about ſeuen of the clock, the pauoſes being diſcharged departed away towards Aſtracan, the winde then at Southeaſt, they road ſtill with the ſhippe, and obſeruing the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The 19. day, the winde Southeaſt, they road ſtill. The 20. day the winde at Northweſt they ſet ſaile about one of the clocke in the morning, & ſteered thence South by Weſt, & Southſouthweſt, about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and

Vchoog.

Shoald water.

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The Caſpian ſea.

45. degrees 20. minuts. The firſt obſeruation in the Caſpian ſea.

a halfe water, about nine of yͤ clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21. hauing the winde at Northweſt, they ſet ſaile, and ſtered thence South by Weſt, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obſerued the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the ſea about fiftie verſts. From the ſaid noonetide vntill foure of the clocke they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and brackiſh water:

Brackiſh water farre within the ſea.

from that till twelue at night they ſayled South by Eaſt halfe a league, Eaſt tenne leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water ſalter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they ſayled three & fifty leagues, then had they ſixteene fathome water: from thence they ſayled vntil noone South and by Weſt ſeuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obſerued

43. degrees 15. minuts.

43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and ſhallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms ſhallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the morning, they ſailed Southſouthweſt three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they ſayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obſerued was 42. degrees 20. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they ſayled

41. degrees 32. minuts.

South by Weſt ſeuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obſerued was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till ſeuen of the clocke at night, they ſailed Southſouthweſt foure leagues, then had they perfect ſight of high land or hilles, which were almoſt couered with ſnow, and the mids of them were Weſt from the ſhip, being then about twelue leagues from the neareſt land: they ſounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they ſailed Southweſt vntil midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clock in the morning, they ſayled Weſt three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their ſayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obſerued, was 40. degrees 54. minuts:

40. degrees 54. minuts.

they ſounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northweſt, they ſet their ſailes, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they ſailed Eaſt ſoutheaſt foure leagues. From thence they ſailed till eight of the clocke at night Southweſt three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they ſailed vntill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Weſtſouthweſt eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the ſayd two til foure of the clocke they ſailed South by Weſt one league: then being day light, they ſaw the land plaine, which was not paſt three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the ſea, about fiue leagues from the ſame land, (which are called Barmake Taſh) they ſayled betweene thoſe rocks and the land, and about fiue of

Bildill.

the clocke they paſſed by the port Bildill, where they ſhould haue put in but could not: and bearing longſt the ſhoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, againſt which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Preſently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were ſeuen or eight perſons, two Turks, the reſt Perſians, the Turkes vaſſals, which bade them welcome, and ſeemed to be glad of their arriuall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Baſha remained in Derbent with a garriſon of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly ſpoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being deſirous to come to the ſpeech of the Baſha, ſent one of the Tiſikes (or merchants that went ouer with them from Aſtracan, paſſingers) and one of the companies ſeruants Robert Golding, with thoſe ſouldiours,

Bachu port.

to the captaine of Bachu, which place ſtandeth hard by the ſea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to deſire friendſhippe to haue quiet and ſafe traffike for the ſame. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney, on foote eaſily to be trauelled, which may be ſixe leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and ſtrongly fortified. When the ſayd meſſenger came to the captaine of Bachu, the ſaid captaine gaue him very friendly intertainment, and after he vnderſtood what they were that were come in the ſhippe, and what they had brought, he ſeemed to reioyce much thereat: who gaue the ſaid Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promiſed that he would himſelfe come to the ſhippe the next day following: with which anſwere the ſaid Golding returned and came to the ſhippe the ſayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours cauſed a tent to be ſet vp at ſhoare neare the ſhippe, againſt the comming of the ſayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie ſouldiers, that attended on him, in ſhirts of male, and ſome of them had gauntlets of ſiluer, others of ſteele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly ſalutations paſſed betweene them, they gaue him for a preſent a garment of cloth of veluet, and another of ſcarlet, who accepted the ſame gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the ſtate of the voyage and cauſe of their comming thither, as alſo learned of the ſayde captaine the ſtate of that countrey, the factours made requeſt vnto him, that he would helpe them to the ſpeech of the Baſha, who anſwered that their demand was reaſonable, and that he would willingly ſhew them therein what pleaſure he could, and ſayd, becauſe the way to Derbent, where the Baſha remayned, was dangerous, he would ſend thither, and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and ſuch commodities as they would deſire to exchange or barter the ſame for he would procure the ſaid Baſha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to conſult together, and certifie him what they moſt deſired, and what quantitie they would haue prouided: ſo whileſt the factors were conſulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tiſike merchant that came ouer in the ſhip with them from Aſtracan, which Tiſike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors & their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Aſtracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maiſter of the barke Thomas Hudſon of Limehouſe perſwaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they deſired to goe to the Baſha, and that he would ſafely conduct them thither: he granted their requeſts willingly, deſiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they ſhould go to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, becauſe their prouiſion for the way was not in readineſſe, but requeſted that they might ſtay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine ſayd it was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it ſhould ſo happen, he were in great danger of looſing his head: for which cauſe he requeſted to haue ſome one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himſelfe to go, who, becauſe he could not ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue, tooke with him Chriſtopher Burrough, and a Ruſſe interpretour: that night they road from the ſeaſide, to a village about ten miles off, where at ſupper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Ruſſe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we ſhould be: but when by the ſituation he perceiued we were Engliſhmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? anſwere was made, it was: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainety. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himſelfe, and Chriſtopher Burrough, with the Ruſſe interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that preſent, of whom he ſeemed to make great account: him he placed next to himſelfe on the other ſide, and his gentlemen ſate round about him talking together. Their ſitting is vpon the heeles, or croſſe legged.

Thomas Hudſon of Limehouſe, maiſter of the Engliſh barke.

M. Chriſtopher Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requeſted them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewiſe their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice ſodden thicke, and hony mingled withall: after all which, came a ſheepe roſted whole, which was brought in a tray, and ſet before the captaine: he called one of his ſeruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying thereof vpon diuers platters, ſet the ſame before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he caſt meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers queſtions he had with M. Garrard and Chriſtopher Burrough at ſupper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fiſh or fleſh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in thoſe partes is nothing but water. After ſupper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vſe was in England to lie in the houſe or in the garden, and which he had beſt liking of: he anſwered, where it pleaſed him, but their vſe was to lie in houſes: whereupon the captaine cauſed beds to be ſent into the houſe for them, and cauſed his kinſman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himſelfe with his gentlemen and ſouldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he ſent horſe for the reſt of the company which ſhould go to Derbent, ſending by them that went tenne ſheepe for the ſhippe. In that village there was a Stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requeſting M. Garrard to go alſo to the ſame to waſh himſelfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whileſt they were at breakfaſt, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudſon the M. of the ſhippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their faſts, they went to Bachu: but Chriſtopher Burrough returned to the ſhip, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promiſed, being accompanied on their way for their ſafe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine ſouldiers, which had the captaine

The receiuing of the Engliſh into Derbent.

The latitude of Bildih 40. deg. 25. min. The variation of the compas 10. deg. 40. min.

of Bachu his letters to the Baſha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forſooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almoſt to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Baſha, to certifie him of the Engliſh merchants comming, who receiuing the letters, and vnderſtanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and ſent forth to receiue them certaine ſouldiers gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, ſaluting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other ſouldiours, ſome what neerer the caſtle, which likewiſe hauing done their ſalutations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the caſtle and towne. As they entred the caſtle, there was a ſhot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, & the Baſha ſent M. Turnbull a very faire horſe with furniture to mount on, eſteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and ſo they were conueyed to his preſence: who after he had talked with them, ſent for a coate of cloth of golde, and cauſed it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their eaſe, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when yͤ factors came againe to the preſence of the Baſha, according to his appointment, they requeſted him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike ſafely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleaſed his Maieſtie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it ſhould be deliuered him accordingly. The Baſhaes anſwere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded their ſafetie, hauing come ſo farre, & knowing the ſtate of his countrey to be troubleſome, he would haue them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make ſale of it, promiſing he would prouide ſuch commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, ſo that they ſhould not be iniured by any: wherupon the factors ſent Thomas Hudſon backe for yͤ ſhip to bring her to Derbent, and the Baſha ſent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which meſſage being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Baſhaes meſſenger, accompanied with a doozen ſouldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudſon, & came to the ſhip at Bildih the 11. day of Iune. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and ſeene the ſhip, they all departed preſently, but the gentleman, meſſenger from yͤ Baſha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ſhip till ſhe came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obſeruations is 40. degrees 25. minuts: the variation of the compaſſe 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to Weſt. After the returne of Thomas Hudſon backe to Bildih, they were conſtrayned to remaine there with the ſhippe through contrary windes vntill the 16. day of Iune foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, ſet ſaile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arriued at anker againſt Derbent Eaſt and by South from the ſayd caſtle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of Iune at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp their ordinance, which before they had ſtowed in hold for eaſing the ſhippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Baſha came downe to the waterſide againſt the ſhippe, and hauing the ſaid ordinance placed, and charged, it was all ſhotte off to gratifie him: and preſently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the ſhippe. The 29. day their goods were vnladen and carried to the Baſhaes garden, where he made choyce of ſuch things as he liked, taking for cuſtome of euery fiue & twenty karſies, or whatſoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to ſend a part of the reſt of the goods to Bachu, for the ſpeedier making ſale thereof, for which cauſe they obtained the Baſhaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very fauourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and ſent in a ſmall boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thouſand pound ſterling: videlicet, one hundreth pieces of karſies, ſeuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of ſhaffe. There went with the ſame of the companies ſeruants William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Ruſſies, whereof one was an interpretor, beſides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the ſaid barke the 19. of Iuly, and arriued at Bildih the 25. day: their paſſage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their ſales when they came thither were ſmall: they had great friendſhip ſhewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Baſhaes letter, as alſo for the factors ſakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding deſirous to vnderſtand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a daies iourney from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was ſet on by theeues, and was ſhot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly eſcaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horſes with his caliuer, and ſhot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the firſt day of Auguſt the factors being aduertiſed at Derbent that their ſhip was ſo rotten & weake, that it was doubtfull ſhe would not carry them backe to Aſtracan, did thereupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whoſe name was Iacob, for a barke called a Buſſe, being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yere from Aſtracan, and was at that inſtant riding at an Iſland called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eaſtwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more ſafety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to Aſtracan, and thereupon wrote vnto Wincoll and the reſt at Bachu, that they ſhould receiue the ſame Buſſe, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to diſcharge their firſt boate, which was obſerued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the ſayd Buſſe at Bildih, and being ready to haue departed thence for Derbent, there aroſe a great ſtorme with the winde out of the ſea, by force whereof the cables and halſers were broken, and their veſſell put a ſhoare, and broken to pieces againſt the rockes: euery of them that were in her ſaued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheſte, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the company, which they ſold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Buſſe, fell by the barkes ſide into the water amongſt the rockes, and ſo was loſt. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Buſſe were alſo loſt, other things that were more profitable they ſaued.

Zere Iſland.

The Engliſh ſuffer ſhip-wracke.

The 18. of Auguſt, the Factors receiued from the Baſha 500. Batmans of raw ſilke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the reſt of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Baſha according to his appointment, but that day they could not ſpeake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they ſhould looke and conſider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors: and thereupon M. Turnebull anſwered, that their heads & all that they had were at the Baſhaes pleaſure: But then it was anſwered there was no ſuch matter in it: but that they ſhould caſt vp their reckonings, to ſee how it ſtood betweene them. The 20. day they caſt vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue ſpoken with the Baſha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Buſſe that came from Aſtracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Aſtracan with the moitie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the   of

Arthur Edwards dieth at Aſtracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Baſha 500. Batmans of ſilke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was ſet on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

September.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Caſtle of Derbent, where the Armenian Chriſtians do vſually bury their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Buſſe which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was caſt away at Bildih, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ſhip 40. bales of ſilke. From the 26. till the 2. of October, they tooke into the ſhip, bread, water, and other neceſſary prouiſion for their ſea ſtore: the ſaid 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the ſuddaine to auoide their houſe, and get them with their prouiſion out of the towne: Whereupon they were conſtrained to remoue and carry their things to the ſea ſide againſt the ſhip, and remained there all the night. The cauſe of this ſudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Baſha had receiued newes of a ſupplie with treaſure that the Turke had ſent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the ſhoare aboord the ſhip: and that day the Factors went to the Baſha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended thoſe the Companies ſeruants, &c. which they had ſent to Bachu, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who cauſed their names to be written, and promiſed they ſhould want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord purpoſing preſently to haue ſet ſaile and departed towards Aſtracan, the winde ſeruing well for that purpoſe at South Southeaſt: And as they were readie to ſet ſaile, there came againſt the ſhip a man, who weued: whereupon the boate was ſent a ſhoare to him, who was an Armenian ſent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the ſaid Wincoll had written briefly, the miſhap of the loſſe of the Buſſe, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and ſuch things as they ſaued with a ſmall boate, forced to put a ſhoare in a place by the ſea ſide called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors cauſed the ſhippe to ſtay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ſhip, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to ſaile with the ſhippe, with the next wind that would ſerue them, againſt the place where they were, & take them in, if they could: which ſtay and

The Armenian village.

loſſe of thoſe Southerly windes, was a cauſe of great troubles, that they afterwardes ſuſtained through yce, &c. entring the Volga as ſhalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeaſt, the ſhippe rode ſtill: This day Chriſtopher Burrow was ſent to ſhore to Derbent to prouide ſome neceſſaries for the voyage, & with him a Tiſike or two, which ſhould goe in the ſhippe paſſengers to Aſtracan. And being on ſhoare he ſaw there the comming in of the Turkes treaſure, being accompanied with 200. ſouldiers, and one hundreth pioners, beſides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Baſha with his Captaines and ſouldiers very gallantly apparelled and furniſhed went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the ſaid treaſure, and receiued the ſame with great ioy and triumph. Treaſure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the ſouldiers were readie to breake into the Court againſt the Baſha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongſt them, becauſe hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treaſure came in ſeuen wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of braſſe.

The Turke his treaſure ſent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw ſilke, neither was that to be had but at the Baſhaes hands: who ſhortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, ſo it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefeſt part, for which he gaue but a ſmall price in reſpect of the value it was there worth, and becauſe he had prouided ſuch quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwiſe they could not haue had, the Countrey being ſo troubleſome, and trauaile by land ſo dangerous, he vſed them at his pleaſure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Aſtracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Perſians differed litle from the truth: For the Turkes armie with aide of the Crims, (being in number by yͤ information of two Spaniards that ſerued in thoſe wars, about 200000) inuaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderſtood of the conqueſt, he appointed Oſman Baſha (the ſaid Baſha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who ſettled himſelfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, vnto whom was ſent from the great Turke, in ſignification of the gratefull acceptation of his ſeruice and the great conqueſt, a ſword of great value.

Oſman Baſha.

After the ſaid Baſha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garriſons where he thought conuenient, the armie was diſſolued and ſent backe: When the Perſians vnderſtood that the Turkes armie was diſſolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the ſame with fire and ſword, deſtroying whatſoeuer they found, as well people, cattell, as whatſoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had ſo ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the ſaid Baſha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was ſettled, and beſieged it: whereupon the Baſha ſeeing hee could not long indure to withſtand them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a ſtrong Caſtle which was built by Alexander the great, the ſituation whereof is ſuch, that the Perſians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Perſians entred the ſame and ſpoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and ſo returned backe into Perſia, and ſetled themſelues about Teueris, where there grewe ſome queſtion among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Perſians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themſelues together in a great armie and encountring the ſaid Turkes, ſet vpon them on the ſudden, and vanquiſhed them, putting them all to the ſword. This ouerthrow of the Turkes grieued the Baſha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne ſafetie. Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kiſel Baſhaes, (that is to ſay the nobles and Gentlemen of Perſia) were minded to ſet vpon him, and that neere vnto Bachu there lay an army readie to beſiege it. Whereupon the Baſha oftentimes would ride about the Caſtle of Derbent viewing the ſame, and the ſprings that did come to it, and where he ſaw any cauſe of reformation, it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min.

The variation of the Compaſſe.

The latitude of Derbent (by diuers obſeruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52. min. The variation of the Compaſſe at that place about 11. degrees from North to Weſt. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land, 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih fiue or ſixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Caſtle Derbent Eaſtwards, there reach two ſtone wals to the border of the Caſpian ſea, which is diſtant one Engliſh mile. Thoſe wals are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the ſpace betweene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800 foot. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of thoſe wals, which do now extend into the ſea about halfe a mile: alſo from the caſtle Weſtward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a ſtone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did paſſe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the caſtle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnortheaſt they wayed ancre, and ſet ſaile from Derbent, being alongſt the coaſt to the Southwards to ſeeke their men: but as they had ſailed about foure leagues the winde ſcanted Eaſterly, ſo that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the ſea, where they ancred in ſeuen fathom water, the ſhip being very leake, and ſo rotten abaft the maine maſt, that a man with his nailes might ſcrape thorow her ſide.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they ſet ſaile, the winde Southweſt. They conſidered the time of the yere was farre ſpent, the ſhip weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themſelues directly towards Aſtracan: and ſailing Northnortheaſt vntill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthweſt, and blew much, a very ſtorme, which cauſed them to take in all their ſailes, ſauing the fore corſe, with which they were forced to ſteere before the ſea, South by Weſt, and Southſouthweſt. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, which they were forced to cut from the ſhip to their great griefe and diſcomfort: for in her they hoped to ſaue their liues if the ſhip ſhould haue miſcaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had ſight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longſt the coaſt to the Southeaſtwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in three fathoms, and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as alſo that the winde was ſhifted to the Northweſt, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the reſt of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 verſts to the Weſtwards of Nezauoo, the place whereagainſt they rode at ancre, ſaw the ſhip as ſhe paſſed by that place, and ſent a man in the night following alongſt the coaſt after her, who came againſt the ſhip where ſhe rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made ſignes, which was perceiued by them in the ſhippe, whereupon they hoiſed out their ſkiffe, and ſent her aſhore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with ſuch goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the ſame goods be taken into the ſhips. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a little further off into the ſea towards the ſaid village, and ancred. The 10 day they ſent their ſkiffe to the Armenian village to fetch thoſe men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde ſerued, that they could not returne to fetch the ſhip, they of the ſhip promiſed to come for them, againſt the ſaid village. This day it was calme.

Nezauoo.

The 11 day the winde Northweſt they rode ſtill. The 12 day the winde Southeaſt they wayed ancre, & bare againſt & nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the ſkiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at ſhore were like to be ſpoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the ſkiffe ſent backe againe to charge them at any hand they ſhould haſten aboord the ſhip whatſoeuer it coſt them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the ſame day ſauing Richard Relfe and two Ruſſes, but aſſoone as the ſkiffe was returned aboord the ſhip, the winde blew at Southeaſt, and the ſea was growen, ſo as they were forced to take in their ſkiffe into the ſhip, and rode ſtill till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the ſkiffe was hoiſed out of the ſhip, and ſent to ſhore to fetch the ſaid Relfe and the two Ruſſes, which were ready at the ſhore ſide, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goletta in Barbary, which ſerued the Turke as ſouldiers. Thoſe Spaniards (of Chriſtian charity) they brought alſo aboord the ſhip to redeeme them from their captiuity, which were brought ouer into England, and ſet free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheaſt, faire weather. The 14 day they ſent the ſkiffe to ſhore, and filled freſh water. The 15 day they rode ſtill, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eaſtſoutheaſt, they wayed ancre and ſet ſaile, bearing Northwards towards Aſtracan, and the ſame night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about fiue miles from the ſhore of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnorthweſt from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at North very ſtormy, they rode ſtill all that day and night. The 18 the winde all Southeaſt about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and ſailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheaſt fiue leagues, then they might ſee the land Northweſt about tenne leagues from the winde Southeaſt: from thence they ſailed til midnight Northnortheaſt twelue leagues. From thence till the 19 day ſeuen a clocke in the morning they ſailed Northnortheaſt

Two Spaniards deliuered by our Engliſh men.

eight leagues: the winde then Eaſtſoutheaſt, a faire gale, they ſounded and had 17 fathoms, and ſand, being (as the Maſter iudged) about the head of Sherly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they ſailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at Eaſt a faire gale, they ſounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they ſailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeaſt with ſmall raine, they tooke in their ſailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and ſoft oze, where they rode ſtill all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeaſt, as before with ſmall raine.

The 21 day the winde Northweſt, they likewiſe rode ſtill. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde Weſtnorthweſt, and ſailed from thence till ſixe of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe ſoft oze, the winde at Weſt a ſmall breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre, and ſet ſaile, being litle winde Eaſterly, and ſailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northweſt in with the ſhore about ſixe leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, hauing perfect ſight of the low land (ſand hilles) being about 3 miles from the neereſt land. This place of the land that they were againſt, they perceiued to be to the Weſtwards of the 4 Iſlands (called in the Ruſſe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50 verſts, or 30 Engliſh miles to the Southweſt, or Southweſt by South, from the ſayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at Eaſt, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillauar, cauſed them to ride ſtill. The 25 day they thought good to ſend in their ſkiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Ruſſes, to row him alongſt Northwards by the ſhore, to ſeeke the foure Iſlands, and ſo to paſſe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the ſayd Robert Golding to proceed to Aſtracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauoſes to meete the ſhippe at the ſayd Iſlands, and the ſkiffe with the Ruſſes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the ſhippe, which ſkiffe departed from the ſhippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Eaſterly and Northeaſt, they rode ſtill with their ſhip. The 30 day the winde Southeaſt, they wayed, and ſet ſaile to the Northeaſtwards: but the ſhip fell ſo on the ſide to the ſhorewards, that they were forced eftſoones to take in their ſaile, and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remoued her. That day they ſhared their bread: but in their want God ſent them two coueies of partridges, that came from the ſhore, and lighted in and about their ſhips, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay ſicke, of whoſe life was ſmall hope, recouered his health.

A ſtrange accident of prouiſion for their reliefe.

Nouember.

The 4 of Nouember the ſkiffe returned to the ſhip with ſome victuals, and certified that the foure Iſlands were about 60 verſts from them to the Northeaſtwards. When Robert Golding came to Aſtracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to vnderſtand of the ſhips arriuall, & of the ſtate they were in, and their requeſt for Pauoſes, who was very glad to heare of their ſafe returne, and appointed to be ſent with all ſpeed two Pauoſes and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pauoſes, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4 Iſlands aforeſayd, where he ſtayed with thoſe barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purpoſed to ſend from the ſhip their ſkiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Ruſſes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to requeſt Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pauoſes to the ſhippe with all poſſible ſpeed. The ſkiffe with thoſe men departed from the ſhip in the morning, and within one houre they met with a ſmall boat with Ruſſes, rowing towards the ſhip, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde ſwine and other victuals to ſell: with the ſame boat the ſkiffe returned backe to the ſhip after the Ruſſes had receiued and were ſatiſfied for the victuals they brought: the ſame day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the ſame boat was ſent the Carpenter of the ſhippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the meſſage before appointed him. From the 5 vntill the 9 day the ſhip rode ſtill with contrary winds Eaſterly. The ſame 9 day came to the ſhippe certaine Ruſſes in a ſmall boat, which brought with them ſome victuals ſent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pauoſes and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori fiue dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ſhip. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pauoſes comming, they ſent Thomas Hudſon Maſter of the ſhip in the ſkiffe (and with her went the foreſayd ſkiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pauoſes to bring word whether they would come to the ſhip or not, the wind then at Northeaſt with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ſhip rode ſtill. The 12 day Amos Riall, Chriſtopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ſhip, and with them the M. Thomas Hudſon returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it began to freeſe) returned to Aſtracan, Amos Riall declared that he ſent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a ſmall boat on the 10 day, and marueiled that he was not come to the ſhippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) miſſed the ſhippe, and ouerſhot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ſhip at ancre, and nothing in her but the Ruſſes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there ſtayed. Preſently vpon the comming of the Pauoſes to the ſhip they vſed as much ſpeed as might be, to get the goods out of the ſhippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in alſo of the ſhippes ordinance, furniture and prouiſion, as much as they could.

Ice the 13 of Nouember in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was ſent away in a ſmall boat towards Aſtracan, to prouide victuals and cariages to relieue and helpe them, who could paſſe no further then the foure Iſlands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boat, and from thence paſſed poſte to Aſtracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The ſame day they departed alſo in thoſe lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ſhip at ancre, and in her two Ruſſes, which with three more that went in the Pauoſes, to prouide victuals for themſelues and the reſt, & therewith promiſed to returne backe to the ſhip with all ſpeed, had offered to vndertake for twenty rubbles in money to cary the ſhip into ſome harborow, where ſhe might ſafely winter, or els to keepe her where ſhe rode all winter, which was promiſed to be giuen them if they did it: and the ſame day when with thoſe lighters they had gotten ſight of the foure Iſlands being about eight verſts Southweſt from them, the winde then at Northeaſt, did freeſe the ſea ſo as they could not row, guide, ſtirre or remoue the ſaid lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And ſo they continued driuing with the yce, Southeaſt into the ſea by the ſpace of forty houres, and then being the ſixteenth day the yce ſtood. Whiles they droue with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and ſea did breake, pieces of it were toſſed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the ſame happened at ſometimes ſo neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter deſtruction: but God who had preſerued them from many perils before, did alſo ſaue and deliuer them then.

The 16 day.

Within three or foure dayes after the firſt ſtanding of the yce, when it was firme and ſtrong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw ſilke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the ſame with ſuch prouiſions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to go to the ſhore: and thereupon brake vp their Cheſts and Corobias, wherewith, and with ſuch other things as they could get, they made ſleddes for euery of them to draw vpon the yce, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and ſuch victuals as they had, and ſuch other things as they might conueniently cary, and ſo they departed from the ſayd goods and Pauoſes very early about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the ſame day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had ſight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Iſlands ſo called) vnto the ſame they directed themſelues, and there remained that night.

Trauaile vpon the yce.

Chetera Babbas.

The goods and Pauoſes which they left on the yce they iudged to be from thoſe Chetera Babbas about 20 verſts.

And the next morning departed thence Eaſtwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Iſlands before ſpoken of) before noone (the diſtance betweene thoſe places is about 15 verſts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Aſtracan: the next morning very early they loſt their way through the perſwaſion of the Ruſſes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudſon) whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had bene trauailed, which croſt backwards towards the ſea: that way they tooke, and following the ſame, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the Craſnoyare (that is to ſay in the Engliſh tongue) Red cliffe, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, hauing nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Ruſſes that were left in the ſhip to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforeſaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Aſtracan, about fiue miles before they came to the ſayd Craſnoyare, who certified them that the ſhip was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard ſcaping with their liues.

The Engliſh ſhip cut in pieces with yce.

In the morning they departed early from Craſnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about 9 of the clocke before noone, being within 10 verſts of the Vchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and alſo 65 horſes with ſo many Caſſacks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought prouiſion of victuals, ⁊c. and were ſent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Aſtracan. The meeting of that company was much ioy vnto them.

December.

The Factors ſent backe with Amos Riall and the ſayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudſon the Maſter, Tobias Paris his Mate, and ſo they the ſayd Factors and their company marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreſhed themſelues that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Aſtracan, where they arriued the laſt day of Nouember. Theſe that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauailed the ſame day vntill they came within 10 verſts of the Chetera Babbas, where they reſted that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they ſtayed all night; but preſently departed thence Thomas Hudſon with the Carpenter and gunner to ſeeke where the goods lay: who found the ſame, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared vnto them in what ſort they had found the ſayd goods.

Their returne to Aſtracan.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the ſaid goods, and the ſame day did lade all the goods they could find vpon the ſaid ſleds, and with all conuenient ſpeed returned backe towards Aſtracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they reſted the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were aſſaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horſemen, which came ſhowting and hallowing with a great noiſe, but our people were ſo inuironed with the ſleds, that they durſt not enter vpon them, but ranne vp, and ſhot their arrowes amongſt them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Ruſſe, and ſo departed preſently. Yet when it was day, they ſhewed themſelues a good diſtance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not aſſault them any more. The ſame day our men with thoſe cariages, departed from thence towards Aſtracan, where they arriued in ſafety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue eſcaped ſo many hard euents, troubles and miſeries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cauſe therefore to praiſe the Almighty, who had ſo mercifully preſerued and deliuered them. They remained the Winter at Aſtracan, where they found great fauour and friendſhip of the duke, captaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

The breaking vp of the yce.

Morgan Hubblethorne dier ſent into Perſia.

May.

In the ſpring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken vp, and cleare gone before Aſtracan, and the ninth of Aprill, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Chriſtopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouſe gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Tho. Hudſon, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the ſurgean, Rob. Golding, Ioh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing alſo 40 Ruſſes, whereof 36 were Caſſacks to row, the reſt merchants paſſengers, departed from Aſtracan with the ſayd Stroog and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraſlaue. They left behinde them at Aſtracan, with the Engliſh goods ⁊ merchandiſe there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to ſell ⁊ barter the ſame, or ſo much thereof as they could to the Tiſiks, if there came any thither that ſpring, and to others as they might, ⁊ the reſt with ſuch as they ſhould take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraſlaue that Summer, when the Emperors carriage ſhould paſſe vp the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Perauolok, but made no ſtay at that place: for they had beene much troubled with yce in their comming from Aſtracan. The 3 of May about noone they came to Oueak, and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 17 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a ſmall boat, and went before towards Tetuſha to prouide victuals, and ſend downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 verſts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull ſent from Tetuſha, and the ſame day they arriued with their Stroog at Tetuſha, where they ſtayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the ſmall boat before to Cazan, to prouide neceſſaries from thence, and to make way for their diſpatch. The 26 day they arriued with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of Iune: the Factors ſent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Moſco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of Iune they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arriued at Yeraſlaue the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning.

The 23 day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day hauing the goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the ſame towards Vologda, and remained there fiue verſts from Yeraſlaue.

The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in ſafety, and good order. The ſame 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda poſt by water towards Colmogro, the third of July, hauing their goods laden in a ſmall doſhnik, they departed with the ſame from Vologda towards Roſe Iſland by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in ſafety the 16 of July, and found there the Agents of Ruſſia, and in the rode the ſhips ſent out of England, almoſt laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ſhip Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Suſan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudſon, and others. The goods returned of the Perſia voyage were laden into the ſhip, William and Iohn, whereof was Maſter, William Bigat, and in her with the ſame goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of Auguſt, the ſame ſhip being laden and diſpatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies fraighted ſhips, called the Tomaſin, whereof was M. Chriſtopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had ſome foule weather, and were ſeparated at the ſea, the William and Iohn put into Newcaſtle the 24 of September: from whence the ſayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arriuall of the ſhip.

The 25 of September both the ſayd ſhips arriued at the port of London in ſafety, and ankered before Limehouſe and Wapping, where they were diſcharged, 1581.

Obſeruations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of diuers places in Ruſſia, from the North to the South: *Anno* 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obſerued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minutes, The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minutes.	
The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro.	The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro, in latitude, 64.d.25.m. The meridian altitude there obſerued, the 29 of July, 42.d.15.m.	
Recola.	Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41.d.40.m. Declination, 16.d.6.m.	64.d.20.m.
Yeegris.	Meridian, 4 of Auguſt, 41.d.50.m. Declination Northerly, 14.d.49.m.	62.d.59.m.
Towlma.	Meridian altitude, the 15 of Auguſt, 40.d.45.m. Declination Northerly, 11.d.2.m.	60.d.17.m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, the 20 of Auguſt, 40.d. Declination Northerly, 9.d.17.m.	59.d.17.m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, 21 of Auguſt, 39.d.36.m. Declination, 8.d.56.m.	59.d.20.m.
Yereſlaue.	Latitude by geſſe, 57.d.50.m.	
Swyoskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31.d. Declination, 2.d.56.m.	56.d.4.m.
Ouſlona Monaſtery.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30.d.26.m. Declination, 2.d.56.m.	55.d.51.m.
Tetuskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28.d.28.m. Declination, 5.d.35.m.	55.d.22.m.
Oueek.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30.d.12.m. Declination, 8.d.18.m.	51.d.30.m.
Aſtracan.	Aſtracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29.d.36.m. Declination, 14.d.16.m.	46.d.10.m.
Aſtracan.	Meridian altitude, 1 of Nouember, 26.d.35.m. Declination, 17.d.26.m.	46.d.9.m.

Certaine directions giuen by M. *Richard Hackluit* of the *Middle Temple*, to M. *Morgan Hubblethorne*, Dier, ſent into *Perſia*, 1579.

1 For that England hath the beſt wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therfore it is much to be wiſhed, that the dying of forren countreyes were ſeene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greateſt excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the ſetting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cauſe moſt principally you are ſent ouer at the charge of the city: and therfore for the ſatiſfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, ſixth and ſeuenth part riſeth by the colour and dying: and therfore to deuiſe to die as good colours with the one halfe of the preſent price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by ſauing of great treaſure in time to come. And therefore you muſt haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you ſhall paſſe thorow, that may be vſed in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els ſoeuer.

3 In Perſia you ſhall finde carpets of courſe thrummed wooll, the beſt of the world, and excellently coloured: thoſe cities & townes you muſt repaire to, and you muſt vſe meanes to learne all the order of the dying of thoſe thrummes, which are ſo died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger can ſtaine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you ſhall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Perſia they haue great colouring of ſilks, it behooues you to learne that alſo, for that cloth dying & ſilke dying haue a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw ſilke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requiſit you learne the ſame.

5 In Perſia there are that ſtaine linnen cloth: it is not amiſſe you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof ſome excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now loſt, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Perſia to make in buſkins of Spaniſh leather flowers of many kindes, in moſt liuely colours, and theſe the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the Eaſt parts of the world, be to be found in Perſia, acquaint yourſelfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You ſhall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by ſeed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to endeuour to enrich your countrey with the ſame: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may ſend the ſame dry into England, for poſſibly it groweth there already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and ſubſtances that they die withall in Ruſſia, and alſo in Perſia, that your company may ſee all.

10 In ſome litle pot in your lodging, I wiſh you to make daily trials in your arte, as you ſhall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatſoeuer you ſhall learne from day to day, leſt you ſhould forget, or leſt God ſhould call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wiſh you to ſend in writing whatſoeuer you haue learned, or at the leaſt keepe the ſame ſafe in your coffer, that come death or life your countrey may enioy the thing that you goe for, and not loſe the charge, and trauell beſtowed in this caſe.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make ſure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: ſo ſhall we not need to buy woad ſo deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wiſe ſet downe in writing a true note from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to ſuch a city, or to ſuch a ſea, or to ſuch a portable riuer in Ruſſia, Perſia, or elſewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a ſingular good workeman in the arte of Turkiſh carpet making, you ſhould bring the arte into this Realme, and alſo thereby increaſe worke to your company.

Commiſsion giuen by ſir *Rowland Hayward* knight, and *George Barne*, Aldermen and gouernours of the company of Engliſh Merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, vnto *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, for a voyage by them to be made, for diſcouery of *Cathay*, 1580. in forme following.

IN the Name of God Almightie, and euerlaſting, Amen. This writing for commiſsion Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene ſir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and gouernours of the company of Engliſh Merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the ſaid company, on the firſt partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the ſecond partie, and Charles Iackman of Popler, in the ſaid Countie of Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the riuer of Thames againſt Limehouſe) on the third partie: witneſſeth, that the ſaid Gouernours, and company haue hired the ſaide Arthur Pet, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewiſe the ſaid Charles Iackman, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the William, with fiue men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for ſearch and diſcoueries of a paſſage by ſea from hence by Boroughs ſtreights, and the Iſland Vaigats, Eaſtwards, to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the ſame vnto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinſay, or to either of them.

Burroughs ſtreits.

The which paſſage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reaſon) is conceiued to bee from the Vaigats Eaſtwards, according to the deſcription in plat of ſpirall lines, made by maſter William Burrough, whereof either of the ſaide Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them, and alſo one other ſailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it ſhould not be in all points, according to that deſcription, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Aſia doth not ſtretch it ſelfe ſo farre Northwards, but that there may be found a ſea paſſeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with theſe two barkes to make triall of the ſame: wiſhing you both to ioyne in friendſhip together, as moſt deere friends and brothers, to all purpoſes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the ſame voyage. And likewiſe order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue ſuch loue and care, to helpe and ſuccour them of the other, as moſt deere friends and brothers would doe: ſo as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is ſo appointed for your greater comfort and aſſurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bend your ſelues to the vttermoſt of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obſerue good order in your dayly ſeruice, and pray vnto God, ſo ſhall you proſper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, conſult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may beſt performe this purpoſed voyage, according to our intents. And at ſuch meeting we thinke it requiſite, that you call vnto you your mates, and alſo Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you ſhall buy or ſell, barter or change) to the ende that whatſoeuer God ſhould diſpoſe of either of you, yet they may haue ſome inſtructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your aſſemblies and conſultations together, and the ſubſtance of matter you ſhal at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that wee giue you for that purpoſe, vnto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wiſh may be ſuch, as you ſhould neuer loſe ſight the one of the other, except by both your conſents, to diſcouer about an Iſland, or in ſome riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, wee referre the ſame to your diſcretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good winde and weather, that God ſhall ſend thereunto meete and conuenient, after the 22. day of this preſent moneth of May, ſaile from this riuer of Thames, to the coaſt of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouſe, and from thence direct your courſe to haue ſight of Willoughbies land, and from it paſſe alongſt to the Noua Zemla, keeping the ſame landes alwayes in your ſight on your larboordſides (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may diſcouer, whether the ſame Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Noua Zembla, or not: notwithſtanding we would not haue you to entangle your ſelues in any Bay, or otherwiſe, ſo that it might hinder your ſpeedy proceeding to the Iſland Vaigats.

The land of Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get ſight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer againſt the South part of the ſame Iſland, and from thence with Gods permiſſion, to paſſe Eaſtwards alongſt the ſame coaſt, keeping it alwayes in your ſight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, paſſe ouer the ſaid riuers mouth vnto the border of land, on the Eaſtſide of the ſame (without any ſtay to bee made for ſearching inwardly in the ſame riuer) and being in ſight of the ſame Eaſterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongſt by it, from thence Eaſtwards, keeping the ſame alwayes on your ſtarboordſide in ſight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

The Queenes letters.

And if God proſper your voyage with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that you may attaine to the ſame, doe you ſeeke by all meanes you can to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinſay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conueniently come to either of thoſe places, or ſhalbe driuen to remaine & winter in ſome other port or place of his dominion, do you ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatſoeuer, but therein to be innocent as doues, yet wiſie as ſerpents, to auoid miſchiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you ſhall haue gotten friendſhip through your diſcreete ordering of your ſelues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and ſhewe them one of the Queenes Maieſties letters, which ſhe ſendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one ſubſtance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maieſtie hath ſubſcribed, and cauſed her ſignet ſeale to be ſet, the effect of the ſame letters you haue alſo written in Engliſh, for your owne vnderſtanding thereof.

The ſame her Maieſties letters you ſhall procure to deliuer vnto the ſame mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with ſome preſent to be giuen, ſuch as you ſhall thinke meete and conuenient, vſing your ſelues in all points according to the effect of the ſame letters, and procure againe from the ſame Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God ſo proſper your voyage, that you may this Summer paſſe the Streights, and compaſſe about the Northermoſt land of Aſia, vnto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge againſt the next yeeres ſpring, you may then after your firſt ſetting foorth, ſearch and diſcouer ſomewhat further then you had diſcouered before your wintering, ſo farre as you ſhall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwayes prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduiſe of your proceedings the ſame Summer, or before the ſharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this ſummer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to ſtretch it ſelfe Eaſterly, with the ſea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceed on your diſcouery (as before ſaid) alongſt the ſame continent, ſo farre as you can this ſummer, hauing care in the trauel to finde out ſome conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your ſelfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you ſhall deale with them, as we haue before aduiſed you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour, do you procure to deliuer vnto the ſame Prince or gouernour one of the Queenes Maieſties letters, as before ſaid, and ſeeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you ſo happen to winter & obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee ſuch, that by vſing trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial vnto vs (as we hope you may) the ſame wil be ſome good liking vnto vs: notwithſtanding we would haue you the next ſummer (by the grace of God) at your firſt ſetting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongeſt that tract of land to Cathay, if you ſee likelihood to paſſe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly deſire to diſcouer) and ſeeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and vpwards, which you may very wel make to ſerue you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your diſcouery: which if you do, we doubt not, but you ſhall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, & deliuer to the prince there, one of her Maieſties letters, bringing from thence the ſame princes letters anſwerable: and ſo in the yeere of our Lord 1582, returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely vnto vs the aduenturers in this voyage, but alſo to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you may do, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Aſia, from beyond the riuer Ob, extende it ſelfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that ſmall or no hope may be looked for, to ſaile that way to Cathay, doe you notwithſtanding followe the tract of the ſame land, as farre as you can diſcouer this Summer, hauing care to finde out by the way a conuenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may diſcouer the ſame lande of Aſia this Summer to extend it ſelfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards or to 85. degrees) we wiſh then that the ſame your wintering place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the ſame riuer as you can, and finding in ſuch wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforeſaide, and if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour amongſt them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maieſties letters, and procure thereof an anſwere accordingly: do you procure to barter & exchange with the people, of the merchandiſe and commodities that you ſhall cary with you, for ſuch commodities as you ſhall finde them to haue, &c.

The Queenes letters.

If you ſo happen to winter, we would haue you the next Summer to diſcouer into the riuer Ob, ſo farre as conueniently you may: And if you ſhall finde the ſame riuer (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be alſo nauigable and pleaſant for you, to trauell farre into, happely you may come to the citie Siberia, or to ſome other towne or place habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the ſecond winter: vſe you therein your diſcretions.

The Citie of Siberia.

But if you finde the ſaid riuer Ob to be ſholde, or not ſuch as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, do you then the next ſummer returne backe through Boroughs ſtreights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the ſame ſtreights, doe you come alongſt the tract of that coaſt Weſtwards, keeping it on the ſtarbord ſide, and the ſame alwayes in ſight, if conueniently you may, vntill you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound you ſhall not happen to diſcouer and trie whether the ſaid Willoughbies land ioyne continent with the ſame Noua Zembla, or not. But if you ſhall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your courſe vnto the ſaid Willoughbies land, as you ſhall thinke good, and as you may moſt conueniently: and from Willoughbies land you ſhall proceed Weſtwards alongſt the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen ſo farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

Willoughbies land.

And for your orderly paſſing in this voyage, and making obſeruations in the ſame, we referre you to the inſtructions giuen by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the firſt part of this Indenture vnder our ſeale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the ſecond part of this Indenture, vnder our ſeale alſo, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with vs the ſaide companie, ſealed and ſubſcribed by you the ſaid Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

And to the obſeruing of all things contained in this Commiſſion (ſo neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the ſaid Arthur Pet doe couenant by theſe preſents to performe them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the ſaid Charles Iackman doe for my part likewiſe couenant by theſe preſents to performe the ſame, and euery part thereof, ſo neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof theſe Indentures were ſealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere firſt aboue written. Thus the Lorde God Almightie ſende you a proſperous voyage, with happie ſucceſſe and ſafe returne, Amen.

Inſtructions and notes very neceſſary and needfull to be obſerued in the purpoſed voyage for diſcouery of *Cathay* Eaſtwards, by *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*: giuen by *M. William Burrough*. 1580.

WHen you come to Orfordneſſe, if the winde doe ſerue you to goe a ſeabord the ſands, doe you ſet off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being againſt the ſaide Neſſe, turning then your glaſſe, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint ſuch courſe as you ſhal thinke good, according as the wind ſerueth you: and frō that time forwards continually (if your ſhip be loſe, vnder ſaile, a hull or trie) do you at the end of euery 4. glaſſes at the leaſt (except calme) ſound with your dipſin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and alſo the ground. But if it happen by ſwiftnes of the ſhippes way, or otherwiſe, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obſerued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coaſt, or doe finde any ſholde banke in the ſea, you are then to vſe your leade oftener, as you ſhal thinke it requiſite,

ſite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and ſholding. And ſo likewiſe do you note the depthes into harboroughs, riuers, &c.

How to note downe in his Iournall of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other obſeruations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very neceſſary that you doe note at the ende of euery foure glaſſes, what way the ſhippe hath made (by your beſt proofes to be vſed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, conſidering withall for the ſagge of the ſea, to leewards, accordingly as you ſhall finde it growen: and alſo to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with alſo the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force or ſtrength it is, and what ſailes you beare.

But if you ſhould omit to note thoſe things at the end of euery foure glaſſes, I would not haue you to let it ſlip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of euery watch, or eight glaſſes at the fartheſt.

Doe you diligently obſerue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may poſſible, and alſo the variation of the Compaſſe (eſpecially when you may bee at ſhoare vpon any land) noting the ſame obſeruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the ſame.

For noting the ſhape and view of the land at firſt diſcouery, &c.

When you come to haue ſight of any coaſt or land whatſoeuer, doe you preſently ſet the ſame with your ſailing Compaſſe, howe it beares off you, noting your iudgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing alſo the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently how the higheſt or notableſt part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames alſo in ſight of the ſame land at both ends, diſtinguiſhing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue ſailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glaſſes (at the moſt) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and vpon what point of the Compaſſe, do you againe ſet that firſt land ſeene, or the parts thereof, that you firſt obſerued, if you can well perceiue or diſcerne them, and likewiſe ſuch other notable points or ſignes, vpon the land that you may then ſee, and could not perceiue at the firſt time, diſtinguiſhing it alſo by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the ſhape of the ſame land, as it appeareth vnto you, and ſo the third time, &c.

And alſo in paſſing alongſt by any and euery coaſt, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of euery Bay, and entrance of euery harborow or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleaſure) and make ſome marke in drawing the forme and border of the ſame, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether ſande, hils, or woods, or whatſoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be ſenſible and apparant to you, which may ſerue to any good purpoſe. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obſeruations in your booke, as aforeſaid, and afterwards make demonſtration thereof in your plat, you ſhall thereby perceiue howe farre the land you firſt ſawe, or the parts thereof obſerued, was then from you, and conſequently of all the reſt: and alſo how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what courſe or point of the Compaſſe the one lieth from the other.

For obſeruing of tides and currants.

And when you come vpon any coaſt where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the higheſt and loweſt water in euery place, and the ſlake or ſtill water of full ſea, and lowe water, and alſo which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe ſet, how much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to driue a ſhip in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coaſt the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you alſo note the ſame duely, how it ſetteth in euery place, and obſerue what force it hath to driue a ſhip in one houre, &c.

To take the platformes of places within compaſſe of view vpon land.

Item, as often and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obſeruation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you alſo (if you may) with your inſtrument, for trying of diſtances, obſerue the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently ſee from time to time. Theſe orders if you diligently obſerue, you may thereby perfectly ſet downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell, and deſcription of your diſcouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderſtand or perceiue of the maner of the ſoile, or fruitfulneſſe of euery place and countrey you ſhall come in, and of the maner, ſhape, attire and diſpoſition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they moſt couet and deſire of the commodities you cary with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto ſuch people as you ſhall happen to ſee, and to offer them all courteſie and friendſhip you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towardes you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you ſhould be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to reuenge the ſame lightly, but by all meanes poſſible ſeeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wiſely and with ſuch circumſpection that you keepe your ſelues out of their dangers.

Thus I beſeech God Almightie to bleſſe you, and proſper your voyage with good and happie ſucceſſe, and ſend you ſafely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey, Amen.

Certaine briefe aduiſes giuen by *Maſter Dee*, to *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, to bee obſerued in their Northeaſterne diſcouerie, Anno 1580.

If we recken from Wardhouſe to Colgoieue Iſland 400. miles for almoſt 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere Eaſt and Weſt, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoieue to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude alſo: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole courſe, or ſhorteſt diſtance being Eaſt and Weſt) in the latitude likewiſe of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is ſumma totalis from Wardhouſe to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. Engliſh miles. Therefore allowing in a diſcouery voiage for one day with another but 50. Engliſh miles, it is euident that from Wardhouſe to Tabin, the courſe may bee ſailed eaſily in ſixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finiſhed in much ſhorter time, both by helpe of winde proſperous, and light continuall for the time requiſit thereunto.

When you are paſt Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart ſheweth, or two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Eaſterly, it is probable you ſhall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eaſtward, in which courſe you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes, or ſome other, which yet I coniecture to paſſe by the renowmed Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it ſelfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the ſaide riuers mouth, or els that you ſhall trend about the very Northerne and moſt Eaſterly point of all Aſia, paſſing by the prouince Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping ſtill the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with ſafetie) you may enter into Quinſay hauen, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for diſtinctions ſake, from the other better knowen.

M. Dee gaue them a Chart of his owne making, which here he referrs them vnto.

And in or about either or both of theſe two warme places, you may to great good purpoſe bee occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in thoſe quarters, as ſometime by ſea, ſometime in notable freſh riuers, ſometime in diſcreet view and noting downe the ſituation of the Cities within land, &c. and euer aſſaying to come by ſome charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by ſome of their bookes likewiſe for language, &c. You may alſo haue opportunitie to ſaile ouer to Iapan Iſland, where you ſhall finde Chriſtian men, Ieſuits of many countreys of Chriſtendome ſome, and perhaps ſome Engliſhmen, at whoſe handes you may haue great inſtruction and aduiſe for you affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, beſides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton* in the Countie of *Hereford*, Eſquire, Anno 1580: to *M. Arthur Pet*, and to *M. Charles Iackman*, ſent by the Merchants of the *Moſcouie* companie for the diſcouery of the Northeaſt ſtraight, not altogether vnfit for ſome other enterpriſes of diſcouery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What reſpect of Iſlands is to be had, and why.

Whereas the Portingals haue in their courſe to their Indies in the Southeaſt, certaine ports and fortifications to thruſt into by the way, to diuers great purpoſes: ſo you are to ſee what Iſlands, and what ports you had neede to haue by the way in your courſe to the Northeaſt. For which cauſe I wiſh you to enter into conſideration of the matter, and to note all the Iſlands, and to ſet them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to ſay, That we may deuiſe to take the benefit by them, And alſo foreſee how by them the Sauages or ciuill Princes may in any ſort annoy vs in our purpoſed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpoſe in this voyage to go, be no Chriſtians, it were good that the maſſe of our commodities were alwayes in our owne diſpoſition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did ſeeke out ſome ſmall Iſland in the Scithian ſea, where we might plant, fortifie, and ſtaple ſafely, from whence (as time ſhould ſerue) wee might feed thoſe heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole maſſe in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Iſland (if neede were, and if wee ſhould thinke ſo good) wee might allure the Northeaſt nauie, the nauie of Cambalu to reſort with their commodities to vs there planted, and ſtapling there.

And if ſuch an Iſland might be found ſo ſtanding as might ſhorten our courſe, and ſo ſtanding, as that the nauie of Cambalu, or other thoſe parties might conueniently ſaile vnto without their diſlike in reſpect of diſtance, then would it fal out well. For ſo, beſides leſſe danger and more ſafetie, our ſhips might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the ſelfe ſame ſummer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if ſuch an Iſland may be for the ſtapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not ſaile, yet we might, hauing ſhips there, imploy them in paſſing betweene Cambalu and that ſtapling place.

Reſpect of hauens and harborowes.

AND if no ſuch Iſlands may bee found in the Scithian ſea toward the firme of Aſia, then are you to ſearch out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the firſt yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in ſhort time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and ſet ſaile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the ſummer following, you may the ſooner be in England for the more ſpeedy vent of your Eaſt commodities, and for the ſpeedier diſcharge of your Mariners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one ſelfe ſame Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the Eaſt out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the ſoyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you ſhall ſpecially note what plentie of whales, and of other fiſh is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fiſhing or Iſland fiſhing, or our whalefiſhing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeaſt to the coaſts of Aſia.

A good conſideration.

Reſpect of fiſh and certaine other things.

AND if the aire may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the ſoile yeelding wood, water, land and graſſe, and the ſeas fiſh, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Braſill, and ſo they may in our fiſhing in our paſſage, and diuers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld maſts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Nauie, as plentifully as Eaſtland doth.

The Iſlands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Iſlands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what ſoile, woody or not woody, with ſprings and riuers or not, and what wilde beaſtes they haue in the ſame.

And whether there ſeeme to be in the ſame apt matter to build withall, as ſtone free or rough, and ſtone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the ſame withall.

To note the goodneſſe or the badneſſe of the hauens and harborowes in the Iſlands.

If a ſtraight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

AND if there be a ſtraight in the paſſage into the Scithian ſeas, the ſame is ſpecially and with great regard to be noted, eſpecially if the ſame ſtraight be narrow and to be kept. I ſay it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince ſoeuer ſhall be Lorde of the ſame, and ſhall poſſeſſe the ſame, as the king of Denmarke doeth poſſeſſe the ſtraight of Denmarke, he onely ſhall haue the trade out of theſe regions into the Northeaſt parts of the world for himſelfe, and for his priuate profit, or for his ſubiects onely, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the ſame, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his ſtraightes, by ſuffring the merchants of other Princes to paſſe that way. If any ſuch ſtraight be found, the eleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the ſtraightes, and all other ſuch circumſtances are to be ſet downe for many purpoſes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be ſworne to keepe cloſe all ſuch things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the ſame, after our returne vpon the diſcloſing of the Mariners, if any ſuch thing ſhould hap.

Which way the Sauage may bee madeable to purchaſe our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Iland or maine land populous, and that the ſame people hath need of cloth, then are you to deuiſe what commodities they haue to purchaſe the ſame withall.

If they be poore, then are you to conſider of the ſoile, and how by any poſſibilitie the ſame may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue ſomething to purchaſe the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and ſhall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, maſtes, deale-boord, clapboord, or for building of ſhips or houſes, for ſo, if the people haue no vſe of them, they may be brought perhaps to vſe.

Not to venture the loſſe of any one man.

You muſt haue great care to preſerue your people, ſince your number is ſo ſmall, and not to venture any one man in any wiſe.

To bring home beſides merchandize certaine trifles.

Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other ciuil place, one or other yong man, although you leaue one for him.

Alſo the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themſelues dure, drie them and ſo preſerue them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the ſtones of ſuch ſtonefruits as you ſhall find there.

Alſo the ſeeds of all ſtrange herbs & flowers, for ſuch ſeeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and ſo far off, will delight the fanſie of many for the ſtrangeneſſe, and for that the ſame may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinſay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for ſo ſhall you haue the perfect deſcription, which is to great purpoſe.

To bring thence ſome old printed bookes, to ſee whether they haue had print there before it was deuiſed in Europe as ſome write.

To note their force by ſea and by land.

If you arriue in Cambalu or Quinſay, to take a ſpeciall view of their Nauie, and to note the force, greatneſſe, maner of building of them, the ſailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Alſo, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordinance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and ſhot.

To note what armour they haue.

What ſwords.

What pikes, halberds and bils.

What horſes of force, and what light horſes they haue.

And ſo throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by ſea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

To take ſpeciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houſes within.

Take a ſpeciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the ſubſtance that the ſame is made of, of which a Merchant may make a geſſe as well of their commoditie, as alſo of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouſes, and with what commodities they abound, the price alſo.

To ſee their Shambles, and to view all ſuch things as are brought into the Markets, for ſo you ſhall ſoone ſee the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and ſo giue a geſſe of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or ſcarſitie of fiſh they haue.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or leſſe is to bee caried for a ſhew of our commodities to be made.

Karſies of all orient colours, ſpecially of ſtamell, broadcloth of orient colours alſo.

Frizadoes, Motlies, Briſtow friezes, Spaniſh blankets, Baies of al colours, ſpecially with Stamel, Worſteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanels, Raſh, &c.

Feltes of diuers colours.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Leuant taffeta of diuers colours, for the night.

Knit ſtocks of ſilke of orient colours.

Knit ſtocks of Jerzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude ſhould be ſet in worke.

Stocks of karſie of diuers colours for men and for women.

Garters of ſilke of ſeuerall kinds, and of colours diuers.

Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, ſpecially waſte girdles, waſte girdles of veluet.

Gloues of all ſorts knit, and of leather.

Gloues perfumed.

Points of all ſorts of ſilke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.

Shooes of Spaniſh leather of diuers colours, of diuers length, cut and vncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Veluet ſhooes and pantophles.

Theſe ſhooes and pantophles to be ſent this time, rather for a ſhew then for any other cauſe.

Purſes knit, and of leather.

Nightcaps knit, and other.

A garniſh of pewter for a ſhew of a vent of that Engliſh commoditie, bottles, flagons, ſpoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glaſſes of Engliſh making.

Venice glaſſes.

Looking glaſſes for women, great and faire.

Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.

Spectacles of the common ſort.

Others of Chriſtall trimmed with ſiluer, and otherwiſe.

Powder glaſſes. Combes of bone.

Combes of Iuorie. Combes of horne.

Linnen of diuers ſorts.

Handkerchiefs with ſilke of ſeuerall colours wrought.

Glazen eyes to ride with againſt duſt.

Kniues in ſheaths both ſingle and double, of good edge.

Needles great and ſmall of euery kind.

Buttons greater and ſmaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and ſuch as be durable of double ſilke, and that of ſundry colours.

Boxes with weights for gold, and of euery kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to ſhew that the people here vſe weight and meaſure, which is a certaine ſhew of wiſedom, and of certaine gouernment ſetled here.

All the ſeuerall ſiluer coynes of our Engliſh monies, to be caried with you to be ſhewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that ſhall in ſilence ſpeake to wiſe men more then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haſpes, &c. great and ſmall of excellent workemanſhip, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we ſhall ſet our ſubiects in worke, which you muſt haue in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people beſides the gaine of the merchant, then Chriſtchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hoſpitals of England.

For banketting on ſhipboord perſons of credite.

First, the ſweeteſt perfumes to ſet vnder hatches to make ẏ place ſweet againſt their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinſey, or in any ſuch great citie, & not among Sauages.

Marmelade. } { Figs barrelled.
Sucket. } { Raiſins of the ſunne.

Comfets of diuers kinds made of purpoſe by him that is moſt excellent, that ſhal not diſſolue.

Prunes damaske. } { Walnuts.
Dried peares. } { Almonds.

Smalnuts.

Oliues to make them taſte their wine.

The apple Iohn that dureth two yeeres to make ſhew of our fruits.

Hullocke. } { Sacke.

Vials of good ſweet waters, and caſting bottels of glaſſes to beſprinkle the gheſts withall, after their comming aboord.

Suger to vſe with their wine if they will.

The ſweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vinegar, and a fine kind of Biſket ſtieped in the ſame do make a banketing diſh, and a little Sugar caſt in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the ſpirits of man.

Cynamom water
Imperiall water } is to be had with you to make a ſhew of by taſte, and alſo to comfort your ſicke in the voyage.

With theſe and ſuch like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and beſt perſons.

Or with the gift of theſe Marmelades in ſmall boxes, or ſmall vials of ſweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England ſet out in faire colours, one of the biggeſt ſort I meane, to make ſhew of your countrey from whence you come.

And alſo the large Mappe of London to make ſhew of your Citie. And let the riuer be drawen full of Ships of all ſorts, to make the more ſhew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all theſe Regions, it were not amiſſe: and if need were, to preſent the ſame to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marueilous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and beſtowed in gift would be much eſteemed, as I perſwade my ſelfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and ſuch Bookes as make ſhew of herbes, plants, trees, fiſhes, foules and beaſts of theſe regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and alſo their merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in theſe partes ſo much differing from the things of thoſe regions, ſince they may not be here to ſee them, by meane of the diſtance, yet to ſee thoſe things in a ſhadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

Take with you the booke of Rates, to the ende you may pricke all thoſe commodities there ſpecified, that you ſhall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinſey, or in any part of the Eaſt, where you ſhall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in ſmall roume.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we haue plentie and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To ſeeke vent becauſe we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may haue of Saffron, becauſe this realme yeelds the beſt of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may ſet the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuiſes wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to ſeeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may ſpare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may ſet our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To ſee the vent for it may ſet our people in worke.

A note and Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to ſale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither veluet, taffeta, ſpice, or any ſuch commoditie that you your ſelfe deſire to lade your ſelfe home with, you muſt not ſell yours deare, leaſt hereafter you purchaſe theirs not ſo cheape as you would.

Seeds for ſale.

Carie with you for that purpoſe all ſorts of garden ſeeds, as well of ſweete ſtrawing herbs and of flowers, as alſo of pot herbes and all ſorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the firſt melting.

Lead of the ſecond melting of the ſlags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

Engliſh iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the ſale of the ſame.

Brimſtone.

To try the vent of the ſame, becauſe we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To ſee whether they haue any ample vſe there for it, for that we may lade whole nauies of it and haue no vſe of it vnleſſe it be for ſome ſmall portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumiſts vſe: of this you may haue two ſortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Iuniper to auoid the offence of Brimſtone.

To trie and make the better ſale of Brimſtone by ſhewing the vſe.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vſe of them.

A pot of caſt iron.

To try the ſale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be ſold there or to the leſſe ciuil people by the way where you ſhall touch.

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note ſpecially what excellent dying they vſe in theſe regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houſes: and to ſee their Die houſes and the Materials & Simples that they vſe about the ſame, and to bring muſters and ſhewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may ſerue this clothing realme to great purpoſe.

To take with you for your owne vſe.

All maner of engines to take fiſh and foule.

To take with you thoſe things that be in perfection of goodneſſe.

For as the goodneſſe now at the firſt may make your commodities in credite in time to come: ſo falſe and Sophiſticate commodities ſhall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter of *Gerardus Mercator*, written to M. *Richard Hakluyt* of Oxford, touching the intended diſcouerie of the Northeaſt paſſage, An. 1580.

Literæ tuæ (vir humaniſſime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditę fuerunt: vehementer dolui viſis illis tantam, non modo temporis, ſed multò magis tempeſtiuæ inſtructionis iacturam factam eſſe. Optaſſem *Arthurum Pet* de quibuſdam non leuibus ante ſuum diſceſſum præmonitum fuiſſe. Expeditiſſima ſanè per Orientem in Cathaium eſt nauigatio: & ſæpè miratus ſum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, deſertam fuiſſe, velis in Occidẽtem tranſlatis, poſtquam plus quàm dimidium itineris veſtri iam notum haberent. Nam poſt Inſulam Vaigats, & Noua Zembla continuò ingens ſequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuerſam Regionem Sericam perluentia, vtq; exiſtimo, in intima continentis vſq; magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam rationẽ exhibent quaſlibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæteriſque circumfuſis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temerè eam nauigationem intermiſſam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Ruſſorum & Moſcouiæ obſtaculum aliquod interiectum fuiſſe. Quod ſi verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, ſuaderem profectò nõ primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, ſed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in ijſq; portum aliquem commodiſſimum, ſtationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúſque periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari poſſet. Eſſe autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & alijs ſcriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin ſitum eſſe, certis Magnetis obſeruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos eſſe ſcopulos, difficilémq; & periculoſam nauigationem exiſtimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium acceſſum fore opinor, ea qua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis, quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum eſſe. Quia verò Magnes alium quàm Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte reſpicit; quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticũ magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior eſt illo Meridiano, qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis eſt hæc varietas, & quæ nauigantẽ plurimùm fallere poteſt, niſi hanc Magnetis inconſtantiam nôrit, & ad poli eleuationem per inſtrumenta ſubindę reſpiciat. In hac re ſi non ſit inſtructus D. Arthurus, aut ea ſit dexteritate, vt deprehenſo errore eum inuenire & caſtigare poſſit, timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & ſemiperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod ſi contingat: hoc quod conſultius mihi viſum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo ſinu, ijſq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat, & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine Sereniſſimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat: quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratiſſimam fore propter remotiſſima commercia. Opinor ab oſtijs Bautiſi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vſque ad Cambalu Regiam ſummam Chami, non vltra 300. milliaria Germanica eſſe, & iter ſumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quę 100. tantùm milliarijs Germanicis ab oſtijs diſtare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Ingens Sinus poſt Inſulam Vaigats & Nouam Zemblam.

Tabin promontorium ingens.

Quo propius ad polum acceditur, eò directorium Nauticum magis à Septentrione deuiat.

Bautiſus & Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc Sinum illabuntur.

Valde optarem cognoſcere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æſtus maris in eo Moſcouiæ portu, quem veſtri pro ſtatione habent, & in alijs verſus orientem locis vſque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc diſtrictu ſemper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an verò pro ratione æſtuum fluat, & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc eſt, an ibi ſex horis in occaſum, & iterum ſex in ortum fluat, an verò ſemper in eandem partem: aliæ enim ſpeculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobiſcero in occidentem obſeruari. Quod ad Sinum Meroſro, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis deſumpta ſunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quę à quodam ſacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritiſſimi Galli deſcriptione excerpta fuit, & illuſtriſſimo Principi Georgio ab Auſtria epiſcopo Leodienſi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantùm ad littorum ſitum attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter ſcalam graduum latitudinis per medium ſui extenſam, aliam præterea particularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occaſione erroris Magnetis ibi commiſſæ, caſtigarentur. Iacobi Cnoyen Buſcoducenſis itinerarium per omnem Aſiam, Affricam, & Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum communicauit, eo vſus ſum, & reddidi: poſt multos annos eundem ab amico repetij, & reminiſci ille non potuit à quo accepiſſet. Gulielmi Tripolitani & Ioannis de plano Carpini ſcripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quædam

Poſtulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

dam in alijs ſcriptis libris inueni. Abilfadæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis reſpondenda putaui: ſi quid eſt aliud quod à me deſideres, libentiſſimè tibi communicabo: hoc viciſſim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriuſq; nauigationis curſu obſeruata nanciſci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perſcribam, ſi forte ad pulcherrimum, vtiliſſimúmq; orbi Chriſtiano hoc nauigationis inſtitutum aliquid opis & conſilij adferre poſſint. Bene vale, vir doctiſſime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij 1580.

Dulce mare inter Nouam Zemblam & Tabin ſuſpicatur.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæſo diſcas ab illo quę optaui, & num alicubi in ſuo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum ſalſum inuenerit: ſuſpicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce eſſe.

T. H. paratiſſimus quantus quantus ſum,

Gerardus Mercator.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A great gulfe is beyond Vaigats, whereinto mighty riuers deſcend.

The beſt courſe to be taken in diſcoueries.

Sir, I receiued your letters the 19. of Iune: it grieued me much that vpon the ſight of them the time being ſpent, I could not giue any conuenient inſtructions: I wiſh Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of ſome ſpeciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the Eaſt, is doutleſſe very eaſie and ſhort, and I haue oftentimes marueiled, that being ſo happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the courſe changed into the Weſt, after that more then halfe of your voiage was diſcouered. For beyond the Iſland of Vaigats and Noua Zembla, there foloweth preſently a great Baie, which on the left ſide is incloſed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great riuers, which paſſing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great veſſels into yͤ heart of the continent, may be an eaſie meanes whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and tranſport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But conſidering with my ſelfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occaſion, I thought that the Emperor of Ruſſia and Moſcouie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If ſo be that with his grace and fauour a further nauigation may be made, I would counſell them certainly not firſt to ſeeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to ſearch this baie and riuers aforeſayd, and in them to picke and chuſe out ſome conuenient port and harborough for the Engliſh merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and leſſe perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coaſt of Cathaio may bee diſcouered. And that there is ſuch a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perſwaded not onely out of Plinie, but alſo other writers, and ſome Maps (though ſomewhat rudely drawen:) and that the pole of the Loadſtone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certaine obſeruations of the Loadſtone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous ſailing: and yet a more hard and difficile paſſage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the Weſt, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadſtone, to the which I thinke it not ſafe to approch. And becauſe the Loadſtone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a reſpect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the Compaſſe doeth varie from the North, ſometimes to the Weſt, and ſometimes to the Eaſt, according as a man is to the Eaſtward or to the Weſtward of that Meridian, that paſſeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a ſtrange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnleſſe hee know the vnconſtancie and variation of the Compaſſe, and take the eleuation of the pole ſomtimes with his inſtruments. If maſter Arthur be not well prouided in this behalfe, or of ſuch dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the ſame, I feare leaſt in wandering vp and downe he loſe his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midſt of the enterpriſe. For that gulfe, as they ſay, is frozen euery yere very hard. Which if it be ſo, the beſt counſel I could giue for their beſt ſafetie, were to ſeeke ſome harborough in that baie, and thoſe riuers whereof I haue ſpoken, and by ſome Ambaſſador to make friendſhip and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes maieſtie, which I beleeue will be gratefull to the mightieſt Emperour in the world, yea moſt excellent for the length of the traffique, and great diſtance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty riuers Bautiſus and Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefeſt ſeat of the prince the Can, there are not paſt 300. Germane miles, and to paſſe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which ſeemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of the ſayd riuers, and is ſubiect to the great Can.

The mouthes of Bautiſus and Oechardus 300. leagues from Cambalu.

I would gladly know how high the ſea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moſcouia where your men do harborow, and in other Eaſterly places vnto Tabin. And alſo whether the ſea in this ſtraight do flow alwaies one way to the Eaſt or to the Weſt, or whether it do ebbe and flow accor-

Vpon the obſeruations of the tides depend great ſpeculations.

ding to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to ſay, whether it flow there ſixe houres into the Weſt, and as many backe againe to the Eaſt, for hereupon depend other ſpeculations of importance. I would wiſh M. Frobiſher to obſerue the ſame Weſtwards. Concerning the gulfe of Meroſro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine ſea card drawn by a certaine prieſt out of the deſcription of a Frenchman, a Pilot very ſkilfull in thoſe partes, and preſented to the worthy prince George of Auſtria, biſhop of Liege: for the trending of the coaſt, and the eleuation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: for the Charte had, beſide a ſcale of degrees of latitude paſſing through the middeſt of it, another particularly annexed to the coaſt of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reaſon of the variation of the compaſſe might be corrected. The hiſtorie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buſchoducenſis throughout al Aſia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time paſt by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vſed it, I reſtored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini I neuer ſaw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilfada is tranſlated, I would we might haue it ſhortly.

Thus much Sir I thought good to anſwere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will moſt willingly communicate it with you, crauing this likewiſe of your curteſie, that whatſoeuer obſeruations of both theſe voyages ſhall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they ſhall all remaine with mee according to your diſcretion and pleaſure, and whatſoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully ſignifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this moſt excellent enterpriſe of nauigation, and moſt profitable to our chriſtian common wealth. Fare you well moſt learned friend. At Duisburg in Cliueland, 28. of Iulie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requeſted, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the ſea freſh, or not very ſalt: for I ſuppoſe the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be freſh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The diſcouerie made by M. *Arthur Pet*, and M. *Charles Iackman*, of the Northeaſt parts, beyond the Iſland of *Vaigatz*, with two Barkes: the one called the *George*, the other the *William*, in the yeere 1580.

Written by *Hugh Smith.*

May.

VPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eaſtward. The ebbe being ſpent we could not double the pole, and therefore were conſtrained to put in againe vntill the next day in the morning, being the laſt of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being Weſt ſouthweſt. The ſame day we paſſed Orfordneſſe at an Eaſt Sunne, and Stamford at a Weſt Sunne, and Yarmouth at a Weſt northweſt ſunne, and ſo to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

Iune.

The next day being the firſt of Iune, we ſet ſaile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and ſet our courſe North, the wind at the Southweſt, and at Southſouthweſt.

Kene an Iſland of Norway.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the ſound is called Boetel: the other headland is called Moile. There is alſo an Iſland called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be eleuated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote, not aboue.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeaſt: the ſame day at ſixe in the afternoone we ſet ſaile, and bare along the coaſt: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The North cape doubled.

The 22. day the wind being at Weſt, we did hall the coaſt Eaſt northeaſt, and Eaſt. The ſame day at 6. in the morning we did double the North cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee paſt Skites beare neſſe, and hald along the coaſt Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and all the ſame night wee halled Southeaſt, and Southeaſt by Eaſt.

Wardhouſe.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouſe, the wind at the Northweſt. The cauſe of our comming in was to ſeeke the William, whoſe companie wee loſt the 6. day of this moneth, and to ſend letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William alſo came into Wardhouſe to vs in good ſafetie, and all her company in good health.

The 24. the wind came to the Eaſt Northeaſt. This day the William was hald a ground, becauſe ſhe was ſomewhat leake, and to mend her ſteerage. This night about 12. of the clocke ſhe did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at Eaſt northeaſt.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouſe for London, Thomas Greene being maſter, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South ſoutheaſt, and the 28. alſo.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Weſt northweſt for the ſpace of one houre, and preſently to the Eaſt againe, and ſo was variable all the ſame night.

The 30. about ſixe in the morning, the winde came to Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and continued ſo all the ſame day.

Iuly. The firſt of Iuly about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at Northnorthweſt: and about 7. of the clocke we ſet ſaile from Wardhouſe Eaſt and by South.

The ſecond day about 5. in the morning, the wind was Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and we did lie to the ſhorewards. And about 10. in the morning the wind came to South ſoutheaſt, and we laid it to the Eaſtward: ſometime we lay Eaſt by South, ſometime Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and ſometimes Eaſt by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, becauſe we thought her to be out of trie, and ſailed very ill, where we might mend her ſteerage: whereupon maſter Pet not willing to go into harborough ſaid to maſter Iackman, that if he thought himſelfe not able to keepe the ſea, he ſhould doe as he thought beſt, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Veroue Oſtroue, or Vaigats, and ſo we ſet our courſe Eaſt northeaſt, the winde being at Southeaſt. Willoughbies land.

50. leagues from Kegor. The 3. day the winde at Southeaſt we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 46. minuts. The ſame night at 12. of the clocke we ſounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one ſide by our reckoning Eaſt northeaſt from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeaſt with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeaſt by Eaſt.

The 5. day the wind at Northweſt, we hald Eaſt and Eaſt by South: this day we ſaw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, ſo that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northweſt, we halde Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme; we with ſaile and oares laide it to the Northeaſt part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did ſee the head part of it, as we thought. Which dane, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not, as we found afterwards.

A ſight of perfect land. The ſeuenth day we met with more yce, at the Eaſt part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde ſome ende thereof by Eaſt northeaſt. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, ſo that we could not come neerer to it.

The ſame morning at ſixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde ſome way through it, wee continued in it all the ſame day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northweſt. Wee were conſtrained to goe many pointes of our compaſſe, but we went moſt an Eaſterly courſe.

The eight day the winde at North northweſt, we continued our courſe, and at fiue in the morning we ſounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we ſounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as before. At ſixe in the after noone we cleared our ſelues of the ice, and hald along Southeaſt by South: we ſounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom ſandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we ſounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a ſhadow of land to vs Eaſt Northeaſt, and ſo we ran with it the ſpace of 2. houres, and then perceiuing that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeaſt.

70. deg. 3. min. This day at 2. in the afternoone wee ſounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee ſounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze.

The tenth day the wind being at North northweſt, we haled Eaſt and by North, which courſe we ſet, becauſe at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did ſee land, and then wee ſounded hauing 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, ſo that wee durſt not beare with the land to make it, and ſo we kept an outwardly courſe. This day at 6. in the afternoone we eſpied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we ſounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we ſent our boat a land to ſound and proue the land. The ſame night we came with our ſhip within an Iſland, where we rode all the ſame night. The ſame night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water.

An Iſland.

The maine land.

The 11. day the wind came to the Eaſt ſoutheaſt: this day about a league from vs to the Eaſtwards, we ſaw a very faire ſound or riuer that paſt very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Iſland in the midſt.

The 12. of Iuly the wind was Eaſt Southeaſt. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare downe to the water ſide, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chaſed him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gote to land and eſcaped from vs, where we named the bay Bearebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we ſet ſaile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Weſterly, and with ſaile and oares we gate the ſea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

Bearebay.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared vp wee met with great ſtore of ice, which at the firſt ſhewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the more becauſe of the fog, which continued vntill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were ſo imbayed with ice, ẏ we were conſtrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodneſſe of God, otherwiſe it had bene impoſſible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by Weſt. The ſame day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coaſt Northweſt, thinking it to be an Iſland, but finding no end in rowing ſo long, we ſuppoſed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe vpon that boorde, ſo that we caſt about againe and lay Weſt along vnder the ice. About ſeuen in the afternoone we gote about the greateſt part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeaſt of vs, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

70. deg. 26. min.

The ſuppoſed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South ſouthweſt: wee caſt about and lay to the Eaſtwards: the winde did Weſter, ſo that wee lay South ſouthweſt with a ſlatne ſheete, and ſo we ranne all the ſame day. About 8. in the after noone we ſounded, and had 23. fadoms ſmall grey ſand. This night at twelue of the clocke we ſounded againe, and had 29. fadoms ſand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along Eaſt Southeaſt, where we found 18. fadoms red ſand, then we hald along Northeaſt. In theſe ſoundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, ſo that we coulde not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeaſt, ſo that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleare our ſelues of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Eaſt. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to bee eleuated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red ſand.

Many ouerfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by Weſt, at the depth aforeſaid, red ſand, being but ſhallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a ſhowre and thunder came to the Southweſt, and then wee ranne Eaſt Northeaſt. At 12. at night it came to the South and by Eaſt, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Iſlands. There are alſo ouerfals of water by tides. We went betweene the maine and the Iſland, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had ſight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeaſt, we hald Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and had 10. fadoms oze all the ſame day vntill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the ſame night.

They had ſight of Vaygatz.

The 19. day at two in the morning we ſet ſaile, and ran South and South ſouthweſt all the ſame day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was all the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found ſhallow water ſometime 4. fadoms, ſometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and ſent our boate away to ſound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz & the other ſide: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, hauing the wind Northweſt, ſo at twelue at night we ſet ſaile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northweſt, we hald along the coaſt North and North north weſt, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

An Iſland hauing ſtore of wood & water.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southweſt, wee bare along the coaſt of Vaygatz, as wee found it to lie North and by Weſt, and Northnorthweſt, and North. The winde blewe very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Iſland where wee founde great ſtore of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly ſounds. Vnder two points there was a croſſe ſet vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Vpon the ſaid croſſe Maſter Pet did graue his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewiſe vpon a ſtone at the foote of the croſſe, and ſo did I alſo, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had beene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northweſt, we ſet ſaile and turned out of the Bay. The ſame night the winde came to the Weſt, ſo that wee lay North along the land.

6. faire iſlands.

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southweſt, a Sea boord we ſawe a great number of faire Iſlands, to the number of ſixe: a ſea boord of theſe Iſlands, there are many great ouerfals, as great ſtreames or tides: we halde Northeaſt and Eaſt northeaſt as the lande did trend. At eight afore noone the winde came to the Southeaſt with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great ſtore of ice a ſea boorde: ſo we lay to the Southweſt to attaine to one of the Iſlands to harbour vs if the weather did ſo extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete ſo to doe, and not to towe her in ſuch weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the ſudden, and came vp to the Weſt Northweſt, and Northweſt by Weſt, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe ſo much winde, as we were not able to ſteere afore it, with corſe and bonnets of each, we hald South with the land, for ſo the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we ſailed vnder a great land of ice, we ſailed betweene the land and it, being not able to croſſe it. About twelue at night we found the ice to ſtretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eaſtward, ſo we laide it to the ſhore, and there we founde it cleare hard aboord the ſhore, and we found alſo a very faire Iſland which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

An Iſland to the Eaſt of Vaigatz 4. or 5. leagues.

This Iſland is to yͤ Eaſtwards of Vaigatz, 4. or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeaſt, and Southeaſt by Eaſt. It is a very faire coaſt, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you haue but ſhallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the ſhore, all this morning we halled Eaſt ſoutheaſt. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were conſtrained to put into the ice to ſeeke ſome way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue ſome cleare paſſage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had ſight of the William, and when wee ſawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, ſo that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we ſounded our trumpet and ſhot off two muſkets, and ſhe put out her flag vpon her foretopmaſte in token that ſhe did ſee vs: all this time wee did ſhorten our ſailes, and went with our foreſaile & mainetopſaile, ſeeking the beſt way through the broken ice, ſhe making alway the beſt that ſhe could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to anſwere her againe with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moared our ſhip to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

The William and the George meete againe.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her ſterne poſt broken, that the rudder did hang clean beſides the ſterne, ſo that ſhe could in no wiſe port her helme, with all hands ſhe did lighten her ſterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable vnder her ſterne, and without capſtaine did wind vp her ſterne, and ſo we made it as wel as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende wee brought her to ſteere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and ſo gaue his maieſtie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our reſt being made faſt vpon a piece of ice: the winde was at Weſt Northweſt, but wee were ſo incloſed with ice that we coulde not tell which way to paſſe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much againſt our willes, if it had pleaſed the Lord God otherwiſe.

The 26. day the wind was at Weſt Northweſt: we ſet ſaile to the Northwardes, to ſeeke if we could finde any way cleare to paſſe to the Eaſtward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, ſo that wee coulde goe no further. So about foure in the afternoone we were conſtrained to moare vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we ſailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chanell ouer. All the ſame day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in deſpaire. This day Maſter Iugman did ſee land Eaſt Northeaſt from vs, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges haue many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at Northweſt. This day at nine in the morning we ſet ſaile to ſeeke the ſhore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at ſeuen in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did ſnow with much wind, being at Weſt Northweſt, and at Northweſt, and by Weſt.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone maſter Pet and maſter Iackman did conferre together what was beſt to be done conſidering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to paſſe for ice, they did agree to ſeeke to the land againe, and ſo to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were poſſible: here were pieces of ice ſo great, that we could not ſee beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntil 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our ſhippes to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning.

Their returne.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southweſt, wee ſet ſaile at fiue in the morning to plie into the ſhore if it were poſſible, we made many turnes among the ice to ſmall purpoſe, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by miſfortune a piece of ice ſtroke of our greepe afore at two aforenoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our beſt. The William beeing incumbered with ice, and perceiuing that ſhee did litle good, tooke in all her ſailes, and made her ſelfe faſt to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone ſhe ſet ſaile to followe vs. We were afraide that ſhee had taken ſome hurt, but ſhe was well. At ſeuen afore noone we tooke in all our ſailes to tarie for the William, and made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of ice: the William before ſhe came to vs tooke in all her ſailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The currant runneth with the winde.

The 30. day the winde at Southeaſt, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we ſet ſaile, and ſooner would haue done if yͤ William had bene by vs, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as ſoone as we made ſaile, ſhe did the like. All this day wee did our beſt to ſeeke our way as the ice would giue vs leaue, ſometime we lay South, ſometime Weſt, and ſometime Eaſt, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ſhip faſt to a piece of ice, and went to ſupper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came vp to the Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South, but there came downe a ſhowre of raine with it, which continued the ſpace of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, ſo that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our reſt vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southweſt, we ſet ſaile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, ſo is the currant. We did our beſt vntill ten of the clocke, and then perceiuing that we did no good, and being incloſed with ice, wee made our ſhips faſt to a piece of ice: All this day the William lay ſtill, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our reſt all the ſame day.

In the afternoone we ſet ſaile, the winde being at South & by Eaſt, we lay to the Weſtwards, as Southweſt and Southweſt and by South, and ſometime to the Weſtward as wee might. Thus we continued vntil 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: ſo we with the William were conſtrained to make our ſhip faſt to a piece of ice al the ſame night. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

The firſt day of Auguſt was verie calme in the morning, the winde beeing at Weſt Northweſt. About twelue the winde came to the Weſt, and continued ſo all the ſame night with great fogge.

Auguſt.

The ſecond day the winde was at Southweſt all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were incloſed with ice, ſo that we were forced to lye ſtill. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At ſixe in the afternoone the winde was at Weſt with very much foule weather, and ſo continued all the ſame night.

The third day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt by North, and Weſt Northweſt, this day we lay ſtill incloſed with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leaſure, we continued with patience. And ſounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay ſtill incloſed with ice, the winde being at Weſt Northweſt, this ice did euery day increaſe vpon vs, yet putting our truſt in God, we hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

A whole land of yce.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeaſt: about 3. in the after noone we ſet ſayle, and preſently it became calme for the ſpace of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeaſt, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, & Weſt, as we might finde our way for the ſpace of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, ſo that we could go no further: here we mored our ſhip to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

The ſixt day hauing no opening of the yce wee lay ſtill, the winde being at Weſt, and Weſt by South: here we had ſixty three fathoms oze: all the ſame night the winde was at the Weſt Northweſt.

The 7. day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt and by North all day. And all this day we lay ſtill being incloſed with yce, that we could not ſtirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southweſt: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

70. degr. 4. min.

Froſt.

The appearing of the ſtarres, ſigne of Winter.

The 9. day the winde was at Northweſt, and by Weſt, all the afternoone we lay ſtill becauſe of the yce, which did ſtill incloſe vs. This day we found the pole eleuated ſeuenty degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the ſame: and we were in doubt that if it ſhould haue freezed ſo much the night following, we ſhould hardly haue paſſed out of it. This night there was one ſtar that appeared to vs.

Much ſnow.

The tenth day the winde was at Eaſt Northeaſt with a very ſmall gale. Wee with ſaile and oares made way through the yce: about fiue in the morning we ſet ſaile: ſometime wee lye Southweſt, and ſometime South, and ſometime Weſt, as wee might beſt finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to freſh: about ſixe in the afternoone the winde was at Northeaſt with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare ſaile all the ſame night, and it ſnowed very much.

The eleuenth day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impoſſible: but extremity doth cauſe men to doe much, and in the weakeneſſe of man Gods ſtrength moſt appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southweſt, we were forced to make our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, for we were incloſed with it, and taried the Lordes leaſure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeaſt not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the Weſt Southweſt: all the day was very darke with ſnowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we ſet ſaile the winde being at the North Northeaſt: all this night we bare away Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce ſomewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, wherupon we ſtood in good hope to get out of it.

Great ſtore of ſnowe.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeaſt, and Northeaſt and by Eaſt: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow againſt a piece of yce we brake the ſtocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had againſt the yce, that it was maruellous that the ſhip was able to abide them: the ſide of our boate was broken with our ſhip which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ſhip, and it periſhed the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with vs: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, ſo that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great ſtore of ſnowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, and let her driue with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our ſteerage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threeſcore and two fathoms. Thus wee lay a drift all the ſame night.

The 15. day we ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeaſt. At 9. aforenoon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were moſt glad, and not without great cauſe, and gaue God the praiſe. We had 19. fathoms water, and came in Southweſt all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we haled Weſt, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northweſt, for ſo the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had ſight of the land, which wee might haue had ſooner, but it was darke and foggie all the ſame day: for when wee had ſight of the lande, wee were not paſſing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole eleuated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coaſt in ten and nine fadoms, pepered ſand. It is a very goodly coaſt and a bolde, and faire ſoundings off it, without ſandes or rocks.

69 degrees 49 minutes.

The 16 day the winde was at Eaſt: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great ſhift with it: for we gotte betweene the ſhoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeaſt part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great ſtore of yce, ſo that we ſtood in doubt of paſſage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the ſhoare and it: about 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare vpon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by Weſt, and ſometime North and by Eaſt, for ſo doth the land trend.

They are thwart againſt Vaigats.

The 17 day in the morning we haled Weſt, for ſo doth the land lie. The wind was at Southeaſt, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the ſhoare we fell a ground, but God be praiſed without hurt, for wee came preſently off againe. The William came to an anker to ſtay for vs, and ſent ſome of their men to help vs, but before they came we were vnder ſaile, and as we came to the William we did ſtowe our boates, and made ſaile, we went within ſome of the Iſlands, and haled Weſtſouthweſt.

Sands.

The Iſlands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we ſet our courſe Southweſt and by South: ſo we ranne Southweſt vntill twelue at night, the wind came to the Northnortheaſt, and then we haled Weſt.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red ſand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Weſtnorthweſt. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the Eaſt, and Eaſt by South, we haled Weſt and by North all the ſame day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red ſand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eaſtnortheaſt: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fathoms red ſand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by Eaſt, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeaſt, and Northnortheaſt: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke we were vpon the ſuddaine in ſhoale water, among great ſands, and could find no way out. By ſounding and ſeeking about, we came aground, and ſo did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the ſhoare, and the ſame night it was calme: all night we did our beſt, but we could not haue her aflote. Theſe ſhoales doe lie off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high aboue 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeaſt, and Southweſt.

Shoales off Colgoyeue.

The 21 day the wind was at Southweſt, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ſhips as much as was poſſible for vs to doe, by reaſon of the place. The ſame high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southweſt did help vs, for it cauſed it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be eleuated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both ſet ſaile to ſeeke way to get out of theſe ſands, our boate a head ſounding, hauing 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the ſand which was without vs. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eaſtwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeaſt, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southweſt, and South and by Weſt, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and preſently we had but ſixe fadoms, which was off the ſands head, which we were a ground vpon the day before. Then we caſt about to the Eaſtwards for deepe water, which we preſently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and ſo to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at 8 in the morning, we caſt about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we ſaw the William vnder our lee as far as we could ſee her, and with a great fogge we loſt the ſight of her, and ſince we haue not ſeene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes blacke oze, which we had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Weſtnorthweſt, and Weſt by North, all the ſame night following.

They loſt the William here.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at Eaſtſoutheaſt, we haled Weſtnorthweſt: this day we had ſight of the land of Hugri ſide. At twelue of the clocke we had thirty two fadoms ſand. This day we ranne Weſt and by North, and came to fiue fadoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, ſo that we lay Northnortheaſt off. The wind after came to the North, and North by Eaſt, and we lay Eaſt and Eaſt by North, then we layd it to the Weſtward againe: and thus we lay till we came

The land of Hugry.

The bay of Morzouets.

to fortie fadoms, and then we went Northweſt till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and ſo to tenne fadoms. Then we caſt about to the Eaſtwards and lay Eaſt, and Eaſt by North all the ſame night.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northweſt till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to forty fadoms, then the wind at Northeaſt we lay to the Weſtwards, and haled Northweſt along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Northweſt, the winde at Northnortheaſt very much.

The 26 day we ran with the ſame winde, and found the pole to be eleuated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we ſaw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Northweſt, and North by Weſt to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northweſt, and ſo all day. At night the wind came to the Southweſt, and we ran Northweſt all that night.

The towne of Hungon.

The 29 day we put into a ſound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire ſand. This ſound is very large and good, and the ſame night we got water aboord.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeaſt, and but litle, we ſet ſaile, and without boate on head we got the ſea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the Eaſt Southeaſt, and all this day and night we ran Weſtnorthweſt.

They double the North Cape in their returne.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eaſtſoutheaſt, we haled Weſt all the ſame day, and at night we ran Weſtſouthweſt.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeaſt with very much fogge: all this day we ran Weſtſouthweſt: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

The ſecond day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlneſſe, & the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compaſſe. In the afternoone we made but litle way: at 6 a clocke the winde came to the Southweſt, and we went Northweſt. At 9 in the night there came downe ſo much winde by the Weſtſouthweſt, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the ſpace of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we ſaw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Fouleneſſe. It is within ful of ſmall Iſlands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue fayre ſand at 20 fadoms.

Fowleneſſe.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the ſound aforeſaid: Within it is but ſhoale water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, ſandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is ſeene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8 or 9 foote.

Lowfoote.

The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a ſound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southweſt, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at Weſt: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of vs, but the road was reaſonable good for all Southerly and Weſterly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was ſtormie with raine.

The ſound of Romeſal.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a ſound called Romeſal, where it floweth Southſoutheaſt, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Iſlands, and many good ſounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great ſtore of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and haſell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eaſtnortheaſt we ſet ſaile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Weſtſouthweſt, and Southweſt, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeaſt, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at ſixe of the clocke we came into a very good rode, where we did ride all the ſame night in good ſafetie.

The 29 day we put into a good ſound, the wind by the Southweſt: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blaſtes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Weſtſouthweſt. And in this ſound the pole is eleuated 63 deg. 10 min.

October.

The firſt day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blaſtes.

The 7 day we ſet ſaile: for from the firſt of this moneth vntill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but ſpecially the fourth day when the wind was ſo great, that our cables brake with the very ſtorme, and I do not thinke that it is poſſible that any more wind then that was ſhould blow:

for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the ſtorme began to ſlacke, otherwiſe we had bene in ill caſe.

The 7 day at night we came to an anker vntil the next day, which was the 8 day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we ſet ſaile and returned into the ſound againe: and at our firſt comming to an anker, preſently there blew ſo much winde, that although our beſt anker was out, yet the extremitie of the ſtorm droue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruiſe our ſhip in ſuch ſort, that we were conſtrained to lighten her to ſaue her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ſhip and ſtopped our leakes, and moared her in good ſafety abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reaſon of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntill the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the Northeaſt, and at 8 of the clocke we ſet ſaile. This ſound is called Moore ſound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, & floweth Southſoutheaſt. The next day being the 25 day wee put into a ſound which is called Vltar ſound, where was a ſhip of the king of Denmark put into another ſound there by, being 2 leagues to the ſouthwards of vs, that came out of Iſland: yͤ wind was contrary for vs at Southſouthweſt. Moore ſound.

The 12 day of Nouember we ſet ſaile the wind being at the Eaſt Southeaſt, and paſt through the ſound where the kings ſhip did lie: which ſound is called Sloure ſound. But as we did open the ſound, we found the wind at the Southweſt, ſo that we could doe no good, ſo that we moared our ſhip betweene 2 Iſlands vntil the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we ſet ſaile, & went to ſea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the ſea we found the wind at the Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, ſo that we were conſtrained to returne into the ſame ſound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ſhip came out alſo, becauſe ſhe ſaw vs put to ſea, & came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ſhip in an vtter ſound called Scorpe ſound, becauſe the kings ſhip was without victuals, and we did not greatly deſire her company, although they deſired ours. In this ſound the pole is eleuated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay ſtil for a wind vntill the 1 of December, which day we ſet ſaile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at 4 in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had ſight of the coaſt of Scotland which was Buquhamneſſe.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch: the ſame day at 10 at night we were ſhot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came to the South and Southeaſt, ſo that we lay ſtill vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were conſtrained to put with Tinmouth. The ſame day at night wee haled aground to ſtoppe a leake, which we found to be in the ſkarfe afore. The wind continued by the Southeaſt & Southſoutheaſt vntill the 20 day, and then we ſet ſaile about 12 at night, bearing along the coaſt.

The 22 day by reaſon of a Southeaſt wind, we thought we ſhould haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the Weſt, ſo that we haled Southeaſt: and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a ſea bord the ſands, and had ſhoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to ſeaſe Orfordneſſe.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Naſe, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Natiuity of Chriſt, we came to an anker betweene Old hauen, and Tilberie hope. The ſame day we turned as high as Porſhet.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praiſed God for our ſafe returne. And thus I end, 1580.

The William with Charles Iackman arriued at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Roſtock in October 1580, and there did winter: And from thence departed againe in Februarie following, and went in company of a ſhip of the King of Denmarke toward Iſland: and ſince that time he was neuer heard of.

Inſtructions made by the company of Engliſh merchants for diſcouery of new trades, vnto *Richard Gibs*, *William Biggat*, *Iohn Backhouſe*, *William Freeman*, *Iohn Haly*, and *Iames Woodcock*, &c. maſters of the 9 ſhips, and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. *Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, and backe againe: which ſhips being now in the riuer of Thames are preſently ready to depart vpon the ſaid voyage, with the next apt winds that may ſerue therunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was ioined M. *Chriſtopher Carlile* with the *Tyger*. The 1 of Iune 1582.

Foraſmuch as the number of ſhippes which we purpoſe to ſend in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Ruſſia is greater then at any time heretofore wee haue ſent thither, as alſo for that ſome ſpeeches are giuen out that you ſhall be met withall by ſuch as with force & violence will aſſault you as enemies, to the end that good order may be eſtabliſhed among you for keeping together in company, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as alſo for your more ſafety and ſtrength againſt the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly ſhall be bound in the ſumme of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Becauſe the Salomon is the biggeſt ſhip, beſt appointed, and of greateſt force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ſhip Admirall, which ſhall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ſhip and well appointed, and for that the maſter of her is the ancienteſt maſter of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the ſame ſhip to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the maſter of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the maſter of the Admirall and Viceadmirall ſhall conferre, conſult and agree vpon the courſes and directions that ſhall be vſed in this voyage, and it ſhall be lawfull vnto the maſter of the Admiral, with the conſent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggar, or one of them to make his courſes and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obſerue the ſame without ſtraying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penalty before ſpecified.

5 The appointing of the ſhips for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and thoſe men to conſult and agree vpon the courſes and directions of the voyage, as aforeſaid, hath bene done by the conſents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obſerue the premiſſes.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at ſuch times as you may conueniently from time to time, you do aſſemble and meete together, to conſider, conſult, and determine vpon ſuch articles as you ſhall think neceſſary to be propounded touching your beſt ſafety and defence againſt all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you ſhall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as alſo homewardes bound, and that which you ſhall agree vpon, or that which moſt of you ſhal conſent vnto, cauſe it to be ſet down in writing for record, which may ſerue for an acte amongſt your ſelues to binde you all to obſerue the ſame.

7 We haue appointed Iames Woodcock in the ſmal barke to attend vpon you, & to receiue his directions from you. You are therfore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching yͤ ſayd barke, to what purpoſes ſhe may beſt ſerue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place ſhall require.

Berozoua Vſtia.

8 Item, if you ſhall vnderſtand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduiſe hath bene giuen you for your ſtay at Berozoua Vſtia, till you haue by eſpials viewed and vnderſtood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the ſea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you ſhall be aſſaulted by force of any, as enemie whatſoeuer, you are to defend your ſelues with ſuch forces as you may or can: truſt not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your paſſing outwards bound by Wardhouſe, to view and vnderſtand what you can at that place, and to ſhew your ſelues, to ſee if there be any there that haue a mind to ſpeake with you, for that we thinke it better then, & thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you ſhall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumſpect and carefull to haue your ſhips in readineſſe, and in good order alwaies, and vpon all ſuddens. The greateſt danger vnto you in that place will be while you ſhall ſhift your ſhips: therefore you are to conſider of it, but the fitteſt time for you to doe the ſame, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the ſhore, or calme, and at ſuch time you may the better doe it without danger. You muſt take ſuch order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your ſelues ſuch ſhips to ſhift firſt, and ſuch after, in ſuch ſort and forme as you ſhall thinke beſt and moſt conuenient. And while they ſhall be in diſcharging, ſhifting, and lading, let the reſt of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or diſcharging, helpe thoſe ſhips that ſhall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ſhips to the ſhore, or from ſhore to the ſhippe with your boates, as alſo for any other helpe that they ſhall haue neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene ſaid vnto you touching the moring of your ſhips, &c. for vſing aduantage againſt the enemie, if you ſhall be aſſaulted in that place.

13 See that you ſerue God, aboliſh ſwearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to conſult and agree among your ſelues vpon ſignes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and alſo the maner how and by what meanes, reſcue, ayde, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to ſend you a proſperous voyage and ſafe returne.

The opinion of Maſter *VVilliam Burrough* ſent to a friend, requiring his iudgement for the fitteſt time of the departure of our ſhips towards S. *Nicholas* in *Ruſſia.*

WHereas you requeſt me to perſwade the company not to ſend their ſhippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the ſame ſo good a courſe for them to obſerue: for you know that the ſooner wee ſende them hence, the ſooner we may looke for their returne. If wee ſende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the ſame moneth: and by that time the greateſt parte of your lading of neceſſitie muſt bee come downe, eſpecially the flare: but if it ſhould fall out ſo lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ſhips can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the ſhippes be kept backe any time, the loſſe and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the ſhippes, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

The Ruſſian fleet beſt to be ſet forth in the beginning of May.

Now ſeeing by ſending our ſhippes hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the ſame moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the laſt of Iune, and returne home hither by the 10 of Auguſt with commodities to ſerue the market then, it cannot bee denied but we ſhould reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our ſhippes be ſent then to returne as aforeſaid, you ſhall not be able to ſend vs in ſo much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwiſe you ſhould doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be ſent in them as you would doe.

For anſwere thereunto this is my meaning: though I wiſh the greateſt part of our ſhipping to go as aforeſaid, yet would I haue one good ſhip or two at the moſt well furniſhed in al points that ſhould depart alwaies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of Iune: and the ſame to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the firſt arriuall there vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, or to be diſpatched thence ſooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the ſame: by this order theſe commodities following may enſue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to ſend vp the riuer before it waxe ſhallow, to be diſperſed in the countrey at your pleaſure.

2 The greateſt part of our goods may be returned hither timely to ſerue the firſt markets.

3 Our late ſhips remaining ſo long here may ſerue to good purpoſe, for returning anſwere of ſuch letters as may be ſent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remaining ſo late with you ſhal ſatiſfie your deſire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring ſuch cordage, Waxe, Oile, & other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: and chiefly may ſerue vs in ſtead to bring home our goods that may be ſent vs from Perſia.

Now ſeeing it may be ſo many wayes commodious to the company to obſerue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wiſh that you put to your helping hand to further the ſame.

A copie of the Commiſſion giuen to Sir *Ierome Bowes*, authorizing him her Maieſties Ambaſſadour vnto the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, *Anno* 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix, &c. Vniuerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas viſuris & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cum Sereniſſimus Princeps, Ioannes Baſilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Ruſſiæ, Volodimeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Rex Cazani, & Aſtracani, Dominus Pleſcoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux No-

uogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotſcoæ, Ratſauiæ, Yeraſlauæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus chariſſimus, Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spiſemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiſcum agenda, quæ honorem vtrinque noſtrum quàm proximè attingunt, quęque rectè definiri concludíque nequeunt, niſi Ambaſſiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum ſereniſſimum principem amandauerimus: Hinc eſt, quòd nos de fidelitate, induſtria, prouida circumſpectione, & ſatis magno rerum vſu, prędilecti nobis famuli noſtri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domeſticis noſtris vnius, plurimùm confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, noſtrum verum & indubitatum Ambaſſiatorem, Oratorem, & Commiſſarium ſpecialem facimus, & conſtituimus per præſentes. Dantes, & concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori noſtro tenore præſentium, authoritatem, & mandatum, tam generale, quàm ſpeciale, ita quòd ſpecialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas ſpecialitati, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis, cum præfato ſereniſſimo principe, eiuſque conſiliarijs, & deputatis quibuſcunque de præfatis negotijs & eorum ſingulis, tractandi, cõferendi, concludendi appunctuandíq;, prout præfato Oratori noſtro æquum, & ex honore noſtro videbitur: Nec non de, & ſuper huiuſmodi tractatis, concluſis, appunctuatíſq;, cæteríſque omnibus & ſingulis, præmiſſa quouiſmodo concernentibus, literas, & inſtrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis tradendi, literaſq; & inſtrumenta conſimilis vigoris & effectus, ex altera parte petendi, & confici, & ſigillari debitè procurandi, & recipiendi, & generaliter omnia, & ſingula præmiſſa qualitercunq; concernentia, faciendi, exercendi, & expediendi, in, & eodem modo, ſicut nos ipſi faceremus, & facere poſſemus, ſi eſſemus præſentes, etiamſi talia ſint, quæ de ſe mandatum exigant magis ſpeciale: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & ſingula, quæ per prædictum Ambaſſiatorem, & oratorem noſtrum appunctuata, promiſſa, conuenta, concordata, & concluſa fuerint in hac parte, nos rata & grata, & firma habituras & obſeruaturas, & ſuperinde literas noſtras patentes confirmatorias, & approbatorias in forma valida, & autentica, prout opus fuerit, daturas. In cuius rei teſtimonium, his præſentibus manu noſtra ſignatis, magnum ſigillum noſtrum regni noſtri Anglię apponi fécimus. Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenwici quinto die menſis Iunij, Anno Dom. 1583. Regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to al and ſingular, to whom theſe preſents ſhal come to be ſeen and red, greeting. Whereas the moſt excellent prince Iohn Baſiliwich king, and great duke of all Ruſſia, Volodomer, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, king of Cazan and Aſtracan, lord of Pleſco, and great duke of Smolenſco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Nouogrod in the low country, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotſco, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudor, Obdor and Condenſa, and gouernour of al the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and other, our moſt deare brother and fried did of late ſend vnto vs one Feodor Andrewich Spiſemsky, a noble man of his, to deale with vs in certaine ſpeciall buſineſſes, reſpecting very neerely the honour of either of vs, and being ſuch as without the ſpeeding of ſome Ambaſſadour of ours to the foreſaid moſt excellent prince, cannot be ſufficiently determined and cõcluded: For this cauſe we hauing great cõfidence in the fidelitie, induſtrie, prouident circumſpection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued ſeruant Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houſholde, do by theſe preſents make and conſtitute the foreſaid Ierome Bowes knight our true & vndoubted Ambaſſadour, Orator and ſpecial commiſſioner, giuing and graunting to the ſame Ierome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of theſe preſents authoritie and commandement, as wel general as ſpecial, ſo that the ſpecial ſhall not preiudice the generall, nor on the other ſide the general the ſpecial, to intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for vs with the foreſaid moſt excellent prince and his counſellers and deputies whatſoeuer, concerning the foreſaide buſineſſes, and ech of them, according as it ſhall ſeeme good, and for our honour to our foreſaide Orator, as alſo of and vpon ſuch things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and ſingular other things, any maner of way concerning the premiſſes, to deliuer in our name and for vs, ſufficient and effectual letters and inſtruments, and to require letters & inſtruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and ſealed, and then to receiue them, and generally to doe, execute, and diſpatch al and ſingular other things concerning the premiſſes, in, and after the ſame maner, as we our ſelues would and might do if we were preſent, although they be ſuch things as may ſeeme of themſelues to require a more ſpeciall com-

mandement: promiſing in good faith and in the word of a prince, that we will hold and obſerue all and ſingular the things which by our Ambaſſador aforeſayd ſhall be appointed, promiſed, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and thereupon as need ſhall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatory and approbatory, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed our great ſeale of our kingdome of England to be put to theſe preſents, and ſigned them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the fourth day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

A Letter ſent from her Highneſſe to the ſayd great Duke of *Ruſsia*, by ſir *Hierome Bowes* aforeſayd, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour.

Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, *Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius* Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ *&c. Regi* Cazani, *&c. Domino* Pleſcoæ, *&c. Domino & magno Duci* Nouogrodiæ, *&c. & Gubernatori in tota Prouincia* Siberiæ, *&c. Fratri & amico noſtro chariſſimo.*

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix. &c. Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Regi Cazani & Aſtracani, Domino Pleſcoæ, & magno Duci Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Viatskæ, Bolharę, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione, Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotſcoæ, Roſtouæ, Iaroſlauæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſæ, & Gubernatori in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico ſuo chariſſimo, Salutem.

Sereniſſime princeps, frater & amice chariſſime, ex ijs quæ nobiſcum egit S. V. illuſtris legatus, intelleximus, quàm gratè vobis faceremus ſatis, ſi legatum aliquem cum mandatis inſtructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem inſtituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod eſt honeſtè poſtulatum, vt non niſi præſtita re, poſſemus nobis quoquo modo ſatisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus noſtris Domeſticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem inpræſentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quicquid eſt, quod ad Serenitatum mutuò noſtrarum dignitatem ornandam pertinere poſſe arbitramur, commiſimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam ſit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autem V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs perſequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, ſi eſſemus præſentes. Prætereà, cùm nobis multum charus ſit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem ſuperiori ‖ anno, ad S. V. 1582
miſimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatiſſimum, & ſingulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum eſſe, boni principes cenſent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegauiſſemus, niſi amicitiæ noſtræ, & ſtudio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuiſſemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non niſi optimè de bonis veſtris meritis in præfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. ſaluam conſeruet, & incolumem. Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici 19 die menſis Iunij, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto.

S. veſtra bona ſoror.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the moſt excellent Prince and Lord, Iohn Baſiliwich, by the ſame grace of God, King and great Duke of all Ruſsia, Volodomer, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Viatſca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Iaroſlaue, Bealozera, Liſland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condenſa, and Gouernour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her deareſt brother and friend, Salutations.

Moſt excellent Prince, moſt deare brother and friend, by thoſe things which the worthy ambaſſador of your excellency declared vnto vs, we haue vnderſtood how kindly it would be taken, if we we ſhould ſend to your excellency an ambaſſador from vs, with commandement and inſtructions. In which matter your honourable requeſt hath ſo much pleaſed vs, that we could not any maner of way ſatiſfie our ſelues, except we performed the ſame. And hauing purpoſed with our ſelfe ſo to doe, we thought of, and remembred Ierome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houſeholde, a man very much beloued of vs, whom at this preſent we ſend vnto your Maieſty, and to whoſe wiſedome and faithfulneſſe we haue committed all, whatſoeuer we take to appertaine to the aduancement of both our honors indifferently. In the diſcharge of which ſeruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence ſhall be vſed on his part, ſo that we intreat your Maieſty to giue him credence in the proſecuting of thoſe things which he hath from vs in commandement, no leſſe then to our ſelfe, if we were preſent. And whereas Robert Iacob doctor of phyſicke is a man very deare vnto vs, whom the laſt yere we ſent vnto your excellency, we deſire that he may haue that fauor and eſtimation with you, which good princes thinke a moſt honeſt and vertuous man worthy of: for had we not caried great reſpect to our mutual friendſhip, and indeuour to gratifie your Maieſtie, we ſhould in no caſe haue parted with him. And ſeeing we continue ſtill the ſame good will towards your excellency, we doe euen promiſe to our ſelfe your honourable kindneſſes towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preſerue your Maieſty in good ſafetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the 19 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

Doctor Iacob.

Your Maieſties good ſiſter.

A briefe diſcourſe of the voyage of Sir *Ierome Bowes* knight, her Maieſties ambaſſadour to *Iuan Vaſiliwich* the Emperour of *Muſcouia*, in the yeere 1583.

The Emperour of Ruſsia that then liued, by name Iuan Vaſiliwich, hauing deliberately conſidered how neceſſary it were for the ſtrengthening of his eſtate, that a ſure commerce and entercourſe of merchants ſhould be againe renued betweene him and her ſacred Maieſty of England, with ſuch further immunities and priuileges for the honor and vtility of both their dominions, and ſubiects of the ſame, as vpon mutuall treatie of perſons interpoſed on both ſides, might be aſſented vnto: ſent ouer into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambaſſadour for that purpoſe, an ancient diſcreet gentleman of his houſeholde called Pheodor Andreuich Phiſemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better aſſiſtance in that expedition: and beſides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth, and the reſt ſet downe in a letter vnder the Emperours ſignature, addreſſed to her Maieſty: he had in ſpeciall charge to ſollicit her Maieſty to ſend ouer with him to his maiſter an ambaſſador from her, to treat and contract of ſuch affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Maieſty very graciouſly inclining to the Emperors motion, and at the humble ſute of the Engliſh merchants trading thoſe countreys being caried with the ſame princely reſpects, to ſatiſfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of ſir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending vpon her Maieſties perſon, towards whom was apparantly expreſſed her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

Pheodor Andreuich Phiſemsky the Emperors ambaſſadour.

After he had receiued his commiſſion, with other ſpeciall letters to the Emperor, with all other inſtructions apperteining to his charge, and that the ſayd Ruſſe ambaſſadour was licenced to returne home to his maiſter, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the Engliſh ambaſſador being attended vpon with forty perſons at the leaſt, very honourably furniſhed, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leaue of her Maieſty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of Iune, and with the other ambaſſadour, with their ſeuerall companies, embarked themſelues at Harwich the two and twentieth of the ſame, and after a ſtormy voyage at the Sea, they arriued both in ſafety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of Iuly next following.

The Ruſſe ambaſſador lodged himſelfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the Engliſh ambaſſador was lodged and well intertained by the Engliſh merchants, at their houſe at S. Nicholas, ſtanding in an Iſland called Roſe Iſland.

The Ruſſe ambaſſador hauing repoſed himſelfe one whole day, tooke his leaue of the Engliſh ambaſſador, and departed towards Moſco.

The Engliſh ambaſſadour abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or fiue dayes, when hauing made prouiſion of boats, and meanes to that purpoſe, he went forward vpon his iourney towards

Moſco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure ſcore miles diſtant from S. Nicholas.

The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

You muſt here vnderſtand that before the Engliſh ambaſſadors going into Ruſſia, there were diuers ſtrangers, but eſpecially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themſelues to trade into thoſe countreys. Notwithſtanding a priuilege of the ſole trade thither was long before granted to the Engliſh merchants. Theſe Dutch men had already ſo handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne three of the chiefeſt counſellers to the Emperour to be their aſſured friends, namely, Mekita Romanouich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for beſides dayly gifts that they beſtowed vpon them all, they tooke ſo much money of theirs at intereſt at fiue and twenty vpon the hundred, as they payd to ſome one of them fiue thouſand marks yeerely for the vſe of his money, and the Engliſh merchants at that time had not one friend in Court.

The ambaſſador hauing now ſpent fiue weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman ſent from the Emperor to entertaine him, and had in charge to conduct him vp the riuers towards Moſco, and to deliuer him prouiſion of all kinde of victuals neceſſary. This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it ſeemed) foiſted into that ſeruice of purpoſe, as afterward appeared by the courſe he tooke, to offer diſcourteſies, and occaſions of miſlike to the ambaſſador: for you muſt vnderſtand that the chancellor and the other two great counſellors (ſpoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpoſe to oppoſe themſelues directly againſt her Maieſties ambaſſage, eſpecially in that point, for the barring of all ſtrangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the Engliſh ambaſſador a thouſand miles vp the riuers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman ſent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who preſented the ambaſſador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furniſhed after their maner.

At a city called Yeraſlaue vpon the riuer Volga there met the ambaſſador a duke well accompanied, ſent from the Emperor, who preſented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more eaſie conueying of him to Moſco, from whence this citie was diſtant fiue hundred miles.

Two miles on this ſide Moſco there met the ambaſſador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horſe: who after a litle ſalutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to ſay to him from the Emperor, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithſtanding themſelues would ſtill haue ſit on horſebacke: which the ambaſſador ſoone refuſed to doe, and ſo they ſtood long vpon termes, whether both parties ſhould light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great niceneſſe whoſe foot ſhould not be firſt on ground.

Their meſſage being deliuered, and after hauing imbraced ech other, they conducted the ſayd ambaſſador to his lodging at Moſco, a houſe builded of purpoſe for him, themſelues being placed in the next houſe to it, as appointed to furniſh him of all prouiſions, and to be vſed by him vpon all other occaſions.

The ambaſſador hauing beene ſome dayes in Moſco, and hauing in all that time bene very honorably vſed from the Emperor (for ſuch was his will) though ſome of his chiefeſt counſellors (as is ſayd) had another purpoſe, and did often times cunningly put it in vſe: He was ſent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about forty gentlemen honorably mounted, and ſumptuouſly araied, & in his paſſage from his lodging to the court, were ſet in a ward fiue or ſixe thouſand ſhot, that were of the Emperors gard. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men apparelled in cloth of gold, and rich furres, their caps embroidered with pearle and ſtone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which paſſage there ſtood along the walles, and ſate vpon benches and fourmes in row, ſeuen or eight hundred perſons, ſaid to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured ſatins and cloth of golde.

Theſe foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whoſe office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor ſate in his ſtate, hauing three crownes ſtanding by him, viz. of Moſcouia, Cazan, and Aſtrakan, and alſo by him 4. yoong noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of ech ſide twaine, coſtly apparelled in white, holding vpon their ſhoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Galloglas axe of Ireland, thin and very ſharpe, the ſteale or handle not paſt halfe a yard long, and there ſate about the chamber vpon benches and other low ſeats, about an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambaſſador being thus brought to the Emperor to kiſſe his hand, after ſome complements

and

and inquirie of her Maieſties health, he willed him to goe ſit downe in a place prouided for that purpoſe, nigh ten paſes diſtant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue ſent him her Maieſties letters and preſent, which the ambaſſadour thinking not reaſonable ſtept forward towards the Emperor: in which paſſage the chancellor came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters: to whom the ambaſſador ſayd, that her Maieſty had directed no letters to him; and ſo went on, and deliuered them himſelfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after, hauing thus deliuered her Maieſties letters and what he had els to ſay at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the councell of matters of his ambaſſage, he was ſoone after ſent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his preſence at a ſide table, nere vnto him, and all his company at another boord by, where alſo dined at other tables in the ſame place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor vſed many fauors to the ambaſſadour and about the midſt of dinner (ſtanding vp) dranke a great carouſe to the health of the Queene his good ſiſter, and ſent him a great bowle full of Rheniſh wine and ſugar to pledge him.

The ambaſſadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in queſtion, touching both ambaſſages, which diuers times raiſed many iarres: and in the end, after ſundry meetings, the Emperour finding himſelfe not ſatisfied to his liking, for that the ambaſſadour had not power by his commiſſion to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whoſe will was ſeldome wonted to be gainſayd, let looſe his paſſion, and with a ſterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambaſſadour greatly miſliking theſe ſpeeches, & being very vnwilling (how dangerous ſoeuer it might proue to his owne perſon) to giue way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatneſſe of her Maieſty: and finding alſo that to ſubiect himſelfe to the angrie humour and diſpoſition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to anſwere his, tolde him that the Queene his Miſtreſſe was as great a prince as any was in Chriſtendome, equall to him that thought himſelfe the greateſt, well able to defend herſelfe againſt his malice whoſoeuer, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either ſhee had, or ſhould haue cauſe to be enemy vnto. Yea (quoth he) how ſayeſt thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambaſſadour) I holde the Queene my Miſtreſſe as great as any of them both. Then what ſayeſt thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatneſſe of the Queene my Miſtreſſe (quoth the ambaſſadour) as the King her father had (not long ſince) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres againſt France.

This anſwere miſliked the Emperor yet ſo much more, as that he tolde the ambaſſadour, that were he not an ambaſſador, he would throw him out of the doores, Whereunto he anſwered that he might doe his will, for he was now faſt within his countrey: but he had a Miſtreſſe who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that ſhould be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great ſudden bade him get him home. And he with no more reuerence then ſuch vſage required, ſaluted the Emperor, and went his way.

All this notwithſtanding, the ambaſſadour was not much ſooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar ſomewhat ſetled, but he deliuered to his councell that ſtood about him many commendations in the fauor of the ambaſſador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be ſpoken againſt his Miſtreſſe, and therewithall wiſhed himſelfe to haue ſuch a ſeruant.

The ambaſſadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it ſeemed) by the extraordinary behauior of the ambaſſador (for he wanted not wit to iudge) that he had found what was the Emperors caſe, ſent his principall ſecretary vnto him, to tell him, that notwithſtanding what had paſt, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his ſiſter, he ſhould very ſhortly be called againe to Court, and haue a reſolution of all the matters in queſtion: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and ſayd to the ambaſſadour that the Emperour was fully reſolued to ſend a greater noble man home with him in ambaſſage to the Queene his ſiſter, then euer he yet at any time ſent out of his countrey: and that he determined alſo to ſend to the Queene a preſent woorth three thouſand pounds, and to gratifie himſelfe at his departure with a gift that ſhould be woorth a thouſand pounds: and tolde him alſo that the next day the Emperour would ſend a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuſes done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his miniſters.

And ſo the day following he ſent Bodan Belskoy the chiefeſt counſeller that he had, a man moſt in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambaſſador had found himſelfe grieued, and ſupplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein hee had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor cauſed to be ſet downe in his owne preſence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambaſſador then he had had before, and ſhortly after ſent the ſame to the ambaſſadour by his principall Secretarie Sauio Frollo. This diet was ſo great, as the ambaſſadour often times ſought to haue it leſſened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The ſcroule of the new diet was this:

One buſhell of fine meale for three dayes.
One buſhell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
Two liue geeſe for one day.
Twenty hennes for the day.
Seuen ſheepe for a day.
One oxe for three dayes.
One ſide of porke for a day.
Seuentie egges for a day.
Ten pound of butter.
Seuenty peny white loaues of bread.
Twelue peny loaues of bread.
One veather or gallon of vineger.
Two veathers of ſalt cabiges.
One pecke of onions.
Ten pound of ſalt.
On altine, or ſixe peny woorth of waxe candles.
Two altines of tallow candles.
One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
As much of Mallynouomead.
Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
One veather of ſodden mead called Obarni.
Three veathers of ſweet mead.
Ten veathers of white mead.
Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.
Foure veathers of ſweet beere.
Fifteene veathers of beere.
Halfe a pound of pepper.
Three ſollitincks or ounces of ſaffron.
One ſollitincke of maſe.
One ſollitincke of nutmegs.
Two ſollitincks of cloues.
Three ſollitincks of ſinamon.

Prouender, One buſhell of oats.
One load of hay.
One load of ſtraw.

Now he began ſo much to diſcouer his purpoſe and affections towards her Maieſty & her countrey, as he ſent to the ambaſſador, intreating him that his || preacher, and doctor Iacob his Engliſh phyſician, might ſet downe the points of the religion in vſe in England, which the ambaſſadour cauſed to be done accordingly, and ſent them vnto him, who ſeemed ſo well to like them, as he cauſed them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before diuers of his councell, and many others of his nobility. cp.Cole

Now he drew hotly againe in queſtion to marry ſome kinſewoman of her Maieſties, & that he would ſend againe into England, to haue ſome one of them to wife, and if her Maieſtie would not vpon his next ambaſſage ſend him ſuch a one as he required, himſelfe would then goe into England, and cary his treaſure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you muſt vnderſtand that the yeere before this ambaſſage, he had ſent to her Maieſty by his ambaſſador to haue had the lady Mary Haſtings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occaſion of much ſickneſſe, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herſelfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambaſſador was now ſo farre growen into the Emperors fauor, & his affection ſo great to England, as thoſe great counſellers that were the ambaſſadors great enemies before, were now deſirous of ſome publike courteſies at his hands for their aduantage to the Emperour: neither durſt they now any more interpoſe themſelues twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abuſing the ambaſſador, had (to ſhew his fauor towards him) beaten Shalkan the chanceller very grieuouſly, and had ſent him word, that he would not leaue one of his race aliue.

Now whileſt the ambaſſador was thus ſtrongly poſſeſt of the Emperours fauor, he imployed himſelfe in all he might, not onely for the ſpeedy diſpatch of the negotiation he had in hand, but laboured alſo by all the good meanes he might, further to benefit his countrey and countreymen, and ſo not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all thoſe things he had in commiſſion to treat for by his inſtructions, but alſo ſome other of good and great importance, for the benefit of the merchants.

Priuate ſutes obteined of the Emperor by the ambaſſador.

Leaue for Richard Franſham an Engliſh man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children, to come home into England, and to bring with him all ſuch goods as he had gotten there.

He obteined like leaue for Richard Elmes an Engliſhman one of the Emperours ſurgions.

He alſo got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and phyſician to the Emperour, who for treaſon practiſed with the king of Pole againſt the ſayd Emperour, was roſted to death at the city of Moſco, in the yere 1579.

Theſe following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promiſe of recompenſe for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery vpon the Volga.

He obtained likewiſe the payment of fiue hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Ruſſia (into the Emperours receit) for a rent of a houſe that they had at Vologda.

He alſo got granted for them the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two laſt yeres before his comming thither.

He got alſo for them order for the repayment of an olde and deſperate debt of three thouſand marks, a debt ſo deſperate, as foure yeeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperor, or impeaching his other buſineſſe, which was thought at leaſt otherwiſe ſufficient, and was therefore left out of his inſtructions from her Maieſty.

He obteined that all ſtrangers were forbidden to trade any more into Ruſſia, and that the paſſage and trade to all the Emperors Northren coaſts and countries, from the Wardhouſe to the riuer of Ob ſhould be onely free to the Engliſh nation.

Laſtly, of a great deſire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themſelues here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obteined of the Emperour the abatement of all their cuſtome which they had long before payd, and agreed ſtill to continue, which cuſtome the Dutchmen and ſtrangers being remooued, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thouſand pounds yerely.

All theſe were granted, ſome already payd before his comming from Moſco, the olde priuilege ratified, newly written, ſigned and ſealed, and was to be deliuered to the ambaſſadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell ſicke of a ſurfet, and ſo died.

After whoſe death the caſe was woondrouſly altered with the ambaſſador: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the loue he bare to her Maieſty, and the particular liking he had of himſelfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chanceller, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the ſpeciall gouernment vpon themſelues, and ſo preſently cauſed the ambaſſadour to be ſhut vp a cloſe priſoner in his owne houſe, for the ſpace of nine weeks, and was ſo ſtraightly guarded and badly vſed by thoſe that attended him, as he dayly ſuſpected ſome further miſchiefe to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vprore in Moſco of nigh twenty thouſand perſons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, ſomewhat amazed the ambaſſadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out againſt that great counſellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a ſpecial man in the old Emperors fauor: who was now notwithſtanding ſo outragiouſly aſſaulted, as that he was forced to ſeeke the Emperors chamber for his ſafety, and was afterwards ſent away to Cazan, a place he had in gouernment, fiue hundred miles from Moſco, where he hath remained euer ſince, and neuer as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambaſſador expected ſome ſuch like meaſure, and prepared himſelfe aſwell as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was ſent for to court, to haue his diſpatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperor: whither being conducted (not after the woonted maner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chanceller and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the ſumme of his diſpatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his miſtreſſe, then ſuch as was betweene his late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambaſſadour, but preſently cauſed both himſelfe and all his company to be diſarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which paſſage there were ſuch outrages offered him, as had he not vſed more patience then his diſpoſition afforded him, or the occaſion required, he had not in likelihood eſcaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the preſence of the Emperour, who ſayd nothing to him, but what the chanceller had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maieſty, which the ambaſſadour (for that he knew it conteined nothing that did concerne his ambaſſage) refuſed till he ſaw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour ſuffer the ambaſſadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpoſe taken away his interpretor, being yet vnwilling (as it ſeemed, and ſuſpecting the ambaſſadours purpoſe) that the Emperor and other ſhould know how diſhonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that preſence a noble braue gentleman, one Boris Pheodorouich Godenoe, brother to the Emperor that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes vſe the ambaſſadour moſt honorably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kindneſſe, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithſtanding he ſent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable fauours with a preſent of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good ſables: and deſired that as there was kindneſſe and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Maieſty, ſo there might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the ambaſſadour. Sauing from this man, there was now no more fauour nor friendſhip left for the ambaſſadour in Moſcouia: for the chanceller Shalkan had now ſent him word that the Engliſh Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and diſgraces too many, and a haſty diſpatch from the Moſco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long iourney, onely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the ſea ſide, expecting daily in his paſſage ſome ſudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for ſo he vnderſtood it was threatned before his comming from the Moſco, & therefore with reſolution prouided by all the meanes he might, by himſelfe and his ſeruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen ſuch, as the Engliſh merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maieſties name to accompany him) that if any ſuch thing ſhould happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that ſhould offer to execute it, ſhould die with him for company: which being perceiued was thought to make his paſſage the ſafer. So afterward being driuen to diſgeſt many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembring his vnfortunate loſſe of the old Emperor, and his ill vſage ſince then at the Moſco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the ſumme of his diſpatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and diſgracefull preſent ſent him (in the name of the Emperour) in reſpect of that that was meant him by the old Emperor, knowing all theſe to be done in diſgrace of her Maieſtie and himſelfe, determined now to be diſcharged of ſome part of them in ſuch ſort as he could, and ſo prouiding as he might to preuent his danger, in getting to his ſhippe, furniſhing and placing his men to anſwere any aſſault that ſhould be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valianteſt and diſcreeteſt men he had, he ſent to be deliuered him or left at his lodging, his maiſters weake letter, and worſſe preſent, and ſo afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his ſhip in ſafetie, although preſently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receiue the ſame againe, but failed of their purpoſe. So came the ambaſſadour from S. Nicholas the twelft day of Auguſt, and arriued at Graueſend the twelft of September following, and attended her Maieſtie at the court at Otelands, where, after hauing kiſt her Maieſties hands, and deliuered ſome part of the ſucceſſe of his ambaſſage, he preſented her an Elke or Loſhe, the Red deere of the countrey, and alſo a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Maieſties preſence drew a ſled and a man vpon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeaſt from Ruſſia, and were that yeere come ouer the ſea in the winter ſeaſon vpon the yce, in their ſleds, drawen with theſe deere into Ruſſia, where the ambaſſadour bought of them ſeuenteene, whereof he brought nine aliue into Kent.

The great friendſhip of L. Boris Pheodorouich.

The maner of the preferring of ſutes in *Ruſſia*, by the example of our Engliſh merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

IOhn Baſiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, the Engliſh merchants, William, ſonne of Thomas, with his company ſue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maieſties treaſurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vſe 12. poods of loafe ſugar, priſed at 8. robles the pood, which ſugar was ſent to the ‖ Sloboda. More, the ſayd Gregorie treaſurer, tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie 200. reames of paper, priſed at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

‖ The Emperours houſe of recreation.

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of vs for thy Maieſty copper plates, to the ſumme of 1032. robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Alſo in the ſaid 84. yeere thy Maieſties diakes called Iuan Blaſghoy, and Iuan Sobakin tooke of vs for thy vſe, ſundry commodities, and haue not payd 630. robles, the reſt of the money due for the ſaid goods.

In the 85. yeere thy Maieſties treaſurer Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie, cloth of ſundry ſorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robles.

In the 88. yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Iſtomay Yeuskoy tooke of vs lead for thy Maieſtie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the ſame yeere thy Maieſties diak Boris Gregoriwich had for thy vſe 15. broad cloths of diuerſe ſorts, priſed at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are vnpayd.

Alſo in the ſaid 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maieſties appointment.

And alſo in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs for thy Maieſty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Maieſties order or no, becauſe that thy authorized people do yeercly take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cauſe.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maieſties treaſury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, ſhew thy mercy, and cauſe the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as alſo that which hath beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. *Henrie Lane* to the worſhipfull M. *VVilliam Sanderſon*, conteining a briefe diſcourſe of that which paſſed in the Northeaſt diſcouery for the ſpace of three and thirtie yeeres.

MAſter Sanderſon, as you lately requeſted mee, ſo haue I ſought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet peruſing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleaſure many, I haue briefly and as truly as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough hewing may be planed at your leaſure, or as pleaſeth him that ſhall take the paines.

Anno 1553.

M. William Borough was then yong, and with his brother in this firſt voyage.

Newnox is frõ the road of S. Nicholas Weſtward 35 miles.

Firſt the honourable attempt to diſcouer by ſea Northeaſt and Northweſt named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from king Edward the ſixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the coſt and ſute of M. Sebaſtian Cabota, then gouernor for diſcoueries with ſir Andrew Iudde, ſir George Barnes, ſir William Garrard, M. Anthony Huſſie, and a companie of merchants, was in the laſt yeere of his Maieſties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one ſir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with ſufficient number of Pilots, Maiſters, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three ſhippes well furniſhed, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maiſter, hauing diſcouered Wardhouſe vpon the coaſt of Finmark, by ſtorme or fogge departed from the reſt, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Ruſſia, there wintred in ſafetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

Note.

The other two ſhippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by ſir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with ſuch extreame colde, that they put backe to ſeeke a wintring place: and miſſing the ſaide baye fell vpon a deſert coaſt in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediately frozen vp, ſince diſcouered, named Arzina Reca, diſtant Eaſt from a Ruſſian Monaſtery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of 70. perſons periſhed, which was for want of experience to haue made caues and ſtoues. Theſe were found with the ſhippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Ruſſe fiſhermen: and in Anno 1555. the place ſent vnto by Engliſh Merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Anno 1554.

Anno 1554. the ſayd ſhippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewardes by Flemings) returned with her company to London, ſhewing and ſetting foorth their entertainments and diſcouery of the countreys euen to the citie of Moſco, from whence they brought a priuilege written in Ruſſe with the Kings or great Dukes ſeale, the other two ſhippes looked for and vnknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1555.

The King and Queenes letters.

An. 1555. the ſaid company of Merchants for diſcouerie vpon a new ſupply, ſent thither againe with two ſhips, to wit, the Edward Bonaduenture, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whoſe Maieſties by their letters to the ſaid Moſcouite, recommended ſundry their ſubiects then paſſing, wherof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and paſſing vp Dwina to Vologda, went firſt vp to Moſco, where, vpon knowledge of the ſaid letters, they with their traine had ſpeciall entertainment, with houſes and diet appointed, and ſhortly permitted to the princes preſence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Moſco, to the caſtle and palace, repleniſhed with numbers of people, and ſome gunners. They entred ſundry roomes, furniſhed in ſhew with ancient graue perſonages, all in long garments of ſundry colours, golde, tiſſue, baldekin, and violet, as our veſtments and copes haue bene in England, ſutable with caps, iewels, and chaines. Theſe were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moſcouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furniſhed thus from the Wardrobe and Treaſurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and ſo to reſtore it.

Then entring into the preſence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more eſtate, and richer ſhew, in number aboue an hundred ſet ſquare: who after the ſaid Engliſh men came in, doing reuerence, they all ſtood vp, the prince onely ſitting, and yet riſing at any occaſion, when our King and Queenes names were read or ſpoken. Then after ſpeeches by interpretation, our men kiſſing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were ſtayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be ſeene maſſie ſiluer and gilt plate, ſome like and as bigge as kilderkins, and waſhbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was ſet bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe ſtanding vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre diſtant ſate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none ſate ouer againſt him, or any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furniſhed with gheſts ſet, there was for the Engliſhmen, named by the Ruſſes, Ghoſti Carabelski, to wit, ſtrangers or merchants by ſhip, a table in the middeſt of the roome, where they were ſet direct againſt the prince: and then began the ſeruice, brought in by a number of his yoong Lordes and Gentlemen, in ſuch rich attire, as is aboue ſpecified: and ſtill from the Princes table (notwithſtanding their owne furniture) they had his whole meſſes ſet ouer all in maſſie fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their ſeuerall Chriſtian names, as they ſate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewiſe bread and ſundry drinkes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their riſing, the prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Maſter George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, & pleaſantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who ſeeming to bleſſe it, ſayd in Ruſſe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length fiue foot and two inches of aſſize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and diſhes of meat dreſſed, to our lodging.

M. Killingworths beard of a marueilous length.

This yeere the two ſhippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were ſent vnto by Maſter Killingworth, (which remained there in Moſco Agent almoſt two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and ſaued.

Anno 1556.

Anno 1556. The company ſent two ſhips for Ruſſia, with extraordinary maſters and ſaylers to bring home the two ſhips, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforeſaid. The two ſhips ſent this yeere from England ſailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with paſſengers, to wit, a Ruſſe ambaſſador, named Ioſeph Napea, and ſome of his men ſhipped with Richard Chanceller in the Edward. But ſo it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Maſters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought ſeas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is ſuppoſed, vnſtanch, and ſunke, wherein were drowned alſo diuers Ruſſes merchants, and ſeruants of the ambaſſadour. A third ſhippe the Edward aforeſayd, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was alſo loſt, and Maſter Chanceller, with diuers other, drowned. The ſayd Ruſſe ambaſſadour hardly eſcaping, with other his men, mariners, & ſome goods ſaued, were ſent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the meſſenger being M. Doctor Laurence Huſſie, and others:) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably entertained and receiued at London.

This yeere alſo the company furniſhed and ſent out a pinneſſe, named the Serchthrift, to diſcouer the harborowes in the North coaſt from Norway to Wardhouſe, and ſo to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Maſter and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their diſcouery was beyond the Bay, towards the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the riuer of Ob, and found a ſound or ſea with an Iland called Vaigats, firſt by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw ſnowe out of their ſaid pinneſſe, with ſhouels in Auguſt, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Ruſſia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557.

Boghar voyage.

Anno 1557. The company with foure good ſhips, ſent backe the ſaid Ruſſe ambaſſadour, and in company with him, ſent as an Agent, for further diſcouery, Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, who afterward anno 1558, with great fauour of the prince of Moſcouia, and his letters paſſed the

riuer

1560.

The firſt trade to the Narue, 1560.

riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to ſeeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, trauelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whoſe entertainment of the king is to be had of maſter Ienkinſon, which returned anno 1559. to Moſcouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the firſt ſafe returne, without loſſe or ſhipwracke, or dead fraight, & burnings. And at this time was the firſt traffike to the Narue in Liuonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Ruſſia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & riuers, were ſent vnto by diuers ſeruants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath bene long ſince frequented by our Engliſh nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the ſaid Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon went Agent into Ruſſia, who the next yeere after, paſſing all the riuer of Volga to Aſtracan, and ouer the Caſpian ſea, arriued in Perſia, and opened the trade thither.

Alcock ſlaine in Perſia. Banniſter died in Media. Edwards died at Aſtracan.

Alſo betweene the yeeres of 1568, and 1573. ſundry voyages after Maſter Ienkinſons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Maſter Thomas Banniſter, and Maſter Geffrey Ducket, whoſe returne (if ſpoyle neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues) had altogether ſalued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great loſſe, charges, and damages: but the ſaying is true, By vnitie ſmall things grow great, & by contention great things become ſmall. This may be vnderſtood beſt by the company. The frowardneſſe of ſome few, and euill doing of ſome vniuſt factors, was cauſe of much of the euill ſucceſſe.

Arthur Edwards was ſent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Aſtracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Maſter Thomas Randolph Eſquire, Ambaſſador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further diſcoueries, freedomes, and priuileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in concluſion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen ſent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent,

Yours *Henry Lane.*

‖ Or Theodor.

The moſt ſolemne, and magnificent coronation of ‖ *Pheodor Iuanowich*, Emperour of *Ruſſia* &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeere 1584. ſeene and obſerued by Maſter *Ierom Horſey* gentleman, and ſeruant to her Maieſty, a man of great trauell, and long experience in thoſe parts: wherwith is alſo ioyned the courſe of his iourney ouer land from *Moſco* to *Emden*.

The death of Iuan Vaſiliwich 1584. Apr. 18.

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third ſonne.

When the old Emperour Iuan Vaſiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of April, 1584. after our computation) in the citie of Moſco, hauing raigned 54. yeeres, there was ſome tumult and vprore among ſome of the nobilitie, and comminaltie, which notwithſtanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the ſame night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Knez Iuan Pheodorowich, Meſthis Slaſsky, Knez Iuan Petrowich Suſky, Mekita Romanowich & Bodan Iacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefeſt in the Emperors Will, eſpecially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third ſonne, & was brother to the Empreſſe, who was a mã very wel liked of al eſtates, as no leſſe worthy for his valure & wiſedome: all theſe were appointed to diſpoſe, & ſettle his ſonne Pheodor Iuanowich, hauing one ſworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whoſoeuer. In the morning ẏ dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen ſepulcre, very richly decked with veſtures fit for ſuch a purpoſe: and preſent Proclamation was made, (Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich of all Ruſſia &c.) Throughout all the citie of Moſco was great watch and ward, with ſouldiers, and gunners, good orders eſtabliſhed, and officers placed to ſubdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to ſee what ſpeede and policie was in this caſe vſed was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Moſco, great men of birth and accompt were alſo preſently ſent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kaſan, Nouogorod &c. with freſh garriſon, and the old ſent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were aſſembled, the Metropolitane, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobilitie whatſoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpoſe, yet all tended

The old Empreſſe, her father, and her yong ſonne ſent to Ouglets.

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

to a new reformation in the gouernment: but eſpecially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the ſolemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time yͤ Empreſſe, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors ſonne, Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, ſent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her ſonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the ſhire, with officers of all ſortes appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horſe &c. in ample maner belonging to the eſtate of a princeſſe. The time of mourning after their vſe being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the ſolemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the 10. day of Iune, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Maſter Ierom Horſey was orderly ſent for, and placed in a fit roome to ſee all the ſolemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and chiefeſt Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Prieſtes garments vpon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, cenſers, and many other ſuch ceremonious things, ſinging all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueſhina, or Bleſſednes, where prayers, and ſeruice were vſed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there alſo vſed the like prayers, and ſeruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechiſta, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middeſt thereof was a chaire of maieſtie placed, wherein his Aunceſtors vſed to ſit at ſuch extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and moſt rich and vnualuable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely ſeate, his nobility ſtanding round about him in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was ſet vpon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his ſword of Iuſtice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes alſo, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were ſet before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a ſmall volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to miniſter true Iuſtice, to inioy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his anceſtors, which God had giuen him, and vſed theſe words following:

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth, and giueth life to man: that our only God which enſpireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to diſcerne God through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the holy quickning ſpirit of life, now in theſe perilous times eſtabliſh vs to keep the right Scepter, and ſuffer vs to raigne of our ſelues to the good profit of the land, to the ſubduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And ſo the Metropolitan bleſſed and layd his croſſe vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maieſtie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious ſtones of all ſorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his ſtaffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beſet with rich ſtones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581. and coſt him 7000. Markes ſterling. This Iewel M. Horſey kept ſometimes, before the Emperor had it. His ſcepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beſet with rich ſtones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes alſo were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Stephan Vaſiliwich, Gregory Vaſiliwich, Iuan Vaſiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at laſt the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God ſaue our Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich of al Ruſſia. His horſe was there ready moſt richly adorned, with a couering of imbrodered pearle and precious ſtones, ſaddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000, markes ſterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote aboue ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the preſſe of the people, which were in number infinite, and ſome at that time preſſed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were ſpred vnder foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red veluet, the bridges with ſcarlet, and ſtammell cloth from one church to another: and as ſoone as the Emperor was paſſed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and ſcarlet was cut, and taken of thoſe that could come by it, euery man deſirous to haue a piece, to reſerue it for a monument: ſiluer and gold coyne, then mynted of purpoſe was caſt among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was ſumptuouſly, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beſet with al ſorts of precious ſtones. In like rich maner were apparreled all the family of the Godonouses in their degrees, with the reſt of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky, whoſe robe, horſe, and furniture, was in regiſter found worth one hundred thouſand markes ſterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empreſſe being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maieſty alſo before a great open window: moſt precious, and rich were her robes, and ſhining to behold, with rich ſtones, and orient pearle beſet, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princeſſes, and Ladies of eſtate: then cried out the people, God preſerue our noble Empreſſe Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament houſe which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall ſeat adorned as before: his 6. crownes were ſet before him vpon a table: the baſin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men ſtanding two on each ſide in white apparell of cloth of ſiluer, called Kindry, with ſcepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a ſhort oration, permitted euery man in order to kiſſe his hande: which being done, he remoued to a princely ſeate prepared for him at the table: where he was ſerued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beſet with plate of golde, and ſiluer round, from the ground vp to the vauts one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of ſiluer and golde: this ſolemnitie, and triumph laſted a whole weeke, wherein many royall paſtimes were ſhewed and vſed: after which the chiefeſt men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counſeller to the Emperor, Maſter of the horſe, had the charge of his perſon, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernor or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Aſtracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. Engliſh miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 35. thouſand markes ſterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely reuenue. Further, he and his houſe be of ſuch authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thouſand Souldiers well furniſhed.

The concluſion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of braſſe of all ſorts, as faire as any can be made, theſe pieces were all diſcharged with ſhot againſt bulwarkes made of purpoſe: 20. thouſand hargubuſers ſtanding in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in veluet, coloured ſilke & ſtammels, diſcharged their ſhot alſo twiſe ouer in good order: and ſo the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the leaſt 50. thouſand horſe departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aſke much time, and many leaues of paper to be deſcribed particularly as it was performed: it ſhal ſuffice, to vnderſtand that the like magnificence was neuer ſeene in Ruſſia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accuſtomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich preſents vnto the Emperor, wiſhing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

Iohn de Wale.

The ſame time alſo Maſter Ierom Horſey aforeſaid, remayning as ſeruant in Ruſſia for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, was called for to the Emperor, as he ſate in his imperiall ſeat, and then alſo a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Moſco, (who gaue himſelfe out to be the king of Spaines ſubiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like ſort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this ſubiect of the Spaniard before Maſter Horſey ſeruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Maſter Horſey would in no caſe agree, ſaying, he would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to ſuch an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maieſty of England, to bring the Emperor a preſent, in courſe after the King of Spaines ſubiect, or any other whatſoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiuing the controuerſie, ſent the Lord Treaſorer Peter Iuanowich Galauyn, and Vaſili Shalkan, both of the Counſell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Maſter Horſeys ſpeech: whereupon he was firſt in order (as good reaſon) admitted and preſented the Emperor in the behalfe of the Engliſh Merchants trading thither, a preſent wiſhing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and ſo kiſſed the Emperors hand, he accepting the preſent with good liking, and auouching, that for his ſiſters ſake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as euer his father had ben: and being diſmiſſed, he had the ſame day ſent him 70. diſhes of ſundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al ſorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the Flemiſh ſubiect of the Spaniſh king admitted with his preſent, whom the Emperor willed to be no leſſe faithfull and ſeruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands ſubiects were & had bene, and then the king of Spaines ſubiects ſhould receiue fauour accordingly.

All theſe things thus in order performed, praiſes were ſung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empreſſe very deuoutly reſorted on foote to many principall Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themſelues to a progreſſe in maner of proceſſion, to a famous monaſterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles diſtant from the Citie of Moſco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horſes with furniture accordingly.

The Empreſſe of deuotion tooke this iourney on foote all the way, accompanied with her princeſſes and ladies, no ſmall number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe counſeller or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Royal her vncle of great authoritie called Demetri Iuanowich Godonoua. All this progreſſe ended, both the Emperor and Empreſſe returned to Moſco: ſhortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, ſent an armie into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken priſoner the Emperor of the countrey called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of ſouldiers and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberski prince of Siberia taken priſoner and brought to Moſco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Iudges, Iuſtices, captaines and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remoued, and more honeſt men ſubſtituted in their places, with expreſſe commandement, vnder ſeuere puniſhment to ſurceaſe their old bribing & extortion which they had vſed in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true iuſtice without reſpect of perſons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly ſtipends were augmented: the great taxes, cuſtomes, and duties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and ſome wholy remitted, and no puniſhments commanded to be vſed, without ſufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deſeruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houſes, that were vnder diſpleaſure, and impriſoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now ſet at libertie and reſtored to their lands: all priſoners were ſet at libertie, and their treſpaſſes forgiuen. In ſumme, a great alteration vniuerſally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the ſubiect: and this bred great aſſurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accompliſhed by the wiſedom eſpecially of Irenia the Empreſſe.

Theſe things being reported and carried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers vpon Ruſſia, they grew ſo fearefull and terrible to them that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himſelfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Ruſſia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horſed, although to them that were Chriſtians they ſeemed rude, yet they were perſonable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable, the Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wiues alſo, receiued of the Ruſſe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their eſtates.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes arriual at Moſco.

Not long after, 1200. Poliſh gentlemen, valiant ſouldiors, and proper men came to Mosko offring their ſeruice to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like ſort many Chirkaſſes, and people of other nations came and offred ſeruice. And aſſoone as the report of this new created Emperor was ſpred into other kingdoms of Europe, there were ſent to him honorable Ambaſſadors to wiſh him ioy and proſperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambaſſadors from the Turke, from the Perſian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came alſo Ambaſſadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And ſince this coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was deſirous to ſend a meſſage to the moſt excellent Queene of England, for which ſeruice he thought no man fitter than M. Ierome Horſey, ſuppoſing that one of the Queenes owne men and ſubiects ſhould be the more acceptable to her. The ſumme of which meſſage was, that the Emperor deſired a continuance of that league, friendſhip, amitie and intercourſe of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queenes maieſtie and her ſubiects, with other priuate affaires beſides, which are not to be made common.

The new Emperor Pheodore Iuanowich his letters and requeſts to the Queene.

Maſter Horſey hauing receiued the letters and requeſts of the Emperour, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Moſco the laſt day of September thence vnto Otuer, to

M. Horſeis voyage frõ Moſco to England ouerland.

Torſhock, to great Nouogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouſe in Liuonia, to Wenden, and ſo to Riga: (where he was beſet, and brought ſodainely before a Cardinall called Rageuil, but yet ſuffred to paſſe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Pruſſia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Roſtock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by ſea to London. Being arriued at her maieſties royall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperours letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was foorthwith againe commaunded to repaſſe into Ruſſia, with other letters from her maieſtie to the Emperour, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, anſwering the Emperours letters, and withall requeſting the fauour and friendſhip, which his father had yeelded to the Engliſh merchants: and hereunto was he earneſtly alſo ſolicited by the merchants of London themſelues of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus diſpatched from London by ſea, he arriued in Moſco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for þ merchants behoofe, obtained all his requeſts, being therein ſpecially fauoured by þ noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horſey with ſpeciall liking. And hauing obtained priuileges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of England his miſtreſſe, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queenes maieſtie, ſent her highneſſe a royall preſent of Sables, Luzarnes, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of Engliſh merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her maieſtie, are to account M. Horſeis paines their ſpeciall benefit, who obtained for them thoſe priuileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

1586

The maner of M. Horſeis laſt diſpatch from the Emperour, becauſe it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed poſt horſes for him and his ſeruants, victuals and all other neceſſaries for his long iourney: at euery towne that he came vnto from Moſco to Vologda, which is by land fiue hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowance, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and prouiſion were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the kings officers, being one thouſand miles in length. When he came to the new caſtle called Archangel, he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vaſili Andrewich Iſuenogorodsky by the Emperours commiſſion into the Caſtle, gunners being ſet in rankes after their vſe, where he was ſumptuouſly feaſted: from thence hee was diſpatched with bountifull prouiſion and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the Engliſh, Dutch, and French ſhips rode, the gunners diſcharged, and the ſhips ſhot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, & ſo he was brought to his lodging at the Engliſh houſe vpon Roſe Iſland.

And that which was the full and complete concluſion of the fauour of the Emperour and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horſey, there were the next day ſent him for his further prouiſion vpon the ſea by a gentleman and a captaine the things following:

16. liue oxen.
70. ſheepe.
600. hens.
25. flitches of Bacon.
80. buſhels of meale.
600. loaues of bread.
2000. egges.
10. geeſe.
2. cranes.
2. ſwannes.
65. gallons of meade.
40. gallons of Aquauitæ.
60. gallons of beere.
3. yong beares.
4. hawkes.
Store of onions and garlike.
10. freſh ſalmons.
A wild boare.

All theſe things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperours, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were receiued in order by Iohn Freſe ſeruant to M. Horſey, together with an honorable preſent and reward from the prince Boris, ſent him by M. Francis Cherry an Engliſhman: which preſent was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of Sables. This Gentleman hath obſerued many other rare things concerning thoſe partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time and leiſure ſhall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of priuilege to the Engliſh Merchants word for word, obtained by *M. Ierome Horſey.* 1586.

Through the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in þ Trinitie, one onely God the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both liueth and giueth life to man, That our onely God, which inſpireth euery one of vs his onely children with his word, to diſcerne God through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the holy quickening ſpirit of life now in theſe perillous times, Eſtabliſh vs to keepe the right Scepter, and ſuffer vs of our ſelues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the ſubduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor the ofſpring of Iohn the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Ruſſia, of Volodemeria, Moſcouia and Nouogrod, king of Cazan, king of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſko, and great prince of Smolenſko, of Tuer, Youguria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the lower Nouogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtow, Yeraſlaue, the White lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condenſa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northſide, and lord of many other countries.

I haue gratified the merchants of England, to wit, ſir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen, ſir George Barnes, Thomas Smith eſquire, Ierome Horſey, Richard Saltonſtall, with their fellowes.

I haue licenſed them to ſaile with their ſhippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and vnto our kingdom and the citie of Moſco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moſcouia.

And the engliſh merchants ſir Rowland Haiward & his ſocietie deſired vs, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moſcouia, and into our heritage of great Nouogrod and Pleſko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and ſell with their wares without cuſtome.

Therefore we for our ſiſters ſake Queene Elizabeth, & alſo becauſe that they allege that they had great loſſe and hinderance by the venture of the ſea, and otherwiſe, haue gratified the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſir Rowland Haiward and his ſocietie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moſcouia, and into al our dominions with all kind of commodities, to trade, & traffique freely, & at their pleaſure with all kind of their commodities: alſo I haue commanded not to take any maner of cuſtome for their goods, nor other cuſtoms whatſoeuer: That is to ſay, neither for paſſing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for paſſing through any place by land, neither for the veſſels or boats, nor for their heads, nor for paſſing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they ſhall come, nor any maner of cuſtome or dutie, by what name ſoeuer.

Only they ſhal not bring with them into our dominions, neither receiue out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither ſell them nor barter them away for them.

Alſo our naturall people ſhall not buy and ſell for them, or from them, neither ſhal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall ſubiects goods, or pawnes by them to colour them.

Alſo they ſhall not ſend any of their Ruſſe ſeruants about into any citie to ingroſſe, or buy vp commodities, but into what citie they themſelues ſhal come, they ſhal buy and ſel, and ſhal ſel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they ſhal come into our inheritance of great Nouogrod and Pleſko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and euery one of our officers ſhall ſuffer them to depart according to this our letter, & ſhall take no cuſtom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for paſſing through or paſſing by, nor for paſſage ouer any bridges, nor ſhall take of them any other dutie whatſoeuer name they haue.

Alſo into what places of our dominions, or when they ſhal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or ſell, and whereſoeuer they ſhall paſſe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will ſell their owne, then in thoſe cities and townes they ſhall take no maner of cuſtome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and ſell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or cuſtome whatſoeuer.

And the Engliſh merchants where they are deſirous to buy or ſell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they ſhal ſell their commodities whole, and not by retaile: That is to ſay, neither by ſmall weight nor by the yard, to ſell or barter in their owne houſes, and they ſhal ſel and barter their wares whole, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and veluet by the piece and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be ſold by weight, not to ſell by the ſmall weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole ſale: alſo they ſhall ſel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon, quart or ſtoope they ſhal not ſell.

And they ſhall buy, ſell and exchange their owne commodities themſelues, and the Ruſſe merchants ſhall not make ſales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither ſhal they themſelues conuey or cary through any other mans goods at no place in ſtead of their owne: and which of the Engliſh merchants will at any time ſell his commodities at Colmogro or

Vologda or Yeraſlaue, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and euery of our officers ſhall take no maner of cuſtome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they ſhal hire carriers and veſſels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to tranſport their goods.

So likewiſe, whenſoeuer the Engliſh merchants are diſpoſed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleaſure be, they ſhall take our goods with them from our Treaſurie, and ſhall ſell them, and exchange them for ſuch commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and ſhall deliuer it into our Treaſurie, and with theſe our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and euery of our officers ſhall let them paſſe through all our cities alſo without cuſtome according to theſe our letters.

Alſo whenſoeuer the Engliſh merchants ſhall haue ſold their own goods & bought themſelues commodities, & wil depart out of Moſco, then they ſhal manifeſt themſelues to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambaſſadors are alwayes diſpatched.

And if the Engliſh merchants comming, haue had any miſchance by the ſea, inſomuch that the ſhip be broken, or if that ſhip do come to any part of our countrey: then we will cauſe the goods to be ſought out in true Iuſtice, and to be giuen to the Engliſh people, which at that time ſhall bee here reſident in our countrey: and if ſo be that it ſo fall out that at that time there be no Engliſhmen within our realme: then wil we cauſe theſe goods to be laid vp in a place together, and when the people of England ſhall come into our realme, then we will command all thoſe goods to be deliuered to the ſayd Engliſh people.

Alſo we haue gratified all the Engliſh merchants with the houſe of one Vrie here in the Moſco right ouer againſt S. Maximes church behind the market, and they ſhal dwel in the ſame houſe according as before time, and they ſhall keepe one alwayes in the houſe to keepe it, either a Ruſſe, or one of their owne people.

Alſo the Engliſh merchants ſhal poſſeſſe their houſes, to wit, at Yeraſlaue, Vologda, Colmogro, and the houſe at the hauen of the ſea, & they ſhal dwel in thoſe houſes, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commanded, that there ſhall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of cuſtome, taxe, rent or any other dutie whatſoeuer for thoſe houſes, neither ſhal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townſmen of thoſe places, & in euery one of thoſe houſes, to wit, at Yeraſlaue, Vologda, and Colmogro, they ſhall haue men to keepe their houſes, two or three of their owne countrey people, ſtrangers or els Ruſſes, men of the meaneſt ſort, which ſhall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in thoſe houſes, and they may ſell the commodities out of thoſe their houſes to whom they pleaſe, according to this our gracious letter: and thoſe that keepe their houſes ſhall not ſell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

So likewiſe I haue gratified them with their houſe at the ſea hauen, at the mouth of Podezemsky, & we haue commanded that they ſhal not cary their goods from thence to the new caſtle S. Michael the archangel, but ſhall ariue, and doe as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their houſe, and ſhall vnlade their commodities out of their ſhips, and ſhal lade them againe with Ruſſe commodities, euen there at that their houſe without interruption: onely they ſhal permit our officers of Colmogro & ſworn men to write vp thoſe commodities, both the commodities of England, and thoſe of Ruſſeland, what the merchants ſhal declare themſelues, & no otherwiſe, but they ſhal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither ſhal they vnbind any of their packs.

And when the Engliſh merchants are diſpoſed to ſend into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatſoeuer, they ſhall not ſend their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people ſo euer they do meane to ſend out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they ſhal ſend thoſe their people, not without our kingly maieſties knowledge, to wit, thoſe that go of pleaſure without carying any commodities with them, and they ſhall haue a letter of paſſe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambaſſadors haue alwayes their diſpatch.

And whoſoeuer hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuerſie, either concerning merchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treaſurers and Secretarie of the Ambaſſadors office to do iuſtice between both parties, & to ſeek out the trueth of matters in al things, and whatſoeuer cannot be found out by the Law, ſhalbe tried by othe and lots: whoſe lot ſoeuer is taken foorth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie ſoeuer they or their people ſhall bee, and that there happen any matter of controuerſie, either concerning merchandiſe, iniuries or otherwiſe, that they haue occaſion to ſet vpon any man by lawe, or that any ſeeke vpon them, concerning what matter ſoeuer in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our officers ſhall giue them Iuſtice, and ſhall miniſter all true iuſtice betweene them, ſeeking out the trueth: and what cannot be truly ſought by law, ſhalbe ſought out by othe and lot: whoſe lot ſoeuer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Iudges or Iuſtices ſhall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely palace within the citie of Moſco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, ſeuen thouſand foureſcore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambaſſage of M. *Giles Fletcher*, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, ſent from her Maieſtie to *Theodor* the Emperor of Ruſſia, *Anno* 1588.

IN the yeere 1588, was ſent Ambaſſador from her highneſſe into the countrey of Ruſſia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vaſilowich, as alſo for the reeſtabliſhing and reducing into order the decaied trade of our Engliſhmen there. Who notwithſtanding at his firſt arriuall at the Moſco, found ſome parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late nauall victory which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spaniſh ſide, as alſo for ſome diſlike conceiued againſt the priuileged trade of our Engliſh merchãts. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was curteouſly and honourably diſmiſſed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted vnto him by the ſaid Emperor, were theſe:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highneſſe and the ſayd Emperour *Pheodor Iuanowich*, in like maner as was before with his father *Iuan Vaſilowich*.

2 A confirmation and reeſtabliſhment of the former priuileges of the Companie of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with diuers neceſſary additions to the ſame, for the better ordering of their trade in thoſe countreys hereafter, viz. That the ſtate of the priuilege granted before in the names of ſome priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the ſame granted by the name and ſtile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowſhip of Engliſh merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades.

3 That vpon euery ſurmiſe and light quarel, the ſaid priuilege be not reuoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred to the ſaid Companie and their Agent without delay, vpon ſuch as ſhal offer them any deſpite or iniurie, or ſhal exact or impoſe vpon them any paiment, taxation or impoſition whatſoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the ſaid grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the ſaid Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie, either for the vſe of the ſaid Emperor or of his officers, But in caſe they haue need of the ſaid commodities, the ſame to be taken at reaſonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the ſaid Companie be not charged hereafter with the anſwering of ſuch debts as are made by any Engliſhman not being of the ſocietie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people ſhall not hereafter repute any Engliſhman reſiant in that countrey, to be any factor, ſeruant, or dealer in the ſaid Companies affaires, but ſuch as the Agent ſhall inregiſter by name, within the offices where cuſtome is entered in all ſuch places of the land where the ſayd Companie haue reſidencies to traffike.

8 That the names of ſuch as ſhall ſo be inregiſtred be no longer continued in record, nor themſelues reputed as factors or dealers for the ſaid Companie, then the Agent ſhall thinke good, But in caſe the ſaid Agent in his diſcretion ſhall thinke meet to ſtrike out of the Regiſter any name of ſuch as haue bene imploied in the Companies ſeruice, the ſaid perſon to be held as priuate, & whoſe acte in bargaining or otherwiſe, ſhall not charge the ſaid Companie.

9 That if any Engliſh man within the countrey of Ruſſia be ſuſpected for any notorious crime, as felony, treaſon, &c. the ſame be not ſtraightwaies ſet vpõ the* Pudkey, nor otherwiſe tormented, till ſuch time as he ſhall be conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be ſent ouer to the Queene of England.

*It is roſting to death.

10 That the ſaid priuilege with the additions, ſhall be publiſhed in all townes and partes of the Emperors dominions, where the ſaid Companie haue traffike.

11 That the ſaid Companie ſhall be permitted to vſe a ſole trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga into Media, Perſia, Bogharia, and the other the Eaſt countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the ſaid Companie the ſumme of 23553. markes of

debt, made by certaine of their factors for the ſaid company, for paiment whereof, their whole ſtocke was in danger of arreſt, by publike authoritie: Further alſo 2140. rubbles for cuſtome and houſerent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thouſand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the ſayd debt.

The ſaid Ambaſſadour M. Giles Fletcher, as I vnderſtand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Ruſſe Common wealth, containing:

Firſt, a Coſmographicall deſcription of the countrey, which hath theſe chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Ruſſia, with the names of the ſhires.
2 Of the ſoile and climate.
3 Of the natiue commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a deſcription of their policie contained in theſe Chapters, viz.

1 Of the conſtitution or ſtate of the Ruſſe Common wealth.
2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
3 Of the Ruſſe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that ſtate.
4 Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or ſhires.
5 Of the Emperours priuie counſell.
6 Of the Emperors cuſtoms & their reuenues, with the practiſes for the increaſe of them.
7 Of the Ruſſe communaltie and their condition.
8 Of their publike iuſtice and maner of proceeding therein.
9 Of the Emperors forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their ſalarie or pay.
10 Of their maner of muſtering, armour, and prouiſion for victuall.
11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall diſcipline.
12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchaſes by conqueſt.
13 Of their borderers with whom they haue moſt to doe in warre and peace.
14 Of their church offices and degrees.
15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church ſeruice.
16 Of their maner of adminiſtring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Ruſſe church.
18 Of the maner of ſolemnizing their mariages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Ruſſe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behauiour of the Ruſſe containing theſe chapters.

1 Of the Emperors houſhold officers, and order of his houſe.
2 Of the priuate behauiour and maner of the Ruſſe people.

The deſcription of the countrey of *Ruſſia*, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

The countrey of Ruſſia was ſomtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as ſome do ſuppoſe) for that it was parted into diuers ſmal, and yet abſolute gouernments, not depending, nor being ſubiect the one to the other. For Ruſſe in that tongue doeth ſignifie as much as to part, or deuide. The Ruſſe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Variuus deuided among them the North parts of the countey. Likewiſe that the South parts were poſſeſſed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their ſiſter Libeda: each calling his territorie after his own name. Of this partition it was called Ruſſia, about the yere from Chriſt 860. As for the coniecture which I find in ſome Coſmographers, that the Ruſſe nation borowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very ſame nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in reſpect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far fet) and eſpecially for the ſeat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two riuers of Tanais and Boriſthenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Ruſſia.

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was deuided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the ſide of Liefland: as the prouinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Vſtiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Nouogrodia, &c whereof Nouogrod velica was the Metropolite or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black ſea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Moſco, Rezan, &c. Some haue thought that the name of Sarmatia was firſt taken frō one Sarmates, whom Moſes & Ioſephus cal Aſarmathes ſonne to Ioktan, & nephew to Heber, of the poſteritie of Sem. But this ſeemeth to be nothing but a coniecture takē out of the likenes of the name Aſarmathes. For the dwelling of all Ioktans poſteritie is deſcribed by Moſes to haue bene betwixt Meſcha or Maſius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephace, nere to the riuer Euphrates: which maketh

Gen. 10. Ioseph. l. 1. ca. 14

The borders of Ruſſia.

keth it very vnlikely that Aſarmathes ſhould plant any colonies ſo far off in yͤ North & northweſt countries. It is bounded northward by the Lappes & the North Ocean. On the Southſide by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eaſtward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that poſſeſſeth all the countrey on the Eaſt ſide of Volga towards the Caſpian ſea. On the Weſt and Southweſt border lieth Lituania, Liuonia and Polonia.

The Shires of Ruſſia.

The whole Countrey being nowe reduced vnder the gouernment of one, conteineth theſe chiefe Prouinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the firſt place in the Emperours ſtile, becauſe their houſe came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Moſco, Niſnouogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Nouogrod velica (or Nouogrod of the low Countrey) Roſtoue, Yaruſlaue, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meſchora, Vagha, Vſtuga, Ghaletſa. Theſe are the naturall ſhires perteyning to Ruſſia, but farre greater and larger then the ſhires of England, though not ſo well peopled. The other Countreys or prouinces which the Ruſſe Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are theſe which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Ruſſes, yet obey the Emperour of Ruſſia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying cuſtomes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Beſides theſe he hath vnder him the kingdomes of Cazan and Aſtracan, gotten by conqueſt not long ſince. As for all his poſſeſſion in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narue and Dorp in Liuonia, they are quite gone, being ſurpriſed of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. Theſe Shires and Prouinces are reduced all into foure Iuriſdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourthparts.

The Prouinces or Countries got by conqueſt.

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you meaſure from Cola to Aſtracan which bendeth ſomewhat Eaſtward) it reacheth in length about 4260. verſt, or miles. Notwithſtanding the Emperour of Ruſſia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola vnto the Riuer of Tromſchua, that runneth a hundred verſt, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouſe, but not intire nor cleerely limited, by reaſon of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that haue diuers Townes there, aſwell as the Ruſſe, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of thoſe North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth fartheſt Weſtward on the Narue ſide, to the parts of Siberia Eaſtward, where the Emperour hath his garriſons) is 4400. verſt or thereabouts. A verſt (by their reckoning) is a 1000. paſes, yet leſſe by one quarter then an Engliſh mile. If the whole dominion of the Ruſſe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in ſome, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Pechinga.

Of the Soile and Climate.

THe ſoyle of the Countrey for the moſt part is of a ſleight ſandie moulde, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of ſuch things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Northeaſt towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of deſert woods by reaſon of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewiſe along the Riuer Volgha betwixt the Countreys of Cazan, and Aſtracan: where (notwithſtanding the ſoyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, ſauing that vpon the riuer Volgha on the Weſtſide, the Emperour hath ſome fewe Caſtels with garriſons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himſelfe plant Townes to dwel there, (liuing a wild and vagrant life) nor ſuffer the Ruſſe (that is farre off with the ſtrength of his Countrey) to people thoſe parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almoſt 1700. verſt from the port of S. Nicholas) downe towards Moſco, and ſo towards the South part that bordereth vpon the Crimme, (which conteineth the like ſpace of 1700. verſt or there abouts) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant Countrey, yeelding paſture, and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth Southeaſt from Moſco) to Nouogrod and Vobsko, that reach fartheſt towards the Northweſt. So betwixt Moſco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southweſt towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant ſoile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it ſelfe, by reaſon of the yeere: ſo that a man would marueile to ſee the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Ruſſia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth vnder ſnow, which falleth continually, and is ſometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Riuers and other waters are all froſen vp a yard or more thicke, how ſwift or broade ſo euer they bee. And this continueth commonly fiue moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember till towardes the ende of March, The colde of Ruſsia.

March, what time the ſnow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a froſt in a man to looke abroad at that time, and ſee the Winter face of that Countrey. The ſharpeneſſe of the aire you may iudge of by this: for that water dropped downe or caſt vp into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter diſh or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in ſome chamber where their warme ſtoaues bee) your fingers will frieſe faſt vnto it, and drawe off the ſkinne at the parting. When you paſſe out of a warme roome into a colde, you ſhall ſenſibly feele your breath to waxe ſtarke, and euen ſtifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very markets, and ſtreetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: ſo that you ſhall ſee many drop downe in the ſtreetes; many trauellers brought into the Townes ſitting dead and ſtiffe in their Sleds. Diuers loſe their noſes, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheekes, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolfes iſſue by troupes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: ſo that the inhabitants are faine to flie for ſafegard of their liues. And yet in the Sommer time you ſhal ſee ſuch a new view and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the moſt part which are all of firre and birch) ſo freſh and ſo ſweete, the paſtures and medowes ſo greene and well growen, (and that vpon the ſudden) ſuch varietie of flowers, ſuch noyſe of birdes (ſpecially of Nightingales, that ſeeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other Countreys) that a man ſhall not lightly trauell in a more pleaſant Countrey.

And this freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring there ſeemeth to proceede from the benefite of the ſnow: which all the Winter time being ſpread ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the froſt, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and diſſolueth it into water) doeth ſo throughly drench and ſoake the ground, that is ſomewhat of a ſleight and ſandie mould, and then ſhineth ſo hotely vpon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants foorth in great plentie and varietie, in a very ſhort time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, ſo the Sommer inclineth to ouer much heat, ſpecially in the moneths of Iune, Iuly and Auguſt, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watred with ſprings, riuers, and Ozeraes, or lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being ſo farre inland, as that ſome part lieth a thouſand miles and more euery way from any Sea, yet it is ſerued with faire Riuers, and that in very great number, that emptying themſelues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, ſome of 60,80,100, and 200, miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Riuers of Ruſsia.

The chiefe Riuers are theſe, Firſt, Volgha, that hath his head or ſpring at the roote of an Aldertree, about 200. verſt aboue Yaruſlaue, and groweth ſo bigge by the encreaſe of other Riuers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an Engliſh mile and more, and ſo runneth into the Caſpian ſea, about 2800. verſt or miles of length.

The next is Boriſthenes (now called Neper) that diuideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin ſea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Aſia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and ſo running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azou. By this Riuer (as the Ruſſe reporteth) you may paſſe from their Citie Moſco to Conſtantinople, and ſo into all thoſe parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) ouer a little Iſthmus or narrowe ſlip of land, a few verſts ouerthwart. Which was proued not long ſince by an Ambaſſadour ſent to Conſtantinople, who paſſed the Riuer of Moſcua, and ſo into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat ouer into Tanais, and thence paſſed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaſter rockes on the bankes towards the ſea ſide.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick ſea by the towne Riga.

The ſixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solouetsko 90. verſt from the port of S. Nicholas. This Riuer, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the Riuer Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland ſea, and ſo into the Sound, you may paſſe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Ruſſe.

The ſeuenth Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and ſo into the North ſea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and ſtreameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moſcua that runneth thorowe the Citie Moſco, and giueth it the name.

There is Wichida alſo a very large and long riuer that riſeth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha.

Volghs. All theſe are riuers of very large ſtreames, the leaſt to be compared to the Thames in bigneſſe, and in length farre more, beſides diuers other. The Pole at Moſco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey.

The fruits and graines of Ruſſia.

For kindes of fruites, they haue Apples, peares, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a muſke millian, but more ſweete and pleaſant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arbouſe) raſps, ſtrawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other beries in great quantitie in euery wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, peaſe, buckway, pſnytha, that in taſte is ſomewhat like to rice. Of all theſe graines the Countrey yeeldeth very ſufficient with an ouerplus quantitie, ſo that wheate is ſolde ſometime for two alteens or ten pence ſtarling the Chetfird, which maketh almoſt three Engliſh buſhels.

Their rie is ſowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the moſt part in May. The Permians and ſome other that dwell farre North, and in deſert places, are ſerued from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread ſometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this laſt yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. alteens, or 5. ſhillings fiue pence ſtarling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practiſe of their Nobilitie that vſe to engroſſe it, then in the Countrey it ſelfe.

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey.
1. Furres.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they ſerue both their owne turnes, and ſend much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many & ſubſtantiall. Firſt, furres of all ſorts. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, that prouideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furres are theſe, Blacke fox, Sables, Luſernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurneſtalles or Armins, Laſets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the skin of a great water Rat that ſmelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray ſquirrel, red ſquirrel, red & white fox. Beſides the great quantitie ſpent within ẏ Countrey (the people being clad al in furres the whole winter) there are tranſported out of the Countrey ſome yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Perſia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and ſome other of Chriſtendom, to the value of foure or fiue hundred thouſand rubbles, as I haue heard of the merchants. The beſt Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgoſorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worſer ſort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke foxe and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence alſo come the white wolfe, and white Beare skin. The beſt Wuluerin alſo thence and from Perm. The beſt Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyſerns, Mineuer, and Armins, the beſt are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Nouogrod and Perm. The Beauer of the beſt ſort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furres, and moſt of theſe kindes grow in many, and ſome in all parts of the Countrey.

These Rats are in Canada.

Momgoſorskoy perhaps Molgomzaia.

2. Waxe.

The ſecond commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath bene ſhipped into forreigne countreys (as I haue heard it reported by thoſe that beſt know it) the ſumme of 50000. pood yeerely, euery pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Hony.

The third is their Honie, whereof beſides an exceeding great quantitie ſpent in their ordinary drinkes (which is Mead of all ſorts) and their other vſes, ſome good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encreaſe of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremiſſen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogoboſe, and Vaſma.

4. Tallow.

Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for tranſportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for paſturage of cattell, but alſo by reaſon of their many Lents and other faſtes: and partly becauſe their greater men vſe much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner ſort birch dried in their ſtoaues, and cut into long ſhiuers, which they call Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene ſhipped out of the Realme a few yeeres ſince about 100000. pood yeerely, now not paſt 30000. or thereabouts. The beſt yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruſlaue, Ouglits, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide.

An other principall commoditie is their Loſh and Cow hide. Their Loſh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a ſmall ſiſe. There hath bene tranſported by merchants ſtrangers ſome yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreaſed to 30000. or thereabouts. Beſides great ſtore of goates ſkinnes, whereof great numbers are ſhipped out of the countrey. The largeſt kinde of Loſh or Buffe breedeth about Roſtoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The leſſer ſort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Trane oyle.

An other very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawen out of the Seale fiſh.

The maner of hunting the Seale fiſh.

fiſh. Where it will not be impertinent to ſhew the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this ſort. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the froſt beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cuſconeſſe or Foxnoſe, where they leaue their boats till the next ſpring tide. When the Sunne wareth warme toward the ſpring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates ouer the ſea yce, they vſe them for houſes to reſt and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which diuide themſelues into diuers companies, fiue or ſixe boats in a conſort.

They that firſt finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being eſpied by the other companies, by ſuch among them as are appointed of purpoſe, they come altogether and compaſſe the Seales round about in a ring, that lie ſunning themſelues together vpon the yce, commonly foure or fiue thouſand in a ſhoale, and ſo they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the noſe, they are ſoone killed. If on the ſides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times ſo catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they ſee themſelues beſet, to gather all cloſe together in a throng or plumpe, to ſway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which ſo bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the ſea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the ſlaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to ſharing euery boate his part in equall portions: and ſo they flay them, taking from the body the ſkin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaueth to the ſkin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and ſo go to ſhore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and ſo taking the fat or lard off from the ſkinne, they throw it into the pit, and caſt in among it hoat burning ſtones to melt it withall. The vppermoſt and pureſt is ſold, and vſed to oile wool for cloth, the groſſer (that is of a red colour) they ſell to make ſope.

7. Ickary.

Likewiſe of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fiſh called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the moſt part is ſhipped by French and Netherlandiſh merchants for Italy and Spaine, ſome by Engliſh merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe.

The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene ſhipped (as I haue heard merchants ſay) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ſhips ſmall and great yeerely. Now, not paſt fiue. The reaſon of this abating and decreaſe of this & other commodities, that were wont to be tranſported in a greater quantitie, is the ſhutting vp of the port of yͤ Narue towards the Finland ſea, which now is in the handes and poſſeſſion of the Sweden. Likewiſe the ſtopping of the paſſage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, & Plotsko, by reaſon of their warres with the Polonian, which cauſeth the people to be leſſe prouident in mainteining and gathering theſe and like commodities, for that they lacke ſales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogoboſe and Vaſma.

9. Salt.

The countrey beſides maketh great ſtore of ſalt. Their beſt ſalt is made at Stararouſe in very great quantitie, where they haue great ſtore of ſalt wels, about 250. verſt from the ſea. At Aſtracan ſalt is made naturally by the ſea water, that caſteth it vp into great hils, and ſo it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or cuſtome 3. d. Ruſſe vpon euery hundred weight. Beſides theſe two, they make ſalt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitſma, Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombaſey, and Nonocks, all out of ſalt pits, ſaue at Solouetsky, which lieth neere to the ſea.

Nonocks.

10. Tarre.

Likewiſe of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is ſent abroad. Beſides theſe (which are all good and ſubſtantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of ſmaller account, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fiſh tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vſed both among themſelues, and the Perſians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, kniues, and ſword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for diuers other vſes. Some vſe the powder of it againſt poiſon, as the Vnicornes horne. The fiſh that weareth it is called a Morſe, and is caught about Pechora. Theſe fiſh teeth ſome of them are almoſt 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

11. Ribazuba.

12. Slude.

In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North ſea, there groweth a ſoft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and ſo teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and ſo vſe it for glaſſe-lanthornes and ſuch like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glaſſe, and for this reſpect is better then either glaſſe or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glaſſe, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruſlaue & Vſting, and ſome ſmal ſtore of brimſtone vpon the riuer

13. Saltpeter and brimſtone.

Volgha, but want skil to refine it. Their iron is ſomewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolis, & Vſtiug Theleſna. Other mine they haue none growing within ẏ realme. 14. Iron.

The ſtrange beaſtes, fiſh, foule, &c. that breed in Ruſsia.

Their beaſts of ſtrange kinds are the Loſh, the Ollen, the wild horſe, the beare, the woluering, or wood dog, the Lyſerne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martron, the black and dunne fox, the white Beare towards the ſea coaſt of Pechora, the Gurnſtale, the Laſet or Mineuer. They haue a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the ſhoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers with a far broader taile then haue any other ſquirrels, which they moue and ſhake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skiſe a large ſpace, & ſeeme for to flie withal, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechſhe, that is, the flying ſquirrels. Their hares and ſquirrels in Sommer are of the ſame colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the ſquirrel into gray, whereof commeth the Calaber.

They haue fallow deere, the roe bucke, & goats very great ſtore. Their horſes are but ſmal, but very ſwift & hard, they trauell them vnſhod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their ſheepe are but ſmal & beare courſe & harſh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal kinds: Firſt, great ſtore of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the ſlightfaulcon, the goſhawk, the taſſel, the ſparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke ẏ breedeth in the country, is counted ẏ gerfaulcon. Of other foules their principal kinds are the ſwan tame & wilde, (whereof they haue great ſtore) the ſtorke, the crane, the tedder of the colour of a feaſant, but far bigger & liueth in the firre woods. Of feaſant and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bigneſſe, more ugly to behold then ẏ owles of this country, with a broad face, & eares much like vnto a man.

For freſh water fiſh, beſides the cōmon ſorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Oſitrina or Sturgion, the Seueriga and Sterledy ſomewhat in faſhion and taſte like to the Sturgion, but not ſo thicke nor long. Theſe 4. kinds of fiſh breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and ſerued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of theſe foure kinds they make very great ſtore of Icary or Caueary as was ſaid before.

They haue beſides theſe that breed in the Volgha a fiſh called the Ribe bela, or white ſalmon, which they account more delicate then they do the red ſalmon, whereof alſo they haue exceeding great plentie in the Riuers Northward, as in Duyna, the riuer of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or lake neere a towne called Periſlaue, not far frō the Moſco, they haue a ſmal fiſh which they cal the freſh herring, of the faſhion, and ſomewhat of the taſte of a ſea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fiſh are, Iaruſlaue, Bealozera, Nouogrod, Aſtracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large cuſtome to the Emperour euery yeere for their trades of fiſhing, which they practiſe in Sommer, but ſende it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of Ruſsia.

The chiefe cities of Ruſsia are Moſco, Nouogrod, Roſtoue, Volodomer, Pleſko, Smolensko, Iaruſlaue, Periſlaue, Niſnouogrod, Vologda, Vſtiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Aſtracan, Cargapolis, Columna. The city of Moſco is ſuppoſed to be of great antiquitie, though the firſt founder be vnknowen to the Ruſſe. It ſeemeth to haue taken the name frō the riuer that runneth on the one ſide of the towne. Beroſus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth that Nimrod (whō other prophane ſtories cal Saturne) ſent Aſſyrius, Medus, Moſcus, & Magog into Aſia to plant colonies there, and that Moſcus planted both in Aſia and Europe. Which may make ſome probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination frō this Moſcus: the rather becauſe of the climate or ſituation, which is in the very fartheſt part & liſt of Europe, bordering vpon Aſia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Iuan or Iohn, ſonne to Daniel, that firſt changed his title of duke into King: though that honor continued not to his poſterity: the rather becauſe he was inueſted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yere 1246. which was very much miſliked by the Ruſſe people, being then a part of the Eaſterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous, & better knowen to the world: inſomuch that not only the prouince, but the whole Countrey of Ruſsia is termed by ſome by the name of Moſcouia the Metropolite city. The forme of this City is in maner round with 3. ſtrong wals, circuling the one within the other, & ſtreets lying betweene, whereof the inmoſt wall, and the buildings cloſed within it (lying ſafeſt as the heart within the body, fenced and watred with the riuer Moſcua, that runneth cloſe by it) is all accompted the Emperors caſtle. The number of houſes (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a litle before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar beſieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waſte of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel ſet and planted with buildings, ſpecially that part on the South ſide of Moſcua, built not long before Moſco.

by Baſilius the Emperor for his gariſon of ſouldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Ruſſes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cauſe called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck or poure in. So that now the city of Moſco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a maner as large, is the citie Nouograd: where was committed (as the Ruſſe ſaith) the memorable warre ſo much ſpoke of in ſtories of the Scythians ſeruants, that tooke armes againſt their maſters: which they report in this ſort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Nouograd & the territory about (which only are ſouldiers after the diſcipline of thoſe countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed & ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderſtood by the way that their Cholopey or bondſlaues whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their townes, lands, houſes, wiues and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amaſed, and yet diſdeining the villany of their ſeruants, they made the more ſpeed home: and ſo not far from Nouograd met them in warlike maner marching againſt them. Whereupon aduiſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed all to ſet vpon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their ſeruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And ſo marching on & laſhing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onſet. Which ſeemed ſo terrible in the eares of their villaines, and ſtrake ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like ſheepe before the driuers. In memory of this victory the Nouogradians euer ſince haue ſtamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy currant through al Ruſſia) with the figure of a horſman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ẏ reſt in greatnes. For ſtrength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Aſtracan, as lying vpon the borders. But for ſituation Iaruſlaue far exceedeth the reſt. For beſides the commodities that the ſoile yeeldeth of paſture and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, & looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire & ſtately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iaruſlaue in that tongue ſignifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be gheſſed by the name) dwelt the Ruſſe king Vladimer ſurnamed Iaruſlaue, that maried the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sueno the Dane, as is noted in the Daniſh ſtory about the yere 1067.

Nouograd.

Iaruſlaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The other townes haue nothing ẏ is greatly memorable, ſaue many ruines within their wals. The ſtreets of their cities and townes in ſtead of pauing are planked with fir trees, plained & layd euen cloſe the one to the other. Their houſes are of wood without any lime or ſtone, built very cloſe and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are faſtened together with dents or notches at euery corner, & ſo claſped faſt together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thruſt in moſſe (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery houſe hath a paire of ſtaires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or ſtreat after the Scottiſh maner. This building ſeemeth far better for their countrey, then that of ſtone or bricke; as being colder & more dampiſh then their wooden houſes, ſpecially of firre, that is a dry & warme wood. Whereof the prouidēce of God hath giuen them ſuch ſtore, as that you may build a faire houſe for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is moſt ſcant. The greateſt inconuenience of their wooden building is the aptneſſe for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very fearful ſort, by reaſon of the drineſſe and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt vp.

The maner of Ruſſe building.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Ruſſe Emperours.

The ſolemnities vſed at ẏ Ruſſe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheſte (or our Lady) within the Emperors caſtle is erected a ſtage whereon ſtandeth a ſcrine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich ſtuffe. When the day of the Inauguratiō is come, there reſort thither, firſt the Patriarch wt the Metropolitanes, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quire of ſingers. Who ſo ſoone as the Emperor ſetteth foot into ẏ church, begin to ſing: Many yeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c: Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the reſt of the cleargy, anſwere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, ſinging it altogether with a great noiſe. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the ſtage, where ſtandeth a ſeat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to ſit downe, & then placing himſelf by him vpō another ſeat prouided for ẏ purpoſe, boweth downe his head towards ẏ ground, and ſaith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didſt choſe thy ſeruant Dauid, & annoynt him for King ouer thy people Iſrael, heare now our prayer, & looke frō thy ſanctuary vpon this thy ſeruant Theodore, whom thou haſt choſen and exalted for king ouer theſe thy holy natiōs, anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power, put vpon his head a crowne of gold & precious ſtones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the ſeat of Iuſtice, ſtrēgthen his arme, make ſubiect vnto him all the barbarous nations, Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all errour, and ſhewe him the ſaluation of thy holy and vniuerſal Church, that he may iudge thy people with Iuſtice, & protect the children of the poore, & finally atteine euerlaſting life. This prayer he ſpeaketh with a low voice, & then pronounceth aloud: Al praiſe and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe & cap: which is done very decently, and with great ſolemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And ſo he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your ſelues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preſerue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iuſtice ſhine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without ſtrife and malice. This is pronounced ſomewhat ſoftly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the ſauiour of our ſoules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghoſt be al praiſe for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he bleſſeth the Emperour with the ſigne of the croſſe, ſaying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another bleſſe the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is ſayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: O moſt holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Moſco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Ruſſia, &c. Whereto the other Prieſts and Deacons that ſtand ſomewhat farre of by the altar or table, anſwere ſinging: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The ſame note is taken vp by the Prieſts and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left ſide of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, ſinging: Many yeares to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Moſco, Emperour of all Ruſſia, &c. Theſe ſolemnities being ended, firſt commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The ſtile wherewith he is inueſted at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great duke of Smolenſco, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotſkoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countries, &c.

This ſtile conteineth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and ſetteth foorth his greatneſſe. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but alſo ſtrangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by ſpeech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and ſometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambaſſadours: who refuſe to call him Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long ſtile. My ſelfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to ſalute him only with thus much vz. Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodomer, Moſco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan. The reſt I omitted of purpoſe, becauſe I knew they gloried, to haue their ſtile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in ſo ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the reſt of the nobility) with a loude chaſing voice, called ſtill vpon me to ſay out the reſt. Whereto I anſwered, that the Emperors ſtile was very long, and could not ſo well be remembred by ſtrangers, that I had repeated ſo much of it, as might ſhew that I gaue honour to the reſt &c. But all would not ſerue till I commanded my interpreter to ſay it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their ſalaries.

THe ſouldiers of Ruſia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the ſons of Gentlemen: becauſe they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profeſſion. For euery ſouldier in Ruſia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the ſouldiers, that take it by diſcent from their

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

anceſtors: ſo that the ſonne of a gentleman (which is borne a ſouldier) is euer a gentleman, and a ſouldier withall, & profeſſeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roſerade, or great Conſtable, and there preſent themſelues: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the moſt part the ſame that their fathers enioyed. For the lands aſſigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without improouing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperor haue ſufficient in wages, the roomes being full ſo farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except ſome one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his ſouldiers in continuall pay, is this. Firſt he hath his Dworaney, that is, Penſioners, or Gard of his perſon, to the number of 15000 horſemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of horſemen. 1. Prætoriani or ſuch as attend the Emperors perſon 15000.

Of theſe 15000 horſemen, there are three ſorts or degrees, which differ as well in eſtimation as in wages, one degree from another. The firſt ſort of them is called Dworaney Bulſhey, or the company of head Penſioners, that haue ſome an hundred, ſome fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The ſecond ſort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Penſioners. Theſe haue ſixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortie. The third and loweſt ſort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the low Penſioners. Their ſalary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath moſt, ſome haue but 25, ſome 20, none vnder 12. Wherof the halfe part is paid them at the Moſco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, & are imploied in ſeruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

And this is their wages, beſides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the leſſe, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath leaſt, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Beſides theſe 15000 horſemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himſelfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Romane ſouldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of ſpeciall account for their Nobilitie, and truſt, which are choſen by the Emperor, and haue their names regiſtred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horſemen, with all neceſſaries meet for the wars after the Ruſſe maner.

To this end they haue yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themſelues, and their companies, to the ſumme of 40000 rubbles. And theſe 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for ſome other ſeruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might ſeeme peraduenture ſomewhat dangerous for ſome ſtate, to haue ſo great forces vnder the cōmand of Noblemen to aſſemble euery yere to one certain place. But the matter is ſo vſed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his ſtate by this means. Firſt, becauſe theſe noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, & changed by the Emperor ſo oft as he thinketh good. Secōdly, becauſe they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwiſe but of very ſmall reuenue, and receiue this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is preſently to be payd forth againe to the ſouldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, becauſe for the moſt part they are about the Emperors perſon being of his Counſel, either ſpeciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymaſters, then Captaines to their companies, themſelues not going forth ordinarily to the wars, ſaue when ſome of them are appointed by ſpeciall order from the Emperor himſelfe. So the whole number of horſemen that are euer in a readineſſe, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or leſſe.

Horſemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number (which ſeldome falleth out) then he entertaineth of thoſe Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, ſo many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his ſeruants (called Kolophey, ſuch as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the iuſt number that he intendeth to make. Which the ſeruice being done, preſently lay in their weapons, and returne to their ſeruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continual pay 12000.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelſey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Moſco, or any other place where the Emperor ſhall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelſey, or gunners at the ſtirrop) about his owne perſon at the very Court or houſe where himſelfe lodgeth. The reſt are placed in his gariſon townes, till there be occaſion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their ſalarie or ſtipend euery man ſeuen rubbles a yeare, beſides twelue meaſures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are ſtrangers (whom they call Nimſchoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchaſſes (that are vnder the Polonians) about 4000, whereof 3500 are abroad in his gariſons: of Doutches & Scots about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Sweadens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But theſe they vſe onely vpon the

Stranger mercenaries in pay 4300.

Tartar ſide, and againſt the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar ſouldiers (whom they hire ſometimes, but only for the preſent) on the other ſide againſt the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it beſt pollicie to vſe their ſeruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of theſe forces, according to their names and degrees, are theſe which follow. Firſt, the Voyauoda Bulſhaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant generall vnder the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houſes of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiauod or generall at this preſent in their warrs, is commonly one of theſe foure: Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methiſloskey, Knez Iuan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechiſkoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiauod or generall there is ſome other placed as Lieutenant generall, being a man of great valour and experience in the warrs, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, & moſt vſed in their warrs, is one Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great ſeruice (as they ſay) againſt the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiauod and his Lieutenant generall are foure other that haue the marſhalling of the whole army deuided among them, and may be called the marſhals of the field.

The chief captains or leaders.

1. The Voiuod or General.

2. Lieutenant general.

3. Marſhals of the field foure.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the firſt is called the Praua Polskoy, or right wing. The ſecond is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Ruſnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, becauſe out of this there are choſen to ſend abroad vpon any ſodaine exploit, or to make a reſcue or ſupplie, as occaſion doth require. The fourth Storoſhouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of theſe foure Marſhals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twiſe euery weeke at the leaſt muſt muſter and traine their ſeuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iuſtice for all faults, and diſorders committed in the campe.

Foure marſhals deputies eight.

And theſe eight are commonly choſen out of the 110. (which I ſpake of before) that receiue & deliuer the pay to the ſouldiers. Vnder theſe eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulauoy, Captaines of thouſands fiue hundreds and 100. The Peryde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captains.

Beſides the Voiauoda or generall of the armie (ſpoke of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauoda, whereof one is the maſter of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauoda) who hath diuers vnder officers neceſſary for that ſeruice. The other is called the Voiauoda gulauoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horſemen of principall choyce, to range & ſpie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Caſtle, which we are to ſpeake of in the Chapter following. Al theſe Captains, & men of charge muſt once euery day reſort to the Bulſha voiauoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleaſure, & to informe him, if there be any requiſite matter pertaining to their office.

The Maſter of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Of their muſtering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouiſion of victuall for the warres.

When warrs are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds ſend forth their ſummons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of euery Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or ſonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to ſuch a border where the ſeruice is to be done, at ſuch a place, & by ſuch a day, and there preſent themſelues to ſuch, & ſuch Captaines. When they come to the place aſſigned them in the ſummons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commiſſion for that purpoſe from the Roſerade, or high Conſtable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default & faile at the day, he is mulcted, & puniſhed very ſeuerely. As for the General & other chief Captaines, they are ſent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with ſuch Commiſſion & charge as he thinketh behoouefull for the preſent ſeruice. When the ſouldiers are aſſembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, vnder their ſeueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thouſands, &c. and theſe Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which alſo haue the authoritie of Marſhals of the field (as was ſayd before.)

Their order of muſtering.

Concerning their armour they are but ſlightly appointed. The common horſeman hath nothing els but his bow in his caſe vnder his right arme, & his quiuer & ſword hanging on the left ſide: except ſome fewe that beare a caſe of dagges, or a Iauelin, or ſhort ſtaffe along their horſe ſide. The vnder captaines wil haue commonly ſome piece of armour beſides, as a ſhirt of maile, or ſuch like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie wil haue their horſe very richly furniſhed, their ſadles of cloth of gold, their bridles faire boſſed & taſſelled with gold, & ſilk fringe, beſtudded with pearle & precious ſtones, themſelues in very faire armour, which they call Bullatnoy,

The horſemans furniture.

made of faire ſhining ſteele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with ermin furre, his ſteele helmet on his head of a very great price, his ſword bow and arrowes at his ſide, his ſpeare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Sheſta pera, or horſemans ſcepter caried before him. Their ſwords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkiſh faſhion. They practiſe like the Tartar to ſhoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture. The Strelſey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his ſtriking hatchet at his back, & his ſword by his ſide. The ſtock of his piece is not made caliuerwiſe, but with a plaine & ſtraite ſtocke (ſomewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & vnartificially made, very heauie, yet ſhooteth but a very ſmall bullet. **Prouiſion of victual.** As for their prouiſion of victual, the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captaine or ſouldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture ſome corne for their money. Euery man is to bring ſufficient for himſelfe, to ſerue his turne for foure moneths, & if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or ſome other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Ruſſe is prepared to be a ſouldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captaines & other of account cary tents with them after the faſhion of ours, with ſome better prouiſion of victual then the reſt. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kinde of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with ſome ſtore of meale, which they temper with water, and ſo make it into a ball, or ſmall lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in ſteed of bread. Their meat is bacon, or ſome other fleſh or fiſh dryed, after the Dutch maner. If the Ruſſe ſouldier were as hardy to execute an enterpriſe, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were otherwiſe as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the ſouldiers of our parts.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial diſcipline.

The Ruſſe truſteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his ſouldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, ſaue that the foure Polkey or Legions, (whereinto their armie is deuided) keepe themſelues ſeuerall vnder their enſignes, & ſo thruſt all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Enſigne is the image of S. George. **Horſemens drummes.** The Bulſha Dworaney or chiefe horſemen, haue euery man a ſmall drumme of braſſe at his ſaddle bowe, which he ſtriketh when he giueth the charge, or onſet.

The horſemans maner of charging. They haue drummes beſides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them vpon a boord layed on foure horſes, that are ſparred together with chaines, euery drumme hauing eight ſtrikers, or drummers, beſides trumpets and ſhawmes, which they ſound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge, or make any inuaſion, they make a great hallow or ſhoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the ſound of their trumpets, ſhawmes, and drummes, maketh a confuſed and horrible noyſe. So they ſet on firſt diſcharging their arrowes, then dealing with their ſwordes, which they vſe in a brauerie to ſhake, and brandiſh ouer their heads, before they come to ſtrokes.

The footmans charge. Their footmen (becauſe otherwiſe they want order in leading) are commonly placed in ſome ambuſh or place of aduantage, where they may moſt annoy the enemie, with leaſt hurt to themſelues. If it be a ſet battell, or if any great inuaſion be made vpon the Ruſſe borders by the Tartar, they are ſet within yͤ running or mouing Caſtle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiauoda gulauoy (or the walking General) whom I ſpake of before. **The walking Caſtle.** This walking or mouing Caſtle is ſo framed, that it may be ſet vp in length (as occaſion doth require) the ſpace of one, two, three, foure, fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen miles: for ſo long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both ſides behinde and before, with a ſpace of three yardes or thereabouts, betwixt the two ſides: ſo that they may ſtand within it, and haue roome ynough to charge and diſcharge their pieces, and to vſe their other weapons. It is cloſed at both endes, and made with loope holes on either ſide, to lay out the noſe of their piece, or to puſh foorth any other weapon. It is caried with the armie whereſoeuer it goeth, being taken into pieces, and ſo layde on cartes ſparred together, and drawen by horſe that are not ſeene, by reaſon that they are couered with their cariage as with a ſhelfe or penthouſe. When it is brought to the place where it is to be vſed (which is deuiſed and choſen out before by the walking Voiauod) it is planted ſo much as the preſent vſe requireth, ſometime a mile long, ſometimes two, ſometimes three or more: Which is ſoone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or inſtrument: becauſe the timber is ſo framed to claſpe together one piece within another: as is eaſily vnderſtood by thoſe that know the maner of the Ruſſe building.

In this Caſtle ſtandeth their ſhot wel fenced for aduantage, ſpecially againſt the Tartar, that bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, ſaue his ſword, and bow, and arrowes. They haue alſo within their diuers field pieces, which they vſe as occaſion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carie no great ſtore, when they warre againſt the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whoſe forces they make more account) they go better furniſhed with all kind of munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. It is thought that no Prince of Chriſtendome hath better ſtore of munition, then the Ruſſe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Armorie houſe at Moſco, where are of all ſortes of great Ordinance, all braſſe pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Ruſſe ſouldier is thought to be better at his defence within ſome caſtle or towne, then he is abroad at a ſet pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practiſe of his warres, and namely at the ſiege of Vobſko, about eight yeres ſince: where he repulſed the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to giue ouer his ſiege, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaines and ſouldiers. But in a ſet field the Ruſſe is noted to haue euer the worſe of the Polonian and Sweden. 1580.

If any behaue himſelfe more valiantly then the reſt, or do any ſpeciall piece of ſeruice, the Emperour ſendeth him a piece of golde, ſtamped with the Image of Saint George on horſebacke. Which they hang on their ſleeues, and ſet in their caps. And this is accounted the greateſt honour they can receiue, for any ſeruice they doe. **Reward for valure.**

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conqueſts, or purchaſes by force.

The Ruſſe Emperours of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, and territories. Their firſt conqueſt after the Dukedome of Moſco (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was ſaid) was the citie, and Dukedome of Nouogrod on the Weſt, and Northweſt ſide: which was no ſmal enlargement of their dominion, and ſtrengthening to them for the winning of the reſt. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperour, about the yere 1480. The ſame began likewiſe to encroch vpon the countries of Lituania and Liuonia, but the conqueſt only intended, and attempted by him, vpon ſome part of thoſe countries, was purſued and performed by his ſonne Baſileus, who firſt wan the citie and dukedome of Pleſko, afterwards the citie and dukedome of Smolenſco, and many other faire townes, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. Theſe victories againſt the Letoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuil diſſentions, and treaſons among themſelues, then by any great policie, or force of his owne. But al this was loſt againe by his ſon Iuan Vaſiliwich, about 8 or 9 yeres paſt, vpon compoſition with the Polonian king Stephan Batore: wherunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reaſon of the foile he had giuen him before, and the diſquietnes of his own ſtate at home. Onely the Ruſſe Emperour at this time hath left him on that ſide his countrey, the cities of Smolenſco, Vobſco, Chernigo, and Bealagorod in Lituania. In Liuonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground. 1580.

When Baſilius firſt conquered thoſe countries, he ſuffered then the natiues to keepe their poſſeſſions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, vnder the gouernement of his Ruſſe Captaines. But by their conſpiracies and attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more ſurely with them. And ſo comming vpon them the ſecond time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or ſold to the Tartars that ſerued him in thoſe warres, and in ſtead of them placed there his Ruſſes, ſo many as might ouermatch the reſt, with certaine gariſons of ſtrength beſides. Wherein notwithſtanding this ouerſight was committed, for that (taking away with him the vpland, or countrey people that ſhould haue tilled the ground, and might eaſily haue bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeres together, to victuall the countrey (ſpecially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Ruſſia, the ſoile lying there in the meane while waſt, and vntilled. **Lituania.**

The like fell out at the port of Narue in Liefland, where his ſonne Iuan Vaſiliwich deuiſed to build a towne, and a caſtle on the other ſide the riuer, (called Iuangorod) to keepe the towne and countrey in ſubiection. The caſtle he cauſed to be ſo built and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was finiſhed, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the natiues all within their owne countrey, without abating their number or ſtrength, the towne and caſtle not long after was betraied, and ſurrendred againe to the king of Sweden. **Narue.**

On the Southeaſt ſide, they haue got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Aſtracan. Theſe were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Iuan Vaſiliwich, the one about thirtie fiue, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Northward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath **Siberia and Ob.**

Conqueſt of a 1000 miles.

Permia and Pechora.

layed vnto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the riuer of Obba, about a 1000 miles ſpace: ſo that he is bolde to write himſelfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewiſe of Permia and Pechora are a diuers people and language from the Ruſſe, ouercome not long ſince, and that rather by threatning, and ſhaking of the ſword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to reſiſt.

Meanes of holding chiefe townes.

That which the Ruſſe hath in his preſent poſſeſſion, he keepeth on this ſort. In his foure chiefe border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Aſtracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counſel not of greateſt nobility, but of greateſt truſt, which haue more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and ſtrengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are ſet to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Prouinces. Theſe he changeth ſometime euery yere, ſometime euery ſecond or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except vpon very ſpeciall truſt, and good liking of the party, and his ſeruice: leaſt by enlarging of their time, they might growe into ſome familiaritie with the enemie (as ſome haue done) being ſo farre out of ſight.

The townes beſides are very ſtrongly fenced with trenches, caſtles, & ſtore of munition, and haue gariſons within them, to the number of two or three thouſand a piece. They are ſtored with victual if any ſiege ſhould come vpon them, for the ſpace of two or three yeres before hand. The foure caſtles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Aſtracan, he hath made very ſtrong to beare out any ſiege: ſo that it is thought that thoſe townes are impregnable.

Meanes of holding the countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath now vnder him, they are kept by as eaſie meanes, as they were firſt got. vz., rather by ſhewing, then by vſing of armes. Firſt, he hath ſtored the countrie with as many Ruſſes as there are natiues, & hath there ſome few ſouldiers in gariſon, inough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his officers & Magiſtrates there are of his owne Ruſſe people, and he changeth them very often, vz. euery yere twiſe or thriſe: notwithſtanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly, he deuideth them into many ſmal gouernments, like a ſtaffe broke in many ſmall pieces: ſo yͭ they haue no ſtrength being ſeuered, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the countrie haue neither armor, nor money, being taxed & pilled ſo often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to ſhake off that yoke, or to relieue themſelues.

Siberia.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in purſuing his conqueſt) he hath diuers caſtles & gariſons, to the number of 6000 ſouldiers of Ruſſes & Polonians, & ſendeth many new ſupplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time beſides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leaue his owne country by offers of great entertainment, and pleſanter life with the Ruſſe Emperour, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this laſt yere, and is now with the Emperour at Moſco well entertained.

The kings brother of Siberia. 1588.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of *Ruſſia*, with whom they haue moſt to doe in warre, and peace.

The Polonians called Laches by the Ruſſe.

Their neighbours with whom they haue greateſt dealings & intercourſe, both in peace & war, are firſt the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Ruſſe calleth Laches, noting the firſt author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added Po, which ſignifieth People, and ſo is made Polaches, that is, the People or poſterity of Laches: which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Sweden. The Polonians & Swedens are better knowen to theſe parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from vs (as being of Aſia) and diuided into many tribes, different in name, and gouernment one from another. The greateſt and mightieſt of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom ſome call the Great Can) that lieth South, & Southeaſtward from Ruſſia, and doth moſt annoy the country by often inuaſions, commonly once euery yere, ſometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of *Moſco*, with an armie of 200000 men, without any battel, or reſiſtance at al, for that the Ruſſe Emperour (then Iuan Vaſiliwich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the ſuburbs, which by reaſon of the buildings (which are all of wood without any ſtone, brick, or lime, ſaue certeine out roomes) kindled ſo quickly, and went on with ſuch rage, as that it conſumed the greateſt part of the citie almoſt within the ſpace of foure houres, being of 30 miles or more of compaſſe. Then might you haue ſeene a lamentable ſpectacle: beſides the huge & mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houſes and ſtreetes, but moſt of all of ſuch as laboured to paſſe out of the gates fartheſt from the enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & ſo preſſing euery man to preuent another, wedged themſelues ſo faſt within the

The Chrim Tartar.

The firing of Moſco by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

the gate, and ſtreetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermoſt treading downe thoſe that were lower: ſo that there periſhed at that time (as was ſaid) by the fire & the preſſe, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cauſe of this continuall quarell betwixt the Ruſſe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but poſſeſſed by the Ruſſe. The Tartar allageth that beſides Aſtracan and Cazan (that are the ancient poſſeſſion of the Eaſt Tartar) the whole countrey from his bounds North and Weſtward ſo farre as the citie of Moſko, and Moſko it ſelfe perteineth to his right. Which ſeemeth to haue bene true by the report of the Ruſſes them ſelues, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Ruſſe Emperour euery yeere to the great Chrim or Can, the Ruſſe Emperour ſtanding on foot and feeding the Chrims horſe, (him ſelfe ſitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in ſtead of a bowle or manger, and that within the caſtle of Moſko. And this homage (they ſay) was done till the time of Baſileus grandfather to this man. Who ſurpriſing the Chrim Emperour by a ſtratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Iuan Demetrowich Belſchey) was content with this raunſome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of furres: which afterwards alſo was denied to be paide by this Emperors father.

Homage done by the Ruſſe to the Chrim Tartar.

Hereupon they continue ẏ quarrel, the Ruſſe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, ẏ Chrim Tartar inuading him once or twiſe euery yere, ſomtime about Whitſontide, but ofter in harueſt. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne perſon, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwiſe they make ſhort & ſudden rodes into the countrey with leſſer numbers, running about the liſt of the border as wild geeſe flie, inuading and retiring where they ſee aduantage.

Their common practiſe (being very populous) is to make diuers armies, and ſo drawing the Ruſſe to one or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at ſome other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Ruſſe maner (ſpoken of before) ſaue that they are all horſemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a ſheafe of arrowes, and a falcon ſword after the Turkiſh faſhion. They are very expert horſemen, and vſe to ſhoote as readily backward, as forward. Some wil haue a horſmans ſtaffe like to a bore ſpeare, beſides their other weapons. The common ſouldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke ſheeps skin with the wool ſide outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the ſame. But their Morſeys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to paſſe ouer a riuer with their armie, they tie three or foure horſes together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them faſt to the tailes of their horſe: ſo ſitting on the poles they driue their horſe ouer. At hand ſtrokes (when they ioyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Ruſſe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practiſe of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any ciuill practiſe.

The maner of the Tartars fight, and armour.

Yet their ſubtiltie is more then may ſeeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reaſon they are practiſed to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuiſe ſtratagems vpon the ſudden for their better aduantage. As in their warre againſt Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they inuaded with 500000. men, and obtained againſt him a great victorie. Where, amongother, hauing ſlaine his Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings priuy ſeale. Whereupon they deuiſed preſently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no caſe they ſhould conuey themſelues, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide ſafely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the countrey deſolate to the poſſeſſion of ſo vile and barbarous an enemie, as was the Tartar nation, ſeruing themſelues in all beaſtly maner. For notwithſtanding he had loſt his carriages, with ſome few ſtraglers that had marched diſorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that loſſe, with the acceſſe of a notable victorie, if the ſauage Tartar durſt abide him in the field. To this purpoſe hauing written their letters in the poliſh character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and ſigned them with the Kings ſeale, they diſpatched them foorth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Vngarians that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of theſe counterfeit letters, ſtaied at home. And ſo were made a pray, being ſurpriſed on the ſudden by this huge number of theſe Tartars, that had compaſſed them about before they were aware.

The ſubtiltie of the Tartar.

When they beſiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and ſend many flattering meſſages to perſwade a ſurrendry: promiſing all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once poſſeſſed of the place, they vſe all maner of hoſtilitie, and crueltie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue, vz. that iuſtice is to bee practiſed but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue ſome ambuſh, whereunto (hauing once ſhewed themſelues, and made ſome ſhort conflict) they retire as repulſed for feare, and ſo draw the enemie into it if they can. But the Ruſſe being well acquainted with their practiſe is more warie of them. When they come a rouing with ſome ſmall number, they ſet on horſebacke counterfaite ſhapes of men, that their number may ſeeme greater.

When they make any onſet, their maner is to make a great ſhoute, crying all out together Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God help vs. They contemne death ſo much, as that they chuſe rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are ſeene when they are ſlaine to bite the very weapon, when they are paſt ſtriking or helping of themſelues. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his deſperate courage from the Ruſſe and Turke. For the Ruſſe ſouldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his ſafetie in his ſpeedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himſelfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning ſtraight to die. The Turke commonly, when he is paſt hope of eſcaping, falleth to intreatie, and caſteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to ſaue his life, by offering himſelfe bondſlaue.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars ſeeke for in all their warres, is to get ſtore of captiues, ſpecially young boyes, and girles, whome they ſell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpoſe they take with them great baſkets made like bakers panniers to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be ſicke by the way, they daſh him againſt the ground, or ſome tree, and ſo leaue him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captiues and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certaine bandes that intend nothing elſe, appoynted of purpoſe to receiue and keepe the captiues and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Ruſſe borderers (being vſed to their inuaſions lightly euery yeere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, ſaue ſwine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkiſh religion, and will eate no ſwines fleſh. Of Chriſt our Sauiour they confeſſe as much as doth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and ſhall be the Iudge of the worlde at the laſt day. In other matter likewiſe, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkiſh forces when hee wonne from them Azou and Caffa, with ſome other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperor of the Crims for the moſt part is choſen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to paſſe, that the Crim Tartar giueth to the Turke the tenth part of the ſpoyle which hee getteth in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

Herein they differ from the Turkiſh religion, for that they haue certaine idole puppets made of ſilke, or like ſtuffe, of the faſhion of a man, which they faſten to the doore of their walking houſes, to be as Ianuſſes or keepers of their houſe. And theſe idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they haue among them for that and like vſes. They haue beſides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bigneſſe, which they erect at euery ſtage when the army marcheth: and this euery one muſt bend and bowe vnto as he paſſeth by it, be he Tartar or ſtranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures vpon euery accident which they heare or ſee.

In making of mariages they haue no regard of alliance or conſanguinitie. Onely with his mother, ſiſter, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his houſe, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he haue a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends of horſe, ſheepe, kine, &c. If ſhe be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certaine Dukes, whome they call Morſeis or Diuoymorſeis, that rule ouer a certaine number of 10000, 20000, or 40000, a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any vſe of them to ſerue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certaine number, euery man with his two horſe at the leaſt, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horſe eaten. For their chiefe vittaile is horſe fleſh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Ruſſe, he ſhall be ſure lightly to finde a horſe-legge, or ſome other part of him at his ſaddle bowe.

The Tartar diet.

1588.

This laſt yeere when I was at the Moſco, came in one Kiriach Morſey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crims that nowe is (whoſe father was Emperour before) accompanied with 300. Tartars,

Tartars, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good ſort after the Ruſſe maner, hee had ſent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his ſupper and his companies, two very large and fat horſes, ready flayed in a ſled. They prefer it before other fleſh, becauſe the meate is ſtronger (as they ſay) then Beefe, Mutton, and ſuch like. And yet (which is marueile) though they ſerue all as horſemen in the warres, and eate all of horſe fleſh, there are brought yeerely to the Moſco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thouſand Tartar horſe, which they call Cones. They keepe alſo great heards of kine, and flocks of blacke ſheepe, rather for the ſkins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the vſe of the fleſh, though ſometimes they eate of it. Some vſe they haue of ryſe, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the moſt part card them both together. They vſe ſometime as they trauel by the way, to let their horſe blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

Townes they plant none, nor other ſtanding buildings, but haue walking houſes, which the latines call Veij, built vpon wheeles like a ſhepherds cottage. These they drawe with them whitherſoeuer they goe, driuing their cattell with them. And when they come to their ſtage, or ſtanding place, they plant their carte houſes verie orderly in a ranke: and ſo make the forme of ſtreetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himſelfe, who hath no other ſeat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moueth with him whitherſoeuer hee goeth. As for the fixed and ſtanding building vſed in other countreyes, they ſay they are vnwholeſome and vnpleaſant.

They begin to moue their houſes and cattell in the ſpring time from the South part of their Countrey towards the North partes. And ſo driuing on till they haue graſed all vp to the fartheſt part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a ſtage: in the meane while the graſſe being ſprung vp againe, to ſerue for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caſpian ſea, to the Ruſſe frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, ſpecially on the South and Southeaſt parts, but loſt for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vſe at all, and therefore prefer braſſe and ſteele before other mettals, ſpecially bullate, which they vſe for ſwordes, kniues, and other neceſſaries. As for golde and ſiluer they neglect it of very purpoſe, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey leſſe ſubiect to inuaſions. Which giueth them great aduantage againſt all their neighbours, euer inuading, and neuer beeing inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time Cyrus and Darius Hyſtaſpis, on the Eaſt and Southeaſt ſide) haue done it with very ill ſucceſſe: as wee finde in the ſtories written of thoſe times. For their manner is when any will inuade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they haue drawen them ſome good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other neceſſaries (as needes they muſt where nothing is to be had) to ſtoppe vp the paſſages, and incloſe them with multitudes. By which ſtratagem (as wee reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkiſh ſtorie) they had welnigh ſurpriſed the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retired with all ſpeede hee could towards the riuer Tanais or Don, not without great loſſe of his men, and carriages.

In the ſtorie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperours of Conſtantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember hee telleth to the ſame purpoſe of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine vnder Cazan the Emperour of the Eaſt Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may ſeeme to haue taken the denomination) who refuſed a preſent of Pearle and other iewels ſent vnto him from Michael Palæologus: asking withall, for what vſe they ſerued, and whether they were good to keepe away ſickneſſe, death, or other miſfortunes of this life, or no. So that it ſeemeth they haue euer, or long time bene of the minde to value things no further, then by the vſe and neceſſitie for which they ſerue.

For perſon and complexion they haue broade and flatte viſages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired vpon the vpper lippe, and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with ſhort legges, as if they were made naturally for horſemen: whereto they practiſe themſelues from their childhood, ſeldome going afoot about anie buſineſſe. Their ſpeech is verie ſudden and loude, ſpeaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they ſing you would thinke a kowe lowed, or ſome great bandogge howled. Their greateſt exerciſe is ſhooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their verie infancie, not ſuffering them to eate, till they haue ſhot neere the marke within a certaine

The Tartars dwelling.

Pachymerius.

ſcantling.

ſcatting. They are the very ſame that ſometimes were called Scythæ Nomades, or the Scythian
ſhepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turks tooke their beginning
from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Calcocondylas the Greek
Laonicus Calcocondylas. Hiſtoriographer, in his firſt booke of his Turkiſh ſtorie. Wherein hee followeth diuers verie
1 probable coniectures. The firſt taken from the verie name it ſelfe, for that the worde Turk
ſignifieth a Shepheard, or one that followeth a vagarant and wilde kinde of life. By which
name theſe Scythian Tartars haue euer beene noted, being called by the Greekes [illegible]
2 or the Scythian ſhepheards. His ſecond reaſon, becauſe the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in
Aſia the leſſe, to wit, in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia, ſpake the very ſame language
that theſe Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the riuer Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia,
which (as is well knowen) are theſe Tartars called Crims. At this time alſo the whole nation
of the Turkes differ not much in their common ſpeech from the Tartar language. Thirdly
3 becauſe the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree ſo well together, as well in religion, as in matter
of traffique neuer inuading, or iniurying one another: ſaue that the Turke (ſince Laonicus his
time) hath encroched vpon ſome Townes vpon the Euxin Sea, that before perteined to the
4 Crim Tartar. Fourthly, becauſe Ortogules ſonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Otoman the
firſt of name of the Turkiſh nation made his firſt roades out of thoſe partes of Aſia, vpon the next
borderers, till hee came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee ouercame the
Greekes that inhabited there: and ſo enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkiſh nation,
till hee came to Eubœa and Attica, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of
Laonicus, who liued among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the ſixt Turkiſh Emperour, about
1400 the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was more freſh: and therefore the
likelier hee was to hit the trueth.

The Nagay Tartar the cruelleſt. The Chircaſſe the ciuilleſt Tartar.

The Cheremiſſen Tartar of two ſorts: the Lugauoy and the Nagornay.

There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon Ruſſia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremiſſens, the Mordwites, the Chircaſſes, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircaſſes that border Southweſt, towardes Lituania, and are farre more ciuill then the reſt of the Tartars, of a comely perſon, and of a ſtately behauiour, as applying themſelues to the faſhion of the Polonian. Some of them haue ſubiected themſelues to the Kings of Poland, and profeſſe Chriſtianitie. The Nagay lieth Eaſtwarde, and is reckoned for the beſt man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie ſauage, and cruell aboue all the reſt. The Cheremeſſen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Ruſſe and the Nagay, are of two ſorts, the Lugauoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. Theſe haue much troubled the Emperours of Ruſſia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of thẽ, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely penſion of Ruſſe commodities to their Morſeys, or Diuoymorſeis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which alſo they are bound to ſerue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are ſaid to be iuſt and true in their dealings: and for that cauſe they hate the Ruſſe people, whom they account to be double, and falſe in al their dealing. And therefore the common ſort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morſeis, or Dukes for their penſions ſake.

The Mordwit Tartar ẏ moſt barbarous of the reſt.

The moſt rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many ſelfe-faſhions and ſtrange kindes of behauiour, differing from the reſt. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his maner is to worſhip for God, that liuing thing ẏ he firſt meeteth in the morning, and to ſweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horſe, dog, cat, or whatſoeuer els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his beſt horſe, and hauing flayed off the ſkinne hee carieth it on high vpon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Ruſſe ſaieth) that his friend may haue a good horſe to carie him to heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the beſt thing that he hath.

The reuiuing of ſilkwormes.

Chriniſin a kinde of ſilkworme.

Liberty to trade downe the Caſpian ſea.

Next to the kingdome of Aſtracan, that is the fartheſt part Southeaſtward of the Ruſſe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Ruſſe merchants trade for rawe ſilkes, ſyndon, ſaphion, ſkinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Ruſſe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants ſay) and Zamachi where the ſtaple is kept for rawe ſilkes. Their manner is in the ſpring time to reuiue the ſilke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme ſunne, and (to haſten their quickening that they may ſooner goe to worke) to put them into bagges, and ſo to hang them vnder their childrens armes. As for the worme called Chriniſin (as wee call it Chrymſon) that maketh coloured ſilke, it is bred not in Media, but in Aſſyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe ſilkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as alſo into Perſia, and Bougharia downe the riuer of Volga, and through the Caſpian ſea, is permitted aſwell to the Engliſh as to the Ruſſe merchants, by the Emperours laſt graunt at my being there.

Which he accounteth for a very ſpeciall fauour, and might proue indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vſed.

The whole nation of the Tartars are vtterly voide of all learning, and without written Law:
yet certaine rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the prac-
tiſe of their life. Which are of this ſort. Firſt, To obey their Emperour and other Magiſtrates, 1
whatſoeuer they commaund about the publike ſeruice. 2 Except for the publike behoofe, e- 2
uery man to be free and out of controlment. 3 No priuate man to poſſeſſe any lands, but the 3
whole countrey to be as common. 4 To neglect all daintineſſe and varietie of meates, and 4
to content themſelues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardneſſe, and rea-
dines in the executing of their affaires. 5 To weare any baſe attire, and to patch their clothes 5
whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no ſhame to weare a patcht
coate. 6 To take or ſteale from any ſtranger whatſoeuer they can get, as beeing enemies to 6
all men, ſaue to ſuch as will ſubiect themſelues to them. 7 Towards their owne hoorde and 7
nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To ſuffer no ſtranger to come within the Realme, If 8
any doe, the ſame to be bondſlaue to him that firſt taketh him, except ſuch merchants and o-
ther as haue the Tartar Bull, or paſport about them.

No ſtranger without paſport admitted.

Of the *Permians*, *Samoites*, and *Lappes*.

The Permians. The Samoits.

The Permians and Samoites that lye from Ruſſia, North and Northeaſt, are thought likewiſe to haue taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee geſſed by the faſhion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces as the Tartars haue, except the Chircaſſes. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe ſubiect to the Ruſſe. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as alſo doeth the Samoit, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoit hath his name (as the Ruſſe ſaith) of eating himſelfe: as if in times paſt, they liued as þ Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, becauſe at this time they eate all kind of raw fleſh, whatſoeuer it be, euen the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themſelues will ſay, they were called Samoie, that is, of themſelues, as though they were Indigenæ, or people bred vpon that very ſoyle, that neuer changed their ſeate from one place to another, as moſt nations haue done. They are ſubiect at this time to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

The Samoits religion. Slata Baba or the golde hag. A fable. The Sea. Fiſhing or ſea.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but repreſent him by ſuch things as they haue moſt vſe and good by. And therefore they worſhip the Sunne, the Ollen, the Loſh, and ſuch like. As for the ſtory of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I haue read in ſome mappes, and deſcriptions of theſe countries, to be an idole after the forme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Prieſt, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the ſucceſſe, and euent of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Prouince of Obdoria vpon the ſea ſide, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being ſomewhat helped by imagination) may ſeeme to beare the ſhape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the ſhape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoites vſe much to reſort, by reaſon of the commoditie of the place for fiſhing: and there ſometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practiſe their ſorceries, and ominous coniecturings about the good or bad ſpeede of their iourneies, fiſhings, huntings, and ſuch like.

The Samoits habit and behauiour. The people of Meta Incognita such.

They are clad in Seale ſkins, with the hairie ſide outwards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherſtockes of the ſame, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardleſſe. And therefore the men are hardly diſcerned from the women by their lookes: ſaue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and ſauage life, roving ſtill from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of houſe or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in euery companie, is their Papa or Prieſt.

The Lappes.

On the North ſide of Ruſſia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the fartheſt point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the fartheſt part Southeaſt (which the Ruſſe calleth Sweetneſſe or Holy noſe, the English men Capegrace) about 345. verſts or miles. From Sweetneſſe to Candelox by the way of Verſega (which meaſureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea ſide are called Tondro, becauſe they are all of hard and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furniſhed with woods that growe on the hilles ſides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and ſimple. Bread they haue none, but feede onely vpon fiſh and foule. They are ſubiect to the Emperor of Ruſſia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and cuſtome of them (as was ſaide before) but the Emperor of Ruſſia beareth the greateſt hand ouer them, and exacteth of them farre more then the reſt. The opinion is that they were firſt termed Lappes of their briefe and short ſpeech. The Ruſſe diuideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two ſortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Noruegian Lappes becauſe they be of the Daniſh religion. For the Danes and Noruegians they account for one people. The other that haue no religion at all but liue as bruite and heathenish people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not ſo much as the vſe of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practiſe of witchcraft and ſorcerie they paſſe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchanting of ſhips that ſaile along their coaſt, (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a rope (ſomewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, deuiſed (as may ſeeme) by themſelues, to terrifie ſailers for comming neere their coaſt. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aſwell for quickneſſe to charge and diſcharge, as for neereneſſe at the marke by reaſon of their continual practiſe (whereto they are forced) of ſhooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the ſea ſide, to Wardhuyſe, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fiſh for Codde, Salmon, & Butt-fiſh, which they ſel to the Ruſſes, Danes, & Noruegians, and now of late to the Engliſh men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps & Corelians for their fiſh, oyle, and furres, whereof alſo they haue ſome ſtore. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuyſe (that is reſiant there for the king of Denmark) muſt be preſent, or at leaſt ſend his deputie to ſet prices vpon their ſtockfiſh, train oile, furres, and other commodities: as alſo the Ruſſe Emperors cuſtomer, or tribute taker, to receiue his cuſtome, which is euer paide before any thing can bee bought or ſolde. When their fiſhing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbaſſes or boates on ſhore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwardes, till the next ſpring tide. Their trauaile to and fro is vpon ſleddes drawen by the Olen Deere: which they vſe to turne a graſing all the Sommer time in an Iland called Kildyn, (of a verie good ſoyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the ſnowe beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe for the vſe of their ſledde.

The mart at Cola.

Sleds drawen with Deere.

The deſcription of the regions, people, and riuers, lying North and Eaſt from *Moſcouia*: as the way from *Moſcouia* to the riuer *Petzora*, and the Prouince *Iugaria* or *Iubra*, and from thence to the riuer *Obi*. Likewiſe the deſcription of other countreys and regions, euen vnto the Empire of the great *Can* of *Cathay*, taken out of *Sigiſmundus ab Herberſtein*.

The dominion of the Duke of Moſcouia.

Vologda.
Verſt.
Vſtiug.

THE dominion of the Prince of Moſcouia, reacheth farre toward the Eaſt and North, vnto the places which we will now deſcribe. As concerning which thing, I tranſlated a booke ŷ was preſented vnto me in the Moſcouites tongue, and haue here made a briefe rehearſall of the ſame. I will firſt therefore deſcribe the iourney from Moſcouia to Petzora, and ſo to Iugaria and Obi. From Moſcouia to the citie of Vologda, are numbred fiue hundred verſts, one verſt conteyning almoſt the ſpace of an Italian myle. From Vologda to Vſtiug toward the right hand, deſcending with the courſe of the riuer of Vologda and Suchana with whom it ioyneth, are counted fiue hundred verſtes, where within two verſts of the towne called Strelze, and hard by the citie of Vſtiug, Suchana ioyneth vnto Iug, which runneth from the South: from whoſe mouth vnto the ſprings of the ſame, are numbred fiue hundred verſts.

Suchana, Iug. So called of his ſwift and pleaſant ſtreame.

But Suchana and Iug, after they ioyne together, loſe their firſt names, and make but one riuer named Dwina, by the which the paſſage to the citie of Colmogro conteineth fiue hundred verſts, from whence, in the ſpace of ſixe dayes iourney, Dwina entreth into the North Ocean at ſixe mouthes. And the greateſt part of this iourney conſiſteth by Nauigation. For by lande from Vologda vnto Colmogro, paſſing ouer the riuer Vuaga, are a thouſand verſtes. Not farre from Colmogro, the riuer Pienega running from the Eaſt on the right hand for the ſpace of ſeuen hundred verſts, falleth into Dwina. From Dwina by the riuer Pienega, by the ſpace of two hundred verſts, they come to a place called Nicholai, from whence within halfe a verſt ſhips haue paſſage into the riuer Kuluio, which hath his originall from a lake of the ſame name towarde the North,

Pienega.

Nicholai.

Kuluio.

from whoſe ſprings is eight daies viage to the mouth of the ſame, where it entreth into the Ocean.

Sayling by the coaſts of the right hand of the ſea, they paſſe by the regions of Stanuwiſche, Calunczſcho, and Apnu: And ſayling about the promontorie or cape of ChorogoskiNoſz, Stanuwiſche, Camenckh, and Tolſtickh, they come at length into the riuer Mezen, and from thence in the ſpace of ſixe dayes, to a village of the ſame name, ſtanding in the mouth of the riuer Pieza, by the which againe aſcending toward the left hand & ſommer Eaſt, they come to the riuer Pieſcoia: from whence ſayling for the ſpace of fiue verſts, they come into two lakes, in the which are ſeene two wayes: whereof one on the right ſide, goeth to the riuer Rubicho, by the which they paſſe to the riuer Czircho. Other, by an other and ſhorter way, bring their ſhips from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered by tempeſt, they come in the ſpace of three weekes to the riuer and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great riuer Petzora, which in that place is two verſts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the ſpace of ſixe dayes to the Towne and caſtle of Puſtoſero, neare vnto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at ſixe mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of ſimple wit: they receiued the faith of Chriſt, and were baptiſed in the yeare M.D.xviii.

The regions by the North ſea.

Pieza.

Pieſcoia.

Rubicho.

Czircho.

Czilma.

Petzora.

Puſtoſero.

From the mouth of Czilma vnto the mouth of the riuer Vſſa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Vſſa hath his ſprings in the mountaine *Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the ſommer Eaſt, and ſpringeth out of a great ſtone of the ſame mountaine, called Camen Bolſchoi. From the ſprings of Vſſa to the mouthes of the ſame, are numbered more then a thouſand verſts. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this ſouth winter part, from whence aſcending from the mouthes of Vſſa, vnto the mouthes of the riuer Stzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that deſcribed this voyage ſay that they reſted betweene the mouthes of the riuers of Stzuchogora and Potzſcheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Ruſſia. Beyond the riuers of Petzora and Stzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the ſea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Caſtle of Puſtoſero, are diuers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) ſuch as eate themſelues. They haue great increaſe of foules, birdes, and diuers kindes of beaſts: as Sables, Marternes, Beuers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beaſt called a Mors: Alſo Veſſe, white Beares, Wolues, Hares, Equiwoduani, great Whales, and a fiſh called Semſi, with diuers other. The people of theſe nations come not to Moſcouia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and ſociety of other men.

Vſſa.

*Cingulus mundi.

Stzuchogora.

Potzſcheriema.

Camenipoias.

Samoged.

Foules and beaſts.

Wilde people.

From the mouthes of Stzuchogora, ſayling by the riuer vnto Poiaſſa, Artawiſche, Cameni, and Poiaſſa the greater, is three weekes voyage. Furthermore, the aſcending to the mount Camen, is three dayes iourney: from the which deſcending they come to the riuer Artawiſcha, and from thence to the riuer Sibut, from whence they paſſe to the Caſtle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the riuer Soſſa. The people that inhabite the region by this riuer, are called Vuogolici. Leauing Soſſa on the right hande, they come to the great riuer Obi, that ſpringeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, with all the haſte they could make, they could ſcarcely paſſe ouer in one day, the riuer being of ſuch breadth that it reacheth fourescore verſts. The people alſo that dwell about the riuer, are called Vuogolici and Vgritzſchi. From the Caſtle of Obea, aſcending by the riuer of Oby, vnto the riuer Irtiſche, into the which Soſſa entreth, is three moneths iourney. In theſe places are two Caſtles named Ierom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Kneſi Iuhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moſcouia, as they ſay. Here are diuers kinds of beaſts and furres.

Poiaſſa.

Camen.

Artawiſcha.

Sibut.

Lepin.

Soſſa.

Obi.

Kitaisko.

Vuogolici.

Irtiſche.

Ierom.

Tumen.

From the mouth of the riuer Irtiſche to the Caſtle of Gruſtina, is two moneths iourney: from whence to the lake Kitai, by the riuer Oby (which I ſaid to haue his ſprings in this lake) is more then three moneths iourney. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the vſe of common ſpeech. They bring with them diuers wares, and eſpecially pearles, and precious ſtones, which they ſell to the people called Gruſtinczi and Serponowtzi. Theſe haue their name of the Caſtle Serponow, ſituate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the riuer Obi. They ſay that to the men of Lucomoria chanceth a maruellous thing and incredible: For they affirme, that they die yeerely at the xxvii. day of Nouember, being the feaſt of S. George among the Moſcouites: and that at the next ſpring about the xxiiii. day of Aprill, they reuiue againe as doe Frogges.

Gruſtina.

Kitai.

Blacke men without ſpeech.

Serponow.

Lucomoria.

Men that yeerely die and reuiue.

With theſe alſo, the people of Gruſtinczi and Serponowtzi exerciſe a new and ſtrange kinde of trade: For when the accuſtomed time of their dying, or rather of ſleeping, approcheth, they leaue their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Gruſtinczi and Serponowtzi carry away, leauing other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reuiuing perceiue to be of vnequall price, they require their owne againe: by reaſon whereof, much ſtrife and fighting is betweene them.

A ſtrange trade of marchandiſe.

Obi.
Calami.
Riuers.

From the riuer of Obi deſcending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from Obiowa and Pogoſa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is, the golden old wife) are the riuers Soſſa, Berezuua, and Danadim, all which ſpring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolſchega, Poiaſſa, and the rockes ioyning to the ſame. All the nations that inhabite from theſe riuers to Aurea Anus, are ſubiect to the prince of Moſcouia.

Aurea Anus, Obdora.

Aurea Anus, called in the Moſcouites tongue, Slata Baba, is an idol, at the mouthe of Obi in the prouince of Obdora, ſtanding on the furtheſt banke toward the ſea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the riuers neare there about, are here and there many caſtles and fortreſſes: all the lords whereof, are ſubiect to the prince of Moſcouia, as they ſay. They ſay alſo, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea Anus, is an image like vnto an old wife, hauing a child in her lap, and that there is now ſeene another infant, which they ſay to be her nephew: Alſo, that there are certaine inſtruments that make a continuall ſound like the noyſe of Trumpets, the which, if it ſo be, I thinke it to be by reaſon of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of thoſe inſtruments.

Coſſin.
Caſſima.
Tachnin a great riuer.
People of monſtrous ſhape.
A fiſh like a man.
Plinie writeth of the like fiſh.

The riuer Coſſin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a caſtle, whither from the ſprings of the great riuer Coſſin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the ſprings of the ſame riuer, the riuer Caſſima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great riuer Tachnin, beyond the which (as is ſaid) dwell men of prodigious ſhape, of whom, ſome are ouergrowen with haire like wilde beaſtes, other haue heads like dogges, and their faces in their breaſts, without neckes, and with long hands alſo, and without feete. There is likewiſe in the riuer Tachnin a certaine fiſh, with head, eyes, noſe, mouth, hands, feete, and other members vtterly of humane ſhape, and yet without any voyce, and pleaſant to be eaten, as are other fiſhes.

The end of the iournall.

All that I haue hitherto rehearſed, I haue tranſlated out of the ſaide iourney which was deliuered me in the Moſcouites tongue: In the which, perhaps ſome things may ſeeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reuiuing, the Aurea Anus alſo, and the monſtrous ſhapes of men, with the fiſh of humane fourme: whereof, although I haue made diligent inquiſition, yet could I knowe nothing certaine of any that had ſeene the ſame with their eyes: neuertheleſſe, to giue further occaſion to other to ſearch the trueth of theſe things, I haue thought good to make mention hereof.

Noſſ in the Moſcouites tongue ſignifieth a noſe, and therefore they call all capes or points, that reach into the ſea, by the ſame name.

Mountaines.

The mountaines about the riuer of Petzora are called Semnoi Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

The great Can of Cathay.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moſcouians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language ſignifieth, A King.

Moria is the ſea.
Lucomoria.
Tumen.

The places of Lucomoria, neare vnto the ſea, are ſaluage, full of woods, and inhabited without any houſes. And albeit, that the author of this iourney, ſaid, that many nations of Lucomoria are ſubiect to the prince of Moſcouia, yet for as much as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thervnto, whoſe prince is a Tartar, and named in their tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great domage to the prince of Moſcouia: it is moſt like that theſe nations ſhould rather be ſubiect vnto him.

Petzora.
Papin.
High mountaines, ſuppoſed to be Hyperborei, and Rhiphei.

Neare vnto the riuer Petzora (whereof mention is made in this iourney) is the citie and caſtle of Papin, or Papinowgorod, whoſe inhabitants are named Papini, and haue a priuate language, differing from the Moſcouites. Beyond this riuer are exceeding high mountaines, reaching euen vnto the bankes, whoſe ridges or tops, by reaſon of continuall windes, are in maner vtterly barren without graſſe or fruits. And although in diuers places they haue diuers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In theſe mountaines doe Ierfalcons breede, whereof I haue ſpoken before. There growe alſo Cedar trees, among the which are found the beſt and blackeſt kinde of Sables: and onely theſe mountaines are ſeene in all the dominions of the prince of Moſcouia, which perhaps are the ſame that the old writers call Rhipheos, or Hyperboreos, ſo named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Aboue, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reaſon they are couered with continuall ſnow and froſt, they can not without great difficultie be trauayled, and reach ſo farre into the North, that they make the vnknowen land of Engronland. The Duke of Moſcouia, Baſilius the ſonne of Iohn, ſent on a time two of his Captaines, named Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski, & Knes Peter Vſchatoi, to ſearch the places beyond theſe mountaines, and to ſubdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was yet aliue at my being in Moſcouia, & declared vnto me that he ſpent xvii. daies in aſcending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top therof, which in their tongue is called Scolp, that is, a piller. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean vnto the mouthes of the riuers of Dwina and Petzora.

But now hauing ſpoken thus much of the ſaid iourney, I will returne to the dominions of Moſcouia, with other regions lying Eaſtward & South from the ſame, toward the mightie Empire of Cathay. But I will firſt ſpeake ſomewhat briefly of the prouince of Rezan, and the famous riuer of Tanais.

Cathay.

The prouince of Rezan, ſituate betweene the riuers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not from the banke of Occa: there was in it a Caſtle named Iaroſlaue, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie, the riuer Occa maketh an Iland named Strub, which was ſometime a great Dukedome, whoſe prince was ſubiect to none other. This prouince of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the prouinces of Moſcouia: Inſomuch that in this (as they ſay) euery graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and ſometimes more eares: whoſe ſtalkes or ſtrawes grow ſo thicke that horſes can ſcarſely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fiſhes, foules, birdes, and wilde beaſts. The fruits alſo doe farre exceede the fruits of Moſcouia. The people are bolde and warlike men.

The fruitfull prouince of Rezan.
Iaroſlaue.
Hony.

A ſpeciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Coſmographer M. *Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius* out of the Arabian Geographie of *Abilſada Iſmael*, concerning the trending of the Ocean ſea from *China* Northward, along the coaſt of *Tartarie* and other vnknowen lands, and then running Weſtwards vpon the Northerne coaſts of *Ruſſia*, and ſo farther to the Northweſt.

Deſcriuendo poi il predetto Abilſada Iſmael *i luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice coſi.*

Riuoltaſi l'Oceano da leuante verſo la regione delle Cine, & và alla volta di Tramontana, et paſſata finalmente la detta regione, ſe ne giunge a Gogi & Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Vltimi Tartari, et di quivi ad Alcune Terre che ſono Incognite: Et correndo ſempre per Ponente, paſſa ſopra li confini Settentrionali della Roſſia, et và alla volta di Maeſtro.

La regione delle Cine.
Confini delli vltimi Tartari.
Alcune Terre Incognite.
Confini Settentrionali della Roſſia.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The aforeſaid Abilſada Iſmael deſcribing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean ſea in his circuit toucheth, ſayth in this manner following.

The Ocean ſea turneth from the Eaſt toward the Countrey of the Chinaes, and ſtretcheth toward the North, and at length hauing paſſed the ſayd Countrey, it reacheth vnto the Gogi and Magogi, that is, to the confines of The vttermoſt Tartars, and from thence, vnto certaine vnknowen Countreys: and running ſtill Weſtward it paſſeth vpon the Northerne coaſts of Ruſſia, and from thence it runneth toward the Northweſt. (which it doth indeede vpon the coaſt of Lappia.) By this moſt notable teſtimony it appeareth, that the Ocean ſea compaſſeth and enuironeth all the Eaſt, Northeaſt, and North parts of Aſia and Europe.

The Countrey of China.
The coaſts of the vttermoſt Tartars.
Certaine vnknowne Countreys.
The Northerne coaſts of Ruſſia.
The Northweſt.

The Emperors priuate or houſhold Officers.

The chiefe Officers of the Emperors houſhold are theſe which follow. The firſt is the office of the Boiaren Coneſheua, or maſter of the Horſe. Which conteineth no more then is expreſſed by the name, that is, to be ouerſeer of the Horſe, and not Magiſter equitum, or Maſter of the Horſemen. For he appointeth other for that ſeruice, as occaſion doth require, as before was ſayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe, brother to the Empreſſe. Of Horſe for ſeruice in his warres (beſides other for his ordinary vſes) he hath to the number of ten thouſand which are kept about Moſco.

Maſter of the Horſe.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houſhold at this time, one Gregory Vaſilowich Godonoe. The third is his Treaſurer, that keepeth all his moneis, iewels, plate, &c. now called Stephan Vaſilowich Godonoe. The fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Cleſinine. The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Eſtoma Biſabroza Paſtelniſchay. The ſixt his Taſters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Iuan Vaſilowich Godonoe. The ſeuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noble men, and diuers other Gentlemen that doe the office vnder them. Theſe are his ordinary officers, and offices of the chiefeſt account.

The L. Steward.
The L. Treaſurer.
Controller.
Chamberlaine.
Taſters.
Harbengers.

Of Gentlemen, beſide them that waite about his chamber, and perſon (called Shilſey Strapſey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens ſonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thouſand Hagbutters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other neceſſarie furniture

Gentlemen of the chamber.
The Gard.

continually day and night: which come not within the houſe, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of beſt truſt about him. A ſecond chamber off, there lodge ſixe other of like account for their truſt and faithfulneſſe. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of theſe two hundred, called Shilſey Straſpſey, that take their turnes by forties euery night. There are Groomes beſides that watch in their courſe, and lie at euery gate and doore of the Court, called Eſtopnick.

Groomes.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thouſand (as was ſaid before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bed chamber by courſe 250. euery night, and 250. more in the Court yarde, and about the Treaſure houſe. His Court or houſe at the Moſco is made Caſtle wiſe, walled about, with great ſtore of faire ordinance planted vpon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houſes: Which are appointed for ſuch as are knowen to be ſure, and truſtie to the Emperor.

Of the priuate behauiour, or qualitie of the Ruſſe people.

THE priuate behauiour and qualitie of the Ruſſe people, may partly be vnderſtood by that which hath beene ſayd concerning the publique ſtate and vſage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the moſt part of a large ſize, and of very fleſhly bodies: accounting it a grace to be ſomewhat groſſe and burley, and therefore they nouriſh and ſpread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the moſt part they are very vnwieldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbneſſe which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that ſtandeth moſt of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and ſuch like things that breede groſſe humors, which they vſe to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Conſtitution of their bodies.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or ſmall cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Ruſſe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kiſſing one another at euery pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones ſleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights reſt. When they exceede, and haue varietie of diſhes, the firſt are their baked meates (for roſte meates they vſe litle) and then their brothes or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer ſort vſe water, and a third drinke called Quaſſe, which is nothing elſe (as we ſay) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle branne meaſhed with it.

Their diet.

This diet would breede in them many diſeaſes, but that they vſe bathſtoues, or hote houſes in ſteade of all Phiſicke, commonly twiſe or thriſe euery weeke. All the winter time, and almoſt the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathſtoues, and their Poclads like ouens, that ſo warme the houſe that a ſtranger at the firſt ſhall hardly like of it. Theſe two extremities, ſpecially in the winter of heat within their houſes, and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and ſallow complexion, their ſkinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: ſpecially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worſe complexions, then the men. Whereof the cauſe I take to be their keeping within the hote houſes, and buſying themſelues about the heating, and vſing of their bathſtoues, and peaches.

The Ruſſe becauſe that he is vſed to both theſe extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then ſtrangers can doe. You ſhall ſee them ſometimes (to ſeaſon their bodies) come out of their bathſtoues all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almoſt as a pigge at a ſpit, and preſently to leape into the riuer ſtarke naked, or to powre cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldeſt of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their ſkinnes, vſe to paint their faces with white and red colours, ſo viſibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, becauſe it is common, and liked well by their huſbands: who make their wiues and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themſelues much to ſee them of fowle women to become ſuch faire images. This parcheth the ſkinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

An admirable induring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the ſame time.

They apparell themſelues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this faſhion. Firſt a Taffia, or little night cappe on his head, that couereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of ſilke and golde threede, and ſet with pearle and precious ſtone. His head he keepeth ſhauen cloſe to the very ſkinne, except he be in ſome diſpleaſure with the Emperour. Then hee ſuffereth his haire to growe and hang downe vpon his ſhoulders, cou-

The Noble mans attire.

ring his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the Taffia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Foxe (which they account for the beſt furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, ſtanding vp like a Perſian or Babilonian hatte. About his necke (which is ſeene all bare) is a coller ſet with pearle and precious ſtone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next ouer his ſhirt, (which is curiouſly wrought, becauſe hee ſtrippeth himſelfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the houſe) is a Shepon, or light garment of ſilke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a cloſe coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Perſian girdle, whereat he hangs his kniues and ſpoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ancles. Ouer that hee weareth a loſe garment of ſome rich ſilke, furred and faced about with ſome golde lace, called a Ferris. Another ouer that of chamlet, or like ſtuffe called an Alkaben, ſleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brodered, and ſet all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he caſteth ouer all theſe (which are but ſleight, though they ſeeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, ſaue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camels haire. His buſkins (which he weareth in ſtead of hoſe, with linnen folles vnder them in ſtead of boot hoſe) are made of a Perſian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His vpper ſtockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horſebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner alſo of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the ſame faſhion, but differeth in ſtuffe: and yet he will haue his Caftan or vndercoat ſometimes of cloth of golde, the reſt of cloth, or ſilke.

The Noble womans attire.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarſhena) weareth on her head, firſt a caull of ſome ſoft ſilke (which is commonly redde) and ouer it a frontlet called Obroſa, of white colour. Ouer that her cappe (made after the coife faſhion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with ſome rich furre, and ſet with pearle and ſtone. Though they haue of late begunne to diſdaine embrodering with pearle aboue their cappes, becauſe the Diacks, and ſome Marchants wiues haue taken vp the faſhion. In their eares they weare earerings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or more compaſſe, the matter of gold ſet with Rubies, or Saphires, or ſome like precious ſtone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, faſtned vnder the chinne, with two long taſſels pendent. The kerchiefe ſpotted and ſet thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, ſet with rich pearle and precious ſtone. Their vpper garment is a looſe gowne called Opoſhen commonly of ſcarlet, with wide looſe ſleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great golde buttons, or at leaſt ſiluer and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it faſtned vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of ſome rich furre, that hangeth downe almoſt to the middes of their backes. Next vnder the Opoſken or vpper garment, they weare another called a Leitnick that is made cloſe before with great wide ſleeues, the cuffe or halfe ſleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and vnder that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth looſe buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wreſts they weare very faire braſelets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious ſtone. They goe all in buſkins of white, yellow, blew, or ſome other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Ruſſia, when ſhe maketh the beſt ſhewe of her ſelfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the ſtuffe, but is all one for the making or faſhion.

The Mouſick or common mans attire.

As for the poore Mouſick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Honoratkey, or looſe gowne to the ſmall of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of courſe white or blew cloth, with ſome Shube or long waſtcoate of furre, or of ſheepeſkinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buſkins. The poorer ſort of them haue their Honoratkey, or vpper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the ſommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their ſhirts on their backes, and buſkins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blew gowne, when ſhe maketh the beſt ſhewe, and with ſome warme Shube of furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the ſommer, nothing but her two ſhirts (for ſo they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of ſome coloured ſtuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold: but for the moſt part kerchiefs. Without earings of ſiluer or ſome other mettall, and her croſſe about her necke, you ſhall ſee no Ruſſe woman, be ſhe wife, or maide.

The Lord *Boris Pheodorowich* his letter to the Right Honorable *William Burghley* Lord high Treaſurer of England, &c.

By the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogorod, king of Cazan, and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Tuer, Vghori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Roſtoue, Yeroſlaue, Bealozera, and Liefland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coaſts, great Lorde ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Griſinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

The Emperors ſtile increaſed.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Maieſties brother in law, maſter of his horſes, gouernour of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treaſurer to the moſt vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions: I receiued your Lordſhips letters, wherein you write that you haue receiued very ioyfully my letters ſent vnto you, and aduiſedly read them, and imparted the ſame vnto her Maieſtie: and that your Merchants finde themſelues agreeued, that when they approch theſe parts, and are arriued here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall courſe of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they haue done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours ware, and other goods, at high rates farre aboue their value, to their great loſſe: and that they are by reaſon of this reſtraint long holden vpon theſe coaſts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there ſhalbe no cauſe of offence giuen to the Marchants of the Queenes Maieſtie Queene Elizabeth: they ſhall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or ſhall be any demands made of cuſtome or debts. Such things as haue beene heretofore demaunded, all ſuch things haue beene already vpon their petition and ſupplication commaunded to be diſcharged. I haue ſollicited his Maieſtie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for thoſe matters, and that a fauourable hand be caried ouer them. And according to your requeſt I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occaſions, and will my ſelfe ſhew them my fauorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to ſignifie to her Maieſties Merchants that I promiſe to haue a care of them, and for the Queenes Maieſtie of Englands ſake, I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours ſelected people vnder the Emperors commiſſion: and by mine appointment all his Maieſties officers and authorized people ſhall be carefull ouer them. The Emperors gracious fauour towards them was neuer ſuch as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperors Officers ſell their ware by commiſſion at a ſet rate giuen them, farre aboue the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any ſuch courſe, but ſay they barter their ware for other wares, and alſo put their ware to ſale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the cuſtome houſe here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is ſold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can beſt agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kepe it: therefore your Marchants haue no iuſt cauſe to make any ſuch report. I haue expreſſely giuen order, that there ſhall be no ſuch courſe vſed to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to tarrie at the port or to depart at their pleaſure. And as touching the cuſtomes alreadie paſt, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Ruſſia of famous memory hath ſhewed his Maieſties eſpecial fauour and loue, for the great loue of his welbeloued ſiſter Queene of England, and by my petition and mediation, whereas there was commandement giuen to take Marſhes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement giuen it ſhould not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be deliuered them. And to the end hereafter that her Maieſties Marchants moue no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperor and great Duke of Ruſſia, and his welbeloued ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, his Maieſtie deſireth order to be giuen, that your Marchants doe deale iuſtly in their traffike, and plainely without fraud or guile. And I will be a fauourer of them aboue all others, vnder his Maieſties authoritie: themſelues ſhall ſee it. Written in our great Lorde the Emperours citie of Moſco in the moneth of Iuly, 7099.

The Engliſh Marchants complaints.

Engliſh Marchants in great fauour with the Emperor.

Halfe the debt of Antony Marſh remitted.

Ann. Dom. 1590.

The Queenes Maieſties letter to *Theodore Iuanouich* Emperour of *Ruſsia*, 1591.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Iuanouich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, Volodemer, Moſco, Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolenſko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozero, and Liefland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coaſts, great Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, Griſinsky, Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our moſt deare and louing brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we haue receiued your Maieſties letters brought ouer by our merchants in their returne of their ‖ laſt voyage from your port of S. Nicholas; which letters we haue aduiſedly read and conſidered, and thereby perceiue that your Maieſty doth greatly miſlike of our late imployment of Ierome Horſey into your dominions as our meſſenger with our Highneſſe letters, and alſo that your Maieſty doth thinke that we in our letters ſent by the ſayd meſſenger haue not obſerued that due order or reſpect which apperteined to your princely maieſty, in the forme of the ſame letter, aſwel touching the inlargement of your Maieſties ſtile and titles of honor which your Maieſty expected to haue bene therein more particularly expreſſed, as alſo in the adding of our greateſt ſeale or ſignet of armes to the letters which we ſend to ſo great a Prince as your Maieſty is: in any of which points we would haue bene very loth willingly to haue giuen iuſt cauſe of offence thereby to our moſt deare and louing brother. And as touching the ſayd meſſenger Ierome Horſey we are ſory that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Maieſties diſpleaſure, whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath ſo incurred your Maieſties miſlike: yet that we had reaſon at ſuch time as we ſent him to your Maieſty to vſe his ſeruice as our meſſenger, we referre our ſelues to your princely iudgement, praying your Maieſty to reduce into your minde the eſpeciall commendation, which in your letters written vnto vs in the yeere 1585, you made of the ſayd Ierome Horſey his behauiour in your dominions: at which time your Maieſty was pleaſed to vſe his ſeruice as your meſſenger to vs, requiring our anſwere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occaſions taken by your Maieſty to vſe the ſeruice of the ſayd Ierome Horſey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Maieſty ſent him to vs againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priuiledge at our requeſt granted to our merchants (for which we haue heretofore giuen thanks to your Maieſty, ſo doe we hereby reiterate our thankefulneſſe for the ſame) mooued vs to be of minde, that we could not make choiſe of any of our ſubiects ſo fit a meſſenger to your Maieſty as he, whom your Maieſty had at ſeuerall times vſed vpon your owne occaſions into this our Realme. But leaſt your Highneſſe ſhould continue of the minde that the letters which you ſent by our ambaſſador Giles Fletcher (wherein ſome mention was made of your conceiued diſpleaſure againſt the ſayd Horſey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Maieſty made therein againſt the ſayd Horſey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aſwell by our ambaſſadour as by thoſe letters of ſome diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him by your Maieſty: but your ſayd letters giuing onely a ſhort generall mention of ſome miſdemeanour committed by him, expreſſing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not ſo hainous, as that it might vtterly extinguiſh all your former princely fauour towards him, but that vpon his humble ſubmiſſion to your Maieſty, or vpon better examination of the matter of the diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, the offence might haue beene either remitted, or he thereof might haue cleared himſelfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long ſollicited, but by the interceſſion of ſome of our Nobility giuing credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to vſe his ſeruice once againe into Ruſſia as our meſſenger to your Maieſty, whereby he might haue opportunity to cleare himſelfe, and either by his anſwere or by his ſubmiſſion recouer your Maieſties former fauour: whereunto our princely nature was mooued to yeeld, wiſhing the good of our ſubiect ſo farre foorth as his deſert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

1590

1585

Thus noble Prince, our moſt louing and deareſt brother, it may appeare vnto your Maieſty how we were induced to vſe the ſeruice of the ſayd meſſenger, aſwell for the recouery of your

Maieſties fauor towards him (if he had bene found worthy of it) as for experience of the maners and faſhions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conuerſant. But ſith by your Maieſties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himſelfe in your Maieſties ſight, we meane not to vſe him in any ſuch price hereafter.

And as touching your Maieſties conceit of the breuitie which we vſed in the ſetting downe of your Maieſties ſtile and titles of honour: as nothing is further from vs, then to abridge ſo great and mighty a Prince of the honour due vnto him (whom we holde for his greatneſſe to deſerue more honour then we are able to giue him) ſo ſhall we need no further nor ſurer argument to cleare vs of the ſuſpition of the detracting from your Maieſty any part of your iuſt and princely honor and greatneſſe, then the conſideration of our owne ſtile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expreſſed by theſe generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in euery of which there are ſeuerall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, prouinces and countreys: which being ſeuerally expreſſed would enlarge much our ſtile, and make it of great length; which by our progenitours hath not bene vſed: notwithſtanding, we thinke it no diſhonour to vs, compendiouſly to abridge the ſame in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate ſoeuer. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Maieſties generall ſtile, we offer your Highneſſe no diſhonour in not expreſſing all the particular prouinces: albeit we can willingly content our ſelfe, vpon the knowledge of your vſages and cuſtomes, to obſerue that courſe, which your ſelfe ſhall thinke moſt honourable. And for the ſealing vp of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinſemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we haue in vſe two ſeuerall ſeales; both which we eſteeme alike honourable, being our princely ſeales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or ſmall, ſo accordingly is our greater or leſſer ſeale annexed to the ſayd letters, without eſteeming either of them more or leſſe honourable then the other. So as, our moſt louing and deareſt brother, in the ſaid letters there was nothing done of purpoſe to detract from your Maieſty any thing of the vſuall regard, which our Highneſſe was woont to yeeld vnto your moſt noble father of famous memory Iuan Baſiliuich Emperor of al Ruſſia, or to your ſelfe, our deareſt brother. For the reſidue of the points of your Maieſties letters concerning the entertainement of our ambaſſadour, and proceeding in the cauſe of Anthonie Marſh we holde our ſelfe ſatiſfied with your princely anſwere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Maieſtie to preuent the like troubles, controuerſies and ſutes, that Marſhes cauſe ſtirred vp betweene our merchants and your ſubiects, which is, that your Maieſtie doeth purpoſe from time to time to purge your Countrey of ſuch ſtraglers of our ſubiects, as doe or ſhall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuouſly depart out of our land without our Highneſſe licence: of which ſort there are preſented vnto vs from our merchants the names of theſe ſeuerall perſons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Iackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worſenham: whom it may pleaſe your Maieſty by your princely order to diſmiſſe out of your land, that they may be ſent home in the next ſhippes, to auoid the miſlike which their reſidence in thoſe parts might breed to the diſturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourſe.

And whereas, moſt louing and deareſt brother, one William Turnebull a ſubiect of ours is lately deceaſed in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants haue had much controuerſie for great ſummes of money due vnto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandiſes: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the ſumme of 3000 rubbles, and ſo much ſhould haue beene payed by him as may appeare by your Maieſties councell or magiſtrates of iuſtice by very credible information and teſtimony: and whereas alſo the ſayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to diuers of our ſubiects, amounting in the whole, to the ſumme of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified vnder our great ſeale of England, and to be ſent ouer with this bearer: of which ſummes he hath often promiſed payment: it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſtie in your approoued loue to iuſtice, to giue order to your fauourable councell and magiſtrates, that thoſe ſeuerall debts may be ſatiſfied to our merchants and ſubiects out of the goods, merchandiſe, and debts which are due to the ſtate of the ſayd Turnbull: whereof your Maieſties councell ſhalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

The Emperor ſeiſed our merchants goods.

We truſt we ſhall not need to make any new requeſt by motion to your Maieſty that ſome order might be taken for the finding out of the reſt of our merchants goods ſeiſed to your maieſties vſe in the hands and poſſeſſion of Iohn Chappel their ſeruant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Maieſties order. We therfore intreat your Maieſty, that as conueniently as may be, ſatiſfaction or recompenſe be giuen to our ſaid merchants towards the repairing of their ſundry great loſſes, aſwell therein as otherwiſe by them of late ſundry wayes ſuſtained. And laſtly, our moſt deare and louing brother, as nothing in all theſe our occaſions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, deſcending vpon vs as an inheritance, in ſucceſſion from both our anceſtours and noble progenitours: ſo let vs be carefull on both ſides by all good meanes to holde and continue the ſame to our poſterity for euer. And if any miſtaking or errour of either ſide do riſe, in not accõpliſhing of circumſtances agreeable to the faſhion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the ſame vpon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occaſion whatſoeuer. And thus we recommend your Maieſty to the tuition of the moſt High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591. 1591

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich.*

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Maſter of the horſes to the great and mightie Emperour of Ruſſia, his Highneſſe lieutenant of Cazan and Aſtracan, our moſt deare and louing couſin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared vnto vs vpon the reading and peruſing of the Letters lately ſent vnto our Highneſſe from our deare and louing brother the Emperour, in what part his Maieſtie tooke the late imployment of our meſſenger Ierome Horſey in our affaires into Ruſſia: wherein we doe alſo finde the honourable endeuour vſed by your Lordſhip to appeaſe his Highneſſe miſlike and exception taken aſwell to the perſon of our Meſſenger, as to our princely letters ſent by him: both of which points we haue anſwered in our letters ſent by this bearer directed to our ſayd louing brother the Emperour: vpon peruſing whereof we doubt not but his Maieſtie will be well ſatiſfied touching our ſayd Meſſenger and former letters. And for the honourable courſe holden by your Lordſhip in the interpoſing of your opinion and fauourable conſtruction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie ſtanding betweene your Soueraigne Lord and vs (wherein your Lordſhip performed the office of an honourable and graue Counſellour) we take our ſelfe beholding to your Lordſhip for your readineſſe in that behalfe, and doe aſſure our ſelfe that the ſame did proceed of the eſpeciall loue and kinde affection that your Lordſhip hath euer borne and continued towards vs, whereof our princely nature will neuer be vnmindfull. We haue bene alſo from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Counſellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treaſurour of our Highneſſe Realme of England, of your letters which haue paſſed betweene your Lordſhip and him, concerning the entercourſe of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordſhip with the Emperour in fauour of our ſayd Marchants. And laſtly (which wee take a moſt aſſured argument of your vndoubted loue and affection towards vs) that your Lordſhip hath vouchſafed, and of purpoſe taken into your hands the protection of our ſayd Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their cauſes and occaſions whatſoeuer, which ſhall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceiue to be done for our ſake, and therefore do acknowledge our ſelues to be, and ſtill will continue beholding vnto you for the ſame.

And whereas we haue made mention in our ſayd letters written to our louing brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aſwell to our merchants, as to other of our ſubiects by one William Turnebull a ſubiect of ours late deceaſed in Ruſſia, wee pray you to be referred to the ſayd letter. And foraſmuch as the ſayd cauſe will fall vnder your Lordſhips iuriſdiction by reaſon of your acceptation of all their cauſes into your patronage and protection: we are ſo well aſſured of your honourable inclination to iuſtice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our ſake, that we ſhall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of iuſtice or expedition in the ſayd cauſe. And laſtly conſidering that your noble linage together with your great wiſedome and deſert hath made you a principall Counſellour and directour of the ſtate of ſo great a Monarchie, whereby your aduice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the ſame, we haue giuen order to our ſayd principall Counſellour William Lord Burghley, treaſurour of our Realme of England, that as any occaſion ſhall ariſe to the hinderance of the entercourſe betweene theſe Countreyes, or of the priuiledges graunted by his Maieſtie to our merchants, that he may by aduertiſement treat with your Lordſhippe thereupon: which we by reaſon of our great princely affayres can not ſo conueniently at all times doe with ſuch expedition as the cauſe may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the fourteenth day of Ianuarie, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich*, Maſter of the horſes to the great and mighty Emperour of *Ruſſia*, his Highneſſe Lieutenant of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, *William Cecill* Lord *Burghley*, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, ſendeth greeting.

Right honourable my very good Lord, vpon the laſt returne of our merchants ſhippes out of Ruſſia, there was brought vnto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an Engliſh merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Maieſtie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Ruſſia, and another letter from your Lordſhip directed to me: which ſayd letter written from the Emperor to her Maieſty hath beene conſiderately and aduiſedly by her Highneſſe read and peruſed, and the matter of complaint againſt Ierome Horſey therein compriſed thorowly examined: which hath turned the ſame Horſey to ſome great diſpleaſure. I did alſo acquaint our Maieſty with the contents of your Lordſhips letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordſhips honourable fauour ſhewed to her Highneſſe merchants from time to time: who tooke the ſame in moſt gracious part, and confeſſed her ſelfe infinitly beholding vnto your Lordſhip for many honourable offices done for her ſake, the which ſhe meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordſhip vnder her princely hand and ſeale. And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed your good Lordſhippe to take into your handes the protection of her Maieſties merchants, and the redreſſe of ſuch iniuries as are, or ſhall be offered vnto them contrary to the meaning of the priuiledges and the free liberty of the entercourſe, wherein in ſome points your Lordſhip hath already vſed a reformation, as appeareth by your ſayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique mouing new occaſions and other accidents tending to the loſſe of the ſayd merchants, whereof ſome particulars haue beene offered vnto me to treat with your Lordſhip vpon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable conſideration, that order might be taken in the ſame, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Maieſtie, and doe much reſtraine the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the laſt comming of our merchants to the port of Saint Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highneſſe ſeruice at ſuch rates, as the ſayd officers were diſpoſed to ſet vpon them, ſo farre vnder their value, that the merchants could not aſſent to accept of thoſe prices: which being denied, the ſayd officers reſtrained them of all further traffique for the ſpace of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld vnto their demaund how vnwillingly ſoeuer. Another is, that our ſayd merchants are driuen to pay the Emperours officers cuſtome for all ſuch Ruſſe money as they bring downe from the Moſco to the Sea ſide to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which ſeemeth ſtrange vnto me, conſidering the ſame money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imployed without any tranſport ouer of the ſayd money. Theſe interruptions and impoſitions ſeeme not to ſtand with the liberties of the Emperours priuileges and freedome of the entercourſe, which ſhould be reſtrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and abſolute: whereof it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to be aduiſed, and to continue your honourable courſe holden betweene the Emperour and her Maieſty, to reconcile ſuch differences as any occaſion doth offer to their league or trafficke. Thus not doubting of your Lordſhips furtherance herein, I humbly take my leaue of your good Lordſhip. From her Maieſties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of Ianuary, 1591. 1591

This is a new port.

The Engliſh merchants 3 weeks reſtrained from their Mart.

A Letter from the Emperour of *Ruſsia, Theodore Iuanouich* to the Queenes Maieſtie.

1592 Through the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-ſpring from on high hath viſited vs, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Euen this our God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, gouernour of all Ruſſia, of Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke alſo of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Yeroſlaue, Bealozera, and of Liſland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Gruſinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our louing ſiſter Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Louing ſiſter, your letters ſent by your ſeruant Thomas Lind, we haue receiued, and read what you haue written in the ſame touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore ſent vs by your ſeruant Ierome Horſey: wherein you haue anſwered vs ſufficiently and moſt graciouſly.

The Emperors ſtile lately enlarged.

And whereas your Maieſtie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceaſed in our kingdome, that your ſubiects, for whom he was factour, ſhould haue debts growing vnto them from him by account; we at your Maieſties requeſt haue cauſed not onely order to be taken, but for your Highneſſe ſake, louing ſiſter, we haue cauſed the goods to be ſought out and deliuered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his ſtuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as alſo money to the value of ſixe hundred rubbles, which Chriſtopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for Ikarie: and we haue ſet at libertie the ſayd Turnebulles kinſeman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes, and deliuered them to your merchants Agent.

This is a dainty meat made of the roes of Sturgeons.

And further, where you write vnto vs for ſuch your ſubiects as haue departed out of your maieſties Realme ſecretly without licence, that we ſhould giue order to ſend them home: concerning ſuch your ſubiects for which you haue written vnto our Maieſtie by letters, we will cauſe ſearch to be made, and ſuch as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be deliuered vnto your merchants Agent, and ſo to paſſe. And ſuch of your Maieſties people as haue giuen themſelues vnder our gouernment as ſubiects, we thinke it not requiſite to grant to let them paſſe.

And further, where you haue written vnto vs concerning the goods of Iohn Chappell, we haue written heretofore the whole diſcourſe thereof, not once, but ſundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And ſuch goods as were found out of the goods of the ſayd Chappell, the money thereof was reſtored to your Maieſties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Maieſties ſeruant Thomas Lind we haue ſent with our letters the ſame way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding heere of your Maieſties ſeruant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall ſeat in the city of Moſco in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuary.

M. Thomas Lind.

1592

To the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie from the Lord *Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua.*

BY the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Iuanouich gouernour of Ruſſia, Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Ieroſlaue, Bealozera, and of Liſland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Gruſinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Moſt reſplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Maieſties ſeruant, Lord and Maſter of his horſes, and high Steward of his houſe, and Preſident of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua, vnto your moſt excellent Maieſty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, ſend my humble commendations. It hath pleaſed your Maieſtie to write vnto me your gracious and princely letter by your ſeruant Thomas Lind; which letter I receiued with all humbleneſſe. During the time of the abode of your Meſſenger Thomas Lind here in the Moſco, it pleaſed God of his mercifulneſſe, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Maieſtie Theodore Iuanouich ouer all Ruſſia gouernour, the right beleeuer and louer of Chriſt, to ſend our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a yoong Princeſſe, to the great ioy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we giue all honour and glory to the almightie God vnſpeakeable,

The Empreſſe Irene deliuered of a daughter.

whoſe giftes had beene manifolde with mercie vnto vs; for which all wee Chriſtians laud and praiſe God.

After all this your ſeruant was occaſioned to ſtay vntill the comming of your merchants from the ſea port.

Touching the letters which you haue receiued from your louing brother our Lord and Maſter by your ambaſſadour, therein you perceiue ſufficiently my good meaning, in trauailing for the continuance of amitie and friendſhip betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endeuour. Alſo your merchants I haue taken into my protection for to defend them for the loue I beare to your Maieſtie. As heeretofore I haue done it willingly, and with great care of their good, ſo I meane to continue ſo farre as God will giue me leaue; to the end that brotherly loue be holden betweene you Princes without diſturbance.

As I haue beene to your merchants in times paſt, ſo now by the permiſſion and commandement of our Lord and Maſter, I will be their defendour in all cauſes: and will cauſe all our authoriſed people to fauour them and to defend them, and to giue them free liberty to buy and ſell at their pleaſure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Maieſtie of all our friendſhip and fauour ſhewed vnto them from time to time. And whereas your Maieſtie hath now written to our Lord and Maſter for the debts which your merchants ought to haue of William Turnebull lately diſceaſed, I hauing peruſed your Maieſties letter, whereby I am requeſted to be a meane for the recouerie and obtaining of their ſayd debts, I haue moued it to our Lord and King his Maieſtie, that order may be giuen therein: and that his kinſeman Rainold Kitchin with three perſons more may be ſent ouer together with the ſayd Turnebulles ſtuffe and other things, as billes, books and writings. All which ſhall be deliuered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the ſayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will haue a great care ouer them, and protect them, whereby they ſhall ſuffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandiſe ſhall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Maieſties royall citie of Moſco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuarie.

A letter from the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich* to the right honourable Lord *William Burghley*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England*.

BY the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Iuanouich, gouernour of Ruſſia, Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Nouogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffeland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Gruſinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Maieſties ſeruant, Lord and Maſter of his horſes, and high Steward of his houſe, Preſident of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, to the moſt honourable Counſeller of the moſt reſplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treaſurour of England, ſendeth greeting.

M. Francis Cherie.

I perceiue by your letter that your merchants laſt ſhippes came home in ſafetie, and that you haue receiued the letters ſent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Ruſſia his Maieſty, vnto your Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty, and one from me to her Highneſſe, and one from my ſelfe to you; and the contents thereof you haue cauſed to be read and well vnderſtood at large. And whatſoeuer is therein written concerning Ierome Horſey, you haue ſought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great diſpleaſure. And her Highneſſe hath written in her letter concerning her Maieſties merchants, that whereas I haue taken them into protection, ſhe taketh it very louingly and kindely, that for her ſake they haue receiued ſo great kindneſſe.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts haue ſuſtained by meanes of the Emperours authoriſed people and officers, and that they were not permitted to trafficke at libertie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the ſpace of three weekes, it hath beene againſt the Emperours Maieſties will and pleaſure, as alſo againſt mine. Where you deſire and wiſh that betweene our Emperours Maieſtie, and your Queenes Maieſtie, their loue and amitie may not bee ſeperated at any time, but to continue: and you requeſt mee that I ſhould be good vnto the Engliſh merchants, and to defend them from all ſuch domages hereafter: your honours louing letter I haue therein throughly conſidered: and as I haue bene heretofore, ſo I will ſtill continue to be a meane betwixt our Lorde and kings Maieſtie, and your great Lady the Queene her highneſſe, for the mainteyning of brotherly loue and amitie, moſt ioyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aſwel hereafter as I haue bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like alſo. Mine onely deſire is for your moſt excellent Princeſſe ſake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the ayding, helping and protecting of her Maieſties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Maieſtie.

And to that ende, I haue giuen order to all our authoriſed people to bee carefull ouer them, and to defende them in all cauſes, and to giue them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleaſures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowen vnto your honour my readineſſe to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commiſſions are ſent to all authoriſed people for them, that they ſhoulde ayde and aſſiſt them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie vnder the ſaid Officers or otherwiſe.

Alſo your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the Sea port from their accuſtomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint ſearch and inquiſition hath bene made, and commaundement giuen, that your Queenes Maieſties merchants at the Seaſide, and in all places where the trade is, doe not ſuſtaine any domage or hinderance hereafter, but that they ſhalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Moſco, the Treaſurehouſe, or elſe where by any of our authoriſed people, but abſolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleaſure. And alſo I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all cauſes, by our Lorde and kings Maieſties order and commaundement: as it ſhalbe knowen and certified you by your people reſident here in the Moſco.

Written in our Kings Maieſties royall citie of Moſco from the beginning of the world 7101. yeere, in the moneth of Ianuary.

Anno Domini 1592.

A moſt gracious Letter giuen to the Engliſh Merchants Sir *Iohn Hart* and his company, by *Theodore Iuanowich*, the King, Lord, and great duke of all *Ruſſia*, the onely vpholder thereof.

THe onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all euery where with plentifull increaſe: for which cauſe he hath giuen life to man to loue him, and to truſt in him: Our onely God which inſpireth euery one of vs his holy children with his word to diſcerne good through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the holy quickning ſpirit of life now in theſe perillous times eſtabliſh vs to keepe the right ſcepter, and ſuffer vs to reigne of our ſelues to the good profit of the land, and to the ſubduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the mainteinance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Iuanouich, of all Ruſſia the onely vpholder, of Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Caſan, and king of Aſtracan, Lord of Vobſco, and great duke of Smolenſko, of Otuer, Vghorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke alſo of Nouogrod in the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotski, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaue, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Vdorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North partes, and Lord ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Gruſinski, and King ouer the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler ouer many other kingdomes and Lordſhips more.

Our princely Maieſtie at the requeſt of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenoua our ſeruant, and Maſter of our horſes, generall Comptroller of our houſe, and gouernour of the Lordſhips and kingdomes of Caſan and Aſtracan; vnto the Engliſh merchants Sir Iohn Hart knight, ſir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenſtow Alderman, Nicholas Moſeley alderman, Robert Doue, Wil. Garrowe, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry Anderſon, Iohn Woodworth, Frãcis Cherry, Iohn Merrick, & Chriſtopher Holmes; hath graciouſly giuen leaue to come & go with their ſhips into our kingdome & territories of Duina with all kind of commodities at their pleaſures to trafficke frõ the ſeaſide to our roial city of Moſco, & in al other cities, townes, countries and territories of our whole kingdom of Moſco: vpon the humble petition and ſute of the ſaide Engliſh merchants ſir Iohn Hart and his company, wee haue giuen them leaue to paſſe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Moſco, and to our inheritance of Nouogrod and Pleſco with their wares and commodities without paying any cuſtome or dueties.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Ruſſia haue firmely giuen and graunted vnto the aforeſaide Engliſh merchants ſir Iohn Hart and his company, for the loue we beare to our deare ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, we I ſay of our gracious goodnes haue giuen leaue to trauel and paſſe to our royal ſeat of Moſco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleaſure, without paying any cuſtome of their ſaid wares.

To you our Cuſtomers we wil and command not to take any maner of cuſtome of the ſaid merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor paſſing by or through any place of our territories, nor for cuſtome, of iudgement by Lawe, or for their perſon or perſons; nor any duties ouer bridges, or for certificats or proceſſes, or for conducting ouer any ſtreames or waters, or for any other cuſtomes or dueties that may be named; we wil and ſtraitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wiſe.

Prouided alwayes, that the ſaide merchants ſhall not colour any ſtrangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor fauour them colourably, nor ſel for any ſtranger. To you our ſubiects alſo we cõmand, not to meddle or deale with any wares of ſtrangers colourably, nor to haue them by you in keeping, nor to offer to ſel their cõmodities; but themſelues to ſel their owne commodities in change or otherwiſe as they may or can. And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any part of our dominions and territories it ſhalbe lawful for the foreſaid merchants and their company to ſell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwiſe, for or at their pleaſure as they will. And whenſoeuer the ſaid merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Nouogrod or Pleſco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by vertue of theſe our Maieſties letters we ſtraitly charge and commaund you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authoriſed or in office, to ſuffer the aforeſaid merchants to paſſe and repaſſe, and to take no kinde of cuſtome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howſoeuer it may haue name: nor in no place elſe where they ſhal come in all our kingdome. Likewiſe if they ſell not nor buy no wares, you ſhall take no cuſtome, but ſuffer them quietly to paſſe where they will with their goods. Of our gratious goodnes and meere goodwill we haue giuen the ſaid merchants leaue to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any cuſtome or dutie. Whereſoeuer they ſhal happen to ſel or barter away any of their commodities to our ſubiects, they are to barter or ſell by whole ſale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houſes or elſewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, veluets, damasks, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard; and al other wares that are to be ſold by weight, they are to be ſold not by the ounce, but by great ſale. Their wines ſhalbe ſold by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The ſaid Engliſh merchants are to ſel or barter away their owne cõmodities themſelues, and not to ſuffer any Ruſſes to buy or ſell for them: nor to carry or tranſport any wares of ſtrangers in ſtead of their owne in no wiſe. And if the ſaide Engliſh merchants ſhall be deſirous to ſell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or vpon the Riuer of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraſlaue; when as the ſaide merchants haue ſolde in any of the ſaide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authoriſed people by vertue of this our gratious letter wee will and ſtraitly commaund not to take any cuſtome of the aforeſaid merchants, howſoeuer it may be named.

Alſo whenſoeuer the ſaide Engliſh merchants or any of their factours ſhalbe deſirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it ſhalbe at their choyſe and pleaſure to hier them the beſt they can, and where they will, either water men to rowe, or veſſels.

Alſo when any of the ſaid merchants themſelues, or any of theirs are deſirous to trauel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome, if any of our treaſure be deliuered to them, they to take it with them, and to ſel it in barter or otherwiſe for ſuch wares as are moſt requiſit and neceſſary to be brought into our kingdome and to be deliuered into our treaſury. You, our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority ſuffer them to paſſe through al our cities, townes & countries without taking any cuſtome of them. And when the ſaid merchants haue done their traffick in any place & come to the Moſco, they ſhal make it knowen at their arriual at the houſe of Chancery and ſecretariſhip to Vaſili Shalkan. And further when there come any Engliſh merchants with their ſhips or veſſels by ſea, that by miſhap ſhalbe caſt away vpon any of our ſhoars or coſtes, we wil and commaund you to ayde & helpe them, and to ſeeke for their goods ſo periſhed by any caſualtie, and to be reſtored againe to the ſaide Engliſh merchants or their aſſignes without any prolonging or detaying. As alſo if any of the aforeſaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coaſtes or ſtreames and they not preſent themſelues, let the ſaid goods be taken and layd vp in ſafetie in ſome place or other, and be deliuered to the aforeſaid merchants or their factors vnder penaltie of our diſpleaſure.

Furthermore we King, Lord, and great duke of all Ruſſia, of our gracious goodneſſe giue vnto the Engliſh merchants and their company, their houſe in the Citie of Moſco ſtanding by the Church of S.Maske behinde the market place: which they ſhall keepe and remaine therein after their old accuſtomed vſe. Prouided alwayes that they ſhall keepe one Ruſſe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Ruſſe ſeruants at their diſcretion. Alſo their houſes in ſundry places, as at Ieraſlaue, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S.Michael Archangel, all theſe houſes they ſhall keepe and vſe at their owne pleaſure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or cuſtome. Nor you the communaltie of the ſaid townes ſhal take any thing of them or theirs for any dutie that ſhould belong to you, eſpecially of the houſes aforeſaid: but the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhal enioy them peaceably for themſelues and their families, but ſhall not ſuffer any other ſtrangers Ruſſes or others to vſe the aforeſaid houſes: Alſo you ſhall ſuffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouſes, and to ſell their commodities to whom they pleaſe without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gracious letter.

Their houſekeeper being a Ruſſe ſhall not vndertake to meddle, or ſell any of their wares without they themſelues be preſent, nor to buy any thing for them.

Alſo it ſhalbe lawfull for the ſaid merchants when they ſhal arriue at their port, to lade and vnlade their merchandiſes as in times paſt they haue done at their pleaſure. And when they lade their ſhips with Ruſſe commodities or vnlade them, it ſhalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our ſubiects to helpe them for the preſent time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne veſſels to S.Michael Archangel, or elſewhere.

Alſo we command you our authoriſed people at the ſea ſide as wel Cuſtomers as others to take of the foreſaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ſhip out: whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wiſe ſhall you open or vnpacke any of their wares or merchandiſes.

In like maner when as they ſhip or ſende away any of their countrey commodities from S.Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Moſco yee ſhall not hinder nor let them any maner of wiſe for the ſhipping of their merchandiſes in or out, by vertue of theſe our gracious letters of priuiledge giuen them.

And whenſoeuer any of the ſaid Engliſh merchants haue any occaſion to ſend ouer land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their ſeruants or factors, by vertue of this our gracious letter we command you to giue them their paſſeport out of the office of our Secretariſhip.

And whenſoeuer any of our ſubiects hath any thing to do with any of the foreſaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be dammified or hindered by any of our ſubiects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chanceller and Secretary Vaſili Shalcan to heare their cauſes, and finally to determine on both ſides according to equitie and iuſtice: and that he ſhall ſearch the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth cannot be proued or found out, then to caſt lots by order of the foreſaide Iudge, and he to whom the lot ſhall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whenſoeuer any of the Engliſh merchants or their factors ſhall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and ſhalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or otherwiſe by any abuſed, or haue any occaſion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandiſe or otherwayes: we ſtraitly charge and command you our gouernours, and authoriſed ſubiects within all our Realme and territories of the ſame, to miniſter iuſtice vnto the aforeſaide merchants, or to their deputies, and to ſearch the trueth of the contention: And for want of ſufficient proofe caſt lots who ſhall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cauſe: And in no wiſe to take any fee or dutie of the aforeſaid Engliſh merchants for the ſaid iudgement in Lawe.

We wil and command all this to be obſerued and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our ſubiects and authoriſed people, by vertue of theſe our royal letters patents: And the ſaid letters not to be diminiſhed in any part or parcell thereof, by any perſons howſoeuer they be named. And whoſoeuer ſhall withſtand & not regard theſe our gracious letters ſhalbe in our high diſpleaſure, and ſhal incurre the loſſe of his life. This our gracious letter was giuen in our kingdom and royal City of Moſco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May. After our account 1596.

Subſcribed by the Emperours Chancellour
and Secretarie *Vaſili Shalcan.*

The contents of *M. Garlands* Commiſsion vnto *Thomas Simkinſon* for the bringing of *M. Iohn Dee* to the Emperour of *Ruſsia* his Court.

FRiend Thomas Simkinſon I pray you goe to Brounſwik or Caſſil and inquire if Maſter Iohn Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I haue ſent you purpoſely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and ſpeake with him my ſelfe. Alſo you may certefie him that the Emperour of Ruſſeland hauing certaine knowledge of his great learning and wiſdome is marueilous deſirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath giuen me his letter with his hand and golden ſeale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be poſſible, and for his liuing ſhewe him that he ſhall be ſure of 2000. pound yeerely, and alſo all prouiſion for his table out of the Emperours kitching free: and if he thinke this too little, I will aſſure him that if he aske aſmuch more, hee ſhall haue it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I haue ſufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the Countrey. And becauſe hee may doubt of theſe proffers, hee ſhall remaine at the borders vntill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requeſts, which he would haue. And I am ſure he ſhall be conueyed through the land with fiue hundred horſes, and hee ſhal be accompted as one of the chiefeſt in the land next the Emperour. Alſo ſhew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and deſired me as hee ſhould be my friend to bring him with me, and he would giue him of his owne purſe yeerely 1000. rubbles beſides the Emperours allowance. All theſe foreſaide graunts and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinſon acknowledge to be ſpoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be ſent to declare the ſame vnto Maſter Iohn Dee. And in witneſſe that this is of a trueth I haue written the ſame with my owne hand, and thereunto ſet my name, in Wittingaw, otherwiſe called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me *Thomas Simkinſon* of Hull.

A letter to the right worſhipfull M. *Iohn Dee* Eſquire, conteyning the ſumme and effect of M. *Edward Garland* his meſſage, deliuered to Maſter *Dee* himſelfe, (Letterwiſe) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

RIght worſhipfull, it may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that I was ſent vnto you from the moſt mightie Prince Feodor Iuanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Ruſsia, &c. As alſo from the moſt excellent prince Boris Feodorowich, Lord Protector of Ruſsia: to giue your worſhip to vnderſtand the great good will and heartie deſire they beare vnto you; for that of long time they haue had great good report of your learning & wiſedom, as alſo of your good counſel vnto Princes: whereupon his Maieſties moſt earneſt deſire and requeſt is vnto you; that you would take the paines to come vnto his citie of Moſco, to viſite his Maieſties Court: for that hee is deſirous of your company, and alſo of your good counſell in diuers matters that his Maieſtie ſhall thinke needfull. And for the great good will that his Maieſtie beareth vnto you, he will giue you yeerely toward your mainteinance 2000. pound ſterling; and the Lord Protectour will giue you a thouſand rubbles, as alſo your prouiſion for your table you ſhall haue free out of his Maieſties kitchin: And further whatſoeuer you ſhall thinke needefull or conuenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it ſhall be at your worſhips commaundement. And this is the ſumme and effect of my meſſage and commaundement giuen me by his Maieſtie and the Lord Protectour.

In witneſſe whereof I haue written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me *Edward Garland.*

In *Trebona* Caſtel otherwiſe called *Wittingaw* in *Boemia*: to which place this *M. Edward Garland*, came to *M. Dee* with two Moſcouites to ſerue him, &c. He had ſixe more, which by *M. Dees* counſell were ſent backe.

Witneſſe *M. Edward Kelley*, and *M. Francis Garland*,
brother to foreſaid *Edward*, and diuers others.

IT ſeemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, and of the L. Boris Pheodorowich Protectour to his Maieſtie, was made vnto the learned and famous Mathematitian M. Iohn Dee, partly to vſe his counſell & direction about certaine diſcoueries to the Northeaſt; and partly for ſome other weightie occaſions: but becauſe their conqueſt to Siberia was not as then fully ſettled, & for diuers other ſecret reaſons, it was for yͤ time with al thankfulnes refuſed.

A branch of a letter from *M. Iohn Merick*, Agent vnto the *Moſcouie* company in *Ruſsia*, cloſed vp in the *Moſco* the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of *Pheodor Iuanowich* late Emperour of all *Ruſsia*, &c.

Hauing thus farre proceeded with this my anſwere vnto the chiefeſt points of your worſhips letters receiued, my deſire was to haue ſent one vnto you long ſince, as you may perceiue by ſ the firſt date: but by reaſon I could not get leaue, I haue deferred it of till this inſtant, for that there was none ſuffered to paſſe out of the land. The cauſes may be iudged, for that it pleaſed God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Maieſtie, who departed about the 7. of Ianuary: and euer ſince hath bene a mourning time, & no ſuites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead ſeaſon. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wiſe gouernment of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector vnto the ſaide late Emperour, ſince his death all things haue bene very quiet without any diſſention; as the like in ſuch a great kingdome I haue not heard of. And now through the prouidence of Almightie God, and by ſurrender of the late Empreſſe Irenia Feodoruna, and the common conſent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Biſhops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons beſides, choiſe is made of none other but of the ſaid Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Ruſsia, who was moſt vnwilling to receiue the kingdome, but the people would make no other choiſe, nor haue any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleaſed his Maieſtie to take vpon him the kingdome, and he is abſolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath prouided and appointed ſo famous and worthy a Prince: whoſe excellent gouernment and experience theſe foureteene yeeres hath bene manifeſt to all Ruſsia. God graunt his highneſſe a moſt proſperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Empreſſe, the Prince his ſonne, and the Princeſſe his daughter. All men do reioyce both Ruſſe and ſtrangers for this moſt famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought ſhalbe on the Aſſenſion day next, til which time I cannot depart from Moſco: which is a litle before the time that ordinarily I doe take my iourney from hence. And touching his Maieſties fauour towards me on your behalfe, eſpecially for her Maieſties ſake, as in foretime it was extraordinary, and ſo ſpecially ſhewed to mee, as to none the like: ſo hath his highneſſe promiſed the continuance thereof, with further fauour as ſhalbe deſired. Whereof I haue no doubt: for dayly I do finde the ſame.

10. Febr. 1597.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall conſent choſen Emperour of Ruſsia.

A learned Epiſtle written 1581. vnto the famous Coſmographer *M. Gerardus Mercator* concerning the riuer *Pechora*, *Naramſay*, *Cara reca*, the mighty riuer of *Ob*, the place of *Taks Olguſh* in *Siberia*, the great riuer *Ardoh*, the lake of *Kittay* called of the borderers *Paraha*, the Countrey of *Carrah Colmak*, giuing good light to the diſcouery of the Northeaſt paſſage to *Cathay*, *China* and the *Malucaes*.

¶ Inclyto & celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino & amico ſingulari in manus proprias Duiſburgi in Cliuia.

Cvm meminiſſem, amice optime, quanta, cum vnà ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis ſcriptis Homeri, Strabonis, Ariſtotelis, Plinij, Dionis & reliquorum, lætatus ſum eo quod incidiſſem in hunc nuncium, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum eſſe valde cupio, quique dudum Arusburgi hîc ad Oſſellam fluuium appulit. Hominis experientia, vt mihi quidem videtur, multum te adiuuerit in re vna, eaque ſummis à te votis expetita, & magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter ſe diſſentiunt Coſmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorij Tabin, celebriſque illius & opulentę regionis ſub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem brumalem. Alferius is eſt natione Belga, qui captiuus aliquot annos vixit in Moſcouitarum ditione, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacouium & Vuekium; à quibus Antuerpiam miſſus eſt accerſitum homines rei nauticę peritos, qui ſatis amplo propoſito pręmio ad illos viros ſe recipiant; qui Sueuo artifice duas ad eam patefactionem naues ędificarunt in Duina fluuio. Vt ille rem proponit, quamquam ſine arte, appoſite tamen, & vt ſatis intelligas, quod quęſo diligenter perpendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio breuiſsimus eſt & admodũ expeditus. Adijt ipſe fluuiũ Obam tum terra per Samoedorũ & Sibericorũ regionem, tum mari per littus Pechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus certò apud ſe ſtatuit nauim mercibus onuſtã, cuius carinã non nimiũ profundè demiſſam eſſe vult, in Sinũ S. Nicolai conducere in regione Moſcouitarũ, inſtructam illã quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem ne-

Duæ naues ædificatæ in Duina fluuio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

ceſſarijs, atque illic redintegrato commeatu, Moſcouiticæ nationis notiſsimos iuſta mercede aſciſcere: qui & Samoedicam linguam pulchre teneant, & fluuium Ob exploratum habeant, vt qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Vnde Maio exeunte conſtituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Vgoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Inſulamque cui nomen eſt Dolgoia. Hîc latitudines obſeruare, terram deſcribere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum diſtantias annotare, vbi & quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodiſſimus eſt tum ſubſidij tum diuerſorij locus propter glaciem & tempeſtates, diem impendere decreuit cognoſcendis vadis, facillimoque nauium aditu inueniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes inuenit, ſed profundiores canales eſſe non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, relicta Inſula quàm Vaigats vocant, media ferè via inter Vgoriam & Nouam Zemblam: tum Sinum quendam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Vgoriæ, in quem confluunt exigui duo amnes ‖ Marmeſia atque Carah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis & efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadoſa, multas cataractas inuenit; ſed tamen per quas poſſit Nauigari. Vbi ad fluuium Obam peruentum fuerit, qui quidem fluuius (vt referunt Samoedi) ſeptuaginta habet oſtia, quæ propter ingentem latitudinem multas magnaſque concludentem Inſulas, quas varij incolunt populi, vix quiſquam animaduertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, conſtituit ad ſummum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præſerim quæ ex conſilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus eſt, commodiſſima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve eius regionis nauigiola tentandis Oſtijs adhibere, quàm fieri poteſt ad littus proxime, (quod quidem ſub itinere trium dierum incolitur) vt quo loco tutiſſime nauigari poſſit, intelligat.

Dolgoia Inſula.

Inſula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigats & Obam vergens per meridiem.

‖ Vel Naramſey & Cara reca.

Littus Obæ incolitur ab Oſtijs trium dierum itinere.

Quod ſi nauim per fluuium Obam aduerſo amne poſſit impellere, prima ſi poterit cataracta, eaque, vt veriſimile eſt, commodiſſima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipſe cum ſuis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adijt, qui duodecim iuxta dierum itinere diſtat à Mari, quà influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus eſt in continente, propè fluuium Ob cui nomen eſt Yaks Olguſh, nomine mutuato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè ſperaret maximas ſe difficultates ſuperaſſe. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum nauigatione ab eo loco abfuerunt (quòd illic rarum eſt, eo quòd multi ad vnum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à littore propellentes oborta tempeſtate perierunt, cùm neque à ſole neque à ſyderibus rectionem ſcirent petere) per tranſuerſum fluminis Ob, vnde ſpacioſum eſſe illius latitudinem conſtat, grandes ſe carinas preacioſis onuſtas mercibus magno fluuio delatas vidiſſe per Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluuium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui contermina eſt gens illa latiſſimè fuſa, quàm Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quàm Cathaya. Illic, ſi neceſſitas poſtulabit, opportunum erit hybernare, ſe ſuoſque reficere, reſque omnes neceſſarias conquirere. Quòd ſi acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimùm ſe adiutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque ediſcentem. Veruntamen ſperat æſtate eadem ad Cathayorum fines ſe peruenturum, niſi ingenti glaciei mole ad os fluuij Obæ impediatur, quæ maior interdum, interdum minor eſt. Tum per Pechoram redire ſtatuit, atque illic hybernare: vel ſi id non poterit, in flumen Duinæ, quo mature ſatis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Vnum eſt quòd ſuo loco oblitus ſum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olguſh incolunt, à maioribus ſuis olim prædicatum aſſerunt, ſe in lacu Kitthayo dulciſſimam campanarum harmoniam audiuiſſe, atque ampla ædificia conſpexiſſe: Et cùm gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa eſt) ab imò pectore ſuſpiria repetunt, manibuſque proiectis ſuſpiciunt in cœlum, velut inſignem illius ſplendorem innuentes atque admirantes. Vtinam Alferius hîc Coſmographiam melius ſaperet, multum ad illius vſum adiungeret, qui ſanè plurimus eſt. Multa prætereo, vir amiciſſime, ipſumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi ſpoſpondit ſe in itinere Duisburgi te viſurum. Auet enim tecum conferre ſermones, & procul dubio hominem multum adiuueris. Satis inſtructus videtur pecunia & gratia, in quibus alijſque officijs amicitiæ feci illi, ſi vellet, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque alacritati faueat, initia ſecundet, ſucceſſus fortunet, exitum fœliciſsimum concedat. Vale amicè ac Domine ſingularis.

Yaks Olguſh locus ſuper Obam fluuiū duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardoh flumen influens in lacum Kitthaym: de quo in itinere ad Boghariam ſcribit Antonius Ienkinſonus.

Carrah Colmak eſt Cathaya.

Arusburgi ad Oſſellam fluuium 20. Februarij 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus ſum

Ioannes Balakus.

To

To the famous and renowmed *Gerardus Mercator*, his Reuerend and ſingular friend at *Duisburgh* in *Clineland*, theſe be deliuered.

CAlling to remembrance (moſt deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Ariſtotle, Plinie, Dion, and the reſt, I reioyced not a little that I happened vpon ſuch a meſſenger as the bearer of of theſe preſents, (whom I do eſpecially recommend vnto you) who arriued lately here at Aruſburg vpon the riuer of Oſella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly auaile you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you ſo vehemently deſired, and ſo curiouſly laboured for, and concerning the which the late Coſmographers do hold ſuch varietie of opinions: namely, of the diſcouerie of the huge promontorie of Tabin, and of the famous and rich countreys ſubiect vnto the Emperor of Cathay, and that by the Northeaſt Ocean ſea. The man is called * Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres liued captiue in the dominions of Ruſſia vnder two famous men Yacouius and Vnekius, by whom he was ſent to Antwerp to procure ſkilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go vnto the two famous perſonages aforeſayd, which two had ſet a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ſhips for the ſame diſcouerie vpon the riuer of Dwina. The paſſage vnto Cathay by the Northeaſt (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceiue, which I requeſt you diligently to conſider) is without doubt very ſhort and eaſie. This very man himſelfe hath trauelled to the riuer of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and alſo by Sea, along the coaſt of the riuer Pechora Eaſtward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully reſolued with himſelfe to conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not haue to drawe ouer much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Ruſſia, being furniſhed with all things expedient for ſuch a diſcouerie, and with a new ſupply of victuals at his arriuall there, and alſo to hire into his companie certaine Ruſſes beſt knowen vnto himſelfe, who can perfectly ſpeake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the riuer of Ob, as hauing frequented thoſe places yeere by yeere.

*Or Oliuer.

Two ſhips built vpon the riuer of Dwina for the Northeaſt diſcouerie.

Whereupon about the ende of May hee is determined to ſaile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eaſtward, by the maine of Ioughoria, and ſo to the Eaſterly parts of Pechora, & to the Iſland which is called Dolgoia. And here alſo hee is purpoſed to obſerue the latitudes, to ſuruey and deſcribe the countrey, to ſound the depth of the Sea, and to note the diſtances of places, where, and ſo oft as occaſion ſhall be offered. And foraſmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a moſt conuenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempeſt, he is determined to beſtow a day in ſounding the Flats, and in ſearching out the beſt enterance for ſhips: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but fiue foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanels: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along thoſe coaſts for the ſpace of three or foure leagues, leauing the Iſland called Vaigats almoſt in the middle way betweene Vgoria and Noua Zembla: then alſo to paſſe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Vgoria, whereinto fall two ſmall riuers called * Marmeſia and Carah, vpon the which riuers doe inhabite another barbarous and ſauage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or ouerfals of water, yet ſuch as hee was able to ſaile by. When hee ſhall come to the riuer of Ob, which riuer (as the Samoeds report) hath ſeuentie mouthes, which by reaſon of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Iſlands, which are inhabited with ſundry ſortes of people, no man ſcarcely can well diſcouer, becauſe he will not ſpend too much time, he purpoſeth to ſearch three or foure at the moſt of the mouthes thereof, thoſe chiefly which ſhall be thought moſt commodious by the aduiſe of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to haue certaine with him in his voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in ſearch of theſe mouthes, as neere as poſſibly he can to the ſhore, which within three dayes iourney of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the riuer is beſt nauigable. If it ſo fall out that he may ſayle vp the riuer Ob againſt the ſtreame, and mount vp to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he paſſed vnto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelue dayes iourney from the Sea, where the riuer Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the riuer Ob, and is called Yaks Olguſh, borowing his name from that mightie riuer which falleth into the riuer Ob, then doubtleſſe hee would conceiue full hope that hee had paſſed the greateſt difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes ſayling onely from that place beyond the

The Iſland of Dolgoia.

The Iſland of Vaigats.

A Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob trending Southerly.

*Or, Naramſey and Cara Reca.

The place vpon the riuer Ob, where he was but 12. dayes iourney frō ÿ mouthes thereof, and is called Yaks Olguſh.

riuer Ob, whereby the breadth thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, becauſe that many rowing with their boates of leather one dayes iourney onely from the ſhore, haue bene caſt away in tempeſt, hauing no ſkill to guide themſelues neither by Sunne nor Starre) that they haue ſeene great veſſels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great riuer by blacke or ſwart people. They call that riuer * Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kittay, which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mightie and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may fitly Winter and refreſh himſelfe and his, and ſeeke all things which he ſhall ſtand in need of: which if it ſo fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he ſhall be much furthered in ſearching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that hee ſhall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, vnleſſe he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the riuer of Ob, which is ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe. If it ſo fall out, hee then purpoſeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe ſo neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the riuer of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and ſo the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

* M. Ienkinſon in his voyage to Boghar ſpeaketh of the riuer Ardoh.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olguſh, affirme that they haue heard their forefathers ſay, that they haue heard moſt ſweete harmonie of bels in the lake of Kitthay, and that they haue ſeene therein ſtately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe ſighes, and holding vp their hands, they looke vp to heauen, ſignifying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliuer were better ſeene in Coſmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtleſſe is very great. Moſt deare friend, I omit many things, and I wiſh you ſhould heare the man himſelfe which promiſed mee faithfully that he would viſite you in his way at Duisburg, for he deſireth to conferre with you, and doubtleſſe you ſhall very much further the man. He ſeemeth ſufficiently furniſhed with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curteſie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleaſed him to haue vſed me. The Lord proſper the mans deſires and forwardneſſe, bleſſe his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant vnto him moſt happy iſſue. Fare you well good ſir and my ſingular friend. From Arusburg vpon the riuer of Oſſella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholy at commandement,

Iohn Balak.

Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon in a diſputation before her Maieſtie with ſir Humfrey Gilbert for proofe of a paſſage by the Northeaſt to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall ſtreame or currant through Mare glaciale, of ſuch ſwiftneſſe as a Colmak told him, that if you caſt any thing therein, it would preſently be caried out of ſight towards the Weſt, &c.

A teſtimonie of the Northeaſterne Diſcouerie made by the Engliſh, and of the profite that may ariſe by purſuing the ſame: taken out of the ſecond volume of Nauigations and Voyages, fol.17. of the notable Coſmographer, M. *Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius*, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.

D*Alla parte poi di ſotto la noſtra Tramontana, che chiaſcuno ſcrittore & Coſmographo di queſti & de paſſati tempi ſin' hora vi ha meſſo & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente ſino a' 90. gradi verſo il Polo: ſopra queſto mappa-mondo all' incontro ſi vede che la terra và ſolamente vn poco ſopra la Norvega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Leuante nel paeſe della Moſcouia & Roſſia, & và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio ſia la verità, le nauigationi che hanno fatte gl' Ingleſi con le loro naui, volendo andare à ſcoprire il Cataio al tempo del* Re *Odoardo Seſto d' Inghilterra, queſti anni paſſati, ne poſſono far vera teſtimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moſcouia, doue trouarono all' hora regnare* Giouanni Vaſiliuich *Imperatore della Roſſia & gran Duca di Moſcouia, il quale con molto piacere & marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandiſſime carezze, hanno trouato quel mare eſſere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'eſito ſin hora non ſia ſtata bene inteſa) ſe col ſpeſſo frequentarla & col lungo vſo & cognitione de que' mari* *ſi continuerà, è per fare grandiſſima mutatione & riuolgimento nelle coſe di queſta noſtra parte del mondo.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

Moreouer (hauing before ſpoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part ſubiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Coſmographer of theſe and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land ſtretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrarywiſe, in this mappe is to bee ſeene, that the land extendeth onely a litle aboue Norway and Swethland, and then turning it ſelfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeaſt and by Eaſt, vnto the countrey of Moſcouie and Ruſſia, and ſtretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the Engliſh men haue of late made, intending to diſcouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the ſixt, king of England, are very ſufficient witneſſes. For in the mids of their voiage, lighting by chance vpon the coaſt of Moſcouie (where they found then reigning Iohn Vaſiliwich Emperor of Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſcouia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, ſeene the Engliſh men, entertained them with exceeding great curteſies) found this ſea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the ſame, and by long vſe and knowledge of thoſe ſeas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the ſtate of this our part of the world.

The great hope of the Northeaſterlie diſcouerie.

The teſtimonie of *Gerardus Mercator* in his laſt large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable diſcoueries of the Engliſh, made of Moſcouie by the Northeaſt.

Magnam occaſionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moſcouiæque iuxta cœli ſitum, mundíque plagas digeſta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moſcuæ latitudo ab Anglis obſeruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs deſcribendarum infallibilem legem præſcripſit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc caſtigatiorem non reddere.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The moſt famous nauigation of the Engliſh men by the Northeaſt ſea hath offered vnto me a great occaſion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which diſcouerie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moſcouie, laied out according to the iuſt eleuation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obſeruation of the latitude of the city of Moſco, made by the foreſaid Engliſhmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the ſituation of the inland countries: which notable helps being miniſtred vnto me, I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene publiſhed.

Another teſtimonie of *Ioannes Metellus Sequanus* concerning the ſame Nauigation and Diſcouerie in his Preface prefixed before *Oſorius de rebus geſtis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ*, written about the yeere, 1574.

At ne omnis, vnis Hiſpanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moſcouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minus illuſtrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moſcouitarum, Naruæque Liuoniæ excluſi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora præteruecti, vltrà Septuageſimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum ſibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ poſteà, non ſine tamen cum cum iiſdem Britannis velitatione, ſunt ſecuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineáſque veſtes propè detritas, omniſque generis minutiores merces, ad vſum, cultúmque corporis ho-

minum vtriuſque ſexus, veluti lintea & byſſea cingula, periſcelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus ſexcenta. A Moſchis autem pelles omnis generis pretioſas adferunt, & ſalmones ſalitos, fumóque duratos.

The ſame in Engliſh.

But leaſt all and the whole glory of diſcouering the Ocean ſea ſhould be aſcribed to the Spaniards, the Engliſhmen about twentie yeeres paſt, by a new nauigation into Moſcouie, diſcouered the Northeaſt partes. For they by reaſon of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moſcouites and of the Narue in Liefland, opened a paſſage for themſelues by the Ocean ſea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their courſe on the one ſide the coaſtes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other ſide the coaſt of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without ſome conflict with the Engliſh. They cary thither old plate and courſe linnen cloth, and all kind of ſmall Mercerie wares, ſeruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and like girdles, garters, purſes, kniues, and many ſuch like things. And they bring away from the Moſcouites, all kinde of precious Furres, and Salmons ſalted and dried in the ſmoke.

BREVIS
COMMENTARIVS DE ISLANDIA: QVO SCRIPTORVM DE HAC Inſula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs, quibus Iſlandis liberiùs inſultare ſolent, occurritur:

per

ARNGRIMVM IONAM ISLANDVM.

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI AC DOMINO,

Domino CHRISTIANO IIII. DANIÆ, *Noruegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorúmq́; Regi electo: Sleſuici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ & Ditmarſiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorſt:* Domino ſuo clementiſſimo.

PRæclaram ſanè apud Hiſtoricos meretur laudem, Sereniſſ. Princeps, Anchuri illius Midæ regis filij auſus pluſquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, ferè exemplo carens, quòd ad occludendum ingentem circa Celænam Phrygiæ oppidum, terræ hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, abſorbentem, ſeſe vltrò obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepiſſet, non prius concluſum iri iſtam voraginem, quam res eò pretioſiſſimæ immitterentur: Anchurus exiſtimans, nihil eſſe anima pretioſius, ſeſe viuum in illud profundiſſimum chaſma præcipitem dedit: idq́; tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentis deſiderio, neque dulciſſimæ coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab iſto propoſito ſe retrahi paſſus ſit.

Nec inferiorem multò conſecuti ſunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedæmonij, qui ad auertendam potentiſſimi Regis Perſarum Xerxis, ob occiſos à Lacedæmonijs Darij *patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti ſunt, & vt legatorum necem in ſe, non in patria vlciſceretur, erectis & conſtantibus animis ſeſe obtulerunt.*

Quæ verò res, Sereniſſ. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patriæ flagrantes amore, nullũ pro ea periculum, nullas moleſtias, imò ne mortẽ ipſam recuſarint, ea profectò me quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quemadmodum illi, mortem ſponte appeterem, aut me mactandum vltrò offerrem, ſed tamen, vt id quod ſolum poſſem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: Hoc eſt, vt ſcriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumuſculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profectò periculoſam, & multorum forſan ſiniſtro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo propoſito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariæ apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in ſumma Vrbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegiſſet, maiorem patriæ, quàm ſui, tradunt rationem habuiſſe. Cum enim Romam verſus properaret, & ingenti ac periculoſa oborta tempeſtate, Nauclerostrepidare, nec ſe ventorum aut maris ſæuitiæ committere velle animaduerteret, ipſe nauim primus ingreſſus, anchoras tolli iuſſit, in hæc verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vrget neceſſitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. *Quibus vir prudentiſſimus innuiſſe videtur, patriæ periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quàm priuatæ incolumitatis.*

Hunc ego ſic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muſcam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad ſuccurrendum gentis noſtræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare non dubitem: Vt ſcribamus, vrget neceſsitas: Vt verò ſcriptum noſtrum, cuiuſuis delicato palato, vbiq; ſatisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. Inſtitutum meum complures probaturos ſpero: ſucceſſum forſan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias ſuſtinentis, quàm ſiue laudis, ſiue vituperationis, ad me ipſum hinc forſan rediture, exiſtimabā. Quid enim cauſa eſſe poteſt, cur nōnullorū odium & inuidētiam, cum hoc patriæ benefaciendi ſeu gratificandi ſtudio fortè coniunctā recuſem?

Quodſi ſcriptorum errores liberius notare, ſi quorundam calumnias durius perſtringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum cenſores confido, qui paulò diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles ſint ſcriptorum de noſtra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graues quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem noſtram varijs modis laceſsiuere, & etiamnum laceſſere non deſiſtunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito ſoli natalis amori eſt; Dandum iuſto, ob hanc patriæ illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbiq; mihi temperaui, ac à conuitijs abſtinere volui: quòd ſi quid videatur mollius dicendum fuiſſe, id prædicta ratione veniam, ſpero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi ſubeunda ſit alea, quod omnibus ſcriptum aliquod edituris in more poſitum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore ſolicitè curandum eſt: Nempè vt patronum & mecænatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quæram, ſub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, veſtra, clementiſsime Princeps, Sereniſſ. Maieſtate: Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas noſtras in ſuam poteſtatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis noſtræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ vt ſit, ſupplices rogamus.

Imo verò, Rex clementiſſ. non ſolùm ad hanc rem, S. Maieſtatis V. clemens implorare auxilium neceſſum habemus; Sed ad multa quoq; alia, quæ in noſtra patria deſiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad huius vtilitatem & ſalutem communem ſpectant: quæq; non per me, ſed per ſummorum noſtræ gentis virorum libellos ſupplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maieſtas, Chriſtianiſſimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam noſtram patriam, inter reliquas imperij ſui Inſulas, ſua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ noſtra eſt ad S. Maieſtatem V. confugiendi neceſſitas, ea eſt S. Maieſtatis V in nobis ſubleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi eccleſiam, in remotiſſimis M. V. imperij finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta ſingulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac repoſita in cœlis immarceſſibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa huius loci non ſint, id quod mei eſt propoſiti ſubiũgo: & à S. Maieſtate V. ea, qua par eſt, animi ſubmiſſione peto, vt huic meæ opellæ & ſtudio in patriam collato fauere, & patroni benigni eſſe loco, clementer dignetur. Quod ſupereſt, Sereniſſ. Princeps, Dom. clementiſſime, Maieſtatem V. ſapientia & prudentia, omniúmq; adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa ſumentem, ad ſummum imperij faſtigium, ſummus ille regnorum, omniúmq; adeò rerum humanarum diſpenſator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Euectum, omni rerum fœliciſſimo ſucceſſu continuè beet: Beatámque hoc modo, vt ſummum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præſidium, Eccleſiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutiſſimè conſeruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in ſolido regni cœleſtis gaudio, cum præcipuis eccleſiæ Dei nutritijs, ſyderis inſtar, illuſtrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiã idem Pater clementiſ. vt hæc vota, quantò ſæpius, in ampliſſimorum Maieſtatis V. regnorũ & Inſularum quouis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

Hafniæ 1593. Menſe Mart. S. M. V. humiliter ſubiectus:

Arngrimus Ionas Iſlandus.

Benigno

Benigno & pio Lectori ſalutem.

IN lucem exijt circa annum Chriſti 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanicò propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur ſpurciſſimi & mendaciſſimi in gentem Iſlandicam. Nec ſufficiebat ſordido Typographo ſordidum illum fœtum ſemel emiſiſſe, niſi tertium etiam aut quartum publicaſſet, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, alióſque vicinos populos ſummam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipſo fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odiũ fuit, & ex re illicita lucri auiditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, quę plurimos annos commercia ſua magno ſuorum cum lucro in Iſlandia exercuit, impunè fecit. *Ioachimus Leo* nomen illi eſt, dignus certè qui Leones paſcat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij ſcriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Inſula creduntur eſſe plurima, & gentis Iſlandicæ mores ac inſtituta deſcribere ſe velle putant, à re ipſa & veritate prorſus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas pluſquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vaniſſimas ſecuti. Hi Scriptores etſi non tam ſpurca & probroſa reliquerunt, quàm ſordidus iſte Rhythmiſta: multa tamen ſunt in illorum ſcriptis, quæ illos excuſare non poſſunt, aut prorſus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem ſuis ſcriptis deridendam alijs expoſuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, ſubinde nouis, qui Iſlandorum nomen & æſtimationem læderent, ſcriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum ſuffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non deſinunt gentem noſtram nouis conſpurcare mendacijs, lectoréſque noua monſtrorum enumeratione & deſcriptionibus fictis deludere, ſæpe optabam eſſe aliquem, qui ad errata Hiſtoricorum, & aliorum iniquorum cenſorum reſponderet, quíque aliquo ſcripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs ſi non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honeſto ſtudioſo, *Arngrimo Ionæ* F. vt reuolutis ſcriptorum monumentis, qui de Iſlandia aliquid ſcripſerunt, errores & mendacia ſolidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etſi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conſcriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, ſed & ex ſua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus ſumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo eſt aggreſſus inſtinctu, viciſſim à me ſuo quaſi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus ſaltem verbis præfarer: exiſtimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opuſculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honeſtam & neceſſariam quoque operam nauaſſe eum iudico, qui non modò ſcriptorum varias ſententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ cenſuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam ſycophantarum morſibus vindicare conatus ſit. Æquum eſt igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc eſt opuſculi, velut ſanctiſſimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduerſus Zoilorum proteruiam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius Epiſcopus
Holenſis in Iſlandia.
Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

❡ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector ſuauis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,
Qui cuncta ſcis collis ſacri myſteria:
Has videris ſi fortè quando paginas
Non lectione ſiq; dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte ſic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec iſta quando turbido:
Communis vnquam ſortis haud ſis immemor,
Infirmitas quam noſtra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis eſt mortalium
Erroribus vaniſque ſemper plurimis?
Quod ſi diu multúmque cogitaueris,
Noſtris eris conatibus paulo æquior,
Tuis & iſto ritè pacto conſules:
Candore nam quo noſtra tractans vtere,
En te legentes rurſus vtentur pari:
Sic ipſe ſemper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Iſlandica
Authoribus quamuis probata maximis,
Noſtro periclo hucúſq; vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam ſcriptorum inuram nomini,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muſcam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad ſuccurrendum gentis noſtræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare non dubitem: Vt ſcribamus, vrget neceſſitas: Vt verò ſcriptum noſtrum, cuiuſuis delicato palato, vbiq; ſatisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. *Inſtitutum meum complures probaturos ſpero: ſucceſſum forſan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias ſuſtinentis, quàm ſiue laudis, ſiue vituperationis, ad me ipſum hinc forſan rediture, exiſtimabā. Quid enim cauſæ eſſe poteſt, cur nōnullorū odium & inuidētiam, cum hoc patriæ benefaciendi ſeu gratificandi ſtudio fortè coniunctā recuſem?*

Quodſi ſcriptorum errores liberius notare, ſi quorundam calumnias durius perſtringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum cenſores confido, qui paulò diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles ſint ſcriptorum de noſtra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graues quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem noſtram varijs modis laceſſiuere, & etiamnum laceſſere non deſiſtunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito ſoli natalis amori eſt; Dandum iuſto, ob hanc patriæ illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbiq; mihi temperaui, ac à conuitijs abſtinere volui: quòd ſi quid videatur mollius dicendum fuiſſe, id prædicta ratione veniam, ſpero, merebitur.

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Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, veſtra, clementiſſime Princeps, Sereniſſ. Maieſtate: Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas noſtras in ſuam poteſtatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis noſtræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ vt ſit, ſupplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiſſ. non ſolùm ad hanc rem, S. Maieſtatis V. clemens implorare auxilium neceſſum habemus; Sed ad multa quoq; alia, quæ in noſtra patria deſiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad huius vtilitatem & ſalutem communem ſpectant: quæq; non per me, ſed per ſummorum noſtræ gentis virorum libellos ſupplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maieſtas, Chriſtianiſſimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam noſtram patriam, inter reliquas imperij ſui Inſulas, ſua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ noſtra eſt ad S. Maieſtatem V. confugiendi neceſſitas, ea eſt S. Maieſtatis V. in nobis ſubleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi eccleſiam, in remotiſſimis M. V. imperij finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta ſingulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac repoſita in cœlis immarceſſibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa huius loci non ſint, id quod mei eſt propoſiti ſubiūgo: & à S. Maieſtate V. ea, qua par eſt, animi ſubmiſſione peto, vt huic meæ opellæ & ſtudio in patriam collato fauere, & patroni benigni eſſe loco, clementer dignetur. Quod ſupereſt, Sereniſſ. Princeps, Dom. clementiſſime, Maieſtatem V. ſapientiæ & prudentiæ, omniúmq; adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa ſumentem, ad ſummum imperij faſtigium, ſummus ille regnorum, omniúmq; adeò rerum humanarum diſpenſator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Euectum, omni rerum fœliciſſimo ſucceſſu continuè beet: Beatámque hoc modo, vt ſummum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præſidium, Eccleſiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutiſſimè conſeruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in ſolido regni cœleſtis gaudio, cum præcipuis eccleſiæ Dei nutritijs, ſyderis inſtar, illuſtrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiā idem Pater clementiſ. vt hæc vota, quantò ſæpius, in ampliſſimorum Maieſtatis V. regnorū & Inſularum quouis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

Haffniæ 1593. Menſe Mart. S. M. V. humiliter ſubiectus:

Arngrimus Ionas Iſlandus.

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IN lucem exijt circa annum Chriſti 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur ſpurciſſimi & mendaciſſimi in gentem Iſlandicam. Nec ſufficiebat ſordido Typographo ſordidum illum fœtum ſemel emiſiſſe, niſi tertiùm etiam aut quartùm publicaſſet, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, alióſque vicinos populos ſummam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipſo fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odiũ fuit, & ex re illicita lucri auiditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, quę plurimos annos commercia ſua magno ſuorum cum lucro in Iſlandia exercuit, impunè fecit. *Ioachimus Leo* nomen illi eſt, dignus certè qui Leones paſcat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij ſcriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Inſula creduntur eſſe plurima, & gentis Iſlandicæ mores ac inſtituta deſcribere ſe velle putant, à re ipſa & veritate prorſus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas pluſquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vaniſſimas ſecuti. Hi Scriptores etſi non tam ſpurca & probroſa reliquerunt, quàm ſordidus iſte Rhythmiſta: multa tamen ſunt in illorum ſcriptis, quæ illos excuſare non poſſunt, aut prorſus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem ſuis ſcriptis deridendam alijs expoſuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, ſubinde nouis, qui Iſlandorum nomen & æſtimationem læderent, ſcriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum ſuffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non deſinunt gentem noſtram nouis conſpurcare mendacijs, lectoréſque noua monſtrorum enumeratione & deſcriptionibus fictis deludere, ſæpe optabam eſſe aliquem, qui ad errata Hiſtoricorum, & aliorum iniquorum cenſorum reſponderet, quíque aliquo ſcripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs ſi non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honeſto ſtudioſo, *Arngrimo Iona* F. vt reuolutis ſcriptorum monumentis, qui de Iſlandia aliquid ſcripſerunt, errores & mendacia ſolidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etſi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conſcriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, ſed & ex ſua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus ſumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo eſt aggreſſus inſtinctu, viciſſim à me ſuo quaſi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus ſaltem verbis præfarer: exiſtimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opuſculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honeſtam & neceſſariam quoque operam nauaſſe eum iudico, qui non modò ſcriptorum varias ſententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ cenſuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam ſycophantarum morſibus vindicare conatus ſit. Æquum eſt igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc eſt opuſculi, velut ſanctiſſimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduerſus Zoilorum proteruiam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius Epiſcopus
Holenſis in Iſlandia.

Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector ſuauis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,
Qui cuncta ſcis collis ſacri myſteria:
Has videris ſi fortè quando paginas
Non lectione ſiq; dedignabere,
Fac, noſtro candori vt hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte ſic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec iſta quando turbido:
Communis vnquam ſortis haud ſis immemor,
Infirmitas quam noſtra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis eſt mortalium
Erroribus vaniſque ſemper plurimis?
Quod ſi diu multúmque cogitaueris,
Noſtris eris conatibus paulo æquior,
Tuis & iſto ritè pacto conſules:
Candore nam quo noſtra tractans vtere,
En te legentes rurſus vtentur pari:
Sic ipſe ſemper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Iſlandica
Authoribus quamuis probata maximis,
Noſtro periclo hucúſq; vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam ſcriptorum inuram nomini,

Noſtrum ſed à nota probroſa vindicem:
Hoc inſtitutum iúsq; fásq; comprobant:
Hoc noſtra conſuetudo lexque comprobant:
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo faue: noſtris faue conatibus,
Sis mitis, indulgens & æquus arbiter,
O Lector arte imbute ſuauis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta ſcis collis ſacri myſteria.

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA *INITIVM.*

QVemadmodum in militia caſtrenſi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, ſed ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis caſtra ſequi animaduertimus: Alios verò iuſtis de cauſis arma ſumere; vt qui vel doctrinæ cœleſtis propagandæ aut ſeruandæ ergò bella mouent, vel aliquo modo laceſſiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel ſaltem non laceſſiti, propter obſidentem hoſtem metu in armis eſſe coguntur: Non ſecus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philoſophico ſeu verius Chriſtiano, ad ſcribendum feruntur: puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios ſugillant, vt ipſi potiores habeantur, nunc in perſonam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam ſtylum acuentes, atque impudenter quaſi mentiendo, inſontem nationem & populos commaculantes: Alij verò contrà, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inueſtigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui ſcientiam Theologicam & Philoſophicam ſcriptis mandarunt, quiſque ſuis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui quicquid in illis obſcurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vſu & experientia duce illuſtrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi hiſtorias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ conſecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem ſuis indefeſſis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in ſe ſuamue gentem vel patriam, licentioſam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quaſi vim iniuſtam propulſare annixi ſunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (vt id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non poſſum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis ſuæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipſam aſſerere, & conuitiantium iugum detrectare ſtuduerunt: Maiora ingenio ſors denegauit: Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipſius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falſis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitijs, magna cum voluptate proſcindere, aliiſq; nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falſas, detectis ſimul ſcriptorum de hac Inſula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus ſui ſemper ſimile, falſi & vani tenaciſſimum, non eſt quòd ſperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere poſſe) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etſi autem Iſlandia multos habet, vt ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè ſuperiores, ideóq; ad hanc cauſam patriæ ſuſcipiendam multò magis idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clariſſimi viri, Dom. *Gudbrandi Thorlacij*, Epiſcopi Holenſis, apud Iſlandos, ſollicitationibus motus communi cauſæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deeſſe volui, tum ut æquiſſimæ poſtulationi ipſius parerem, atque amorem & ſtudium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos ſympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum ſcientia fœlicius verſatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vlterius progreſſos, ad hoc gentis noſtræ patrocinium inuitarem: Tantum abeſt, vt ijs qui idem conabuntur, obſtaculo eſſe voluerim.

Cæterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque ſunt noſtræ gentis obtrectatores, teſtimonio ſcripto ſe vti ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino eſt, quidnam de Iſlandia, & quàm vera ſcriptores prodiderint, vt ſi fortè iſti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occaſionem dederint, patefactis ipſorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamuis vetuſtiorum quorundam ſcripta de hac Inſula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui ſacra eſt memoria, reuerenda dignitas, ſuſpicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam ſtudium: Nouitij verò, ſi qui ſunt id genus ſcriptores, aut verius paſquilli, cum ijs longè veriora quàm ſcripſerant, audire & noſſe de Iſlandia licuerit, ſua leuitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil niſi inuidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrati eſſe videbuntur.

Commentarij duæ partes.

Atque vt Commentarius hic noſter aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propoſitæ orationis capita, vnum de Inſula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in noſtris manibus verſantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vltra has metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipſa, & quæ huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex profeſſo Hiſtoricum vel Geographum ſed diſputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omiſſa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ eſt de ſitu, nomine, miraculis, & alijs quibuſdam adiunctis Inſulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Inſula Iſlandia, quæ per immenſum à cæteris ſecreta longè ſita eſt in Oceano, vixq́; à nauigantibus agnoſcitur, &c.

Munſt.lib.4. Coſmograph.

ETſi hæc tractare, quæ ipſam terram vel illius adiuncta ſeu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morſu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum eſt, vt perſpecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Iſlandiæ ſcriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in ijs quæ de Incolis ſcripta reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde ſua in gentem noſtram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur diſtantiam Iſlandiæ à reliquis terris non immenſam eſſe, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, ſi quis inſulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonſtrari poſſet. Non enim id alio, quàm iſto cognoſci exactè poſſe modo exiſtimârim, cum nulli dubium ſit, quàm ſemper nautarum vel rectiſſimus, vt illis videtur, curſus aberret. Quare varias authorum de ſitu Iſlandiæ ſententias ſubiungam, vt inde quiuis de diſtantiâ id colligat, quod maximè veriſimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque ſententiam ſi non interponam, tamen adiungam.

	Longit.		*Latitud.*	
Munſterus *Iſlandiam collocat ſub gradibus ferè*	20		68.	
Gerardus *Mercator*	352		68.	
Gemma Friſius:				
Medium Iſlandiæ:	7.	0	65.	30
Herſee:	7.	40	60.	42
Thirtes:	5.	50	64.	44
Nadar:	6.	40	57.	20
Iacobi Ziegleri:				
Littus Iſlandiæ Occident.	20.		63.	
Chos promontorium:	22.	46	63.	
Latus orientale extenditur contra Septentrionem: & finis extenſionis habet	30.		68.	
Latus ſeptentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extenſionis habet	28.		69.	
Lateris Occidentalis deſcriptio.				
Heckelſel promontorium	25.		67.	
Madber promontorium	21.20		65.10	
Ciuitates in ea mediterraneæ ſunt				
Holen Epiſcopalis	28.		67.	50
Schalholten Epiſcopalis	22		63.	30
Reinholdus.				
Per Holen Iſlandiæ.			68.	
Ioh.Myritius.				
Per Med. Iſlandiæ.			69.	:
Neander.				
Iſlandia tribus gradibus in circulum vſque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, vt mediam circulus ille ſecet, &c.				

Et ſi qui ſunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui ſuis ſcriptis Inſulæ ſitum notarunt, quorum plures ſententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis diſſidentes reperias. Ego quamuis veriſimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Iſlandiæ ſitu ſententiæ aſſentiar, quin potius diuerſum quippiam ab ijs omnibus ſtatuam, tamen id ipſum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum ſatis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, fortè aliquando non coniecturam, ſed obſeruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Diſtantiam ab oſtio Albis ad portum Iſlandię meridionalis Batzende, quidam ſcripſerat eſſe circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde ſi longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgenſem ſupputaueris, nullam modò poſitarum longitudinum habebis illo in loco Iſlandia. Ego ternis Hamburgenſium nauigationibus docere poſſum, ſeptimo die Hamburgum ex Iſlandia peruentum eſſe. Præterea etiam, Inſulæ quæ ab ouium multitudine Færeyjar, ſeu rectius Faareyjar dictæ ſunt, bidui nauigatione, vt & littora Noruagiæ deſerta diſtant. Quatridui verò nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagiæ Stad. inter opida Nidroſiam & Bergas ſitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetuſtis codicibus reperimus.

Bidui nauigatio ab Iſlandia ad Noruagiam deſertam.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Munſterus, Olaus magnus & reliqui. *In hac, æſtiuo ſolſtitio, ſole ſignum Cancri tranſeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solſtitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Inſula quæ longe ſupra Arcticum circulum in ampliſſimo Oceano ſita eſt, Iſlandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas* Entgronlandt *vocant, menſes ſunt plures ſine noctibus.*

NVllum eſſe hyemali ſolſtitio diem, id eſt, tempus quo ſol ſupra horizontem conſpicitur in illo tantum Iſlandiæ angulo, ſi modò quis eſt, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ eſt ſedes Epiſcopalis Borealis Iſlandiæ, ſita etiam in anguſtiſſima & profundiſſima conualle, latitudo eſt circiter grad. 65. 44. min. vt à Domino *Gudbrando* eiuſdem loci Epiſcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuiſſimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Iſlandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre eſt. Vnde conſtat nec Iſlandiam vltra Arcticum circulum poſitam eſſe, nec menſes plures noctibus in æſtiuo, vel diebus in brumali ſolſtitio carere.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munſterus. Saxo. *Nomen habet à glacie quæ illi perpetuo ad Boream adhæret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagiæ Inſula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfuſa Oceano reperitur, obſoletæ admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc eſt Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata.*

N*Omen habet à glacie)* Tria nomina conſequenter ſortita eſt Iſlandia. Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuiſſe creditur *Naddocus* genere Noruagus, cũ verſus inſulas Farenſes nauigaret tẽpeſtate valida, ad littora Iſlandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit: vbi cum fuiſſet aliquot ſeptimanas cum ſocijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à niue nomen Inſulæ *Snelandia* indidit. Snelandia. Hunc ſecutus alter, *Gardarus*, fama quam de Iſlandia *Naddocus* attulerat impulſus, Inſulam quæſitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de ſuo nomine *Gardarsholme* id eſt, *Gardars* Inſula impoſuit. Quin & plures nouam terram viſendi cupido inceſſit: nam & poſt illos duos adhuc tertius quidam *Noruagus* (Floki nomen habuit) contulit ſe in Iſlandiam, illiq; à glacie qua viderat ipſam cingi nomen fecit.

Obſoletæ admodum) Ego ex iſtis verbis Saxonis hanc ſententiam nequaquam eruo, vt quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam eſſe Iſlandiam, ſeu vt verbo dicam, Iſlandos autocthonas dicat, cum conſtet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

Hæc eſt Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc ſub iudice lis eſt. Quam tamen facilè dirimi 874 poſſe crediderim, ſi quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuiſſe inhabitatam. Niſi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipſi nomen dediſſe putant, ad Inſulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetraſſe. Illud verò rurſus ſi quis neget, per me ſanè licebit, vt illud ſit quoddam quaſi ſpectaculum, dum ita in contrarias ſcinduntur ſententias. Vnus affirmat eſſe Iſlandiam. Alter quandam inſulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, ſiue vltimam in ditione Scoti, vt *Ioannes Myritius & alij*, qui nomen illius referunt *Thylenſey*, quod etiam *Virgilius* per ſuam vltimam Thylen ſenſiſſe videtur, Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos ſtatueret. Quod vel ex illo *Virgilij* Eclog. 1. apparet.

Et penitus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos. Quartus vnam ex Farenſibus. Quintus Telemarchiam *Noruagiæ*. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Perpetuò ad Boream *adhæret.)* Illud verò, *Glaciem Inſulæ perpetuò*, vel vt paulò poſt aſſerit *Munſterus*: *Octo continuis menſibus adhærere*: neutrum verum eſt. Nam vt plurimum in menſe Glacies Aprili aut Maio ſoluitur Aprili aut Maio ſoluitur, & Occidentem verſus propellitur, nec ante Ianuarium aut Februarium ſæpiſſimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Iſlandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum eſt. Vnde conſtat quàm verè à *Friſio* ſcriptum ſit, *nauigationem ad hanc inſulam tantum quadrimeſtrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter*, Cùm Anglicæ naues quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Auguſtum iterum hinc ſoluant. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam nauis Germanica, cupro onuſta, portum Iſlandiæ Vopnafiord 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus lapſis inde fœliciter ſoluit. Quare cum glacies Iſlandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo menſibus adhæreat, *Munſterus & Friſius* manifeſtè falluntur.

SECTIO QVARTA.

Tam grandis Inſula, vt populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus, Situs Inſulæ extenditur inter auſtrum & boream ducentorum prope Schanorum longitudine. Krantzius. Munſterus.

GRandis.) Wilſtenius quidam, rector Scholæ OLDENBVRGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Iſlandia Occidentali miſit breuem commentarium, quem ex ſcriptorum rapſodijs de Iſlandia collegerat, Vbi ſic reperimus: *Iſlandia duplo maior Sicilia, &c.* Sicilia autem ſecundum *Munſterum* 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Noſtræ verò Inſulæ ambitus etſi nobis non eſt exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & conſtans opinio, & apud noſtrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Iſlandiæ inſigniora, quæ ſingula 12. inter ſemilliaribus diſtent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam ſummam oſtendunt. Magnitudo Iſlandiæ.

Populos multos) *Gyſſerus* quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Epiſcopus *Schalholtenſis* in Iſlandia, omnes Inſulæ colonos ſeu ruſticos qui tantas facultates poſſiderent, vt regi tributum ſoluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiſcuo vulgo omiſſis) luſtrari curauit, reperítque in parte Inſulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa ſoluentium. Iam ſi quis experiatur, inueniet Inſulam plus dimidio fuiſſe inhabitatam.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Inſula multa ſui parte montoſa eſt & inculta. Qua parte autem plana eſt præſtat plurimùm pabulo, tam lato, vt pecus depellatur à paſcuis, ne ab aruina ſuffocetur. Munſt. Friſius, Ziegler.

ID ſuffocationis periculum nullo teſtimonio, nec noſtra nec patrum noſtrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari poteſt.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Sunt in hac Inſula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetua niue candent, radices ſempiterno igne aſtuant. Primus Occidentem verſus eſt, qui vocatur Hecla, alter Crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. *Rupes ſiue promontorium Hecla aſtuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Inſula mons eſt, qui rupem ſideream perpetua flagrationis aſtibus imitatus, incendia ſempiterna iugi flammarum eructatione continuat.* Munſt. Friſius.

MIracula Iſlandiæ *Munſterus* & *Friſius* narraturi mox in veſtibulo, magno ſuo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hic de monte Hecla aſſerunt, etſi aliquam habet veritatis ſpeciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne æſtuantibus dicunt, manifeſtè erroneum eſt. Illi enim in Iſlandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto ſcriptorum errori occaſionem dederit, imaginari poſſumus. Facta tamen eſt, ſed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam auſtralis Iſlandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna ſaxorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Cæterum ille mons longè eſt ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuerſiſſimus. Porrò etſi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter iſta contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in *Munſtero, Zieglero* & *Friſio* ſequitur, de orco Iſlandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego ſanè nefas eſſe duco, his vel ſimilibus naturæ miraculis ab abſurda aſſerenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impoſſibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quaſi verò non concurrant in huiuſmodi incendijs cauſæ ad hanc rem ſatis validæ. Eſt in horum montium radicibus materia vri aptiſſima, nempe ſulphurea & bituminoſa, Accedit aër per poros ac cauernas in terræ viſcera ingreſſus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem exſufflans vnà cum nitro, qua exſufflatione tanquam follibus quibuſdam, ardentiſſima excitatur flamma. Habet ſiquidem ignis, his ita conenientibus, quæ tria ad vrendum ſunt neceſſaria, materiam ſcilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideóque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præſtat per terræ cauernas admiſſus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, ſine reſpiraculo eſſe neſcientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non ſecus ac in cuniculis machiniſue ſeu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac ſtrepitu, à ſulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, eijciuntur) lapides & Saxa in iſta voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, colliquefacta cum immodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exſpuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non ſine terræmotu: qui ſi ſecundum profunditatem terræ fiat, ſuccuſſio à Poſſidoneo appellatur, vel hiatus erit, vel pulſus.

Lib.2.cap.20.

Hiatu terra dehiſcit: pulſu eleuatur intumeſcens, & nonunquam, vt inquit *Plinius*, moles magnas egerit: Cuiuſmodi terræmotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Iſlandiæ Auſtralis Anno 1581 infeſtantis, quique à Pontano his verbis ſcitiſſimè deſcribitur,

Ergo incerta ferens raptim veſtigia, anhelus
Spiritus incurſat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
Explorátque abitum inſiſtens, & ſingula tentat,
Si quà forte queat victis erumpere clauſtris.
Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam
Terra, ſuis quatiens lætas cum mœnibus vrbes:
Diſſiliunt auulſa iugis immania ſaxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota eſſe exiſtimemus; Sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad ſuas fabulas, quas hinc exſtruunt, confugere velle.

Cardanus.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam ſcriptoribus moueat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Iſlandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum baſin ſemper ardere dicant, ſummitates tamen nunquā niue careant. Porrò id admirari, eſt præter authoritatem tātorum virorum, quibus Ætnę incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cùm ſecundum *Plinium* hybernis temporibus niualis ſit, noctibus tamen, eodem teſte, ſemper ardet. Quare etiam ſecundū illos, ille mons, cum adhuc niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, ſordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter niues in ſummo vertice & baſin æſtuantem, adſcribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum eſſe poteſt, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquā, niſi rariſſimè erumpens, excelſa montis cacumina, quæ niuibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat. Nam & in *Caira*, altiſſima montis cacumina niuibus ſemper cādentia eſſe perhibentur: & in *Beragua* quidem ſimiliter, ſed 5000 paſſuum in cœlum elata, quæ niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore diſtent. Vtrámq; hanc prouinciam iuxta Pariam eſſe ſitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffæ (quæ una eſt ex inſulis Canarijs, quæ & Fortunatæ) pyramis, ſecundum *Munſterum*, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aëra aſſurgens, atq; inſtar Aetnæ iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teſte *Benzone* Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Hiſtorico, non reſoluit. Quod ipſum in noſtra Hecla quid eſt, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breuiter de incendiis montanis.

Nunc illud quoq; caſtigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum vſq; attolli ſcribant. Habent enim nullā præ cæteris Iſlandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem: Præcipuè tertius ille Helga à *Munſtero* appellatus, nobis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monaſterium eiuſdē nominis, nulla ſui parte tempore æſtiuo niuibus obductus, nec montis excelſi, ſed potius collis humils nomen meretur, nunquā, vt initio huius ſectionis dixi, de incendio ſuſpectus. Nec verò perpetuę niues Heclæ, vel paucis alijs adſcribi debebant: Permultos enim habet eiuſmodi mōtes niuoſos Iſlandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Coſmographus. Quin etiam id non ngligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem verſus, vt à *Munſtero* & *Ziglero* annotatum eſt, ſed inter meridiem & orientem poſitus ſit. Nec promontorium eſt: ſed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Annales Iſlandię.

Incendia perpetua iugi, &c. Quicunq; perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adſcripſerunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, vt quoties flammas eructârit, noſtrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Chriſti 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, vſque ad annum 1558. quæ vltima fuit in illo monte eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri poſſe, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet ſtatis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum eſt, eruperint, aut etiam forte poſthac erumpant.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Priſius. Munſt.

Montis Heclæ flamma nec ſtuppam lucernarum luminibus aptiſſimam adurit, neque aquis extinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi eijciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & ſulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibuſdam putatur carcer ſordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. *Is locus eſt carcer ſordidarum animarum.*

N*Ec ſtuppam adurit.*) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non ſatis conijcitur. Hæc enim noſtris hominibus prorſus ignota, nec hîc vnquam, niſi prodidiſſent illi, audita fuiſſent. Nemo enim eſt apud nos tam temerariæ curioſitatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere auſit, vel quod ſcire licuit, vnquā auſus fuerit. Quod tamen *Munſterus* aſſerit. *Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendij contēplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago viuos abſorbet, &c.* Quæ res, vt dixi, noſtræ genti eſt ignota prorſus. Extat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua ſcriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot conſuſa fuſa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falſa. Vnde facile apparet, à Sophis quibuſdam, ſi dijs placet, in Papatu olim eſſe conſcriptum: *Speculum Regale* nomen dederunt, propter vaniſſima mendacia, quibus totus, ſed plærumque ſub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius eſt fucum agnoſcere) ſcatet ſpeculum minimè regale, ſed *Anile & Irregulare*. In hoc ſpeculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum diſſimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc ſtabilita, ideóque explodenda.

Speculum Regale

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui ſpeculum illud Regale mendacij accuſem; nullum verò ex his quę minus credibilia affert, recenſeam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri exiſtimarim.

1 De quadam Inſula Hyberniæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: ſed ad aggerem ſeu parietem cœmeterij, viuorum inſtar erecti, conſiſtunt perpetuò: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxij: vt poſterùm quiuis ſuos maiores ibi quærere & conſpicere poſſit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Inſula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis reſiſtant, ſerpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, ſolâ virtute & præſentiâ, etiam ſine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Inſula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta ſit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exſtructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & paſtore (vt tota Inſula incolis) & ſacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita eſſe.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Inſula, quæ in lacu quodam ſatis vaſto fluitet: cuius gramina, quibuſuis morbis præſentiſſimum remedium exiſtant: Inſula verò ripam lacus ſtatis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis, vt tum quiuis facilè eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus ſimul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Inſulam ſeptimo quoque anno ripæ adnaſci tradit, vt à continente non diſcernas: In eius autem locum mox ſuccedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute conſimilem: quæ vnde veniat, neſciri: idque cum quodam quaſi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Noruegiæ, qui lignum domare (ſic enim loquitur, quantumuis impropriè: cùm ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti ſint, vt aſſeres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelſis montibus, promoueant, vt non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum curſu, ſed etiam auium volatu ſuperari nequeant: atque vnico curſu, vnico etiam haſtæ ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & ſimilia, de Hybernia, Norvegia, Iſlandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magiſter, in ſuum ſpeculum collegit: Quibus, licet ſuis admirationem, vulgo ſtuporem, nobis tamen riſum concitauit.

Gronlandia.

Sed Friſium audiamus. *Flamma*, inquit, *Montis Heclæ nec ſtuppam, lucernarũ luminibus aptiſſimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur.* Atqui, inquam, ex Schola veſtra Philoſophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Phyſici, *commune eſſe validioribus flammis omnibus vt ſiccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inſperſa, ignem excitare ſolent. Cùm enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumq; aqua ineſt. Item: Aqua ſolet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipſum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuſo fumo abſumitur, ſed totum ignis ipſe depaſcitur, quò purior inde factus, ac ſimul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes artificioſi aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt ſulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ ſponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur.* Prodidit etiam Philoſophus, *Aqua ali ignem.* Ariſt. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Hiſtor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. *In Nymphæo exit è Petra flamma, quæ aquâ accenditur.* Idem, *Viret æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus.* Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis exiſtere, vt Thraſumenum lacum in agro Peruſino arſiſſe totum, idem autor eſt. Et anno 1226, & 1236, non procul à promontorio Iſlandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipſo mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuiſſe, vt Seruio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exſilijſſe: Et L. Martium in Hiſpania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem ſeu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, conflagraſſe, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ vt aqua accendatur, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campeſtris, quę frondem denſi ſupra ſe nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita ſint, mirum, homines id in ſolâ Heclâ mirari (ponam enim iam ita eſſe, cum non ſit tamen, quòd à quoquam ſcire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus ſeu locis, tam montanis, quàm campeſtribus, cum ea commune eſſet.

Chronica Iſlandiæ

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munſterus. *Mons ipſe cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua inſonat, proijcit ingentia Saxa, ſulphur euomit, cineribus egeſtis, tam longè terram circumcirca*

Friſius.

operit, vt ad viceſimum lapidem coli non poſſit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut alijs montibus flammiuomis, quos mox recitabo, comparaſſe, cum non deeſſet, non modò ſimile, ſed prope idem: Niſi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm alijs id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorſus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558 vt ſuperius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici poteſt de noſtra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cæteris montibus flammiuomis competat, vt mox apparebit. Quòd verò ſulphur eiaculetur, manifeſtum eſt commentum, nullo experimento apud noſtrates cognitum.

Is locus eſt carcer ſordidarum animarum. Hîc præfandum eſſe mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio propoſuerim, de terra & incolis diuiſim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ ſunt meritò ſecundæ partis, miſcere cogar. Euenit hoc ſcriptorum culpa, qui Inſulæ ſitui ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur iſthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Hiſtoria poſitum eſſe? Quis non miretur, viros ſapientes eò perduci, vt hæc vulgi deliramenta auſcultent, nedum ſequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluuies nautica, (hîc enim ſaniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc inſolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito ſtupore ad iſtam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam ſubſterni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domeſticis focis fieri conſueuit. Atque hac perſuaſione vulgi fama inoleuit, dum (vt ad maledicta optimè aſſuefactum eſt) vnus alteri huius montis incendium imprecatur. Quaſi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac viſibilis, animas, i. ſubſtantias ſpirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur, cur eundem carcerẽ damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur eſt. Sit ſanè: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas, quæ & purgatorij. Sed priuſquã longius procedamus, libet hîc referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum naui Iſlandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citiſſimo curſu iter ſuum rectà legenti, factam obuiam alteram, ſimiliter impigro curſu, ſed contra vim tempeſtatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius præfectus rogatus, quinam eſſent? Reſpondiſſe fertur: **De Biſchop van Bremen.** Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. **Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho.** Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne peluim poſtulet dari: Eſt enim mendacium adeo deteſtandum, vt facilè nauſeam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynoſarges & ranas paluſtres: illud enim eiuſdẽ facimus atq; illarũ coax, coax. Nec verò dignum eſt hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum inſanis Papiſtis nugari: Quin potius ad ſcriptores noſtros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hîc, clariſſimi viri, D. Caſparis Peuceri, illud præterire. *Eſt in Iſlandia,* inquit, *mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miſerabili & lamentabili ploratu perſonat, vt voces plorantium circumquaq;, ad interuallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumuolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidẽ ab incolis exiſtimantur. Vulgus incolarum deſcenſum eſſe per voraginem illam ad inferos perſuaſum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunq; parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt cruenta, commoueri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atq; eiulatus ingentes longâ experientia didicerunt.* Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctiſſime perferre auſus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Iſlandia, ſed genus aquilarum ſecundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notauit, & Pygarſum appellauit. Nec vlli ſunt huius ſpectaculi apud nos teſtes: Nec deniq; ibidem coruos aut aquilas nidificare probabile eſt, quæ, igni & fumo ſemper inimiciſſimo, potius à focis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei teſtimonium, *(vt & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei.)* experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia teſtatur. Vnde verò foramen vel feneſtra illa montana, per quam clamores, ſtrepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa eſſent, quæ authorem iſtius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis conſtaret: qui vtinam veriora narrare diſcat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte ſimilia, incomperta, atq; adeò incredibilia, clariſſimo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre præſumat.

Aſt verò Munſterus cum incendij tanti & tam incredilis cauſſas in famoſiſſimâ Ætna inueſtigare conatus ſit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hîc verò præternaturalẽ imo infernalem faciat, an non monſtri ſimile eſt? Cæterùm de Æthnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio aliâs ſentiat Munſterus.

Munſterus Coſmograph. vniuerſal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Dubium non eſt, inquit, *montes olim & campos arſiſſe in orbe terrarum: Et noſtra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia: In Iſlandia mons Hecla ſtatis temporibus foras proycit ingentia Saxa, euomit ſulphur ſpargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, vt terra ad viceſimum lapidem coli non poſſit. Vbi autem montiũ incendia perpetua ſunt, intelligimus nullam eſſe obſtructionem meatuum, per quos modò,* *quaſi fluuium quendam, ignes, modo flammas, nunc verò fumum tantùm euomunt. Sin per temporum interualla increſcunt, internis meatibus obturatis, eius viſcera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Aſt vbi ſpiritus vehementior, rurſus recluſis meatibus iiſdem vel alijs, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, ſulphur, pumices, maſſas, quæ habent ſpeciem ferri, ſaxa, aliáſq; materias foras proijcit, plerumq; non ſine detrimento regionis adiacentis.* Hæc Munſterus. Vbi videas quæſo Lector, quomodo ſuo ſe iugulet gladio, videas inquam hîc eãdem de incendio Heclæ & AEtnæ opinionem & ſententiam, quæ tamen lib. 4. eiuſdem, admodum eſt diſpar, vt illic ad cauſas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indię occidentalis mons quidam flammiuomus æquiores multò, quàm hic noſt r, cenſores & hiſtoricos, minimè illic barathrum exædificantes: Cuius hiſtoriam, quia & breuis eſt, & non illepida, ſubijciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Hiſtoriar. noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis deſcriptam.

Triginta quinq;, inquit, *milliarium interuallo abeſt Legione mons flammiuomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos ſæpe flammarum globos eructat, vt noctu latiſſimè vltra 10000. paſſuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum eſſe, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaq; Dominicanus quidem monachus, cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, abenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, moxq; in montis iugum cum quatuor alijs Hiſpanis aſcendens, catenam cum abeno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore, abenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum eſt. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incuſat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multò, quàm iuſſiſſet ipſe, eſſet fabricatus. Faber aliam multo craſſiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto ſimilem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm reſolutus lebes euanuit, verũ etiã flammæ globus repentè è profundo exſiliens, propemodũ & Fratrem & ſocios abſumpſit. Omnes quidem adeo perculſi in vrbem reuerſi ſunt, vt de eo incœpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent, &c.*

O quam cenſura diſpar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Iſlandię verò, infernum quærunt. Sed hoc vt nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortaſſe reijcient: Cur igitur eundẽ, quem in Hecla Iſlandię animarũ carcerẽ, in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte, cuius noctu diuq; flamma immortalis perhibetur, non ſunt imaginati ſcriptores? Cur nõ in Epheſi montibus, quos tæda flãmante tactos, tantũ ignis cõcipere accepimus, vt lapides quoq; & arenæ in ipſis aquis ardeãt, & ex quibus accenſo baculo, ſi quis ſulcũ traxerit, riuos igniũ ſequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu ſemper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Inſula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, ſimiliter in ipſo mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accenſa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu ſemper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teſte Ariſtotele, ad quẽ non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorũ ſonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum inſolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur nõ in illa ſuperius cõmemorata Teneriffę pyramide montana, inſtar Aetnæ, iugiter ardente, & lapides, vt ex Munſtero videre eſt, in aëra exſpuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius teſtatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Veſuuio monte, non ſine inſigni vicinię clade, & C. Plinij exitiali detrimẽto, dum inſueti incendij cauſas perſcrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum ſaxis euomẽte, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiâ aëra replente, & ſolem meridianum per totam viciniam denſiſſimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam, & dicam quod res eſt: Quia ſcilicet illis, vtpote notioribus, fidem, etſi inferni eſſe incendia finxiſſent, minimè adhiberi præuidebant: Heclę verò æſtum, cuius rumor tardius ad eorum aures peruenit, huic commento vaniſſimo ſtabiliendo, magis inſeruire putabant. Sed faceſſite: Deprę̄henſa fraus eſt: Deſinite poſthac illam de inferno Heklenſi opinionem cuiquam velle perſuadere. Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis inuitis, conſimilibus incendijs, operationes ſuas Natura, non Infernus. Sed videamus iam plura eiuſdem farinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Hiſtoricis & Coſmographis noſtris adeò malè impoſuerunt.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Friſius Zieglerus, Olaus Magn.

Iuxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) *ſunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potiſſimum, ne Lynceus quidem perſpicere queat: Sed apparent ipſum inſpicientibus, homines primùm ſubmerſi, adhuc ſpiritum exhalantes, qui amicis ſuis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis ſuſpirijs ſe ad montem Heclam proficiſci debere reſpondent: Sicque ſubitò euaneſcunt.*

AD confirmandum ſuperius mendacium de Inferno terreſtri ac viſibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumnioſum (etſi facilè largiar, Friſium non tam calumniandi, quàm noua &

inaudita prædicandi animo iſta ſcripſiſſe) quàm falſum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac deteſtabilius,excogitarũt homines ignaui,nec cœlũ nec infernũ ſcientes. Quos ſcriptores iſti,viri alioqui pręclariſſimi & optimè de Repub.literaria meriti,nimiũ prępropero iudicio ſecuti ſunt.

Cæterum optandum eſſet,nullos tanto nouitatis ſtudio Hiſtorias ſcribere, vt non vereantur aniles quaſuis nugas ijs inſerere,atq; ita aurum purũ cœno aſpergere. Qui verò demũ ſunt homines illi ſubmerſi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea,cum ſua Euridice,in Stygias relabente vndas,colloquentem,& in his extremi orbis partibus,tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumq́ue niualem, cantus exercentem lyricos,rediuiuum dabitis? Certè,etſi nolint alij futilem huiuſmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoſcere,agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æſtimator Cardanus,lib. 18.ſubtil.cuius hæc ſunt verba.

*Eſt Hecla mons in Iſlandia,ardetq́; non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per interualla,ideoq́; perſuaſione longa (vulgi) concepta,quod ibi expientur animæ. Alij,ne vani ſint, aſſingunt inania fabulæ,vt conſona videantur. Quæ ſunt autem illa inania? Quòd ſpectra comminiſcuntur,ſe ad montem Heclam ire reſpondentia,*ait idem. Et addit. *Nec in Iſlandia ſolum, ſed vbiq́; licet rarò, talia contingunt:* Subditq; de laruâ homicida Hiſtoriam,quæ ſic habet. *Efferebatur, inquit,anno præterito, funus viri plebeij Mediolani,orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod à caulium frequentia nomen caulis noſtra lingua ſonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum moris eſt, quo morbo exceſſerit? Reſpondet ille: conſueſſe hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam inſequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed à ſpectro captus atq́; in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem,cum diu in terra cum larua volutatus eſſet, inuentus à prætereuntibus quibuſdam,ſemiuiuus domum relatus,cum reſipuiſſet, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam deſpondens,cum nec ab amicis,nec medicis,nec ſacerdotibus perſuaderi potuiſſet, inania eſſe hæc, octo inde diebus perijt. Audiui poſtmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini eſſent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam conſtanter de illo teſtatum,vt hic,quod à mortuo fuiſſet in terram prouolutum. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille poſtquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum,inquit,mortuum adhibitis gulæ manibus,vt eum ſtrangularet: Nec obſtitiſſe quicquam, niſi quòd ſe ipſum tueretur manibus. Cum alij dubitarent,ne forte hæc à vino paſſus eſſet,interrogarentq́;,in quo mortuum a viuo ſecernere potuiſſet? Cauſſam reddidit ſatis probabilem,dicens ſe tanquam cottum attrectaſſe,nec pondus habuiſſe,niſi vt premebatur.* Et paulò poſt addit. *Eadem verò ratione, qua in Iſlandia, in arena ſolitudinibus Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq́;,vbi Sol ardet,eædem imagines,eadem ſpectra viatores ludificare ſolent.* Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluſerit, ſicut de Iſlandia ſcriptores noſtri faciunt,in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ,Indiæq́; locis,carcerem exiſtere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adſcribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum teſtimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus.Conuincit autẽ præſens Cardani locus hæc duo,ſcilicet: nec eſſe Iſlandiæ proprias ſpectrorũ apparitiones:(quod etiã omnes norunt,niſi eius rei ignorantiã nimis affectent)nec illud mortuorũ cũ viuis, in hiatu Heclenſi,colloquium,niſi ementitis hominum fabulis,quauis ampulla vanioribus,niti,quibus beluæ vulgares,ad confirmandã de animarũ cruciatibus opinionẽ,vſę fuerant.Et quiſquã eſt,qui illis ſcriptorũ hiatibus,mortuorũ miraculis ad ſummum vſque refertis,adduci poteſt vt credat? Quiſquam,qui vanitatẽ tantam non cotẽnat? Certè. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem noſtram rectè ſumi aiunt: Nihil ſcilicet hac proiectius ac deterius eſſe vſquã,quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc cõmodi nobis peperit Hiſtoricorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auiditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio,vt ſtulta ac inanis,& in opprobrium noſtræ gentis conficta,hactenus,vt ſpero,ſatis labefactata eſt. Quare iam perge Lector, vlterius hanc de ſecretis infernalibus Philoſophiam cognoſcere.

SECTIO NONA.

Friſius & Munſt. *Circum verò Inſulam,per ſeptem aut octo menſes fluctuat glacies, miſerabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum,ex colliſione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla,& in glacie loca eſſe,in quibus animæ ſuorum crucientur.*

EGregium ſcilicet Hiſtoriæ augmentum,de Orco Iſlandico in vnius montis baſin,haud ſanè vaſtam,coacto: Et interdum (ſtatis forſan temporibus)loca commutante. Vbi ſcilicet domi in foco mõtano deliteſcere piget,& exire,pelaguſq;,ſed ſine rate,tentare iuuat,ſeſeq; in glaciei fruſtella colligere.Audite porrò,huius ſecreti admiratores: En porrigã Hiſtoricis aliud Hiſtoriæ auctarium nequaquam contemnendum.Scribant igitur,quotquot his ſcriptorũ cõmentis adhęrent,Iſlandos non ſolùm infernum intra limites habere, ſed & ſcientes volentes ingredi,atq; intactos eodẽ die egredi, Quid ita? Quia peruetus eſt Inſulæ cõſuetudo, vt maritimi in hanc glaciem,ab Hiſtoricis infernalem factam, manè phocas, ſeu vitulos marinos captum eant,ac veſperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in ſcrinijs & alijs vaſis ab Iſlandis carcerem damnatorum aſſeruari,vt paulò poſt ex Friſio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis,ne Iſlandi fortitudinis & conſtantiæ laudem veſtris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta(vt hiſtoricis veſtris placet)barathri ſuſtinuiſſe & velint & poſſint,illáq; ſine vllo grauiore damno perrũpere atq; effugere valeant,quod quidem ipſum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos noſtratium enumerare poſſum,qui in ipſo venationis actu longiuſculè à littore digreſſi, glacie à Zephyris diſſipata,multa milliaria glaciei inſidẽtes,tempeſtatis violentia profligati,& aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudeliſſimi pelagi fluctibus iactati,ſicque (id enim,inquam,ex præſenti Hiſtoricorum problemate conſequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti ſunt : Qui tandem mutata tempeſtate,atq; à Borea ſpirantibus ventis,ad littora,cum hoc ſuo glaciali nauigio rurſus adacti, incolumes domum peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis auidi arripiant,indeque, ſi placet,iuſtum volumen conficiant, atque ad Hiſtoriam ſuam apponant. Nec enim vaniſſima illa commenta aliter,quàm eiuſmodi iocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum,ioco ſepoſito, vnde digreſſi ſumus, reuertamur.

Primùm igitur ex ſectione ſecunda ſatis conſtat,glaciem,neque ſeptem,neque octo menſibus circa ipſam Inſulam fluitare:Deinde etiam,glaciem hanc,etſi interdum ex colliſione grandes ſonitus & fragores edit,interdum propter vndarum alluuionem,raucum murmur perſonat; quicquam tamen humanæ voci ſimile reſonare aut eiulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt,nos *& in glacie,& in monte Hecla loca ſtatuere, in quibus animæ noſtrorũ crucientur*,Id verò ſeriò pernegamus,Deóq; ac Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto,qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit,& regni cœleſtis ianuam nobis reſerauit,gratias ex animo agimus,quod nos de loco,in quem animę noſtrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt iſti Hiſtorici,inſtituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elyſios,ſed in ſinum Abrahæ,in manum Dei, in Paradiſum cœleſtem,mox è corporis ergaſtulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres,vel glaciem noſtris oculis expoſitam,deflectere, ſed in extremas mox abripi tenebras,vbi eſt fletus & ſtridor dentiũ,vbi eſt frigus,vbi eſt ignis ille,non vulgaris, ſed extra noſtrã ſcientiã & ſubtilem diſputationem poſitus.Vbi non modò corpora,ſed animæ etiam.i.ſubſtantiæ ſpirituales,cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoſo carceri non Iſlandos viciniores,quàm Germanos,Danos,Gallos,Italos,aut quamvis aliam gentem,quoad loci ſitum,ſtatuimus. Nec de huius carceris loco ſituúue quicquã diſputare attinet: Sufficit nobis abundè,quòd illius tenebricoſum fœtorem & reliqua tormẽta, dante & iuuante Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, cuius precioſo ſanguine redempti ſumus,nunquam ſimus viſuri aut ſenſuri. Atque hîc de orco Iſlandico diſputationis colophon eſto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Quòd ſi quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vaſi aut ſcrinio incluſam,quàm diligentiſſimè aſſeruarit, illa tempore glaciei,quæ circum inſulam eſt,degelantis,euaneſcit, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

Friſius, Zieglerus Saxo fere ſiniſter.

ID profectò neceſſariò addendum fuit : Hanc ſcilicet glaciem , voces humanas, ſecundum Hiſtoricos , repreſentatem , & damnatorum receptaculum exiſtentem,non eſſe , vt reliqua in vaſtiſſima hac vniuerſitate omnia , ex Elementi alicuius materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus eſſe videatur,corpus tamen non ſit,(quod ex Friſij paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & ſolida perrumpat,non ſecus ac ſpectra & genij : Reſtat igitur cum non ſit elementaris naturæ, vt vel ſpiritualem habeat materiam , vel cœleſtem, vel quod ipſi forſan largiantur,infernalem. Infernalem tamen eſſe non aſſentiemur,quia ad aures noſtras peruenit frigus infernale longè eſſe intractabilius,quam eſt hęc glacies,humanis manibus in ſcrinio repoſita,nec quicquã ſuo contactu,vel nudatam carnem lædere valens.Nec profectò ſpiritualem eſſe dabimus;accepimus enim à Phyſicis , ſubſtantias ſpirituales nec cerni ,nec tangi , nec ijs quicquam decedere poſſe : Quæ tamen omnia in hanc hiſtoricorum glaciem , quantumuis, ſecundum illos,hyperphyſicam,cadere certum & manifeſtum eſt. Præterea & hoc veriſſimum eſt,eam calore ſolis reſolutam, ac in ſuperficie ſua ſtagnantem , ſiti piſcatorum reſtinguendæ, nõ ſecus ac riuos terreſtres,inſeruire: Id quod ſubſtantiæ ſpirituali denegatũ eſt.Non eſt igitur ſpiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam verò cœleſtem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere : Ne forte inde aliquis ſuſpicetur,glaciem hanc barathrum,quod illi Hiſtorici affingũt, ſecum è cœlo traxiſſe: Vel id cœlo,quippe eiuſdem materię cum glacie,commune eſſe,atq; ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiſo cœleſti loca commutaſſe,Hiſtoricorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hæc Hiſtorica nec ſit elementaris, vt ex præſenti loco Friſij optimè ſequi iam toties monuimus: nec ſpiritualis, nec infernalis, quod vtrumq; breuibus, ſolidis tamen rationibus demonſtrauimus: nec cœleſtis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, vt ſecundum eoſdem Hiſtoricos nulla ſit, quam tamē illi tàm cum ſtupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Eſt igitur, & non eſt: Quod axioma vbi ſecundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum eſſe poterit, nos demum miraculis iſtis glacialibus credemus. Itaq; iam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio eſſe opus, quàm mōſtrari quomodo ſecum diſſideant, Sed haud mirum, eum qui ſemel vulgi fabuloſis rumoribus ſe permiſit, ſæpius errare. Cuiuſmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei huius Sympathiâ, quòd videlicet molis, cuius pars eſſet, diſceſſum inſequeretur, vt omnem obſeruationis diligentiam ineuitabili fugæ neceſſitate deciperet. Atqui ſæpe vidimus eiuſmodi ſolitariam molem poſt abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus, nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis ſeptimanis conſiſtere, Palam eſt igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm eſt ipſa glacies, magis lubrico.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Friſius. *Non procul ab his montibus,* (tribus prædictis) *ad maritimas oras vergentibus, ſunt quatuor fontes diuerſiſſima natura. Vnus ſuo perpetuo ardore omne corpus ſibi immiſſum raptim conuertit in ſaxum, manente tamen priore formâ. Alter eſt algoris intolerabilis, Tertius vel melle dulcior, & reſtinguenda ſiti iucundiſſimus. Quartus planè exitialis, peſtilens, & virulentus.*

ETiam hæc fontium topographia ſatis apertè monſtrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has ſuas narrationes omnes miraculoſas hauſerit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres prædictos ferè cōtinguos eſſe: Siquidē tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiſcretè adſcribit. Alioqui ſi non vicinos ſtatuiſſet, vni alicui horum duos fontes adſcripſiſſet. Sed neque hi montes contigui ſunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem diſſiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda ſufficit, credo, ipſorum hiſtoricorū contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Friſio his verbis contradicit. *Erumpunt ex eodem monte* (Heclâ) *fontes duo, quorum alter aquarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim.* Hi duo ſunt primi illi Friſij fontes, niſi quod hîc miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omiſſum ſit, Atqui non ſimul poſſunt ex ipſo monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

Hîc vero libenter quæſierim, quâ ratione quiſquam ex Peripateticis dicat, aliquid ipſo elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, ſcriptores, iſta frigiditas? Vnde iſte feruor? Nonne è Schola veſtra accepimus aquam eſſe elementum frigidiſſimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidiſſimum, vt ad conſtituendas qualitates ſecundas, remitti ſit neceſſe, nec ſimplicem vſibus humanis inſeruire? (Hæc ego nunc Phyſicorum oracula fundo, vera an falſa, neſcio.) Teſtis eſt vnus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Phyſiologiæ, cap. 4. *Sic, inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis ſumma obtigerunt, vt quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque leuius: Sic terra nihil ſiccius, nihil grauius: Aquam ſinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida euincit, vt nec aërem, vllius humor. Summa præterea ſic illis inſunt, vt ne minimum quidem poſſint augeſcere, remitti verò poſſunt.* Nolo huc rationes ſeu argumenta Phyſicorum aggregare, Vnum profectò hîc cauendum eſt, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant ſcriptores, vt glaciem Iſlandorum, ita etiam fontes creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, quæ huc ſcriptores pertraxerunt, ordine perſequemur. *Primus ſuo perpetuo calore)* Plurimæ ſunt in Iſlandia thermæ ſeu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo eſſe debere exiſtimamus, cum huiuſmodi, vt a ſcriptoribus didici, paſſim abundet Germania, præcipuè in ijs locis, quæ non ſunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota eſt fama thermarum Badenſium, Gebarſuilienſium, Calbenſium, in ducatu Wirtēbergenſi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchſius in lib. de arte medendi, Et non ſolum Germania, ſed etiam Gallia, & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Ariſtoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas ſcaturire, vnde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atq; inquàm, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquei cauſſas indagarint Naturæ ſpeculatores: Aquam ſcilicet per terræ venas ſulphureas, aut aluminoſas labi, indeq; non calorem ſolùm, ſed ſaporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Ariſtoteles libro de mundo, *Continet, inquit, terra in ſe multos fontes, vt aqua, ita & ſpiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel igneſcens eijciunt ferrum: Nunc tepida aqua erumpunt, nunc feruentiſſima, nunc temperata.* Lib. 3. Nat. queſt. Et Seneca: *Empedocles exiſtimabat ignibus, quos multis locis opertos tegit terra, aquam caleſcere, ſi ſubiecti ſint ſolo, per quod aqua tranſitus eſt.* Et ſcitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus,

Baiano ſed ne fumare in littore thermas
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:
Vulcani fora ſulphureis incenſa caminis
Ipſa mouent, latè multùm tellure ſub ima
Debacchari ignem, campoſq; exurere apertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Vnda fugax, tectis feruent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratiſſimus hiſtoricus, *Iſlandiæ fontes quoſdam nunc ad ſummum excreſcere, & exũdare: Nunc adeò ſubſidere, vt vix fontes agnoſcas.* Qui etſi rariores apud nos inueniuntur, adſcribam tamen ſimiles, etiam alibi à natura productos, ne quis hîc monſtri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Inſula vnum, qui ſemper à tertia noctis hora, in ſextam ſolſtitio æſtiuo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium eſſe, qui omnibus Solſtitijs æſtiuis exundet, brumali tempore ſiccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodã ſatis largo, qui ſingulis horis intumeſcat & reſidat. Nec id magis negligendum: ſubire terras flumina, curſuſque redire: vt Lycus in Aſia, Eraſinus in Argolica, Tigris in Meſopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moſcouia: Et quæ in Æſculapij fonte Athenis immerſa ſunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca ſcribit eſſe flumina, quæ in ſpecum aliquem ſubterraneum demiſſa, ex hominum oculis ſe ſubducunt, quæ cõſumi paulatim & intercidere conſtet: Eademq; poſt interuallum reuerti, recipereq; & nomen & curſum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo merſum, poſt 20 millia paſſuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his ſimilia, Iſlandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris eſſe debere, oſtendunt.

Omne corpus immiſſum continuò conuertit in ſaxum. His duobus adiunctis, feruore nempe, ſeu ardore vehementiſſimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum ſuũ fontem deſcribit Friſius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipſe non ſum expertus, exiſtere ſimilem fontẽ in Iſlandia, non procul à ſede Epiſcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet ſimile Seneca, dicens, *fontẽ quendam eſſe, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumq; viſcera indureſcere, qui aquam eius biberint:* Et addit eiuſmodi fontes in quibuſdam Italiæ locis inueniri: quod Ouidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum ſaxea reddit
Viſcera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: *Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpoee abietes in lapidem conuerſas eſſe, atq;, quod maius eſt, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Bruſonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui eſt in agro vrbis Vrſentinorum olim, nunc Conturſij, lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides tranſire, non fide alterum, ſed propria, vt qui incola ſit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius aſtipulatur) narrat, cortices antẽ lapidũ, annos numero oſtendere.* Sic (ſi ſcriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis ſparſę lapideſcunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepuſij aqua, in vrceos infuſa, lapideſcit. Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad ſecundum fontem attinet, nullus hic eſt quòd quiſquã ſciat, algoris intolerabilis, ſed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis æſtiuo ſole tepeſcentibus, non ſine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Inſanam vocatum: quæ aqua cũ feruere videatur, ſit tamen longè frigidiſſima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neq; id proſus verum eſt. Non enim eſt vllus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri poſſit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures ſunt) *in Iſlandia dicit inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem,* vt etiam ibidem non diuerſi ſaporis ſolum, ſed diuerſi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etſi autem tradunt Phyſici aquam naturaliter ex ſe neq; ſaporem neq; odorem habere, tamen, vt ſuperius attigimus, veriſimile eſt, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam ſæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cuius venas tranſitum atq; excurſum habet: Atq; hinc aquarum odores, colores, ſapores, alios atq; alios exiſtere. Cuiuſmodi ſunt, de quibus narrat Senecà, quorum alij famem excitent, alij bibentes inebrient, alij memoriæ officiant, alij iuuent eandem, alij vini ſaporem & virtutem repræſentent: Vt ille apud Plinium in Andro Inſula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini ſapore fluat. Et apud Ariſtotelem fons in agro Carthaginenſi, qui oleũ præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræſentet. Item, Orcus fluuius Theſſaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei inſtar ſupernatans: Cuiuſmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia eſſe, iuxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfuſum: Et in Sueuia, iuxta Cœnobium, cui

Lib. de mirab. auſcultat.

Lib. 2. de Element.

cui Tergenſche nomen eſt. Itē, in valle montis Iuraſſi. Cauſam huius rei putat eſſe bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum ſine dubio contineat. Idem, famam eſſe ait, in Cardia, iuxta locū Daſchyli, in campo albo aquam eſſe lacte dulciorem, Aliā quoq; iuxta pontem, qua Valbeburgum itur, Iam aquarū vini ſaporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Eſt autem Naxus Inſula vna ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo, Cauſam huius aſſignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetuſtate tranſeat in vinum. Ariſtoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti vtantur. Idem ſaporum aquæ cauſam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat ſaporem aquæ.

Iam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. *Eadem eſt ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & ſaporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere, Nam Candida eſt aqua, ad ſecundum lapidem à Glauca, Miſenæ oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Miſenæ fluuio, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Iudæa iuxta Ioppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, iuxta Neuſolam: Cærulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Taruiſium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuiſſe referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluuio Saxoniæ, vbi in Viſurgim ſe exonerat. Cauſſæ ſunt argillæ colores, ſed tenuiores.* Item Ariſtoteles: circa Iapygiam promontoriū, eſſe fontem, qui ſanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem ſuo fœtore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in Idumæa fontem eſſe, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum ſit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc ſanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore ſic Cardanus, *Similis ratio differentiæ eſt in odoribus. Plerumq; tamen aquarum odores iniucundi ſunt, quòd rarò terra bene oleat. Peſſimè olim fœtabat in Ælide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vſq; ad perniciem, non ſolum piſcium, ſed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Meſſania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur.* Hæc ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Iſlandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores odores, ſapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor eſt Iſidorus, eſſe fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: *Iuxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx* (iuxtà Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea ſublatum Alexandrum magnū) *nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat.* Idem, *In Beroſo Taurorum colle ſunt tres fontes ſine remedio, ſine dolore mortiferi:* Et quod longè maximum eſt, quod Seneca ſtagnum eſſe dicat, in quod proſpicientes ſtatim moriantur. Nos verò Iſlandi etiam hunc quartum Friſij fontē, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac ſemper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum teſtamur: Hocq; igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab eiuſmodi fontibus & ſerpētibus, inſectis venenatis, ac alijs peſtiferis & contagioſis, eſſe nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea eſt apud prædictos fontes tanta ſulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munſtero & Friſio ignivomi dicti, omnes longiſſimo interuallo à noſtris fodinis diſtant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & ſitum faciant, neceſſe eſt eos fontes pari ferè interuallo à fodinis ſulphureis remotoſq; eſſe. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, vt Munſterus, nec apud hos Friſij fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus ſit, hactenus oſtenſum eſt) ſulphur effoditur: Nec patrum noſtrorum memoria effoſſum eſſe arbitramur, Neq; verum eſt, quod de ſulphuris copia tradit Munſterus, eſſe videlicet penè vnicum Inſulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum inſula in quatuor partes diuiſa ſit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtitur mercimonio, nec ſulphuris mica in vectigal Inſulæ penditur.

Sulphur in boreali Iſlandiæ parte

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

Munſt.

Piſcium tanta eſt copia in hac Inſula, vt ad altitudinem domorū ſub aperto cœlo vendēdi exponantur.

S*Vb aperto cœlo.* Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiātq; eaſdem rurſus piſcibus & reliquis noſtratium mercibus onerare. An verò noſtri homines id aliquando fecerint, non ſatis liquet. Certè copioſa illa & vetus piſcium abundantia iam deſijt, Iſlandis & iſtius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis noſtræ flagellum, quod vtinam ritè agnoſcamus, immittente.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Friſius.

Equos habent velociſſimos, qui ſine intermiſſione 30. millaria continuo curſu conficiunt.

QVidam in ſua mappa Iſlandiæ, 20. millaria continuo curſu aſſequi tradit cuiuſdam parœciæ equos. Sed vtrunque impoſſibile ducimus, Nam maximæ celeritatis & roboris beſtias (Rangiferos appellant) ſcribit Munſterus non niſi 30. millaria 24. horarum ſpacio conficere.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Cete grandia inſtar montium prope Iſlandiam aliquando conſpiciuntur, quæ naues euertunt, niſi tubarum ſono abſterreantur, aut miſſis in mare rotundis & vacuis vaſis, quorum luſu delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, vt nautæ in dorſa cetorum, quæ Inſulas eſſe putant, anchoras figentes, ſæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua **Troll wal, Tuffelwalen.** *i. Diabolica cete.* Munſt.

INſtar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munſteri Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, vt dici ſolet, inſomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & abſurda hyperbole hiſtoriam, idque tantò magis quantò minus eſt neceſſaria. Nam quorſum attinet mentiri Hiſtoricum, ſi hiſtoria eſt rei veræ narratio? Quorſum tropicas hyperboles aſſumet? Quid conabitur perſuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, ſiquidem nihil niſi ſimplicem rerum expoſitionem ſibi proponit?

Pictoribus atq; Poetis,
Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas:
Non itidem Hiſtoricis.

Dorſa cetorum, quæ Inſulas putant: Nata eſt hæc fabula, vt & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo & vano, cuius ego fidem titiuilitio non emam. Eſt autem tale: Miſſos fuiſſe olim Legatos cum ſodalitio monaſtico, ab Epiſcopo Bremenſi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Krantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papiſticam, quæ tum Chriſtiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam & diuulgandam: Eoſque, vbi immenſum iter Septentrionem verſus nauigando conſumpſiſſent, ad inſulam quandam perueniſſe: ibique iacta anchora deſcenſum in Inſulam feciſſe, focos accendiſſe: (Nam veriſimile eſt nautas in ipſo mari glaciali frigore non parum eſſe vexatos) & commeatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuiſſe. Aſt vbi bene ignibus accenſis incaluerant foci, Inſulam hanc ſubmerſam citò euanuiſſe, nautas autem per præſentem ſcapham vix ſeruatos fuiſſe. Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, ſed quàm incredibile, ipſe vides. Quid verò tandem eſt animi nautis, qui in mari proceſſoſo videntes ſcopulum, vel, vt Munſterus, Inſulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni ſtudio, alliſionem & naufragium metuentes, quàm vt in portu parum tuto quieſcere tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimùm, deeſſe nautis tam immenſi funes, vt in altiſſimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorſis cetorum, reſpondet Munſterus. Oportet igitur, veſtigiū vnci prius effodiant. O ſtultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ ceſpitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoſcentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terreſtri ſuperficie internoſcentes. Digni profectò, quibuſcum ipſe Munſterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt & ſuperius, de miraculis Iſlandiæ terreſtribus agens, è Tantali, vt aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id eſt, ea conſectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec vſquam ſunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Hiſtoriæ ſuæ ſupplementum ſtudet: Vbi tamen nihil niſi commentitia tantùm venari poteſt.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum **Trollwal.** Ne vltra peram, Munſtere: Nullam ſiquidem es linguæ noſtræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Eſt enim eiuſmodi inceptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis alijs autor eſſe, quomodo noſtra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inſcitiam, aſpiratione, quæ penè ſola vocis ſignificationem facit, quod minimè verum eſt, affers: Non enim **val** noſtra lingua balenam, ſed electionem ſiue delectum ſignificat, à verbo, **Eg vel** .i. eligo, vel deligo: vnde **val**, &c. At balena **Hualur** nobis vocatur: Vnde tu **Trollhualur** ſcribere debebas. Nec vero **Troll** Diabolum, vt tu interpretaris, ſed Gigantes quoſdam montanos ſignificat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in linguam noſtram iniuria, in vnica tantùm voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem alijs etiam vſu venit: Non enim probandum eſt, quòd quidam, dum Iſlandiæ deſcriptionem, ab Iſlandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontoriorum, ſinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, teſquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina deprauare (quòd noſtræ linguæ ignarus, non ſciret à noſtratibus accepta ſatis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipſis Iſlandis, qui tum temporis, id eſt, Anno 1585. 1585.
in Academia Haffnienſi vixerunt, quomodo ſingula legi ac ſcribi deberent, ediſcere. Ipſum certè hac natiuorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum eſt, vt ipſi ea legentes, pauciſſima noſtra agnoſcamus) in linguam noſtram, alioqui puram & auitam penè elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccaſſe reputamus.

Cæterum iam plurima Iſlandiæ miracula, quæ quidē ſcriptores noſtri attigerunt, ſic utcunq; examinauimus. Sed tamen priuſquā alio diuertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Iſlandiæ, quam ſub ſuo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter ſupra dictos, fontibus Iſlandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras albo, inficiat. Quod quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, ſcire equidem non poſſumus: Nec enim apud noſtrates, nec apud extraneos ſcriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunq; eſt, fabula eſt, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem ſit incredibile, *Lanas nigras albo inſici colore*, cum traditum ſit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen ſimile quiddam narratur à Theophraſto: Flumen eſſe in Macedonia, quod oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam ſuperius memini, rapſodia Noruagica, ſpeculum ſcilicet illud Regale, hos ipſos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Iſlandiæ eſſe affirmat. Quod forſan Lectori impoſuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Hiſtoricus quidam habet: *Eſſe in Iſlandia ſaxum, quod montium prærupta non extrinſeca agitatione, ſed propria natiuaq; motione peruolitet:* Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Eſt enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius ſimile, fabulatos fuiſſe Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitaſſe Luciano viſi ſunt) cõſtet: Niſi fortè hominem, qui Iſlandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, ſentit Hiſtoricus rupes quaſdam circuiſſe, vel circumreptaſſe. Quod, etſi ridiculum eſt in Hiſtoriã miraculoſam referre, hominem ſcilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad ſaluandam Hiſtorici fidem, ſimulandum: ne figmentum illud, per ſe ſatis abſurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perſtringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunq; Iſlandię, coruos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures adſcripſerunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, ſicut etiam vrſos (ſed hos ſæpius quã vultures) & cornicum quoddam genus, Iſlandis Iſakrakur, aduenire obſeruatum eſt. Picas verò & lepores, vt & coruos albos, nunquàm Iſlandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè ſunt, quę de prima commentarij noſtri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præſentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me ſcripta ſunt, (quod etiã prius teſtatus ſum,) vt ſcriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neq; enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quòd veritati & patriæ, operam meam conſecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta ſunt à multis, de Inſula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, neceſſe habui oſtendere: ac ita mihi viam ad ſequentia de Incolis ſternere.

Commentarij primæ partis Finis.

Commentarij de Iſlandia pars ſecunda: quæ eſt de incolis.

ABſolutis hactenus miraculis Iſlandię, (cum nonnullis alijs, primæ parti annexis) quę dum ſcriptores, velut Agamemnonios quoſdam fontes, imò, vt quiddam præter & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipſi, & authoritati ſuæ conſulunt; monet propoſitæ orationis ſeries, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, quæ eſt de incolis: Vbi quid primùm dicam, aut vnde initium ſumam, non ſatis teneo. Tanta enim ſunt in nos vltimos Iſlandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot ſcommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui ſimpliciſſimam veritatem profiteri volunt, nempe hiſtoricorum) vt ſi ſingula recenſere velim, non aliud quàm

Icaria numerum dicere coner aqua. Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè ſtricto iure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munſterus, Friſius, & alij, nimis audacter multa de gente noſtra ſcripſerint: Tamen ſuis monumentis de ſtudijs liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etſi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue eſt, eos res quaſdam tam abſurdas, impoſſibiles & ridiculas propoſuiſſe, cuiuſmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus expoſuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiuſmodi iam ſequentur aliquot, in hiſtorias retuliſſe. Aſt alijs, quicunq; ſunt, qui quotidianis conuicijs nationem Iſlandorum inceſſunt, reſpõſio, quam merentur, parata eſſe debet: Ex quorum numero, ſcurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis noſtræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen ſuum jmmortali dedecori conſecrauit.

Quapropter, vt inſtituti noſtri ratio exigit, dum ſcriptorum de hac re monumenta perſequimur, etſi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos tamen pleraq; excutiemus, & errores, vt hactenus, annotabimus: tum ſi quid veri in ea re attulerint, id nequaquam diſſimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munſterum, Krantzium, Friſium, & ſi qui ſunt alij, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum ſuis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in poſtremum, vt dignus eſt, reiecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide ſeu Religione Iſlandorum: Deinde de ipſorum moribus, inſtitutis ſeu viuendi ratione, authores iſti ſcribunt.

Secũdæ partis diſtributio.

1. Capitis huius partis diuiſio.

SECTIO

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgenſis, Anno Chriſti 1070. vidit ad Chriſtum conuerſos Iſlandos: licet ante ſuſceptam Chriſti fidem, lege Naturali viuentes, non multùm à lege noſtra diſcrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinauit quendam virum ſanctum, primum Epiſcopum, nomine Iſleif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munſterus alibi, fidei ſeu Religionis Chriſtianæ dignitatem Iſlandis videntur adſcribere: Facerentq; & ſe, & veritate dignum, niſi eandem aliâs nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munſterus, quæ ſupra prodidit, de fide noſtra, ſeu opinione circa Inferni locum ſitumque, omninò eſt à Chriſtiana pietate alienum: Velle ſcilicet ſcrutari arcana, quæ Deus ſibi ſoli reſeruauit, quæq; voluit noſtrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis ſacris, vbi locus vel ſitus inferni ſeu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipſius, adeoq; damnatis omnibus animabus deſtinati, determinetur, aut circumſcribatur: Nullum inquam, infra terram, ſeu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem ſeu localem ſitum illi damnatorum carceri pagina ſacra aſſignat: quinimò, terram hanc interituram, & terram nouam & cœlos nouos, iuſtorum & ſanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc, 2. 2. Petri 3. Eſa. 65. Quare Chriſtianus rerum adeò abſtruſarum inquiſitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illuſtribus ſcripturæ ſacræ teſtimonijs ſtabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas eſſe ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Eſa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Chriſtiana, quo Munſterus & Krantzius Iſlandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros ſuos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, ſection. 7. Sic igitur ſecum diſſidet Munſt. dum quos Chriſtianos aſſerit, inferni architectos aliàs facit: Item, Krantzius & Munſterus, dũ quos fide Chriſto inſertos affirmant, eoſdem omni pietatis & honeſtatis ſenſu exuunt: quòd ſcribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidẽ noſtra, quæ qualiſue fuerit, cũ Ethniciſmus primùm fugari cæpit, nihil magnificè dicere poſſumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti exiſtimo, de ſuis fidei initijs. Fatendũ enim eſt, & cum ſerijs gemitibus deplorandum vſq; ad illam nunquã ſatis prædicatam diem, quę nobis velut immortalitatis initiũ illuxit & repurgati Euangelij doctrinam attulit, tenebras pluſquã Cimmerias, etiã noſtris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Eccleſijs, offuſas fuiſſe. Illud tamen piè nobis ſentire liceat, apud nos, vt & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra ſepta vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquã pronunciare) eiecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, ſinceriorem longè & ſimpliciorem fidem ſeu religionem Chriſtianam viguiſſe; quippe veneno Papiſtico minus infectã, quã poſteà, vbi auctum Romanæ ſedis fermentum peſtiferum, & malum contagioſum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus ſuum diffudit: Nam vt poſteà apparebit, multis annis antequã noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Iſlandia Chriſtum amplexa eſt: & vt laudatiſſimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Chriſti propagandi ſtudium & profeſſio, nihil niſi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & ſpiritum Sanctum, ſonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Chriſti 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus eſt, & primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis Chriſtum obtruſit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctũ, Haraldi F. Qui anno Chriſti 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Chriſti doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Chriſti 1030, ab improbis parricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ **Stickla Stodum**, pro Chriſti nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam noſtra patria inter multos alios quendam inſignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Chriſti 1000 vixit in prædio ſeu villa **Berthors huol**, ſita in Parochia Iſlandiæ, **Landenum**: Quiq; rerum humanarum experientia, circumſpecta animi prudentia, ſagacitate & conſilio, habebatur inſignis. Cum enim, eius ſeculo, indomitis Iſlandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè ſuperiore magiſtratu repreſſis, nullis ſe factionibus immiſcuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac induſtria compoſuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec paſſus eſt, ſi vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò ſtudioſè ſeditiones & turbas vitauit: alioſq; vitare aut euadere cupientes optimè iuuit: Nec quiſquam eius conſilio, niſi maximo ſuo commodo eſt vnquam vſus: nec quiſquam ab eo, niſi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum ſit, vnde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, & tam certa cõiectura & conſilium eſſe potuerit, quanta in ipſo deprehenſa eſt. Vnde ipſius cauta, prouidens & conſilij plena ſapientia, apud noſtrates in prouerbium abijt: **Nials bitta raden**: quaſi dicas, Niali conſilium: vel, Niali conſilio res geritur, aut ſuccedit: cùm quid prudenter & admirando cum conſilio geſtum eſt.

Hic cum domi ſuæ, à 100. viris coniuratis ob cędem à filio ipſius, ipſo tamen inſcio patratam cingeretur, & inimicis domum vndiq; igni ſuccendentibus, ſibi videret ſupremum fatum inſtare, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc eſt, voluntate diuina accidunt. Cæterũ ſpem & fiduciam in Chriſto ſitam habeo, nos (de ſe & vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc noſtrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem ſubeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicq; inter has voces, & flammarum ſæuitiam, vitam, An. Chriſto 1010. cum vxore & filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profectò filijs Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis ſummum ſolatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, vt oſtendam, quâ coniectura adducar ad exiſtimãdum mox initio Chriſtianiſmi (vt ſic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuiſſe tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immerſas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc noſtra tempora fuerunt.

Aſt verò iam poſtquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, & Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, & pios ſucceſſores, ſalutis doctrinam illuſtriorem reddidit, mentiũmq; noſtrarum graui veterno & denſa caligine excuſſis, dextræ ſuæ digito, hoc eſt, ſpiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. verſ. 28.) cordis noſtri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus ſaluificam ipſius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes & ſinguli credimus & confitemur Deum eſſe Spiritum, (Iohan. 4. verſ. 24.) æternum Eſai 40. verſ. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 23. verſ. 24. Pſalm. 136. verſ. 7. 8. 9.) optimum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum eſſentia & natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficientia rerum & adminiſtratione (Deut. 6. 5. Epheſ. 4. 5.) At perſonis diuinitatis, proprietatibuſque diſtinctum, Patrem, Filium & ſpiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis perſonam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1, verſ, 1. & ſequent.) Suſtentatorem & gubernatorẽ (Pſal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti (Pſalm. 2, 7. & ſequent:) & noſtrum per eundem Patrem (Rom, 8, 15.) Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Ieſum Chriſtum, ſecundam diuinitatis perſonam, filium Dei patris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan, 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1, Paral. 17. 13, Iohan, 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1. 2. &c,) ante omnia creata præordinatũ (1, Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13, 8. &c.) & ſtatim poſt lapſum, promiſſum Meſſiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, vt Abrahæ (Gen. 12, 3 &c.) Iſaac, Gen. 26, 4.) Iacob. (Gen, 28. 14.) & promiſſionibus confirmatum (Geneſ. 49. 9. Eſa. 11. 1. 10.) Sacrificijs Moſaicis (Leuit. 1, 2, &c.) Et alijs typis prefiguratum: immolatione Iſaac (Gen, 22.) Exaltatione ænei ſerpentis, (Num. 21.) Iona (Ion. 2. &c.) Prophetarum teſtimonio proclamatum (Eſai 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Iohan, 1, 14. &c, Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis noſtris: reſuſcitatum propter iuſtificationem noſtri (Rom, 4. 25. &c.) Aſcendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c,) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris ſine intermiſſione interpellantem (1, Iohan, 2. 1. &c.) per ſpiritum Sanctum ſuum (qui tertia eſt diuinitatis perſona patri & filio compar & conſubſtantialis, (Actor, 5, 4.) Eccleſiam ſibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16, 18, Roman, 10. 14. &c,) Et ad vitam æternam ſanctificãtem (Actor. 9. 31, &c.) Ac tandem conſummatis ſeculis è cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Iudicare viuos & mortuos (1, Theſſ, 4. 15.) redditurum impijs ſecundum opera ſua, eoſq; pœnis æternis adiudicaturũ (Mat. 13. 42, & 25, 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipſius æterna vita donaturũ. (Mat. 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Ieſum Chriſtum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) & Dominum noſtrum (Epheſ. 4. 5.) agnoſcimus: Noſq; illi nomen in ſacro baptiſmo dare ac dediſſe (Actor. 2, 38.) Et per baptiſmũ illi inſertos eſſe (1. Cor, 12. 13.) apertè, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac conteſtamur: omneſque alios, quicunq; aliud nomẽ ſub cœlo datum eſſe hominibus, per quod ſalui fiant, comminiſcuntur, ſeriò deteſtamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipſius ſanctiſſimum vnicam ſalutis normam ſtatuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abiectis & ſpretis, infallibilem fidei noſtræ regulam & amuſſim nobis proponimus: (Galat, 1. 8. Eſa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Teſtamenti, veteris & noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr, 8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apoſtolos (Epheſ. 2. 20.) ſingulari & immenſa Dei bonitate in hunc vſque diem ſemper in Eccleſia conſeruatum & conſeruandum in poſterum. (Matth. 28. vlt. Pſalm. 71, 18. 1. Cor. 11, 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vaſtiſſimo interuallo à reliquo Eccleſiæ corpore diuulſos & vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc ſuum, conceſſum ad reuelationem gentium, & paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne oſtenſum (Nam in Chriſto omnes theſauri ſapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam noſtram gentem radijs ſuis ſaluificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breuiter, ipſam ſummam perſtringendo, fides noſtra eſt, & noſtra religio, quam mõſtrante ſpiritu Sãcto, & ipſius in vinea Chriſti miniſtris, hauſimus; idq; ex fontibus Iſraëlis.

Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Chriſtum conuerſos Iſlandos.

Krantzius.

DVbium nobis eſt, vtrum his verbis dicere voluerit *Krantzius*, Iſlandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Chriſtum eſſe conuerſos: an verò, prius quidem eſſe conuerſos non neget, ſed eo primùm anno id *Adalberto* innotuiſſe dicat. Vtrumuis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipſius hoc loco ſuſpectam reddunt annales & Chronologiæ noſtræ gentis antiquiſſimæ, quæ contrarium teſtantur: quibus vtrum malis, de rebus noſtris proprijs & domeſticis & intra noſtræ inſulæ limites geſtis credere, an verò *Krantzio*, aut cuiuis alteri in noſtratium rerum hiſtoria peregrino, ſit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor vt noſtris potius aſſentiar. Noſtrates enim nota tantùm & ferè domeſtica aſſerunt; ille peregrina & ignota. Hi ſuas Chronologias ſine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula & ſugillatione cōtexuerunt tantùmmodò, vt rebus geſtis ſuum verū temp' ſeu æram aſſignarent; ille quędam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliā gentis noſtrę ignotiſſimæ, hiſtoriæ ſuæ admiſcuit, vt paulò poſt apparebit: hi omnium epiſcoporū Iſlandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & ſucceſſum deſcribunt: ille vnius tantùm mentionē facit, idq; longè ſecus quàm res habet. Porrò vt his fidem faciam, pauca, quę in vetuſtiſſimis noſtris annalibus de Iſlandia ad Chriſtum conuerſa, & de Epiſcoporum in noſtris Eccleſijs ſucceſſione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta eſt, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametſi leuiuſcula, nec omnia prorſus digna quæ ſcribantur, ſcribenda tamen omninò ſunt ad noſtrarum rerum veritatem, aduerſus *Krantzium* & alios aſſerendam: Sic igitur habent.

Chronologiæ Iſlandicæ gentis antiquiſſimæ.

Vetuſtiſſimi annales.

874 Iſlandia primum inhabitata.

Anno Chriſti 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, ſed tunc primum à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cuius nomine promontorium Iſlandiæ orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellationem traxit) occupata eſt Iſlandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & pręterea numeroſa familia nominatim in annalibus noſtris recenſentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus deſcribitur, ſed quas oras, quæ littora, & quæ loca mediterranea, ſinguli occupauerint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, ſinibus, portubus, Iſthmis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, ſcopulis, mōtibus, collibus, vallibus, teſquis, fontibus, fluminibus, riuis, ac deniq; villis ſeu domicilijs ſuis nomina dederint, quorum hodiè plæraq; retinentur & in vſu ſunt, apertè narratur. Itaq; Noruagi occupatæ iam Iſlandiæ 60. annorum ſpacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes ſua multitudine implent: Centum verò propemodum annis Ethnici manſerunt, ſi pauciſſimos, qui in *Noruagia* fortè ſacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingreſſu elapſis, mox de religione Chriſtiana agi cœptum eſt, nempe circa annum Domini 974. quæ res non ſine inſigni rebellione pluſquam 20. annis variè à multis tentata eſt. Commemorantur autem duo Epiſcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Chriſti inſula, diligenter laborarint: Prior *Fridericus*, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Iſlandos venit, atque docendi munere ſtrenuè functus eſt, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984. ſacræ ædes Iſlandis in vſu fuerint.

974

Fredericus Saxo.

Alter verò ille extraneus Epiſcopus ſiue concionator, quem *Thangbrandt* nuncupauere, anno 997. in Iſlandiam primùm venit.

Anno dom. 1000.

Hinc poſt 26. annorum diſceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum eſt, vniuerſali eorundem conſenſu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu ſepoſito, religionem ſectarentur Chriſtianam.

Rurſus in ſolenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. ſancitum eſt, vt leges ſeculares ſeu politicæ (quarum conſtitutiones allatas ex *Noruagia* quidam *Vlſhotus*, Anno 926. Iſlandis communicarat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico ſeu diuino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Iſlandia *Iſleifus* quidam, in Epiſcopum Iſlandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Iſlandiam, & Cathedram Scalholtenſem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Ætatis 74. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forſitan hæc minuta, conciſa, vilia, nec narratione ſatis digna, cum multis fortè quæ ſequuntur: Sed nec hiſtoriam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra *Krantzij* & aliorum errores conuincendos, prout noſtrum eſt inſtitutum, valeant. Et certè, quātum ad fidem noſtrarum Chronologiarum, conſtat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuiſſe: Cuius, in præfatione ſuæ *Daniæ*, hæc ſunt verba. *Nec Thylenſium* inquit, (ſic enim Iſlandos appellat) *induſtria ſilentio obliteranda: qui cum ob natiuam ſoli ſterilitatem, luxuriæ nutrimētis carentes, officia continuæ ſobrietatis exerceant, omniaq; vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre ſoleant, inopiam ingenio penſant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res geſtas cognoſſe, memoriæq; mandare, voluptatis loco reputant, non minoris gloriæ iudicantes, alienas virtutes diſſerere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum theſauros Hiſtoricarum rerum pignoribus refertos curioſius conſulens, haud paruam præſentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempſi, quos tāta vetuſtatis peritia callere noui*, Hæc Saxo. Quare lubet Epiſcoporū Iſlandię

Catalogum perſequi, vt ex annalibus noſtris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri poteſt, omnium ſeries, his quæ de primo Iſleiſo contra *Krantzium* attulimus, fidem faciat.

ANNO Chriſti.	EPISCOPI *Schalholtenſes.*
	II
	Gyſſerus.
1082	*Ordinatur peregrè.*
1083	*Redit in Iſlandiam cum Epiſcopatu.*
1118	*Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.*
	III
	Thorlacus Runolphi. F.
Anno ætatis 32:	*Ordinatur eodẽ anno, quo prædeceſſor* Gyſſerus *vita exceſſit, ſed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.*
1133	*Moritur.*
	IIII
	Magnus.
1134	*Ordinatur.*
1148	*Poſtridiè feſti omnium Sanctorũ in villa ſacerdotali* Hitardal *cõminans, cænaculo fulmine percuſſo, cum viris 70. flammis abſumptus eſt.*
	V
	Klaingus.
1151	*Eligitur.*
1152	*Cathedram adit.*
1176	*Moritur.*
	VI
	Thorlacus.
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædeceſſoris
1178	*Ordinatur.*
1193	*Moritur.*
	VII
	Paulus.
1195	*Ordinatur.*
1211.	*Moritur.*
	VIII
	Magnus.
1216	*Ordinatur.*
	IX
	Siguardus.
1239	*Cathedram adit.*
1268	*Moritur.*
	X
	Arnerus.
1269	*Cathedram adit.*
1298	*Moritur.*
	XI
	Arnerus Helgonis F.
1304	*Ordinatur.*
1305	*Cathedram adit.*
1309	*In Nornagiã abit ligna à rege Nornagiæ petiturus, quibus templũ Schalholtenſe readificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.*
1310	*Redit ex itinere.*
1320	*Moritur.*

Ionas

EPISCOPI *Holenſes.*	ANNO Chriſti.
I	
Ionas Augmundi F.	
Iſleifi *diſcipulus.*	
Ordinatur peregrè: anno ætat. 64. cognomentum illi, Sanctus: cuius memoriæ dies 3. Martij, apud Iſlandes eſt antiquitùs dicatus.	1106
Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.	1121
II.	
Ketillus *ſiue* Catullus.	
Ordinatur.	1122
Moritur.	1145
III	
Biorno.	
Ordinatus venit in Iſlandiam.	1147
Moritur.	1162
IIII	
Brandus.	
Ordinatur.	1163
Cathedram adit.	1165
Moritur.	1201
V	
Gudmundus, *cognomento* Bonus.	
Eligitur & ordinatur.	1203
Moritur.	1237
VI	
Botolphus.	
Redit ordinatus.	1239
Moritur.	1246
VII.	
Henricus.	
Cathedram adit.	1247
Moritur.	1260
VIII	
Brandus.	
Abbas peregrè abit.	1262
Cathedram adit.	1263
Moritur.	1264
IX.	
Iorundus.	
Cathedram adit.	1267
Moritur.	1313
X	
Audunnus.	
Cathedram adit.	1314
Moritur.	1322
XI	
Laurentius.	
Eligitur & ordinatur.	1324
Moritur Idib. April.	1331
XII	
Egillus.	
Cathedram adit.	1332
Moritur.	1341

XIII

ANNO Chriſti.

Epiſcopi *Schalholt.*

XII

Ionas Haldorus.

1321 *Eligitur.*
1322 *Ordinatur Kal. Auguſti.*
1323 *Cathedram adit.*
1338 *Moritur.*

XIII

Ionas Indridi *F.* Noruagus.

1339 *Cathedram adit.*
1341 *Moritur.*

XIIII

Ionas Siguardi *F.*

1343 *Cathedram adit.*
1348 *Moritur pridiè Diui Magni.*

XV

Gyrthus.

1349 *Ordinatus Aſloia Noruagorum, ab Epiſcopo* Aſloenſi Salomone.

1356 *Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.*

XVI

Thorarinnus.

1362 *Cathedram adit.*
1364 *Moritur.*

XVII

Oddgeirus.

1366 *Cathedram adit.*
1381 *Moritur in Aſſumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu* Noruagiæ Bergenſi, *è mercium aceruo in imum nauis delapſus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Saluatoris.*

XVIII

Michaël Danus.

1385 *Cathedram adit.*
1388 *Reſignat profectus in Daniam.*

XIX.

Wilhelmus Danus.

1394 *Cathedram adit. Moritur.*

XX

Arnerus.

Hic cognomento fuit Mildur *.i. liberalis. Geſſit vna præfecturam Iſlandiæ totius: Epiſcopatū Scalholtenſ. & vice Epiſcopatū Holenſē.*
1420 *Obijt.*

XXI

Ionas Gerickſon.

Suecus ſine cognomento ſiue natione præeſt
1432 *Eccleſiæ* Schalholtenſi: *ac poſteà ob quędā ni-*
mis audacter tentata, à quodam Thornaldo de
Modrunollum (vt fama eſt) captus, & alligato
ad collū ſaxo in amne Schalholtenſi, qui à ponte
nomē habet, viuus ſubmerſus & ſtrāgulatus eſt.

XXII

Goſuinus.

1445 *Præeſt Eccleſiæ Schalholtenſi.*

XXIII

Sueno.

1472 *Dictus ſapiens præeſt.*

XXIIII

Epiſcopi *Holenſes.*

ANNO Chriſti.

XIII

Ormus.

Cathedram adit. 1343
Moritur in feſto omniū Sanctorū. 1355

XIIII

Ionas Erici F. cognomento Skalle.

Cathedram Holenſem *aditurus* 1358
venit in Iſlandiam. Hic Ionas, *o-* Gronlandiæ
lim in Epiſcopum Gronlandiæ *or-* Epiſcopus.
dinatus, à Pontifice Romano impe- 1356
trauit, vt liceret ſibi Epiſcopatum Holenſem *adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis ac muneris, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœceſis* Holenſis, *ſuſpectæ fidei eſſe cœpit. Quare ab iiſdem in Noruagiam relegatus eſt, vt ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipſius partibus fauente Cathedram Holenſem obtinuit.*

Moritur. 1391

XV

Petrus.

Ordinatur, quo anno prædeceſſor rebus mortalium exemptus eſt.

Cathedram adit Holenſem. 1392
Moritur.

XVI

Ionas Wilhelmus, *Anglus, ſiue genere, ſiue cognomine, præfuit Eccleſiæ* Holenſi. 1432

XVII

Godſchalcus.

Moritur. 1457

XVIII

Olaus Rogwaldi F. *prædicti* Godſchalchi *ex ſorore nepos, vterq; Noruagus, eligitur.* 1458
Moritur. 1497

XIX

Godſchalcus.

Demortui Olai *nepos ex fratre, & ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus deceſſit.*

Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. 1500
annos multos ex ſubditis duriter exercuiſſe fertur.

Anno 1520. cū inter pocula & voluptates conuiuales verſaretur audiretq; obiiſſe Ionā Sigiſmundū, *quem cum vxore & liberis multos annos crudeliſſimè vexauerat, in ſubitum morbum repentè incidit, & ſic paulo poſt, eam, quam in tota vita in miſeros ſubditos*

ANNO Chriſti.

Epiſcopi Schalholt.

XXIIII

Magnus Eiolphi F.

1489 *Praeſt.*

XXV.

Stephanus.

1494 *Cathedram adit.*

Deinde Godtſchalco *epiſcopo Holenſi, qui crudelis nomen meritus eſſe videtur, Synchronos ſimilem cum illo clementiæ & iuſticiæ laudem reportauit.*

1519 *Moritur: aut circiter.*

XXVI

Augmundus.

Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.

1522 *Cathedram adit.*

Hoc epiſcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam inuitatus, in ipſo conuiuio à coniuratis quibuſdam interfectus eſt, eò quòd impiè paſſim in incolas & bona ipſorum graſſatus eſſet. Augmundus *verò tanquam iſtius cædis author, quanquam ſe iuramento purgarat, in Daniam tranſuectus, Obijt.*

XXVII

Gyſſerus.

1540 *Eligitur viuente* Augmundo.

1541 *Cathedram adit, Papiſticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium ſacerdotum:*

1544 *Eius nuptiæ Schalholtiæ celebratæ.*

XXVIII.

Martinus.

1547 *Præeſt, & ſequentibus.*

XXIX

Giſlaus Ionas.

Hic ſtatim, Augmundo *epiſcopo, cœpit iuuenis veræ pietatis & purioris doctrinæ Euangelicæ ſtudio, & amore flagrare, eandemq́ paſtor eccleſiæ Selardalẽſis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorũ odium adeò in ſe deriuauit, vt illorum inſidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum ſe contulerit, vnde Haffniam Danorum profectus, in cœpto veræ Theologiæ ſtudio ſtrenuè pergens, in multorum, præcipuè verò in ſumma D. D, Petri Palladij tũ temporis Epiſcopi, familiaritate & gratia viuebat.*

1556 *Poſtea, inde in patriam reuerſo,* Martinus

1587 *ſponte ceſſit. Moritur & hic 31. annos plus*

minus Euangelium Ieſu Chriſti *profeſſus: nec tantum viua voce, ſed & quocunq́ demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, ſcribendo, re & conſilio Eccleſiam* Dei *iuuit & promouit.*

XXX

Otto Enerus, *vir grauis, pius & eruditus.*

1588 *Electus abit patria.*

1589 *Ordinatur:*

Redit & cathedram adit, ſuſceptiq́ muneris labores aggreditur.

Epiſcopi Holenſes.

ANNO Chriſti.

ſubditos vſus eſt, vim cum miſerabili morte commutauit.

XX

Ionas Aræſonius.

Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papiſticarũ ſuperſtitionũ vltimus & acerrimus aſſertor. Qui, cum Gyſſero *&* Martino *epiſcopis Scalholtiæ acriter reſiſteret, à pientiſſ. Rege Chriſtiano tertio iubetur ſub pœna exilij* 1525

protinus in Daniam aduentare. Sed 1548

hoc neglecto, captum Martinum

Schalholtiæ *Epiſcopum cuſtodiæ* 1550

mandauit. Tandem & ipſe à viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius vt fertur, laceſſiuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam *adductus, ibidem cũ filijs duobus, authoritate regij præfecti, capitis ſupplicio affectus eſt. In* 1551

cuius vltionem, nõ multò poſt præfectus ille regius, cum ſocijs aliquot, à quibuſdam ſicarijs, decollatorum olim famulis, nefariè occiſus eſt.

XXI

Olaus Hialterus.

Abit patria. 1552

Cathedram adit. 1553

Hic primus ſincerioris doctrinæ apud Holenſes *amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc prædeceſſoris ſui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Epiſcopus apertiùs docuit & propugnauit.* 1568

Moritur.

XXII

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

Ille non modò ſuæ ætatis, ſed & poſteritatis ornamentum. Qui præterquã quod inchoatũ opus a prædeceſſore Olao *ſibi relictum ducente S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem, deduxit: (Dico labores & diligẽtiam in aſſerenda veritate Euangelica, & papiſticis ſuperſtitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria ſua officinam Typographicam primus Iſlandorum aperuit. Cuius idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam tranſlatos, etiam ſacroſancta Biblia, elegantiſſimis typis Iſlandica lingua in officina ipſius excuſa, in æternum debebit.*

Hic inquam Epiſcopus præſens, officium ſuſcepturus.

Abijt: 1570

Redit & Cathedram Holenſem *ingreditur.* 1571

CIrca hæc igitur tempora mentibus noſtris è cœlo reddita lux eſt, & regni cœleſtis ianua per ſinceriorem doctrinæ Chriſtianæ expoſitionem reſerata. Nam & Schola triuialis in vtraque ſede Epiſcopali, laudatiſſimi Regis Daniæ Chriſtiani tertij munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata eſt: ac ſubinde patris Chriſtianiſſimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo *Friderico* ſecundo rege noſtro ſanctiſſimo, Anno 1588, ad cœleſtem patriam euocato, aucta & promota: quæ etiam hodiè, clementiſſimi regis & principis noſtri, Chriſtiani 4. fauore & nutu viget florétque: in qua iuuentus noſtræ Inſulæ, artium dicendi & ſacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad ſcientiam & veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc miniſtri Eccleſiarum petantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vſq; diem in Epiſcoporum Iſlandiæ catalogo: quo prædicti viri clariſſimi Dom. *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, & Dom. *Otto Euerus* ille Holis, hic *Schalholtiæ* Eccleſiarum ſunt antiſtites: quorum vtrumque, vt Deus opt. max. Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſaluum & ſuperſtitem, propter gloriam nominis ſui ſanctiſſimi, diu conſeruare velit, omnes ſeriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Specus habitant plerúmq;, aut ad montium latera in excauatis manſiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa & domos ex oſſibus piſcium & balenarum conſtructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris aſperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad ſolis æſtum vitandum. Item Munſterus, Multi in Iſlandia hodie coſtis & oſſibus balenarum, domos ſuas conſtruunt, &c.

Munſt. Krantz. Friſius.

HIc membrum ſecundum initium ſumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione & moribus. Et primùm, quibus vtantur ędificijs ſeu domibus: nempè ſecundũ *Munſterum, Krantzium, Friſium, &c. Specubus & montium cauernis.* Quamuis autem in ſplendidis ædificijs, alijsq; id genus mundani ornatus pretioſis rebus parum ineſt, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere poſſumus: dicimúsq; omnino Coſmographos & Hiſtoricos in errore etiam hîc verſari. Etenim, cuiuſmodi gentis publica domicilia eſſe ſcribunt, ea ſunt tantùm in paucis locis, tum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piſcatorum caſæ & receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piſcaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipſas domus, ſeu ipſa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem ſatis magnificè & ſumptuoſè, quoad huius terræ fert conditio, ligno, ceſpite & ſaxis habuerunt Iſlandi conſtructa, vſq; ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna ſufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio eſſe deſijt, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cùm nec ſyluas ædificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte ſufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ noſtræ ſuccurrant. Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, & iam quædam collapſa ſunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa ſunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recenſuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus ſunt maximæ, & latæ & longæ, tum plærúmque benè altæ. Vt exempli gratia, Prædia ſeu villæ, quæ cubilia habent pluſquam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt cœnaculum, hypocauſtum, penuarium &c. huic ſua proportione reſpondentes. Poſſum multa noſtratium ædificia ampla & vaſta, nec in ſpeciem deformia, nec ob artis ſtructuram & ſumptuoſam firmitudinem, ſeu robur, contemnẽda cum aliquot delubris, ſiue ſacris ædibus, ſolis lignis, antiqua & operoſa grauitate & pulchritudine exſtructis commemorare: Cuiuſmodi eſt templum Cathedrale *Holenſe* atrium habens, cuius columnæ vtrinque quinque, vlnas 14. altæ, 5. circiter craſſæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic ſubſtructioni proportionaliter reſpondens. Ligna ad hoc ipſum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempeſtate collapſum, clementiſſimus Rex noſter D. *Fridericus*, cuius nobis ſacratiſſima eſt memoria, Anno 1588, benigniſſimè largitus eſt. Ipſum verò templũ atrium ſuum omni quantitate manifeſtè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari ſolet, & templi meditullio, & atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè maius olim, vt accepi *Schalholtenſe*, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum eſt. Prætereà aliquot alia templa noſtrę Inſulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiorem eius rei deſcriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus & ædificia noſtra nihil deprędicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate noſtra Chriſto gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis vili tecto nõ dedignatur recipi, quódq; templa & domus noſtras, quas *Munſterus, Krantzius*, & *Friſius* piſcium & balenarum oſſibus non verè dicunt exſtructas, non aſpernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pauimenta teſſelata, reliquúmque id genus ornamenti.

Negotiatio cum Noruagis deſijt. Syluæ fluctibus maris delatæ.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munſterus.
Krantzius.

Communi tecto, victu, ſtatu, (hic Krantzius *habet, ſtrato) gaudent cum iumentis. Item: Solo paſtu peccorum & nunc captura piſcium victitant.*

HAec ſunt & ſequentia, quæ *Krantzius* ſuo *Munſtero* præmanſa, in os ingeſſit, adeò vt *Munſtero* non opus fuerit ea vel ſemel maſticare, quod ex collatione vtriuſq; patet. *Munſterus* enim hæc opprobria, vt ex *Krantzij* in ſuam *Norwegiam* præfatione hauſta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Coſmographiæ capit 8. in gentem noſtram euomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etſi ſatis grauia ſunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum maligniſſimum, & quæ ſequentur, non facilè eſt ſine ſtomacho præterire. Noſtrum igitur eſt, etiam hîc veritatem aſſerere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quod de communi tecto, (vti etiam de victu & ſtatu) cum iumentis dicunt, falſum & erroneum clamamus, teſte non modò re ipſa, ſi quis id hodiè perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quam gentem noſtram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipſi domos & habitationes noſtras viderunt, & norunt in ſingulis prædijs ſeu villis, multas eſſe diſtinctas domus: nempe in abiectiſſimis & viliſſimis 7. vel 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quę vt plurimùm, & tecto & parietibus diſtinctæ, vni poſſeſſori vel domino, rarò duobus aut tribus, rariſsimè pluribus inſeruiunt, ac vſibus quotidianis & domeſticis ſufficiunt. Vnde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè *eodem tecto* cum iumentis vtantur Iſlandi, cum ſinguli ruſtici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bouilia, ouilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis interuallis diſſita habeant, quæ ſerui, quoties opus eſt, petunt, vnde rurſus habitationem ſubinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Iſlandiæ de prouincia Skagefiord annotauit, *ſub eodem tecto homines, canes, ſues & oues, viuere*, partim falſum, partim minimè mirandum eſt. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum eſt, & præcipuè ſuibus (cum illa prouincia ſues non habeat) falſum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ caruerint nec hodiè careant, vt nimis omnibus eſt notum. Sed de canibus paulò poſt. Sect, 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula poſſint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitauerim: Cùm *Doletus, Ciceronis* interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iureconſultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, quæ eſui, potui, cultuiq; corporis, quæque ad viuendum homini ſunt neceſſaria. Et *Vlpianus*, de verborum ſignificat. Iiſdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hîc eluceat veritatis & candoris præſtantia. Iumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boues: His gramina & fœnum (niſi vbi fœni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipſi ſcriptores fatentur, Iſlandos piſcibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & aduentitio, viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen ijdem his verbis aſſerunt: *Communi victu gaudent cum iumentis:* Quod quid ſit *Munſtero*, ipſe paulò ſuperius haud obſcurè docuit. *Iſlandia*, inquit, *populos multos continet ſolo pecorum paſtu, & nunc captura piſcium victitantes.* Quid autem eſt pecorum paſtus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus? ait *Doletus:* niſi *Munſterus* fortè pecorum paſtum, ipſa pecora ad paſtum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt exiſtimo, vſus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines veſci, ita pecora paſci docuit: hominúmque victum, pecorum autem, paſtum & pabulum vocari iuſſit. An verò exiſtimem tam dementes fuiſſe *Munſterum* & *Krantzium*, vt ſenſerint Iſlandos graminibus & fœno viuere? Quo miſeriæ *Nabuchodonozor*, diuinæ vltionis iugum ſubiens, redactus eſt, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò noſtrates, ſed veſtrates quoque veſcuntur, iumenta & pecora fortè non reijcere, ſi familiari pabulo deſtituantur. Vt equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis paſcuntur: ijdem lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli & agni) & cereuiſiam, ſi offeratur, bibunt, & quidem auidè. Sed & canes quæuis fercula & cibaria deuorant. An idcircò quiſquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus & iumentis gaudere?

Iam quęcunq; famis graſſantis tempore contigêre, pro vniuerſali gentis alicuius conſuetudine in hiſtoriam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis ſcribere, huius aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium vſu victitare ſolitos, etſi fortè fame, ſiue obſidione, ſiue alioqui annonæ charitate inualeſcente immiſſa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum eſſe multis cum iumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus: nempè aquam lympidiſſimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ conſulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipſe Seruator noſter faſtidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum *victus* vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum iumentis communis eſt. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod *Munſterum* & *Krantzium* nouiſſe iurarim) veſtiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere neceſſe habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Iſlandia ſuppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò rectè dici, amictum eſſe nobis cum ouibus communem, ſiue eundem. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio ſubtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim eſt, ex eo laudem vel ſuperbam æſtimationem quærere, quod naturæ noſtræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Reſtat ille ſtatus, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiuſmodi ſit, aut eum eſſe velint noſtri ſcriptores, certè non facilè aſſequor. Status, inquit *Doletus*, eſt vel corporis, vel cauſarum, vel ordinis & cõditionis. Certè alium eſſe ſtatum noſtri corporis, quàm iumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu ſurſum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem noſtram ducimus. Illi boni viri, ſi id de ſe aut alijs cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem noſtrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia noſtrum eſt, nec amori patriæ, nec vlli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus ſemper & vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid ſit, quod huic infami ſcriptorum conuicio occaſionem fortè dederit.

Occaſio harum fabularum.

Sunt in vicinia *Schalholtæ*, ad littus *Iſlandiæ* auſtrale, parœchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidiſſimos amnes Thiorſaa & Olffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ & ſyluis & ceſpitibus, conſueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè deſtituuntur. In iſtis parœchijs habitantes, & ſi qui ſint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, ſibi opportunè proſpiciunt: Tamen ſunt inter eos quidam, ſed infimæ tantum ſortis coloni, qui quoniam iſtis rebus domi deſtituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Aſt vbi hyemis niuoſæ ſæuitia horrida ingruit, coloni iſti miſeri ad ſuum bouile refugiunt, illic ſcilicet extructis tabulatis interdiù operas domeſticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum eſt. Sicq; illi tantùm, qui ſanè pauciſſimi ſunt, communi cum bobus tecto, in bruma, vti quidem non gaudent, ſed coguntur. Verùm victum & ſtatum longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hęc eſt in iſtis Parœchiolis quorundam ſors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta eſt, quamuis non ſatis iuſtè. Vbi, quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de iſtis paucis colonis verum eſt, libenter quæſierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res eſt, illud Salomonis ijs reponam. Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

Prouerb. 14.

Equidem quia gens hæc noſtra pauper & egena eſt & fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra & ſcommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, ſi aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune eſt, tamen omnes ex iiſdem conſtamus elementis, & vnus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QVARTA.

In ſimplicitate ſancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cuius paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quieſcere gentem non ſinunt, qui ob piſcaturam euehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoq; noſtra inuexerunt. Nam & fruges aqua miſcere in potum didicerunt, & ſimplicis aquæ hauſtus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum noſtris admirantur.

Krantzius. Munſter.

S*implicitate.* Equidem ſanctæ ſimplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos iuſtitiæ ac legum ingens deprauatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum ſcelerum myriades conſequuntur; quod pij & boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autẽ nequaquam ſupremi Magiſtratus, hoc eſt, Regis noſtri clementiſſimi, ſed verius noſtrapte culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipſo præpoſterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magiſtratu deſiderantur, ad maieſtatem ipſius nõn deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non ſolùm Angli & Dani, ſed maximè Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram noſtram, non ob *piſcaturam* ſed piſces auehendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miſcendarum frugum aquæ, Iſlandos docuerunt. Quippe ipſi Noruagi primi, quòd nobis conſtet, terræ noſtræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi ſunt Iſlandi, artem illam, ſicut etiam aureos argenteoſq; nummos, ſecum ex Noruegia attulerunt, vt initio non fuerit minor argenti & auri vſus apud nos, quàm eſt hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumuè frequentes ad nos nauigationes, terra noſtra multò, quàm nunc, ſeneſcentis mundi incommoda, cœlo ſoloq; perſentiens, fertilior, in delectiſſimis quibuſque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Munſterus. Krantzius.

Rex Daniæ qui & Noruagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

ANno Domini 846. natus eſt *Haraldus* **Harfagre** (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858. Rex *Noruagiæ* deſignatus, vbi ætas viréſque iuſtum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Noruagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuiſum (quas **Fylki** vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, **Fylkis Konga**) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genere & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipſius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Iſlandiam, antea quidem à quibuſdam viſam & inuentam, at deſertam tamen, colonias, dicto ſuperius Anno 874. tranſtulerunt: Atque ſic genti noſtræ originem præbentes, ſe Iſlandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè poſteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Iſlandi diu, nullius imperium agnoſcentes, annis ſcilicet 386, plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Noruagiæ *Haquinus* ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagiæ diutiſſimè, nempe pluſquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, ſæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios ſibi facere Iſlandos, conſtanter tamen ſemper reſtiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipſi præſtarent. Atque poſtea ſemper in data fide perſiſtentes, & regibus Noruagię parentes, tranſlato per *Margaretam*, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Noruagiæ reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, vnà cum reliquis imperij Noruagici Inſulis, Sereniſſimum Danię regem; Dominum & Regem ſuum hodiè ſalutant.

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1260 Margareta.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Krantzius. Munſterus.

Omnia inter eos communia ſunt, præter vxores.

HOc loco præmittit *Krantzius* talem Ironiam.

Multa inſignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porrò etiam hic fidem veſtram eleuat ingenium, ad aſſerendum res incompertas nimis procliue, cupidinem nouitatis, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam pręposteram arguit, omnium & rerum perſonarúmq;, & temporum experientia: O ſcriptores ſuſpiciendi.

Teſtes ſunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis vſi ſunt eiſdem Iſlandi: De Rege & ſubditis: De foro, & his quæ in forenſem diſceptationem cadere poſſunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorſum illis, quibus res omnes ſunt communes? Teſtes ſunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Iſlandorum: Teſtes ſunt Reges nunc Daniæ & olim Noruagiæ, qui tot libellis ſupplicibus Iſlandorum, ad componendas iſtas de poſſeſſionibus controuerſias, olim & nunc interpellati ſæpè fuerant. Teſtis contra ſeipſum *Krantzius*, cuius verba diſtinction. i. huius, hæc fuerunt. *Ante ſuſceptam Chriſti fidem* (Iſlandi) *lege naturali viuentes parum à lege noſtra diſcrepabant, &c.* Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa iuſtitiæ, quæ tribuit vnicuique ſuum: Si lege iuſtitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominiorum diſtinctiones in noſtra gente locum habuiſſe oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipſam legem etiam in Eccleſia, & quidem ſatis atrociter, ſæpè delinquitur: tamen & Eccleſia & Ethnici iuſtiſſimam & optimam eſſe ſemper faſſi ſunt.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos ſuos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Niſi quòd à pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quàm catulum, &c.

QVamuis principio hujus commentarioli cenſuerim, *Munſterum* & alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, quæ de Iſlandia ſcripta reliquerunt, eſſe à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hic, etiam à candidiſſimo & maximè ſincero quocunque fieri poſſit, non ſatis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas & mendacia ſecuti, tam atroci & contumelioſo opprobrio gentem noſtram diffamarent, commacularéntque? Nihil profectò, niſi ſecura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & ſi quæ ſunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Iſlandis, quàm ipſis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in hiſtoriam ſuam accumulant, efficiunt vnà, vt alibi quoque ſuſpectæ fidei habeantur. Illúdq; quod ait *Ariſtoteles*, lucrantur, *vt cum vera dixerint, illis ſine ſuſpitione non credatur*.

Sed age Lector, ſubſiſte pauliſper, mecúmq; grauitatem & ſapientiam tantorum virorum expende:

expende : Ne tantum Iſlandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus *Krantzius* & *Munſterus* : *Iſlandos eſſe Chriſtianos. Item: Iſlandos ante ſuſceptam Chriſti fidem lege naturali vixiſſe. Item : Iſlandos vixiſſe lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum diſcrepante. Item: Vixiſſe eos in ſancta ſimplicate*. Adeidum igitur Lector, & quas Chriſtianiſmi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorũ, ſanctæ ſimplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, & in Iſlandis monſtrent ac
depingant, perpende. Vna fuit ſupra, quòd infernum ſiue carcerem damnatorum montis Heclę 1
voragine & radicibus circumſcribant Iſlandi; de quo vide Sect. 1, huius: & ſect. 7. prior. part. Altera 2
nota, quòd, cum Anabaptiſtis, proprietatum & dominiorum diſtinctiones tollant: de quo
Sect. præced. Tertia éaque longè excellentiſſima hæc eſt: illi præclari affectus naturales, amor, 3
cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Iſlandorum in liberos, quòd videlicet eiuſdem precij ſint apud illos canes & filij, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis *Munſtere* & *Krantzi Legem Chriſti, natura, Germanorum, & ſanctam ſimplicitatem* depingitis? O picturam præclaram & excellentem, quamuis nó prorſus *Apelleam*: O Inuentum acutum & admirandum, ſi benè authenticum: O ſcientiam pluſquàm humanam, etſi non prorſus diuinam.

Nos verò Iſlandi, quamuis vltimi & gelidam concluſi ad Arcton, longè alias Chriſtianiſmi notas requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximũ diligat velut ſeipſum. Iam nemo eſt, puto, qui ſeipſum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quàm canem. Quod ſi tantus eſſe debet proximi cuiuſlibet fauor, tanta æſtimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæſo erit in liberos? Quorum arctiſſimum amorem, pręterquam quòd ipſa parens natura nobis firmiſſimè cõciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam ſummam in enutriendo habere iuſſit. (Exo. 12, 24. Ephe. 6, 4.) vt ſcilicet ſint in ſancto coniugio, Eccleſiæ quædam ſeminaria, omnis pietatis & honeſtatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Eccleſiolam quamlibet eſſe domum.

Item:

Coniugium humana quadam eſt Academia vita.

Vt iam ſatis conſtet, apud Chriſtianos longè pluris faciendos & curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, ſi qui non aliter curent, Chriſtianos non eſſe.

Sed & hic in prolem dulciſſimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam ſatis apertè conſpicitur: vt ſi quos hoc penitùs exueris, eoſdem etiam homines eſſe negaueris. Monſtrant id matres Carthaginenſes, cum tertio bello Punico adoleſcentes quiq; lectiſſimi obſides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miſerabili ad naues comitatæ, & ex his quædam à filiorum complexibus ægrè diuulſæ, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, nauéſq; è portu egredi, dolore ſtimulante, in ſubiectos fluctus diſſiluere; *Sabellico authore*. Monſtrat *Ægeus*, qui nauem filij *Theſei*, cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijſſe filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit, *Sabellic.* lib. 3, cap. 4. Monſtrat *Gordianus* ſenior, Africæ proconſul, qui ſimiliter, ob rumores de morte filij, vitam ſuſpendio clauſit. *Campofulgos* lib. 5. cap. 7. Monſtrant idem *Iocaſta Creontis* filia, *Auctolia Sinonis* F. *Anius* Tuſcorum Rex, *Orodes* Rex Parthorum, & alij numero innumero: De quibus vide ſtat. lib. 2. *Plutarchum*, & alios, &c. Huc illud. *Amor deſcendit, &c.* Adeò, vt videas non minus eſſe homini proprium, ſobolem intimè diligere, & ſummo amore proſequi, quàm aui volare; vt ſi iam aliquando homines eſſe Iſlandos, nedum Chriſtianos ſcriptores noſtri faſſi ſint, hunc amorem & affectum in filios ijſdem, quantumuis inuiti & repugnantes, adſcribant: ſin minus, non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant, ſed etiam infrà bruta & quaſuis beſtias, quæ ipſæ, ſtimulante natura, maximo prolis ſuæ & arctiſſimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam noſtratium ſatis illuſtria: Tacebo leges noſtras plagiarias ipſis Iſlandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ exſtant in codice legum noſtrarum, titulo Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis, nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam verò ſi quis eò fortunæ deueniat, vt proprium filium, ſiue incolæ, ſiue extranei alicuius poteſtati, vel fame vel extrema quacunq; vrgente neceſſitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne famelicum inedia deficientem aſpicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reſeruet, Is minimè dicendus eſt filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, ſiue id faciant Iſlandi, ſiue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorũ vel Danorum nautę apud nos mendicos quoſdã, liberis onuſtos, quorũ hîc maximus eſt numerus, qui iocando, vt ſunt nugis ſcurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cúmq; rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi viciſſim? Reſponderint mẽdici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14. dabo ex eis vnũ vel plures, &c. Solet enim iſta mendicorum colluuies iſtiuſmodi ſcurriles dialogiſmos cum extraneis inſtituere. Quod ſi tum quiſpiam bonus vir, miſertus ſtoliditatis & inopię mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eíque propter

Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo benè proſpexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miſerenti permittit & committit, filium iſtum ſuum minoris facit quàm canem? Pręſtitum eſt à multis tam Iſlandis quàm extraneis huiuſmodi beneuolentiæ & commiſerationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobiliſſimus *Accilius Iulius* à ſereniſſimo rege *Daniæ* olim miſſus ad Iſlandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos aſſumpſit & ſecum in *Daniam* auexit: Vbi poſtea ipſius beneficio ſingulos ſuo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi euaſiſſe, mihi narratum eſt.

Quid ſi quis in extrema conſtitutus anguſtia, filium non modò vendat; ſed ſi emptorem nō habet, ipſe mactet & comedat? Nota ſunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitæ crudelitatis in filios, ſtimulante nō odio vel aſtorgia, ſed ineuitabili neceſſitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuerſale gentis alicuius cōuicium exſtruxerit? Legimus, in obſidione Samariæ matres duas filios ſuos mactaſſe, & coctos comediſſe: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obſidione Ieroſolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miſerrimæ matris, filium miſellum iam mactaturæ. *Infans, ait,* (referam enim *Euſebij* verba de hac re, etſi notiſſima, vt miſeræ matris affectus appareat,) *miſelle & infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, & ſeditionis tumultu, te commodè reſeruem? Si Romanorum ſubijciamur imperio, illic ſeruitutis iugo preſſi, vitam infœliciter exigemus. Sed ſeruitutem credo fames anteuertet. Accedit factioſorum prædonum turba, his vtriſq; miſerijs toleratu multò aſperior. Age igitur mi gnate, ſis matri cibus, ſis prædonibus furia, ſis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res vna ad Iudæorum calamitates deeſſe videtur. Quæ cum dixiſſet, natum trucidat, aſſatúmq; dimidiū mox comedit, dimidium reſeruat, &c.* Euſebius *libro 3. capite 6.* Iam quis eſt, qui non credat miſerrimam hanc matrem filium hunc ſuum, domini alicuius, ſi ſe obtuliſſet, apud quem crediiſſet ſeruatum iri, aut emptoris poſſeſſioni fuiſſe permiſſuram? Nota eſt fames, Calaguritum, Hiſpaniæ vrbem, olim à *Cneio Pompeio* obſeſſam opprimens (*Val.* libro ſeptimo cap. 7.) cuius ciuibus, vxores & liberi in vſum extremæ dapis conuerſi ſunt, quos profectò, pro cibarijs & alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidiſſent. Nota eſt quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 851. (*Vincent*, libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attriuit, vt etiam pater filium ſuum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam eſt, poſt mortem *Henrici* ſeptimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorarint, & præcipuè quidem in *Polonia* & *Bohemia.* Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ ſæuitiam, Anno 1586. & 1587. in *Hungaria* graſſatam fuiſſe, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immaniſſimo Chriſtianorum hoſti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum ſeruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos ſuos, quos vlterius tolerare non ſuſtinebant, crudeli miſericordia in Danubium proieciſſe, & ſuffocaſſe dicantur. Sed, num hæc & ſimilia exempla quempiam eò inſaniæ adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in eſcam propriam mactare conſueuiſſe, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis ſubmergere & ſuffocare ſolitā eſſe? Non opinor. Sic neq; quòd mendici apud Iſlandos, extrema vrgente neceſſitate, cuius duriſſimi ſunt morſus, filios ſuos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adſcribendū eſt à quoquam, niſi apud eundē omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterùm optarim ego, parcius Iſlandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in ſacris concionibus, ſinu geſtent, quem morem in peregrinis quibuſdam, quos Romæ catulos ſimiarum & canum in gremio circumferre *Cæſar* conſpexit, hac quæſtione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipſos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos ſibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè ſobolis incitarentur, in beſtias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas, Iſlandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam *Munſtere* & *Krantzi*, alias nobis Chriſtianitatis, (vt ſic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & ſanctæ ſimplicitatis notas quærite.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Krantzius.
Munſterus.

Epiſcopum ſuum colunt pro Rege: ad cuius nutum reſpicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, ſcripturis, & ex conſuetudine aliarum gentium conſtituit, quàm ſanctè obſeruant.

FVit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Epiſcopi obſeruantia; ſed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut conſuetudini cederent noſtræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Epiſcopi. Nec tempore *Alberti Krantzij*, multò minùs *Munſteri* (quorum ille 1517. hic 1552. poſt partum ſalutiferum deceſſit) Epiſcopi Iſlandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm ſcilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulò plus valebant, aduerſus ipſos conſurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud noſtrates liquidò conſtat. Interim tamen Epiſcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in ſuam poteſtatem redegerunt, alios furibunda ſæuitia id temporis perſecuti ſunt.

Porrò etſi tum fuit magna, imò maxima Epiſcopi obſeruantia, tamẽ nunc diſpulſis tenebris Papiſticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorumq́; mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, aduerſus *Deum* & ſacrum miniſterium, etiam hîc armare non negligit.

SECTIO NONA.

Munſter.

Illic victitant plerumq́; piſcibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: & qui inde cum magno lucro piſces exportant. Item Munſterus, *Illic piſcibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non creſcit.*

Vide Lector, quàm *Munſterum* iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil ſcribere poſſit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falſa afferre, vel eadem ſæpiùs repetere, ſicque cramben eandem recoquere ſuſtineat. Dixerat enim paulò ante, *Iſlandos piſcibus viuere.* Verba ipſius ſuperiùs etiam recitata, hæc ſunt. *Iſlandia populos continet multos, ſolo pecorum paſtu & nunc captura piſcium victitantes, &c.* Et vt cætera tranſeam in quibus leue quiddam notari poterat; Illud ſanè, *panem in Iſlandia non creſcere*, perquam verum eſt. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune eſſe crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis creſcat, niſi fortè in *Munſteri* agro, vbi etiam acetum naturale optimè creſcit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, ſcilicet, ſalua erunt. Ad conuicia autem, quæ ex victu Iſlandorum petunt extranei, infrà paucis reſpondebitur, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Incolæ res maiorum & ſui temporis celebrant cantibus & inſculpunt ſcopulis, atque promontorijs, vt nulla, niſi cum naturæ iniuria, intercidant apud poſteritatem. Munſter. Krantzius.

Cytharædi, & qui teſtitudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine & volucres & piſces irretiant & capiant. Friſius.

Veterum geſta apud Iſlandos conſeruata.

Quin veterum geſta aliquot cantibus & poëmatibus noſtratium, vt & ſoluta oratione, apud nos conſeruentur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut maioribus noſtris eadem ſcopulis vel promontorijs inſculpta ſunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharædorum, aues aut piſces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi eſſe generoſi ac veracis, vt crimina falſa refellere, ita laudem immeritam ſibi haud vendicare, nec, etſi quis tribuat, agnoſcere.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Sed cum ſcriptoribus iam dictis, viris alioqui ſpectatæ eruditionis & pręclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconſideratè ſcriptis ſuis interſeruerunt, actionis finis eſto.

Et iam magna mei pars eſt exhauſta laboris:

Sed reſtat tamen fœtus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum ſecundo partu mater edi voluit, vt venenatis aculeis nomen Iſlandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet aduerſus hanc beſtiam in arenam deſcendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen conſtare volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius peſtifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem. (Nam vt eſt in triuiali paroemia,

Hoc ſcio pro certo, quod ſi cum ſtercore certo,
Vinco, ſeu vincor, ſemper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis & cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, ſatisfaciam, qui maledicentiam iſtam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri ſunt, aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tantam ſuſtinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui iſtis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis noſtræ opprobrium vtuntur, & inde dicteria & contumelioſas ſubſannationes ad deſpiciendos Iſlandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in poſterum, ſi fieri poſſit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori faſtidium oratio noſtra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in ſuum paſquillum congeſſit: Quem etiam ſua de Iſlandis carmina Encomiaſtica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, niſi præuiderem fœtum illum probroſum, tot & tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauſeam mouere poſſe, ac ſua ſpurcitie ab ijs legendis abſterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (ijs ſcilicet omiſſis quæ cum alijs communia habet, atque hactenus ventilata ſunt) ſed, quàm ille, longè mitius; ne, vt dixi, linguæ ipſius obſcœna petulantia, aures bonæ & eruditæ offendantur: Qui ipſum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non eſt in animo putida ipſius calumnia & conuiciorum ſentina, has chartas inquinare. Primùm igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noſter, ſi Dijs placet, Hiſtoricus: *Multos ex paſtoribus Iſlandiæ toto biennio ſacram concionem ad populum nullam habere:* Vt in priore editione, huius

1. Obiectio ſeu conuicium.

huius paſquilli legitur, quod tamen poſterior editio eiuſdem refutat: Dicens, eoſdem paſtores in integro anno tantũ quinquies concionari ſolitos: quæ duo quàm ritè ſibi conſentiant, videas bone Lector, cum conſtet Authorem mox à prima editionẽ vix vidiſſe Iſlandiam, Ita ſcilicet plerumq. mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: *Verum vero conſentit: Falſum nec vero, nec falſo.*

Sed cum noſtrum non ſit veritatem vſpiam diſſimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones ſacras circa id tempus, quo iſte Sycophanta in Iſlandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multò fuiſſe rariores, quàm ſunt hodiè, tum ſcilicet tenebris Papiſticis vix dum diſcuſſis. Quod etiam de Pſalmis Dauidicis à vulgo latinè demurmuratis, vt idẽ noſtratibus exprobrat, intelligere eſt: Papiſtæ enim totam ſpem ſalutis in ſua Miſſa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere ſolliciti. Poſtquam verò caligine illa exempti ſumus, aliter ſe rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundã paſtorum noſtrorum tardam ſtupiditatem, ſegnitiem & curam præpoſteram non poſſimus omni modo excuſare. Quod vtrum in nullos ſuorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

2.Conuitium. *Secundo calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria & ſcortationes non modo publica eſſe & frequentia ſcelera inter Iſlandos: ſed ab ijs pro ſcelere ne haberi quidem.*

ETſi autem fœdiſſimæ iſtæ turpitudines etiam in noſtra repub. non prorſus inuſitatæ ſunt: tamen cum omnibus conſtet in alijs quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores eſſe, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Iſlandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus noſtratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad ſcelera, & turpitudines in noſtra patria conniueri, quàm paſſim hîc fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in pręſenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, *quòd ſcelera iſta ab Iſlandis pro ſcelere non habeantur.* Nam in quà demum repub. id impudens ille aſſerere audet? Illáne; quæ in legem codicis ll. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. iurauit; quę ſtatuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiſerit, confiſcatis ſuis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illáne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum vxore domini commiſſo, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illáne, quæ eundem, ſi ad ſtatutum tempus non ſoluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proſcribendum decreuit? Illáne: cuius leges politicæ, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, à viro legitimè deprehenſum, ſi euaſerit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illáne, cuius itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut ſororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehenſum, vitam ſuam dimidio eius, quod quis ſi eundem inſontem interfeciſſet, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illàne, cuius leges politicæ adulterium ſceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehenſum, capite plectendum ſeuerè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium & ſcortationes in Iſlandia peccati aut ſceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud ſcelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut malè audire.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3.Conuitium. T*Ertium conuicium eſt, quo fraudis & perfidiæ erga Germanos Iſlandis notam inurit.* Fuit autem proculdubio famoſi huius libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multoſq; Iſlandiæ angulos, ſordidæ mercaturæ gratia, oſtiatim adierat: quod ipſe de ſe in præclaris illis ſuis rhythmis teſtatur, *maximã Iſlandiæ partem ſibi peragratam eſſe.* Vnde cum ipſe mala fide cũ multis egerit (plerumq; enim fraus & mendacia coniunguntur, & mendacem ſe fuiſſe, hac ingenij ſui experientia ſatis probauit) etiam fortè à ſe deceptorum fraudem eſt expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Diſſimulato intereà, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua eſt nauigatio ad Iſlandos, cum noſtris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non alios conuiciari, ſed aliorum in gentem noſtram immerita conuicia monſtrare inſtituerim, conſultò ſuperſedeo.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

4.5.6.& 7.Conuitia. *Quarto: negat in conuiuijs quemquam diſcumbentium à menſa ſurgere: ſed matresfamilias ſingulis conuiuis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Præterea variam conuiuiorum edendi bibendiq; ruſticitatem notat.*

5 *Cubandi & prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiſcuè viri cum fœminis*

minis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atq; interea ſe non niſi alea aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant.

Sexto. Calumniatur eoſdem faciem & os vrina proluere. 6

Septimo. Nuptiarum, ſponſalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum ritus contemptuoſè extenuat. 7

HÆc & huiuſmodi plurima in gentem inſontem, imò de ſe & ſuis optimè meritam, impurus calumniator euomit. Quæ quidem eius generis ſunt, vt illi de his reſpondere prorſus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiuſmodi apud homines ſordidos, & ex ipſa vulgi colluuie infimos, quibuſcũ longè ſæpius, quàm bonis & honeſtis conuerſabatur, animaduertiſſe præclarum hunc notarium Germanicũ (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmi teſtantur, diuriuſculè in locis maritimis Iſlandiæ, quo ferè promiſcuum vulgus, tempore piſcaturę annuatim confluit, & tam extraneorũ nautarum, quàm ſua nequitia corruptum, ſæpius inhoneſtè mores & vitam inſtituit) Tamen manifeſtiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnius nebulonis & deſperati Sycophantę turpitudine, totã gentẽ (vt ferè ſolent etiã alij) aſpergendo, quàm vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipſi extranei in noſtra Inſula non parum verſati, locupletiſſimi teſtes eſſe poſſunt.

Poſſem multas eius farinæ fœditates, ruſticitates & obſcœnitates, etiam in ipſius natione deprehenſas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobriũ diſertũ eſſe iuuat: nec tam tenerè eſſe volo, vt verbulis transuerberer. Id tantùm viderint boni & pij omnes, cuius ſit animi, peſſima quæq; ab vno aut altero deſignata, toti genti obijcere. Si quis Germaniç aut alterius nationes vrbes & pagos omnes peragret, & ſcelera ac mores peſſimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, ſcortationes, adulteria, inceſtus, luxuriem, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obſcœnitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuiuis toti nationi communes eſſe aſſerat, atq; hæc omnia inſigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, iſne optimæ rei ſtudioſus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, &, vt propriè notem, porcus impurus, iſte, inquam, Rhythmiſta, naturam & ingenium ſuum eiuſmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum eſt enim porcos, cũ hortos amœniſſimos intrarint, nec liliũ nec roſas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos & ſuauiſſimos decerpere: Sed roſtro in cœnum prono, quicquid eſtluti & ſtercoris volutare, vertere & inuertere, donec impuriſſima, hoc eſt, ſuo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, vbi demum ſolida voluptate paſcuntur.

Ad iſtum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmiſta, optima, & quæ in noſtra Repub. laudibilia eſſe poſſunt, ſicco pede præterit, peſſima quæq;, atq; ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis deſignata; hoc eſt, ſuæ naturæ, & ingenio aptiſſima, vt ſe eſſe, qui dicitur, re ipſa probaret, corraſit: vnde poſthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipſius factum, ſortitor.

SECTIO DECIMAQVINTA.

NOnum conuicium hic recenſebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Iſlandorum maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis, ſed prolixa inuectiua petiuit: Nempe *quòd cibis vtantur vetuſtis, & inſulſis, idq; ſine panis vſu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piſcium genera illis ſint eſui, & aquam ac ſerum lactis in potum miſceant.* Quæ omnia venenatus hic paſquillus diſerta contumelia, & ingenioſa calumnia, pulchrè amplificauit. 9. Conuicium.

Cæterum etſi illum prolixiore reſponſione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter noſtrę genti obijciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò ſecabimus; In mendicos, & hos qui & ſe & cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, & eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia cibaria recenſere aut examinare haud facile eſt, nec quòd illos edere, aut ediſſe, extrema aliquãdo coëgit neceſſitas, reliquę genti cibariorũ genera aut numerũ præſcribere fas eſt. Nam & de ſuffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum ſeruantiſſima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora diſtinguemus, vt nihil mirum ſit, graſſante annonæ ſæuitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuiſſe, quæ aliàs vix canes paſcant. Vt nuperrimè de Pariſienſibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctiſſima Henrici 4. Nauarræi obſidione preſſis, & famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpeſſis; eos non modò equinam, ſed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum oſſibus in mortario contuſis farinæ pugillo vno aut altero miſto, confectam, in ſuas dapes conuertiſſe: & de alijs quoque populis notum eſt, qui ſimili vrgente inopia, etiam murium, felium & canum eſu victitarint. Sic etiam Iſlandis aliquando vſu venit (quanquam à canina, murium & felium, vt & humana carne hactenus, nobis quantum conſtat, abſtinuerint) licet non ab hoſte obſeſſis: Nam cùm ad victum neceſſaria ex terra marique petant, & ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum aduehatur, quoties terræ mariſque munera DEVS præcluſerit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruiſſe, & dira fame vexari incolas, neceſſe eſt. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere ſoliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum ſuperantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentaſſe, quoties egeſtas vrſerit, credibile. Cæterum, vtrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Iſlandos, quàm alias nationes, occaſionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis iudicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de genus noſtræ proprijs & conſuetis alimentis multi obijcere ſolent, potiſſimum de carne, piſcibus, butyro, abſque ſale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Iſlandiæ locis (nam ſunt multi quoque noſtratium, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem caſtis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem ſufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt & ipſis Pharmacopolijs, deſtituimur, menſam inſtruere & frugaliter viuere ſuſtineant) ita ſe habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, paſſim ſine ſalis condimento vſitata eſſe. Et inſuper addemus, hæc ipſa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipſos tamen extraneos apud nos, non ſine voluptate, manducare ſolitos. Nam etſi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec ſal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus ſuppetit: docuit tamen Deus, opt. max. etiam noſtros homines rationem tractandi & conſeruandi, quæ ad vitam ſuſtentandam ſpectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Iſlandis non eſſe ad panem vel ſalem alligatum. Quòd verò ſua omnia extranei iucundiora & ſalubriora clamant; negamus tamen ſatis cauſæ eſſe, cur noſtra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gulæ noſtræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod ſine opiparis illis delicijs & lautitijs, quæ tam iucundæ & ſalubres putantur, etiam noſtræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmiſſimã, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia ſtatuimus boni & conuenientis alimenti, ὡς τῶν ἐγχωρίων eſſe indicia) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorſus tam craſſo ac ſterili, quàm huic noſtro aëri & alimentis aſſignare Philoſophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortaſſe noſtratium comprobare poterant,

Ratio conſeruandi cibos ſine ſale.

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) *paupertas inuida deprimeret.*

Sed hic vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs ſæpè, etiam eos qui ſapere volunt (iam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipſo, quòd omnia, quæ illorum vſus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti ſunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, ſi quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum eſſe aliquod, non poſsit adduci vt credat: Sic illi ſenſu ſuæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, vt nihil ſit bonum, nihil conducibile, niſi quo illi ſoli viuunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non proceſsimus, vt eos qui locuſtis veſcuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Æthiopię quibuſdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Mageſtanes dederunt, teſte Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris marinis, aut ſquillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota eſt, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere præſumamus, à quibus tamen edulijs, in totum noſtra conſuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

16. Conuicium.

Decimo. Hoſpitalitatem noſtris hominibus inhumaniſsimus porcus obijcit. *Marſupium* inquit, *non circumferunt, nec hoſpitiari aut conuiuari gratis pudor eſt. Nam ſi quis aliquid haberet, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret ſanè in primis ac libenter.* His quoq; annectamus, *quod templa, ſeu ſacras ædiculas domi propria à multis Iſlandorum extructas velut pudendū quiddam commemorat: quodq; eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur.* Hæc ille velut inſigne quoddam dedecus in Iſlandis notauit.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, ſui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarunt: quod ſanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus conſtare poterit.

Verùm enimuerò, cùm ipſe ſuarum virtutum ſit teſtis locupletiſsimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipſius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Iſlandia compoſuit, & nos iam aliquot proximis diſtinctionibus examinauimus; cuius maledicentiæ & fœditatis nos hic pro ipſo puduit; ita, vt quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in noſtram gentem ſcribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius eſt & tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plauſtrum (paucisſima namq; attigimus; Nolui enim laterem lauare, & ſtulto, vt inquit ille ſapientiſsimus, ſecundum ſtultitiam ſuam reſpondere, cum in ipſius Rhythmis verbum non ſit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit paſquilli iſtius autorem hominem fuiſſe peſſimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, ſine pietate, ſine humanite?

Sed hîc meritò dubitauerim, peiuſne horum conuiciorum autor de Iſlandis meritus ſit, an verò Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (& quicunq; ſunt alij, qui in ſuis editionibus, nec ſuum nec vrbis ſuæ nomen profiteri auſi ſunt) qui illa iam bis, ſi non ſæpius, typis ſuis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impunè fieri ſinitis, ô ſenatus populuſq; Hamburgenſis? Hanccine ſtatuiſtis gratiam deberi Iſlandiæ, quæ vrbi veſtræ iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim noſtratium quibuſuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumq; carnibus, butyro & piſcium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quaſi cella penuaria fuit? Senſere huius Inſulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ vrbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremenſibus, & Lubecenſibus cum Iſlandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hęc eſt Gregoriana calumnia: In veſtrà, veſtrà inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, ſi non terciata: quę alias nationes, quibus Iſlandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium & contemptum armauit: quam à ciue veſtro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, & plus eò, Iſlandia ſuſtinet. Sed etiam, inſcio magiſtratu, eiuſmodi multa ſæpè fiunt: Neq; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiuſmodi ſcripta famoſa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: *Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæſareo, de libellis famoſis: in quo irrogatur pœna grauiſſima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, ſcribunt, proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non ſtatim repertos diſcerpunt.*

Vrbes Angliæ commercia olim in Iſlandia exercent.

Cæterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nóſq; ad te, Iſlandia parens cariſſima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Chriſto hoſpitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non deſiſtis, inuiſam facient, conuertamus: Vbi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè ſerium & ardens ſtudium ac amorem DEI, & diuinę ſcientiæ, nobis in Chriſto patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta poſthabeas, doctrinæ & verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum miniſterium & miniſtros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio proſequare: ſed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs & profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis & honeſtatis præſcriptum geras, in vita priuata & communi, vt huic ſtatus & ordines Eccleſiaſtici & Politici, in vniuerſum obtemperent: In vtroque vitæ genere, ab illa amuſſi ſeu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, aduerſeris, quos æquum eſt pœnis condignis affici, id quod magiſtratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos niſi ſpectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad iſtas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res iſta enim, ſi probè curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; ſubditorum conditio, longè erit optatiſſima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles ſequentur: pietas & honeſtas tantò erunt illuſtriores. At verò ſi ſecus fiat, ſi Paſtores Eccleſiarum ſuo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non reſpódeant, ſi ad adminiſtrationē politicam promiſcuè admittantur, quicunq; eò propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: ſi ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel ſuſpecti vel conuicti ſint, aut ſuſpectorum & conuictorum protectores, vel ijſdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæſo demum futurus eſt ſtatus? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miſerrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm ſi iſtis te regendam commiſeris, qui quod in ijs eſt, licet ſint & ipſi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, & odia latentia, quotidiè petere cótendunt. Quamobrem (ne iſta pluribus agam) quanti interſit, vt hæc probè curentur, facilè, ô Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altiſſimos, qui ſub hac ad te Apoſtrophe latent, Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Maieſtatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de cauſa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria noſtra à regia ſede, & conſpectu, tantò interuallo ſit remota, vt multi propterea tantò ſibi maiorem ſumant licentiam, & impunitatem ſecurius promittant. Cæterum iſta numini iuſtiſſimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aſpicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum eſt, ô patria, vt ſtudium in te noſtrum, eo quo ſperamus animo.i. comi & benigno, ſuſcipias: quod quamuis minimè tale eſt, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco deſiſtere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me ſatis ſtrenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id eſt (ſi modò quicquam eſt) & quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium, pro mea tenui parte afferre poſſem, nequaquam ſupprimendum putaui, nec enim illos laudare ſoleo,

Qui, quòd deſperent inuicti membra Glyconis,
Nodoſa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me ſanè, ſi hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquã pœnitebit. Quòd ſi ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidiſſe haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & induſtria ſuperiores, ad cauſam tuam, vel nunc, vel in poſterum ſuſcipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid eſt cur operæ precium non feciſſe dicar? quibus ſcribentibus, licet mea fama in obſcuro futura eſt, tamen præſtantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me conſolabor: Nam etſi famæ & nominis cura ſumma eſſe debet, maior tamen patriæ; cuius dignitate ſalua & incolumni, nos quoq; ſaluos & incolumes reputabimus.

Scripſi Holis Hialtadalenſium in Iſlandia, Æra Chriſtiana
Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

A BRIEFE COMMENTARIE of *Iſland*: wherin the errors of ſuch as haue written concerning this Iſland, are detected, and the ſlanders, and reproches of certaine ſtrangers, which they haue vſed ouer-boldly against the people of *Iſland*, are confuted.

By *Arngrimus Ionas*, of *Iſland*.

To the moſt mighty Prince and Lord, Lord *Chriſtian* the 4. of *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and of the *Vandals* and *Gothes*, King elect: of *Sleſwic*, *Holſte*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſe* Duke: Earle of *Oldenburg*, and *Delmenhorſt*: His moſt gratious Lord.

T*Hat heroical attempt of* Anchurus, *ſonne of King* Midas *(moſt gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peereleſſe, deſerueth highly to be renowmed in hiſtories: in that freely and couragiouſly he offered his owne perſon, for the ſtopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about* Celœna, *a towne in* Phrigia, *which dayly ſwallowed multitudes of men, and whatſoeuer elſe came neere vnto it. For when his father* Midas *was aduertiſed by the Oracle, that the ſaid gulfe ſhould not be ſhut vp, before things moſt precious were caſt into it:* Anchurus *deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life, plunged himſelfe aliue downe headlong into that bottomeles hole; and that with ſo great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers requeſt nor by the allurements and teares of his moſt amiable wife, he ſuffered himſelfe to be drawne backe from this his enterpriſe.*

Sperthius *alſo and* Bulis, *two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of* Xerxes *that moſt puiſſant King of the Perſians, entended againſt the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambaſſadors of his father* Darius, *hyed them vnto the ſayd king, and that he might auenge the ambaſſadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, with hardy, and conſtant mindes preſented themſelues before him.*

The very ſame thing (moſt gracious prince) which moued them, and many others being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuſe for the beneſite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it ſelfe, the ſame thing (I ſay) hath alſo enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my ſelfe vnto the ſlaughter, but yet to aſſay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the ſame: and ſo take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps ſubiect to the ſiniſter iudgement of many.

In this purpoſe the example of Cneius Pompeius *hath likewiſe confirmed me: who being choſen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme ſcarcetie and dearth of the citie, hauing taken vp ſome ſtore of graine in* Sicilia, Sardinia, *and* Africa, *is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himſelfe. For when he made haſte towards* Rome, *and a mighty and dangerous tempeſt ariſing, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themſelues to the rigor of the ſtormie ſea, himſelfe firſt going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into theſe words:* That we ſhould ſayle neceſſitie vrgeth: but that we ſhould liue, it vrgeth not. *In which words he ſeemeth wiſely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate ſafetie.*

This man doe I thus imitate, { If ſmall with great as equals may agree:
{ And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in ſtore thoſe things which might be applied to ſuccour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppreſſed with ſtrangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious perſons, I boldly aduenture to preſent theſe fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and ſo hoyſing vp ſailes to commit my ſelfe vnto a troubleſome ſea, and to breake foorth into the like ſpeeches with him: That I ſhould write neceſſitie vrgeth: but that my writings in all places ſhould ſatisfie euery delicate taſte, or eſcape all peeuiſhnes of carpers it vrgeth not. *I doubt not but many will allow this my enterpriſe: the ſucceſſe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, ſuſteining ſo many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praiſe or diſpraiſe, redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occaſion. For what cauſe ſhould moue me to ſhunne the enuie and hate of ſome men, being ioyned with an indeuour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?*

The errors of the writers of Iſland intolerable.

But if I ſhall ſeeme ſomewhat too bold in cenſuring the errors of writers, or too ſeuere in reprehending the ſlanders of ſome men: yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many alſo and how grieuous be the reproches of ſome, againſt vs, wherewith they haue ſundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not ceaſe to prouoke. They ought alſo to haue me excuſed in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natiue ſoile, and to pardon my iuſt griefe for theſe iniuries offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, ſo much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my ſelfe, and haue bene deſirous to abſtaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we ſhould haue vſed more temperance in our ſtile, I truſt, the former reaſon will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergoe the ſame hazard, which I ſee is commonly incident to all men, that publiſh any writings: I muſt now haue eſpeciall regarde of this one thing: namely, of ſeeking out ſome patron, and Mecœnas *for this my briefe commentary, vnder whoſe name and protection it may more ſafely paſſe through the hands of all men.*

But for this purpoſe I could not finde out, nor wiſh for any man more fit then your royal Maieſtie, moſt gratious prince. For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I ſay) doe we make humble ſute, that he would haue reſpect alſo vnto the credit of our nation, ſo iniuriouſly diſgraced.

Yea verily (moſt gracious King) we are conſtreined to craue your Maieſties mercifull aide, not onely in this matter, but in many other things alſo, which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwiſe belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters ſupplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will ſhortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your ſacred Maieſtie, after the example of your Chriſtian predeceſſors, will vouchſafe vnto our countrey alſo, amongſt other Iſlands of your Maieſties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the neceſſitie of fleeing for redreſſe vnto your ſacred Maieſtie, is ours: ſo the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, ſhal wholy redound vnto your ſacred Maieſtie: as alſo, there is layd vp for you, in reſpect of your foſtering and preſeruing of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almoſt of the whole earth, and in the vttermoſt bounds of your Maieſties dominion (which by the ſingular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this preſent tranquillitie and quiet ſafetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But conſidering theſe things are not proper to this place, I will leaue them, and returne to my purpoſe which I haue in hand: moſt humbly beſeeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchſafe to become a fauourer and patron vnto theſe my labours and ſtudies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (moſt gracious and mercifull ſoueraigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and diſpoſer of all humane affaires, that it would pleaſe him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maieſtie (yearely growing vp in wiſedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the higheſt pitch of ſoueraigntie: and being aduanced, continually to bleſſe you with moſt proſperous ſucceſſe in all your affaires: and being bleſſed, long to preſerue you, as the chiefe ornament, defence and ſafegarde of theſe kingdomes, and as the ſhield and fortreſſe of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you ſhine glorious like a ſtarre, amongſt the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The ſame moſt mercifull father likewiſe grant, that theſe praiers, the oftener they be daily repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maieſties moſt ample territories & Iſlands, ſo much the more ſure and certaine they may remaine, Amen. *At* Hafnia, *or* Copen Hagen 1593. *in the moneth of March.*

T. S. M.

moſt humble ſubiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, *Iſlander.*

To

To the courteous and Chriſtian reader *Gudbrandus Thorlacius,* *Biſhop of* Holen *in* Iſland, *wiſheth health.*

THere came to light about the yeare of Chriſt 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of *Germany:* namely a booke of German rimes, of al that euer were read the moſt filthy and moſt ſlanderous againſt the nation of *Iſland.* Neither did it ſuffice the baſe printer once to ſend abroad that baſe brat, but he muſt publiſh it alſo thriſe or foure times ouer: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deepely diſgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with ſhamefull, and euerlaſting ignominie, So great was the malice of this printer, & his deſire ſo greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which theſe many yeres hath trafficked with Iſland to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is *Ioachimus Leo,* a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow vpon mariners fabulous reports.

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would ſeeme to deſcribe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Iſland, & the maners, & cuſtoms of the Iſlanders, haue altogether ſwarued from the matter and truth it ſelfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wiues tales, & the moſt vain opinions of the common ſort. Theſe writers, although they haue not left behind them ſuch filthy & reprochful ſtuffe as that baſe rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not ſuffer them to be excuſed, & altogether acquited from cauſing an innocent nation to be had in deriſion by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing theſe things with my ſelfe, & conſidering that there dayly ſpring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputatiō of the Iſlanders, being ſuch men alſo as do ſhameleſly filtch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers ẇ feined deſcriptions, & a new rehearſal of monſters, I often wiſhed that ſome one man would come forth, to make anſwere to the errors of hiſtoriographers & other vniuſt cenſurers; and by ſome writing, if not to free our innocent nation from ſo many reproches, yet at leaſtwiſe, in ſome ſort to defend it, among chriſtian & friendly readers. And for this cauſe I haue now procured an honeſt and learned young man one *Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas,* to peruſe the works of authors, that haue written any thing concerning Iſland, and by ſound reaſons to detect their errors, & falſhoods. And albeit at the firſt he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey preuailed with him ſo farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens alſo of ſufficient credit,

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalēge at my hands, that I ſhould in two or three words at leaſt, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine ſome credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to ſpeake my minde in a word: for my part, I iudge him to haue taken both honeſt & neceſſary paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknowen, and to examine them by the cenſure of trueth, and experience, but alſo to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine ſycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this ſmall treatiſe of his, being as it were guarded with the ſacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, againſt the peruerſnes of carpers. Farewel. *Anno* 1592. *Iulij* 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of *Iſland.*

EUen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that ſome vpon no iuſt & lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetiſe) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary ſide, that others arme themſelues vpon iuſt and neceſſary cauſes: namely ſuch as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Goſpel, or ſuch as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withſtand preſent violence and wrong, or at leaſt (not being prouoked) by reaſon of the enemie approching are conſtrained, to be vp in armes: right ſo, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongſt whom, a great part, not vpon any honeſt, philoſophical, or intere Chriſtian intention, addreſſe themſelues to wright: eſpecially ſuch as for deſire of glory, for enuy and ſpight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and, that they may be accompted ſuperiours, ſometimes whette their ſtiles againſt the perſon, name and fame of this or that particular man, ſometimes inueighing againſt a whole countrey, and by ſhameleſſe vntrueths diſgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great induſtry, ſearch and bring to light things profitable:

namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philoſophy, Hiſtory and ſuch like: and they who (taking vſe and experience for their guides) in the ſaid Sciences haue brought things obſcure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confuſed to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerlaſting poſteritie, the ſtories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduanced the knowledge of tongues: to be ſhort, that endeuour themſelues to repreſſe the inſolencie, confute the ſlanders, and withſtand the vniuſt violence of others, againſt themſelues, their Nation or their Countrey.

And I for my part, hauing ſcarce attained the ſight of good letters, and being the meaneſt of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no leſſe then become one of their number, who haue applied themſelues to ridde their countrey from diſhonor, to auouch the trueth, and to ſhake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My eſtate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the beſt I can: ſithens it hath pleaſed ſome ſtrangers by falſe rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to iniurie my ſayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-ſtocke to all other nations. To meet with whoſe inſolencie and falſe accuſations, as alſo to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Iland, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themſelues, ſtubburnly mainteining that which is falſe and fooliſh, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accuſtomed and ſtale opinion) I haue penned the treatiſe following.

And albeit Iſland is not deſtitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my ſuperiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithſtanding, being earneſtly perſwaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Biſhop of Hola in Iſland, I thought good (to the vtmoſt of mine abilitie) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cauſe: both that I might obey his moſt reaſonable requeſt, and alſo that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater meaſure of knowledge then I my ſelfe, to the defence of this our nation: ſo farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterpriſe.

But to returne to the matter, becauſe they (whatſoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boaſt that they vſe the teſtimonies of writers: we are ſeriouſly to conſider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Iſland, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occaſion to others of inueying againſt vs, their errours being layd open (for I will not ſpeake more ſharpely) all the world may ſee how iuſtly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine ſome ancient writers of this Iland, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwiſe) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouices (if there be any ſuch writers or rather paſquillers) when they ſhall heare and know truer matters concerning Iſland, then they themſelues haue written, they ſhall ſeeme by their inconſtancie and peruerſe wit to haue gained naught elſe but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue ſome order, it ſhall be diuided into two generall parts: the firſt of the Iland, the ſecond of the inhabitants: and of theſe two but ſo farre forth as thoſe writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: becauſe I am not determined to wander out of theſe liſts, or to handle more then theſe things and ſome other which pertaine vnto them. For I profeſſe not my ſelfe an Hiſtoriographer, or Geographer, but onely a Diſputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the firſt part concerning the ſituation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

The firſt Section.

The Iſle of *Iſland* being ſeuered from other countreys an infinite diſtance, ſtandeth farre into the Ocean, and is ſcarſe knowen vnto Sailers.

Munſterus lib. 4. coſmographie.

Albeit a diſcourſe of thoſe things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of ſlanderers, yet ſeemeth it in no caſe to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the firſt place, that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely thoſe writers of Iſland haue reported in this ſubiect, may thereby alſo eaſily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they ſay) they haue borrowed ſcoffes and taunts againſt our nation.

Firſt therefore, that the diſtance of Iſland from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed ſo great as men commonly imagine, it might eaſily be prouided, if one did but in ſome ſort know the true longitude & latitude of the ſaid Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifeſt how the Mariners courſe (be it neuer ſo direct, as they ſuppoſe) doth at all times ſwerue. In ẏ meane while therfore I will ſet downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning ẏ ſituation of Iſland, that from hence euery man may gather that of the diſtance which ſeemeth moſt probable; vntil perhaps my ſelfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at leaſt adioin, what I ſhal thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit.		Latitud.	
	deg.	*min.*	*deg.*	*min.*
Munſter placeth Iſland almoſt in	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68	
Gemma Friſius placeth the midſt of Iſland	7	0	65	30
Herſee	7	40	60	42
Thirtes	5	50	64	44
Nadar	6	40	57	10
Iacobus Zieglerus.				
The Weſt ſhore of Iſland	20	0	63	0
The promontorie of Chos	22	46	63	0
The Eaſt ſhore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extenſion in	30	0	68	0
The North ſhore is extended Weſtward, and hath bounds of extenſion in	28	0	69	0
The deſcription of ẏ Weſt ſide.				

	Longit.		Latitud.	
	deg.	*min.*	*deg.*	*min.*
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25	0	67	0
The promontorie of Madher	21	20	65	10
The inland cities of Iſland				
Holen the ſeat of a biſhop	28	0	67	50
Schalholten the ſeat of a biſhop	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Iſland			68	
Iohannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Iſland			69	[illegible]
Neander.				
Iſland ſtretcheth it ſelfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, inſomuch that ẏ ſaid circle arctic doeth almoſt diuide it in the midſt.				

There be others alſo, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the ſituation of Iſland: notwithſtanding it is to no purpoſe to ſet downe any more of their opinions, becauſe the more you haue, the more contrary ſhall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perſwading me not to beleeue any of the former opinions, concerning the ſituation of Iſland, but to diſſent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in ſuſpenſe then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue ſayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to geſſe at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obſeruation, and experience.

A certaine writer hath put downe the diſtance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Barzende in the South part of Iſland to be 400 leagues: from whence if you ſhall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburg, Iſland muſt haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proue by three ſundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but ſeuen dayes ſailing from Iſland to Hamburg. Beſides all thoſe Iſlands, which by reaſon of the abundance of ſheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewiſe the deſert ſhores of Norway, are diſtant from vs but two dayes ſailing. We haue foure dayes ſailing into habitable Gronland: and almoſt in the ſame quantitie of time we paſſe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Scad, lying betweene the townes of Nidroſia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of theſe nations.

Seuen dayes ſailing from Iſland to Hamburg. Iſland but two dayes ſailing diſtant from Faar-Iſlands, & from the deſert ſhores of Norway.

The ſecond ſection.

In this Iland, at the Summer *ſolſtitium*, the Sun paſſing thorow the ſigne of *Cancer*, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter *ſolſtitium* there is no day. Alſo: *Vadianus*. But in that Iland, which farre within the arctic circle is ſeated in the maine Ocean, at this day called *Iſland*, and next vnto the lands of the frozen ſea, which they call *Engroneland*, there be many monethes in the yere without nights.

Munſterus, Olaus Magnus and others.

AT the ſolſtitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to ſay, no time, wherein the Sunne is ſeene aboue the horizon) we confeſſe to be true onely in that angle of Iſland (if there be any ſuch angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the biſhops ſeat for the North part of Iſland, and lieth in a moſt deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gudbrand, biſhop of that place: and yet there, the ſhorteſt day in all the yere is at leaſt two houres long, and in South-Iſland longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Wherevpon it is manifeſt, firſt that Iſland is not ſituate beyond the arctic circle : ſecondly, that in Iſland there are not wanting in Summer ſolſtitium many nights, nor in Winter ſolſtitium many dayes.

Iſland is not within the circle arctic.

The third ſection.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the Weſt part of *Norway* there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge ſea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. *Zieglerus.* This is *Thyle*, whereof moſt of the ancient writers haue made mention.

Munſterus. Saxo.

IT is named of ice, &c. Iſland hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the firſt Diſcouerer of the ſame, as he was ſailing towards the Faar-Ilands, through a violent tempeſt did by chance arriue at the Eaſt ſhore of Iſland; where ſtaying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of ſnow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the ſnow, called this Iland Sneland. After him one Gardarus, being mooued thereunto by the report which Naddocus gaue out concerning Iſland, went to ſeeke the ſayd Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardarſ-holme, that is to ſay, Gardars Iſle. There were more alſo deſirous to viſit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Iſland, and named it of the ice, wherewith he ſaw it enuironed.

Iſland firſt diſcouered by Naddocus in a tempeſt.

Sneland.

Gardarſholme.

Iſland.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of theſe wordes of Saxo (as ſome men do) that Iſland hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to ſpeake in one word) that the people of Iſland were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne ſoile like vnto trees and herbs; ſithens it is euident, that this Iland ſcarſe began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres ſince.

This is *Thyle*, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controuerſie is not decided. Which notwithſtanding, I thinke might eaſily grow to compoſition, if men would vnderſtand that this Iland was firſt inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Vnleſſe ſome man will ſay that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) paſſed ſo farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and deſtitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may ſeeme to be but a dreame, while they are diſtracted into ſo many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Iſland: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twiſe in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the laſt Iland of the Scotiſh dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylenſey, which Virgil alſo ſeemeth to haue meant by his vltima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the Engliſh men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verſe of Virgil in his firſt Eclogue:

> And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the ſixt, that it is Schrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clauſe that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munſter affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the ſpace of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the moſt part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the Weſt: neither doth it returne before Ianuarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man ſhould recken vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the ſharpe ſcourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene ſeene about Iſland? which was found to be true this preſent yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifeſt how truely Friſius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reaſon of the ice and colde, whereby the paſſage is ſhut vp, when as Engliſh ſhips euery yere, ſometimes in March, ſometimes in April, and ſome of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and Iune, doe vſually returne vnto vs, and ſome of them depart not againe from hence till Auguſt. But the laſt yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine ſhippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafiord in the coaſt of Iſland about fourteene dayes in the moneth of Nouember, which time being expired, ſhe fortunately ſet ſaile. Wherefore, ſeeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Iſland, Munſter and Friſius are much deceiued.

The ice of Iſeland ſet always to the Weſt.

No ice at all ſome yeeres in Iſland.

Nauigation open to Iſland from March till the midſt of Nouember.

The fourth ſection.

The Iland is ſo great that it conteineth many people. Item *Zieglerus* ſayth: The ſituation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almoſt 200 leagues in length.

Krantzius. Munſterus.

SO great, &c. One Wilſtenius ſchoolemaſter of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, ſent vnto mine Uncle in Weſt-Iſland, a ſhort treatiſe which he had gathered out of the fragments of ſundrie writers, concerning Iſland. Where we found thus written : *Iſland* is twiſe as great as *Sicilie*, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munſter, hath 150 Germaine miles in compaſſe. As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen vnto vs, yet the ancient, conſtant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Iſland, which are commonly knowen, being diſtant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole ſumme.

Iſland 144 Germaine miles in compaſſe.

Many people.&c. One Gyſſerus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being biſhop of Schalholten in Iſland, cauſed all the huſbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their poſſeſſions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer ſort with women, and the meaner ſort of the communalty) and he found in the Eaſt part of Iſland 700, in the South part 1000, in the Weſt part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he ſhall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled.

The fifth ſection.

Munſter. Friſius. Zieglerus.

The Iland, moſt part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is ſo ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the paſture, leaſt they ſurfet or be choaked.

That danger of ſurfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or any of our predeceſſours dayes, be they neuer ſo ancient.

The ſixth ſection.

Munſterus. Friſius.

There be in this Iland mountaines liſt vp to the skies, whoſe tops being white with perpetuall ſnowe, their roots boile with euerlaſting fire. The firſt is towards the Weſt, called *Hecla*: the other the mountaine of the croſſe : and the third *Helga*. Item : *Zieglerus*. The rocke or promontorie of *Hecla* boileth with continuall fire. Item : *Saxo*. There is in this Iland alſo a mountaine, which reſembling the ſtarrie firmament, with perpetuall flaſhings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vnceſſant belching out of flames.

MVnſter and Friſius being about to report the woonders of Iſland doe preſently ſtumble, as it were, vpon the threſholde, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath ſome ſhew of trueth : notwithſtanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they ſhould burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifeſt errour. For there are no ſuch mountaines to be found in Iſland, nor yet any thing els (ſo farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might miniſter occaſion of ſo great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was ſeene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Iſland lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall ſnow and froſt, a maruellous eruption of ſmoake and fire, caſting vp abundance of ſtones and aſhes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the ſayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, ſuppoſe that theſe things be true which they report of firie mountaines : is it poſſible therefore that they ſhould ſeeme ſtrange, or monſtrous, whenas they proceed from naturall cauſes ? What ? Doe they any whit preuaile to eſtabliſh that opinion concerning the hell of Iſland, which followeth next after in Munſter, Ziegler, and Friſius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men ſhould abuſe theſe, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch abſurdities, or, that they ſhould with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impoſſible. As though in theſe kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre cauſes of ſufficient force for the ſame purpoſe. There is in the rootes of theſe mountaines a matter moſt apt to be ſet on fire, comming ſo neere as it doeth to the nature of brimſtone and pitch. There is ayer alſo, which inſinuating it ſelfe by paſſages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nouriſhment of ſo huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) a moſt ardent flame is kindled. For, all theſe thus concurring, fire hath thoſe three things, which neceſſarily make it burne, that is to ſay, matter, motion, and force of making paſſage : matter which is fattie and moyſt, and therefore nouriſheth laſting flames : motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth : force of making paſſage, and that the inuincible might of fire it ſelfe (which can not be without inſpiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible ſtrength) doeth bring to paſſe : and ſo (euen as in vndermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are caſt foorth with monſtrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimſtone, and Salt-peter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) ſhingle and great ſtones being ſcorched

Three naturall cauſes of firie mountaines.

in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of ſande and aſhes, are vomited vp and diſcharged, and that for the moſt part not without an earthquake: which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Poſſidonius, Succuſſio) it muſt either be an opening or a quaking. Opening cauſeth the earth in ſome places to gape, and fall a ſunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and ſwelleth, and ſometimes (as Plinie ſaith) caſteth out huge heaps: ſuch an earth-quake was the ſame which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did ſo ſore trouble the South ſhore of Iſland. And this kinde of earth-quake is moſt clearkely deſcribed by Pontanus in theſe verſes:

Lib.20, cap.20.

The ſtirring breath runnes on with ſtealing ſteppes,
vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it ſkips, it leaps,
to ridde it ſelfe from vncouth dungeon,
Then quakes the earth as it would burſt anon,
The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiuer,
Strong quarries cracke, and ſtones from hilles doe ſhiuer.

I thought good to adde theſe things, not that I ſuppoſe any man to be ignorant thereof: but leaſt other men ſhould thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence eſtabliſh. But yet there is ſomewhat more in theſe three fained mountaines of Iſland, which cauſeth the ſayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they ſay that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer deſtitute of ſnowe. Howbeit, it beſeemeth not the authority and learning of ſuch great clearks to maruelle at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of ſnowe all Winter, notwithſtanding (as the ſame man witneſſeth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine alſo, ſithens it is couered with ſnowe, and yet burneth, muſt be a priſon of vncleane ſoules: which thing they haue not doubted to aſcribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And it is no maruelle that fire lurking ſo deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very ſeldome, ſhould not be able continually to melt the ſnowe couering the toppe of the ſayd mountaine. For in Caira (or Capira) alſo, the higheſt toppes of the mountaine are ſayd continually to be white with ſnowe: and thoſe in Veragua likewiſe, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without ſnowe, being diſtant notwithſtanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forſayd Prouinces ſtandeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Ilands) the Pike ſo called, ariſing into the ayre, according to Munſter, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Hiſtoriographer of the Weſt Indies witneſſeth) is it not able to melt the girdle of ſnowe embracing the middeſt thereof. Which thing, what reaſon haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Cardanus.

Now that alſo is to be amended, whereas they write that theſe mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the ſkies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Iſland, but eſpecially that third mountaine, called by Munſter Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, ſtanding iuſt by a monaſtery of the ſame name, being couered with ſnowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deſerueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet (as I ſayd in the beginning of this ſection) ſo much as once ſuſpected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall ſnowe to be aſcribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Iſland hath very many ſuch ſnowy mountaines, all which the Coſmographer (who hath ſo extolled and admired theſe three) ſhould not eaſily finde out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that alſo is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla ſtandeth not towards the Weſt, as Munſter and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the Eaſt: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whoſoeuer they be that haue aſcribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre beſides the marke: inſomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Chriſt 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the laſt breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I ſay not that is impoſſible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nouriſh flames, which at certaine ſeaſons (as hath bene heretofore obſerued) haue burſt out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter.

The chronicles of Iſland.

The ſeuenth ſection.

The flame of mount *Hecla* will not burne towe (which is moſt apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the ſame force that bullets are diſcharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great ſtones caſt foorth into the aire, by reaſon of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimſtone. This place is thought of ſome to be the priſon of vncleane ſoules. Item: *Zieglerus.* This place is the priſon of vncleane ſoules.

Friſius. Munſterus.

WIll not burne towe. Where theſe writers ſhould finde ſuch matters, it is not eaſie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they euer bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs ſo raſhly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any ſuch concluſions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durſt: which notwithſtanding Munſter affirmeth, ſaying: They that are deſirous to contemplate the nature of ſo huge a fire, & for the ſame purpoſe approch vnto the mountaine, are by ſome gulfe ſwallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I ſayd) is altogether vnknowen vnto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde ſome miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confuſedly written, few of them true, and the moſt part vaine and falſe. Whereupon it eaſily appeareth that it was written long ſince by ſome that were imagined to be great wiſe men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glaſſe: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the moſt part vnder the ſhew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the couſinage) it doeth all ouer ſwarme, it deſerueth not the name of a looking glaſſe royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiues looking glaſſe. In this glaſſe there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike theſe which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that cauſe to be reiected.

Speculum regale written in the Noruagian tongue.

Whence the fables of Iſland grew.

But that I may not ſeeme ſomewhat foolehardy, for accuſing this royall looking glaſſe of falſhood (not to mention any of thoſe things which it reporteth as leſſe credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I ſuppoſe deſerue no credit at all.

1 Of a certaine Iſle in Ireland, hauing a church and a pariſh in it, the inhabitants whereof deceaſing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, againſt ſome banke or wall in the Churchyard, ſtand bolt-vpright: neither are they ſubiect to any corruption or downefall: inſomuch that any of the poſteritie may there ſeeke for, and beholde their anceſtors.

2 Of another Iſle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to reſiſt all poiſons, and to kill ſerpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatſoeuer, by the onely vertue and preſence thereof, yea euen without touching.

4 Of a third Iſle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the ſayd deuils haue no iuriſdiction ouer the other halfe, by reaſon of a Church there built, although, as the whole Iſle is without inhabitants, ſo this part is continually deſtitute of a Paſtor, and of diuine ſeruice: and that it is ſo by nature.

5 Of a fourth Iſle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the graſſe whereof is a moſt preſent remedy for all kinde of diſeaſes, and that the Iland, at certeine ſeaſons, eſpecially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, ſo that any man may then eaſily enter into it, as it were into a ſhippe: which notwithſtanding (ſayth he) deſtiny will not ſuffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore, he reporteth that this Iland euery ſeuenth yere groweth faſt to the banke, ſo that you cannot diſcerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there ſucceedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are ſo expert to tame wood (for ſo he ſpeaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be aſcribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the ſoles of their feet do cary them with ſo great celeritie euen vpon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the ſwiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one courſe & with one ſtroke of a dart.

Theſe and ſuch like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Iſland, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this maſter of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glaſſe: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers wonder, and the common people to be aſtoniſhed, yet hath he miniſtred vnto vs nothing but occaſion of laughter.

But let vs heare Friſius. The flame of mount *Hecla* (ſayth he) will not burne towe (which is moſt apt matter for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I ſay that this ſtrange opinion may be confirmed by many reaſons borrowed out of your ſchoole of Philoſophy.

ſophy. For the naturall Philoſophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nouriſhed with moiſte: whereupon, euen blackſmithes, by ſprinckling on of water, vſe to quicken and ſtrengthen their fire. For (ſay they) when fire is more vehement, it is ſtirred vp by colde, and nouriſhed by moiſture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle ſkorching fires: becauſe the moiſture it ſelfe, which ariſeth, doth proue more fattie and groſſe, neither is it conſumed by the ſmoke encloſing it, but the fire it ſelfe feedeth vpon the whole ſubſtance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reaſon of colde. And therefore alſo wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimſtone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philoſopher alſo hath affirmed, that fire is nouriſhed by water. Ariſt. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the ſecond booke of his naturall hiſtorie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The ſame author ſayth: The aſhe continually flouriſheth, couering a burning fountaine. And moreouer that there are ſudden fires at ſome times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thraſumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the ſame Strabo witneſſeth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Iſlande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the ſea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies ſudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there ſprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a ſleepe: and alſo Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his ſouldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like ſort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, ſo is it quenched with earth or haye: alſo of another field which burneth not the leaues of ſhadie trees that growe directly ouer it. Theſe things being thus, it is ſtrange that men ſhould accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for diſputation ſake, when indeede there is no ſuch matter ſo farre foorth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

And by the ſame force that bullets, &c. Munſter ſaith the like alſo. This mountaine when it rageth, it ſoundeth like dreadfull thunder, caſteth forth huge ſtones, diſgorgeth brimſtone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it couereth ſo much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will preſently make mention, ſeeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very ſame. Unleſſe perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake ſeldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the ſame kinde. For it hath now reſted theſe 34. yeares full out, the laſt fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no ſuch wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the ſame or greater are to be aſcribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it ſhall by and by appeare. Priſon.

But that brimſtone ſhould be ſent foorth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowen vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the priſon of vncleane ſoules. Here I am conſtrained to vſe a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, becauſe, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my ſelfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants diſtinctly by themſelues, I muſt of neceſſitie confuſedly handle certaine matters in this firſt part, which do properly belong vnto the ſecond. This is come to paſſe through the fault of theſe writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall priſon, with the ſituation & miracles of the iſland. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wiſe men ſhould be growen to this point, not onely to liſten after, but euen to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people? For the common ſort of ſtrangers, and the off-ſkowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement aſwell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockiſhneſſe are carried to this imagination of the priſon of ſoules: and that becauſe they ſee no wood nor any ſuch fewell layed vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perſwaſion of the groſſe multitude, the report grew ſtrong, eſpecially (as they are too much accuſtomed to banning and curſing) while one would wiſh to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and viſible fire could conſume mens ſoules being ſpirituall, bodileſſe, and inuiſible ſubſtances. And to be ſhort, who can but woonder, why they ſhould not faine the ſame priſon of damned ſoules, aſwell in mount Aetna, being no leſſe famous for fires and inflamations then this? But you will ſay, that Pope Gregorie fained it ſo to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it ſhould be ſo: then there is the ſame trueth of this priſon that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amiſſe to tell a merie tale, which w[illegible] the originall and ground of this helliſh opinion: namely that a ſhip of certaine ſtrangers departing from Iſland, vnder full ſaile, a moſt ſwift pace, going directly on her courſe, met with another ſhip ſailing againſt winde & weather, and the force of the tempeſt as ſwiftly as themſelues, who hailing them of whence they were, anſwere was giuen by their gouernour, *De Biſchop van Bremen:* being the ſecond time asked whether they were bound? he anſwered, *Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho.* I am affeard leſt the reader at the ſight of theſe things ſhould call for a baſon: for it is ſuch an abominable lie, that it would make a man caſt his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we eſteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is ſo palpable that it is not worthy to be ſmiled at, much leſſe to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papiſts: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And firſt of all I cannot here omit a ſaying of that moſt worthie man Doctor Caſpar Peucer. There is in Iſlande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaſte gulfe, or as hell it ſelfe, which reſoundeth with lamentable, & miſerable yellings, that the noiſe of the cryers may be heard for the ſpace of a great league round about. Great ſwarmes of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hoouering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to neſtle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perſwaded, that there is a deſcent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten elſe where, in whatſoeuer part of the whole world, or any bloudie ſlaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monſtrous ſkritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durſt be ſo bold (moſt learned Sir) to bring ſuch an incredible report to your eares? Neither hath Iſland any Vultures, but that ſecond kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygargi: neither are there any with vs, that can beare witneſſe of the foreſaid ſpectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would neſtle in that place, when as they ſhould rather be driuen from thence by fire and ſmoke, being things moſt contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithſtanding for proofe of this matter, as alſo of a ſtrange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede teſtifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout ſhould that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyſe and tumults done among them, who inhabite the moſt contrarie, diſtant, and remote places of the earth from vs? Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many queſtions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wiſh that from henceforth he would learne to tell troth, & not preſume with ſo impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of ſuch vnknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munſter, who endeuouring to ſearch out the cauſes of the great and ſtrange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monſtrous that the very ſame thing which he there maketh natural, he ſhould here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I ſpeake of Aetna? Let vs rather conſider what Munſter in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

Munſterus Coſmograph. vniuerſalis lib. 1. cap. 7.

It is without doubt (ſaith he) that ſome mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Iſland at certaine ſeaſons caſteth abroad great ſtones, ſpitteth out brimſtone, and diſperſeth aſhes, for ſuch a diſtance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderſtand that there is no ſtopping of the paſſages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire ſometime flaming, & ſometime ſmoaking as it were a ſtreaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaſeth, all ſecret paſſages being ſhut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithſtanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, ſomewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement ſpirite (the ſame, or other paſſages being ſet open again) doth with great violence breake priſon, it caſteth forth aſhes, ſand, brimſtone, pumiſtones, lumpes reſembling iron, great ſtones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adioyning. Thus farre Munſter. Where conſider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne ſword, conſider (I ſay) that in this place there is the very ſame opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithſtanding in his 4. booke is very diuerſe, for there he is faine to run to infernall cauſes. A certaine fierie mountaine of Weſt India hath farre more friendly cenſurers, & hiſtoriographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The Hiſtory of which mountain (becauſe it is ſhort & ſweete) I will ſet downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his hiſtory of the new world, lib. 2. Theſe be the words. About 35. miles diſtant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out ſuch mightie balles of flames, that in the night they ſhine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold miniſtring continuall matter & nouriſhment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, cauſed a braſſe kettle, & an irō chain to be made: afterward aſcending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the ſmith, becauſe he had made the chaine far more ſlender then himſelfe had cōmanded. The ſmith hammers out another of more ſubſtance & ſtrength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like ſucceſſe that he had before. Neither did the caldrō only vaniſh & melt away: but alſo, vpon the ſudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almoſt cōſumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned ſo aſtoniſhed, that they had ſmall liſt afterward to proſecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betweene theſe two cenſures? In a fiery hill of Weſt India they ſearch for gold: but in mount Hecla of Iſland they ſeeke for hel. Howbeit they will perhaps reiect this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the ſame priſon of ſoules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Iſland? Why haue they not imagined the ſame to be in the mountaines of Epheſus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue ſo much fire, that the very ſtones & ſand lying in the water are cauſed to burne, & from the which (a ſtaffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie teſtifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Iſle of Hiera, flaming in the midſt of the ſea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewiſe burning for certaine daies in the midſt of the ſea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day ſeaſon? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like ſtars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomleſſe gulfe (as Ariſtotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: frō whence the ſound of Cymbals and the noyſe of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and caſting vp ſtones into the aier, as Munſter himſelfe witneſſeth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Veſuuius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adioyning, & to the vtter deſtruction of Caius Plinius prying into ẏ cauſes of ſo ſtrange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumiſtones, and aſhes, & with palpable darkneſſe intercepting the light of the ſunne from al the region thereabout? I wil ſpeake, & yet ſpeake no more then the truth: becauſe in deede they foreſaw, that men would yeeld no credite to thoſe things as being too well knowen, though they ſhould haue feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumor whereof came more ſlowly to their eares) to be fitter for the eſtabliſhing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for ſhame hereafter to perſwade any ſimple man, ẏ there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in theſe fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more ſuch fables of ẏ cōmō people, which haue ſo vnhappily miſled our hiſtoriographers & coſmographers.

The eight ſection.

Friſius.
Ziglerus.
Olaus magnus.

Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaſte holes, the depth whereof, eſpecially at mount Hecla, cannot be diſcerned by any man, be he neuer ſo ſharpe ſighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that inſtant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who anſwere their friends (exhorting them with deepe ſighs to returne home) that they muſt depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they ſuddenly vaniſh away.

TO confirme the former lie, of an earthly & viſible hell (albeit I will eaſily grant that Friſius in writing theſe things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no leſſe reprochfull then falſe, and more vaine & deteſtable then Sicilian ſcoffes. Which fellowes theſe writers (being otherwiſe men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer haſtie iudgement.

But it were to be wiſhed, that none would write Hiſtories with ſo great a deſire of ſetting foorth nouelties & ſtrange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wiues toyes, & ſo to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might thoſe ſoules [illegible] be ſwimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance & friends?

What? Will you coniure, & raiſe vp vnto vs from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wiſe Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in theſe parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of ſnowey Tanais, & Hebrus deſcanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falſhood, & vanity of theſe trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent conſiderer of all things in his 18. booke de ſubtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whoſe words be theſe. There is *Hecla* a mountaine in Iſland, which burneth like vnto *Ætna* at certain ſeaſons, & hereupon the cōmon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that ſoules are there purged: ſome, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reaſō. But what be thoſe vanities? namely, they ſeine certaine ghoſts anſwering thē, that they are going to mount *Hecla*: as the ſame Cardane ſaith. And further he addeth. Neither in Iſland only, but euery where (albeit ſeldome) ſuch things come to paſſe. And then he tels this ſtorie following of a man-killing ſpright. There was (ſaith he) ſolemnized this laſt yeare the funerall of a cōmon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that markerplace, which in regard of the abundāce of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the cuſtome of Phiſitians) preſently aske of what diſeaſe the man died? he giueth me anſwere that this man vſed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night amōg the reſt he eſpied an hobgoblin purſuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al ſpeed: but being caught by the ſpright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a ſhout, & was not able. At length (when the ſpright & he had ſtruggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain paſſengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himſelfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this ſtrange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & diſcouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phiſitians, nor by Prieſts, he could be perſwaded, that theſe things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no ſuch matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard alſo afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more cōſtantly affirme himſelfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was caſt vpon the ground by a ghoſt. And when ſome demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to ſtrāgle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my ſelfe with mine own hands. When others doubted leaſt he might ſuffer theſe things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could diſcerne a dead man frō a liuing? To this, he rendered a very probable reaſon, ſaying that he ſeemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And preſently after he addeth. In like manner as in Iſland, ſo in the deſert ſands of *Ægypt*, *Æthiopia*, and *India*, where the ſunne is hoat, the very ſame apparitions, the ſame ſprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Iſland do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a priſon of damned ſoules.

I thought good to write theſe things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the teſtimony of ſtrangers on our ſides, againſt ſuch monſtrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth theſe two things, namely ẏ apparitions of ſprights are not proper to Iſland alone (which thing al mē know, if they do not maliciouſly ſeigne thēſelues to be ignorant) And ſecondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in ẏ gulfe of Hecla is not grounded vpon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by ſome idle perſons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutiſh cōmon ſort haue vſed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of ſoules. And is there any man ſo fantaſticall, that wilbe induced to beleeue theſe gulfes, mētioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer ſo ful of dead mens miracles: yea doubtleſſe. For frō hence alſo they ſay, ẏ reproches are iuſtly vſed againſt our nation: namely, ẏ there is nothing in all the world more baſe, & worthleſſe then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by thoſe hiſtoriographers, who haue bin ſo greedy to publiſh nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the ſottiſhnes of the cōmon people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene ſufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing fooliſh & vaine, and as being deuiſed for the vpbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther inſtructed in this philoſophy of infernall ſecrets.

The ninth ſection.

Friſius and Munſter.

But round about the Iland, for the ſpace of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth iſe, making a miſerable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reaſon of the claſhing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount *Hecla* and in the iſe, there are places wherein the ſoules of their countreymen are tormented.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the hiſtory, concerning the hel of Iſland, ſhut vp within the bottome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at ſome times (by fits and ſeaſons) changing places: namely, whē it is weary of lurking at home by the fires ſide within ẏ mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to ſea, but without a ſhip, & to gather it ſelfe round into morſels of yce. Come forth, & giue eare all ye ẏ wonder at this ſecret. Lo, I will afford theſe hiſtoriographers another addition of hiſtory very notable. Let them write therfore, that ẏ Iſlanders haue not only hel within their iuriſdiction, but alſo ẏ they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched ẏ very ſame day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient cuſtome of the Iſland that they which inhabite neare the ſea ſhoare do vſually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very ſame iſe which the hiſtoriographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home ſafe and ſound. Set downe alſo (if ye pleaſe) that the priſon of the damned is kept in ſtore by the Iſlanders in coffers and veſſels, as we ſhall anon heare out of Friſius.

Taking of Seales on the ice.

But you had need wiſely to foreſee, leſt ẏ Iſlanders beguile all your countries of the cōmendation of courage & conſtancy: namely, as they (for ſo it pleaſeth your writers to report) who both can & will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & eſcape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is neceſſarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countrimen, who in ẏ very act of hunting, wandring ſome what farre from the ſhoare (the ice being diſperſed by weſterne windes) & for the ſpace of many leagues reſting vpon the ice, being chaſed with the violence of the tempeſt, & ſome whole daies & nights being toſſed vp & downe in the waues of ẏ raging ſea, & ſo (for it followeth by good conſequence out of this probleme of the hiſtoriographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the laſt, the weather being changed, & the windes blowing at the North, being tranſported again to the ſhoare, in this their ſhip of ice, haue returned home in ſafety: ſome of which number are aliue at this day. Wherefore let ſuch as be deſirous of newes ſnatch vp this, & (if they pleaſe) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their hiſtory. Neither do theſe vaine phantaſies deſerue otherwiſe to be handled & cōfuted, then with ſuch like meriments, & ſportings. But to lay aſide all ieſting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digreſſed. Firſt of all therfore it is euident enough out of the ſecond ſection, ẏ ice floateth not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yeare: then, that this ice (although at ſome times by ſhuffling together it maketh monſtrous ſoundings & cracklings, & againe at ſome times with the beating of the water, it ſendeth forth an hoarſe kinde of murmuring) doth any thing at all reſound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no caſe confeſſe. But whereas they ſay that, both in the Iſle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the ſoules of our countrimen are tormented, we vtterly ſtand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Ieſus Chriſt from the bottome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heauen) becauſe he hath inſtructed vs more truely, concerning the place, whether the ſoules of our deceaſed countrimen depart, then the fabulous hiſtoriographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the ſoules of ẏ godly are tranſported immediatly out of their bodily priſons, not into the Papiſts purgatory, nor into the Elyſian fields, but into Abrahams boſome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradiſe. We know & maintaine concerning the ſoules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & aſhes of mountaines, or into viſible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darkeneſſe, where is weeping & gnaſhing of teeth, where there is colde alſo, & fire not cōmon, but far beyond our knowledge & curious diſputation: where not onely bodies, but ſoules alſo, ẏ is ſpirituall ſubſtances are tormented. And we do alſo hold, ẏ the Iſlanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke priſon, in regard of the ſituation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatſoeuer. Neither is it any thing to the purpoſe, at all to diſpute of the place or ſituation of this dungeon. It is ſufficient for vs, that (by the grace and aſſiſtance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with whoſe precious blood we are redeemed) we ſhall neuer ſee that vtter darkneſſe, nor feele the reſt of the torments that be there. Now let vs here ſhut vp the diſputation concerning the hell of Iſland.

Weſterne windes diſperſe the ice.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Iland.

The tenth ſection.

If any man ſhall take a great quantity of this ice, & ſhall keepe it neuer ſo warily encloſed in a coffer or veſſel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Iland, vtterly vaniſh away, ſo that not the leaſt part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

Friſius.
Zieglerus.
Saxo.

Surely this was of neceſſity to be added: namely, ẏ this ice, which according to hiſtoriographers repreſenteth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, conſiſt of ẏ matter of ſome element. For whereas it ſeemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Friſius abſurd opinion) whereas alſo it peirceth through hard & ſolide bodies, no otherwiſe then ſpirits & ghoſts: therfore it remaineth, ſeeing it is not of an elementary nature, ẏ it muſt haue either a ſpirituall, or a celeſtial, or an infernal matter. But ẏ it ſhould be infernall, we can not be perſwaded, becauſe we haue heard that infernall cold is farre more vnſufferable then this iſe, which vſeth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked fleſh, by touching thereof. Nor yet will we grant it to be ſpirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philoſophy, that ſpirituall ſubſtances can neither be ſeene nor felt, nor cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithſtanding moſt manifeſtly agree to this iſe of the Hiſtoriographers, howſoeuer according to them it be ſupernatural. Beſides alſo, it is moſt true, that the very ſame yſe being melted with the heat of the ſunne, & reſolued into water, vpon the vpper part thereof, ſtandeth fiſhermen in as good ſtead to quench their thirſt, as any land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be aſcribed to a ſpirituall ſubſtance. It is not therefore ſpirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe ſo bold to affirme, that it hath celeſtiall matter, leaſt ſome man perhaps might hereupon imagine, ỹ this iſe hath brought hell (which the hiſtoriographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen, together with it ſelfe: or that the ſame thing ſhould be common vnto heauen, being of one & the ſame matter with iſe, & ſo that the priſon of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauenly paradiſe, & all by the ouerſight of theſe Hiſtoriographers. Wherfore ſeeing the matter of this hiſtoricall iſe is neither elementarie (as we haue ſo often proued by this place of Friſius) neither ſpirituall, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded euidently, in ſhort, yet ſound and ſubſtantiall reaſons: nor yet celeſtiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifeſt, ỹ according to the ſaid hiſtoriographers, there is no ſuch thing at all, which notwithſtanding they blaze abroad with ſuch aſtoniſhing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly ſeene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which propoſition when it ſhall fall out true, in the ſame reſpect, in the ſame part, and at the ſame time, then will we giue credite to theſe frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may eaſily iudge, that we need none other helpe to refute theſe things, but onely to ſhew how they diſagree one with another. But it is no maruell that he, which hath once enclined himſelfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, ſhould oftentimes fall into error. There was a like ſtrange thing inuented by another concerning the ſympathy or conſiſting of this iſe: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, ſo narrowly, & ſo ſwiftly, that a man by no diligence can obſerue it, by reaſon of the vnchangeable neceſſitie of following. But we haue oftentimes ſeene ſuch a ſolitarie lumpe of iſe remaining (after the other parts thereof were driuen away) and lying vpon the ſhore for many weekes together, without any poſts or engines at all to ſtay it. Therefore it is plaine that theſe miracles of iſe are grounded vpon a more ſlippery foundation then iſe it ſelfe.

The eleuenth ſection.

Friſius. Not farre from theſe mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the ſea ſhoare, there be foure fountaines of a moſt contrary nature betweene themſelues. The firſt, by reaſon of his continuall heat conuerteth into a ſtonie body caſt into it, the former ſhape only ſtill remaining. The ſecond is extremely cold. The third is ſweeter then hony, and moſt pleaſant to quench thirſt. The fourth is altogether deadly, peſtilent and full of ranke poiſon.

Euen this deſcription of fountaines doth ſufficiently declare how impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all theſe miraculous ſtories. For he ſeemeth to affirme, that the three foreſaid mountaines are almoſt one by another: for he aſcribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwiſe, if he had not made them ſtand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto ſome one of theſe, two of the foreſaide fountaines. But neither doe the foreſaid mountaines touch (being diſtant ſo many leagues aſunder) neither are there any ſuch foure fountaines neare vnto them, which he that will not beleeue, let him go try. But to confute theſe things, the very contrariety of writers is ſufficient. For another concerning two fountaines [illegible] ſayth Friſius in theſe words. There do burſt out of the ſame hill *Hecla* two fountaines, the one whereof by reaſon of the cold ſtreames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth all the force of elements. Theſe be Friſius his two firſt fountaines, ſaying that here he omitteth the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the ſaid fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it ſelfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reaſon any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is ſome thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldneſſe? From whence commeth this heate? Haue we not learned out of your ſchole that water is an element moſt colde and ſomewhat moiſt: and in ſuch ſort moſt cold, that for the making of ſecundarie qualities, it muſt of neceſſitie be remitted, & being ſimple, that it cannot be applyed to the vſes of mankind? I do here deliuer theſe Oracles of the naturall Philoſophers, not knowing whether they be true or falſe. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phyſ. cap. 4. may ſtand for one witneſſe amongſt all the reſt, & in ſtead of them all. So exceſſiue (ſaith he) be theſe foure firſt qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter thẽ pure fire, & nothing lighter: ſo nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatſoeuer exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moiſture of aire. Moreouer, the ſaid qualities be ſo extreme & ſurpaſſing in thẽ, that they cannot be any whit encreaſed, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape vp the reaſons or arguments of the natural Philoſophers. Theſe writers had need be warie of one thing, leſt while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, aſwel as they did the ice of the Iſlanders. We wil proſecute in order the properties of theſe fountains ſet downe by the foreſaid writers. The firſt by reaſon of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Iſland, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where aboundeth with ſuch hote Baths, eſpecially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarſuil, Calben in the duchy of Wittenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchſius doeth mention in his booke *de Arte medendi*. And not onely Germanie, but alſo France, & beyond all the reſt Italy that mother of all commodities, ſaith Cardan. And Ariſtotle reporteth, that about Epyrus theſe hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I ſay, theſe things ſhould therefore be yͤ leſſe admired, becauſe the ſearchers of nature haue as wel found out cauſes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimſtone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taſte alſo, & other ſtrange qualities. Ariſtotle in his booke *de Mondo* hath taught this. The earth (ſaith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but alſo of ſpirite & fire: ſome of them flowing like riuers, doe caſt foorth red hote iron: from whence alſo doeth flow, ſomtimes luke-warme water, ſomtimes ſkalding hote, and ſomtimes temperate. And Seneca. *Empedocles* thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth ſecretly conteineth in many places, eſpecially if the ſaid fire bee vnder that ground where the water paſſeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

Many hote Baths in Iſland.

The cauſes of hote Baths.

Lib. 3. nat. quæſt.

No maruell though from banke of *Baian* ſhore
hote Baths, or veines of ſkalding licour flow:
For *Vulcans* forge incenſed euermore
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
From hence the flitting flood ſends ſmokie ſtreames,
And Baths doe boile with ſecret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the moſt famous hiſtoriographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Iſland do ſomtime encreaſe & flow vp to the brinke: ſometimes againe they fall ſo lowe that you can ſkarſe diſcerne them to be fountains. Which kind of fountains, albeit they bee very ſeldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of ſome like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, leſt any man ſhould think it ſomwhat ſtrange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of theſe. There is one (ſaieth he) in the Iſle of Tenedos, which at the *Solſtitium* of ſommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the ſixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a riuer which in the midſt of ſommer alwaies encreaſeth, and in winter is dried vp. He maketh mention alſo of a very large fountaine, which euery houre doeth encreaſe and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that ſome riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Aſia, Eraſinus in Argolica, Tigris in Meſopotamia, vnto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moſcouia: and thoſe things which were throwen into Aeſculapius fountaine at Athens, were caſt vp againe in Phaletico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into ſome caue vnder ground, are withdrawen out of ſight, ſeeming for the time to be vtterly periſhed and taken away, and that after ſome diſtance the very ſame riuers returne, enioying their former name and their courſe. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnder ground in the field of Atinas that iſſueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, ſhould teach vs that the fountaines of Iſland are not to be made greater wonders then the reſt.

Doth forthwith conuert into a ſtone any body caſt into it. By theſe two properties, namely warmth or moſt vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Friſius deſcribe his firſt fountaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my ſelfe) that there is ſuch a fountain in Iſland not far frõ the biſhops ſeat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, ſaying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into ſtone, hardening the bowels of thoſe men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that ſuch fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. aſcribeth unto the riuer of the Cicones,

Water drunke out of *Ciconian* flood;
fleſhy bowels to flintie ſtone doeth change:
Ought elſe therewith beſprinckt, as earth or wood
becommeth marble ſtreight: a thing moſt ſtrange,

And Cardane. *Georgius Agricola* affirmeth, that in the territorie of *Elbogan*, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conuerted into ſtone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the ſtone called *Pyrites*, or the Flint. And *Domitius Brusonius* reporteth, that in the riuer of *Silar* (running by the foote of that mountain which ſtandeth in the field of the citie in old time called *Vrſence*, but now *Conturſia*) leaues and boughs of trees change into ſtones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country: which thing *Plinie* alſo auoucheth, ſaying, that the ſaid ſtones doe ſhew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or ſtony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being diſperſed abroad, become ſtones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepuſius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to ſtone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being caſt into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is encloſed in a barke of ſtone growing ouer it.

Riuers of Iſland in ſommer ſeaſon luke-warme.

The ſecond is extremely cold. As for the ſecond fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge ſo extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, inſomuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from thoſe coole ſprings. It may be that there are ſome farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (ſtreaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then ſnow: and within a mile of Cuma, the riuer called Inſana ſeeming to be very hote is moſt extremely cold, &c.

The third is ſweeter then honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the leaſt reſpect be compared with the ſweetneſſe of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more truly, ſaying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taſte as good as beere: and alſo in the ſame place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers taſts, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philoſophers teach, that water naturally of it ſelfe hath neither taſte nor ſmel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call *per accidens*) that oftentimes it repreſenteth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath paſſage and iſſue: and from hence proceed the diuers & ſundry ſmels, colours and ſauours of all waters. Of ſuch waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof ſome prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, ſome hurt the memory, & ſome helpe it, & ſome reſemble the very qualitie and taſte of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie ſpeaketh of in the Ile of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of January vſed to flow ouer with wine. And Ariſtotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops ſmelling like Cedar. Alſo Orcus a riuer of Theſſalie flowing into Peneus, ſwimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunſwic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergenſch. Alſo in the valley of the mountain Iuraſſius. He ſuppoſeth the cauſe of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The ſame author ſaieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daſchylus, in the white field, there is water ſweeter then milke. Another alſo neere vnto the bridge which we paſſe ouer going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewiſe in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters repreſenting the ſauour of wine in theſe words.

In lib. de mirab. auſcult.

Amidſt the Iſle of *Naxus* loe, with fragrant ſmels and fine
A freſhet runs; ye *Naxians* goe fill cups, carouſe, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Ilands called Cyclades lying in the Ægean ſea. Cardane giueth a reaſon hereof, namely, becauſe Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Ariſtotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vſe in ſtead of vineger. The ſame author maketh the cauſe of ſauours in water to be heate, becauſe the earth being hote changeth and giueth ſauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water ſo ſaieth Cardane. There is the ſame reaſon (ſaith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the ſauours thereof, for both haue their originall frō the earth. For there is white water within two miles of *Glauca* a town in *Miſena*: red water in *Radera* a riuer of *Miſena* not farre from *Radeburg*: & in old time neere vnto *Ioppa* in *Iudea*: greene water in the mountaine of *Carpathus* by *Newſola*: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of *Feltrius* & *Taruiſius*: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in *Thermopylis*: cole-blacke water in *Alera* a riuer of *Saxonie*, at that place where it diſchargeth it ſelf into the *Weſer*. The cauſes of theſe colours are the colours of the ſoile. Alſo Ariſtotle ſaieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which ſtreameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the ſea, by reaſon of the extreme ſtench thereof. Furthermore, they ſay that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for ſometimes it is greene, ſomtime white, ſomtime bloodie, & ſomtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the ſmels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reaſon of difference in ſmels. But for the moſt part the ſteames of waters bee vnpleaſant, becauſe the earth doeth ſeldome times ſmel well. The water of the riuer *Anigris* in *Aelis* ſtanke, to the deſtruction, not onely of fiſhes, but alſo of men. About *[illegible]* in *Meſſania*, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen moſt ſweet ſmelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all theſe examples to the end that no man ſhould make a greater wonder at the colours, ſmels, and ſauours of waters that be in Iſland, then at thoſe which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Iſidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whoſe water being drunke, extinguiſheth life. And Plinie ſaieth, That about *Nonaris* in *Arcadia*, the riuer of *Styx* (neere the mountaine of *Cellene*, ſaieth *Cardane*: it would be contained in nothing but an horſe-hoofe: and it is reported that *Alexander* the great was poiſoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in ſmell nor colour, being drunke, is preſent death. In *Beroſus* an hill of the people called *Tauri*, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the ſtrangeſt thing of all the reſt) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whoſoeuer looks, do preſently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Friſius, which Saxo doeth likewiſe mention, we Iſlanders, as alwayes heretofore, ſo euen at this day do teſtifie, that it is vtterly vnknowen vnto vs: and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, becauſe he hath vouchſafed to preſerue our nation from ſuch fountains, from ſerpents and venemous wormes, & from al other peſtiferous & contagious creatures.

The ſame Author ſaieth.

Iſland free from ſnakes and other venemous beaſts.

Furthermore about the foreſaid mountains there is ſuch abundance of brimſtone. The three mountains called by Munſter and Friſius, Fierie mountains, do all of them ſtand an huge diſtance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto theſe hils they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe ſo mightily extoll for wonders, they muſt needs haue ſome Brimſtone Mines alſo, ſtanding a like diſtance from the ſaid fountaines. And aſſuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munſter would haue it, nor by Friſius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimſtone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munſter reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimſtone: namely, that it is almoſt the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vſe it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimſtone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimſtone Mines onely in the North part of Iſland.

The twelfth Section.

There are ſo great ſtore of fiſhes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be ſold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houſes.

Munſter.

IN the open aire. In deed we haue ſeen other countrey merchants doe ſo, vntil they had vnladen their ſhips of outlandiſh wares, & filled thē againe with fiſhes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifeſt. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fiſh is now decaied, and the Iſlanders now begin to be pinched with the want of theſe and other good things, the Lord laying the iuſt ſcourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fiſh about Iſland diminiſhed.

The thirteenth Section.

They haue moſt ſwift horſes, which wil run without ceaſing a continual courſe for the ſpace of 30. leagues.

Friſius.

A Certaine Coſmographer in his Map of Iſland reporteth concerning the horſes of one pariſh, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impoſſible. For Munſter writeth that thoſe beaſts which excell all other in ſwiftneſſe & ſtrength of body, called ‖ Rangiferi, cannot run aboue 30. leagues in 24. houres.

‖ Raine deere.

The foureteenth Section.

There be ſeen ſometimes neere vnto *Iſland* huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ſhips, vnleſſe they be terrified away with the ſound of trumpets, or beguiled with round

Munſter.

and emptie veſſels, which they delight to toſſe vp and downe. It ſometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking theſe Whales to be Ilands, and caſting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to ſay, the deuiliſh Whale.

Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munſters falſifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe ſaieth) his blind dreame. Such a falſe and ſenceleſſe ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly diſgrace an hiſtorie, and that by ſo much the more, by how much the leſſe neceſſary it is. For to what purpoſe ſhould an Hiſtoriographer make leaſings, if hiſtory be a report of plaine trueth? Why ſhould he vſe ſuch ſtrange ſurmountings? What is it that he would perſwade, or whither would he rauiſh the Reader, if he propoundeth vnto himſelfe nothing but the ſimple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Hiſtoriographers.

Certain letters ſent by Brandan biſhop of Breme, to preach Chriſtian faith in the North.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the reſt, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not worth a ſtrawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the biſhop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Kranzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time ſent certaine Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publiſh in the North the popiſh faith, which was then thought to bee Chriſtian: and when they had ſpent a long iourney in ſailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland, and there caſting their anker they went a ſhore, and kindled fiers, (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at ſea) and ſo prouided victuals for the reſt of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland ſanke, and ſuddenly vaniſhed away, and the Mariners eſcaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was preſent. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed theſe Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempeſtuous ſea, ſeeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munſter ſaieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a ſhore and ſhipwracke, then to reſt in ſuch a dangerous harbour? But in what ground ſhould the anker be faſtened? for Mariners for the moſt part are deſtitute of ſuch long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine ſea, therefore vpon the backs of Whales, ſaith Munſter. But then they had need firſt to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O ſilly Mariners, that in digging cannot diſcerne Whales fleſh frō lumps of earth, nor know the ſlippery ſkin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: without doubt they are worthy to haue Munſter for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewiſe before treating of the land-miracles of Iſland) he gathereth fruits as they ſay, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after thoſe things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeuoureth to proule here and there for miracles, peruſing ſea and land to ſtuffe vp his hiſtory: where notwithſtanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your ſkil, Munſter, for I take it you cannot ſkill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a ſhame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himſelfe: for ſuch an attempt is ſubiect to manifold errours, as we will ſhew by this your example. For while you take in hand to ſchoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fiſh is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H. which almoſt alone maketh vp the ſignification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for *val* in our language ſignifieth not a Whale, but chuſing or choiſe of the verbe *Eg vel*, that is to ſay, I chuſe, or I make choiſe, from whence *val* is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called *Hualur* with vs, & therefore you ought to haue written *Trollhualur*. Neither doeth *Troll* ſignifie the deuill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You ſee therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: becauſe (doubtleſſe) you knew not more then one.

Others alſo do offend in the ſame fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publiſh a Map of Iſland receiued from Iſlanders themſelues, had rather marre the faſhion of all, or in very deed of the moſt names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, ſprings, riuers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (becauſe that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read thoſe things aright, which he receiued from our countreymen) he had rather (I ſay) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Iſlanders themſelues, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585. liued in the vniuerſitie of Haſnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we eſteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our natiue names and wordes, (whereupon it came to paſſe that we reading the ſame, could acknowledge very few to be our owne) that he is no ſlight offender againſt our tongue, otherwiſe retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after ſome ſort examined moſt of the miracles of Iſland, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithſtanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this ſection to touch that which the laſt forenamed mã (in this Map of Iſland, that he cauſed to be put forth w ŷ [illegible] verſe, vnder his owne name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains beſides the former, whereof the one ſhould die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by no meanes imagine: for it is not to be found in our owne writers, nor in ŷ writers of other countreys. But whenceſoeuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, ſeeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour, & notwithſtanding there is ſome ſuch thing reported by Theophraſtus: namely, that there is a riuer in Macedonia which maketh blacke ſheepe white. Alſo, that Norway pamphlet called the Reiall looking-glaſſe, which I mentioned before, doth attribute theſe fountains to Ireland, which is alſo called *Hybernia*, and not to Iſland. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a ſtrange language S in ſtead of R.

Who be the Iſlandiſh writers?

Speculum regale.

That likewiſe deſerueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great ſtone in *Iſland* which runneth vp and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeue this, what will he not beleeue? For it is ſuch a rare deuiſe that the Epicures themſelues (who yet ſeemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am ſure neuer inuented the like: vnleſſe perhaps the ſayd Author doeth imagine, that a man (who is called of the Iſlanders by the proper name of Stein) ſhould compaſſe about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a ſtory of wonders, namely, that a man ſhould mooue or walke, yet is it ſaid, bee ſuppoſed to ſaue the credite of the Author, that we may not more ſeuerely condemne that fable, which is ſo ſenceleſſe of it ſelfe and not worthy to be read.

They are guiltie of the ſame crime alſo who haue found out rauens, pies, hares and vultures, all white in Iſland: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very ſeldome, together with the Iſe of the ſea, vnto vs, as beares alſo (but they ſeldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Iſlanders *Iſekraken*. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens, Iſland neuer had any.

Vultures, beares and crowes come vpon the wild Ice into Iſland.

And theſe in a manner be the things which, in regard of our daily buſines, we were able at this preſent to afoord, as touching the former part of our treatiſe, which were penned by me for this purpoſe (as in the beginning I did proteſt) that the errours of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected malicie alſo of ſome men might be diſcloſed; for I am not deſirous to diminiſh any mans good name: but becauſe I conſecrated theſe my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuſe but ſhew, that thoſe things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Iſland deſerue very litle credite: and ſo to addreſſe my ſelfe vnto the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the firſt part of the Commentarie.

Of Iſland the ſecond part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAuing hitherto finiſhed the miracles of Iſland with certaine other particulers belonging to the firſt part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and vtterly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things beſides and againſt all nature, they haue bene very careleſſe both of trueth it ſelfe, & of their owne credite. Now the courſe of the preſent ſpeach doeth admoniſh mee to make haſte vnto the other part of the treatiſe concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I ſhould firſt ſay, or where I ſhould begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be ſuch monſtrous, and ſo many mocks, reproches, ſlaunders, and taunts of certaine men againſt vs poore Iſlanders dwelling in the vtmoſt parts of the world (and amongſt theſe alſo, ſome things of theirs who take vpon them to profeſſe moſt ſimple trueth, namely Hiſtoriographers) inſomuch, that to reckon vp the particulers were nothing 'els but to tell the waues of the Icarian ſea. But as I ſaid in the beginning, we will not deale alike ſeuerely with all. For although Krantius, Munſterus, Friſius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwiſe deſerued wel of learning by their monuments, they ſhalbe ſtill in ŷ ſame reputation with vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free thẽ from the marke of ſlanderers, yet is it no ſmall matter that they ſhould vouch certaine ſenceleſſe, and emptie veſſels, which they delight to toſſe vp and downe. It ſometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking theſe Whales to be Ilands, and caſting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuſſelwalen, that is to ſay, the deuiliſh Whale.

Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munſters falſifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe ſaieth) his blind dreame. Such a falſe and ſenceleſſe ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly diſgrace an hiſtorie, and that by ſo much the more, by how much the leſſe neceſſary it is. For to what purpoſe ſhould an Hiſtoriographer make leaſings, if hiſtory be a report of plaine trueth? Why ſhould he vſe ſuch ſtrange ſurmountings? What is it that he would perſwade, or whither would he rauiſh the Reader, if he propoundeth vnto himſelfe nothing but the ſimple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
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Certain letters ſent by Brandan biſhop of Breme, to preach Chriſtian faith in the North.

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Vultures, beares and crowes come vpon the built Ice into Iſland.

And theſe in a manner be the things which, in regard of our daily buſineſſe, we were able at this preſent to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatiſe, which were penned by me for this purpoſe (as in the beginning I did proteſt) that the errours of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected vanitie alſo of ſome men might be diſcloſed, for I am not deſirous to diminiſh any mans good name: but becauſe I conſecrated theſe my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuſe but ſhew, that thoſe things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Iſland deſerue very litle credite: and ſo to addreſſe my ſelfe vnto the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the firſt part of the Commentarie.

Of Iſland the ſecond part, concerning the Inhabitants.

Hauing hitherto finiſhed the miracles of Iſland with certaine other particulers belonging to the firſt part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and vtterly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things beſides and againſt all nature, they haue bene very careleſſe both of trueth it ſelfe, & of their owne credite. Now the courſe of the preſent ſpeach doeth admoniſh mee to make haſte vnto the other part of the treatiſe concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I ſhould firſt ſay, or where I ſhould begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be ſuch monſtrous, and ſo many mocks, reproches, ſlaunders, and taunts of certaine men againſt vs poore Iſlanders dwelling in the remoteſt parts of the world (and amongſt theſe alſo, ſome things of theirs who take vpon them to profeſſe moſt ſimple trueth, namely Geographers) inſomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the waues of the Icarian ſea. But as I ſaid in the beginning, we will not deale alike ſeuerely with all. For although Krantius, Munſterus, Friſius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwiſe deſerued wel of learning by their monuments, they ſhalbe ſtill in ÿ ſame reputation with vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free them from the marke of ſlanderers, yet is it no ſmall matter that they ſhould broch certaine ſenceleſſe, impoſſible & ridiculous things, ſuch as thoſe are which we haue hitherto laid downe: as alſo that they ſhould record in hiſtories prophane and horrible vntruethes, ſome of which kind ſhal now immediately be diſcuſſed. As for others, whatſoeuer they be, who vpbraid the nation of Iſlanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that anſwere in a readineſſe which they then deſerue. In the number of whom, that ſcoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes publiſhed in the Germane tongue, to the diſgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlaſting ignominie.

Wherefore as our preſent buſineſſe requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with ſome things containing falſe reproches, notwithſtanding we will examine moſt of them, noting the errors as hitherto wee haue done: in the meane time alſo when they ſhall alleage any trueth, we will in no ſort diſſemble it. And after this maner, firſt we will heare Munſter, Krantzius and Friſius, and others alſo, if there be any ſuch, what they haue to ſay, reiecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell ſlander, as he is worthy, vnto the laſt place. Firſt therefore the ſayd Authors write concerning the faith and religion of the Iſlanders: and ſecondly, of their Maners, Cuſtomes, and courſe of life in maner folowing.

The firſt Section.

Krantzius in præfatione ſuæ Norwegiæ.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Chriſt 1070. ſaw the Iſlanders conuerted vnto Chriſtianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Chriſtian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble requeſt, he appointed a certaine holy man named *Iſlief* to be their firſt Biſhop.

KRantzius in theſe words, and Munſter other where, doe ſeeme to attribute vnto the Iſlanders the prerogatiue of Chriſtian faith: and they ſhould deale both beſeeming themſelues and the trueth, if they did not in other places depriue vs of the ſame. For (to ſpeake of Krantzius anone) that which Munſter before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and ſituation of hell, is very farre from Chriſtian pietie: namely, to be deſirous to prie into thoſe ſecrets which God hath kept cloſe vnto himſelfe alone, and which his pleaſure is, ſhould exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and ſituation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and ſo for all damned ſoules, is bounded or compaſſed about. The holy Bible (I ſay) aſſigneth no locall or bodily ſituation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that priſon of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth ſhall periſh, and that a new earth, and new heauens ſhall be created for the habitation of iuſt and holy men, Reuel.2. 2.Pet.3. and Eſay 65. Wherefore a Chriſtian man willingly giueth ouer to ſearch into ſuch hidden ſecrets: and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifeſt places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths, Deut.4. and 12. Eſay 8. Matth.27. 1.Tim.3.

Further alſo that commendation wherewith Munſter and Krantzius doe grace the Iſlanders, is meerly contrary to Chriſtian religion: namely, that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. ſection. So therefore Munſter diſagreeth with himſelfe, whereas thoſe whom he affirmeth to be Chriſtians, afterward he maketh to be maſter-builders of hell. Alſo Krantzius and Munſter both together, when as thoſe whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Chriſt, they exempt from all ſenſe of pietie and honeſty, in that they write that their ſonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to ſay concerning our religion, what, or of what ſort it was when Gentiliſme was firſt put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to ſay concerning yͤ beginning of their faith. For (alas) we muſt needs confeſſe & bewaile with deepe ſighes, that vntill that day which ſhined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the goſpel, our countreymen, as likewiſe other churches of the North, were ouer-ſpred with more then Cimmerian darkeneſſe. But we may iuſtly and religiouſly thinke thus much, that among vs and our neighbours of Norway (for I wil not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknowen people) after heatheniſh idolatry was rooted out, Chriſtian faith & religion did floriſh far more ſincere and ſimple, as being leſſe infected with the poiſon of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the peſtiferous leauen of the ſee of Rome being augmented, & the contagious miſchiefe growing ripe, the poiſon thereof was diſperſed through yͤ whole world: for, as it ſhal afterward appeare, Iſland embraced Chriſt many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papiſts began to preuaile, and did ſound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghoſt, like vnto thoſe two moſt renowmed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, ſo had they one common care and profeſſion to aduance the goſpel of Chriſt. I meane Olaus the ſonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yeere of Chriſt 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the firſt, as we haue heard, that offred Chriſt vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee reigned fiue yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the ſonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Chriſt 1013. or thereabout, gouerned with more ſeueritie, & for the ſpace of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine of Chriſt. In the yere of Chriſt 1030. being vniuſtly ſlaine by wicked murtherers, he ſhed his blood for yͤ name of Chriſt in a towne of Norway called *Sticfla Stodum*.

The firſt chriſtian king of Norway.

Our countrey alſo had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whoſe name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Chriſt 1000. liued in the village of *Berthorshuol* ſituate in the pariſh of Iſland called *Landehum*: who alſo for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wiſedome and ſage counſell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Iſland was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in ſubiection to no ſuperiour magiſtrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, ſauing that by his diſcreet vertue & diligence, hee ſet through and brought to compoſition a great number: hee neuer did nor ſuffered violence, but onely vpon the laſt day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al ſeditions and ſtrifes: and gaue good aſſiſtance to others, who were deſirous alſo to auoyd and eſcape them: neither did any man euer put in practiſe his counſel, but it turned to his eſpeciall good: nor euer any did ſwerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and poſſeſſions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were ſo certaine, that it was wonderfull from whence any man ſhould haue ſo great and ſo ſure forecaſt and counſell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his diſcreet and prouident wiſedome ioyned with counſell became a prouerbe amongſt vs *Nials bytaradem* That is to ſay, the counſel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or ſucceedeth by Nialus his counſel: when any buſines was atchieued prudently, and with admirable diſcretion. This man, when, for a ſlaughter committed by his ſonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne houſe beſet with a 100. men, who had conſpired his death, and when his enemies began on all ſides to ſet his houſe on fire, ſeeing his ende approch, at length he brake into theſe words. Doubtleſſe theſe things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Chriſt, that we (meaning his wife, and himſelfe) although this our fraile body ſhal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it ſhalbe deliuered from eternal flames. And ſo in the midſt of theſe voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manſlayer his ſonne, in the yere of Chriſt 1010. ended his life. A voyce vndoubtedly full well beſeeming the ſonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his ſoule amidſt the very pangs of death.

Nialus the firſt knowne profeſſour of Chriſtian faith in Iſland.

I therefore added thoſe things to ſhew by what reaſon I was moued to thinke, that in the very beginning of Chriſtianitie receiued amongſt vs, mens minds were not ſo beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before theſe our times, they haue bene.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly ſucceſſours, did make the doctrine of ſaluation more manifeſt, and ſhaking off the heauie ſlothe, and thicke miſte of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy Spirit Matth.12.v.28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes, that we might behold his ſauing health: We all, and euery of vs do beleeue and confeſſe, that God is a ſpirit (Iohn 4.v.24.) eternal (Eſay 40.v.28,) infinite (Iere.23.v.24.Pſal.139.v.7.8.9.) moſt good (Matth.19.v.17.) almighty (Gen.17.1.Reuel.1.8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence: one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut.6.5.Ephe.4.5.) But diſtinguiſhed by the perſons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt (Matth.28.19.&3.17.) God the Father the firſt perſon of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen.1.v.1.and in thoſe that folow) the vpholder & gouernor of all (Pſa.115.3.Heb.1.3.) Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt (Pſal.2,7. and verſes following) and our Father through him (Rom.8,15.) keeper of our ſoules and bodies (Luke 12.12.) And that Ieſus Chriſt the ſecond perſon of the Godhead is the ſonne of God the Father (Iohn 1.18.&c.) onely begotten (Iohn 1.29.Heb.1.2,) equal to his Father (1.Chro.17.13.Ioh.1.1.) true God (Iohn 1.2,&c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1.Pet.1,20,Reuel.13.8.&c.) and preſently after mans fall promiſed to be the Meſſias (Gene.3.15.&c.) publiſhed eftſoones vnto the holy Patriarches, as vnto Abraham (Gen.12.3.&c.) vnto Iſaac (Gen 26.4) vnto Iacob (Gene.28.14.) and confirmed by promiſes (Gen.49.9.Eſa.11.1,10.) prefigured by yͤ ſacrifices of Moſes (Leu.1.2,&c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Iſaac (Gen.22.) by the lifting vp of the brazen ſerpent (Num.21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2,&c.) proclaimed by the teſtimony of the Prophets (Eſa.7.14.) and at length in the fulneſſe of time truely exhibited: true man (Iohn 1.14.&c.Gal.4.) that he died for our ſinnes, and was raiſed againe for our iuſtification (Rom.4.25.&c.) Aſcending into heauen (Acts 1.9.&c.) and making interceſſion for vs at the right hand of his Father without ceaſing (1.Iohn 2,1,&c.)

A ſumme of the Iſlanders Religion.

by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde perſon of the Godhead, coequall, and conſubſtantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts.5.4.) gathering the Church to himſelfe by the Word, and Sacraments (Matth.16.18.Rom.10.14.&c. and ſanctifying it to eternal life, Acts.9.31.&c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts.1.11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1.Theſſal.4.15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he wil iudge them to eternal paines (Matth.13.42.& 25.4.) but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeue in his Name (Matth.25.34.) This Ieſus Chriſt (I ſay) wee acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth.1.21.) our head (1.Corinth.12.27.) and our Lord (Ephe.4.5.) And that wee in our holy baptiſme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts.2.38.) and that we are engraffed into him by baptiſme (1.Corin.12.13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuouſly, freely, and willingly confeſſe, and witneſſe: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be ſaued, we doe earneſtly deteſt, curſe, and condemne them (Acts.4.12.) We holde his moſt holy Word to be the onely rule of our ſaluation: And that alone (all mans deuiſes being caſt away and contemned) we propound vnto our ſelues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat.1.8.Eſai 29.13.Ezech.20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Teſtament (Hebr.8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apoſtles (Ephe.2.20.) by the ſingular and infinite goodneſſe of God, preſerued euer vnto this day and to be preſerued hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth.28, laſt verſe. Pſal.71.18.1.Cor.11.26.)

Therefore we render thankes vnto our moſt gratious and Almightey God from our ſoule, and from our whole heart, becauſe that euen vnto vs being ſeparated an huge diſtance from the reſt of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the fartheſt parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably ſhewed to holy Simeon (for in Chriſt are all the treaſures of wiſedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cheriſh with the ſauing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I ſay) this light ſhould come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very ſumme) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit, and of his Miniſters in the vineyard of Chriſt, we haue drawen and that out of the fountaines of Iſrael.

Kranzius.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. ſaw the Iſlanders conuerted vnto Chriſt, &c.

The moſt ancient Chronicles of Iſland.

It is doubtful vnto vs whether in theſe words Kranzius would haue ſaid, that ỹ Iſlanders were firſt conuerted vnto Chriſt in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but ſaith that it was knowne firſt vnto Adalbert that yeere. But whetherſoeuer of theſe he affirmeth: notwithſtanding the yeerely records, and moſt auncient Chronicles of our nation teſtifying the contrary do make his credite to be ſuſpected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue aſſent concerning our owne proper and domeſtical affaires, done within the bounds of our Iſland, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the ſtory of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne diſcretion. For my part I am enforced by many reaſons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme thoſe things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domeſticall: he writeth matters forreine and vnknowen: they haue compiled their hiſtories without the diffaming, diſgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might aſſigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his hiſtorie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation being moſt vnknowen vnto him, as it ſhall immediatly appeare: they deſcribe the names, yeres, order, ſucceſſion of all the Biſhops of Iſland: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwiſe then the trueth. Furthermore, that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with ſtrangers a fewe things which I found in our moſt ancient records of the conuerſion of Iſland vnto Chriſt, and of the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet muſt they of neceſſitie bee ſet downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires againſt Krantzius and others: Thus therefore ſtandeth the certeintie thereof.

Iſland firſt inhabited.

In the yeere of Chriſt 874. Iſland (being indeed diſcouered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then firſt of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whoſe name the Eaſt cape of Iſland is called *Ingulffs hoffdi*. Theſe planters are reckoned vp by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400. together with thoſe of their blood and kinred, and great families beſides: neither onely is their number deſcribed, but it is alſo plainely ſet downe, what coaſts, what ſhores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the firſt inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, ſprings, floods, riuers. And to be ſhort, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houſes, whereof many at this day are reteined and vſed. Therefore the Norwayes with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Iſland now occupied by them for the ſpace of 60. yeeres or thereabout: but they remayned Ethnickes almoſt a 100. yeres, except a very few which were baptiſed in Norwaie. But ſcarce a 100. yeres from their firſt entrance being paſt, preſently Chriſtian Religion began to be conſidered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing aboue 20. yeres together, was diuerſly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongſt the reſt there are mentioned two outlandiſh Biſhops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Iland to Chriſtian faith: the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981, came into Iſland, and behaued himſelfe couragiouſly in the office of preaching, and preuailed ſo much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vſed in Iſland.

Fridericus Saxo the firſt preacher of the Chriſtian faith in Iſland. Anno Domini 981.

But the other outlandiſh Biſhop or preacher whom they called *Thangbrands* came firſt into Iſland in the yeere 997.

And then after 26. yeeres conſulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall aſſembly of all the inhabitants by their whole conſent, that the worſhip of heatheniſh Idoles being abandoned, they ſhould embrace Chriſtian Religion.

Anno Domini 1000.

Againe, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a ſolemne aſſembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the conſtitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Iſlanders by one *Vlſliot* in the yeere 926.) ſhould euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one *Iſleif* went beyond the ſeas out of Iſland to be cõſecrated biſhop of Iſlãd. He came home conſecrated into Iſland, and entred into the biſhopricke of *Schalholt* in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.

These things perhaps wil ſeeme trifling, ſhort and baſe, nor ſufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane hiſtory, neither yet ſhall theſe things be ſo trifling, but that they may be of ſufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpoſe. And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our hiſtories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whoſe words in his preface of Denmarke be theſe: Neither is the diligence of the *Thylenſes* (for ſo he calleth Iſlanders) to be ſmothered in ſilence: who when as by reaſon of the natiue barrennes of their ſoile, wanting nouriſhments of riot, they do exerciſe the duties of continuall ſobrietie, and vſe to beſtow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they ſupply their want by their wit. For they eſteeme it a pleaſure to know, and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no leſſe praiſeworthy to diſcourſe of other mens vertues, then to practiſe their owne. Whoſe treaſuries repleniſhed with the monuments of hiſtorical matters, I more curiouſly ſearching into, haue compiled no ſmal part of this preſent worke by following of their relation: neither deſpiſed I to haue thoſe men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilfull in ſo great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

A notable teſtimonie of Saxo concerning the Iſlanders.

Wherefore I thinke it not amiſſe to proceede in the recitall of the Biſhops of Iſland, that the order and deſcent of them all, being ſo farre foorth as is poſſible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue alleged againſt Krantzius concerning *Iſleif* the firſt Biſhop of Iſland.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.	The Biſhops of *Holen*.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I.	I.	
	Iſleif.	Ionas ſonne of Augmundus.	
1056.	Conſecrated beyond the ſeas.	Iſleif his diſciple.	
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Biſhops ſea of Schalholt.	Conſecrated beyonde the ſeas in the yeere of his age 64. his ſirname was Sanctus, vnto whoſe memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.		
	II.		
	Gyſſerus.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121.
1082.	Conſecrated beyond the ſea.	II.	
1083.	Returneth into Iſland with his Biſhopricke.	Ketillus or Catullus.	
1118.	Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tueſday.	Conſecrated.	1122.
		Dieth.	1145.
	III.	III.	
In the yeere of his age 32.	Thorlacus ſonne of Runulphus.	Biorno.	
	Conſecrated the ſame yeere, wherein his	Being conſecrated came into Iſland.	1147.
		Dieth	

In the yeere of Christ. | ## The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.

his predeceſſor Gyſſerus deceaſed, but
1133. yet 30. dayes before his death. Dieth.

IIII.

Magnus.

1134. Conſecrated.
1148. On the morrowe after the feaſt of all Saints, in his pariſh towne of *Hiitardal*, the houſe being ſtriken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were conſumed with fire.

V.

Klaingus.

1151. Choſen.
1152. Entreth the ſee.
1176. Dieth.

VI.

Thorlacus.

Choſen two yeres before the death of his predeceſſour.
1178. Conſecrated.
1193. Dieth.

VII.

Paulus.

1195. Conſecrated.
1211. Dieth.

VIII.

Magnus.

1216. Conſecrated.

IX.

Siguardus.

1239. Entreth his ſee.
1268. Dieth.

X.

Arnerus.

1269. Entreth his ſee.
1298. Dieth.

XI.

Arnerus ſonne of Helgo.

1304. Conſecrated.
1305. Entereth the ſee.
1309. Sailleth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the ſame yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.
1310. Returneth home.
1320. Dieth.

XII.

Ionas Haldorus.

1321. Elected.
1322. Conſecrated the firſt of Auguſt.
1322. Entreth his ſee.
1338. Dieth.

XIII.

Ionas ſonne of Indrid a Noruagian borne.
1339. Entreth his ſee.
1341. Dieth.

XIIII.

The Biſhops of *Holen*. | In the yeere of Christ.

Dieth. 1162.

IIII.

Brandus.

Conſecrated. 1163.
Entreth is Epiſcopall ſee. 1165.
Dieth. 1201.

V.

Gudmundus ſirnamed Bonus.

Elected and conſecrated. 1203.
Dieth. 1237.

VI.

Botolphus.

Returneth conſecrated. 1239.
Dieth. 1246.

VII.

Henricus.

Entreth the ſee. 1247.
Dieth. 1260.

VIII.

Brandus an Abbat.

Goeth beyond the ſeas. 1262.
Entreth the Biſhopricke. 1263.
Dieth. 1264.

IX.

Ierundus.

Entreth his ſee. 1267.
Dieth. 1313.

X.

Audunnus.

Entreth his ſee. 1314.
Dieth. 1322.

XI.

Laurentius.

Elected and conſecrated. 1324.
Dieth in the Ides of April. 1331.

XII.

Egillus.

Entreth his ſee. 1332.
Dieth. 1341.

XIII.

Ormus.

Entreth his ſee. 1343.
Dieth vpon the feaſt of all Saints. 1355.

XIIII.

Ionas ſonne of Ericus, ſirnamed *Skalle*.

Being to enter his ſea of Holen came into Iſland. 1358. This Ionas being before time conſecrated biſhop of Gronland, obteined licence of the biſhop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which was at that time vacant. Whereupon comming and not bringing with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function, receiued from the Pope, hee began to be ſuſpected among the prieſts of the dioceſſe of Holen. Wherefore he was

A Biſhop of Gronland. 1356.

In the yeere of Christ.

The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.

XIIII.

Ionas ſonne of Siguardus.

1343. Entreth his ſee.

1348. Dieth on S. Magnus euen.

XV.

Gyrthus.

1349. Conſecrated at Aſlo in Norway by Salomon biſhop of Aſlo.

1356. Going beyond the ſeas he was drowned.

XVI.

Thorarinnus.

1362. Entreth his ſee.

1364. Dieth.

XVII.

Oddgeirus.

1366. Entreth his ſee.

1381. Dieth vpon the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ſhip. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Sauiour.

XVIII.

Michael a Dane.

1385. Entreth his ſee.

1388. Reſigneth, and ſaileth into Denmarke.

XIX.

William a Dane.

1394. Entereth the Biſhopricke.

Dieth.

XX.

Arnerus ſirnamed *Mildur*, that is to ſay,
Liberall. He was at one time Lord Preſi-
dent of all Iſland, biſhop of Schalholt, and
1420. vicebiſhop of Holen. He died.

XXI.

Ionas Gerickſon Sueden, either ſir-
named or borne, is made Biſhop ouer the
1432. Church of Schalholt: and afterward for
certaine bolde attempts being taken by
one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is
reported) and a great ſtone being bound to
his necke, hee was caſt aliue into the riuer
of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the
bridge) and was there ſtrangled.

XXII.

1445. Goſwinus biſhop of Schalholt.

XXIII.

1472. Sueno called yͤ wiſe, biſhop of Schalholt.

XXIIII.

1489. Magnus ſonne of Eiolphus, Biſhop, &c.

XXV.

Stephen.

1494. Entreth the ſee. Then (liuing at one time with Godſchalchus biſhop of Holen, who ſeemed worthy to be ſirnamed cruel) he had the ſame commendations for mercy and iuſtice, that Godſchalchus had.

He

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In the yeere of Christ.

was ſent backe by them into Norway, that the matter might bee ſet through by the iudgement of the king. The king therefore fauouring his part, he obteined the biſhopricke of Holen.

He dieth. 1391.

XV.

Peter.

Conſecrated the ſame yere wherein his predeceſſour departed out of this preſent life.

Entreth the ſee of Holen. 1392.

Dieth.

XVI.

An Engliſh man Biſhop in Iland.

Ionas Wilhelmus Engliſh,

Either borne or ſir-named,

Entred the ſee. 1432.

XVII.

Godſchalcus.

Died. 1457.

XVIII.

Olaus ſon of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godſchalcus by the ſiſters ſide, both of them being Norwayes.

He was eſtabliſhed. 1458.

He died. 1497.

XIX.

Godſchalchus

The nephewe of Olaus deceaſed, by the brothers ſide: alſo hee being a Noruagian was elected the ſame yeere wherein his vncle deceaſed.

He entreth the ſee. 1500.
And for the ſpace of 20. whole yeres is reported, cruelly to haue entreated many of the ſubiects. In the yeere 1520. whẽ he was in the midſt of his cups, and banqueting diſhes, & heard that Ionas Sigiſmundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres moſt cruelly oppreſſed) he preſently fell into a ſudden diſeaſe, and ſo not long after changed that violence for miſerable death, which in his whole life he had vſed againſt his diſtreſſed ſubiects.

XX.

Ionas Aræſonius.

Entreth the ſee. 1525.

This man was the laſt & moſt earneſt maintainer of Popiſh ſuperſtitions. Who ſtoutely withſtanding Gyſſerus and Martinus biſhops of Schalholt, was commanded by the

moſt

The Biſhops of *Schalholt.*

1519. He died: or thereabout.

XXVI.

Augmundus.

Choſen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceaſed.
1522. Entreth the ſee.

While he was Biſhop, the kings Lieu-tenant with ſome of his followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was ſlaine by certaine conſpirators: becauſe hee had in all places wickedly waſted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged himſelfe with an othe) being tranſported into Denmarke, there ended his life.

XXVII.

Gyſſerus.

1540. Elected, Augmundus yet liuing.
1541. Entred the ſee.

He was the aboliſher of Popiſh traditions about Prieſts marriages: his owne mariage being ſolemnized at Schalholt. 1544.

XXVIII.

Martinus.

1547. Biſhop, &c: And the yeeres folowing.

XXIX.

Giſlaus Ionas.

This man preſently, in the time of biſhop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with ẏ loue of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, & being paſtour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to aduance the ſame, by which meanes he did ſo procure vnto himſelfe ẏ hatred of Papiſts, as being cōſtreined to giue place vnto their craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding in his former ſtudy of diuinitie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but ſpecially of D.D. Peter Palladius: who was
1556. at that time biſhop there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place vnto him of his owne accord. This
1587. man died alſo, hauing for the ſpace of 31. yeres or there abouts, profeſſed the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the ſound of his voice onely, but by all other meanes to the vtmoſt of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counſel.

XXX.

Otto Enerus, a graue, godly, and learned man.
1588. Being choſen he departeth his countrey.
1589. Hee is conſecrated, returneth, and entreth the ſea, endeuouring himſelfe in the labours of his function.

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moſt religious king Chriſtan the 3. vnder paine of baniſhment to come with all ſpeed into Denmarke. But neglecting the kings commaundement, hee tooke Martine biſhop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himſelfe alſo being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is ſaide, he had prouoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two ſonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieutenant beheaded. 1551.
In reuenge whereof not long after, the ſaide Lieu-tenant with ſome of his company, was villanouſly ſlaine by certaine royſters, which were once ſeruants to the parties beheaded.

XXI.

Olaus Hialterus.

Departed his countrey. 1552.
Entreth the ſee. 1553.

This man (being as yet in the life time of his predeceſſour fellow-labourer with him) was the firſt that kindled the loue of ſincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being biſhop did openly teache and defend the ſaid doctrine.

He died. 1568.

XXII.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

The ornament, not onely of his age, but of poſteritie alſo: who beſides that, by the direction of the holy ſpirit, he hath moſt notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by his predeceſſour Olaus to that perfectiō which it hath pleaſed God to vouchſafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Goſpel, and in aboliſhing of Popiſh ſuperſtitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the firſt that hath eſtabliſhed a Printing houſe. For which cauſe his countrey (beſides, for many other books tranſlated into our mother tongue) ſhalbe eternally bounden vnto him, that the ſacred Bible alſo, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Iſland. Hee (I ſay) being at this preſent, Biſhop, when he was about to take his charge:

Departed his countrey. 1570.
Returned and entred the ſee of Holen. 1571.

IN theſe times therefore light is reſtored vnto our ſoules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the ſincere preaching of Chriſtian doctrine. For in either of the Biſhops ſeats there is a free ſchoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that moſt renowmed King of Denmarke Chriſtian the third: and afterward the ſonne following the godly ſteppes of his moſt Chriſtian father, the ſaid Free ſchooles by Lord Friderick the ſecond, our moſt religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreaſed and furthered: which at this day alſo doe proſper and flouriſh by the fauour and authoritie of the moſt gracious King and our Prince, Chriſtian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Iſlande being inſtructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and ſacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlineſſe, that from hence miniſters of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the regiſter of the Biſhops of Iſland downe to this preſent day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Biſhops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would pleaſe God long to preſerue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his moſt holy name, we all doe earneſtly and with feruent prayers beſeech him.

The ſecond ſection.

They inhabite for the moſt part in caues, or hollowe places within the ſides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houſes and Churches built with the bones of fiſhes, and Whales. Againe, Many of them alſo to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themſelues cloſe in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the ſunne. Alſo *Munſter* ſayth: Many in Iſland at this day build their houſes with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

Munſterus. Krantzius. Friſius.

HEre the ſecond member taketh his beginning concerning the courſe of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And firſt of all what buildings or houſes they doe vſe: namely according to Munſter, Krantzius, Friſius &c. Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and ſuch other worldly braueries there is very litle helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithſtanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainely affirme that Coſmographers and Hiſtoriographers alſo doe erre in this point. For ſuch habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either ſheepe-cots for ſhepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fiſhermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fiſhing, and the others ſtande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houſes themſelues, and the very dwelling places of men, the Iſlanders haue had them built from auncient time ſtately and ſumptuouſly enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, ſtones, and turfes, vntill ſuch time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to ceaſe betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to ſupply them with timber, and for that cauſe nowe our houſes beginne to decay: whenas neither we haue woods conuenient for building, nor yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees caſt vpon our ſhores by the benefite of the ſea, which may in any ſort relieue vs: neither doe outlandiſh Merchants ſuccour our neceſſities: whereupon many of our meaneſt countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, ſome whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithſtanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot eaſily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe reſemble that auncient excellencie, the houſes being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the moſt part in height alſo. As for example: farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And ſo other roomes, as a parler, a ſtoue, a butterie, &c. anſwering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrie buildings both large and wide, neither illfauoured in ſhewe, nor baſe in regarde of their workemanſhip and coſtly firmeneſſe or ſtrength, with certaine Churches alſo, or religious houſes built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall ſeemelineſſe and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both ſides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as alſo beames and weather-bourdes, and the reſt of the roofe proportionally anſwering to this lower building. Our moſt gracious King Lord Frederick, whoſe memory is moſt ſacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588, did moſt liberally beſtow timber for the reedifying of this body being caſt downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempeſt. But the Church it ſelfe doth manifeſtly exceed the body thereof in all quantity: alſo the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is ſomwhat leſſe, both then the middle part of the Church, and alſo then the bodie.

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaſed.

Drift wood not ſo plentifull now, as in times paſt.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our

Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twiſe burnt, is brought to a leſſer ſcantling. Likewiſe there be ſome other Churches of our Iland, although not matching, yet reſembling the auncient magnificence of theſe. But here the matter ſeemeth not to require that I ſhould runne into a long deſcription of theſe things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houſes and buildings, ſo are we nothing aſhamed of them: becauſe being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Chriſt immortall prayſe who deſpiſeth not to be receiued of vs vnder a baſe roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houſes, (which Munſter, Krantzius and Friſius doe not truely affirme to be built of fiſhes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the ſquare pauementes, and ſuch like ornamentes of Churches and houſes in other countries.

The third ſection.

Krantzius. Munſterus.

They and their cattell vſe all one houſe, all one foode or victuals, all one ſtate (here *Krantzius* hath it lodging.) Alſo. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes.

These be the things together with thoſe that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munſters mouth, ſo that Munſter ſhall not neede ſo much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munſter, as hee ſwallowed theſe reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, ſo he caſteth vp the verie ſame morſels vndigeſted and rawe againſt our nation, in his fourth booke of Coſmographie cap. 8. Thoſe things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue ſufficiently grieued vs, yet will we let them ſeeme more tollerable: but this moſt malitious deuiſe, and thoſe which follow we cannot eaſily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place alſo to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leaſing vpon the authors owne head.

Houſe, &c. Firſt, that which they ſay concerning the ſame common houſe (as alſo liuing, and ſtate) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be falſe and erronious, not onely the truth it ſelfe being our witneſſe, if any man would make triall, but alſo the experience of manie ſtrangers, that haue liued ſome yeeres amongſt vs, and haue more minde to ſpeake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who haue ſeene our houſes and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many ſeuerall roomes: namely, in thoſe that were moſt ſimple and baſe, ſeuen or eight: In others which were greater, ſometimes tenne, and ſometimes twentie. In the greateſt ſometimes fortie, and ſometimes fiftie. Which for the moſt part being ſeuered, both by roofes and walles, doe ſerue for the dayly and houſhold affaires of one owner or maſter, ſeldome of two or three, but almoſt neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may eaſily iudge, howe true it is that the Iſlanders and their cattell haue all one houſe to lie in, when euery huſbandman in this varietie of roomes hath ſeuerall oxe-ſtalles, ſheepe-cotes, ſtables, lambes-cots ſeparated indifferent ſpaces one from another, which the ſeruants goe vnto ſo oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houſes.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Iſland, concerning the prouince of *Skagefiord*, that vnder the ſame roofe, men, dogges, ſwine and ſheepe liue all together, it is partly falſe, and partly no maruell: for ſheepe, as it hath beene ſayde, and ſpecially for ſwine (when as that prouince hath no ſwine at all) it is vtterly falſe: for dogges it is no maruell, when as not kings courts were euer, or at this day are deſtitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the ſeuenth ſection.

Victuals, &c. Whither beaſts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may iuſtly doubt: when Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, ſaith: As for Victus (ſayth he) wee will ſo expound it with the Ciuilians, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus all things neceſſarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus de verborum ſignificatione defineth Victus in the very ſame words. But in this place the ſaide authors call beaſts meate by the name of Victus.

But let vs ſee what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in theſe men. We haue no labouring cattell beſides horſes and oxen: theſe haue graſſe and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very ſame writers confeſſe, that the Iſlanders liue by fiſh, butter, fleſh both beefe, and mutton, and corne alſo, though it bee ſcarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the ſame foode with brute beaſts, which notwithſtanding the ſayde writers affirme in theſe wordes:

They and their cattell vſe all one victuals or food. What Munſters meaning is in this clauſe, he himſelfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Iſland (ſaith he) conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes. But what elſe is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, ſaith Doletus? Vnleſſe perhaps Munſter calleth the food of cattell, cattell themſelues ſlaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the vſe of the latine tongue doth gaineſay, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, ſo beaſts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattel. But may I thinke that Munſter and Krantzius were ſo mad as to imagine that the Iſlanders liue vpon graſſe and hay? To this paſſe of miſerie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. verſ. 30. We will eaſily graunt that beaſts, and cattell will not perhaps refuſe many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours alſo eate, if the ſaide beaſts be deſtitute of their vſuall food: as horſes are fedde with corne and barley loaues: they will drinke milke alſo (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty diſhes whatſoeuer. May any man therefore ſay that men vſe the ſame common victuals with dogges and horſes?

Now, whatſoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recorded in hiſtorie for the generall cuſtome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe vſually liue by eating of dogs, miſe, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or ſeige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene conſtrained ſo to doe.

But that the ſame drinke is ſome times common to many men with beaſts, we will not greatly gaineſay: namely moſt pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which alſo in ſome reſpect Phiſicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themſelues, nor our ſauiour Chriſt deſpiſed it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell alſo vnder the name of Victus) it is no wiſe common to vs with beaſts. For nature hath clad them with haires & briſtles (as I dare ſay Munſter and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwiſe naked, ſtande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly bene ſayde, that ſheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries alſo weare cloth of ſheepes wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to ſeeke for praiſe, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we ſhould ſpeake of that ſtate, which we are ſayd to haue common with beaſts: but of what kinde or maner it ſhould be, or our writers would haue it to be, I cannot eaſily diſcerne. State (ſayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of cauſes, or of order and condition. Doubtleſſe, that there is another ſtate of our bodies then of beaſts (for beſides our two feet, we haue hands alſo, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perſwaded. As for theſe good fellowes, if they know any ſuch matter by themſelues or others, let them diſcloſe it. We doe altogether ſcorne theſe, being ſo vaine things, and breeding ſo great contempt againſt the Maieſty of God our creator, neither do we vouchſafe them any larger diſcourſe.

But becauſe it is our duety not ſo highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatſoeuer, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will ſay in a word what that was which perhaps might miniſter occaſion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be nere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South ſhore of Iſland, three ſmall pariſhes ſtanding betweene two moſt ſwift riuers Thiorſaa, and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner deſtitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accuſtomed fewell of the countrey. And although moſt of the inhabitants of theſe pariſhes, and ſome of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere prouide all things neceſſary for houſholde, ſo eſpecially thoſe things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithſtanding there be certaine among them of the baſeſt ſort of people, who, becauſe they want thoſe things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are conſtrained to vſe ſtraw for the dreſſing of their meat. But when the ſharpe rigor of ſnowy Winter commeth on, theſe poore people betake them to their oxe ſtalles, & there ſetting vp ſheds, & doing their neceſſary buſineſſe in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And ſo they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are conſtrayned to vſe the ſame common houſe with their oxen. But for their liuelihoode and ſtate it is farre otherwiſe with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in thoſe pettie pariſhes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongſt vs, though ſomewhat iniuriouſly. Where I would willingly demaund with what honeſtie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and ſkantly true of theſe fewe poore men: I am wearie to ſtay any longer in this matter: onely, becauſe I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon ſuffice, Prouerbs 17. verſe 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, becauſe this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath beene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongeſt many rich men, it hath ſuſteined ſo many taunts and ſcoffes of ſtrangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing elſe common vnto vs with them, yet we both conſiſt of the ſame elements, and haue all one father and God.

The fourth ſection.

Krantzius.
Munſterus.

They leade their liues in holy ſimplicitie, not ſeeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whoſe pouertie no man doth enuie. But the Engliſh and Daniſh merchants ſuffer not the nation to be at reſt, who frequenting that countrey to tranſport fiſhing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to deſpiſe, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and ſiluer like vnto our men.

Simplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy ſimplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found ſo great a decay of iuſtice, and good lawes, and ſo great want of gouernement amongſt vs, which is the cauſe of many thouſande haynous offences: which all honeſt and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the higheſt Magiſtrate, that is, of our moſt gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not preſent theſe thinges vnto his Maieſtie, which are diſorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magiſtrate.

Merchants, Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but eſpecially of Germanie, as at this time, ſo heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to tranſport fiſhing, but fiſhes, taught not Iſlanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For yͤ Norvagians themſelues, the firſt, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Iland, frõ whom yͤ Iſlanders are lineally deſcended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as alſo golde and ſiluer coine, ſo that in old time there was no leſſe vſe of ſiluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and Engliſh men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyſe places, corne in abundance.

Corne of old time growing in Iſland.

The fift ſection.

Munſterus.
Krantzius.

The King of Denmarke and Norway ſendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

IN the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and ſixe Harald *Harfagre* (which is to ſay, golden haires or faire clockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being choſen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full ſtrength, changed the forme of the Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was deuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called *Fylki*, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, *Fylkis konga*) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. But when ſome inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and deſcended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they choſe rather to be baniſhed their countrey, then not to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred ſeuentie and foure, tranſported colonies into Iſland being before diſcouered by ſome men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And ſo being the firſt founders of our nation, they called themſelues Iſlanders, which name their poſteritie reteineth vnto this day. And therefore the Iſlanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and ſixe yeeres, more or leſſe, acknowledging no ſubmiſſion to any other Nation. And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longeſt of any Noruagian king, namely, aboue ſixtie ſixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambaſſadours to make the Iſlanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithſtanding at all times they conſtantly withſtoode him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And afterward

The occaſion of the firſt inhabiting of Iſland by the people of Norway.

Haquinus coronatus.

ward continued alwayes in their promiſed loyaltie, being ſubiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, ſince the Empire of the Norwagians was tranſlated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their ſoueraigne Lord and King the moſt gracious king of Denmarke.

The ſixt ſection.

All things are common among them except their wiues.

Krantzius. Munſterus,

HEre Krantzius in the firſt place beginneth with ſuch a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreouer, your wit being too haſtie in affirming things vnknowen, doth here alſo deminiſh your credite. The experience as well of all things as of perſons and times prooueth your ouer greedie deſire of noueltie, of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforeſayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witneſſe, which the Iſlanders from the beginning haue vſed all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his ſubiects: of the ſtate of iuſtice, and of law-caſes which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the reſt: all which, to what purpoſe ſhould they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witneſſe ſo many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in Iſland concerning goods mooueable, and immooueable: we call to witneſſe our kings, now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by ſo many billes of ſupplication out of Iſland in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the ſetting through of controuerſies concerning poſſeſſions. Wee call Krantzius himſelfe to witneſſe againſt himſelfe, whoſe words in the firſt ſection were theſe. Before the receiuing of Chriſtian faith the Iſlanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtleſſe by that lawe of iuſtice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iuſtice, then certainely diſtinctions of properties and poſſeſſions muſt needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often tranſgreſſed, and that haynouſly euen in the Church: notwithſtanding both the Church, and alſo heathen men doe acknowledge it to be moſt iuſt and good.

The ſeuenth ſection.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer ſort you ſhall eaſier obtaine their ſonne then their ſhalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatiſe I thought that Munſter and other men of great name in thoſe things which they haue left written concerning Iſland, were not to bee charged with ſlander, yet whether that fauour may here be ſhewed by any man whatſoeuer (be he neuer ſo fauourable, and neuer ſo ſincere) I doe not ſufficiently conceiue. For what ſhould moue ſuch great men, following the deſpightfull lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and ſtaine our nation with ſo horrible and ſo ſhamefull a reproch? Surely nothing elſe but a careleſſe licentiouſneſſe to deride and contemne a poore and vnknowen Nation, and ſuch other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this vntrueth doth not ſo much hurt to the Iſlanders, as to the authors themſelues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Hiſtories, they cauſe their credite in other places alſo to be ſuſpected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Ariſtotle ſayth) that when they ſpeake trueth no man will beleeue them without ſuſpition.

But attend a while (Reader) and conſider with me the grauitie and wiſedome of theſe great Clarkes: that we may not let paſſe ſuch a notable commendation of Iſland. Krantzius and Munſter haue hitherto taught, that the Iſlanders are Chriſtians. Alſo: that before the receiuing of Chriſtian faith they liued according to the lawe of nature. Alſo: that the Iſlanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Alſo, that they liued in holy ſimplicitie.

Attend I ſay (good Reader) and conſider, what markes of Chriſtianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy ſimplicitie, theſe authors require, and what markes they ſhew and deſcribe in the Iſlanders. There was one of the ſayd markes before: namely, that the Iſlanders doe place hell or the priſon of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the firſt ſection of this part, and the ſeuenth ſection of the former. The ſeconde marke is, that with the Anabaptiſts they take away diſtinctions of properties and poſſeſſions: in the ſection next going before. The third and moſt excellent is this: thoſe ſingular & naturall affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Iſlanders towards their children, namely that they make the ſame accompt of them, or leſſe then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munſter and Krantzius after this faſhion picture out vnto vs the law of Chriſt, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy ſimplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the ſkill of Apelles: O ſharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Iſlanders (albeit the fartheſt of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Chriſtianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man ſhould loue his neighbour as himſelfe. Nowe there is none (I ſuppoſe) that doeth not loue or eſteeme more of himſelfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee ſo great fauour, ſo great eſtimation, ſo great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe wee owe vnto our children? The moſt neare and inſeparable loue of whom, beſides that nature hath moſt friendly ſetled in our mindes, the loue of God alſo commandeth vs to haue ſpeciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod. 12. 24. Epheſ, 6. 4.) namely, that there may be in holy marriage certaine ſeminaries of Gods Church, and exerciſes of all pietie and honeſtie: according to the excellent ſaying of the Poet.

God will haue each family,
  a litle Church to be.
Alſo Of humane life or mans ſocietie,
  a Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifeſt, that among Chriſtians their ſonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwiſe eſteeme of them, that they are no Chriſtians.

But this naturall affection towarde our moſt deare of-ſpring is plainely ſeene in the heathen themſelues: that whomſoeuer you totally depriue of this, you denie them alſo to bee men. The mothers of Carthage teſtifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the moſt choyſe and gallant young men in all the Citie were ſent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed vnto the ſhippes with moſt miſerable weeping and lamentation, and ſome of them being with griefe ſeparated from their deare ſonnes, when they ſawe the ſayles hoyſed, and the ſhippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguiſh caſt themſelues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witneſſeth. Egæus doth teſtifie this, who when hee ſawe the ſhippe of his ſonne Theſeus, returning out of Creete with blacke ſayles, thinking that his ſonne had periſhed, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell, lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconſul of Africa, doth teſtifie this, who likewiſe, vpon rumors of the death of his ſonne, hanged himſelfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Alſo Iocaſta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuſcans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch ſtar. lib. 2. and other authors &c. To theſe may be added that ſentence, Loue deſcendeth, &c. So that you ſee, it is no leſſe proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confeſſed the Iſlanders to be men (much leſſe to be Chriſtians) they muſt, will they nill they, aſcribe vnto them this loue and affection towardes their children: If not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but alſo they debaſe them vnder euery brute beaſt, which euen by the inſtinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde againſt this ſhameleſſe vntruth moſt notable examples of our owne countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-ſtealing, more ancient then the Iſlanders themſelues, being receiued from the Norwagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whoſoeuer ſelleth a freeman (any man much more a ſonne) vnto ſtrangers &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he muſt needs commit his owne ſonne into the hands of ſome inhabitant or ſtranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame neceſſity, that he may not be conſtrained to ſee him hungerſtarued for want of ſuſtenance, but keepeth his dogge ſtill for his owne eating, this man is not to be ſayd, that he eſteemeth equally or more baſely of his ſonne then of his dogge: whether Iſlanders or any other countreymen do the ſame.

The occaſion of this ſlander.

The Germane or the Daniſh mariners might perhaps find amongſt vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in ieſting maner for they are much giuen to trifling talke, might ſay: Giue me this, or ſell me that: and when the ſtranger ſhould aſke, What will you giue me for it? the begger might anſwere; I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you ſome one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggers vſeth thus fondly to prate with ſtrangers. Now if there be any well diſpoſed man, who pitying the need and folly of theſe beggers, releaſeth them of one ſonne, and doth for Gods ſake by ſome meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his ſonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his ſonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make leſſe account of his ſonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, aſwell Iſlanders themſelues as ſtrangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being ſent by the moſt gracious King of Denmarke into Iſland in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fifteene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a ſeuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if ſome man be driuen to that paſſe, that he doth not onely ſell his ſonne, but not finding a chapman, his owne ſelfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced crueltie of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent neceſſitie. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch againſt a whole nation? We reade that in the ſiege of Samaria, two mothers ſlew their ſonnes, and eat them ſodden: 4.King. chap.6. We reade in the ſiege of Ieruſalem, how lamentable the voice of that diſtreſſed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My ſweet babe, ſayth ſhe (for I will report Euſebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miſerie and miſhap, for whom ſhould I conueniently reſerue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and ſedition? If we be ſubdued to the gouernment of the Romans, we ſhall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of ſlauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuity. Beſides, there is a rout of ſeditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miſeries. Come on therefore, my ſonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to theſe rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. Theſe ſayings being ended, ſhe killeth her ſonne, roaſting and eating one halfe, and reſeruing the other, &c. *Euſebius lib.3. cap.6.* Now, what man will not beleeue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue paſſed ouer this her ſonne into the poſſeſſion of ſome maſter or chapman, if ſhe could haue happened vpon any ſuch, with whom ſhe thought he might haue beene preſerued? That famine is well knowen which oppreſſed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed ſiege thereunto (Valerius lib.7.cap.7.) the citizens whereof conuerted their wiues and children into meat for the ſatiſfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtleſſe they would with all their hearts haue ſolde for other victuals. That famine alſo is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent.lib,25,cap,26.) afflicted Germany, inſomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne ſonne. It is well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the ſeuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that eſpecially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was ſuch a grieuous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that ſome being compelled for want of food were faine to ſell their children vnto the moſt bloudy and barbarous enemy of Chriſtians, and ſo to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkiſh ſlauery: and ſome are ſayd to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer ſuſtaine, and with cruell mercy to haue caſt them into Danubius, and drowned them. But ſhould theſe ſtories and the like make any man ſo mad as to affirme that this or that nation accuſtometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to ſell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drowne and ſtrangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (becauſe beggers in Iſland being enforced through extreame and biting neceſſitie, do willingly part with their ſonnes) is this cuſtome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of diſgrace, by any man, except it be ſuch an one who hath taken his leaue of all modeſty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wiſh that the loue of dogges in Iſlanders might be more ſparingly reprehended by thoſe people, whoſe matrons, and ſpecially their noble women, take ſo great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their boſomes thorow the open ſtreetes: I will not ſay in Churches: which faſhion Cæſar blamed in certaine ſtrangers, whom he ſaw at Rome carrying about young apes and whelpes in their armes, aſking them this queſtion: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? ſignifying heereby, that they do greatly offend, who beſtow vpon beaſts theſe naturall affections, wherewith they ſhould be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and ſpecially of their owne offpring: which ſtrange pleaſure neuer ouertooke, nor poſſeſſed the nation of the Iſlanders. Wherefore now (Munſter and Krantzius) you muſt finde vs out other markes of Chriſtianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy ſimplicity.

The eight ſection.

Krantzius. Munſterus.

They honour their Biſhop as their King: vnto whoſe command all the whole people haue reſpect. Whatſoeuer he preſcribeth out of the law, the ſcriptures, or the cuſtomes of other nations, they do full holily obſerue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the biſhop; but neuer ſo great, that our politique lawes at the biſhops command ſhould giue place to outlandiſh lawes & cuſtomes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much leſſe of Munſter (of which two the firſt deceaſed in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the ſecond 1552) the biſhops of Iſland had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer ſort, would not doubt to rebell againſt them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the biſhops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced ſome vnder their ſubiection, and others at that time they cruelly perſecuted.

Moreouer, albeit at that time the biſhop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkeneſſe of popery being diſpelled, the deuill aſſaulteth men after another ſort, and euen here amongſt vs, he is not ſlacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerſe ſtubburneſſe againſt God, and his holy miniſtery.

The ninth ſection.

Munſterus.

They liue there for the moſt part vpon fiſhes, becauſe of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fiſhes from thence with great gaine. Alſo *Munſter* ſayth, they do there vſe ſtockefiſh in ſtead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Conſider (friendly reader) how Munſter is delighted to harpe vpon one ſtring, that when he can write nothing of an vnknowen nation which may cary any ſhew with it, he is faine either to bring in falſhood, or often to repeat the ſame things, & ſo to become tedious vnto his reader: for he ſayd a little before, that the Iſlanders liue vpon fiſh. His words aboue recited were theſe: Iſland conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes. And that I may omit the reſt in which ſome trifle might be noted: whereas he ſayeth that bread groweth not in Iſland: it is moſt true: which I thinke is common there with to Germany alſo, becauſe bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munſters field where naturall vineger alſo doth marueilouſly encreaſe. But theſe toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forſooth, ſhall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto theſe reproches, which ſtrangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Iſlanders, we will hereafter briefly anſwere, Sect. 15.

The tenth ſection.

Munſterus. Krantzius.

The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their anceſtours, and of their times, with ſongs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with poſterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Friſius.

There be diuers found amongſt them that be minſtrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable muſicke do enſnare and take both fowles and fiſhes.

The Iſlanders preſerue in writing the acts of their anceſtors.

We denie not but that ſome worthy actes of our forefathers be reſerued in the ſongs and poemes of our countreymen, as alſo in proſe: but that the ſame things haue beene engrauen by vs, or by our anceſtours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no caſe acknowledge that praiſe to be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minſtrels, and taking of birds and fiſhes. For we holde it to be the part of an honeſt and ingenuous mind, as to refute falſe crimes, ſo not to challenge vndeſerued praiſe vnto himſelfe, nor to accept it being offered.

The eleuenth ſection.

But now, let this be the end of our controuerſie with the authours aforeſayd, being otherwiſe men of excellent learning, and of great renowne, who notwithſtanding ſo inconſiderately haue entermedled theſe things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finiſhed.

But yet there remaines that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue it come to light, as it were at a ſecond birth, without name, that it might ſo much the more freely wound the fame of the Iſlanders with venemous ſting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beaſt, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterpriſe, namely, not that I meane to contend with his peſtiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing ſpeeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I ſtriue with dung moſt vile,
How ere it be, my ſelfe I ſhall defile)

but that I may ſatisfie all honeſt and well affected men, euen ſtrangers themſelues, who ſhall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane paſquill, leaſt they alſo ſhould thinke that we worthily ſuſtaine ſo monſtrous a diſgrace: and alſo that I may from henceforth, if it be poſſible, reſtraine others (who vſe thoſe venemous Germaine rimes to the vpbraiding of our nation, and from hence borrow their ſcoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debaſing of vs Iſelanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumſtances, I will come to the rehearſing of thoſe things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his lewd paſquill: whom alſo I could bring in, repeating his friendly verſes of the Iſlanders, within the compaſſe of this my booke, but that I doe foreſee that the ſayd ſlanderous libell being ſtuffed with ſo many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honeſt men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthineſſe thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting thoſe things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue beene examined) but farre more modeſtly then he, leaſt (as I ſayd) I cauſe good and learned mens eares to tingle at his lewd and vnſeemely rimes: they that are deſirous to ſee or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I ſay) to defile theſe papers with his ſtinking ſlanders, or with the filthy ſinke of his reproches.

The firſt obiection or reproch.

Firſt therefore, this our goodly Germane Hiſtoriographer obiecteth that there be many Paſtours in *Iſland*, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this paſquill, which notwithſtanding the latter edition doth refute: ſaying that the ſayd Paſtours vſe to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere: Which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, ſeeing it is manifeſt that the authour himſelfe, preſently after the firſt edition, had ſcarſe ſeene Iſland. So oftentimes one lie bewrayeth another, according to that ſaying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falſhood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falſhood.

But ſith it is our part not to diſſemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy ſermons, about the time wherein this ſycophant liued in Iſland, namely in the yere 1554, were ſeldomer in vſe then they are at this day, namely, the darkeneſſe of popery being ſcarſely at that time diſpelled. Which alſo is to be vnderſtood concerning the Pſalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he caſteth vs in the teeth: for the Papiſts grounding all the hope of their ſaluation in the Maſſe, did little regard the ſermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that miſt, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwiſe with vs: although we cannot altogether excuſe the dulneſſe, ſlouth, and prepoſterous care of certeine of our Paſtours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations iudge.

The twelfth ſection.

The ſecond reproch.

Secondly, the trifler ſhamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongſt Iſlanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

ALthough indeed theſe moſt filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnuſuall: notwithſtanding, ſince all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vndeſeruedly, and maliciouſly note the Iſlanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wiſh with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much leſſe winked at in our countrey, then we ſee they are, yet notwithſtanding this iugler, by reaſon of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his laſt reproch: namely, that theſe vices by the Iſelanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath ſworne to obſerue the law contained in our ſtatutebooke vnder the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whoſoeuer committeth adultery with another mans wife the ſecond time, his goods being confiſcate, ſiſcate, he ſhall be puniſhed with death: Or in that common wealth, which not long ſince hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dallers vpon a ſeruant committing adultery with his maſters wife: Or in that common wealth which hath decreed, that if he doth not pay, nor lay in ſureties at the day appointed, he ſhalbe baniſhed the countrey: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe ſtreightly command that whoſoeuer be according to law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her huſband, if he eſcape, he ſhall vndergoe the puniſhment of manſlaughter: Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do alſo enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or ſiſter, by the ſonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had ſhed the innocent bloud of the ſayd party: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a moſt heinous offence: and do ſtraightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beaſtly act ſhalbe puniſhed with death:

You ſee therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Iſland deſerueth not the name of ſinne and wickedneſſe: for although ſome officers let ſlip this or that vice vnpuniſhed, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accuſed or euill ſpoken of.

The thirteenth ſection.

The third reproch.

The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Iſlanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

Doubtles the author of this libell was ſome vagabond huckſter or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Iſland to vtter his trumpery wares, which he alſo teſtifieth of himſelfe in his worthy rimes, that he had trauailed thorow the greateſt part of Iſland, whereupon when he had played the couſining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath ſufficiently proued himſelfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himſelfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this ſlander againſt our whole Nation: diſſembling in the meane time with what honeſtie certaine Germans, making yeerely voyages into Iſland, deale with our men. But ſeeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vndeſerued reproches of others againſt our nation, I do here of purpoſe ſurceaſe.

The fourteenth ſection.

The 4,5,6,& 7 reproches.

Fourthly, he ſayth that in bankets none of the gheſts vſe to riſe from the table: but that the good wife of the houſe reacheth to euery one a chamber-pot, ſo oft as need reqnireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerlineſſe of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obiecteth cuſtomes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten perſons, more or leſſe, men and women lie altogether in the ſame bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they waſh their hands and their faces in piſſe.

Seuenthly, he deſpightfully abaſeth our ſolemnizings of marriages, ſpouſals, birth-dayes, and our cuſtomes at burials.

These, and a number of ſuch like reproches hath this impure ſlanderer ſpued foorth againſt an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deſerued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the ſame kind with theſe, in ſo much that we altogether diſdeigne to make anſwere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithſtanding we will in no caſe yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obſerued ſome ſuch matter among baſe companions, and the very of-ſcouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuerſant then with good and honeſt perſons (for he had liued, as his rimes teſtifie, ſomewhat long vpon the coaſt of Iſland, whither a confuſed rout of the meaneſt common people, in fiſhing time do yeerely reſort, who being naught aſwell through their owne lewdneſſe, as by the wicked behauiour of outlandiſh mariners, often times doe leade a badde and diſhoneſt life) notwithſtanding we are in this place more manifeſtly wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and deſperate ſycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others alſo vſually do) then that it ſhould neede any refutation at all. Of which thing ſtrangers themſelues, who are not a little conuerſant in our Iſland, may be moſt ſufficient witneſſes.

I could alſo gather together many ſuch filthy, vnmannerly, and baudie faſhions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I deteſt this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleaſure to be witty in the diſgracing of others: and yet I will not ſhew my ſelfe ſuch a milke-ſoppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honeſt and good men conſider, what diſpoſition it argueth, for one to obiect againſt a whole nation certaine miſdemeanours committed by ſome one or other particular man. If any man ſhould trauell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and moſt leud maners, the robberies, manſlaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, inceſts, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy acts, ſhould affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwiſe to any other whole nation, and ſhould exaggerate all theſe things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that ſpends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I ſay) hath bewrayed his nature and diſpoſition in ſuchlike reproches? For it is well knowen that ſwine, when they enter into moſt pleaſant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roſes, or any other moſt beautifull and ſweet flowers; but thruſting their ſnouts into the ground, doe tumble and toſſe vp and downe whatſoeuer durt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp moſt vncleane things, namely ſuch as are beſt agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themſelues: Euen ſo this hoggiſh Rimer lightly paſſeth ouer the beſt and moſt commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the worſt, and thoſe which haue beene committed by none, or by very few, namely, ſuch things as beſt fit his humour and diſpoſition (that he might indeed ſhew himſelfe to be the ſame which we haue termed him) thoſe things (I ſay) hath he ſcraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my conſent, for his maners and diſpoſition let him enioy the name of a ſwine.

The fifteenth ſection.

The ninth reproch.

WEe will heere rehearſe the ninth reproch, which that ſlanderous hogge hath drawen from the maner of liuing, and ſpecially from the meat and drinke of the Iſlanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vnſauoury meates, and that, without the vſe of bread. Alſo, that they eate diuers kinds of fiſhes which are vnknowen to ſtrangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous paſquill, with eloquent railing and wittie ſlaunder hath ſet out at the full.

And albeit we doe ſcarſe vouchſafe to ſtand longer about anſwering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde ſome few things in this place.

Firſt therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and thoſe that ſuſteine both themſelues, and, amongſt others, beggers alſo. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men ſatiſfie their hunger, it is no eaſie matter to rehearſe and examine them: neither, becauſe extreame neceſſity hath at ſome times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to preſcribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the reſt of the nation. For we haue alſo a law among the canons apoſtolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things ſtrangled: in the obſeruing of which canons, antiquity hath ſeemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a diſtinction of times alſo, that it may ſeeme no ſtrange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene vſed by a great number of men to ſatiſfie their hunger, which at other times are ſcarſe meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the moſt ſtreight ſiege of Henrie the fourth, King of Nauarre, ſuffering (as Petrus Lindebergius ſpeaketh) the famine of Saguntum; inſomuch that they did not onely eate their horſes, but alſo taking the fleſh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingled therewith a handfull or two of meale, eſteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen alſo of other nations, who in the like vrgent neceſſities haue liued by eating of miſe, cats and dogs. In like maner ſometimes are we Iſlanders conſtrained to doe, not being beſieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abſteined from mans fleſh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, miſe, and cats) for whereas we prouide things neceſſary for food out of the land and ſea, & no ſuſtenance, or very little, is brought vnto vs by ſtrangers: ſo often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and ſea, then muſt follow and enſue a dreadfull ſcarſity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are ſometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongſt vs which vſed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not ſome prouiſion of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremities, ſo often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought worthily to miniſter occaſion to a publique and perpetuall reproch againſt the Iſlanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honeſt mindes.

Moreouer, whereas diuers vſe to obiect concerning the proper & accuſtomed fare of our country, eſpecially of fleſh, fiſh, butter being long time kept without ſalt: alſo concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and ſuch like: in moſt places of Iſland (for there be many of our countrimen alſo, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans ſo farre foorth as ought in a meane to ſuffice chaſt and temperate minds, although we haue not any great varietie of ſauce, being deſtitute of Apothecaries ſhops, are of ability to furniſh their table, and to liue moderately) we cōfeſſe it to be euen ſo: namely that the foreſaid kinds of victuals are vſed in moſt places without the ſeaſoning of ſalt. And I will further adde, that the very ſame meats, which certaine ſtrangers abhorre ſo much as to name, yet ſtrangers themſelues, when they are among vs do vſe to eat them with delight. For albeit for the moſt part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet ſalt the prouocation of gluttony, for the ſeaſoning of our victuals, is common to vs all: yet notwithſtanding almighty God of his goodneſſe hath taught our men alſo the way, how they ſhould handle, and keepe in ſtore thoſe things which belong to the ſuſtentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nouriſhing and ſuſteining of vs Iſlanders, is not tyed to bread and ſalt.

Want of ſalt in Iſland.

The Iſlanders meanes of preſeruing their meates without ſalt.

But whereas ſtrangers boaſt that all their victuals are more pleaſant and wholeſome: yet we denie that to be a ſufficient reaſon, why they ſhould vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our deinty mouthes; but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchſafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is eſteemed to be ſo pleaſant and wholeſome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as alſo conſtant health, and flouriſhing ſtrength of body; all which we account to be ſignes of wholeſome and conuenient nouriſhment, and of a perfect conſtitution. Beſides, our wits are not altogether ſo groſſe and barren, as the philoſophers ſeeme to aſſigne vnto this our aier, and theſe nouriſhments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet ſayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) ſome of them which would ſeeme to be wiſe: namely, that whatſoeuer their vſe doth not admit, or that they haue not ſeene, nor had triall of beforetime, they preſently condemne. As for example, he that neuer ſaw the ſea will not be perſuaded that there is a mediterrane ſea: ſo doe they meaſure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that becauſe we haue heard of certeine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locuſts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India alſo, whom Clitarchus & Megaſtenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witneſſeth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or ſea-crabs, or round ſhrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I ſay) we ſhould therefore preſume to make them a laughing ſtocke to the common people; becauſe we are not accuſtomed to ſuch ſuſtenance.

The ſixteenth ſection.

The tenth reproch.

TEnthly, that vnciuill beaſt caſteth our men in the teeth with their good hoſpitality. They do not (ſayth he) carry about mony with them in their purſes, neither is it any ſhame to be enterteined in a ſtrange place, and to haue meat and drinke beſtowed of free coſt. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a baſe thing) which many of the Iſlanders haue built in their owne houſes: & that firſt of all in the morning, they haue recourſe thither, to make their prayers, neither do they ſuffer any man before they haue done their deuotion, to interrupt them. Theſe be the things which he hath ſet downe as ſome notable diſgrace vnto the Iſlanders. And no maruell:

For filthy ſwine deteſt all cleanly ones,
And hogs vncleane regard not precious ſtones.

Which I feare, leaſt it may be too truely affirmed of this ſlanderer, as it is manifeſt out of theſe two laſt obiections.

Howbeit, ſithens he himſelfe is a moſt ſufficient witneſſe of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is deſirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes againſt Iſland, wich we haue now examined in our former ſections: at whoſe railing & filthy ſpeeches we haue bene aſhamed on his behalfe: inſomuch that thoſe things which he with ſatyrical, ſatyrical: nay ſathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not bluſhed to write, are irkſome for vs to repeat: ſo great & abominable is his inſolency, & his reproches ſo heinous. Good God! whoſoeuer ſhall view this cartlode of ſlanders (for we haue mentioned the leaſt part thereof, becauſe I was loth to loſe my labour, or, as the wiſe man ſayth, to anſwere a foole according to his fooliſhneſſe, whereas in his

rimes

times there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this paſquill to haue bene a moſt lewde man, yea the very droſſe of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iuſt occaſion to doubt whether the authour of theſe reuilings hath bene the more iniurious to Iſlanders, or the Printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatſoeuer elſe they be who in their editions dare neither profeſſe their owne name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twiſe, if not oftner, publiſhed the ſaide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you ſuffer this to goe vnpuniſhed, O ye counſell and commons of Hamburg? What? haue you determined to gratifie Iſland in this ſort, which theſe many yeeres, by reaſon of your aboundant traffique with vs, and your tranſporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fiſhes, hath bene vnto your Citie in ſtead of a ſtorehouſe? In times paſt alſo, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Iſle: Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Iſlanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen ſuch commendations, and ſuch thanks, as are conteined in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I ſay) bene bred, brought forth, iterated, if not the thirde time publiſhed: which hath armed other people, vnto whom the name of Iſland was otherwiſe ſcarce knowne, to the diſdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Iſland ſuſteined theſe 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet ſuſteine. But many ſuch accidents often come to paſſe without the knowledge of the magiſtrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at ſuch infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not publiſhed: for ſuch editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldeſt not haue done vnto thy ſelfe: and to the lawes Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a moſt grieuous penaltie vnto thoſe, who inuent, write, vtter, or cauſe ſuch libels to be bought or ſold, or do not preſently vpon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

The commodities of Iſland.

The ancient traffique of England with Iſland.

Lawes againſt libels.

But now time bids vs to ſound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee Iſland (our moſt deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other ſuch inconueniences ſhall make irkſome vnto vs, ſo long as thou ceaſeſt not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Chriſt: where, firſt we doe earneſtly exhort thee to the ſerious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reueiled vnto vs in Chriſt: that thou wouldeſt preferre this before all things, being enflamed with deſire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldeſt not lightly eſteeme, contemne or hate the holy miniſterie and miniſters, but reuerence, cheriſh, and loue them. Accompting thoſe that practiſe the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the preſcript rule of pietie and honeſtie, that vnto this, thy ſtates and orders Eccleſiaſticall and politique may in all things be conformed: and ſo in either kinde of life relying thy ſelfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iuſtice, and auoyding others, who vpon ſtubberneſſe and impietie ſwerue therefrom. That thou wouldeſt alſo inflict iuſt puniſhments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magiſtrate will haue reſpect vnto. But eſpecially that thou admitteſt none to be Magiſtrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honeſtie, and ſuch as may adioyne vnto theſe vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the beſt of all good men be choſen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the ſubiects ſhalbe moſt proſperous: the liues and maners of all men ſhal proue by ſo much the more commendable: godlineſſe alſo and honeſtie ſhal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if paſtours of Churches be not anſwerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without reſpect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aſpire thereunto by their owne raſhneſſe, ambition, or auarice, and deſire of honour, yea though they be ſuſpected or conuicted of crimes and diſhoneſtie, or be protectours or vniuſt fauourers of ſuch perſons as are ſuſpected and conuicted; then what will be thy ſtate, oh Iſland? What wil be thy outward ſhew or condition? Doubtleſſe moſt miſerable. Neither ſhalt thou by any other meanes more ſuddenly approch to thy ruine and deſtruction, then if thou committeſt thy ſelfe to the gouernment of ſuch men, who to the vttermoſt of their power, although they be of thine owne blood, dayly ſeeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and ſecret malice. Wherefore (to be ſhort) let theſe be to aduertiſe my deare Countrey, how behouefull it is that the matters aforeſaid be put in practiſe.

But whileſt I am ſpeaking theſe things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull ſighes, which lie hid in the former ſpeach, might pierce the eares of our Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miſeries, which in this reſpect eſpecially doe ariſe, because wee are ſo farre diſtant from the ſeate and royall preſence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promiſe more ſecuritie of offending vnto themſelues. But we will commit all theſe matters to the moſt iuſt Iudge of heauen and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldeſt take in good part theſe my labours employed in thy ſeruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of ſuch worth as I could wiſh, yet ſith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer becauſe I miſtruſted my ſelfe as one inſufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatſoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle-ſoeuer which for my ſlender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to ſuppreſſe it: for I eſteeme not thoſe men worthy of commendation, who deſpairing

To ouergrow the limmes of *Lyco* ſtoute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute.

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatiſe ſhall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne diſgrace. But if it ſhall any thing auaile to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well beſtowed. Yea, if by this my ſlender attempt I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my natiue Countreymen, being farre my ſuperiours both in learning and induſtrie to take thy cauſe in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reaſon is there why any man ſhould ſay that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addreſſe themſelues to write, howſoeuer my fame ſhalbe obſcured, yet will I comfort my ſelfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue ſpeciall regard of his name and fame, yet is he to haue more of his Countrey, whoſe dignitie being ſafe and ſound, we alſo muſt needes eſteeme our ſelues to be in ſafetie.

Written at *Holen Hialtedale* in *Iſland*, the yeere of our
Lord 1592, the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the graue and learned *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Biſhop of *Holen* in *Iſland*, concerning the ancient ſtate of *Iſland* and *Gronland*, &c.

Reuerendiſſimo viro, eruditione & virtute conſpicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Eccleſiæ *Hareuicenſis* in *Anglia* paſtori vigilantiſſimo, fratri & ſymmyſtæ obſeruando.

MIrabar equidem (vt conjicis, reuerende domine paſtor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, ſcriptis ſalutari. Cæterùm, cum vlterius progrederer, comperi me, ſi non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua eſt humanitas) innotuiſſe: Simulq; quòd te nominis Iſlandorum ſtudioſum experirer, ex animo gauiſus ſum. Vndè etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Euangelio Ieſu Chriſti nobis congratulantis, déque gente noſtra tàm benignè támque honorificè ſentientis & ſcribentis, apud nos ignotum eſſe deſinat.

Commentarius breuis de Iſlandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Iſlandum editus, 1593.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimēta attinet, quæ hic extare creduntur, nihil ſanè eſt (pręter illa, quorum in Commentario iſto de Iſlandia, quem vidiſſe te ſcribis, fit mentio) de hac noſtra inſula lectu ſcriptuuè dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter hiſtoriam Regum Noruegiæ, ſeu veriùs eiuſdem hiſtoriæ fragmenta; quę alijs alitèr deſcripta ſunt: ſunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi ‖ Biarmlandia nuncupatur, & à qua haud vaſto interuallo ſita ſit, circum quaſi Iſlandiam exporrigi. *Illic noſtrates aliquando commercia exercuiſſe, & eam terram tempore Pontificiorum ſuos Epiſcopos habuiſſe annales noſtri teſtantur.* Cętera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama eſt, veſtris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis eſſe in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, ſi me certiorem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Etiam velim quæcunque noua erunt de rebus veſtratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronlandia olim ſuos habuit Epiſcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reuerende Dom. paſtor) Deo, muſis, & commiſſo gregi quàm diutiſſime ſuperſtes, Amen. Ex Iſlandia in feſto viſitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuę ſtudioſus Gudbrandus Thorlacius Epiſcopus
Holenſis in Iſlandia.

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Maſter *Hugh Branham* miniſter of the Church of *Harwich* in *England*, his brother and felow-paſtour, &c.

I Much marueiled (euen as your ſelfe, reuerend ſir, coniectured that I would) at the firſt ſight of your letters, that being a ſtranger I ſhould be ſaluted in writing by one altogether vnknowen vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my ſelfe, if not otherwiſe, yet by name at leaſt (which proceedeth of your curteſie) knowen vnto you: And alſo, for that I ſawe you deſirous of the credite and honeſt report of vs Iſlanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my ſelfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (becauſe you congratulate with vs for the Goſpel of Chriſt here publiſhed, and doe thinke and write ſo louingly and honourably of our nation) may ceaſe hereafter to be vnknowen amongſt vs.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant; there is, in very deede, nothing (except thoſe particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Iſland, which you write vnto me that you haue ſeene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we haue litle to ſhewe, beſides the hiſtory of the Kings of Norway, (or rather ſome fragments of the ſame hiſtory) which others haue otherwiſe deſcribed: howbeit they are all in a maner ſuch things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnleſſe it be ſome fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our aunceſtours; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called ‖ Biarmlandia, and from whence the ſaide Gronland is not farre diſtant, it ſtretcheth about the Northren coaſt of Iſland with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewiſe doe teſtifie that our owne countreymen in times paſt reſorted thither for traffique, and alſo that the very ſame countrey of Gronland had certaine Biſhops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Engliſhmen (whom I may almoſt call the lordes of the Ocean ſea) make yeerely voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you pleaſe to giue me further aduertiſement, you ſhall doe me an eſpecial fauour. Moreouer, whatſoeuer newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend ſir) wiſhing you long life, for the ſeruice of God, for the increaſe of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you farewel. From Iſland vpon the feaſt of the viſitation of the bleſſed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

This is the briefe Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.

‖ Biarmia.

Groneland in old time had Christian Biſhops.

Yours *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Biſhop of
Hola in *Iſland.*

The miraculous victory atchieued by the *Engliſh* Fleete,

vnder the diſcreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. *Charles Howard*, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Vpon the *Spaniſh* huge *Armada* ſent in the yeere 1588. for the inuaſion of *England*, together with the woſull and miſerable ſucceſſe of the ſaid *Armada* afterward, vpon the coaſts of *Norway*, of the *Scottiſh* Weſterne Iſles, of *Ireland*, of *Spaine*, of *France*, and of *England*, &c. Recorded in Latine by *Emanuel van Meteran* in the 15. booke of his hiſtory of the low Countreys.

HAuing in part declared the ſtrange and wonderfull euents of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene ſo long time foretold by ancient propheſies; we will now make relation of the moſt notable and great enterpriſe of all others which were in the foreſaid yeere atchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and deſtruction. And it was the expedition which the Spaniſh king, hauing a long time determined the ſame in his minde, and hauing conſulted thereabout with the Pope, ſet foorth and vndertooke againſt England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might ſubdue the Realme of England, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be ſufficiently reuenged for the diſgrace, contempt and diſhonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the Engliſh nation, and for diuers other iniuries which had taken deepe impreſſion in his thoughts. And alſo for that hee deemed this to bee the moſt readie and direct courſe, whereby hee might recouer his hereditarie poſſeſſion of the lowe Countreys, hauing reſtrained the inhabitants from ſayling vpon the coaſt of England.

Which verily, vpon moſt weightie arguments and euident reaſons, was thought would vndoubtedly haue come to paſſe, conſidering the great aboundance and ſtore of all things neceſſary wherewith thoſe men were furniſhed, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs deſcribe the matter more particularly.

The preparation of the Spaniſh King to ſubdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spaniſh King hauing with ſmall fruite and commoditie, for aboue twentie yeeres together, waged warre againſt the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counſellers thereabout, thought it moſt conuenient to aſſault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted ſundry times heretofore, but not with forces ſufficient. Unto the which expedition it ſtoode him nowe in hand to ioyne great puiſſance, as hauing the Engliſh people his profeſſed enemies; whoſe Iland is ſo ſituate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all ſuch as ſaile into thoſe parts. For which cauſe hee thought good firſt of all to inuade England, being perſwaded by his Secretary Eſcouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many Engliſh fugitiues, that the conqueſt of that Iland was leſſe difficult then the conqueſt of Holland and Zeland. Moreouer the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoouefull for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be conſtrained continually to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his Eaſt and Weſt Indie Fleetes, from the Engliſh Drake, and from ſuch like valiant enemies.

And for the ſame purpoſe the king Catholique had giuen commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber ſhould be felled for the building of ſhippes; and had beſides made great preparation of things and furniture requiſite for ſuch an expedition; as namely in founding of braſen Ordinance, in ſtoring vp of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to vſe warlike weapons, in leauying and muſtering of ſouldiers: inſomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finiſhed ſuch a mightie Nauie, and brought it into Liſbon hauen, as neuer the like had before that time ſailed vpon the Ocean ſea.

A very large and particular deſcription of this Nauie was put in print and publiſhed by the Spaniards; wherein were ſet downe the number, names, and burthens of the ſhippes, the number of Mariners and ſouldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewiſe the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their Nauall furniture was in the ſaide deſcription particularized. Unto all theſe were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was ſo great a multitude, that ſcarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, ſonne or kinſeman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchaſe vnto themſelues in that Nauie (as they termed it) inuincible, endleſſe glory and renowne, and to poſſeſſe themſelues of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But becauſe the ſaid deſcription was tranſlated and publiſhed out of Spaniſh into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or briefe rehearſall thereof.

The number and qualitie of the ſhips in the Spaniſh Fleete, with the ſouldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.

Portugal furniſhed and ſet foorth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. ſouldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requiſite furniture.

Biſcay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, ſet forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipuſco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Ilands, vnder Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Caſtile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. ſouldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. ſouldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemiſh hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. ſouldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliaſſes containing 1200. gally-ſlaues, 460. mariners, 870. ſouldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-ſlaues, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requiſite furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. ſouldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Beſides the ſhips aforementioned there were 20. carauels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe neceſſary ſeruices vnto the greater ſhips: inſomuch that all the ſhips appertayning to this Nauie amounted vnto the ſumme of 150. eche one being ſufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the ſaide Fleete were aboue 8000. of ſlaues 2088. of ſouldiers 20000. (beſides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great caſt pieces 2650. The foreſaid ſhips were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thouſand tunnes.

A deſcription of the Galeons.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bigneſſe, and very ſtately built, being of marueilous force alſo, and ſo high, that they reſembled great caſtles, moſt fit to defend themſelues and to withſtand any aſſault, but in giuing any other ſhips the encounter farre inferiour vnto the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themſelues at all aſſayes. The vpperworke of the ſaid Galeons was of thickneſſe and ſtrength ſufficient to beare off muſket-ſhot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of meaſure ſtrong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or fiue foote in thickneſſe, inſomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but ſuch as were diſcharged hard at hand: which afterward prooued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to ſticke faſt within the maſſie ſubſtance of thoſe thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the maſts of their ſhippes, to ſtrengthen them againſt the battery of ſhot.

A deſcription of the Galliaſſes.

The Galliaſſes were of ſuch bigneſſe, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houſes. The Galliaſſes were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. ſlaues for the ſame purpoſe, and were able to do great ſeruice with the force of their Ordinance. All theſe together with the reſidue aforenamed were furniſhed and beautified with trumpets, ſtreamers, banners, warlike enſignes, and other ſuch like ornaments.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gun-poulder, and other furniture.

Their pieces of braſen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thouſand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muſkets and kaliuers 7000. Of halberts and partiſans 10000.

Moreouer they had great ſtore of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land ſeruices.

Their prouiſion of victuals and other things neceſſary.

Likewiſe they were prouided of all inſtruments neceſſary on land to conueigh and tranſport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Alſo they had ſpades, mattocks and baſkets to ſet pioners on worke. They had in like ſort great ſtore of mules and horſes, and whatſoeuer elſe was requiſite for a land-armie. They were ſo well ſtored of biſcuit, that for the ſpace of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche perſon in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall euery moneth; whereof the whole ſumme amounteth vnto an hundreth thouſand quintals.

Likewiſe of wine they had 147. thouſand pipes, ſufficient alſo for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheeſe three thouſand quintals. Beſides fiſh, rice, beanes, peaſe, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreouer they had 12000. pipes of freſh-water, and all other neceſſary prouiſion, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, ſailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to ſtop holes that ſhould be made with the battery of gunſhot. To be ſhort, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by ſea, or for an armie by land.

This Nauie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confeſſed) was eſteemed by the King himſelfe to containe 32000. perſons, and to coſt him euery day 30. thouſand ducates.

A Spaniſh terza conſiſteth of 3200. ſouldiers.

There were in the ſaid Nauie fiue terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) vnder the command of fiue gouernours termed by the Spaniards, Maſters of the field, and amongſt the reſt there were many olde and expert ſouldiers choſen out of the gariſons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Franciſco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Iſla, Don Auguſtin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies vnder their conduct. Beſides the which companies there were many bands alſo of Caſtilians and Portugals, euery one of which had their peculiar gouernours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cauſe the women hired certaine ſhippes, wherein they ſailed after the Nauie: ſome of the which being driuen by tempeſt arriued vpon the coaſt of France.

The generall of this mightie Nauie, was Don Alonſo Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reaſon that the Marques of ſanta Cruz appointed for the ſame dignitie, deceaſed before the time.

Iohn Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marſhall: who all of them had their officers fit and requiſite for the guiding and managing of ſuch a multitude. Likewiſe Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquiſition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Ieſuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Beſides whom alſo there were Phiſitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatſoeuer elſe perteined vnto the hoſpitall.

Ouer and beſides the forenamed gouernours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne coſts and charges, to the ende they might ſee faſhions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongſt whom was the prince of Aſcoli, Alonzo de Leiua, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueſes and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordona, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furniſhing this their Nauie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue ayd & aſſiſtance vnto the Spaniards; building ſhips for the ſame purpoſe, and ſending for Pilots and ſhip-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee cauſed certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the reſt the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing ſome thouſands of workemen about that ſeruice: to the end that by the ſaid chanel he might tranſport ſhips from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had aſſembled aboue a hundreth ſmall ſhips called hoyes being well ſtored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to haue brought into the ſea by the way of Sluys, or elſe to haue conueyed them by the ſaide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatſoeuer.

In the riuer of Waten he cauſed 70. ſhips with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which ſhould ſerue to cary 30. horſes, hauing eche of them bridges likewiſe for the horſes to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the ſame faſhion he had prouided 200. other veſſels at Neiuport, but not ſo great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ſhips of warre, ſuch as were there to be had, and cauſed a ſufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballaſt of the ſaid ſhips, great ſtore of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beſet with yron pikes beneath, but on eche ſide full of claſpes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewiſe at Greueling prouided 20. thouſand of caſke, which in a ſhort ſpace might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer things were requiſite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and ſtopping vp of hauens mouthes with ſtakes, poſts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer not farre from Neiuport hauen, he had cauſed a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The moſt part of his ſhips conteined two ouens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of ſadles, bridles, and ſuch other like apparell for horſes. They had horſes likewiſe, which after their landing ſhould ſerue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouiſions.

Neere vnto Neiuport he had aſſembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-maſter. This army conſiſted of 30. bands or enſignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euery band containing a hundreth perſons. Neare vnto Dixmud there were muſtered 80. bands of Dutch men, ſixtie of Spaniards, ſixe of high Germans, and ſeuen bands of Engliſh fugitiues, vnder the conduct of ſir William Stanlie an Engliſh knight.

In the ſuburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horſemen together with their horſes in a readineſſe: and at Waten 900. horſes, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwaſto Captaine generall of the horſemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and preſuppoſed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable perſonages hied themſelues: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Paſtrana and taken to be the ſonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips baſe ſonnes. Alſo the Marques of Burgraue, one of the ſonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welſera. Veſpaſian Gonſaga of the family of Mantua, being for chiualry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices baſe ſonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his baſe ſonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conqueſt of England, and of the low Countries.

Likewiſe Pope Sixtus quintus for the ſetting forth of the foreſaid expedition, as they vſe to do againſt Turkes & infidels, publiſhed a Cruzado, with moſt ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. Theſe vaine buls the Engliſh and Dutchmen deriding, ſayd that the deuill at all paſſages lay in ambuſh like a thiefe, no whit regarding ſuch letters of ſafe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had beſtowed the realme of England with the title of *Defenſor fidei*, vpon the king of Spaine, giuing him charge to inuade it vpon this condition, that hee ſhould enioy the conquered realm, as a vaſſal and tributarie, in that regard, vnto the ſea of Rome. To this purpoſe the ſaid Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were ſubdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole buſineſſe, he diſpatched one D. Allen an Engliſh man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the ſame ende and purpoſe) into the Low countries, vnto whom he committed the adminiſtration of all matters eccleſiaſticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged againſt his owne natiue countrey, cauſed the Popes bull to be tranſlated into Engliſh, meaning vpon the arriual of the Spaniſh fleete, to haue it ſo publiſhed in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes moſt ſacred Maieſtie was by them moſt vniuſtly depriued of all princely titles and dignities, her ſubiects being enioined to performe obedience vnto the duke of Parma, and vnto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater ſecretie, and that the whole expedition might ſeeme rather to be intended againſt the Low countries, then againſt England, and that the Engliſh people might be perſwaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a ſolemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her maieſtie and the Spaniſh king.

Againſt which treatie the vnited prouinces making open proteſtation, vſed all meanes poſſible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requiſite to conſult how the enemie now preſſing vpon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit ſome there were in England that greatly vrged and proſecuted this league, ſaying, that it would be very commodious vnto the ſtate of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and nauigation, as for the auoiding of great expenſes to maintaine the warres, affirming alſo, that at the ſame time peace might eaſily and vpon reaſonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to diuert ſome other way, or to keepe backe the nauy now comming vpon them, and ſo to eſcape the danger of that tempeſt. Howſoeuer it was, the duke of Parma by theſe wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many Engliſh & Dutch men that were deſirous of peace: whereupon it came to paſſe, that England and the vnited prouinces prepared in deed ſome defence to withſtand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in compariſon of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the conſtant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gaue eare vnto the relation of certaine that ſayd, that this nauie was prouided to conduct and waft ouer the Indian Fleets: which ſeemed the more probable becauſe the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of ſo ſmall diſcretion as to aduenture thoſe huge and monſtrous ſhips vpon the ſhallow and dangerous chanel of England.

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the vnited prouinces might be ſecure of inuaſion.

At length when as the French king about the end of May ſignified vnto her Maieſtie in plaine termes that ſhe ſhould ſtand vpon her guard, becauſe he was now moſt certainly enformed, that there was ſo dangerous an inuaſion imminent vpon her realme, that he feared much leaſt all her land and ſea-forces would be ſufficient to withſtand it, &c. then began the Queens Maieſtie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furniſh her owne ſhips of warre, & the principall ſhips of her ſubiects with ſouldiers, weapons, and other neceſſary prouiſion. The greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips of the whole nauy ſhe ſent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Vnder whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of theſe ſhips was about an hundreth. The leſſer ſhips being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Douer and Caleis.

Her maieſties warlike preparation by ſea.

On land likewiſe throughout the whole realme, ſouldiers were muſtered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the moſt reſolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vnited himſelfe vnto the duke of Parma, ment to inuade by the riuer of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Eſſex ouer-againſt Graueſend, a mightie army encamped, and on both ſides of the riuer fortifications were erected, according to the preſcription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewiſe there were certaine ſhips brought to make a bridge, though it were very late firſt. Vnto the ſayd army came in proper perſon the Queens moſt roiall Maieſtie, repreſenting Tomyris that Scythian warlike princeſſe, or rather diuine Pallas her ſelfe. Alſo there were other ſuch armies leuied in England.

Her Maieſties land-forces.

The principall catholique Recuſants (leaſt they ſhould ſtirre vp any tumult in the time of the Spaniſh inuaſion) were ſent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Iſle of

Ely and at Wisbich. And ſome of them were ſent vnto other places, to wit, vnto ſundry biſhops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the ſtate of the common wealth, and of her ſacred Maieſtie, who of her moſt gracious clemencie gaue expreſſe commandement, that they ſhould be intreated with all humanitie any friendſhip.

The preparation of the vnited prouinces.

The prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themſelues: but becauſe the Spaniſh ſhips were deſcribed vnto them to be ſo huge, they relied partly vpon the ſhallow and dangerous ſeas all along their coaſts. Wherfore they ſtood moſt in doubt of the duke of Parma his ſmall and flat-bottomed ſhips. Howbeit they had all their ſhips of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readineſſe for all aſſayes: the greater part whereof were of a ſmall burthen, as being more meete to ſaile vpon their riuers and ſhallow ſeas: and with theſe ſhips they beſieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almoſt vnto Caleis, & fortified all their ſea-townes with ſtrong garriſons.

Againſt the Spaniſh fleets arriuall, they had prouided 25. or 30. good ſhips, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to ioine himſelfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foreſaid ſhips, (whereof the greater part beſieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were driuen by tempeſt into Zeland, Iuſtin of Naſſau the Admiral of Zeland ſupplied that ſquadron with 35. ſhips being of no great burthen, but excellently furniſhed with gunnes, mariners and ſouldiers in great abundance, and eſpecially with 1200. braue Muſquetiers, hauing bene accuſtomed vnto ſea-fights, and being choſen out of all their companies for the ſame purpoſe: and ſo the ſaid Iuſtin of Naſſau kept ſuch diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not iſſue foorth with his nauy into the ſea out of any part of Flanders.

The Spaniſh fleete ſet ſaile vpon the 19. of May.

In the meane while the Spaniſh Armada ſet ſaile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, *An. Dom*, 1588. vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their courſe for the Baie of Corunna, *alias* the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in ſouldiers and warlike prouiſion, this port being in Spaine the neereſt vnto England. As they were ſailing along, there aroſe ſuch a mightie tempeſt, that the whole Fleete was diſperſed, ſo that when the duke was returned vnto his company, he could not eſcry aboue 80. ſhips in all, whereunto the reſidue by litle and litle ioyned themſelues, except eight which had their maſtes blowen ouer-boord. One of the foure gallies of Portingal eſcaped very hardly, retiring her ſelfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coaſt of Baion in France, by the aſſiſtance and courage of one Dauid Gwin an Engliſh captiue (whom the French and Turkiſh ſlaues aided in the ſame enterpriſe) vtterly diſabled and vanquiſhed: one of the three being firſt ouercome, which conquered the two other, with the ſlaughter of their gouernours and ſouldiers, and among the reſt of Don Diego de Mandrana with ſundry others: and ſo thoſe ſlaues arriuing in France with the three Gallies, ſet themſelues at libertie.

They ſet ſaile from ẏ Groine vpon the 11. of Iuly.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Captaine Fleming.

The nauy hauing refreſhed themſelues at the Groine, & receiuing daily commandement from the king to haſten their iourney, hoiſed vp ſailes the 11. day of Iuly, and ſo holding on their courſe till the 19. of the ſame moneth, they came then vnto the mouth of the narow ſeas or Engliſh chanel. From whence (ſtriking their ſailes in the meane ſeaſon) they diſpatched certaine of their ſmal ſhips vnto the duke of Parma. At the ſame time the Spaniſh Fleete was eſcried by an Engliſh pinaſſe, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene aduertiſed of the Spaniards expedition by their ſcoutes and eſpials, which hauing ranged along the coaſt of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new ſupply of victuals and other neceſſaries, who conſidering the foreſayd tempeſt, were of opinion that the nauy being of late diſperſed and toſſed vp and downe the maine Ocean, was by no meanes able to performe their intended voiage.

Moreouer, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had receiued letters from the court, ſignifying vnto him that her Maieſtie was aduertiſed that the Spaniſh Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maieſties commandement he muſt ſend backe foure of her talleſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips vnto Chattam.

The L. Admirals ſhort warning vpon the 19. of Iuly.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the ſudden, namely vpon the 19. of Iuly about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinaſſe of captaine Fleming aforeſaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all ſpeed and diligence poſſible he warped his ſhips, and cauſed his mariners and ſouldiers (the greater part of whom was abſent for the cauſe aforeſayd) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, inſomuch that the lord Admiral himſelfe was faine to lie without in the road with ſixe ſhips onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the hauen. The very next day being the 20. of Iuly about high noone, was the Spaniſh Fleete eſcried by the Engliſh, which with a Southweſt wind came ſailing along, and

The 20. of Iuly.

paſſed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the iudgement of many ſkilful nauigators) they greatly ouerſhot themſelues, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to haue ſtaied themſelues there, conſidering that the Engliſhmen being as yet vnprouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the eſtate of the Spaniſh nauy. Moreouer, this was the moſt conuenient port of all others, where they might with greater ſecuritie haue bene aduertiſed of the Engliſh forces, and how the commons of the land ſtood affected, and might haue ſtirred vp ſome mutinie, ſo that hither they ſhould haue bent all their puiſſance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more eaſily haue conueied his ſhips.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counſell, and were expreſſely commanded to vnite themſelues vnto the ſouldiers and ſhips of the ſaid duke of Parma, and ſo to bring their purpoſe to effect. Which was thought to be the moſt eaſie and direct courſe, for that they imagined that the Engliſh and Dutch men would be vtterly daunted and diſmaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince and Porte for the defence thereof, and tranſporting the armie of the duke vnder the protection of their huge nauy, they might inuade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the nauy, and thoſe which were more ſkilfull in nauigation, to wit, Iohn Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and diuers others found fault that they were bound vnto ſo ſtrict directions and inſtructions, becauſe that in ſuch a caſe many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be reſpected at one and the ſame inſtant, that is to ſay, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might ſaile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes alſo the darkeneſſe and light, the ſituation of places, the depths and ſhoulds were to be conſidered: all which eſpecially depended vpon the conueniencie of the windes, and were by ſo much the more dangerous.

But it ſeemeth that they were enioined by their commiſſion to ancre neere vnto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ſhips and all his warrelike prouiſion was to reſort, and while the Engliſh and Spaniſh great ſhips were in the midſt of their conflict, to paſſe by, and to land his ſouldiers vpon the Downes.

The Spaniſh captiues reported that they were determined firſt to haue entred the riuer of Thames, and thereupon to haue paſſed with ſmall ſhips vp to London, ſuppoſing that they might eaſily winne that rich and flouriſhing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accuſtomed to the warres, who durſt not withſtand their firſt encounter, hoping moreouer to finde many rebels againſt her Maieſtie and popiſh catholiques, or ſome fauourers of the Scottiſh queene (which was not long before moſt iuſtly beheaded) who might be inſtruments of ſedition.

Thus often aduertiſing the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of Iuly they paſſed by Plimmouth, which the Engliſh ſhips purſuing and getting the wind of them, gaue them the chaſe and the encounter, and ſo both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The 21. of Iuly.

The day following which was the 21. of Iuly, the Engliſh ſhips approched within muſquet ſhot of the Spaniſh: at what time the lorde Charles Howard moſt hotly and valiantly diſcharged his Ordinance vpon the Spaniſh Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiuing the nimbleneſſe of the Engliſh ſhips in diſcharging vpon the enimie on all ſides, gathered themſelues cloſe into the forme of an halfe moone, and ſlackened their ſailes, leaſt they ſhould outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliaſſes was ſo furiouſly battered with ſhot, that the whole nauy was faine to come vp rounder together for the ſafegard thereof: whereby it came to paſſe that the principall Galleon of Siuill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vaſques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another ſhippe, had her fore-maſt broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spaniſh Fleete, neither would the ſayde Fleete ſtay to ſuccour it, but left the diſtreſſed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he ſaw this ſhip of Valdez, & thought ſhe had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many ſhippes as he could, paſſed by it, that he might not looſe ſight of the Spaniſh Fleet that night. For ſir Francis Drake (who was notwithſtanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giuing of chaſe vnto fiue great Hulkes which had ſeparated themſelues from the Spaniſh Fleete: but finding them to be Eaſterlings, he diſmiſſed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spaniſh lanterne in ſtead of the Engliſh, found himſelfe in the morning to be in the midſt of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, hee cleanly conueyed himſelfe out of that great danger.

The 22. of Iuly.

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of Iuly, Sir Francis Drake eſpied Valdez his ſhippe, whereunto hee ſent foorth his pinnaſſe, and being aduertiſed that Valdez himſelfe was there, and 450. perſons with him, he ſent him word that he ſhould yeeld himſelfe. Valdez for his honors ſake cauſed certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who anſwered Valdez that he was not now at laiſure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himſelfe, he ſhould find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had reſolued to die in fight, he ſhould prooue Drake to be no baſtard.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ſhip & company taken.

Vpon which anſwere Valdez and his company vnderſtanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooued with the renowme and celebritie of his name, with one conſent yeelded themſelues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on bord ſir Francis Drakes ſhip. The reſidue of his company were caried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ranſome.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kiſſing his hand proteſted vnto him, that he and his had reſolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee moſt fauourable vnto his vanquiſhed foe: inſomuch that he ſayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cauſe to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and proſperous exploites, or to dread him for his ſingular felicitie and wiſedom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto ſo great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount vnto Drake the forces of all the Spaniſh Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were ſeparated by tempeſt from them: and alſo how they were determined firſt to haue put into Plimmouth hauen, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the Engliſh ſhips which they thought could by no meanes withſtand their impregnable forces, perſwading themſelues that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commanders of the maine Ocean. For which cauſe they marueled much how the Engliſh men in their ſmall ſhips durſt approch within muſket ſhot of the Spaniards mightie woodden caſtles, gathering the wind of them with many other ſuch like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spaniſh Fleete, and being deſcended of one and the ſame familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. beſieged Leiden in Holland, were ſent captiues into England. There were in the ſayd ſhip 55. thouſand ducates in ready money of the Spaniſh kings gold, which the ſouldiers merily ſhared among themſelues.

The ſame day was ſet on fire one of their greateſt ſhippes, being Admirall of the ſquadron of Guipuſco, and being the ſhippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great ſtore of gunnepowder and other warrelike prouiſion. The vpper part onely of this ſhippe was burnt, and all the perſons therein contained (except a very few) were conſumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the Engliſh, and brought into England with a number of miſerable burnt and ſkorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconſumed.

A great Biſcaine ſhip taken by the Engliſh.

In the meane ſeaſon the lord Admirall of England in his ſhip called the Arke-royall, all that night purſued the Spaniards ſo neere, that in the morning hee was almoſt left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the reſidue of the Engliſh Fleet could ouertake him.

At the ſame time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the foure Galliaſſes, made humble ſute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit vnto him, becauſe hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commiſſion and charge.

The 23. of Iuly.

Vpon Tueſday which was the three and twentie of Iuly, the nauy being come ouer againſt Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, inſomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the Engliſh. But the Engliſhmen hauing leſſer and nimbler Ships, recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards ſeemed to bee more incenſed to fight then before. But when the Engliſh Fleete had continually and without intermiſſion from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their ſhot both great and ſmall: the Spaniardes vniting themſelues, gathered their whole Fleete cloſe together into a roundell, ſo that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themſelues and to make haſt vnto the place preſcribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might ioine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to haue proceeded ſecretly with his ſmall ſhippes vnder the ſhadow and protection of the great ones, and ſo had intended circumſpectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the moſt furious and bloodie ſkirmiſh of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidſt his enimies Fleete, and ſeeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee ſpake vnto him in theſe wordes: Oh George what doeſt thou? Wilt thou nowe fruſtrate my hope and opinion conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forſake mee nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a moſt valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conuerſant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ſhip with other ſmall ſhips ſurpriſed and taken by the Engliſh.

A great Venetian ſhip and other ſmall ſhips taken by the Engliſh.

The Engliſh nauie in the meane while increaſed, whereunto out of all Hauens of the Realme reſorted ſhips and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as vnto a ſet field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull ſeruice to bee performed vnto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable perſonages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Maſter Ambroſe Willoughbie, Maſter Henry Nowell, Maſter Thomas Gerard, Maſter Henry Dudley, Maſter Edward Darcie, Maſter Arthur Gorge, Maſter Thomas Woodhouſe, Maſter William Haruie, &c. And ſo it came to paſſe that the number of the Engliſh ſhippes amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before Douer, were increaſed to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithſtanding of no proportionable bigneſſe to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater ſhippes, which onely, by reaſon of their preſence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the Engliſh Fleet: the mariners and ſouldiers whereof were eſteemed to be twelue thouſand.

The foure and twentie of Iuly when as the ſea was calme, and no winde ſtirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleaſſes and the Engliſh ſhippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the ſayde Engliſh ſhippes, which notwithſtanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but diſcharged their chaine-ſhot to cut aſunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleaſſes, with many other ſuch Stratagemes. They were nowe conſtrained to ſend their men on land for a newe ſupplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great ſkarcitie, by reaſon they had ſo frankely ſpent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The 24. of Iuly.

The ſame day, a Counſell being aſſembled, it was decreed that the Engliſh Fleete ſhould bee deuided into foure ſquadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the lord Admirall: the ſecond, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobiſher.

The Spaniards in their ſailing obſerued very diligent and good order, ſayling three and foure, and ſometimes more ſhips in a ranke, and folowing cloſe vp one after another, and the ſtronger and greater ſhips protecting the leſſer.

The fiue and twentie of Iuly when the Spaniardes were come ouer-againſt the Iſle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his beſt ſhips, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas vnder the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel ſonne in lawe vnto the lord Admirall: the Beare vnder the lord Sheffield nephewe vnto the lord Admirall: the Victorie vnder Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leiceſter vnder the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of ſhot, encountered the Spaniſh Admiral being in the very midſt of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being aſſiſted with his ſtrongeſt ſhips, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the Engliſh: for they beſtowed each on other the broad ſides, and mutually diſcharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

The 25. of Iuly.

At length the Spaniardes hoiſed vp their ſayles, and againe gathered themſelues vp cloſe into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobiſher had engaged himſelfe into a moſt dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to ſuccour him, found that hee had valiantly and diſcreetly behaued himſelfe, and that hee had wiſely and in good time

giuen

ouer the ſight, becauſe that after ſo great a batterie he had ſuſtained no damage.

The 26. of Iuly. For which cauſe the day following, being the ſixe and twentie of Iuly, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. Iohn Hawkins and others.

The ſame day the lord Admirall receiued intelligence from Newhauen in France, by certaine of his Pinnaſſes, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of ſending aide vnto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guiſian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a falſe rumour ſpread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of Iuly. The Spaniards ancre before Caleis. The ſeuen and twentie of Iuly, the Spaniards about the ſunne-ſetting were come ouer-againſt Douer, and rode at ancre within the ſight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewiſe the Engliſh Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred iuſt by them within culuering-ſhot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vnited himſelfe vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ſhips which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spaniſh nauie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina ſent certaine meſſengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occaſion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refreſh themſelues on land: and amongſt the reſt the prince of Aſcoli, being accounted the kings baſe ſonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on ſhore, who was by ſo much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the ſame ſhip, out of which he was departed, becauſe that in returning home it was caſt away vpon the Iriſh coaſt, with all the perſons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertiſed of the Spaniſh Fleetes arriuall vpon the coaſt of England, made all the haſte hee could to bee preſent himſelfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perſwading himſelfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee ſhould be crowned king of England, and for that cauſe hee had reſigned the gouernement of the Lowe countries vnto Count Manſfeld the elder. And hauing made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to viſite for his blind deuotions ſake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of Iuly. The 28. of Iuly.

The 29. of Iuly. The next day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the ſame euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderſtand the hard ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh Fleete.

The 30. of Iuly. Vpon Tueſday which was the thirtieth of Iuly, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spaniſh Fleete was now paſſed by: neither durſt any of his ſhips in the meane ſpace come foorth to aſſiſt the ſayd Spaniſh Fleete for feare of fiue and thirtie warrelike ſhips of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iuſtin of Naſſau.

The foreſayd fiue and thirtie ſhippes were furniſhed with moſt cunning mariners and olde expert ſouldiers, amongſt the which were twelue hundred Muſketiers, whom the States had choſen out of all their gariſons, and whom they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in ſea-fights.

This nauie was giuen eſpecially in charge not to ſuffer any ſhippe to come out of the Hauen, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other ſmall veſſels of the Spaniſh Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ſhips were not to be feared by reaſon of the ſhallow ſea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his ſhippes, onely the Engliſh Fugitiues being ſeuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to haue bene embarked, becauſe they hoped to giue the firſt aſſault againſt England. The reſidue ſhewed themſelues vnwilling and loath to depart, becauſe they ſawe but a few mariners, who were by conſtraint drawne into this expedition, and alſo becauſe they had very bare prouiſion of bread, drinke, and other neceſſary victuals.

Moreouer, the ſhippes of Holland and Zeland ſtood continually in their ſight, threatening ſhot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which ſhippes, the Mariners and Sea-men ſecretly withdrew themſelues both day and night, leaſt that the duke of Parma his ſouldiers ſhould compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them iudged to bee impoſſible by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the Hauen.

But it ſeemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded vpon a vaine and preſumptuous expectation, that all the ſhips of England and of the Low countreys would at the firſt ſight of the Spaniſh and Dunkerk Nauie haue betaken themſelues to flight, yeelding them ſea roome, and endeuouring onely to defend themſelues, their hauens, and ſea coaſts from inuaſion. Wherefore their intent and purpoſe was, that the Duke of Parma in his ſmall and flat-bottomed ſhippes, ſhould as it were vnder the ſhadow and wings of the Spaniſh fleet, conuey ouer all his troupes, armour, and warlike prouiſion, and with their forces ſo vnited, ſhould inuade England; or while the Engliſh fleet were buſied in fight againſt the Spaniſh, ſhould enter vpon any part of the coaſt, which he thought to be moſt conuenient. Which inuaſion (as the captiues afterward confeſſed) the Duke of Parma thought firſt to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vpon the bankes whereof hauing at his firſt arriuall landed twenty or thirty thouſand of his principall ſouldiers, he ſuppoſed that he might eaſily haue woonne the Citie of London; both becauſe his ſmall ſhippes ſhould haue followed and aſſiſted his land-forces, and alſo for that the Citie it-ſelfe was but meanely fortified and eaſie to ouercome, by reaſon of the Citizens delicacie and diſcontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and conſtant labour might be vanquiſhed, if they yeelded not at the firſt aſſault. They were in good hope alſo to haue mette with ſome rebels againſt her Maieſtie, and ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent ſtate, as Papiſts, and others. Likewiſe they looked for ayde from the fauourers of the Scottiſh Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue ſtirred vp ſeditions and factions.

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet.

Whenas therefore the Spaniſh fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might conſult with the Duke of Parma what was beſt to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the preſent eſtate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purpoſed vpon the ſecond of Auguſt being Friday, with one power and conſent to haue put their intended buſineſſe in practiſe; the L. Admirall of England being admoniſhed by her Maieſties letters from the Court, thought it moſt expedient either to driue the Spaniſh fleet from that place, or at leaſtwiſe to giue them the encounter: and for that cauſe (according to her Maieſties preſcription) he tooke forthwith eight of his worſt & baſeſt ſhips which came next to hand, & diſburthening them of all things which ſeemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimſtone, and with other combuſtible and fiery matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and ſtones, he ſent the ſayd ſhips vpon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide againſt the Spaniſh fleet: which when they had proceeded a good ſpace, being forſaken of the Pilots, and ſet on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of Spaines Nauie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into ſuch a perplexity and horrour (for they feared leſt they were like vnto thoſe terrible ſhips, which Frederic Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the ſiege of Antwerpe, had furniſhed with gun-powder, ſtones, and dreadfull engines, for the diſſolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were faſtened, and hoiſing vp their ſailes, they betooke themſelues very confuſedly vnto the maine ſea.

The 28 of July.

In this ſudden confuſion, the principall and greateſt of the foure galliaſſes falling fowle of another ſhip, loſt her rudder: for which cauſe when ſhe could not be guided any longer, ſhe was by the force of the tide caſt into a certaine ſhowld vpon the ſhore of Caleis, where ſhe was immediatly aſſaulted by diuers Engliſh pinaſſes, hoyes, and drumblers.

The galliaſſe of Hugo de Moncada caſt vpon the ſhowlds before Caleis.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durſt not boord her, the L. Admirall ſent thither his long boat with an hundreth choiſe ſouldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preſton. Vpon whoſe approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliaſſe: againſt whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliaſſes, Hugo de Moncada, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe, fighting by ſo much the more valiantly, in that he hoped preſently to be ſuccoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane ſeaſon, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe ſtarke dead, and a great number of Spaniards alſo were ſlaine in his company. The greater part of the reſidue leaping ouer-boord into the ſea, to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming, were moſt of them drowned. Howbeit there eſcaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spaniſh fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards beſides: which Anthonio was the firſt man that carried certaine newes of the ſucceſſe of their fleet into Spaine.

M. Amias Preſton valiantly boordeth the galliaſſe.

This huge and monſtrous galliaſſe, wherein were contained three hundred ſlaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred ſouldiers, was in the ſpace of three houres rifled in the ſame place; and there were found amongſt diuers other cõmodities 50000 ducats of the Spaniſh kings treaſure.

ouer the fight, becauſe that after ſo great a batterie he had ſuſtained no damage.

The 26. of July.

For which cauſe the day following, being the ſixe and twentie of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

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Likewiſe the Engliſh Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred iuſt by them within culuering-ſhot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vnited himſelfe vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ſhips which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spaniſh nauie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina ſent certaine meſſengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occaſion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refreſh themſelues on land: and amongſt the reſt the prince of Aſcoli, being accounted the kings baſe ſonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on ſhore, who was by ſo much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the ſame ſhip, out of which he was departed, becauſe that in returning home it was caſt away vpon the Iriſh coaſt, with all the perſons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertiſed of the Spaniſh Fleetes arriuall vpon the coaſt of England, made all the haſte hee could to bee preſent himſelfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perſwading himſelfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee ſhould be crowned king of England, and for that cauſe hee had reſigned the gouernement of the Lowe countries vnto Count Manſfeld the elder. And hauing made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to viſite for his blind deuotions ſake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July.

The 28. of July. The 29. of July.

The next day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the ſame euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderſtand the hard ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh Fleete.

The 30. of July.

Vpon Tueſday which was the thirtieth of July, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spaniſh Fleete was now paſſed by: neither durſt any of his ſhips in the meane ſpace come foorth to aſſiſt the ſayd Spaniſh Fleete for feare of fiue and thirtie warrelike ſhips of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iuſtin of Naſſau.

The foreſayd fiue and thirtie ſhippes were furniſhed with moſt cunning mariners and olde expert ſouldiers, amongſt the which were twelue hundred Muſketiers, whom the States had choſen out of all their gariſons, and whom they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in ſea-fights.

This nauie was giuen eſpecially in charge not to ſuffer any ſhippe to come out of the Hauen, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other ſmall veſſels of the Spaniſh Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ſhips were not to be feared by reaſon of the ſhallow ſea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his ſhippes, onely the Engliſh Fugitiues being ſeuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to haue bene embarked, becauſe they hoped to giue the firſt aſſault againſt England. The reſidue ſhewed themſelues vnwilling and loath to depart, becauſe they ſawe but a few mariners, who were by conſtraint drawne into this expedition, and alſo becauſe they had very bare prouiſion of bread, drinke, and other neceſſary victuals.

Moreouer, the ſhippes of Holland and Zeland ſtood continually in their ſight, threatening ſhot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which ſhippes, the Mariners and Sea-men ſecretly withdrew themſelues both day and night, leaſt that the duke of Parma his ſouldiers ſhould compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them iudged to bee impoſſible by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the Hauen.

But

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their owne fleet.

But it ſeemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded vpon a vaine and preſumptuous expectation, that all the ſhips of England and of the Low countreys would at the firſt ſight of the Spaniſh and Dunkerk Nauie haue betaken themſelues to flight, yeelding them ſea roome, and endeuouring onely to defend themſelues, their hauens, and ſea coaſts from inuaſion. Wherefore their intent and purpoſe was, that the Duke of Parma in his ſmall and flat-bottomed ſhippes, ſhould as it were vnder the ſhadow and wings of the Spaniſh fleet, conuey ouer all his troupes, armour, and warlike prouiſion, and with their forces ſo vnited, ſhould inuade England; or while the Engliſh fleet were buſied in fight againſt the Spaniſh, ſhould enter vpon any part of the coaſt, which he thought to be moſt conuenient. Which inuaſion (as the captiues afterward confeſſed) the Duke of Parma thought firſt to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vpon the bankes whereof hauing at his firſt arriuall landed twenty or thirty thouſand of his principall ſouldiers, he ſuppoſed that he might eaſily haue woonne the Citie of London; both becauſe his ſmall ſhippes ſhould haue followed and aſſiſted his land-forces, and alſo for that the Citie it-ſelfe was but meanely fortified and eaſie to ouercome, by reaſon of the Citizens delicacie and diſcontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and conſtant labour might be vanquiſhed, if they yeelded not at the firſt aſſault. They were in good hope alſo to haue mette with ſome rebels againſt her Maieſtie, and ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent ſtate, as Papiſts, and others. Likewiſe they looked for ayde from the fauourers of the Scottiſh Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue ſtirred vp ſeditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spaniſh fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might conſult with the Duke of Parma what was beſt to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the preſent eſtate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purpoſed vpon the ſecond of Auguſt being Friday, with one power and conſent to haue put their intended buſineſſe in practiſe; the L. Admirall of England being admoniſhed by her Maieſties letters from the Court, thought it moſt expedient either to driue the Spaniſh fleet from that place, or at leaſtwiſe to giue them the encounter: and for that cauſe (according to her Maieſties preſcription) he tooke forthwith eight of his worſt & baſeſt ſhips which came next to hand, & diſburthening them of all things which ſeemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimſtone, and with other combuſtible and firy matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and ſtones, he ſent the ſayd ſhips vpon the 28 of Iuly being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide againſt the Spaniſh fleet: which when they had proceeded a good ſpace, being forſaken of the Pilots, and ſet on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of Spaines Nauie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into ſuch a perplexity and horrour (for they feared leſt they were like vnto thoſe terrible ſhips, which Frederic Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the ſiege of Antwerpe, had furniſhed with gun-powder, ſtones, and dreadfull engines, for the diſſolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were faſtened, and hoiſing vp their ſailes, they betooke themſelues very confuſedly vnto the maine ſea.

The 28 of Iuly.

The galliaſſe of Hugo de Moncada caſt vpon the ſhowlds before Caleis.

In this ſudden confuſion, the principall and greateſt of the foure galliaſſes falling fowle of another ſhip, loſt her rudder: for which cauſe when ſhe could not be guided any longer, ſhe was by the force of the tide caſt into a certaine ſhowld vpon the ſhore of Caleis, where ſhe was immediatly aſſaulted by diuers Engliſh pinaſſes, hoyes, and drumblers.

M. Amias Preſton valiantly boordeth the galliaſſe.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durſt not boord her, the L. Admirall ſent thither his long boat with an hundreth choiſe ſouldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preſton. Vpon whoſe approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliaſſe: againſt whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliaſſes, Hugo de Moncada, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe, fighting by ſo much the more valiantly, in that he hoped preſently to be ſuccoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane ſeaſon, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe ſtarke dead, and a great number of Spaniards alſo were ſlaine in his company. The greater part of the reſidue leaping ouer-boord into the ſea, to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming, were moſt of them drowned. Howbeit there eſcaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spaniſh fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards beſides: which Anthonio was the firſt man that carried certaine newes of the ſucceſſe of their fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monſtrous galliaſſe, wherein were contained three hundred ſlaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred ſouldiers, was in the ſpace of three houres rifled in the ſame place; and there were found amongſt diuers other cōmodities 50000 ducats of the Spaniſh kings treaſure.

At length when the ſlaues were releaſed out of their fetters, the Engliſh men would haue ſet the ſayd ſhip on fire, which Monſieur Gourdon the gouernor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon enſue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to do, but draue them from thence with his great ordinance.

The great fight before Greueling the 29 of Iuly.

Vpon the 29 of Iuly in the morning, the Spaniſh Fleet after the foreſayd tumult, hauing arranged themſelues againe into order, were, within ſight of Greueling, moſt brauely and furiouſly encountered by the Engliſh; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who ſuffered themſelues to be depriued of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the aduantage of the winde neere vnto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or ſeparate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, ſtanding onely vpon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ſhips in the Engliſh fleet, yet ſcarſe were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spaniſh ſhips in bigneſſe, or could conueniently aſſault them. Wherefore the Engliſh ſhippes vſing their prerogatiue of nimble ſtirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themſelues with the winde which way they liſted, came often times very neere vpon the Spaniards, and charged them ſo ſore, that now and then they were but a pikes length aſunder: & ſo continually giuing them one broad ſide after another, they diſcharged all their ſhot both great and ſmall vpon them, ſpending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, vntill ſuch time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to purſue the Spaniards any longer, becauſe they had many great vantages of the Engliſh, namely for the extraordinary bigneſſe of their ſhips, and alſo for that they were ſo neerely conioyned, and kept together in ſo good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The Engliſh thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themſelues, in chaſing the Spaniards firſt from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to haue hindered them from ioyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue driuen them from their owne coaſts.

The Spaniards that day ſuſtained great loſſe and damage hauing many of their ſhippes ſhot thorow and thorow, and they diſcharged likewiſe great ſtore of ordinance againſt the Engliſh; who indeed ſuſtained ſome hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards loſſe: for they loſt not any one ſhippe or perſon of account. For very diligent inquiſition being made, the Engliſh men all that time wherein the Spaniſh Nauy ſayled vpon their ſeas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes ſhippe was pierced with ſhot aboue forty times, and his very cabben was twiſe ſhot thorow, and about the concluſion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a bullet. Likewiſe, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner vpon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middeſt of their cabbin, touched their feet, and ſtrooke downe two of the ſtanders by, with many ſuch accidents befalling the Engliſh ſhippes, which it were tedious to rehearſe. Whereupon it is moſt apparant, that God miraculouſly preſerued the Engliſh nation. For the L. Admirall wrote vnto her Maieſtie that in all humane reaſon, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumſtance being duly conſidered) the Engliſh men were not of any ſuch force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within ſight of the Spaniſh Fleet: inſomuch that they freely aſcribed all the honour of their victory vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counſels to none effect.

Three Spaniſh ſhippes ſuncke in the fight.

The ſame day the Spaniſh ſhips were ſo battered with Engliſh ſhot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them ſuncke right downe: and among the reſt a certaine great ſhip of Biſcay, which Captaine Croſſe aſſaulted, which periſhed euen in the time of the conflict, ſo that very few therein eſcaped drowning; who reported that the gouernours of the ſame ſhippe ſlew one another vpon the occaſion following: one of them which would haue yeelded the ſhippe was ſuddenly ſlaine; the brother of the ſlaine party in reuenge of his death ſlew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ſhip ſuncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zeland.

The ſame night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of ſeuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forſaken of the Spaniſh Fleet, for they were ſo torne with ſhotte, that the water entred into them on all ſides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother vnto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands: beſides other gentlemen; who ſeeing their maſt broken with ſhotte, they ſhaped their courſe, aſwell as they could, for the coaſt of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ſhip committing themſelues to their ſkiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Oſtend; and the ſhip it ſelfe being left behinde with the reſidue of their company, was taken by the Vliſhingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-maſter and colonell of 32 bands, being brother vnto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ſhip was not very great, but exceeding ſtrong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were ſcarſe 20 wherewith ſhe was pierced or hurt: her vpper worke was of force ſufficient to beare off a musket ſhot: this ſhippe was ſhot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greueling; inſomuch that the leakage of the water could not be ſtopped: whereupon the duke of Medina ſent his great ſkiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might ſaue himſelfe and the principal perſons that were in his ſhip: which he, vpon a hault courage, refuſed to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to ſaile next vnto himſelfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reaſon of the great abundance of water which entered his ſhip on all ſides; for the auoiding wherof, and to ſaue his ſhip from ſincking, he cauſed 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to ſmall purpoſe. And ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken & ſeparated from his admirall, he endeuored what he could to attaine vnto the coaſt of Flanders: where, being eſpied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their ſtation aſſigned them vpon the ſame coaſt, he was admoniſhed to yeeld himſelfe vnto them. Which he refuſing to do, was ſtrongly aſſaulted by them altogether, and his ſhip being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worſe caſe then before, and 40 of his ſouldiers were ſlaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himſelfe vnto Peter Banderdueſs & other captaines, which brought him and his ſhip into Zeland; and that other ſhip alſo laſt before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, ſuncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foreſayd captaine Banderdueſs cauſed the banner of one of theſe ſhippes to be ſet vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of ſo great a length, that being faſtened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the ſame time another ſmall ſhip being by neceſſity driuen vpon the coaſt of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was caſt away vpon the ſands, the people therein being ſaued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ſhips to be preſented, not onely to the view of the Engliſh, but alſo of the Zelanders; that at the ſight of them they might acknowledge of what ſmall ability they had beene to reſiſt ſuch impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

A ſmall ſhippe caſt away about Blankenberg.

The 29 of July the Spaniſh fleet being encountered by the Engliſh (as is aforeſayd) and lying cloſe together vnder their fighting ſailes, with a Southweſt winde ſailed paſt Dunkerk, the Engliſh ſhips ſtil following the chaſe. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got ſearoome, they cut their maine ſailes; whereby they ſufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cauſe the L. Admirall of England diſpatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his ſquadron of ſmall ſhips vnto the coaſt of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ſhips, he might ſtop the prince of Parma his paſſage, if perhaps he ſhould attempt to iſſue forth with his army. And he himſelfe in the meane ſpace purſued the Spaniſh fleet vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, becauſe he thought they had ſet ſaile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not aſſault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But vpon the fourth of Auguſt, the winde ariſing, when as the Spaniards had ſpread all their ſailes, betaking themſelues wholly to flight, and leauing Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they ſufficiently declared that their whole intent was to ſaue themſelues by flight, attempting for that purpoſe, with their battered and crazed ſhips, the moſt dangerous nauigation of the Northren ſeas) the Engliſh ſeeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being vnwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themſelues, and becauſe they wanted things neceſſary, and eſpecially powder & ſhot, returned backe for England; leauing behinde them certaine pinaſſes onely, which they enioyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to obſerue their courſe. And ſo it came to paſſe that the fourth of Auguſt, with great danger and induſtry, the Engliſh arriued at Harwich: for they had bene toſſed vp and downe with a mighty tempeſt for the ſpace of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the Spaniſh fleet, being (as I ſayd before) ſo maimed and battered. The Engliſh now going on ſhore, prouided themſelues foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all aſſayes to entertaine the Spaniſh fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards courſe, they thought it beſt to leaue them vnto thoſe boiſterous and vncouth Northren ſeas, and not there to hunt after them.

The diſhonourable flight of the Spaniſh nauy: and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.

The Engliſh returne home from the purſuite of ẏ Spaniards the 4 of Auguſt.

The Spaniards ſeeing now that they wanted foure or fiue thouſand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and ſicke perſons, and likewiſe hauing loſt 10 or 12 of their principall ſhips, they conſulted among themſelues, what they were beſt to doe, being now eſcaped out of the hands of

The Spaniards conſult to ſaile round about Scotland and Ireland, and ſo to returne home.

the Engliſh, becauſe their victuals failed them in like ſort, and they began alſo to want cables, cordage, ankers, maſts, ſailes, and other naual furniture, and vtterly deſpaired of the Duke of Parma his aſſiſtance (who verily hoping and vndoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spaniſh Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other neceſſary furniture for a Nauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, ſo ſoone as the winde ſhould ſerue them, to fetch a compaſſe about Scotland and Ireland, and ſo to returne for Spaine.

For they well vnderſtood, that commandement was giuen throwout all Scotland, that they ſhould not haue any ſuccour or aſſiſtance there. Neither yet could they in Norway ſupply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine Scotiſh and other fiſherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ſhips, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing alſo leaſt their freſh water ſhould faile them, they caſt all their horſes and mules ouer-boord: and ſo touching no where vpon the coaſt of Scotland, but being carried with a freſh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Iſles, they proceeded farre North, euen vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being diſtant from any land at the leaſt 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to ſhape their courſe for Biſcay: and he himſelfe with twenty or fiue and twenty of his ſhips which were beſt prouided of freſh water and other neceſſaries, holding on his courſe ouer the maine Ocean, returned ſafely home. The reſidue of his ſhips being about forty in nember, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coaſt of Ireland, intending their courſe for Cape Clare, becauſe they hoped there to get freſh water, and to refreſh themſelues on land. But after they were driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the ſecond of September, they were caſt by a tempeſt ariſing from the Southweſt vpon diuers parts of Ireland, where many of their ſhips periſhed. And amongſt others, the ſhippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliaſſes: and two great ſhips of Venice alſo, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ſhips more, which periſhed in ſundry tempeſts, together with moſt of the perſons contained in them.

The ſhippewracke of the Spaniardes vpon the Iriſh coaſt.

Likewiſe ſome of the Spaniſh ſhips were the ſecond time carried with a ſtrong Weſt winde into the chanell of England, whereof ſome were taken by the Engliſh vpon their coaſt, and others by the men of Rochel vpon the coaſt of France.

Moreouer, there arriued at Newhauen in Normandy, being by tempeſt inforced ſo to doe, one of the foure great Galliaſſes, where they found the ſhips with the Spaniſh women which followed the Fleet at their ſetting forth. Two ſhips alſo were caſt away vpon the coaſt of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the perſons in the ſayd great ſhip were ſaued: inſomuch that of 134 ſhips, which ſet ſaile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely ſmall and great: namely of the foure galliaſſes but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were miſſing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were miſſing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were miſſing 81 ſhips, in which number were galliaſſes, gallies, galeons, and other veſſels both great and ſmall. And amongſt the 53 ſhips remaining, thoſe alſo are reckoned which returned home before they came into the Engliſh chanell. Two galeons of thoſe which were returned, were by miſfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and ſuch like miſhaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 perſons which went in this expedition, there periſhed (according to the number and proportion of the ſhips) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reaſon of the toiles and inconueniences which they ſuſtained in this voyage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of Medina immediatly vpon his returne was depoſed from his authority, commanded to his priuate houſe, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly ſatiſfie or yeeld a reaſon vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable perſonages and men of great renowme deceaſed ſoone after their returne; as namely Iohn Martines de Ricalde, with diuers others. A great part alſo of the Spaniſh Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition periſhed either by fight, diſeaſes, or drowning, before their arriual; & among the reſt Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and ſonne vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Of 134 ſhips of the Spaniſh fleet, there returned home but 53.

Vpon the coaſt of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinſeman vnto the earle of Beneuentum & Calua, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the ſame ſhip was taken and detained as priſoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we ſayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of ſingular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vaſquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewiſe vpon the Scotiſh Weſterne Iſles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon the maine land, there were caſt away certaine Spaniſh ſhippes, out of which were ſaued diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almoſt foure hundred ſouldiers, who for the moſt part, after their ſhipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miſerably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were ſecretly ſhipped for Spaine; but the Scottiſh fleet wherein they paſſed touching at Yarmouth on the coaſt of Norfolke, were there ſtayed for a time vntill the Councels pleaſure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miſeries, though they were enemies, wincked at their paſſage.

Vpon the Iriſh coaſt many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and diuers ſlaine by the barbarous and wilde Iriſh. Howbeit there was brought priſoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Laſſo, and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the cuſtodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monſieur de Teligny the ſonne of Monſieur de la Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained priſoner in the Caſtle of Turney) might be raunſomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor worthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition loſt not a ſonne, a brother, or a kinſeman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders cauſed newe coine of Siluer and braſſe to be ſtamped: which on the one ſide contained the armes of Zeland, with this inſcription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other ſide, the pictures of certeine great ſhips, with theſe words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ſhips: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to ſay, the Spaniſh fleet came, went, and was vanquiſhed this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely.

New coines ſtamped for the memory of the Spaniards ouerthrow.

Likewiſe they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one ſide whereof was repreſented a ſhip fleeing, and a ſhip ſincking: on the other ſide foure men making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this ſentence: Man purpoſeth; God diſpoſeth. 1588. Alſo, for the laſting memory of the ſame matter, they haue ſtamped in Holland diuers ſuch like coines, according to the cuſtome of the ancient Romans.

While this woonderfull and puiſſant Nauie was ſayling along the Engliſh coaſtes, and all men did now plainely ſee and heare that which before they would not be perſwaded of, all people thorowout England proſtrated themſelues with humble prayers and ſupplications vnto God: but eſpecially the outlandiſh Churches (who had greateſt cauſe to feare, and againſt whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened moſt grieuous torments) enioyned to their people continuall faſtings and ſupplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon them for their ſinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge againſt all enemies, calamities, and neceſſities, and that it was the onely ſolace and reliefe for mankinde, being viſited with affliction and miſery. Likewiſe ſuch ſolemne dayes of ſupplication were obſerued thorowout the vnited Prouinces.

The people of England and of the vnited prouinces, pray, faſt, and giue thanks vnto God.

Alſo a while after the Spaniſh Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Maieſtie, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the direction of the States, a ſolemne feſtiuall day publikely appointed, wherein all perſons were enioyned to reſort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praiſes vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foreſayd ſolemnity was obſerued vpon the 29 of Nouember; which day was wholly ſpent in faſting, prayer, and giuing of thanks.

Likewiſe, the Queenes Maieſtie herſelfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her ſubiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very ſolemnely by all the principall eſtates and officers of her Realme, ſhe was carried thorow her ſayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the enſignes and colours of the vanquiſhed Spaniards hung diſplayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liueries ſtood on either ſide the ſtreet, by their ſeuerall Companies, with their enſignes and banners: and the ſtreets were hanged on both ſides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foreſayd banners, yeelded a very ſtately and gallant proſpect. Her Maieſtie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and cauſed a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls croſſe; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praiſe, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thankſgiuing. And with her owne princely voice ſhe moſt Chriſtianly exhorted the people to doe the ſame: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wiſhed her a moſt long and happy life, to the confuſion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themſelues termed in all places inuincible) ſuch as ſayled not vpon the Ocean ſea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vaniſhed into ſmoake; to the great confuſion and diſcouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Maieſties happy ſucceſſe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verſes were penned to the honour of her Maieſty by learned men, whereof ſome which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM

THEODOR. BEZA.

(* * *)

STrauerat innumeris Hiſpanus nauibus æquor,
  Regnis iuncturus ſceptra Britanna ſuis.
Tanti huius, rogitas, quæ motus cauſa? ſuperbos
  Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio merſit vaniſſima ventus?
  Et tumidos tumidæ, vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
  Hauſit inexhauſti iuſta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
  Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
  Prodiga ſic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipſa fruaris,
  Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Spaniſh Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bend her ſhips againſt the Engliſh ſhore,
With ſo great rage as nothing could appeaſe,
And with ſuch ſtrength as neuer ſeene before:
    And all to ioyne the kingdome of that land
    Vnto the kingdomes that he had in hand.
Now if you aſke what ſet this king on fire,
To practiſe warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and neuer quencht deſire,
To ſpoile that Iſlands wealth, by peace made great:
    His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did ſwell,
    And his deſire as vnſuffic'd as hell.
But well haue windes his prowd blaſts ouerblowen,
And ſwelling waues alayd his ſwelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his ſmart:
    And made his ſhips a pray vnto the ſand,
    That meant to pray vpon anothers land.
And now, O Queene, aboue all others bleſt,
For whom both windes and waues are preſt to fight,
So rule your owne, ſo ſuccour friends oppreſt,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
    That England you, you England long enioy,
    No leſſe your friends delight, then foes annoy.

A briefe

THE
SECOND VOLVME
OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES
and Diſcoueries of the *Engliſh Nation*, made by
Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-eaſt parts of the
World, at any time within the compaſſe of theſe 1600. yeres:

Diuided into two ſeuerall parts:

Whereof the firſt containeth the perſonall trauels, &c.
of the *Engliſh*, through and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to *Alger*,
Tunis, and *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, to *Alexandria* and *Cairo* in *AEgypt*, to the Iſles
of *Sicilia*, *Zante*, *Candia*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Chio*, to the Citie of *Conſtantinople*, to diuers parts
of *Aſia minor*, to *Syria* and *Armenia*, to *Ieruſalem*, and other places in *Iudæa*; As alſo to *Arabia*,
downe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, to *Babylon* and *Balſara*, and ſo through the *Perſian*
gulph to *Ormuz*, *Chaul*, *Goa*, and to many Iſlands adioyning vpon the
South parts of *Aſia*; And likewiſe from *Goa* to *Cambaia*, and to all the
dominions of *Zelabdim Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty
Riuer of *Ganges*, to *Bengala*, *Aracan*, *Bacola*, and *Chonderi*,
to *Pegu*, to *Iamahai* in the kingdome of *Siam*,
and almoſt to the very frontiers
of *China*.

The ſecond comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c.
of the *Engliſh Nation*, made without the Streight of *Gibraltar*,
to the Iſlands of the *Açores*, of *Porto Santo*, *Madera*, and the *Canaries*,
to the kingdomes of *Barbary*, to the Iſles of *Capo Verde*, to the Riuers of *Senega*, *Gambra*,
Madrabumba, and *Sierra Leona*, to the coaſt of *Guinea* and *Benin*, to the Iſles
of *S. Thomé* and *Santa Helena*, to the parts about the Cape of *Buona Eſperanza*,
to *Quitangone* neere *Mozambique*, to the Iſles of *Comoro* and
Zanzibar, to the citie of *Goa*, beyond *Cape Comori*, to the Iſles
of *Nicubar*, *Gomes Polo*, and *Pulo Pinaom*, to the
maine land of *Malacca*, and to the kingdome
of *Iunſalaom*.

¶ By RICHARD HACKLVYT Preacher, and ſometime Student
of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

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Ralph Newbery, and *Robert Barker*.
ANNO 1599.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to her Maieſtie, maſter of the Court of Wardes and Liueries, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſell.

Right honorable hauing newly finiſhed a Treatiſe of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Leuant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence ouer-land to the South and Southeaſt parts of the world, all circumſtances conſidered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee preſented then to your ſelfe: wherein hauing begun at the higheſt Antiquities of this realme vnder the gouernment of the Romans; next vnder the Saxons; and thirdly ſince the conqueſt vnder the Normans, I haue continued the hiſtories vnto theſe our dayes. The time of the Romans affoordeth ſmall matter. But after that they were called hence by forren inuaſions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and ſhortly after receiued the Chriſtian faith, they did not onely trauell to Rome, but paſſed further vnto Ieruſalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus biſhop of Shireburne in Dorcetſhire caried the almes of king Alfred euen to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence moſt fragrant ſpices, and rich iewels into England: which iewels, as William of Malmesburie in two ſundry treatiſes writeth, were remaining in the aforeſayd Cathedrall Church to be ſeene euen in his time. And this moſt memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforeſayd Malmesburie, but alſo by Florentius Wigornienſis, a graue and woorthy Author which liued before him, and by many others ſince, and euen by M. Foxe in his firſt volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit diuers other of the Saxon nation, the trauels of Alured biſhop of Worceſter through Hungarie to Conſtantinople, and ſo by Aſia the leſſe into Phœnicia and Syria, and the like courſe of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, ſet downe particularly by himſelfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and ſo downward for the ſpace of aboue 300 yeeres, ſuch was the ardent deſire of our nation to viſite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not onely great numbers of Erles, Biſhops, Barons, and Knights, but euen Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible deuotion, courage and alacritie intruded themſelues into this glorious expedition. A ſufficient proofe hereof are the voiages of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironſide, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great beneuolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to haue gone in perſon to the ſuccour of Ieruſalem, the perſonall going into Paleſtina of his ſonne king Richard the firſt, with the chiualrie, wealth, and ſhipping of this realme; the large contribution of king Iohn, and the trauels of Oliuer Fitz-Roy his ſonne, as is ſuppoſed, with Ranulph Glanuile Erle of Cheſter to the ſiege of Damiata in Ægypt: the proſperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the firſt king of the Norman race of that name; the iourney of Henry Erle of Derbie, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4 againſt the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ſhips and gallies to go himſelfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the ſudden bene preuented by death; the trauel of Iohn of Holland brother by the mothers ſide to king Richard the 2 into thoſe parts. All theſe, either Kings, Kings ſonnes, or Kings brothers, expoſed themſelues with inuincible courages to the manifeſt hazard of their perſons, liues, and liuings, leauing their eaſe, their countries, wiues and children, induced with a Zelous deuotion and ardent deſire to protect and dilate the Chriſtian faith. Theſe memorable enterpriſes in part concealed, in part ſcattered, and for the moſt part vnlooked after, I haue brought together in the beſt Method and breuitie that I could deuiſe. Whereunto I haue annexed the loſſe of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the Engliſh natiō, as of any other Chriſtians that ſerued in that moſt violent ſiege. After which enſueth the princely promiſe of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, againſt Solyman the mortall enemie of Chriſtendome. Theſe and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chiualry, I haue in the firſt place expoſed and ſet foorth to the view of this age, with the ſame intention that the old Romans ſet vp in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy anceſtors; whereof Saluſt in his treatiſe of the warre of Iugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea ciuitatis noſtræ præclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementiſſimè animum ſibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neq; figuram, tantam vim in ſeſe habere, ſed memoria rerum geſtarum flammam eam egregijs viris in pectore creſcere, neq; prius ſedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquauerit. I haue often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to ſay, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their anceſtors, that they were moſt vehemently inflamed vnto vertue. Not that the ſayd wax or portraiture had any ſuch force at all in it ſelfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breaſts, and could neuer be quenched, vntill ſuch time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing haue I preſented to the noble courages of this Engliſh Monarchie, the like images of their famous predeceſſors, with hope of like effect in their poſteritie. And here by the way if any man ſhall think, that an vniuerſall peace with our Chriſtian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the couragious increaſing youth of this realme, he is much deceiued. For there are other moſt conuenient emploiments for all the ſuperfluitie of euery profeſſion in this realme. For, not to meddle with the ſtate of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is vnder our noſes the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee ſo ſweete and holeſome a climate, ſo rich and abundant in ſiluer mines, ſo apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themſelues in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a ſecret mappe of thoſe partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the cuſtodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as alſo in their intercepted letters come vnto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueua Spania it ſelfe. And on the other ſide their chiefeſt writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the moſt learned Venetian Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the reſt, acknowledge with one conſent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees

Northward to the latitude almoſt of Florida was firſt diſcouered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the ſeuenth, and the South part thereof before any other Chriſtian people of late hath bene planted with diuers Engliſh Colonies by the royal conſent of her ſacred Maieſtie vnder the broad ſeale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, aliue in the countrey. Which action, if vpon a good & godly peace obtained, it ſhal pleaſe the Almighty to ſtirre vp her Maieſties heart to continue with her fauourable countenance (as vpon the ceaſing of the warres of Granada, hee ſtirred vp the ſpirite of Iſabella Queene of Caſtile, to aduaunce the enterpriſe of Columbus) with tranſporting of one or two thouſand of her people, and ſuch others as vpon mine owne knowledge will moſt willingly at their owne charges become Aduenturers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; ſhe ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance, in ſhort ſpace, worke many great and vnlooked for effects, increaſe her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Chriſt. The neglecting hitherto of which laſt point our aduerſaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the profeſſors of the Goſpell. No ſooner ſhould we ſet footing in that pleaſant and good land, and erect one or two conuenient Fortes in the Continent, or in ſome Iland neere the maine, but euery ſtep we tread would yeeld vs new occaſion of action, which I wiſh the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow thoſe ſoft vnprofitable pleaſures wherein they now too much conſume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeaſed, they are like to haue leſſe emploiment then nowe they haue, vnleſſe they bee occupied in this or ſome other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpoſe giue me leaue (I beſeech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and prouident cōſideration: that in the yere one thouſand fiue hundred eighty and ſeuen, when I had cauſed the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of ſome too much affectioned to the Spaniſh faction, had bene aboue twentie yeeres ſuppreſſed, aſſoone as that booke came to the view of that reuerend and prudent Counſeller Monſieur Harlac the lord chiefe Iuſtice of France, and certaine other of the wiſeſt Iudges, in great choler they asked, who had done ſuch intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to haue concealed that woorthie worke ſo long? Proteſting further, that if their Kings and the Eſtate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all ſortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occaſions of good and honeſt emploiment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the Weſt Indies. The application of which ſentence vnto our ſelues I here omit, haſtening vnto the ſummarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may pleaſe your Honour therefore to vnderſtand, that the ſecond part of this firſt Treatiſe containeth our auncient trade and traffique with Engliſh ſhipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to haue bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to haue continued vntill the yeere 1552. and ſomewhat longer. But ſhortly after (as it ſeemeth) it was intermitted, or rather giuen ouer (as is noted in maſter Gaſpar Campions diſcreet letters to maiſter Michael Lock and maiſter William Winter inſerted in this booke) firſt by occaſiō of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneſes or gouernours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the ſayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. ſending thither Piali Baſha with fourescore gallies for that purpoſe; and afterward by his growing ouer mightie and troubleſome in thoſe Seas, by the cruell inuaſion of Nicoſia and Famaguſta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Muſtapha Baſha. Which lamentable Tragedie I haue here againe reuiued, that the poſteritie may neuer forget what truſt may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduauntage and is in his choler.

Laſtly, I haue here put downe at large the happie reuiuing and much increaſing of our interrupted trade in all the Leuant, accompliſhed by the great charges and ſpeciall induſtrie of the worſhipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Maieſtie and the Grand Signior, with the great priuileges, immunities, and fauours obteyned of his imperiall Highneſſe in that behalfe, the admiſſions and reſidencies of our Ambaſſadours in his ſtately Porch, and the great good and Chriſtian offices which her Sacred Maieſtie by her extraordinary fauour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Chriſtian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Hauens of Africa and Egypt: the ſearching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white ſea, euen to the walles of Conſtantinople: the voyages ouer land and by riuer through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balſara, and downe the Perſian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean ſea to Goa, and againe ouer-land to Biſnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and euen to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diuerſe times by ſundry of our nation, and the laſt great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. Iohn Newbery and two other conſorts departed from London with her Maieſties letters written effectually in their fauour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull trauailes, which he preſented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man ſhall take exception againſt this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleeuers, he ſhall ſhew himſelfe a man of ſmall experience in old and new Hiſtories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or ſome worſe humour. * For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league vpon neceſſitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguſeans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and haue beene theſe many yeeres, and haue vſed trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Chriſtendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a penſion for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath trauailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Hiſtories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elſewhere, haue ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them penſions, and vſe them in their ſeruice and warres? Why then ſhould that be blamed in vs, which is vſuall and common to the moſt part of other Chriſtian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which haue found moſt fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themſelues and their owne fooliſh pride, whereby we were vrged to ſeeke further to prouide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke prouerbe was moſt truely verified, That euill counſaile proueth worſt to the author and deuiſer of the ſame.

1.King.cap.5.
2.Chron.cap.2.

Hauing thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the firſt part of this ſecond Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the ſecond part. It may therefore pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that herein I haue likewiſe preſerued, diſpoſed, and ſet in order ſuch Voyages, Nauigations, Traffikes, and Diſcoueries, as our Nation, and eſpecially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, haue painefully performed to the South and Southeaſt parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, vpon the coaſts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the Eaſt India. To come more neere vnto particulars, I haue here ſet downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie riuers of Senega and Gambra, to thoſe of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Iſles of Cape Verde, with twelue ſundry voyages to the ſultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Iſle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake eſtate of the Portugales in

Angola, as alſo the whole courſe of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the diſpoſition and qualitie of the climate neere and vnder the Equinoctiall line, the ſundry infallible markes and tokens of approching vnto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compaſſe for one point and an halfe towards the Eaſt betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Iſlands of the Azores, and the aforeſaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being paſſed outwardbound, the ſwaruing backe againe thereof towards the Weſt, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Iſle of S. Laurence, the dangers of priuie rockes and quickſands, the running ſeas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and vndoubted ſignes of land. All theſe and other particularities are plainly and truely here deliuered by one Thomas Steuens a learned Engliſhman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a paſſenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the ſame from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I haue added the memorable voyage of M. Iames Lancaſter, who doth not onely recount and confirme moſt of the things aboue mentioned, but alſo doth acquaint vs with the ſtate of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Iſle of Ceilon, with the Iſles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Iſland Samatra, and thoſe of Pulo Pinaom, with the maine land of Iunçalaon and the ſtreight of Malacca. I haue likewiſe added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the ſecret and moſt gainefull trade of Pegu, which is alſo confirmed by Cæſar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now liuing here in London.

And becauſe our chiefe deſire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall cōmoditie of this our Realme, the fitteſt places, which in al my readings and obſeruations I find for that purpoſe, are the manifold Iſlands of Iapan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adioyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is Aſſi fria como Flandes, that is to ſay, as cold as Flanders, & that the riuers be ſtrongly ouerfrozen) and therefore I haue here inſerted two ſpeciall Treatiſes of the ſayd Countries, the one beginning pag. 68, the other, pag. 88: which laſt diſcourſe I hold to be the moſt exact of thoſe parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thouſand fiue hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, incloſed in a caſe of ſweete Cedar wood, and lapped vp almoſt an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene ſome incomparable iewell.

But leauing abruptly this diſcourſe, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliuer ſome of the reaſons, that moued me to preſent this part of my trauailes vnto your Honour. The reuerend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyſe of ſuch patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the ſame, or by their wiſedome and vnderſtanding were able to cenſure and approoue them, or with their abilitie were likely to ſtand them or theirs in ſteade in the ordinarie neceſſities and accidents of their life. Touching the firſt, your deſcent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Maieſties inward counſailes and publike ſeruices, added to your well diſcharging your forren imployment (when the greateſt cauſe in Chriſtendome was handled) haue not onely drawen mens eyes vpon you, but alſo forcibly haue moued many, and my ſelfe among the reſt to haue our labours protected by your authoritie. For the ſecond point, when it pleaſed your Honour in ſommer was two yeeres to haue ſome conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the ſtate of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the Engliſh: I then (to my no ſmall ioy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of thoſe matters of Indian Nauigations: and how carefull you were, not to be ouertaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared alſo, by the ſound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reaſon of good or ill ſucceſſe of the ſame, before *the State and common wealth (wherein you haue an extraordinarie voyce) ſhould be farther engaged. In conſideration whereof I thinke my ſelfe thriſe happie to haue theſe my trauailes cenſured by your Honours ſo well approued iudgement. Touching the third and laſt motiue I cannot but acknowledge my ſelfe much indebted for your fauourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honeſt cauſes. Whereunto I may adde , that when this worke was to paſſe vnto the preſſe, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a perſon of ſpeciall experience , as in many others ſo in marine cauſes, to ouerſee and peruſe the ſame, but alſo vpon his good report with your moſt fauourable letters did warrant , and with extraordinarie commendation did approue and allow my labours, and deſire to publiſh the ſame. Wherefore to conclude , ſeeing they take their life and light from the moſt cheerefull and benigne aſpect of your fauour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much baſhfulneſſe to recommend my ſelfe and them vnto your right Honorable and fauourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the moſt High. From* London *this 24. of October. 1599.*

Your Honors moſt humble

to be commanded,

Richard Hakluyt preacher.

¶ A Catalogue of the English Voyages made by and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to the South and Southeaſt quarters of the world, conteined in the firſt part of this ſecond volume.

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¶THE

THE SECOND VOLVME OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and *Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the South and South-*eaſt quarters of the world, within the Straight of *Gibraltar*, *with the Directions, Letters, Priuiledges, Diſcourſes, and* Obſeruations incident to the ſame.

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Chriſt. *M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.*

B*Ritannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permiſtos* fuiſſe in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Græciam videtur. Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetuſtiſſimo, vbi tres maximi exercitus, qui è Britannis conſcripti erant, memorantur, proditum eſt, exterum quendam ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxiſſe, qui, populata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forſitan Gallatiam innuit) conſederit. Triadum liber.

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius meminit Florus & Appianus, Britonem fuiſſe nomē euincit, quod Britonem magnum ſignificat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Prauſum fuiſſe ſcribit, vt natione Britonem faciam.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IT is not vnlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in thoſe expeditions to Italy and Greece. For beſides the common name, it is recorded in that moſt ancient Britiſh booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein alſo mention is made of three huge armies that were leuied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandiſh Captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who hauing waſted a great part of Europe, at length tooke vp his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere vnto the ſea of Greece.

Likewiſe, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make report) was himſelfe a Briton, his very name doeth teſtifie, which ſignifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wreſt that teſtimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Prauſe by birth) that I may prooue him alſo to haue bene a Briton borne.

The trauaile of *Helena.*

H*Elena Flauia Auguſta* ſereniſſimi *Coeli* Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia, Magni *Conſtantini Cæſaris* mater, incomparabili decôre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, *Euſebio* etiam teſte, per totum reſplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis ſuæ fœminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in inſtrumentis muſicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copioſior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatiſſimam compoſitionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia ſobole (inquit *Virunnius*) quæ Regni ſolio potiretur. Illam propterea his inſtrui fecit per optimos præceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, *Conſtantius Chlorus Cæſar* illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit *Conſtantinum* Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum *Annâ* illâ Euangelicâ, in ſanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitæ diem, tota

Chriſtianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim authores, qui narrent per iſtam, ceſſante perſecutione, pacem Eccleſijs datam: Ad tantam cœleſtis Philoſophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt poſt agnitum Euangelium perueniſſe, vt olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucúſque à Pontico ſupereſſe perhibentur. Viſionibus admonita Hieroſolymam petijt, & omnia ſaluatoris loca perluſtrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Chriſto quieuit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc ſuperſtite, anno ſalutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetijs ſeruatur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HElena Flauia Auguſta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus ſometime the moſt excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Conſtantine the great, by reaſon of her ſingular beautie, faith, religion, goodneſſe and godly Maieſtie (according to the teſtimonie of Euſebius) was famous in all the world. Amongſt all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in inſtruments of muſike more ſkilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant then herſelfe. She had a naturall quickneſſe or excellency of wit, eloquence of ſpeech, and a moſt notable grace in all her behauiour. She was ſeene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to ſucceed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore cauſed her to be inſtructed in theſe things by the beſt teachers, that thereby ſhe might the better in time gouerne the Realme: ſo that by reaſon of her paſſing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Conſtantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a ſonne called Conſtantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceaſing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwiſe then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Teſtament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are ſome writers which doe affirme, that perſecution ceaſed, and peace was granted to the Chriſtian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Goſpel, ſhe grewe ſo ſkilfull in diuinitie, that ſhee wrote and compoſed diuers bookes, and certaine Greeke verſes alſo, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by ſome viſions ſhe went to Ieruſalem, and viſited all the places there, which Chriſt had frequented. She liued to the age of foureſcore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15. day of Auguſt, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octauius being then king of Britaine, and her ſonne Conſtantine the Emperour then alſo liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preſerued at Venice.

The life and trauels of *Conſtantine* the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

FLauius Conſtantinus cognomento Magnus poſt Genitorem Cōſtantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæſar Auguſtus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè ſuæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hiſpanis, & Francis, corúmque Regibus pro ſpectaculo beſtijs obiectis, Galliam ſubiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris ſemper fidentiores habuerat in ſuis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide fœliciter liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quàm corporis virtutes, dum appetentiſſimus eſſet gloriæ militaris, ſucceſſu ſemper in bellis proſpero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Chriſtianiſſima matre Helena Chriſti fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philoſophia Chriſtiana vitam reclinaſſent. Vnde ab Oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in medijs ſuperſtitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ ſpem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo ſtudijs, noctes trahebat inſomnes, & quæſita ſcribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Chriſtianæ diſciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipſi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falſorum deorum euerſor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Perſiam, Aſiam, & vniuerſam ditionem Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Chriſtum coli, Euangelium prędicari ſacrum, Miniſtris honores, & alimenta dari, atq; idolorum vbíque deſtrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Ieſu Chriſti ante ſe ſemper ferri fecit, & Biblia ſacra ad omnes prouincias deſtinari, diademáque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Eccleſijs infinita

præſtitit,agros,annonam,ſtipem egenis,ægris,viduis,ac orphanis,pro quibuſque vt pater ſollicitus. Euſebium,Lactantium,& ſimiles, familiariſſimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indiès ipſis in eius vita teſtibus fudit. Vnum te Deum eſſe nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus,appellamus adiutorem,nobis abs te victoria cecidit,ex te Aduerſarium fudimus,&c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum ſtudia colere, bonos artes fouere,legere, ſcribere,meditari : compoſuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epiſtolas. E vita Nicomedię diſceſſit Senex,ætatis ſuæ Anno 66.& Imperij 32, à Chriſti verò incarnatione 339. Conſtantinopli ſepultus,Octauio in Britānijs regnante. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Euſebius Cæſarienſis Græcè ſcripſit,& Ioannes Porteſius Gallus in Latinum tranſtulit ſermonem.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

FLauius Conſtantine,ſurnamed the great,king of the Britaines after his father,and Emperor of the Romanes,borne in Britanie of Helena his mother,and there created Emperour,made his natiue countrey partaker of his ſingular glory and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a ſpectacle throwen out to wild beaſts,he held France it ſelfe as ſubiect vnto him:and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius,he preferred three of his mothers vncles,all Britaines,namely,Leoline,Trahere,and Marius,whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others,to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body alſo, and that hauing a pleaſure in the practiſe of warre, and in the iuſt commendation of Martiall prowesſe,he neuer pitched his field but his ſucceſſe in the battel was allwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing inſtructed him in the faith of Chriſt,although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded ſpeciall honor to thoſe that ſpent their time in the ſtudie of Diuinitie,which he called Chriſtian Philoſophie: ſo that beginning at the furtheſt part of the Ocean ſea,which then was taken to be his owne natiue ſoyle of Britaine, and truſting in the aſſiſtance of God,when the darkenes of ſuperſtition was moſt thicke,then hee vndertooke a care of Religion,ſtirring vp innumerable nations from the Weſt as farre as India it ſelfe,to the hope of eternall life.

Hee paſſed many nightes without ſleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine ſtudies : and whenſoeuer his laiſure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times ſhould be ſpent in the vſe of writing and other good exerciſes, aſſuring himſelfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and ſtrengthened to him by prayer and holy workes : and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were the perſon of a notable preacher of Chriſtian diſcipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie,that godlineſſe was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He ouerthrew the falſe gods of the heathens,and by many lawes often reuiued, he abrogated the worſhipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Ægypt, Perſia, Aſia, and the whole Romane Empire,commanding Chriſt onely by his Edicts to be worſhipped, the ſacred Goſpell to be preached,the Miniſters thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be deſtroyed.

Whitherſoeuer he went hee cauſed the booke of the Goſpell of Chriſt to be ſtill caried before him,that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the firſt that appointed an Imperiall Diademe,or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was moſt beneficiall to all Churches, beſtowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore,ſicke perſons,widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He vſed learned men moſt familiarly, as Euſebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witneſſes that this was his vſuall prayer to God, O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are ſure that thou art the onely King,and we call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie,and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth,that it was his greateſt delight to imbrace the ſtudie of learning, to fauour good Arts,to read,write and meditate, and that he compoſed many bookes and Epiſtles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia,being then 66.yeres of age,in the 32.yere of his reigne,and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Chriſt, and was buried at Conſtantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whoſe life Euſebius biſhop of Cæſarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were tranſlated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a Frenchman.

¶ The life and trauailes of *Pelagius* borne in Wales.

PElagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Bannochorenſis a Ceſtria non procul, præpoſitus erat, in quo Chriſtianorum philoſophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Chriſto commoditatem militabant, manuum ſuarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Poſt quam plures exhibitos, pro Chriſtiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione inſignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum laceſſitus iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliáſque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partiũ Monacho præſul ordinatus, ſui nominis hæreſim fabricabat: aſſerens hominem ſine peccato naſci, ac ſolo voluntatis imperio ſine gratia ſaluari poſſe, vt ita nefarius baptiſmum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & conſimilibus impoſtricis doctrinæ fœcibus in patriam ſuam reuerſus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Cæleſtino Pſeudoepiſcopis fautoribus, conſpurcabat. Verum ante lapſum ſuum ſtudia tractabat honeſtiſſima, vt poſt Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alij ferunt authores, compoſuitq; multos libros ad Chriſtianam vtilitatem. At poſtquam eſt Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæreſi ſuccurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a ſuis Britannis in exilium pulſus, vt in Epiſtola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno poſt Chriſtum incarnatum, 390. ſub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Cheſter, wherein liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, or Students of Chriſtian philoſophie, applying themſelues to the profite of the Chriſtian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and ſkilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Chriſtian common wealth, ſeeing himſelfe abuſed, and iniuriouſly dealt withall by ſome of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that at the laſt he relapſed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the Eaſt, and being made Prieſt by a certaine Monke of thoſe partes, he there hatched his hereſie, which according to his name was called the hereſie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without ſinne, and might be ſaued by the power of his owne will without grace, that ſo the miſerable man might take away faith and baptiſme. With this and the like dregges of falſe doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two falſe Prelates Iulian and Celeſtine, who fauoured his hereſie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apoſtaſie from the faith, he exerciſed himſelfe in the beſt ſtudies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes ſeruing not a litle to Chriſtian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his hereſie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honeſt, and ſincere: whereupon, at the laſt his owne Countreymen baniſhed him, as Walden teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to Pope Martine the fift. He flouriſhed in the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

¶ Certaine Engliſhmen ſent to Conſtantinople by the French King to *Iuſtinian* the Emperor, about the yeere of Chriſt, 500. out of the fourth booke of *Procopius de Bello Gothico*.

BRitanniam inſulam tres numeroſiſſimæ gentes incolunt: Quorum vnicuique ſuus Rex imperat. Nominantur hæ gentes Angili, Friſones, & qui eiuſdem ſunt cum inſula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo eſſe videtur, vt ſingulis annis inde magno numero cum vxoribus & liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quæ maximè deſerta videtur, excipiunt. Vnde inſulam ſibi vendicare ferunt. Vtique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quoſdam è ſuis Conſtantinopolim ad Iuſtinianum legaret, Anglos etiam miſit, ambitioſius vendicans, quaſi hæc inſula ſuo ſubeſſet imperio.

¶ The

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe Iſle of Britaine is inhabited by three moſt populous nations, euery of which is gouerned by a ſeuerall king. The ſayd nations are named Angili, Friſones, and Britones, which laſt are called after the name of the Iſland. In this Iſle there are ſuch ſwarmes of people, that euery yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wiues and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receiue them into their lande, which ſeemeth very deſolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is ſayd that the French doe challenge the foreſayd Iſland vnto themſelues. For not long ſince, when the king of the Frankes ſent certaine of his ſubiects ambaſſadours to Conſtantinople vnto Iuſtinian the Emperour, he ſent Engliſh men alſo, ambitiouſly boaſting, as though the ſayd Iſle had bene vnder his iuriſdiction.

A teſtimonie of the ſending of *Sighelmus* Biſhop of *Shirburne*, by King *Alphred*, vnto Saint *Thomas* of *India* in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by *William* of *Malmesburie*, in his ſecond booke and fourth Chapter *de geſtis regum Anglorum.*

ELeemoſynis intentus priuilegia eccleſiarum, ſicut pater ſtatuerat, roborauit; & trans mare *Romam*, & ad ſanctum *Thomam* in *Indiam* multa munera miſit. Legatus in hoc miſſus *Sighelmus Shirburnenſis* Epiſcopus cum magna proſperitate, quod quiuis hoc ſeculo miretur, *Indiam* penetrauit; inde rediens exoticos ſplendores gemmarum, & liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax eſt, reportauit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

KIng Alphred being addicted to giuing of almes, confirmed the priuileges of Churches as his father had determined; and ſent alſo many giftes beyond the ſeas vnto Rome, and vnto S. Thomas of India. His meſſenger in this buſineſſe was Sighelmus biſhop of Schirburne; who with great proſperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) trauailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many ſtrange and precious vnions and coſtly ſpyces, ſuch as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A ſecond teſtimony of the foreſaid *Sighelmus* his voyage vnto Saint *Thomas* of *India* &c. out of *William* of *Malmesbury* his ſecond booke *de geſtis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de epiſcopis Schireburnenſibus Salisburienſibus, Wiltunenſibus.*

S*Ighelmus* trans mare, cauſa eleemoſynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum *Thomam* in *Indiam* miſſus, mira proſperitate, quod quiuis in hoc ſeculo miretur, *Indiam* penetrauit; indequè rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax eſt, reportauit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in eccleſiæ monumentis viſuntur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

SIghelmus being for the performance of the kings almes ſent beyond the ſeas, and trauailing vnto S. Thomas of India, very proſperouſly (which a man would wonder at in this age) paſſed through the ſayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him diuers ſtrange and precious ſtones, ſuch as that climate affourdeth. Many of which ſtones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena.

IOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Meneuia vrbe, ſeu ad fanum Dauidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis moleſtarent, ac omnia illic eſſent tumultibus plena, longam ipſe peregrinationem Athenas vſque ſuſcepit, annoſq; quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis inſudauit: omnia illic inuiſit Philoſophorum loca, ac ſtudia, imo & ipſum oraculum Solis, quod Aeſculapius ſibi conſtruxerat, Inueniens tandem quod longo quæſierat labore, in Italiam & Galliam eſt reuerſus vbi ob inſignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & poſtea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionyſij Areopagitæ libros de cœleſti Hierarchia, ex Conſtantinopoli tunc miſſos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Profectus poſtea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & ſuorum liberorum factus eſt præceptor, atque ipſo mox adhortante, inter ocia literaria è Græco tranſtulit in tres linguas, ſcilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Ariſtotelis moralia, de ſecretis ſecretorum, ſeu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquiſitum. In Malmsburienſi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia ſe contulerat, inter legendum a quibuſdam diſcipulis maleuolis interimebatur, Anno Chriſti, 884.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IOhn Erigene a Britane, deſcended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid in Wales, ſeeing the Engliſhmen to be oppreſſed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time undertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there ſpent many yeres in the ſtudie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and ſchooles of the Philoſophers, and the oracle alſo of the Sunne, which Aeſculapius had built vnto himſelfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell ſearched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his ſingular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he tranſlated into Latine the bookes of Dionyſius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were ſent from Conſtantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was ſchoolemaſter vnto Alphred then King of England, and his ſonnes: and vpon his requeſt, at his times of leaſure, he tranſlated Ariſtotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into theſe three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquiſitely. At the laſt, being in the Abbie of Malmſburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner diſputing, and reading to the Students, ſome of them miſliking and hating him, roſe againſt him, and ſlue him in the yeere of Chriſt, 884.

The trauailes of *Andrew VVhiteman* aliâs *Leucander*,

Centur. 2.

ANdræas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Rameſienſis Cænobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus ſtudio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Acceſſit præterea & ardens quoddam deſiderium, ea proprijs & apertis oculis videndi loca, in quibus Seruator Chriſtus redemptionis noſtræ myſteria omnia conſummauit, quorum prius ſola nomina ex ſcripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde & ſacram Hieroſolymorum vrbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac paſſionis eius teſtem inuiſit, atque domum rediens factus eſt Abbas. Clariuſſe fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. ſub Canuto Dano.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ANdrew Leucander otherwiſe called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profeſſion a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramſie: he was exceedingly giuen to the ſtudie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongſt all other things, he had an incredible deſire to ſee thoſe places with his eyes, wherein Chriſt our Sauiour performed and wrought all the myſteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Ieruſalem a witneſſe of the miracles, preaching, and paſſion of Chriſt, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforeſayd Abbat. He flouriſhed in the yere of Chriſt 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of *Swanus* one of the ſonnes of Earle *Godwin* vnto *Ieruſalem, Anno Dom.* 1052, recorded by *William* of *Malmsburie* *lib. 2. de geſtis regum* Anglorum, *Capite 13.*

SWanus peruerſi ingenij & infidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo deſciuit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes maiorum polluit. Poſtremò pro conſcientia Brunonis cognati interempti, & (vt quidam dicunt) fratris Ieroſolimam abijt: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumuentus, & ad mortem cæſus eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

SWanus being of a peruerſe diſpoſition, and faithleſſe to the king, often times diſagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards prouing a pirate, he ſtained the vertues of his anceſtours with his robberies vpon the ſeas. Laſt of all, being guilty vnto himſelfe of the murther of his kinſeman Bruno, and (as ſome do report) of his owne brother, he trauailed vnto Ieruſalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded vnto death.

A voyage of three Ambaſſadours, who in the time of K. *Edward* the Confeſſor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were ſent vnto *Conſtantinople*, and from thence vnto *Epheſus*, together with the occaſion of their ſending, &c. recorded by *William* of *Malmesburie, lib. 2. de geſtis regum* Anglorum, *capite 13.*

DIe ſancti paſchatis ad menſam apud Weſtmonaſterium aſſederat, diademate faſtigatus, & optimatum turma circumuallatus. Cùmque alij longam quadrageſimæ inediam recentibus cibis compenſantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis reuocato animo, diuinum quiddam ſpeculatus, mentes conuiuantium permouit ampliorem perfuſus in riſum: nullóque cauſam lætitiæ perquirere præſumente, tùnc quidèm ita tacitum, donec edendi ſatietas obſonijs finem impoſuit. Sed remotis menſis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum proſequuti, quorum vnus erat comes Haroldus, ſecundus abbas, tertius epiſcopus, familiaritatis auſu interrogant quid riſerat: mirum omnibus nec immentò videri, quarè in tanta ſerenitate diei & negotij, tacentibus cæteris, ſcurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo ſine cauſa riſi. Tum illi, vt moris eſt humani ingenij, ſciſcitari & quærere cauſam ardentiùs, vt ſupplicibus dignantèr rem impertiatur. Ille multùm cunctatus tandem inſtantibus mira reſpondit: ſeptem dormientes in monte Cælio requieſcere iam ducentis annis in dextro iacentes latere: ſed tunc in hora ipſa riſus ſui, latus inuertiſſe ſiniſtrum: futurum vt ſeptuaginta quatuor annis ita iaceant: dirum nimirum miſeris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his ſeptuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit diſcipulis ſuis: gentem contra gentem ſurrecturam, & regnum aduerſus regnum, terræmotus per loca, peſtilentiam & famem, terrores de cœlo, & ſigna magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Chriſtianos bella, item Chriſticolarum in paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans paſſionem ſeptem dormientium, & habitudines corporum ſingulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè diſſeruit: ac ſi cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, epiſcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exſculpendam, Manicheti Conſtantinopolitano imperitori miſere, adiectis regis ſui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benignè ſecum habitos epiſcopo Epheſi deſtinauit, epiſtola pariter, quam ſacram vocant, comitante: vt oſtenderentur legatis regis Angliæ ſeptem dormientium marturiales exuuiæ. Factúmq; eſt vt vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui ſe a patribus accepiſſe iurarent, ſuper dextrum illos latus quieſcere: ſed poſt introitum Anglórum in ſpeluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus ſuis prædicarunt. Nec moram feſtinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ ſcilicèt a Chriſto gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Aſiam omnino, & maioris multas vrbes, inter quas & Epheſum, ipſam etiam Hieroſolymam depopulati, ſuper Chriſtianos inuaderent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

VPon Eaſter day king Edward the Confeſſour being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with diuers of his nobles, ſate at dinner in his pallace at Weſtminſter. And when others, after their long abſtinence in the Lent, refreſhed themſelues with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earneſtly, he lifting vp his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heauenly viſions (to the great admiration of thoſe which were preſent) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man preſuming to enquire the cauſe of his mirth, they all kept ſilence til dinner was ended. But after dinner, as he was in his bed-chamber putting off his ſolemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Biſhop, being more familiar with him then the reſidue followed him in, and boldly aſked him what was the occaſion of his laughter: for it ſeemed very ſtrange vnto them all, what ſhould moue him at ſo ſolemne a time and aſſembly, while others kept ſilence, to laugh ſo exceſſiuely. I ſaw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occaſion. Then they (as it is the common guiſe of all men) demaunded and enquired the cauſe more earneſtly, humbly beſeeching him that hee would vouchſafe to

impart that ſecret vnto them. Whereupon muſing a long while vnto himſelfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that ſeuen Sleepers had reſted in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying vpon their right ſides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themſelues on their left ſides; and that they ſhould continue ſo lying for the ſpace of 74. yeeres after; being a diſmal ſigne of future calamitie vnto mankinde. For all things ſhould come to paſſe within thoſe 74. yeeres, which, as our Sauiour Chriſt foretold vnto his diſciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation ſhould riſe againſt nation, and kingdome againſt kingdome, and then there ſhould bee in many places earthquakes, peſtilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heauens, and great ſignes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels againſt the Chriſtians, and victories of the Chriſtians againſt the infidels. And as they wondered at theſe relations, he declared vnto them the paſſion of the ſeuen Sleepers, with the proportion and ſhape of eache of their bodies (which things no man liuing had as then committed vnto writing) and that ſo plainely and diſtinctly, as if he had conuerſed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle ſent a knight, the biſhop a clearke, and the abbot a monke vnto Maniches the Emperour of Conſtantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giuing them friendly entertainment, ſent them ouer vnto the biſhop of Epheſus; and wrote his letters vnto him giuing him charge, that the Engliſh Ambaſſadours might be admitted to ſee the true, and material habiliments of the ſeuen Sleepers. And it came to paſſe that King Edwards viſion was approued by all the Greekes, who proteſted they were aduertiſed by their fathers, that the foreſaid ſeuen Sleepers had alwayes before that time reſted vpon their right ſides; but after the Engliſhmen were entered into the caue, thoſe Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandiſh propheſie, vnto their countreymen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other vnbeleeuing nations inuading the Chriſtians, harried and ſpoiled Syria, Lycia, the leſſer Aſia, and many cities of Aſia the greater, and amongſt the reſt Epheſus, yea, and Ieruſalem alſo.

The voyage of *Alured* biſhop of *VVorceſter* vnto *Ieruſalem*, an. 1058.

Recorded by *Roger Houeden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 255. linea 15.*

A.D.1058. ALuredus Wigornienſis Epiſcopus eccleſiam, quam in ciuitate Glauorna à fundamentis conſtruxerat, in honore principis Apoſtolorum Petri honorificè dedicauit: & poſteà regis licentia Wolſtanum Wigornienſem Monachum à ſe ordinatum Abbatem conſtituit ibidem. Dein præſulatu dimiſſo Wiltonienſis eccleſiæ, qui ſibi ad regendum commiſſus fuerat, & Hermanno, cujus ſuprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare tranſijt, & per Hungariam profectus eſt Hieroſolymam, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured biſhop of Worceſter, very ſolennely dedicated a Church (which himſelfe had founded and built in the citie of Gloceſter) vnto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apoſtle: and afterward by the kings permiſſion ordained Wolſtan a Monke of Worceſter of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the ſame place. And then hauing left his Biſhopricke which was committed vnto him ouer the Church of Wilton, and hauing reſigned the ſame vnto Hermannus aboue mentioned, paſſed ouer the ſeas, and trauailed through Hungarie vnto Ieruſalem, &c.

The voyage of *Ingulphus* Abbat of *Croiland* vnto *Ieruſalem*, performed (according to *Florentius Wigornienſis*) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and deſcribed by the ſaid *Ingulphus* himſelfe about the concluſion of his briefe Hiſtorie.

A.D.1064. EGo Ingulphus humilis miniſter Sancti Guthlaci Monaſterijq; ſui Croilandenſis, natus in Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè vrbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiſcendis in teneriori ætate conſtitutus, primum Weſtmonaſterio, poſtmodum Oxonienſi ſtudio traditus eram. Cumq́ue in Ariſtotele arripiendo ſupra multos coætaneos meos profeciſſem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullij primam & ſecundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adoleſcentior, faſtidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus veſtiri, pompoſiſque lacinijs amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et eccè, inclytus nunc rex noſter Anglię, tunc adhuc

huc comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati ſui, cum grandi miniſtrantium comitatu Londonias aduentabat. Quibus citius inſertus, ingerens me vbique ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum proſperè plurima perfeciſſem, in breui agnitus illuſtriſſimo comiti & aſtrictiſſimè adamatus, cum ipſo Normanniam enauigabam. Factus ibidem ſcriba eius, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum inuidiam regebam; quoſque volui humiliabam, & quos volui exaltabam. Cumque iuuenili calore impulſus in tam celſo ſtatu ſupra meos natales conſiſtere tæderem, quin ſemper ad altiora conſcendere, inſtabili animo, ac nimium prurienti affectu, ad erubeſcētiam ambitioſus auidiſſimè deſiderarem: nuntiatur per vniuerſam Normanniam plurimos archiepiſcopos imperij cum nonnullis alijs terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum ſuarum more peregrinorum cum debita deuotione Hieroſolymam proficiſci. De familia ergo comitis domini noſtri plurimi tam milites quàm clerici, quorum primus & præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini noſtri comitis beneuolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero & ampliùs domino Maguntino coniuncti ſumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, & cum dominis epiſcopis connumerati ſeptem millia, pertranſeuntes proſperè multa terrarum ſpatia, tandem Conſtantinopolim peruenimus. Vbi Alexium Imperatorem eius adorantes Agioſophiam vidimus, & infinita ſanctuaria oſculati ſumus. Diuertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus; euiſceratique de infinitis pecunijs, cum mortibus multorum, & maximo vitæ noſtræ periculo vix euadentes, tandem deſideratiſſimam ciuitatem Hieroſolymam lęto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipſo tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honeſtiſſimo ac ſanctiſſimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium immenſo fulgore ſuſcepti, ad diuiniſſimam eccleſiam ſanctiſſimi ſepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum ſolenni proceſſione deducti ſumus. Ibi quot preces inorauimus, quot lachrymas infleuimus, quot ſuſpiria inſpirauimus, ſolus eius inhabitator nouit D. noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. Ab ipſo itaque glorioſiſſimo ſepulchro Chriſti ad alia ſanctuaria ciuitatis inuiſenda circumducti, infinitam ſummam ſanctarum eccleſiarum, & oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum deſtruxerat, oculis lachrymoſis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis ſanctiſsimæ ciuitatis, tam extra, quàm intra; numeroſis lachrymis intimo affectu compaſsi, ad quorundam reſtaurationem datis non paucis pecunijs, exire in patriam & ſacratiſsimo Iordane intingi, vniuerſaque Chriſti veſtigia oſculari, deſiderantiſsima deuotione ſuſpirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam obſeruabant, longiùs a ciuitate euagari, ſua rabioſa multitudine innumera non ſinebant. Vere igitur accedente, ſtolus nauium Ianuenſium in porta Ioppenſi applicuit. In quibus, cum ſua mercimonia Chriſtiani mercatores per ciuitates maritimas commutaſſent, & ſancta loca ſimilitèr adoraſſent, aſcendentes omnes mari nos commiſimus. Et iactati fluctibus & procellis innumeris tandem Brunduſiũ, & proſpero itinere per Apuliam Romam petentes, ſanctorũ Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli limina, & copioſiſsima ſanctorũ martyrum monumenta per omnes ſtationes oſculati ſumus. Indè archiepiſcopi, cęterique principes imperij Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos verſùs Franciam ad ſiniſtram declinantes, cum inenarrabilibus & gratijs & oſculis ab inuicem diſceſsimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exiuimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reuerſi ſumus.

A.D. 1051.

A.D. 1064. According to Florentius Wigornienſis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

I Ingulphus an humble ſeruant of reuerend Guthlac and of his monaſtery of Croiland, borne in England, and of Engliſh parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed firſt at Weſtminſter, and afterward ſent to the Vniuerſitie of Oxford. And hauing excelled diuers of mine equals in learning of Ariſtotle, I inured my ſelfe ſomewhat vnto the firſt & ſecond Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, diſdayning my parents meane eſtate, and forſaking mine owne natiue ſoyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was deſirous to be clad in ſilke, and to weare braue and coſtly attire. And loe, at the ſame time William our ſoueraigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants came vnto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confeſſour his kinſman. Into whoſe company intruding my ſelfe, and proffering my ſeruice for the performance of any ſpeedy or weightie affayres, in ſhort time, after I had done many things with good ſucceſſe, I was knowen and moſt entirely beloued by the victorious Erle himſelfe, and with him I ſayled into Normandie. And there being made his ſecretarie, I gouerned the Erles Court (albeit with the enuie of ſome) as my ſelfe pleaſed, yea whom I would I abaſed, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and luſtie humour, I began to be wearie euen of this place, wherein I was aduanced ſo high aboue my parentage, and with an inconſtant minde, and affection too too ambitious, moſt vehemently aſpi-

A.D. 1051.

red at all occaſions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that diuers Archbiſhops of the Empire, and ſecular princes were deſirous for their ſoules health, and for deuotion ſake, to goe on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, ſundry of vs, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my ſelfe) with the licence and good will of our ſayd lord the earle, ſped vs on that voiage, and trauailing thirtie horſes of vs into high Germanie, we ioyned our ſelues vnto the Archbiſhop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Biſhops ſeuen thouſand perſons ſufficiently prouided for ſuch an expedition, we paſſed proſperouſly through many prouinces, and at length attained vnto Conſtantinople. Where doing reuerence vnto the Emperour Alexius, we ſawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kiſſed diuers ſacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeues: and after we had bene robbed of infinite ſummes of money, and had loſt many of our people, hardly eſcaping with extreame danger of our liues, at length wee ioyfully entered into the moſt wiſhed citie of Ieruſalem. Where we were receiued by the moſt reuerend, aged, and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied vnto the moſt diuine Church of our Sauiour his ſepulchre with a ſolemne proceſſion aſwell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we vttered, what abundance of teares we ſhed, what deepe ſighs we breathed foorth, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the moſt glorious ſepulchre of Chriſt to viſite other ſacred monuments of the citie, we ſaw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately deſtroyed. And ſo hauing bewailed with ſadde teares, and moſt ſorowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that moſt holy city both within and without, and hauing beſtowed money for the reedifying of ſome, we deſired with moſt ardent deuotion to go forth into the countrey, to waſh our ſelues in the moſt ſacred riuer of Iordan, and to kiſſe all the ſteppes of Chriſt. Howbeit the theeuiſh Arabians lurking vpon euery way, would not ſuffer vs to trauell farre from the city, by reaſon of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the ſpring there arriued at the port of Ioppa a fleet of ſhips from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Chriſtian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coaſt townes, and had likewiſe viſited the holy places) wee all of vs embarked, committing our ſelues to the ſeas: and being toſſed with many ſtormes and tempeſts, at length wee arriued at Brunduſium: and ſo with a proſperous iourney trauelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there viſited the habitations of the holy apoſtles Peter and Paul, and did reuerence vnto diuers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbiſhops and other princes of the empire trauelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed aſunder, taking our leaues with vnſpeakable thankes and courteſies. And ſo at length, of thirty horſemen which went out of Normandie fat, luſty, and frolique, we returned thither ſkarſe twenty poore pilgrims of vs, being all footmen, and conſumed with leanneſſe to the bare bones.

¶ Diuers of the honourable family of the *Beauchamps*, with *Robert Curtoys* ſonne of *William* the Conqueror, made a voyage to *Ieruſalem* 1096.

Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.

POpe Vrbane calling a councell at Clermont in Auuergne, exhorted the Chriſtian princes ſo earneſtly to make a iourney into the Holy land, for the recouery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the ſaide great and generall iourney was concluded vpon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Chriſtendome went vnder the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more plainely appeare. There went alſo among other diuers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, ſpecially that worthily bare the ſurname of Beauchampe.

¶ The voyage of *Gutuere* an Engliſh Lady maried to *Balduine* brother of *Godfreide* duke of *Bouillon*, toward *Ieruſalem* about 1097. And the 11. yeere of *William Rufus* King of England.

THe Chriſtian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon paſſing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length vnto the citie of Maraſia, where they encamped, and ſoiourned there three whole dayes, becauſe of the wife of Balduine brother germane of the duke of Loraigne. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grieuous malady, was in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, ſhe changed this tranſitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and deſcended of moſt noble parentage named Gutuere; Which, according to her degree, was there moſt honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbiſhop of Tyre, lib.3.cap.17.hiſt.belli ſacri. The ſame author in the 10. booke & firſt chapter of the ſame hiſtorie concerning the ſame Engliſh Lady, writeth further as followeth. Baldwine hauing folowed the warres for a time, gaue his minde to marriage, ſo that being in England he fell in loue with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutuere, whom he married and caried with him in that firſt happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Euſtace, perſons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his iourney, becauſe his foreſaid wife, being wearied with a long ſicknes finiſhed her life with a happie end neere the citie of Maraſia, before the Chriſtian armie came vnto Antioch, where ſhe was honourably buried, as we haue declared before.

¶ *Chronicon Hieroſolymitanum in lib.3.cap.27.* maketh alſo mention of this Engliſh Lady, which he calleth *Godwera* in this maner.

HAc in regione Mareſch vxor Baldewini nobiliſſima, quam de regno Anglię eduxit, diutina corporis moleſtia aggrauata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalauit, ſepulta Catholicis obſequijs; cuius nomen erat Godwera.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN this prouince of Mareſch the moſt noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England being viſited with dayly ſickneſſes and infirmities of body, and commended to the cuſtody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Chriſtian maner. Her name was Godwera.

¶ The voyage of *Edgar* the ſonne of *Edward* which was the ſonne of *Edmund* ſurnamed *Ironſide*, brother vnto *K. Edward* the confeſſor, (being accompanied with valiant *Robert* the ſonne of *Godwin*) vnto Ieruſalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by *William* of Malmesburie, *lib.3.hiſt.fol.58.*

SVbſequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audaciſſimo Edgarus Hieroſolymam pertendit. A.D.1102. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obſederunt: qui cum obſidionis iniuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hoſtium acies effugit, ſolius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, & euaginato gladio dextra leuaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum ſucceſſu ipſo truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, enſis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum ſe inclinaſſet, omnium incurſu oppreſſus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (vt aiunt) ductus, cum Chriſtum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad ſignum poſitus, & ſagittis terebratus, martyrium conſecrauit. Edgarus amiſſo milite regreſſus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippè qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentaſſent) omnia pro natalis ſoli deſiderio ſpreuit. Quoſdam enim profectò fallit amor patriæ, vt nihil eis videatur iucundum, niſi conſuetum hauſerint cœlum. Vndè Edgarus fatua cupidine illuſus Angliam redijt, vbi (vt ſuperius dixi) diuerſo fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus & tacitus, canos ſuos in agro conſumit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

AFterward Edgar being ſonne vnto the nephewe of Edward the confeſſour, traueiled with Robert the ſonne of Godwin a moſt valiant knight, vnto Ieruſalem. And it was at the ſame time when the Turkes beſieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the ſtraight ſiege, was by the helpe of Robert eſpecially, going before him, and with his drawen ſword making a lane, and ſlaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, deliuered out of that danger, and eſcaped through the midſt of his enemies campe. But vpon his happie ſucceſſe being more eager and fierce, as hee went forward ſomewhat too haſtily, his ſworde fell out of his hand. Which as he ſtouped to take vp, being oppreſſed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as ſome ſay) being carried vnto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Chriſt, he was tyed vnto a ſtake in the midſt of the market place, and being ſhot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar hauing loſt his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekiſh and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly haue entertained him ſtil for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in reſpect of his natiue ſoile. For in very deede ſome are ſo inueagled with the loue of their countrey, that nothing can ſeeme pleaſant vnto them, vnleſſe they breath in the ſame aire where they were bred. Wherefore Edgar being miſledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being ſubiect vnto diuers changes of fortune (as we haue aboue ſignified) he ſpendeth * now his extreeme olde age in an obſcure and priuate place of the countrey.

When the author was writing of this hiſtory.

¶ Mention made of one *Godericus*, a valiant Engliſhman, who was with his ſhips in the voyage vnto the *Holy land* in the ſecond yeere of *Baldwine* King of *Ieruſalem*, in the third yere of *Henry* the firſt of *England*.

CHronicon Hieroſolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verùm dehinc ſeptem diebus euolutis rex ab Aſſur exiens, nauem quæ dicitur Buza aſcendit, & cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo haſtæ præfixo & elato in aëre ad radios ſolis vſque, Iaphet cum paucis nauigauit, vt hoc eius ſigno ciues Chriſtiani recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hoſtiũ minis paueſacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut vrbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita & ſalute eius deſperare. Saraceni autẽ viſo eius ſigno, & recognito, ea parte quę vrbem nauigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio vndis maris illis exaduerſo tumeſcentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili curſu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in portu Ioppæ deluſis hoſtibus ſubitò affuit, ſex ex Saracenis in arcu ſuo in nauicula percuſſis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque ciuitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, reuixit ſpiritus cunctorum gementium & de eius morte hactenus dolentium, eo quòd caput & rex Chriſtianorum & princeps Hieruſalem adhuc viuus & incolumis receptus ſit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BUt ſeuen dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Aſſur entred into a ſhippe called a Buſſe, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and faſtening his banner on the toppe of a ſpeare, and holding it vp aloft in the aire againſt the beames of the Sunne, ſailed vnto Iaphet with a ſmall company; That the Chriſtian Citizens there ſeeing this his banner, might conceiue hope that the King was yet liuing, and being not eaſily terrified with the threates of the enemies might ſhamefully runne away, or be conſtrained to yeeld vp the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and ſafetie. The Saracens ſeeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which enuironed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene ſhippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, ſeeking to incloſe the Kings ſhippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea ſwelling and raging againſt them, and the Kings ſhippe gliding and paſſing through the waues with an eaſie and nimble courſe arriued ſuddenly in the hauen of Ioppa, the enemies fruſtrated of their purpoſe; and ſixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by ſhot out of the Kings ſhippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in ſafetie in all their ſightes, the ſpirits of all them that mourned for him, and vntil then lamented as though hee had bene dead, reuiued, becauſe that the head and King of the Chriſtians, and prince of Ieruſalem was yet aliue, and come againe vnto them in perfect health.

¶ Mention made of one *Hardine* of *England* one of the chiefeſt perſonages, and a leader among other of two hundred ſaile of ſhips of Chriſtians that landed at Ioppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

CHronicon Hieroſolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obſidio ageretur 200. naues Chriſtianorum nauigio Ioppen appulſæ ſunt, vt adorarent in Hieruſalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, vnus de præpotentibus Weſtfalorum, primi & ductores fuiſſe referuntur, &c. Erat autem tertia feria Iulij menſis, quando hæ Chriſtianorum copiæ, Deo protegente, huc nauigio anguſtiatis & obſeſſis ad opem collatæ ſunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Chriſtianorum virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino ſibi hoſpitio proximè iungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amotis tentorijs amplius milliari ſubtractæ conſederunt, dum luce exorta conſilium inirent, vtrum Aſcalonem redirent, aut ciues Iaphet crebris aſſultibus vexarent.

The

The ſame in Engliſh.

WHile the Sarazens continued their ſiege againſt Ioppa, two hundred ſaile of Chriſtian ſhips arriued at Ioppa, that they might performe their deuotions at Hieruſalem. The chiefe men and leaders of theſe Chriſtians are reported to haue bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Weſtphalia, &c. This Chriſtian power through Gods ſpeciall prouiſion, arriued here for the ſuccour and reliefe of the diſtreſſed & beſieged Chriſtians in Ioppa, the third day of Iuly, 1102. and in the ſecond yeere of Baldwine king of Ieruſalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, ſeeing that the Chriſtian power ioyned themſelues boldly, cloſe by them euen face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooued their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee aduiſed whether they ſhould returne to Aſcalon, or by often aſſaults vexe the citizens of Iaphet.

Chronicon Hieroſolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this hiſtorie of theſe two hundreth ſaile of ſhips, and ſheweth how by their prowesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in ſhort ſpace vanquiſhed and ouerthrowen: The words are theſe; Ab ipſo verò die tertiæ feriæ dum ſic in ſuperbia & elatione ſuæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni perſiſterent, & multis armorum terroribus Chriſtianum populum vexarent, ſexta feria appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis & cornibus a Iaphet egrediens, in manu robuſta equitum & peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello eſt aggreſſus, magnis hinc & hinc clamoribus intonantes. Chriſtiani quoque qui nauigio appulſi ſunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & graui ſtrepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna ſunt aggreſſi, ſæuiſſimis atq; mortiferis plagis eos affligẽtes, donec bello fatigati, & vltra vim non ſuſtinentes fugam verſus Aſcalonem inierunt. Alij verò ab inſecutoribus eripi exiſtimantes, & mari ſe credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione abſorpti ſunt. Et ſic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus ſuis liberata eſt. Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Sarracenorum: Chriſtianorum verò pauci periјſſe inuenti ſunt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

YEt notwithſtanding, after the ſaid third day of Iuly, the Sarazens perſiſted high minded and inſolent, by reaſon of their great multitude, and much annoied the Chriſtian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the ſixt day of Iuly early in the morning king Baldwine iſſued out of Iaphet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd ſound, and with a very ſtrong armie as well of horſemen as footemen, who on euery ſide making great ſhoutes and outcries, with fierce and ſharpe battell ſet on the maine power of their enemies. The Chriſtians alſo who arriued in the nauie, rearing great clamours and noyſes, with loud voices and ſhoutings in horrible wiſe together, with king Baldwine aſſaulted likewiſe with ſtrong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with moſt ſore and deadly wounds, vntill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out againſt the valure of the Chriſtians, fled towards Aſcalon. And other of them hoping to eſcape from them that purſued them, lept into the ſea, and were ſwalowed vp in the waues thereof. And ſo the citie of Ioppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed of their enemies. There were ſlaine this day three thouſand Sarazens, and but a few of the Chriſtians periſhed.

¶ A Fleete of Engliſhmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arriued at *Ioppa in the Holy land, the ſeuenth yeere of* Baldwine *the ſecond king* of Hieruſalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hieruſalem, in the 8. yeere of *Henry* the firſt of England.

Cap. 1.

AT the ſame time alſo in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hieruſalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about ſeuē thouſand, hauing with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arriued with ſhips which they call Buſſes, at the hauen of the citie of Iaphet, determining there to make their abode, vntill they hauing obtained the kings licence and ſafeconduct, might ſafely worſhip at Hieruſalem. Of which nauie the chiefeſt and beſt ſpoken repairing to the king, ſpake to him in this maner. Chriſt preſerue the Kings life, and proſper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and ſouldiours of Chriſtian profeſſion, haue, through the helpe of God, ſayled hither through mightie and large ſeas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worſhip at Ieruſalem, and to viſit the ſepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are aſſembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your fauour and ſafe conduct we may peaceably goe vp to Ieruſalem, and worſhip there, and ſo returne.

Chap. 2.

The king fauourably hearing their whole petition, granted vnto them a ſtrong band of men to conduct them, which brought them ſafely from all aſſaults and ambuſhes of the Gentiles by the knowen wayes vnto Ieruſalem and all other places of deuotion. After that theſe pilgrims, & new Chriſtian ſtrangers were brought thither, they offering vnto our Lord their vowes in the temple of the holy ſepulchre, returned with great ioy, and without all let vnto Ioppa; where finding the king, they vowed that they would aſſiſt him in all things, which ſhould ſeeme good vnto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hoſpitality, anſwered that he could not on the ſudden anſwere to this point, vntill that after he had called his nobles together, he had conſulted with my lord the Patriarch what was moſt meet and conuenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine ſo willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling vnto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of Dauid, and the other chiefeſt men of warre, he determined to haue a meeting in the city of Rames, to conſult with them what was beſt to be done.

Chap. 3.

Who, being aſſembled at the day appointed, and propoſing their diuers opinions & iudgements, at length it ſeemed beſt vnto the whole company to beſiege the city Sagitta, which is alſo called Sidon, if peraduenture, through Gods helpe, and by the ſtrength of this new army, by land and ſea it might be ouercome. Whereupon all they which were there preſent, and required that this city ſhould be beſieged, becauſe it was one of thoſe cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admoniſhed of the king euery one to go home, and to furniſh themſelues with things neceſſary, and armour for this expedition. Euery one of them departed home; likewiſe Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre againſt the inuaſions of the enemies, which could neuer be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in purſuing them with warre and warlike ſtratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this conſultation the king ſent ambaſſadours to all the multitude of the Engliſh men, requiring them not to remoue their campe nor fleet from the city of Iaphet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The ſame ambaſſadours alſo declared vnto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to beſiege and aſſault the city Sagitta by ſea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull: and that for this purpoſe, the king and the patriarch were comming downe vnto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike inſtruments, to inuade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane ſeaſon they were to remaine at Iaphet, vntill the kings further commandement were knowen. Whereupon they all agreed that it ſhould ſo be done according to the kings commandement; and anſwered that they would attend his directions in the hauen of Iaphet, & would in all points be obedient vnto him vnto the death.

Chap. 4.

The king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the ſpace of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike inſtruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which ſeemed to be moſt conuenient for the aſſaulting of the city. Aſſoone as this purpoſe and intent of the king was come vnto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an inuincible power of men of warre was arriued at Iaphet to helpe the king, they were greatly aſtonied, fearing that by this meanes, they ſhould be conſumed and ſubdued by the king by dint of ſword, as other cities, to wit, Cæſaria, Aſſur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquiſhed and ſubdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promiſed to the king by ſecret mediatours, a mighty maſſe of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, vpon condition that ceaſing to beſiege and inuade their city, he would ſpare their liues. Whereupon theſe buſineſſes were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they ſollicited the king for the ranſomming both of their city and of their liues, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought vnto his ſouldiers, harkened wholy vnto this offer of money. Howbeit becauſe he feared the Chriſtians, leaſt they ſhould lay it to his charge as a fault, he durſt not as yet meddle with the ſame.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane ſpace Hugh of Tabaria being ſent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horſemen and foure hundred footmen, inuaded the countrey of the Groſſe Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and ſiluer moſt abundant in cattle frontering vpon the countrie of the Damaſcenes, where hee tooke a pray of ineſtimable riches and cattle, which might haue ſuffiſed him for the beſiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of ſundry places thereabout, and being led away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæſaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damaſcus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiuing this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, purſued Hughes companie to reſcue the pray, and paſſed forth as farre as the mountaines, ouer which Hughes footemen did driue the pray. There beganne a great ſkirmiſh of both partes, the one ſide made reſiſtance to keepe the pray, the other indeuoured with all their might to recouer it, vntill at length the Turkes and Saracens preuailing, the pray was reſcued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horſemen, ſuddenly vnderſtanding, which were on the ſide of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe vpon the ſpurre, among the ſtraight and craggie rockes, ſkirmiſhing with the enemies, and ſuccouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought vnfortunately. For Hugh, being vnarmed, and immediatly ruſhing into the middeſt of all dangers, and after his wonted manner inuading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe ſhot through the backe which pierced thorough his liuer and breſt, he gaue vp the ghoſt in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recouered pray, and being deuided through the ſecret and hard paſſages of the craggie hilles, the ſouldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, ſo worthie a prince, and valiant champian was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the ſaid Hugh named Gerrard, the ſame time lay ſicke of a grieuous diſeaſe. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his ſickneſſe of his body increaſing more vehemently through griefe, he alſo deceaſed within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Chriſtian maner.

Chap. 6.

AFter the lamentable burials of theſe ſo famous Princes, the King, taking occaſion of the death of theſe principall men of his armie, agreed, making none priuie thereto, to receiue the money which was offered him for his differring off the ſiege of the citie of Sagitta, yet diſſembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon ſending a meſſage vnto Iaphet, hee aduiſed the Engliſh ſouldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and conſult with him touching the beſieging and aſſaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which riſing immediatly vpon the kings commandement, and forthwith hoyſing vp the ſayles of their ſhippes aloft with pendants and ſtremers of purple, and diuerſe other glorious colours, with their flagges of ſcarlet colour and ſilke, came thither, and caſting their ancres, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling vnto him ſuch as were priuie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe vnto the chiefe Captaines of the Engliſh men and Danes, touching the ſlaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he repoſed in them concerning theſe warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he muſt of neceſſity differre the beſieging of Sagitta, & for this time diſmiſſe the armie aſſembled. This reſolution of the king being ſpred among the people, the armie was diſſolued, and the Engliſhmen, Danes and Flemings, with ſailes and oares going aboard their fleete, ſaluted the king, and returned home vnto their natiue countries.

The trauailes of one *Athelard* an Engliſhman, recorded

by maſter *Bale Centur. 2.*

AThelardus Bathonienſis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum myſteriis, & cauſas omnes, diligentiâ tam vndecunque exquiſitâ perſcrutatus eſt, vt cum aliquibus veteris ſeculi philoſophis non indignè conferri poſſit, Hic olim ſpectatæ indolis Adoleſcens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fœcundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inueniſſet, quæ eius deſiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demùm reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Athelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was ſo diligent a ſearcher of the ſecrets, and cauſes of naturall things, that he deſerueth worthely to be compared with ſome of the auncient Philoſophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being deſirous to increaſe and enrich the ſame with the beſt things, and to prepare himſelfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he deſired to his owne priuate contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and ſo being ſatiſfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flouriſhed in the yeere 1130. Henry the firſt being then king of England.

¶ The life and trauailes of one *VVilliam* of *Tyre*, an Engliſhman. *Centur. 13.*

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrenſis claruit ſub Henrico primo.

Gulielmus, Eccleſiæ Dominici ſepulchri Hieroſolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus cōmendabilis, Anno Dom. 1128. poſtquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Chriſtianæ reſtituta eſt a Guimundo Hieroſolymorum patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiſcopus præficiebatur. Eſt autem Tyrus ciuitas antiquiſſima, Phœniciæ vniuerſæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum ſemper obtinuit locum: poſt conſcripta quædam opuſcula, & Epiſtolas, ad Dominum migrauit, An. Chriſti 1130. quum duobus tantum ſediſſet annis, & in Tyrenſi Eccleſia ſepelitur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

William the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Jeruſalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Engliſhman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour. After that the Citie of Tyre was reſtored againe to the Chriſtian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Jeruſalem made him the firſt Archbiſhop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefeſt Prouince of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William hauing in his life written many Bookes and Epiſtles, died at laſt in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archbiſhop the ſpace of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of *Robertus Ketenenſis.*

Robertus Ketenenſis natione & cognomine Anglus, deguſtatis primùm per Anglorum gymnaſia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltramarinas ſtatim viſitare prouincias in animo conſtituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Aſiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ ſuæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentiſſimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amuſſim didicit. In Hiſpaniam poſtea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Aſtrologicæ artis ſtudio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni ſui itineris comite ſe totum dedit. Claruit anno ſeruatoris noſtri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ ſepelitur.

Claruit ſub Stephano.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This Robert Ketenenſis was called an Engliſhman by ſurname, as he was by birth: who after ſome time ſpent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Vniuerſities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond ſea: and ſo trauailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at laſt into Aſia, where he liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by ſea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue himſelfe wholy to the ſtudie of Aſtrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flouriſhed in the yeere 1143. Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

The

A voyage of certaine Engliſh men vnder the conduct of *Lewes* king of *France* vnto the Holy land.

TAntæ expeditionis explicito apparatu vterque princeps iter arripuit, & exercitu ſepartito. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarúmque gentium ampliſſimis copijs. Rex vero Lodouicus ſequebatur Francorum, Flandrenſium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Prouincialium, Aquitanorum, equeſtri ſimul & pedeſtri agmine comitatus, *Gulielmus Neobrigenſis, fol.371.* 1147. Tempore regis Stephani.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BOth the princes prouiſion being made for ſo great an expedition, they ſeuering their armies, entered on their iourney. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes iourney, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horſemen and footmen of Frenchmen, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, Engliſh men, Burgundions, men of Prouence, and Gaſcoins.

The voyage of *Iohn Lacy* to *Ieruſalem.*

ANno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Iohannem Lacy Conſtabularium Ceſtriæ & dominum de Halton, qui obijt in Terra ſancta anno ſequenti: qui fuit viceſſimus annus regni regis Henrici ſecundi. 1173.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord Iohn Lacy Conſtable of Cheſter, & lord of Halton, who deceaſed in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the ſecond.

The voyage of *VVilliam Mandeuile* to *Ieruſalem.*

WIlliam Mandeuile earle of Eſſex, with diuers Engliſh lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the ſecond. Holinſhed pag.101. 1177.

Engliſh men were the guard of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople* in the reigne of *Iohn* the ſonne of *Alexius Comnenus.* *Malmesburienſis, Curopolata* and *Camden, pag. 96.*

IAm inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quàm humanitatis cultu inter Florentiſſimas orbis Chriſtiani gentes inprimis floruit. Adeo vt ad cuſtodiam corporis Conſtantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius, vt refert noſter Malmesburienſis, eorum fidem ſuſpiciens præcipue familiaritati ſuæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio tranſcribẽs: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum ſatellites, Inglini Bipenniſeri Nicetæ Choniatæ, Barangi Curopolatæ dicti. Qui vbiq; Imperatorem proſequebantur ferentes humeris ſecures, quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio ſpectandum ſe exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diuturnam ſecures ſuas collidentes vt ſonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

FRom this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongſt the moſt flouriſhing eſtates of Chriſtendome, no leſſe in chiualrie then humanitie. So farforth that the Engliſh men were ſent for to be the guarders of the perſons of the Emperours of Conſtantinople. For Iohn the ſonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countryman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly eſteeming their fidelity, vſed them very nere about him, recommending them ouer to his ſonne: ſo that long time afterwards the guard of thoſe Emperours were Engliſh halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniſeri, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their ſhoulders, which they held vp when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie ſhewed himſelfe to the people; and claſhing their halberds together to make a terrible ſound, they in the Engliſh tongue wiſhed vnto him long life.

A great ſupply of money to the Holy land by *Henry* the 2.

The ſame yeere King Henry the ſecond being at Waltham, aſſigned an aide to the maintenance of the Chriſtian ſouldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thouſand markes of ſiluer, and fiue hundred markes of golde. Matth, Pariſ. and Holenſ. pag. 105.

A letter written from *Manuel* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, vnto *Henrie* the ſecond King of *England*, *Anno Dom.* 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of king *Henries* Noble men and ſubiects were preſent with the ſayd Emperour in a battell of his againſt the Soldan of *Iconium*. Recorded by *Roger Honeden, in Annalium parte poſteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.*

Eodem anno Manuel Conſtantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campeſtri cum Soltano Iconij & illo deuicto, in hac forma ſcripſit Domino regi Angliæ.

Manuel in Chriſto deo Porphyrogenitus, diuinitùs coronatus, ſublimis, potens, excelſus, ſemper Auguſtus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobiliſſimo regi Angliæ, chariſſimo amico ſuo, ſalutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium noſtrum neceſſarium reputet notificare tibi, vt dilecto amico ſuo, de omnibus quæ ſibi obueniunt; ideò & de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum iudicauit declarare tuæ voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis noſtræ imperium noſtrum aduerſus dei inimicos Perſas noſtrum odium in corde nutriuit, dum cerneret illos in Chriſtianos gloriari, eleuarique in nomen dei, & Chriſtianorum dominari regionibus. Quocirca & alio quidem tempore indifferentèr inuaſit eos, & prout deus ei conceſſit, ſic & fecit. Et quæ ab ipſo frequenter patrata ſunt ad contritionem ipſorum & perditionem, imperium noſtrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere propoſuit, & bellum contra omnem Perſidem mouere, quia res cogebat. Et non vt voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, ſicut ei viſum eſt. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum ſtatus, potentèr eos inuaſit. Collegit ergo circa ſe imperium noſtrum potentias ſuas: ſed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum inſtrumentorum conferentium ciuitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcircò nequaquam cum feſtinatione iter ſuum agere poterat. Ampliùs autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis aduerſus nos militaret in bellis aduerſarius, ægritudo difficillima fluxus ventris inuaſit nos, qui diffuſus per agmina imperij noſtri pertranſibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore grauior. Et hoc malũ inualeſcens maximè nos contriuit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum inuaſimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperij noſtri vndique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à noſtris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Poſt verò vbi ei qui illic adjacet anguſtiæ loci, quæ à Perſis nominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquauimus, tot Perſarum turmæ peditum & equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Perſidis occurrerant in adiutorium contribulium ſuorum, exercitui noſtro ſuperuenerunt, quot penè noſtrorum excederent numerum. Exercitu itaque imperij noſtri propter viæ omnino anguſtiam & difficultatem, vſq; ad decem milliaria extenſo; & cum neque qui præibant poſſent poſtremos defendere, neque verſa vice rurſus poſtremi poſſent præeuntes iuuare, non mediocritèr ab inuicem hos diſtare accidit. Sanè primæ cohortes permultùm ab acie imperij noſtri diuidebantur, poſtremarum oblitæ, illas non præſtolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex iam factis prælijs cognouerant, non conferre ſibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci anguſtiam bonum ſubuentorem cum inueniſſent, poſteriora ſtatuerunt inuadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arctiſſimo igitur vbique loco exiſtente, inſtabant barbari vndique, à dextris & à ſiniſtris, & aliundè dimicantes, & tela ſuper nos quaſi imbres deſcendentia interimebant viros & equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium noſtrũ vbi malum ſuperabundabat, reputans ſecum oportunũ iudicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adiuuare, expectando vtiquè contra infinita illa Perſarum agmina bellum ſuſtinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circundaretur, patrauerit, non opus eſt ad tempus ſermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forſitan diſcet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem exiſtente imperio noſtro, & omne belli grauamen in tantum ſuſtinente, poſtremæ cohortes vniuerſæ Græcorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ iaciebantur ab inimicis tela non ſuſtinentes, impactione vtuntur, & ita violentèr ferebantur, dùm ad adiacentem ibi collem quaſi ad propugnaculum feſtinarent: ſed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem eleuato puluere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundiſſimæ vallis alius ſuper alium homines & equi ſic incontinentèr portati corruerunt, quòd alij alios conculcantes ab inuicem interemerunt non ex gregarijs tantum, ſed ex clariſſimis & intimis noſtris conſanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulſum? At verò imperium noſtrum tot & tantis confertum barbaris ſaucians, ſauciatúmque, adeò vt non modicam in eos moueret perturbationem, obſtupentes perſeuerantiam ipſius, & non remittebatur, benè iuuante deo, campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum ſcandere aduerſarios permiſit, in quo dimicauit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum ſuum illorum timore incitauit, celerius aliquando ponere veſtigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina ſua, & de morte eripiendo ea, collocauit circa ſe: & ſic primos attigit, & ordinatim proficiſcens ad exercitus ſuos acceſſit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quòd poſt tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus noſtris, imperium noſtrum, ſicut oportunum erat, rem huiuſmodi diſpenſauit, vt ipſum rursùm inuaderet: mittens ſupplicauit imperio noſtro, & deprecatorijs vſus eſt ſermonibus, & requiſiuit pacem illius, promittens omnem imperij noſtri adimplere voluntatem, & ſeruitium ſuum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno ſuo tenebantur captiuos abſoluere, & eſſe ex toto voluntatis noſtræ. Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni poteſtate morati ſumus, & cognito quòd nihil poterat fieri contra ciuitatem Iconij, perditis teſtudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quòd boues cecidiſſent a telis in modo pluuiæ iactis, qui eas trahebant: Simul autem eo quòd & vniuerſa animalia noſtra irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine laborabant, ſuſcepit Soltani deprecationem & fœdera & iuramenta peracta ſub vexillis noſtris, & pacem ſuam ei dedit. Inde ingreſſum imperium noſtrum in regionem ſuam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem ſuper his quos perdidit conſanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per ſuam bonitatem & nunc ipſum honorauit: Gratum autem habuimus, quòd quoſdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit intereſſe nobiſcum, qui narrabũt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati ſeriem. Cæterùm autem, licèt contriſtati ſimus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportunum tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, vt dilecto amico noſtro, & vt permultùm coniuncto imperio noſtro, per puerorum noſtrorum intimam conſanguinitatem. Vale. Data menſe Nouembris, indictione tertia.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Conſtantinople hauing fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquiſhed him, wrote vnto Henry the ſecond king of England in maner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Chriſt the euerliuing God a faithful emperour, deſcended of the linage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puiſſant, mighty, alwayes moſt ſoueraigne, and gouernour of the Romans; vnto Henry the moſt famous king of England, his moſt deare friend, greeting and all good ſucceſſe. Whereas our imperiall highneſſe thinketh it expedient to aduertiſe you our welbeloued friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amiſſe to ſignifie vnto your royall Maieſtie certaine exploits at this preſent atchieued by vs. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration our imperiall highnes hath mainteined moſt deadly feod and hoſtility againſt Gods enemies the Perſians, ſeeing them ſo to triumph ouer Chriſtians, to exalt thēſelues againſt the name of God, and to vſurpe ouer Chriſtian kingdomes. For which cauſe our imperiall highneſſe hath in ſome ſort encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleaſed God to giue vs grace. And we ſuppoſe that your Maieſtie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highneſſe hath often performed for their ruine and ſubuerſion. For euen now, being vrged thereunto, we haue determined to leade a mighty army againſt them, and to wage warre againſt all Perſia. And albeit our forces be not ſo great as we could wiſh they were, yet haue we according to the time, and the preſent ſtate of things, ſtrongly inuaded them. Wherefore our Maieſtie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but becauſe we had in our army ſundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other inſtruments for the aſſault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great ſpeed in our iourney. Moreouer, while our imperiall highneſſe was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought againſt vs: our people were viſited with the moſt grieuous diſeaſe of the fluxe, which being diſperſed in our troups deſtroyed and ſlew great numbers, more then the ſword of the enemy would haue done. Which miſchiefe ſo preuailing, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had inuaded the Turkiſh frontiers, we had at the firſt very often and hot ſkirmiſhes, and the Turks came ſwarming to fight againſt our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods aſſiſtance thoſe miſcreants were altogether ſcattered and put to flight by our ſouldiers. But as we approched vnto that ſtraight paſſage which is called by the

Perſians Cibrilcimam, ſo many bands of Perſian footemen and horſemen (moſt whereof came from the innermoſt parts of Perſia, to ſuccour their Allies) encountred our army, as were almoſt ſuperiour vnto vs in number. Wherefore the army of our Imperiall highneſſe, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe and difficultie of the way, being ſtretched ten miles in length; and the firſt not being able to helpe the laſt, nor yet contrarywiſe the laſt to reſcue the firſt, it came to paſſe that they were very farre diſtant aſunder. And in very deed the foremoſt troupes were much ſeparated from the guard of our imperiall perſon, who forgetting their fellowes behind, would not ſtay any whit for them. Becauſe therefore the Turkiſh bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootleſſe for them to aſſaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiuing the narrowneſſe of the place to be a great aduantage, they determined to ſet vpon our rereward, and did ſo. Wherefore our paſſage being very ſtraight, and the infidels aſſayling vs vpon the right hand and vpon the left, and on all ſides, and diſcharging their weapons as thicke as haileſtones againſt vs, ſlew diuers of our men and horſes. Hereupon, the ſlaughter of our people ſtill encreaſing our maieſtie imperiall deemed it requiſite to ſtay behind, and to ſuccour our bands in the rereward, and ſo expecting them we ſuſtained the fierce encounter of many thouſand Perſians. What exploits our Imperiall perſon atchieued in the ſame ſkirmiſh, I hold it needleſſe at this time to recount: your maieſtie may perhaps vnderſtand more of this matter by them which were there preſent. Howbeit our Imperiall highneſſe being in the middeſt of this conflict, and enduring the fight with ſo great danger, all our hindermoſt troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themſelues cloſe together, and not being able to ſuffer the violence of their enemies weapons, preſſed on ſo hard, and were caried with ſuch maine force, that haſtening to aſcend the next hill for their better ſafegard, they vrged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much duſt being raiſed, which ſtopped our eyes and vtterly depriued vs of ſight, and our mē and horſes preſſing ſo ſore one vpon the necke of another, plunged themſelues on the ſudden into ſuch a ſteepe and dangerous valley, that treading one vpon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common ſouldiours, but diuers moſt honourable perſonages, & ſome of our neere kinſmen. For who could reſtraine the irreſiſtable throng of ſo huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highneſſe being enuironed with ſuch ſwarmes of Infidels, and giuing and receiuing wounds (inſomuch that the miſcreants were greatly diſmaied at our conſtancie) we gaue not ouer, but by Gods aſſiſtance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemie to aſcend vnto that place, from whence we ſkirmiſhed with him. Neither yet ſpurred wee on our horſe any faſter for all their aſſaults. But marſhalling all our troupes together, and deliuering them out of danger, we diſpoſed them about our Imperial perſon; and ſo we ouertooke the foremoſt, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiuing that notwithſtanding the great damages which we had ſuſtained, our Imperial highnes prouided to giue him a freſh encounter, humbly ſubmitting himſelfe vnto vs, and vſing ſubmiſſe ſpeaches, made ſuite to haue peace at our hands, and promiſed to fulfill the pleaſure of our maieſtie Imperiall, to doe vs ſeruice againſt all commers, to releaſe all our ſubiects which were captiues in his realme, and to reſt wholy at our command. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and conſidering that wee could attempt nought againſt the citie of Iconium, hauing loſt all our warrelike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the oxen which drew them were ſlaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as haileſtones: and alſo for becauſe all our beaſts in a maner were moſt grieuouſly diſeaſed; our maieſtie Imperial accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken vnder our enſignes, and granted our peace vnto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieued for the loſſe of our deere kinſmen, and yeelding vnto God moſt humble thanks, who of his goodneſſe had euen now giuen vs the victory. We are right glad likewiſe that ſome of your maieſties princes and nobles accompanied vs in this action, who are able to report vnto you all things which haue happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieued for the loſſe of our people; yet thought it we expedient to ſignifie vnto you the ſucceſſe of our affaires, as vnto our welbeloued friend, & one who is very neerly allied vnto our highneſſe Imperial, by reaſon of the conſanguinitie of our children. Farewell. Giuen in the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the tenth Indiction.

The citie of Iconium intended to haue bene beſieged.

Certaine noble men of the king of England were with the Emperor in his battell againſt the Soldan of Iconium.

¶ The woorthy voiage of *Richard* the firſt, K. of *England* into *Aſia*, for the recouerie of *Ieruſalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens*, drawen out of the booke of *Acts and Monuments* of the Church of England, written by *M. Iohn Foxe*.

King Richard the firſt of that name, for his great valure ſurnamed Ceur de Lion, the ſonne of Henry the ſecond, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had vndutifully raiſed againſt him, ſought for abſolution of his treſpaſſe, and in part of ſatiſfaction for the ſame, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voiage with him for the recouerie of Chriſtes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land: whereupon the ſayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himſelfe the better towards his iourney, vſed diuers meanes to take vp ſummes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Chriſtians to make threeſcore and ten thouſand pounds, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threeſcore thouſand.

Hauing thus gotten ſufficient money for the exploite, he ſent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promiſe made for the recouerie of Chriſts holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he ſent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himſelfe by ſolemne othe, depoſing vpon the Euangeliſts, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Eaſter, had certainly prefixed to addreſſe himſelfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewiſe not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme aboue limited, appointing alſo the place where both the Kings ſhould meete together.

In the yeere therfore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of this realme in his abſence to the biſhop of Ely then Chancellor of England, aduanced forward his iourney, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, aſſured themſelues by ſolemne othe, ſwearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whoſe oth was this.

¶ The oth of fidelitie betwixt King Richard, and the French king.

That either of them ſhould defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them ſhould faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King ſhould aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himſelfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were beſieged: and that Richard *king of England likewiſe ſhould aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwiſe then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were beſieged, &c.*

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Nauie, the forme thereof was this.

The diſcipline and orders of the king.

1. That who ſo killed any perſon on ſhipboord, ſhould be tied with him that was ſlaine, and throwen into the ſea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he ſhould in like maner be tied with the partie ſlaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that ſhalbe conuicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtriken any to the drawing of blood, ſhall looſe his hand.

4. Alſo he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand without effuſion of blood, ſhall be plunged three times in the ſea.

5. Item, who ſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or curſing one another, for ſo oftentimes as he hath reuiled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſiluer.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath ſtollen being lawfully conuicted, ſhal haue his head ſhorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe ſtrawed vpon the ſame, whereby he may be knowen, and ſo at the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt vp.

Theſe things thus ordered, king Richard ſending his Nauie by the Spaniſh ſeas, and by the ſtreights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marſilia, hee himſelfe went as is ſaid to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus with preaſſe of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occaſion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were conſtrained to diſſeuer themſelues for time of their iourney, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and ſo Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marſilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence croſſing ouer to Genua where the French king was, he paſſed forward by the coaſts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard ſtaying in Marſilia 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ſhip ouer his men, and ſo came to Naples, and ſo partly by horſe and wagon, and partly by the ſea, paſſing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ſhips were arriued at Meſſana in Sicilie, he made the more ſpeed, and ſo the 23. of September entred Meſſana with ſuch a noyſe of Trumpets and Shalmes, with ſuch a rout and ſhew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the ſight.

To the ſaid towne of Meſſana the French king was come before the 16. of the ſame moneth of September, and had taken vp the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall eftſoones reſorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke ſhipping and entred the ſeas, thinking to ſaile towards the land of Ieruſalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde riſing contrary againſt him, returned him backe againe to Meſſana. Then king Richard (whoſe lodging was prepared in the ſuburbs without the Citie) after he had reſorted againe and talked with the French king, and alſo had ſent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliuerance of Ioane his ſiſter (who had bin ſomtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be ſent vnto him, the laſt day of September paſſed ouer the ſtreight del Fare, and there getting a ſtrong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his ſiſter with a ſufficient garriſon, he returned againe to Meſſana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another ſtrong hold, called Monaſterium Griffonum, ſituated in ẏ midſt of the ſtreight del Fare, betweene Meſſana & Calabria, from whence ẏ Monks being expulſed, he repoſed there all his ſtore and prouiſion of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Meſſana ſeeing that the king of England had wonne the caſtle and Iſland de la Baguare, and alſo the Monaſterie of the Griffons, and doubting leaſt the king would extend his power further to inuade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Iſle of Sicilie, began to ſtirre againſt the Kings armie, and to ſhut the Engliſhmen out of the gates, and kept their walles againſt them. The Engliſhmen ſeeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, inſomuch that the King riding amongſt them with his ſtaffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not aſſwage their fierceneſſe, such was the rage of the Engliſhmen agaynſt the citizens of Meſſana. The King ſeeing the furie of his people to be ſuch that hee could not ſtay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was ſo taken vp by the wiſe handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the ſayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbiſhop of Meſſana with two other Archbiſhops alſo with the French king, and ſundry other Earles, Barons, and Biſhops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together conſulting, and had almoſt concluded vpon the peace, the Citizens of Meſſana iſſuing out of the towne, ſome went vp vpon the mountains, ſome with open force inuaded the manſion or lodging of Hugh Brune an Engliſh captaine. The noyſe whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee ſuddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the reſt, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themſelues. Who then with certaine of his ſouldiours making vp to the top of the mountaine (which ſeemed to paſſe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom alſo certaine of the kings ſeruants purſued into the citie, of whom fiue valiant ſouldiers & twentie of the kings ſeruants were ſlaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to reſcue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there preſent, rode in the midſt of them ſafely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well haue eaſed the Kings partie, more then he, if it had ſo liked him.

This being knowen to the Engliſh hoſte how their fellowes were ſlaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred againſt them, being alſo ſtopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themſelues in armes, braſt open the gates, and ſcaled the wals, and ſo winning the citie, ſet vp their flags with the Engliſh armes vpon the wals: which when the French King did ſee, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might alſo be ſet vp, & ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no caſe agree, notwithſtanding to ſatiſfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the cuſtodie of the citie to the Hoſpitalaries and Templaries of Ieruſalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he ſhould agree together vpon conditions.

Meſſana won by the Engliſh

These things being done the fift and ſixt day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the ſame, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, firſt king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and ſocietie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace alſo was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforeſaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in caſe king Richard ſhould die without iſſue, ſhould be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters ſent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill Februarie the next yeere, theſe two kings kept ſtill at Meſſana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their ſhippes. And in the aforeſayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard ſent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purpoſed to marry, who by that time were come to Brunduſium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and ſo proceeding vnto Naples, they found the kings ſhippes wherein they ſayled to Meſſana.

In this meane ſpace, king Richard ſhewed himſelfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king firſt he gaue diuers ſhippes, vpon others likewiſe he beſtowed riche rewardes, and of his treaſure and goods he deſtributed largely to his ſouldiers and ſeruants about him, of whom it was reported, that he diſtributed more in one moneth, then any of his predeceſſors did in a whole yeere: by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular vſe and profite, as the ſequele afterward prooued.

The firſt day of March following, he left the citie of Meſſana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he ſhould depart, the aforeſaid Tancredus offred him many rich preſents in gold and ſiluer, and precious ſilkes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche ſworde. At length when king Richard ſhould take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him ſo depart, but needes would giue him 4. great ſhippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himſelfe would needes accompanie him the ſpace of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they ſhould take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the meſſage, which the French King a little before had ſent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were theſe: That the King of England was a falſe Traytour, & would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the ſayd Tancredus would warre againſt him, or ſecretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would aſſiſt him, to the deſtruction o[illegible]m and all his armie. To whom Richard the King proteſted againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the ſame ſhould neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue that the French King being his good lord, and his ſworne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any ſuch wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, ſent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the ſaid letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and muſing not a little vpon the ſame, returneth againe to Meſſana. The ſame day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to ſpeake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Meſſana againe.

From that time King Richard mooued in ſtomacke againſt King Philip, neuer ſhewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe thereof, word was ſent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what wordes he had ſent to the king of Sicily, and for teſtimony thereof the letters were ſhewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king vnderſtood, firſt he held his peace as guilty in his conſcience, not knowing well what to anſwere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he ſought cauſes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therfore he forged (ſayd he) theſe lies vpon him, and all becauſe he by that meanes would auoid to marry with Aliſe his ſiſter, according as he had promiſed. Adding moreouer that if he would ſo do, and would not marry the ſaid Aliſe his ſiſter according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this king Richard ſayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forſomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and alſo had by her a ſonne: for proofe whereof he had there preſently to bring forth diuers & ſundry witneſſes to the kings face, to teſtifie with him.

In concluſion, through counſell and perſwaſion of diuers about the French king, agreement at laſt was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his ſiſter, and king Richard againe ſhould be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the ſpace of fiue yeeres, two thouſand markes, with certaine other conditions beſides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the ſayd moneth of

March, the French king lanching out of the hauen of Meſſiana, the 22 day after in the Eaſter weeke, came with his armie to the ſiege of Achon.

The Nauie of king Richard.

After the departure of the French king from Meſſana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arriued Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, to be eſpouſed to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the ſayd moneth, departed from the hauen of Meſſana with 150 great ſhips, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, roſe a mighty South winde with a tempeſt, which diſſeuered and ſcattered all his Nauie, ſome to one place, and ſome to another. The king with a few ſhips was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes caſt anker. The ſhips that caried the kings ſiſter, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, with two ſhips were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ſhips of his ſiſter, and Berengaria his wife that ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempeſt was ouerblowen, ſent forth his gallies diligently to ſeeke the reſt of his Nauie diſperſed, but eſpecially the ſhippe wherein his ſiſter was, and the maiden whom he ſhould marry, who at length were found ſafe and merry at the port of Lymſzem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithſtanding the two other ſhips, which were in their company before in the ſame hauen, were drowned with diuers of the kings ſeruants and men of worſhip, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings ſeale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and impriſoned all Engliſh men, which by ſhipwracke were caſt vpon his land, alſo inuegled into his hands the goods and priſes of them which were found drowned about his coaſtes, neither would ſuffer the ſhips wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ſhips together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to king Iſakius, how he with his Engliſh men, comming as ſtrangers to the ſupportation of the holy land, were by diſtreſſe of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition beſought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy croſſe, to let go ſuch priſoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to reſtore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he [illegible]eined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their ſoules. And this the king once, twiſe, and thriſe deſired of the Emperour: but he proudly anſwering againe, ſent the king word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Iſakius made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftſoones giueth commandement thorowout all his hoſte to put themſelues in armour and follow him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but that the Lord would ſtand with them, and giue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people ſtood warding the Sea coaſts, where the Engliſh men ſhould arriue, with ſwords, billes, and lances, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſetting boordes, ſtooles, and cheſtes before them as a wall: few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert and vnſkilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his ſouldiers iſſuing out of their ſhips, firſt ſet his bowemen before, who with their ſhot made a way for others to followe. The Engliſhmen thus winning the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere alſo to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much ſpoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymſzem, which the Towneſmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Ioanna the Kings ſiſter, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymſzem, with 50. great ſhips, and 14. galliots: ſo that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall ſhippes, and aboue threeſcore galliots. Then Iſakius the Emperour, ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by Sea, the ſame night pitched his tentes fiue miles off from the Engliſh army, ſwearing that the third day after, he would ſurely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him before, ſuddenly the ſame morning before the day of battell ſhould be, ſetteth vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnwares and a ſleepe, and made of them a great ſlaughter, inſomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tents and pauilions to the Engliſhmen, full of horſes and rich treaſure, alſo with the Imperial ſtanderd, the lower part whereof with a coſtly ſtreamer was couered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his ſiſter and Berengaria, ſhortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the ſaid moneth, married the ſaid Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymſzem.

The king of Cyprus ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himſelfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of ſuch ſpoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, alſo to reſtore all the captiues againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne perſon to attend vpon the king to the lande of Ieruſalem, in Gods ſeruice and his, with 400. horſemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his caſtles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour ſwearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ieruſalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Iſakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard beſetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with ſhippes and gallies, did in ſuch ſort preuaile, that the ſubiects of the land were conſtrained to yeelde themſelues to the King, and at laſt the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himſelfe, whom king Richard cauſed to be kept in fetters of gold and ſiluer, and to be ſent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all ſet in order touching the poſſeſſion of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe ſonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the firſt day of Iune vpon the fift of the ſaide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his ſhippes and gallies toward the ſiege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was reſtrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the firſt day of Iune, croſſing the ſeas, he met with a great carak fraught with ſouldiers and men of warre to the number of a thouſand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and ſetting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, ſecretly ſent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of vnknowen ſerpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing, eftſoones ſet vpon them and ſo vanquiſhed them, of whom the moſt were drowned and ſome taken aliue: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great diſcomfort to them, ſo it was a great helpe to the Chriſtians for winning the citie.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left gouernour of Cyprus.

A great ſhip of Saracens taken by king Richard.

The next day after which was the ſeuenth of Iune, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long beſieged by the Chriſtians. After whoſe comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, ſeeing their wals to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by compoſition to eſcape with life and limme, to ſurrender the citie to the two kings.

King Richard arriued at Achon.

Another great helpe to the Chriſtians in winning the citie, was this. In the ſaid city of Achon there was a ſecret Chriſtian among the Saracens, who in time of the ſiege thereof vſed at ſundry times to caſt ouer the wals into the campe of the Chriſtians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he diſcloſed to the Chriſtians from time to time, the doings and counſels of the enemies, aduertiſing them how and what way they ſhould worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus ſancti Amen. By reaſon whereof the Chriſtians were much aduantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderſtand who he was.

To make of a long ſiege a ſhort narration. Vpon the twelfth day of Iuly the yeere aforeſaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement reſorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

1 That the Kings ſhould haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Chriſtians ſhould be reſtored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy croſſe ſhould be to them rendred, and a thouſand Chriſtian captiues with two hundreth horſemen, whoſoeuer they themſelues would choſe out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thouſand Byſants, ſo that they themſelues ſhould remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforeſayd couenants were not accompliſhed, they ſhould abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

Theſe couenants being agreed vpon, the Kings ſent their ſouldiers and ſeruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richeſt & beſt of the city, to cloſe them vp in towers vnder ſtrong keeping, & the reſidue they committed to be kept in houſes and in ſtreetes, miniſtring vnto them according to their neceſſities: to whom notwithſtanding this they permitted, that ſo many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Chriſt, ſhould be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward ſo ſoone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commaunded by the Kings, that none of them ſhould be baptized againſt their wils.

The thirteenth day of the ſaid moneth of July, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the poſſeſſion of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and ſiluer, with all other furniture whatſoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the ſpoyle, were ſo good caruers to themſelues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their ſhare, whereupon they began to ſhew themſelues ſomewhat diſcontented, which being knowen of the kings, they ſent them anſwere that their wils ſhould be ſatiſfied.

The twentieth day of July, king Richard ſpeaking with the French King, deſired him that they two with their armies, would binde themſelues by othe to remaine there ſtil in the land of Ieruſalem the ſpace of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of thoſe countreys: but he ſayd he would ſweare no ſuch othe, and ſo the next day after king Richard with his wife and ſiſter entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himſelfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houſes of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ieruſalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithſtanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Chriſtian armie with great intreatie deſired him to tary, ſhewing what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of Auguſt departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforeſayd Conradus Marques.

The French kings ſhamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refuſed to keepe their couenants made, who neither would reſtore the holy Croſſe nor the money, nor their captiues, ſending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of ſuch captiues of the Chriſtians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine ſending great gifts to king Richard, requeſted the time limited for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refuſed to take his gifts, and to graunt his requeſt, whereupon the Saladine cauſed all the Chriſtian captiues within his poſſeſſion forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of Auguſt: which albeit king Richard vnderſtood, yet would not he preuent the time before limited for the execution of his priſoners, being the 20. day of Auguſt: vpon which day he cauſed the priſoners of the Saracens openly in the ſight of the Saladines armie to looſe their heads: the number of whom came to two thouſand and fiue hundreth, ſaue onely that certaine of the principal of them he reſerued for purpoſes and conſiderations, ſpecially to make exchange for the holy Croſſe, and certaine other of the Chriſtian captiues.

The captiues of the Saracens ſlaine by King Richard,

After this king Richard purpoſed to beſiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betwene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Aſſur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely againſt the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the ſame battell, the kings warriers acquited themſelues ſo well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Chriſtians purſued the ſpace of 3. miles, & he loſt that ſame day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to ſuch confuſion 40. yeres before, and but one Chriſtian Captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

A notable victorie againſt the Saladine.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Aſcalon, where he found firſt the citie of Ioppe forſaken of the Saracens, who durſt not abide the kings comming: Aſcalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewiſe forſooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free paſſage without reſiſtance: neither durſt the Saracens Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atchieuances the ſayd K. Richard ſent his letters of certificate as well into England, as alſo to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping ẏ he God willing ſhould be able to make his repaire againe to them by Eaſter next.

King Richard in poſſeſſion of Syria,

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by theſe two Kings, and moe ſhould haue bene, had not they falling into diſcorde diſſeuered themſelues, by reaſon whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within ſhort ſpace: who being returned againe eftſoones inuaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting alſo Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers abſence: who then made league vpon the ſame with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next ſpring following returned alſo, who in his returne driuen by diſtreſſe of weather about the parts of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the ſame countrey, and ſo ſolde to the Emperour for ſixtie thouſand Markes: who for no ſmall ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, theſe letters here following.

1193.

King Richard returneth from Paleſtine.

The letter of the Emperour to *Philip* the French king, concerning the taking of King *Richard*.

Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, Dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo, Philippo illuſtri Francorum Regi ſalutem, & ſinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celſitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de vniuerſis quibus omnipotentia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos, & Romanum Imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij noſtri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reuerſurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui ſua, in qua ipſe erat, induceret eum in partes Hiſtriæ ad locum qui eſt inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permiſſione paſſus naufragium cum paucis euaſit.

Quidam itaq; fidelis noſter Comes, Maynardus de Groexce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & conſiderato diligentiùs, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promiſſionis proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis ſuæ cumulum exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipſo autem Rege in fugam conuerſo, ceperunt de ſuis octo milites: Poſtmodum proceſſit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiſcopatu Salſeburgenſi, qui vocatur Friſorum, vbi Fridericus de Beteſow, Rege cum tribus tantum verſus Auſtriam properante, noctu ſex milites de ſuis cepit: Dilectus autem Conſanguineus noſter Lympoldus Dux Auſtriæ, obſeruata ſtrata ſæpè, dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo deſpecta captiuauit.

Cum itaq; in noſtra nunc habeatur Poteſtate, & ipſe ſemper tuæ moleſtauit, & turbationis operam præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus, nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curauimus: ſcientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheometum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traiterouſly taken, and ſolde to the Emperour by the Duke of Auſtridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in cuſtodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In ſome ſtories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Aſia, came to Italy with proſperous winde, where he deſired of the Pope to be abſolued of an othe made againſt his will and could not obteine it: and ſo ſetting out from thence towards England, paſſing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whoſe death (he being ſlaine a litle before) was falſly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterouſly was taken (as is aforeſayde) by Limpoldus duke of Auſtridge.

Albeit in another ſtorie I finde the matter more credibly ſet forth: which ſaith thus. That king Richard ſlewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Cheſſe in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel againſt him and deliuered him (as is ſayde) to the Emperour. In whoſe cuſtodie he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane ſeaſon ſtirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made ſtirre and inuaded England, but the Barons and Biſhops of the land mightily withſtood him.

At length it was ſo agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard ſhould be releaſed for a hundreth and foure thouſand pound: of which money part ſhould remaine to the Duke of Auſtridge, the reſt ſhould be the Emperours. The ſumme of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, croſſes, ſhrines, candleſtickes and other Church plate, alſo with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other ſubiects of the Realme: whereof part was preſently paid, and for the reſidue remaining, hoſtages and pledges were taken, which was about the ſixt yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Prieſts might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforeſaide money was payde, and the hoſtages giuen for the ranſome of the King, I haue an olde hiſtorie which ſaith, that the aforeſaid Duke of Auſtridge was ſhortly after plagued by God, with 5. ſundry plagues.

The iuſt iudgement of God vpon the Duke of Auſtria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2 With drowning of tenne thouſand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3 By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

4. By taking away almoſt all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horſe, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the ſame: who then at his death is reported to forgiue K. Richard 50000. marks, and ſent home the hoſtages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the ſayd Limpoldus duke of Auſtrich fell in diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ranſomed & deliuered from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Aſia, which was both honourable to himſelfe and to all Chriſtian ſtates, but to the Saracens the enemies of Chriſtianitie, terrible and diſhonourable.

This hiſtorie of King *Richards* voiage to Ieruſalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by *Guilielmus Neobrigenſis*, and *Roger Houeden.*

Epitaphium Richardi *primi regis Anglorum apud fontem* Ebraldi.

Scribitur hoc auro, rex aurec, laus tua tota
aurea, materiæ conueniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
tertia, Caruanna quarta, ſuprema *Iope.
Retruſi Siculi, Cyprus peſſundata, Dromo
merſus, Caruanna capta, retenta Iope.

*Ciuitas Ioppe.

Epitaphium eiuſdem vbi viſcera eius requieſcunt.

Viſcera Karcolum, corpus fons ſeruat Ebraldi,
& cor Rothomagus, magne *Richarde*, tuum.

The life and trauailes of *Baldwinus Deuonius*, ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Baldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Exceſtriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philoſophus, & ad omne ſtudiorum genus per illos dies aptiſſimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat, tum poſtea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac ſapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit prætereà Ciſtercienſis Monachus, & Abbas Fordenſis Cœnobij, magnus ſuorum æſtimatione, ac vniuerſæ eorum ſocietati quaſi Anteſignanus: fuit deinde Wigornienſis præſul, fuit & mortuo demùm Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus ſollicitè inuigilans, egregium ſe paſtorem exhibuit, dominicum ſemen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum ſpargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni inſignijs, ſummo ſtudio claſſem, ac omnia ad Hieroſolymitanum bellum gerendum neceſſaria parauit. Secutus eſt illicò regem in Syriam, & Palęſtinam vſque Baldwinus, vt eſſet in tam Sancto (vt ipſe putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Pręfuit Cantuarienſi Eccleſię ferè 6. annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam ſecutus, anno Salutis noſtræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & ſepultus eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Baldwine a Deuonſhire man borne in Exceter of meane parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philoſopher, and in thoſe dayes very excellent in all kind of ſtudies. He was firſt of all a Schoolemaſter; afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wiſdom in all his doings. He was alſo a Ciſtercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monaſterie, and the chiefe of all thoſe that were of his order: he grew after this to be biſhop of Worceſter, and at laſt after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the diſcharge of which place he being very vigilant, ſhewed himſelfe a worthy Paſtor, ſowing the ſeed of Gods word in euery place as farre forth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indeuour prepared a Fleet and all things neceſſary for waging of warre againſt the Infidels at Ieruſalem, taking with him the ſtanderd and enſignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftſoones followed the king into Syria and Paleſtina, as one deſirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in ſo holy a voyage. Hee was Archbiſhop of Canterburie almoſt ſixe yeres: but hauing followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was alſo buried.

❡ An annotation concerning the trauailes of the ſayd *Baldwine*, taken out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.*

Inter primos Thomæ Becketi ſucceſſor hic ſecundus, audita Saluatoris & ſalutiferæ Crucis iniuria noſtris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, crucesignatus, in eiuſdem obſequijs, tam remotis finibus quàm propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter aſſumpſit. Et poſtmodum iter accipiens, nauigióque fungens apud Maſſiliam, tranſcurſo tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrenſi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum noſtrum obſidentem pariter & obſeſſum Aconem tranſiuit: vbi multos ex noſtris inueniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectu, in ſumma deſolatione iam poſitos, & deſperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia grauiter afflictos, quoſdam verò aëris inclementia diſtemperatos, diem fœliciter in terra ſacra clauſurus extremum, ſingulos pro poſſe vinculo charitatis amplectens, ſumptibus & impenſis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmauit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This Baldwine being the ſecond ſucceſſor vnto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ẏ wrong which was done to our Sauiour, and the ſlight of the Croſſe by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking vpon him the Lords Character, he couragiouſly performed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre diſtant Countreis as at home. And afterwards taking his iourney and imbarking himſelfe at Marſeils, hauing at length paſſed ẏ Leuant ſea, he arriued ſafely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, beſieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) beſieged it ſelfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almoſt all men remaining in wonderfull penſiueneſſe and deſpaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, ſome of them tyred with long expectation, others grieuouſly afflicted with hunger and pouertie, and others diſtempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, he ayded them at his coſtes and charges, and ſtrengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

❡ A note drawen out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worſhipfull M. *Thomas Tilney* Eſquire, touching Sir *Frederike Tilney* his anceſtor, knighted at *Acon* in the *Holy land* for his valour, by K. *Richard* the firſt, as foloweth.

Pertinuit iſte liber prius Frederico Tilney de Boſton, in comitatu Lincolniæ militi facto apud Acon in terra Iudææ anno regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iſte magnæ ſtaturæ & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus ſuis dormit apud Tirrington iuxta villam ſui nominis Tilney in Merſhland. Cuius altitudo in ſalua cuſtodia permanet ibidem vſque in hunc diem. Et poſt eius obitum ſexdecem militibus eius nominis Tilney hæreditas illa ſucceſſiuè obuenit, quorum vnus poſt alium ſemper habitabat apud Boſton prædictum: dum fratris ſenioris hæreditas hæredi generali deuoluta eſt, quæ nupta eſt Iohanni duci Norfolciæ. Eorum miles vltimus fuit Philippus Tilney nûper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciæ, pater & genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iſte liber, Anno ætatis ſuæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

❡ The ſame in Engliſh.

This booke pertained in times paſt vnto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boſton in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Iurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the firſt. This knight was of a tall ſtature, and ſtrong of body, who reſteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere vnto a towne in Marſhland called by his owne name Tilney. The iuſt height of this knight is there kept in ſafe cuſtody vntill this very day. Alſo, after this mans deceaſe, the inheritance of his landes fell ſucceſſiuely vnto ſixteene ſundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boſton aforeſayd, vntill ſuch time as the poſſeſſions of the elder brother fell vnto an heire generall, which was maried vnto Iohn duke of Northfolke. The laſt knight of that name was ſir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predeceſſor and father vnto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforeſayd Eſquire, vnto whom the ſayd booke of late appertained, In the yeere of his age 64, and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

¶ The trauailes of one *Richard* ſurnamed *Canonicus.*

Richardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipſa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impenſè amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euaſit orator, & Poeta, qualem ea ætas rariſſimos nutriebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palæſtinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, ſuſcepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuerſus, omnia quæ præſens vidit in vrbibus, agris, ac militum caſtris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quàm proſa deſcripſit. Neque interim omiſit eiuſdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta deſignare, addiditque præclaro ſuo operi hoc aptiſſimum pro titulo nomen, ſcilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis noſtræ 1200, ſub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Richard ſurnamed Canonicus an obſeruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the ſtudies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at laſt by his continuall endeuour and long exerciſe therein, hee grewe to bee ſuch an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age liuing: by reaſon whereof hee grewe in fauour with Richard then King of England, and undertooke that long voyage with him into Paleſtina and Syria againſt the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully deſcribed both in Verſe and Proſe all ſuch things as hee had ſeene in the Cities, fieldes and tents of the ſouldiours, where hee was preſent, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foreſayd king, giuing to his notable worke this moſt apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. He flouriſhed in the yeere of our Redemption 1200, under Iohn King of England.

¶ The trauailes of *Gulielmus Peregrinus.*

Gvlielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat ſtudijs. Hic cum accepiſſet, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit ſe ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, ſed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hiſpanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palæſtina commiſſa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babyloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Saracenos. Omnia hæc ſcripſit, & viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quaſi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idémque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opúſq; iam abſolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertiſſimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multáque alia edidiſſe Poetam talem non dubito, ſed num extent illa eius ſcripta, mihi non conſtat. Hoc tamen ſatis conſtat, eum fuiſſe in pretio, Anno à ſalutifero virginis partu 1200. ſub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

William the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in thoſe dayes and an Engliſhman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and beſtowed his good time in the beſt kinde of ſtudies. Hee underſtanding of the preparation of king Richard againſt the Saracens, prepared himſelfe alſo for the ſame voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime alſo. He ſawe thoſe things which happened in the Spaniſh Seas, and which were done in Syria and Paleſtina, againſt the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expreſſed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene ſtill in doing before his eyes, and handled the ſame Argument in Heroicall verſe which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finiſhed his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a moſt expert Captaine of the warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that ſo good a Poet as hee was publiſhed many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flouriſhed in the yeere after the birth of Chriſt 1200, under king Iohn.

The large contribution to the ſuccour of the *Holy land*, made by king *Iohn* king of *England*, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. *Matth. Paris* and *Holinſh.pag.164.*

AT the ſame time alſo the kings of France and England gaue large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this preſent went foorth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian faith at the inſtance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortieth part of all the reuenues belonging vnto eccleſiaſticall perſons, towards the ayd of the Chriſtians then being in the Holy land: and all ſuch aſwel of the nobility, as other of the weaker ſort, which had taken vpon them the croſſe, and ſecretly layed it downe, were compelled eftſoones to receiue it now againe.

The trauailes of *Hubert VValter* biſhop of *Sariſburie*.

HVbertus Walterus Sariſburienſis Epiſcopus, vir probus, ingenioq; ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui poſt Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiſcebantur. Cum ex Palæſtina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidiſſet, omiſſo itinere incœpto, ad eum curſim diuertebat: Quem & ille ſtatim in Angliam miſit, vt illic regij Senatus authoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & induſtrius fecit ac regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopus factus, poſt eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac ſucceſſori paria fidelitatis officia præſtitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi perſuaſit, quod vir prouidus, præſtans, fortis, genere nobiliſſimus, & imperio digniſſimus eſſet: quo ſalutatus a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Compoſuit quædam opuſcula, & ex immenſo animi dolore demum obijſſe fertur, Anno ſalutis humanæ 1205. cum ſediſſet annos 11. Menſes octo, & dies ſex: quum vidiſſet ex inteſtinis odijs, omnia in tranſmarinis regionibus peſſum ire, regnante Ioanne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HVbert Walter biſhop of Sariſburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefeſt of them that followed king Richard into Syria going againſt the Saracens. As he returned from Palæſtina and came in his iourney into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went preſently and in all haſte to the place where the king was captiued, whom the king immediatly vpon his comming ſent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and deliuered the king. After this he was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he ſhewed the like duties of fidelitie and truſt to his brother Iohn that ſucceeded him. For by a long oration he perſwaded the whole nation of the Engliſh men, that he was a very circumſpect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and moſt worthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was ſo receiued of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the laſt with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205, hauing beene archbiſhop the ſpace of 11 yeres 8 moneths and ſixe dayes, by reaſon of the ciuil diſcords abroad, whereby all things went topſie turuy, and in the reigne of king Iohn.

The trauailes of *Robert Curſon*.

RObertus Curſon ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, diſciplinis tum prophanis, tum ſacris ſtudioſus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratiſſima Oxonij Academia. Præſtantiſſimis illic inſtitutoribus vſus, ex ſumma circa ingenuas artes induſtria, & aſſiduo literarum labore, famam ſibi inter ſuos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Pariſiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipſam petijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus Pariſius, ac Weſtmonaſterius, hoc de ipſo teſtimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. ſuorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini 1218 (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ Ægypti vrbis, ſub Ioanne Brenno Hieroſolymorum rege, fuit cum Palagio Albanenſi Magiſter Robertus de Curſon, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis, &c. Boſtonus Burienſis in ſuo Catalogo

Curſonum aliquos libros compoſuiſſe narrat. Claruit anno ſuperius numerato per prædictos teſtes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Ioannis regis filio: fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Boſtono teſte, legatus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Robert Curſon deſcended of a noble family of England, vſed great diligence aſwell in prophane as in diuine ſtudies in the famous Vniuerſity of Oxford (as I coniecture.) He had there the beſt ſcholemaſters that were to be gotten, and was moſt induſtrious in the arts and continual exerciſes of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowme where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it ſelfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Weſtminſter produce this teſtimony of him, the one in his ſecond booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (ſay they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a city of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne king of Ieruſalem, M. Robert Curſon an Engliſh man, a moſt famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanenſis, &c. Boſton of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers books. He flouriſhed in the yeere aforeſayd by the witneſſes aforeſayd. Henry the third ſonne of king Iohn being then king of England: and by the further teſtimony of Boſton, this Curſon was legate into England in the dayes of Honorius the third, biſhop of Rome.

The voyage of *Ranulph* earle of *Cheſter*, of *Saer Quincy* earle of *VVincheſter*, *William* de *Albanie* earle of *Arundel*, with diuers other noble men to the *Holy land*, in the ſecond yere of K. *Henry* the third. *Matth. Paris. Holenſh. pag. 202.*

In the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Cheſter was ſent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of ſouldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Chriſtians there againſt the Infidels, which at the ſame time had beſieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterpriſe the valiancy of the ſame earle after his comming thither was to his great praiſe moſt apparant. There went with him in that iourney Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, beſides diuers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, Iohn conſtable of Cheſter, William de Harecourt, and Oliuer fitz Roy ſonne to the king of England, and diuers others.

The voyage of *Henry Bohun* and *Saer Quincy* to the *Holy land.*

This yere, being the firſt yere of Henry the third, deceaſed Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter, in their iourney which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holenſh. pag. 202. col. 2.

The trauailes of *Ranulph Glanuile* earle of *Cheſter.*

Ranulphus Glanuile Ceſtriæ Comes, vir nobiliſſimi generis, & vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illuſtrium virorum à me meritò ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes adoleſcentiæ ſuæ annos legibus tum humanis tum diuinis conſecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaſerit, quàm nomen decúſque ab inſigni eruditione ſibi comparauerit. Cum profecti eſſent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaidem, inito cum Ioanne Brenno Hieroſolymorum rege concilio, Damiatam Ægypti vrbem obſidendam conſtituebant, anno ſalutis humanæ 1218. Miſit illuc Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Chriſtianam iuuandam. Cuius virtus, Polydoro teſte, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuerſus, ſcripſit, De legibus Angliæ librum vnum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam ſcripſiſſe, ſed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abſtulit. Claruit anno à Seruatoris noſtri natiuitate 1230 confectus ſenio, dum Henricus tertius ſub Antichriſti tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Ranulph Glanuile earle of Cheſter, a man of a very noble houſe, and learned in both the Lawes, deſerues of merite to be here placed by me in the catalogue of worthy and notable men. He applied ſo well all the yeeres of his youth to the ſtudy of humane and diuine Lawes, that he came not ſo ſoone to the age of a man, as he had purchaſed to himſelfe by reaſon of his ſingular learning, renowme and honour. When the noble men of France went to Ptolomais, vpon the counſell of Iohn Brenne king of Ieruſalem, they reſolued to beſiege Damiata a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king vpon the motion of Honorius the third, biſhop of Rome, ſent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed ſouldiers, to further the enterpriſe of the Chriſtians: whoſe valure in that warre (by the teſtimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marueilouſly commended of all men. After the end of which buſineſſe, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is alſo reported that he wrote other books, but time the deſtroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from vs. He flouriſhed in the yeere after the natiuity of Chriſt 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of K. Henry the third.

The voyage of *Petrus de Rupibus* biſhop of *VVincheſter*, to *Ieruſalem* in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of *Henry* the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, menſe verò Iulio, Petrus Wintonienſis epiſcopus, completo in terra ſancta iam fere per quinquennium magnificè peregrinationis voto, reuerſus eſt in Angliam, Kalendis Auguſti; & Wintoniam veniens, ſuſceptus eſt cum proceſſione ſolenni in ſua eccleſia cathedrali.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of Iuly, Peter biſhop of Wincheſter hauing ſpent almoſt fiue whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of Auguſt, and comming vnto Wincheſter was receiued with ſolemne proceſſion into his cathedrall church.

The honourable and proſperous voyage of *Richard* earle of *Cornewall*, brother to king *Henry* the third, accompanied with *William Longeſpee* earle of *Sariſburie*, and many other noble men into *Syria*.

IN the 24 yeere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a nauy of ſhips ſailed into Syria, where in the warres againſt the Saracens he greatly aduanced the part of the Chriſtians. There went ouer with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longſpee, and William Baſſet, Iohn Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brenſe, and William Furniuall. 1240.

Simon Montfort earle of Leiceſter went ouer alſo the ſame time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the ſea at Marſeils, the earle of Leiceſter paſſed thorow Italy, and tooke ſhipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went theſe perſons of name, Thomas de Furniual with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiſcard Leder, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Peſmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after alſo Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of Chriſtian ſouldiers. Matth. Paris. Matth. Weſt. Holenſh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The comming of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* called *Baldwine* into *England* in the yere 1247, out of *Matth. Paris*, & *Holenſh. pag. 239. vol. 2.*

ABout the ſame time, Baldwine naming himſelfe emperour of Conſtantinople, came againe into England, to procure ſome new ayd of the king towards the recouery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of *VVilliam* ‖ *Longeſpee* Earle of *Sariſburie* into *Aſia*, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of *Henry* the third, king of *England*.

‖ Or, Long-ſword.

LEwis the French king being recouered of his ſickeneſſe which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will ſacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would ſuffer him) would in his owne perſon viſit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow ſhould take his iourney into Aſia, and the time thereof was alſo prefired, which ſhould be after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt the next yeere enſuing.

At which time William Longeſpee a worthie warrior, with the biſhop of Worceſter and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooued with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

It fell out in this enterpriſe, that about the beginning of October, the French king aſſaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and hauing fortified the Citie with an able garriſon left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eaſtward. In whoſe armie followed William Longeſpee, accompanied with a piked number of Engliſh warriors retaining vnto him. But ſuch was the diſdaine of the Frenchmen againſt this William Longeſpee and the Engliſhmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with Engliſh tailes, inſomuch that the French king himſelfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

The originall cauſe of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a ſtrong fort or caſtle repleniſhed with great Ladies and rich treaſure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the ſayd William Longeſpee with his company of Engliſh ſoldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherwith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made priuie hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning againſt the Engliſh ſouldiers, & could not ſpeake well of them after that.

A fort won by the Engliſhmen.

It hapned againe not long after, that the ſayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, aſſes and mules, richly loden with ſilkes, precious iewels, ſpices, gold, & ſiluer, with cart loades of other wares, beſide victuall and other furniture, whereof the ſouldiers then ſtood in great need: he hauing ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Engliſhmen vnto him that he could, and ſo by night falling vpon the merchants, ſome he ſlew with their guides and conducters, ſome hee tooke, ſome hee put to flight: the carts with the driuers, and with the oxen, camels, aſſes and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke & brought with him, loſing in all the ſkirmiſh but one ſouldier, and eight of his ſeruitors: of whom notwithſtanding ſome he brought home wounded to be cured.

A rich bootie alſo gotten by the Engliſhmen.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their pauillions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foreſayd praie whole to themſelues, rating the ſaid William and the Engliſhmen for aduenturing and iſſuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the diſcipline of warre. William ſaid againe he had done nothing but he would anſwere to it, whoſe purpoſe was to haue the ſpoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

The iniurie of the Frenchmen to our Engliſh.

When this would not ſerue, hee being ſore grieued in his minde ſo cowardly to be ſpoyled of that which he ſo aduenturouſly had trauailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerue by reaſon of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which vpon ſpight and diſdaine ſtood agaynſt him, he bidding the King farewell ſayd hee would ſerue him no longer: and ſo William de Longeſpee with the reſt of his company breaking from the French hoſte went to Achon. Vpon whoſe departure the earle of Artoys ſayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of theſe tailed people, which words ſpoken in great deſpight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

Will. Longſpee iuſtly forſaketh ẏ French king.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Chriſtian religion, and being offended alſo with the Souldan, promiſed to deliuer the ſame to the French king, inſtructing him what courſe was beſt for him to take to accompliſh it, the king hereupon in all haſte ſent for William Longeſpee, promiſing him a full redreſſe of all his iniuries before receiued: who at the kings requeſt came to him againe, and ſo ioyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king paſſing with his armie towardes Cayro aforeſayd, came to the great riuer Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himſelfe to withſtand his comming ouer: there was at this time a Saracen lately conuerted to Chriſt, ſeruing the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the abſence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a ſhallow foord in the riuer where they might eaſily paſſe ouer. Whereupon the ſayd earle Robert & the Maſter of the Temple with a great power, eſteemed to the third part of the army iſſued ouer the riuer, after whom followed W. Longſpee with his band of Engliſh ſouldiers. Theſe being ioyned together on the other ſide of the water, encountered the ſame day with the Saracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worſt. Which victory being gotten, the French earle ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, diuiding himſelfe from the maine hoſte, thinking to winne the ſpurres alone. To whom certaine ſage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counſell, aduiſed him not to do ſo, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure againſt all deceits and dangers, which might be layed priuily for them. The maner of that people (they ſayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiers, and the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the enemies, eſpecially at this preſent brunt, in which the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt either in winning all or loſing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no leſſe arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly daſtards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which ſayd, that the land of the holy croſſe might ſoone be woon to Chriſtendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitalaries, and their followers.

To theſe contumelious rebukes, when the maſter of the Temple anſwered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him diſplay his enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longeſpe the worthy knight to ſpeake, deſiring the earle to giue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe countreyes and people then had he, commending alſo their counſell to be diſcreet and wholeſome, and ſo turning to the maſter of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewiſe. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and ſweare, crying out of thoſe cowardly Engliſhmen with tailes: What a pure armie (ſayde he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much diſdaine: whereunto the Engliſh knight anſwering againe, well, Earle Robert (ſaid he) whereſoeuer you dare ſet your foote, my ſtep ſhall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeue) we goe this day where you ſhall not dare to come neere the taile of my horſe, as in deede in the euent it prooued true: for Earle Robert would needes ſet forward, weening to get all the glory to himſelfe before the comming of the hoſte, and firſt inuaded a litle village or caſtle, which was not farre off, called Manſor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, ſeeing the Chriſtians comming, ranne out with ſuch a maine cry and ſhout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Chriſtians inuading and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were loſt, and the armie ſore maymed, and almoſt in deſpaire.

The worthy anſwere of William Longſpe to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly vpon the ſame, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which ſeeing the Chriſtian armie to be deuided, and the brother ſeparated from the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about, that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady raſhnes, but it was too late, who then ſeeing William the Engliſh knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried vnto him moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſaith he) doth fight againſt vs: To whom the Knight anſwering againe, God forbid (ſayth he) that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horſe, fled away, thinking to auoid by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and ſo taking the riuer Thafnis, oppreſſed with harneſſe, was there ſunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to diſpaire and ſcatter. Then William de Longeſpe bearing all the force of the enemies, ſtoode againſt them as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a Saracen, till at length his horſe being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer ſtande, who yet notwithſtanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much ſorrow, till at laſt after many blowes and wounds, being ſtoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens ſetting vpon the reſidue of the armie, whom they had compaſſed on euery ſide, deuoured and deſtroyed them all, inſomuch that ſcarce one man remained aliue, ſauing two Templaries, one Hoſpitaler, and one poore raſcall ſouldier, which brought tidings hereof to the King.

The valiant ende of William Longeſpe.

And thus by the imprudent and fooliſh hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and that valiant Engliſh Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Chriſtian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the vtter deſtruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The

¶ The Voyage of Prince *Edward* the ſonne of king *Henry* the third into *Aſia*, in the yeere 1270.

About the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the ſonne of king Henry, and diuers other Noble men of England tooke vpon them the croſſe vpon S. Iohn Baptiſts day, by the ſayd Legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the ſubuerſion of the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt. For which purpoſe, and for the better furniſhing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a ſubſidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to ſet forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marſilia eight leagues Weſtward, and there taking ſhip againe (hauing a mery and proſperous wind) within ten dayes arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and entertained of the Chriſtian princes that there were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of Philip the French King, whoſe father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came alſo Henry the ſonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was ſlaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demaunded of theſe kings and princes what was to be done, they anſwered him againe, and ſayd, the prince of this citie and the prouince adioyning to the ſame hath bene accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euery yere: and now for that the ſame hath bene for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuaſion vpon him. But the king knowing the ſame tribute to be but iuſtly demaunded, hath now according to our owne deſire ſatiſfied for the time paſt, and alſo paied his tribute before hand.

Then ſayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpoſe? are we not here all aſſembled, & haue taken vpon vs the Lords Character to fight againſt the infidels & enemies of Chriſt? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we ſhould do ſo, for now the land is plaine and hard, ſo that we may approch to ye holy city Ieruſalẽ. Then ſaid they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the ſame. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is paſt we may well take ſhipping to Acra. But this counſel nothing at all liked him, neither did he ſhew himſelfe wel pleaſed therewith: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his cloſet or priuy chamber from amongſt them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithſtanding continuing their purpoſe, at the next mery wind tooke ſhipping, and for want of ſhips left 200. of their men a ſhore, crying out, and pitiouſly lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being ſomewhat mooued to compaſſion, came backe againe to the land, and receiued and ſtowed them in his owne ſhips, being the laſt that went aboord.

Within ſeuen dayes after, they arriued in the kingdom of Sicilia, ouer agaynſt the Citie Trapes, caſting their ankers a league from thence within the ſea, for that their ſhippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the hauen of the citie they ſent out barges and boates to receiue and bring ſuch of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horſes for the moſt part, and all their armour they kept ſtill within boord.

At length towards the euening the ſea began to be rough, & increaſed to a great tempeſt and a mightie: inſomuch that their ſhips were beaten one againſt anothers ſides, and drowned there was of them at that tempeſt lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable ſoules beſides, and that wicked money alſo which they had taken before, likewiſe periſhed, and was loſt.

But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one ſhip of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man loſt thereby, for that (as it may be preſuppoſed) he conſented not to the wicked counſell of the reſt.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the ſea ſide, and ſaw all their ſhips drowned, and ſaw their men and horſes in great number caſt vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ſhips and mariners, which were in number 1500. beſides the common ſouldiers, there was no more ſaued then the mariners of one onely ſhip, and they in this wiſe.

There was in that ſhip a good & wiſe Matrone, a Counteſſe or an Erles wife, who perceiuing the tempeſt to grow, & fearing her ſelfe, called to her the M. of the ſhip, & aſked him whether in attempting to the ſhoare it were not poſſible to ſaue thẽſelues: he anſwered, that to ſaue the ſhip it was impoſſible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then ſayd the counteſſe, for the ſhip force no whit, ſaue the ſoules therein, and haue to thee double the value of the ſhippe: who immediatly hoiſing the ſailes with all force, ran the ſhippe aground ſo nere the ſhore as was poſſible, ſo that with the vehemency of the weather ẏ force he came withall, he braſt the ſhip and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as he had ſhewed, and ſayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands: onely Edward the ſonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ſhips, which the Lord had ſaued and preſerued.

Then prince Edward renouating his purpoſe, tooke ſhipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Eaſter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers and moſt expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreſhing both his men and horſes, and that in this ſpace he might learne and know the ſecrets of the land. After this he tooke with him ſixe or ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and thoſe that he found there he ſlew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue ſet vpon them at ſome ſtreit or other aduantage, were eſpied by the prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlew many of them, and the reſt they put to flight.

The arriuall of prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

After this, about Midſummer, when the prince had vnderſtanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, ſet vpon them very earely in the morning, and ſlew of them more then a thouſand, the reſt he put to flight, and tooke rich ſpoiles, marching forward till they came to a caſtle named Caſtrum peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie againſt the Saracens, wherein 1000 of thē were ſlaine.

In the meane ſeaſon the king of Ieruſalem ſent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, deſiring them to come with ſpeed to ayd the Chriſtians, but they would not come, ſaying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiring that at his requeſt they would come and ioyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation ẏ furniture for the warres, ſaying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no leſſe, for that his predeceſſors were ſometimes the gouernors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to ſhew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Chriſtians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula ſancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had ſlain certaine there, not finding any to make reſiſtance againſt them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongſt his enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him, they deuiſed among themſelues how by ſome pollicy they might circumuent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Ioppa ſent vnto him, faining himſelfe vnder great deceit willing to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with him a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honorably entertained and vſed of the Chriſtians. This talke pleaſed the prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing he had ſo well begun by writing againe, who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring.

This meſſenger (ſayth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the ſtony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this meſſenger came, and was of the princes ſeruants ſearched according to the maner and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be ſeene about him, he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitſuntide, vpon a Tueſday, ſomewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed vpon his bed bare headed, in his ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe newes by the prince to the ſtanders by, liked them well, who drew ſomewhat backe to conſult thereof amongſt themſelues. In the meane time, the meſſenger kneeling, and making his obeiſance to the prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecret letters, and ſuddenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue ſtroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was ſtriken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another ſtroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him ſuch a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with ſuch violence wraſted the

Prince Edward traiterouſly wounded.

knife from him, that he hurt himſelfe therewith on the forehead, and immediatly thruſt the ſame into the belly of the meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlew him.

The princes ſeruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the buſling, came with great haſte running in, and finding the meſſenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke vp a ſtoole, and beat out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he ſtroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was ſtrange, ſo it went ſoone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a coſtly and precious drinke againſt poiſon, leaſt the venime of the knife ſhould penetrate the liuely blood, and in blaming wiſe ſayd vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and ſubtilty of this people? Notwithſtanding, ſayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraight way the Surgions and Phyſicians were ſent for, and the prince was dreſſed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the fleſh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themſelues, and were very ſad and heauy.

Which thing he himſelf perceiuing, ſaid vnto them: why mutter you thus among your ſelues: what ſee you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one ſayd vnto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering (ſayd he againe) reſtore health? yea ſayth the other, on paine of loſing my head. Then ſayd the prince, I commit my ſelfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then ſayd one of the Phyſicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace repoſeth ſpecial truſt? to whom the prince anſwered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that ſtood about him. Then ſayd the Phyſician to the two, whom the prince firſt named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord Iohn Voiſie, And doe you alſo faithfully loue your Lord and Prince? Who anſwered both, Yea vndoubtedly. Then ſayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not ſee her lord and huſband, till ſuch time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes preſence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then ſayd they vnto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman ſhould weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England ſhould weepe a great ſeaſon.

This lord Edmund was the prince his brother.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenimed fleſh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and ſayd vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promiſe you within theſe fifteene dayes you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horſebacke, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promiſe he made the prince, it came to paſſe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his ſubiects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet aliue, he could ſcarſely beleeue the ſame, and ſending vnto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excuſed himſelfe by them, calling his god to witneſſe that the ſame was done neither by him nor his conſent. Which princes and meſſengers ſtanding aloofe off from the kings ſonne, worſhipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (ſayd the prince) do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderſtood him not, becauſe he ſpake in Engliſh vnto them, ſpeaking by an Interpreter: neuertheleſſe he honourably entertained them, and ſent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke ſhipping about the Aſſumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after ſeuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence trauailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whoſe fame and noble proweſſe was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the Nobility, eſpecially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the ſtory: but Prince Edward continued foorth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gaſcoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The trauaile of *Robert Turneham.*

Robertus Turneham Franciſcanus, Theologiæ profeſſor inſignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Iſidis emporio, collegio ſuorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem contra

Saracenos Aſſyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæſitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in cauſa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi viſus vel digniſſimus eſt, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam ſignifer conſtitutus Aſſyrios vnà cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac ſuum non ſine laude præſtitit officium. Claruit anno ſaluțiferi partus, 1280, varia componens, ſub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo poſt Conqueſtum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Robert Turneham Franciſcan, a notable profeſſour of Diuinity, was with great dignity Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart towne of Linne, ſituate vpon the riuer of Iſis in Norfolke. Prince Edward ſurnamed the Long, the ſonne of Henry the third, prepared his warlike voyage againſt the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition ſome earneſt preacher was ſought to ſtir vp the peoples minds in the cauſe of religion. And this Turneham ſeemed to the Prince moſt worthy to performe that office: ſo that he being appointed as it were a ſtanderd bearer, went into Syria with the Engliſh army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flouriſhed in the yeere of Chriſt 1280, ſetting foorth diuers works vnder the ſame king Edward the firſt of that name after the Conqueſt.

Anthony Beck biſhop of *Duriſme* was elected Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, and confirmed by *Clement* the fift biſhop of *Rome*: in the 34 yere of *Edward* the firſt, *Lelandus*.

ANtonius Beckus epiſcopus Dunelmenſis fuit, regnante Edwardo eius appellationis ab aduentu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus eſt in patriarcham Hieroſolomitanum anno Chriſti 1305, & a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat ſupra quàm decebat epiſcopum. Conſtruxit caſtrum Achelandæ, quatuor paſſuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Vnduglesſi fluuioli. Elteſhamum etiam vicinum Grencuico, ac Somaridunum caſtellum Lindianæ prouinciæ, ædificijs illuſtria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis eſt. Tandem ex ſplendore nimio, & potentia conflauit ſibi apud nobilitatem ingentem inuidiam, quam viuens nunquam extinguere potuit. Sed de Antonio, & eius ſcriptis fuſius in opere, cuius titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obijt Antonius anno a nato in ſalutem noſtram Chriſto, 1310, Edwardo ſecundo regnante. 1305.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ANthony Beck was biſhop of Duriſme in the time of the reigne of Edward the firſt of that name after the inuaſion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Ieruſalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a biſhop. He founded alſo the caſtle of Acheland foure miles from Duriſme, on the ſhore of a prety riuer called Vndugleſme. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor being nere vnto Greenwich, and the caſtle Somaridune in the county of Lindſey. And laſtly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the poſſeſſion of prince Edward. Inſomuch, that at length, through his ouer great magnificence and power he procured to himſelfe great enuy among the nobility, which he could not aſſwage during the reſt of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will ſpeake more at large in our booke intitled of the Britain biſhops. This Anthony finiſhed his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the ſecond.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris *Odorici* fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.

PLicet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus huius mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Iulij de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna & mira vidi & audiui, quæ poſſum veracitèr enarrare. Primò tranſiens Mare Maius me de Pera iuxta Cõſtantinopolim tranſtuli Trapeſundam, quæ antiquitus Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra benè ſituata eſt, ſicut ſcala quædam Perſarum & Medorum, & eorum qui ſunt vltra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, ſcilicèt hominem ducentem ſecum pluſquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per terram gradiebatur, perdices vero volabant per aëra, Armenia maior.

Tauris ciuitas Perſiæ.

1305.

Soltania.

Vel Caſsibin.

Geſt.

Como.

quas ipſe ad quoddam caſtrum dictum Zauena duxit, diſtans à Trapeſunda per tres dietas: Hæ perdices illius conditionis erant, cùm homo ille quieſcere voluit, omnes ſe aptabant circa ipſum, more pullorum gallinarum, & per illum modum duxit eas vſque ad Trapeſundam, & vſque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis ſumpſit quot voluit, & reſiduas vir ille ad locum vnde venerat, adduxit. In hac ciuitate requieſcit corpus Athanaſij ſupra portam ciuitatis. Vltra tranſiui vſque in Armeniam maiorem, ad quandam ciuitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multùm opulenta antiquitùs, ſed Tartari eam pro magna parte deſtruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis & carnium, & aliorum omniũ victualium preterquam vini & fructuum. Hæc ciuitas eſt multũ frigida, & de illa dicitur quòd altius ſituatur quàm aliqua alia in hoc mundo: hæc optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illarum aquarum oriri videntur & ſcaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per vnam dietã ab ciuitate diſtat: hæc ciuitas via media eundi Tauriſium. Vltra progreſſus ſum ad quendam montem dictum Sobiſſacalo. In illa contrata eſt mons ille ſupra quem requieſcit arca Noe; in quem libenter aſcendiſſem, ſi ſocietas meâ me præſtolare voluiſſet: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quòd nullus vnquam illum montem aſcendere potuit, quia vt dicitur, hoc Deo altiſſimo non placet. Vltra veni Tauris ciuitatem magnam & regalem, quæ antiquitùs Suſis dicta eſt. Hæc ciuitas melior pro mercenarijs reputatur, quàm aliqua quæ ſit in mundo, nam nihil comeſtibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Hæc ciuitas multum benè ſituatur: Nam ad eam quaſi totus mundus pro mercimonijs confluere poteſt: De hac dicunt Chriſtiani qui ibi ſunt, quòd credunt Imperatorem plus de ea accipere, quàm Regem Franciæ de toto regno ſuo: Iuxta illam ciuitatem eſt mons ſalinus præbens ſal ciuitati, & de illo ſale vnuſquiſque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil ſoluendo alicui. In hac ciuitate multi Chriſtiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur. Vltra iui per decem dietas ad ciuitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Perſarum tempore æſtiuo commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad ciuitatem aliam ſitam ſupra mare vocatam Bakuc: Prædicta autem ciuitas magna eſt, & frigida, in ſe habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur. Vltra cum quadam ſocietate Carauanorum iui verſus Indiam ſuperiorem, ad quam dum tranſiſſem per multas dietas perueni ad ciuitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Caſſan, quæ regia ciuitas eſt & nobilis, niſi quod Tartari eam in magna parte deſtruxerunt: hæc abundat pane, vino, & alijs bonis multis. Ab hac ciuitate vſque Ieruſalem quo Magi iuerunt miraculoſè, ſunt L. dietæ, & multa mirabilia ſunt in hac ciuitate quæ pertranſeo. Indè receſſi ad quandam ciuitatem vocatam Geſt à qua diſtat mare arenoſum per vnam dietam, quod mirè eſt mirabile & periculoſum: In hac ciuitate eſt abundantia omnium victualium, & ficuum potiſſimè, & vuarum ſiccarum & viridium, plus vt credo quàm in alia parte mundi. Hæc eſt tertia ciuitas melior quam Rex Perſarum habet in toto regno ſuo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Chriſtianus vltra annum viuere vnquam poteſt. Vltra per multas dietas iui ad quandam ciuitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima ciuitas antiquitùs erat, cuius ambitus erat ferè L. miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea ſunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Vltra per multas terras tranſiens, perueni ad terram Iob nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium pleniſſima eſt, & pulcherrimè ſituata; iuxta eam ſunt montes in quibus ſunt paſcua multa pro animalibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdices pro minori, quàm pro vno groſſo: In ea ſunt pulcherrimi ſenes, vbi homines nent & filant, & fœminæ non: hæc terra correſpondet Chaldeæ verſus tranſmontana.

De moribus Chaldæorum, & de India.

INdè iui in Chaldæam quæ eſt regnum magnum, & tranſiui iuxta turrim Babel: Hæc regio ſuam linguam propriam habet, & ibi ſunt homines formoſi, & fœminæ turpes: & homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, & ornati, vt hîc mulieres, & portant ſuper capita ſua faſciola aurea cum gemmis, & margaritis; mulieres verò ſolum vnam vilem camiſiam attingentem vſque ad genua, habentem manicas longas & largas, quæ vſque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt diſcalciatæ portantes Serablans vſque ad terram. Triceas non portant, ſed capilli earum circumquaque diſperguntur: & alia multa & mirabilia ſunt ibidem. Indè veni in Indiam quæ infra terram eſt, quam Tartari multum deſtruxerunt; & in ea vt plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quarum xlij. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro vno groſſo. Vltra tranſiui per multas dietas ad

mare

Ormus.

Thana.

mare oceanum, & prima terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ eſt optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & diuitiæ in ea ſunt; in ea tantus calor eſt, quod virilia hominum exeunt corpus, & deſcendunt vſque ad mediam tibiarum: ideò homines illius terræ volentes viuere, faciunt vnctionem, & vngunt illa, & ſic vncta in quibuſdam ſacculis ponunt circa ſe cingentes, & aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines vtuntur nauigio quæ vocatur Iaſe, ſutum ſpatto. Ego autem aſcendi in vnum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginti octo dietis perueni ad ciuitatem Thana, in qua pro fide Chriſti quatuor de fratribus noſtris martyrizati ſunt. Hæc terra eſt optimè ſituata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium. Hæc terra antiquitùs fuit valdè magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro præliũ magnum commiſit. Huius terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem, ſerpentes, & arbores: Et iſtam terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter eam acceperunt, & ſubiacent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi ſunt diuerſa genera beſtiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi ſimiæ, gatimaymones, & noctuæ magnæ ſicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni ſunt, ſicut ſunt hic ſcepi, & ideò canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, In illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum ſuam vnum pedem faſciculorum, ita magnum ſicut eſſet vna columna, & pes ille non deſiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur ſibi aqua. Multæ nouitates ſunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum eſſet audire.

De martyrio fratrum.

Martyrium autem quatuor fratrum noſtrorum in illa ciuitate Thana fuit per iſtũ modum; dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum vna naui, vt nauigarent vſque Polumbrum, & violentèr deportati ſunt vſque Thanam vbi ſunt 15. domus Chriſtianorum, qui Neſtoriani ſunt & Schiſmatici, & cùm illic eſſent, hoſpitati ſunt in domo cuiuſdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, & vxorem eius, quam ſerò vir fortitèr verberauit, quæ ſuo Kadi. i. Epiſcopo conqueſta eſt; à qua interrogauit Kadi, vtrum hoc probari poſſet? quæ dixit, quòd ſic; quia 4. Franchi. i. viri religioſi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipſos interrogate, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem ſic dicente, Ecce vnus de Alexandria pręſens rogauit Kadi vt mitteret pro eis, dicens eos eſſe homines maximæ ſcientiæ & ſcripturas benè ſcire, & ideò dixit bonum eſſe cum illis de fide diſputare: Qui miſit pro illis, & adducti ſunt iſti quatuor, quorum nomina ſunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Iacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimiſſo autem fratre Petro, vt res ſuas cuſtodiret, ad Kadi pertexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide noſtra diſputare; dicens Chriſtum tantùm hominem eſſe & non Deum. E contrà frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis Chriſtum verum Deum & hominem eſſe euidenter oſtendit, & in tantum confudit Kadi, & infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi ſe ſic confuſum, incepit clamare ſic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Reſpondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probauimus Chriſtum verum Deum & hominem eſſe, qui legem poſuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, ſi ſapiens ſis optimè ſcire poteris, quid de eo dicendum ſit. Iterum Kadi & alij Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. reſpondit: vos omnes videre poteſtis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico, quòd Machometus veſter filius perditionis eſt, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre ſuo. Et non ſolùm ipſe, ſed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipſa tota peſtifera eſt, & falſa, & contra Deum, & contra ſalutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui ſic contra Prophetam locutus eſt. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in ſole vrente ſtare permiſerunt, vt ex calore ſolis aduſti, dira morte interirent. Tantus enim eſt calor ſolis ibi, quòd ſi homo in eo per ſpacium vnius miſſæ perſiſteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi ſani & hilares à tertia vſque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore ſolis permanſerunt, quod videntes Saraceni ſtupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copioſum, & in illum vos proijcere, & ſi fides veſtra ſit vt dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: ſi autem vos combuſſerit, patebit quòd fides veſtra nulla ſit. Reſponderunt fratres; parati ſumus pro fide noſtra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veruntamen ſcire debetis, quòd ſi ignis poteſtatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem noſtram, ſed propter peccatã noſtra: fides enim noſtra perfectiſſima & veriſſima eſt, & non eſt alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum poſſunt ſaluæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres cõburerentur, rumor inſonuit per totã ciuitatem, de qua omnes ſenes, & iuuenes, viri & mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud ſpectaculum intuendum. Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam ciuitatis, vbi accenſus eſt ignis copioſus, in quem frater Thomas voluit ſe proijcere, ſed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per caputium, & retraxit, dicens;

Non vadas tu cum ſis ſenex, quia carmen aliquod vel experimentum habere poſſes ſuper te, quare te ignis non poſſet lædere, ſed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni ſumentes fratrem Iacobum, eum in ignem proijcere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquieſcentes eum violentèr in ignem proiecerunt: ignis autem ita accenſus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen eius audierunt, inuocantem ſemper nomen virginis glorioſæ; Igne autem totalitèr conſumpto ſtetit frater Iacobus ſuper prunas illæſus, & lętus, manibus in modum crucis eleuatis, in cœlū reſpiciens, & Deū laudans & glorificans, qui ſic declarat et fidem ſuam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus læſus per ignem inuentus eſt; Quod videns populus vnanimitèr conclamare cœpit, ſancti ſunt, ſancti ſunt, nefas eſt offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & ſancta eſt. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: ſanctus non eſt ille, quia combuſtus non eſt, quia tunica quam portat eſt de lana terræ Habraæ, & ideò nudus exſpolietur, & in ignem proijciatur, & videbitur ſi comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni peſſimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm priùs accenderunt, & fratrem Iacobum nudantes, corpus ſuum abluerunt, & oleo abundantiſſimè vnxerunt, inſuper & oleum maximum in ſtruem lignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, ſuderunt, & igne accenſo fratrem in ipſum proiecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco ſeparato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis deuotioni ſe dederunt. Frater autem Iacobus iterum ignem exiuit illæſus ſicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum eſt, peccatum eſt, offendere eos, quià ſancti ſunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich, i. poteſtas ciuitatis, vocauit ad ſe fratrem Iacobum, & fecit eum ponere indumenta ſua, & dixit, videre fratres, Ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos ſanctos eſſe, & fidem veſtram bonam ac veram eſſe; & ideo conſulimus vobis, vt de iſta terra exeatis, quàm citiùs poteritis, quia Kadi pro peſſe ſuo vobis nocere curabit, quia ſic confudiſtis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quaſi completorij, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & ſtupefacti, tot & tanta mirabilia vidimus ab iſtis hominibus, quòd neſcimus quid tenere & obſeruare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres vltra vnum paruum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa ciuitate diſtantem: ad quem etiam ille in cuius iam domo fuerant hoſpitati aſſociauit eos, vbi in domo cuiuſdam idolatri recepti ſunt. Dùm hæc agerentur, Kadi iuit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus? Lex Machometi deſtructa eſt, veruntamen hoc ſcire debes, quod Machomet pręcepit in ſuo Alcorano, quod ſi quis vnum Chriſtianum interficeret, tantū mereretur, ac ſi in Mecha ad ipſum peregrinaretur. Eſt enim Alkoranus lex Saracenorum ſicut Euangelium, Mecha verò eſt locus vbi iacet Machomet. Quem locum ita viſitant Saraceni, ſicut Chriſtiani ſepulchrum Chriſti, Tunc Melich reſpondet, vade & fac ſicut vis: quo dicto ſtatim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos vt irent, & illos fratres interficerent, qui cùm aquam tranſijſſent, facta eſt nox, & illo ſero eos non inuenerunt, ſtatim Melich omnes Chriſtianos in ciuitate capi fecit, & incarcerauit, media autem nocte fratres ſurrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui miſſi fuerant, inuenerunt, & extra burgum, ſub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Sciatis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inuiti, quia vos eſtis boni homines & ſancti, ſed non audemus aliter facere; quia ſi iuſſa ſua non perficeremus, & nos cum liberis noſtris & vxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres reſponderunt, vos qui hûc veniſtis, & tale mandatum recepiſtis, vt per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiſcamur, quod vobis iniunctum eſt perficite; quia pro amore domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, qui pro nobis crucifigi & mori dignatus eſt, & pro fide noſtra, parati ſumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter ſuſtinere. Chriſtianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus eſt dicens, quod ſi gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam ſanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipſe cum eis interfectus eſſet. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres ſe exſpoliare, & frater Thomas primus iunctis manibus in modū crucis genu flectens capitis abſciſſionē ſuſcepit: Fratrem verò Iacobum vnus percuſſit in capite, & eum vſque ad oculos ſcidit, & alio ictu totum caput abſcidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percuſſus eſt cum gladio in pectore, & ſecundò caput ſuum abſciſſum eſt: Statim vt fratres ſuum martyrium compleuerunt, aër ita lucidus effectus eſt, quod omnes admirati ſunt, & luna maximam claritatem oſtendit. Statim quaſi ſubito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & coruſcationes, & obſcuritas fiebant, quòd omnes mori crediderunt: Nauis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportaſſe ſubmerſa eſt cum omnibus quæ in ſe habuit, ita quod nùnquam de illa poſteà aliquid ſcitum eſt. Facto mane miſit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum noſtrorum, & tunc inuentus eſt frater Petrus de Senis quartus ſocius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alij Saraceni maxima promittentes perſuaſerunt quòd fidem ſuam renueret, & legem machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane vſque ad meridiem diuerſis pænarum ac tormentorum generibus afflixerunt ipſo ſemper conſtantiſſimè in fide, & in Dei laudibus perſiſtente, & fidem illorum Machometi deridente & deſtruente. Videntes autem Saraceni eum nõ poſſe a ſuo propoſito euelli, eum ſuper quandam arborẽ ſuſpenderunt, in qua de nona vſq; ad noctem viuus & illæſus pependit: nocte verò ipſum de arbore ſumpſerunt, & videntes illum lætũ, viuum, & illæſum per medium ſuum corpus diuiſerunt, mane autẽ facto nihil de corpore eius inuentum eſt; vni tamen perſonæ fide dignæ reuelatum eſt, quod Deus corpus eius occultauerat reuelandũ in certo tempore, quandò Deo placuerit Sanctorum corpora manifeſtare. Vt autem Deus oſtenderet animas ſuorum martyrum iam in cœlis conſiſtere, & congaudere cum Deo & Angelis & alijs Sanctis eius, die ſequenti poſt martyriũ fratrum prædictorũ Melich dormitioni ſe dedit, & ecce aparuerunt ſibi iſti fratres glorioſi, & ſicut Sol, lucidi, ſingulos enſes tenentes in manibus, & ſupra eum eos ſic vibrantes, quod vt ſi eum perfodere ac diuidere vellent: qui excitatus horribilitèr exclamauit, ſic, quòd totã familiã terruit: quæ ſibi accurrens quæſiuit, quid ſibi eſſet? quibus ille, Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici iuſſi, venerunt huc ad me cum enſibus, volentes me interficere. Et ſtatim Melich miſit pro Kadi, referens ſibi viſionẽ, & petens conſilium, & conſolationem, quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi ſibi conſuluit, vt illis maximas eleemoſynas faceret, ſi de manibus interfectorũ euadere vellet. Tunc miſit pro Chriſtianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat: A quibus cum ad eum veniſſent indulgentiam petijt pro facto ſuo, dicens ſe eſſe amodò ſocium eorũ, & confratrem: Præcepit autem & legem ſtatuit, quòd pro tempore ſuo, ſi quis aliquẽ Chriſtianũ offenderet, ſtatim moreretur, & ſic omnes illæſos, & indemnes abire permiſit, Pro illis autẽ quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor moſquetas (.i.) Eccleſias ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit, Audiens autem imperator Dodſi iſtos tres fratres talem ſententiam ſubijſſe, miſit pro Melich, vt vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cùm adductus eſſet, quæſiuit imperator, quare ita crudelitèr illos fratres iuſſerat interfici, reſpondit, quia ſubuertere volebant legem noſtram, & malum & blaſphemiam de propheta noſtro dicebant: & imperator ad eum; O crudeliſſime canis, cùm videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberauerit, quo modo auſus fuiſti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta ſententia, ipſum Melich cum tota ſua familia per medium ſcindi fecit, ſicut ipſe talem mortem fratri inflixerat, Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, & etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clàm fugit, & ſic euaſit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occiſorum.

ESt autem conſuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur ſepulturæ, ſed in campis dimittuntur, & ex calore Solis citò reſoluuntur, & ſic conſumuntur: Corpora autem triũ fratrũ prędictorum per 14. dies illic in feruore Solis iacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia inuenta fuerunt ſicut illa die quandò martirizati erant: quod videntes Chriſtiani qui in illa terra habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorificè ſepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyrium illorũ fratrum, iui illuc, & corpora eorũ effodi, & oſſa omnia mecum accepi, & in pulchris towallijs colligaui, & in Indiam ſuperiorem ad vnũ locũ fratrum noſtrorũ ea deportaui, habens mecum ſocium, & vnũ famulũ. Cum autẽ eſſemus in uia, hoſpitabamus in domo cuiuſdã hoſpitarij, & ipſa oſſa capiti meo ſuppoſui, & dormiui: Et dùm dormirem domus illa à Saracenis ſubitò accendebatur, vt me cum domo comburerent. Domo autẽ ſic accenſa, ſocius meus & famulus de domo exierunt, & me ſolum cum oſſibus dimiſerunt, qui videns ignem ſupra me, oſſa accepi & cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus ſtatim cõbuſti fuerunt, angulo in quo ſteti cũ oſſibus ſaluo remanente: Supra me autẽ ignis ſe tenuit in modũ aëris lucidi, nec deſcendit quamdiu ibi perſiſtebam; quàm citò autẽ cum oſſibus exiui, ſtatim tota pars illa ſicut aliæ priores igne conſumpta eſt, & multa alia loca circumadiacentia cõbuſta ſunt, Aliud miraculũ contigit, me cum oſſibus per mare proficiente ad ciuitatẽ Polumbrũ vbi piper naſcitur abũdantèr, quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos ſuos pro vento proſpero, quẽ tamen nõ obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni ſuas inuocationes, & adorationes laborioſe fecerũt, ſed nihil profecerũt; Et præceptũ eſt mihi & ſocio meo vt orationes funderemus Deo noſtro: Et dixit rector nauis in Armenico mihi, quod alij nõ intelligerent: quòd niſi poſſemus ventũ proſperũ à Deo noſtro impetrare, nos cum oſſibus in mare proijcerẽt: Tunc ego & ſocius fecimus orationes, vouentes multas miſſas de beata virgine celebrare, ſic quòd ventũ placeret ſibi nobis impetrare, Cum autẽ tẽpus tranſiret, & ventus non veniret, accepi vnũ de oſſibus, & dedi famulo, vt ad caput nauis iret, & clàm in mare proijceret; quo proiecto ſtatim affuit ventus proſper qui nunquã nobis defecit, vſquequò peruenimus ad portũ, meritis iſtorũ martyrũ cum ſalute. Deinde aſcendimus aliã nauẽ vt in Indiam ſuperiorẽ iremus; Et venimus ad quandã ciuitatem vocatã Carchan In qua ſunt duo loca fratrum noſtrorum, & ibi reponere iſtas reliquias volebamus, In naui autem illa erant plus 700. mercatores

& alij: Nunc illi Idolatræ iſtam conſuetudinem habebant,quòd ſemper antequàm ad portum applicuerint,totam nauem perquirerent, ſi iſti aliqua oſſa mortuorum animalium inuenirent, qui reperta ſtatim in mare proijcerent,& per hoc bonum portum attingere, & mortis periculũ euadere crederent. Cùm autem frequentèr perquirerent,& illa oſſa frequenter tangerent,ſemper oculi deluſi fuerunt, ſic quòd illa non perpenderunt;& ſic ad locum fratrum deportauimus cum omni reuerentia, vbi in pace requieſcunt; vbi etiã inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo grauantur,in terra illa vbi fratres paſſi ſunt ipſi vadunt,& de terra vbi corpora ſanguinolenta iacuerunt ſumunt quam abluunt,& ablutionem bibunt, & ſic ab infirmitatibus ſuis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper,& vbi naſcitur.

Malabar.

Polumbrum ciuitas.

Adoratio bouis,

Combuſtio mortuorum,

Mobar regnum vel Maliapor.

VT autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, ſciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui,nomine* Minibar,naſcitur,& in nulla parte mundi tantum,quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo naſcitur, continet octodecim dietas,& in ipſo nemore ſunt duæ ciuitates vna nomine Flandrina, alia nomine Cyncilim : In Flandrina habitant Iudęi aliqui & aliqui Chriſtiani,inter quos eſt bellum frequenter,ſed Chriſtiani vincunt Iudæos ſemper: In iſto nemore habetur piper per iſtum modum.Nam primò naſcitur in folijs olerum,quę iuxta magnas arbores plantantur,ſicut nos ponimus vites; & producunt fructum,ſicut racemi noſtri producunt vuas; ſed quandò matureſcunt ſunt viridis coloris, & ſic vindemiantur vt inter nos vindemiãtur vuæ,& ponuntur grana ad ſolem vt deſiccentur: quę deſiccata reponuntur in vaſis terreis,& ſic fit piper,& cuſtoditur. In iſto autẽ nemore ſunt flumina multa in quibus ſunt Crocodili multi, & multi alij ſerpentes ſunt in illo nemore, quos homines per ſtupam & paleas comburunt, & ſic ad colligendum piper ſecurè accedunt. A capite illius nemoris verſus meridiem eſt ciuitas Polumbrum in qua maxima mercimonia cuiuſcunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bouem viuum ſicut Deum ſuum adorant,quem 6. annis faciunt laborare,& in ſeptimo faciunt ipſum quieſcere ab omni opere; ponentes ipſum in loco ſolemni,& communi, & dicentes ipſum eſſe animal ſanctum. Hunc autem ritum obſeruant: quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelues de auro,vel de argento,& vnam ſubmittunt vrinæ bouis,& aliam ſtercori,de vrina lauant ſibi faciem & oculos, & omnes 5. ſenſus: de ſtercore verò ponunt in vtróque oculo,poſteà liniunt ſummitates genarum,& tertiò pectus,& ex tunc dicunt ſe ſanctificatos pro toto die illo: & ſicut facit populus,ita etiam facit rex & regina. Iſti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant,quod in medietate vna ſuperior eſt homo,& in alia eſt bos,& illud idolum dat eis reſponſa,& aliquotiẽs pro ſtipendio petit ſanguinẽ,40,virginum: & ideò homines illius regionis ita vouent filias ſuas & filios,ſicut Chriſtiani aliqui alicui religioni,vel ſancto in cœlis.Et per iſtum modum immolant filios & filias, & multi homines per iſtum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud,& multa alia abominabilia facit populus iſte beſtialis,& multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hic inſerere. Aliam conſuetudinem viliſſimam habet gens illa: Nam quãdo homo moritur,comburunt ipſum mortuum,& ſi vxorẽ habet,ipſam comburunt viuam,quia dicunt quòd ipſa ibit in aratura, & cultura cum viro ſuo in alio mundo: Si autem vxor illa habeat liberos ex viro ſuo,poteſt manere cum eis ſi velit ſine verecundia & improperio, communiter tamen omnes præeligunt comburi cum marito; ſi autem vxor præmoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum,ſed poteſt aliã vxorem ducere. Aliam conſuetudinem habet gens illa,quòd fœminę ibi bibunt vinum,& homines non: fœminæ etiã faciunt ſibi radi cilia,& ſupercilia,& barbam,& homines non: & ſic de multis alijs vilibus contra naturam ſexus eorum, Ab iſto regno iui decem dietas ad aliud regnum dictum Mobar,quod habet in ſe multas ciuitates,& in illo requieſcit in vna eccleſia corpus beati Thomæ Apoſtoli,& eſt eccleſia illa plena idolis,& in circuitu eccleſiæ ſimul Canonici viuunt in 15.domibus Neſtoriani,id eſt,mali Chriſtiani,& ſchiſmatici.

De quodam idolo mirabili,& de quibuſdam ritibus eorum.

IN hoc regno eſt vnum Idolum mirabile,quod omnes Indi reuerentur: & eſt ſtatura hominis ita magni,ſicut noſter Chriſtophorus depictus,& eſt totum de auro puriſſimo & ſplendidiſſimo,& circa collum habet vnam chordulam ſericam cum lapidibus pretioſiſſimis,quorũ aliquis valet plus quàm vnum regnum: Domus idoli eſt tota de auro,ſcilicet in tecto,& pauimento,& ſuperficie parietum interius & exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi,ſicut nos ad S.Petrum: Alij veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alij cum manibus retrò ligatis,alij cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, & ſi poſt peregrinationẽ fiat brachium marcidum,illum reputant ſanctum,& benè cum Deo ſuo. Iuxta eccleſiam illius idoli eſt lacus vnus manufactus, & manifeſtus,in quem peregrini proijciunt aurum & argentum,& lapides pretioſos in honorem Idoli,& ad ædificationem eccleſiæ ſuæ,& ideò quando aliquid debet ornari,vel reparari,vadunt homines ad hunc lacum, & proiecta extrahunt: die autem annua conſtructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in vno curru pretioſiſſimo ipſum de eccleſia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere muſicorum, & multæ virgines antecedunt ipſum binæ & binæ, proceſſionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt ſe ſub curru, vt tranſeat Deus ſupra eos; & omnes ſuper quos currus tranſit, comminuit, & per medium ſcindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant ſe mori pro deo ſuo ſanctè & ſecurè: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via ſub idolo pluſquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres ſicut reliquiæ cuſtodiuntur, quia ſic pro Deo ſuo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert ſe mori pro deo ſuo, conueniunt omnes amici eius & parentes cum hiſtrionibus multis, facientes ſibi feſtum magnum, & poſt feſtum appendunt collo eius 5 cultellos acutiſſimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quò cum peruenerit, ſumit vnum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & fruſtum inciſum proijcit in faciem idoli: vltima verò inciſione per quam ſeipſum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus eius comburitur, & ſanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis eſt ditiſſimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretioſis; ibi etiam ſunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè tranſiens iui per mare oceanum verſus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Lammori, in qua ex immenſitate caloris, tam viri quam fœminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me veſtitum, deridebant me, dicentes Deum, Adam & Euam feciſſe nudos. In illa regionè omnes mulieres ſunt communes, ita quòd nullus poteſt dicere, hæc eſt vxor mea, & cùm mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hijs qui concubuerunt: Tota etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quòd non meum & tuum in diuiſione terrarũ, domos tamen habent ſpeciales: Carnes humanę quando homo eſt pinguis ita benè comeduntur, ſicut inter nos bouinæ: & licet gens ſit peſtifera, tamen terra optima eſt, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riſo, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, canfari, & multis alijs. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt ſecum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, ſicut nos vendimus porcos, qui ſtatim occidunt eos & comedunt. In hac inſula verſus meridiem eſt aliud regnum vocatũ Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres ſignant ſe ferro calido in facie, in 12. partibus, Et hij ſemper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Vltra tranſiui ad aliam inſulam quæ vocatur Iaua cuius ambitus per mare eſt trium milliũ milliarium, & rex illius inſulæ habet ſub ſe 7. reges coronatos, & hæc inſula optimè inhabitatur, & melior ſecunda de mundo reputatur. In ea naſcũtur in copia garyophylli, cubibeæ, & nuces muſcatę: & breuiter omnes ſpecies ibi ſunt, & maxima abundantia omniũ victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobiliſſimũ inter omnia quæ vidi altiſſimè ſtat, & gradus & ſcalas habet altiſſimos, quorum ſemper vnus gradus eſt aureus, alius argenteus; Pauimentum verò vnum laterem habet de auro, aliũ de argẽto. Parietes verò omnes interius ſunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus ſculpti ſunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretioſis: Tectum eſt de auro puro. Cum iſto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen ſemper ille Rex vicit & ſuperauit.

Crudeliſſima Satanæ tyrannis, & carnificina.

Platonica anarchia.

Simolcra vel Samotra.

Iaua.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

IVxta iſtam Inſulam eſt alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamaſim, & Rex illius contratæ multas inſulas habet ſub ſe. In illa terra ſunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & vinum, & etiam venenum periculoſius quod ſit in mundo, quia contra illud non eſt remedium, niſi vnum ſolum, & eſt illud. Si aliquis illud venenum ſumpſiſſet, ſi velit liberari, ſumat ſtercus hominis & cum aqua temperet, & in bona quantitate bibat, & ſtatim fugat venenũ faciens exirę per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, ſunt magnæ & baſſæ, & quandò inciduntur cum ſecuri propè terram, exit de ſtipite liquor quidam ſicut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in ſacculis de folijs factis, & per quindecim dies in ſole dimittunt, & in fine decimi quinti diei ex iſto liquore deſiccato fit farina, quã primò ponunt in aqua maris, poſteà lauant eam cum aqua dulci, & fit paſta valdè bona & odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes ſicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & eſt panis exterius pulcher, ſed interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata eſt mare mortuum quod ſemper currit verſus meridiem, in quod ſi homo ceciderit, nunquam poſteà comparet. In contrata illa inueniũtur Cannæ longiſſimæ plures paſſus habentes quàm 60. & ſunt magnæ vt arbores. Aliæ etiã Cannæ ſunt ibi quæ vocantur Caſſan quæ per terrã diriguntur vt gramen, & in quolibet nodo earũ ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur ſuper terram per vnum miliare ferè: in hijs Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum ſi quis vnum ſuper ſe portauerit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro,

Vel Malaſmi.

Mare quod ſemper currit verſus meridiem.

&

& ideò communiter homines illius contratæ portant illos lapides ſuper: Multi etiam faciunt pueros ſuos dum ſunt parui incidi in vno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt vnum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere ſe per vnum puluerem de quodam piſce, cuius nomen ignoro, qui puluis ſtatim vulnus conſolidat & ſanat: & virtute illorum lapidum communitèr iſti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec poſſent iſti homines lędi per aliqua arma ferrea: Vnum tamen remedium eſt, quòd aduerſarij illius gentis ſcientes virtutem lapidum, prouident ſibi propugnacula ferrea contra ſpicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutiſſimos & ita duros in extremitate ſicut eſſet ferrum: Similitèr ſagittant cum ſagittis ſine ferro, & ſic confundũt aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum ſecuritate. De iſtis etiam Cannis Caſſan faciunt ſibi vela pro ſuis nauibus & domunculas paruas, & multa ſibi neceſſaria. Inde receſſi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentiſſimum in omnibus victualibus. Cuius rex quãdo fui ibi tot habuit vxores, & alias mulieres, quòd de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iſte rex habet decies milleſies & quatuor elephãtum domeſticorũ, quos ita facit cuſtodiri ſicut inter nos cuſtodiunt boues, vel greges in paſcuis.

Vela ex arundinibus facta.
Campa,

De multitudine Piſcium, qui ſe proijciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata vnũ mirabile valdè reperitur, quòd vnaquæq; generatio piſcium in mari ad iſtã contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quòd per magnũ ſpatium maris nil videtur niſi dorſa piſcium, & ſuper aridam ſe proijciunt quando propè ripam ſunt, & permittũt homines per tres dies venire, & de illis ſumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redeũt ad mare: Poſt illã ſpeciem per illum modum venit alia ſpecies, & offert ſe, & ſic de omnibus ſpeciebus, ſemel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quæſiui à gente illa quomodo & qualiter hoc poſſit fieri? reſponderunt quòd hoc modo piſces per naturã docentur venire, & imperatorem ſuum reuereri. Ibi etiã ſunt teſtitudines ita magnę ſicut eſt vnus furnus, & multa alia vidi quę incredibilia forent, niſi homo illa vidiſſet. In illa etiã contrata homo mortuus cõburitur, & vxor viua cùm eo, ſicut ſuperius de alia cõtrata dictũ eſt, quia dicunt homines illi quòd illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi aliam vxorẽ accipiat. Vltra tranſiui per mare Oceanum verſus meridiem, & tranſiui per multas contratas & inſulas, quarum vna vocatur Moumoran, & habet in circuitu 2000. milliaria, in qua homines portãt facies caninas & mulieres ſimilitèr, & vnũ bouem adorant pro Deo ſuo, & ideò quilibet vnũ bouẽ aureum vel argenteũ in fronte portat: Homines illius cõtratæ & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, niſi quòd vnum pannum lineum portant ante verenda ſua. Homines illius regionis ſunt maximi & fortiſſimi, & quiá vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant vnum ſcutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite vſq; ad pedes, & ſi contingat eos aliquem de aduerſarijs capere in bello qui pecunia non poſſit redimi, ſtatim comedunt eum; ſi autem poſſit ſe redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum ſuum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo ſuo: Hic etiam portat in digito ſuo vnum lapidem longitudinis vnius ſpanſæ, & dum habet illũ videtur ab alijs quaſi vna flãma ignis, & ideò nullus audet ſibi appropinquarè, & dicitur quòd non eſt lapis in mundo pretioſior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Katai, nunquam vi, nec pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cùm tamen circa hoc laborauerit.

Teſtudines magnæ.

Moumoran,

De Inſula *Ceilan*, & de monte vbi *Adam* planxit *Abel* filium ſuum.

Ceilan inſula.

TRanſiui per aliam inſulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ habet in ambitu pluſquã duo millia milliaria, in qua ſunt ſerpentes quaſi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, vrſarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & ſilueſtrium, & potiſſimè elephantũ. In illa contrata eſt mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quòd Adam planxit Abel filium ſuum 500 annis. In medio illius montis eſt planicies pulcherrima, in qua eſt lacus paruus multum habens de aqua, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuiſſe de lachrymis Adæ & Euæ, ſed probaui hoc falſum eſſe, quia vidi aquam in lacu ſcaturire: hæc aqua plena eſt hirudinibus & ſanguiſugis, & lapidibus pretioſis; iſtos lapides rex non accipit ſibi, ſed ſemel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes ſub aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot poſſunt colligere illis concedit, vt orent pro anima ſua, Vt autẽ poſſint ſub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis vngunt ſe valdè benè, & ſic nudos ſe in aquam ſubmergunt, & ſanguiſugæ illis nocere non poſſunt. Ab iſto lacu aqua exit & currit vſq; ad mare, & in tranſitu quandò retrahit ſe, fodiuntur Rubiæ, & adamantes, & margaritæ, & aliæ gemmæ pretioſæ: vndè opinio eſt quod rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretioſis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa ſunt quaſi omnia genera animalium & auium; & dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quòd animalia illa nullũ forenſem inuadunt, nec offendunt, ſed tantũ homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa inſula aues ita magnas ſicut ſunt hic anſeres, habentes duo capita, & alia mirabilia quæ non ſcribo. Vltra verſus meridiem tranſiui, & applicui ad inſulam quandam quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem eſt quod immundum in lingua noſtra. In ea moriuntur

Bodin Inſula.

peſſimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiã faciunt quæ quaſi excogitari nõ poterit; nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrẽ, & maritus vxorem, & è contrario, & hoc per hunc modum: ſi pater alicuius infirmetur, filius vadit ad Aſtrologum ſacerdotem, ſcz: rogans eum quòd conſulat Deum ſuum, ſi pater de tali infirmitate euadet, vel non. Tunc ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, faciẽtes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noſter, te adoramus, & rogamus vt nobis reſpondeas, debetnè talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberari? Tunc Dęmon reſpõdet, & ſi dicat, viuet, filius vadit & miniſtrat illi vſq; ad plenã conualeſcentiã: Si autẽ dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & vnum pannum ſuper os eius ponet, & ſuffocabit eum, & ipſum mortuum incidet in fruſta, & inuitabuntur omnes amici, & parentes eius ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni lætitia, oſſa tamen eius honorificè ſepelient. Cùm autẽ ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens cauſam: Reſpondit vnus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes eius comedant, tunc eius anima magnã pœnam ſuſtineret, nec poteram euellere eos ab iſto errore: & multę aliæ nouitates ſunt ibi, quas nõ crederent, niſi qui viderent. Ego autem coram Deo nihil hîc refero, niſi illud de quo certus ſum ſicut homo certificari poterit. De iſta inſula inquiſiui à multis expertis, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt mihi, dicentes, quod iſta India 4400, inſulas continet ſub ſe, ſiue in ſe, in qua etiam ſunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam dicunt quod maior pars illius inſulæ benè inhabitatur. Et hîc iſtius Indiæ facio finem.

De India ſuperiori, & de Prouincia Manci.

INprimis refero, quòd cum tranſirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas verſus Orientem, perueni ad illam magnã prouinciam Manci, quę India vocatur à Latinis. De iſta India ſuperiori inquiſiui à Chriſtianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales ſunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt, quòd hæc prouincia Manci habet pluſquam 2000. magnarũ ciuitatum, & in ipſa eſt maxima copia omniũ victualium, puta, panis, vini, riſi, carniũ, piſciũ, &c. Omnes homines iſtius prouinciæ ſunt artifices & mercatores, qui pro quacunq; penuria, dummodo proprijs manibus iuuare ſe poſſent per labores, nunquã ab aliquo eleemoſynã peterent. Viri iſtius prouinciæ ſunt ſatis formoſi, ſed pallidi, & raſas & paruas barbas habentes; fœminę verò ſunt pulcherrimę inter omnes de mundo. Prima ciuitas ad quam veni de iſta India vocatur Ceuskalon, & diſtat à mari per vnã dietam, poſitáq; eſt ſuper flumen, cuius aqua propè mare cui contignatur, aſcendit ſuper terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Iſta autem ciuitas tantum nauigiũ habet, quod incredibile foret niſi videnti. In hac ciuitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quàm pro vno groſſo: Ibi ſunt anſeres groſſiores & pulchriores, & maius forũ de illis, quàm ſit in mundo, vt credo, & ſunt albiſſimi ſicut lac, & habent vnum os ſuper caput quantitatis oui, & habet colorem ſanguineũ, ſub gula habent vnã pellem pendentem ſemipedalem: Pinguiſſimi ſunt, & optimi fori: & ita eſt de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ ſunt valdè in illa terra pluſquam duæ de noſtris. Ibi ſunt ſerpentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: vnde qui faceret feſtũ ſolemne, & non daret ſerpẽtes, nihil reputaret ſe facere: breuitèr in hac ciuitate ſunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indè tranſiui per ciuitates multas, & veni ad ciuitatẽ nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portaui de oſſibus fratrũ noſtrorum pro fide Chriſti interfectorum, de quibus ſupra. In hac eſt copia omnium victualium pro leuiſſimo foro, hæc ciuitas ita magna eſt, ſicut bis Bouonia, & in ea multa monaſteria religioſorum, qui omnes idolis ſeruiũt. In vno autem iſtorũ monaſteriorum ego fui, & dictum eſt mihi quòd inerant 3000. religioſorum habentiũ 11000. idolorum, & vnum illorum, quod quaſi paruũ inter cętera mihi videbatur, eſt ita magnũ ſicut Chriſtophorus noſter. Iſti religioſi omni die paſcunt Deos ſuos, vnde ſemel iui ad videndũ comeſtionem illam, & vidi quòd illa quę detulerunt ſibi comeſtibilia ſunt, & calidiſſima, & multũ fumigãtia, ita quòd fumus aſcendit ad idola, & dixerũt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autẽ cibum illi reportauerũt & comederũt, & ſic de fumo tantũ Deos ſuos pauerunt.

Vel Cenſcala,

Hi ſunt alcatrazi vel onocratoli,

Vel Zaiton,

De Ciuitate Fuko.

VLtra verſus Orientem veni ad ciuitatem quę vocatur Fuko, cuius circuitus cõtinet 30. milliaria, in qua ſunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ ſicut nix, lanam ſolum pro pennis habentes ſicut pecudes. Hæc ciuitas pulcherrima eſt, & ſita ſupra mare. Vltra iui per 18. dietas, & pertranſij multas terras & ciuitates, & in tranſitu veni ad quendam montem magnum, & vidi quòd in vno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra vt carbo, & homines & mulieres diuerſum modum viuendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba ſicut nix, & homines totaliter diuerſè ab alijs vixerunt. Ibi omnes fœminæ quæ ſunt deſponſatæ portant in ſignum quòd habent maritos vnum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde tranſiui per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddã magnum flumen, & intraui ciuitatem vnã, quæ tranſuerſum illius fluminis habet pontem maximũ, & hoſpitabar in domo vnius hoſpitarij, qui volens

Vel Foquien.

Magnum flumen

Alijs Canſai, vel Quinzai.

lens mihi complacere, dixit mihi: ſi velis videre piſcari, veni mecum; & duxit me ſuper pontem, & vidi in brachijs ſuis mergos ligatos ſuper perticas, ad quorum gulã vbi ille ligauit vnũ filum, ne illi capientes piſces, comederent eos: Poſtea in brachio vno poſuit 3, ciſtas magnas, & tunc diſſoluit mergos de perticis, qui ſtatim in aquã intrauerunt, & piſces ceperunt, & ciſtas illas repleuerunt in parua hora, quibus repletis vir ille diſſoluit fila à collis eorũ, & ipſi reintrantes flumen ſe de piſcibus recreauerũt, & recreati ad perticas redierunt, & ſe ligari ſicut prius permiſerunt: Ego autẽ de illis piſcibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbãtur. Inde tranſiens per multas dietas veni ad vnã ciuitatem quæ vocatur *Kanaſia, quæ ſonat in lingua noſtra ciuitas cœli: Nunquam ita magnã ciuitatem vidi, Circuitus enim eius cõtinet 100. milliaria, nec in ea vidi ſpatiũ quin benè inhabitaretur; Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. ſolaria vnũ ſupra aliud: hæc habet ſuburbia maxima continentia maiorẽ populum quàm ipſa ciuitas contineat, 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarũ portarum ad 8. milliaria ſunt ciuitates fortè maiores vt æſtimo, quàm eſt ciuitas Venetiarũ, & Padua, Hæc ciuitas ſita eſt in aquis quæ ſemper ſtant, & nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamẽ habet propter ventum ſicut ciuitas Venetiarum, In ea ſunt plus decem mille & 2. pontium, quorum multos numeraui & tranſiui, & in quolibet ponte ſtant cuſtodes ciuitatis continuè cuſtodientes ciuitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Vnum mandatum dicunt gentes illius ciuitatis a domino ſe recepiſſe. Nam quilibet ignis ſoluit vnũ balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui vnum florenũ cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. ſupellectiles facient vnum ignem, & ſic pro vno igne ſoluent. Iſti ignes ſunt benè 85. Thuman, cum alijs 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò vnum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo ciuitatis ſunt alij Chriſtiani, alij mercatores, & alij tranſeuntes per terram, vndè maximè fui miratus quo modo tot corpora hominũ poterant ſimul habitare: In ea eſt maxima copia victualium, ſcz. panis & vini, & carnium de porco præcipuè cum alijs neceſſarijs.

De monaſterio vbi ſunt multa animalia diuerſa in quodam monte.

Pythagorica μετεμψύχωσις.

Chilenſo.

Thalay.

Kakam.

IN illa ciuitate 4. fratres noſtri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidẽ Chriſti, in cuius hoſpitio continuè habitabã, dum fui ibi, qui ſemel dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre ciuitatem iſtã; & dixi quòd ſic, & aſcendimus vnã barcham, & iuimus ad vnũ monaſterium maximũ, de quo vocauit vnũ religioſum ſibi notũ, & dixit ſibi de me, Iſte Raban Frãcus, i. religioſus venit deindè vbi ſol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vitã pro magno Cane, & ideò oſtendas ſibi aliquid, quòd ſi reuertatur ad contratas ſuas poſſit referre quòd tale quid nouũ vidi in Canaſia ciuitate: tunc ſumpſit ille religioſus duos maſtellos magnos repletos reliquijs quæ ſupererant de menſa, & duxit me ad vnã percluſam paruam, quam aperuit cum claue, & aparuit viridarium gratioſum & magnũ in quod intrauimus, & in illo viridario ſtat vnus monticulus ſicut vnũ campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum ſtaremus ibi, ipſe ſumpſit cymbalũ, & incœpit percutere ipſum ſicut percutitur quandò monachi intrant refectoriũ, ad cuius ſonitũ multa animalia diuerſa deſcenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt ſimiæ, aliqua vt Cati, Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum ſic ſtarem congregauerunt ſe circa ipſum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & ſe in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus poſuit paropſidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comediſſent iterum cymbalum percuſſit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquiſiui quæ eſſent animalia iſta? Et reſpondit mihi quod ſunt animæ nobilium virorũ, quas nos hîc paſcimus amore Dei, qui regit orbẽ, & ſicut vnus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima eius poſt mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò ſimpliciũ & ruſticorũ, corpora vilium animaliũ intrant. Incœpi iſtã abuſionẽ improbare, ſed nihil valuit ſibi, nõ enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima poſſet ſine corpore manere, Indè tranſiui ad quandam ciuitatem nomine Chilenſo, cuius muri per 40. milliaria circuerunt. In iſta ciuitate ſunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm vnquam viderim, & benè inhabitatur, & nauigiũ maximum habet, & copiã omnium victualiũ, & aliorum bonorũ. Inde iui ad quoddã flumen dictũ Thalay, quod vbi eſt ſtrictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmæorum tranſit, quorum ciuitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus ciuitatibus mũdi eſt. Iſti Pigmæi habent longitudinẽ trium ſpanſarum mearũ, & faciunt maiora & meliora goton, & bombicinã quàm aliqui homines in mundo. Indè per illud flumen tranſiens, veni ad vnam ciuitatẽ Ianzu, in qua eſt vnus locus fratrum noſtrorũ, & ſunt in ea tres eccleſiæ Neſtorianorũ: hæc ciuitas nobilis eſt, & magna, habens in ſe 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia in magna copia, de quo Chriſtiani viuunt: Dominus iſtius ciuitatis ſolum de ſale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Baliſi, & valet baliſus vnum florenũ cum dimidio: Ita quòd vnum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, vnã tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne ſit cariſtia in eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hęc ciuitas conſuetudinem, quòd quando vnus vult facere conuiuium amicis ſuis, ad hoc ſunt hoſpitia deputata, & vbi ille circuit per hoſpites,

ſpites, dicens ſibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos feſtabis nomine meo, & tãtum in feſto volo expendere, & per illum modum meliùs conuiuant amici in pluribus hoſpitijs quàm facerent in vno. Per 10. milliaria ab iſta ciuitate in càpite fluminis Thalay eſt vna ciuitas vocata Montu, Montu. quæ maius nauigium habet, quàm viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naues ibi ſunt albæ ſicùt nix, & in ipſis ſunt hoſpitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet niſi viderentur.

De ciuitate Cambaleth.

INdè tranſiui per 8. dietas per multas terras & ciuitates, & veni tandèm per aquàm dulcem àd quãdam ciuitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ eſt poſita ſuper flumen vocatum Caramoran, quod Caramoran. per medium Catai tranſit, & magnum damnum ſibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè tranſiens per flumen verſus Orientem per multas dietas & ciuitates, veni ad vnam ciuitatem nomine Sumacoso, quæ maiorem copiam habet de ſerico, quàm aliqua ciuitas in mundo; Quando enim eſt maior cariſtia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quàm pro 8. groſſis. In ea eſt copia omnium mercimoniorũ, & omnium victuallium, panis, vini, carnium, piſcium, & omnium ſpecierum electarum. Inde tranſiui verſus Orientem per multas ciuitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, & nominatam Cambaleth quæ eſt ciuitas multum antiqua, & eſt in prouincia Catai, & eam ceperunt Tartari: Cambalet. Et iuxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam ciuitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido & hæc 12. portas habet, & ſemper inter vnam & aliam ſunt duo miliaria, & medium inter illas ciuitates benè inhabitatur, ita quòd faciunt quaſi vnam ciuitatem; Et ambitus iſtarum duarum ciuitatum eſt pluſquàm 40. milliaria. In hac ciuitate magnus imperator Canis habet ſedem Mandeuil cap. 33. ſuam principalem, & ſuum magnum palatium, cuius muri benè 4. milliaria continent; & infra illud palatium ſunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia ſua. In palatio etiam illo eſt vnus mons pulcherrimus cõſitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte palatium amœniſſimum in quo communitèr Canis reſidet: A latere autem montis eſt vnus lacus magnus, ſupra quem pons pulcherrimus eſt factus, & in illo lacu eſt magna copia anſerum & anatum, & omnium auium aquaticarum; & in ſilua montis copia omnium auium & ferarum ſilueſtrium, & ideò quandò dominus Canis vult venari non oportet eum exire palatium ſuum. Palatium verò principale, in quo ſedes ſua eſt, eſt magnum valdè, & habet interius 14. columnas aureas, & omnes muri eius cooperti ſunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatij eſt vna pigna altitudinis duorum paſſuum, quę tota eſt de vno lapide pretioſo nomine merdochas; & eſt tota circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo eius eſt vnus ſerpens de auro qui verberat os fortiſſimè: Habet etiam hęc pigna retia de margaritis, & per iſtam pignam defertur potus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & iuxta eam pendent multa vaſa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere poſſunt. In hoc autem palatio ſunt multi pauones de auro; & cùm aliquis Tartarus facit feſtum domino ſuo, tunc quando conuiuantes collidunt manus ſuas prę gaudio & lætitia, pauones emittunt alas ſuas, & expandunt caudas, & videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factũ arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela ſubterranea.

De gloria magni Canis.

QVando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in ſede ſua imperiali reſidet, tunc a ſiniſtro latere ſedet Regina, & per vnum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipſe tenet pro ſe, quando non poteſt ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu reſident omnes dominæ de ſua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant ſupra caput ſuum vnum pedem hominis, longitudinis vnius brachij cum dimidio; & ſubter illum pedem ſunt pennę gruis, & totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipſius Canis reſidet filius eius primogenitus, regnaturus poſt ipſum, & inferius ipſo omnes qui ſunt de ſanguine regio: Ibi etiam ſunt 4. ſcriptores ſcribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Ante cuius conſpectum ſunt Barones ſui, & multi alij nobiles cum ſua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui niſi à domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis & hiſtrionibus, qui ſuum dominum conſolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, niſi ſecundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam palatij ſunt Barones cuſtodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cùm autem ille Canis voluerit facere conuiuium, habet ſecum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, & domino ſuo ſeruientes; Et quilibet portat vnam veſtem de auro & margaritis tot quot valent plus quàm decies millies florenorum. Curia eius optime ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, & millenarios, & talitèr quòd quilibet in ſuo ordine peragit officium ſibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, & multotiens in iſtis feſtis ſuis fui, quià nos fratres minores in ſua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos ſempèr ire, & dare ſibi noſtram benedictionem: Et inquiſiui ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui ſunt in curia domini, & reſponderunt mihi quòd de hiſtrionibus ſunt bene 18. Thuman; Cuſtodes autem canum & beſtiarum, & auium ſunt 15. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis ſunt 400. Chriſtiani autem 8. & vnus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hij omnes omnia neceſſaria tam ad victum, quam ad veſtitum habebant de curia domini Canis. Quando autē vult equitare de vna terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & vnus per vnam dietam ipſum antecedit, ſecundus aliam, & tertius ſimilitèr, & quartus; ita quòd ſemper ipſe ſe tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas ſuas ordinatas, quòd inueniunt omnia victualia parata ſine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit; Sedet in curru cùm duabus rotis in quo facta eſt pulcherrima ſella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretioſis; & 4. Elephantes benè ordinati ducunt iſtum currum, quos præcedunt 4. equi altiſſimi optimè cooperti. Iuxta currum à lateribus ſunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, nè aliquis appropinquet domino ſuo. Supra currum ſedent duo Gerfalcones albiſſimi, & dùm videt aues quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capiunt eas; Et ſic habet ſolatium ſuum equitando, & per iactum vnius lapidis nullus audet appropinquare currui niſi populus aſſignatus: vndè incredibile eſſet homini qui non vidiſſet de numero gentis ſuæ, & reginæ, & primogeniti ſui. Iſte dominus Canis imperium ſuum diuiſit in 12. partes, & vna habet ſub ſe 200. magnarum ciuitatum: vndè ita latum & longum eſt ſuum imperium, quòd ad quamcunq; partem iret, ſatis haberet facere in ſex menſibus, exceptis inſulis, quæ ſunt bene 5000.

De hoſpitijs paratis per totum imperium pro tranſeuntibus.

ISte dominus, vt tranſeuntes habeant omnia neceſſaria ſua per totum ſuum imperium, fecit hoſpitia præparari vbique per vias; in quibus ſunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua nouitas oritur in imperio ſuo, tunc ſi diſtat, ambaſſiatores ſuper equos vel dromedarios feſtinant, & cùm laſſantur in curſu, pulſant cornu, & proximum hoſpitium parat vnum ſimilitèr equum, qui quando alius venit feſſus accipit literam, & currit ad hoſpitium, & ſic per hoſpitia, & per diuerſos curſores rumor per 30. dietas, vno die naturali venit ad imperarorem; & ideò nihil ponderis poteſt fieri in imperio ſuo, quin ſtatim ſcitur ab eo. Cum autem ipſe Canis vult ire venatum; iſtum modum habet; Extra Cambaleth ad 20. dietas, eſt vna foreſta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua ſunt tot genera animalium & auium quòd mirabile eſt dicere: Ad illud nemus vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota gente, cum qua ipſum circuit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, ſcilicet leones, ceruos, & alia animalia reducunt ad vnam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè tremunt omnes beſtiæ ſyluæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis ſuper tres elephantes & 5. ſagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & poſt ipſum omnes Barones, & poſt ipſos alij de familia ſua emittunt ſagittas ſuas; & omnes ſagittæ ſunt ſignatæ certis ſignis & diuerſis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens viua nemus reintrare vt aliâs habeat ex eis venationem ſuam, & quilibet illud animal habebit in cuius corpore inuenit ſagittam ſuam quam iaciebat.

De quatuor feſtis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

QVatuor magna feſta in anno facit Dominus Canis, ſcilicet feſtum natiuitatis, feſtum circumciſionis, coronationis, & deſponſationis ſuæ; & ad iſta feſta conuocat omnes Barones, & hiſtriones, & omnes de parentela ſua. Tunc domino Cane in ſuo throno ſedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, veſtiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, ſcilicet primi, ſecundi de ſanguineo, & tertij de croceo, & tenent in manibus vnam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis vno ſemiſſe latis, & ſtant pedibus ſilentium tenentes. Circa illos ſtant hiſtriones cum ſuis inſtrumentis: In vno autem angulo cuiuſdā magni palatij reſident Philoſophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes; & cùm deuenitur ad punctū & horam petitam à philoſopho, vnus præco clamat valentèr. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori veſtro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; & iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, & illi ſtatim ſurgunt. Iterum Philoſophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cùm peruentum fuerit, iterum præco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, & ſtatim dicit, extrahite ipſum; iterùm ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: & multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam ſignificationē habere, quæ ſcribere nolui, nec curaui, quia vana ſunt & riſu digna. Cùm autem peruentū fuerit ad horam hiſtrionum, tunc Philoſophi dicunt, facite feſtum domino, & omnes pulſant inſtrumenta ſua, & faciunt maximum ſonitum; & ſtatim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, & omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt hiſtrionatrices ante dominum dulcitèr modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, & faciunt reuerentiam domino Cani; Et tunc hiſtriones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum ſe applicare vt bibant. Hæc & multa alia mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet niſi videret; & ideò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audiui à fide dignis, quòd in vno regno iſtius Canis in quo ſunt montes Kapſei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) naſcuntur pepones maximi, qui quando ſunt maturi aperiuntur, & intùs inuenitur vna beſtiola ſimilis vni agnello: ſicut audiui quòd in mari Hybernico ſtant arbores ſupra ripam maris & portant fructum ſicut eſſent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aues vocatæ Bernakles, & illud eſt verum.

De diuerſis Prouincijs & ciuitatibus.

DE iſto imperio Katay receſſi poſt tres annos, & tranſiui 50. dietas verſus Occidentẽ; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cuius ciuitas principalis Koſan vocatur, quæ multas habet ſub ſe ciuitates. Vltra per multas dietas iui, & perueni ad vnam prouinciam vocatam Kaſan; & hæc eſt ſecunda melior prouincia mundi, vt dicitur, & eſt optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta vnius ciuitatis, videntur portæ alterius ciuitatis, ſicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Prouinciæ eſt 50. dietarum, & longitudo pluſquam 60. In ea eſt maxima copia omnium victualium, & maximè caſtaneorum; & hæc eſt vna de 12. prouincijs magni Canis. Vltra veni ad vnum regnum vocatum Tibek quod eſt ſubiectum Cani, in quo eſt maior copia panis & vini, quam ſit in toto mundo vt credo. Gens illius terræ moratur communiter in tentorijs factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis ciuitas ſua murata eſt pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albiſſimis, & nigerrimis interſcalariter diſpoſitis & curioſè compoſitis, & omnes viæ eius optimè pauatæ. In iſta contrata nullus audet effundere ſanguinem hominis, nec alicuius animalis, ob reuerentiam vnius Idoli. In iſta ciuitate moratur Abaſſi 1. Papa eorum, qui eſt caput & princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat & diſtribuit beneficia ſecundum morem eorum; ſicut noſter Papa Romanus eſt caput omnium Chriſtianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant pluſquam centum tricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos ſicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicuius moritur, tunc filius conuocat omnes ſacerdotes & hiſtriones, & dicit ſe velle patrem ſuum honorare, & facit eum ad campum duci ſequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, vbi ſacerdotes cum magna ſolemnitate amputant caput ſuum, dantes illud filio ſuo, & tunc totum corpus in fruſta concidunt, & ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum coredeuntes; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte aſſuefacti ad huiuſmodi, & carnes omnes aſportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd ſanctus eſt, quia angeli domini ipſum portant in paradiſum: Et iſte eſt maximus honor, quem reputat filius poſſe fieri patri ſuo mortuo: Tunc filius ſumit caput patris, & coquit ipſum, & comedit, de teſta eius faciens ciphum in quo ipſe cum omnibus de domo & cognatione eius bibunt cum ſolemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comeſti. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non ſcribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent niſi viderent.

Caſan.

Tibec regio aſsis Tebet Guillielmo de Rubricis.

Eadem hiſtoria de eodem populo apud Guilielmũ de Rubricis.

De diuite qui paſcitur à 50. Virginibus.

DVm fui in prouicia Manzi tranſiui iuxta palatium vnius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines ſibi continuè miniſtrantes, in omnibus paſcentes eum ſicut auis auiculas, & habet ſemper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando paſcunt eum, continuè cantant dulciſſimè: Iſte habet in redditibus Tagaris tiſi 30. Thuman, quorũ quodlibet decies millies facit: vnũ autem Tagar pondus eſt aſini. Palatium ſuum duo milliaria tenet in ambitu; cuius pauimentum ſemper vnum laterem habet aureum, alium argenteum: Iuxta ambitum iſtius palatij eſt vnus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, ſuper quo ſtant Monaſteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro ſolatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines ſunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum eſt longos habere vngues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus circueunt ſibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum eſt paruos habere pedes: Et ideò matres quando filiæ ſuæ ſunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non dimittunt creſcere. Vltra tranſiens verſus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Mileſtorite, quæ pulchra eſt valdè & fertilis; Et in iſta cõtrata erat vnus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat ſibi vnum murum circumeuntem iſtos montes. Infra iſtum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et iuxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, & equi pulcherrimi, & omne illud quod ad ſuauitatem, & delectationem corporis fieri poterit, & ideò illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradiſum. Iſte Senex cùm viderit aliquẽ iuuenem formoſum & robuſtum, poſuit eum in illo paradiſo; Per quoſdam autem conductus deſcendere facit vinum & lac abundantèr. Iſte Senex cùm voluerit ſe vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiſo vt aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradiſum illum, & illum delicijs frui permitteret, & tunc daret ſibi potionem vnam, quæ ipſum ſopiebat in tantum, quòd inſenſibilem redderet, & ipſum ſic

Mulierum parui pedes.

Mileſtorite.

dormientem faceret extra paradiſum deportari: qui excitatus & ſe extra paradiſum conſpiciens, in tanta triſtitia poſitus foret, quòd neſciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum ſenem iret, rogans eum, vt iterùm in paradiſum introduceretur; qui ſibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, niſi talem vel talem interficias; & ſiue interfeceris, ſiue non, reponam te in paradiſo, & ibidem poteris ſemper manere; Tunc ille ſic faceret, & omnes ſeni odioſos interficeret; Et ideò omnes reges orientales illum ſenem timuerunt, & ſibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

CVm autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepiſſent, venerunt ad iſtum Senem, & dominium illius Paradiſi ab eo abſtulerunt, qui multos ſicarios de Paradiſo illo emiſit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interfici fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes ciuitatem, in qua erat ſenex obſederunt, eum ceperunt, & peſſima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quòd citiſſimè per virtutem nominis Chriſti Ieſu, & in virtute illius ſanguinis pretioſi, quem effudit in cruce pro ſalute generis humani, dæmonia ab obſeſſis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem ſunt obſeſſi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati ſtatim credunt in Chriſtum, qui liberauit eos habentes ipſum pro Deo ſuo, & baptizati ſunt, & idola ſua, & pecorum ſuorum ſtatim dant fratribus, quæ ſunt communitèr de feltro, & de crinibus mulierum: & fratres ignem in communi loco faciunt ad quem populus confluit, vt videat Deos vicinorum ſuorum comburi, & fratres coram populo Idola in ignem projiciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta conſperſerunt, & iterùm Idola in ignem proiecerunt, & dęmones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, & Idola remanſerunt, & combuſta ſunt. Poſteà auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulſus ſum. Et per iſtum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidiuant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuò quaſi ſtent cum illis, & illos informent. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cùm irem per vnam vallem, quæ ſita eſt iuxta fluuium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audiui ſonos muſicos dulces & diuerſos, & maximè de cytharis, vndè multum timui. Hæc vallis habet longitudinem ſeptem, vel octo milliarium ad plus, in quam ſi quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam viuus poteſt tranſire per medium illius vallis, & ideò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc eſſet. Tandem orans & Deo me recommendans, & cruce ſignans, in nomine Ieſu intraui, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet niſi videret. In hac valle ab vno eius latere, in vno ſaxo vnam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribilitèr me reſpexit, quòd omninò credidi ibi fuiſſe mortuus: Sed ſemper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum eſt & habitauit in nobis) protuli, & cruce me ſignaui, nec propiùs quàm per 7. paſſus, vel 8. accedere capiti auſus fui: Iui autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & ſuper vnum monticulum arenoſum aſcendi, in quo vndique circumſpiciens nihil vidi niſi cytharas illas, quas per ſe (vt mihi videbatur) pulſari & reſonare mirabiliter audiui. Cùm verò fui in cacumine montis, inueni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quaſi fuiſſent ſquamæ piſcium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili oſtendendo, ſed ductus conſcientia, in terram proieci, nihil mecum reſeruans, & ſic per gratiam dei liber exiui. Cùm autem homines illius contratæ ſciuerunt me viuum exiſſe, reuerebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & ſanctum; & corpora illa fuiſſe dæmonum infernalium qui pulſant cytharas vt homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Hæc de viſis certudinalitèr ego frater Odoricus hîc inſcripſi; & multa mirabilia omiſi ponere, quia homines non credidiſſent niſi vidiſſent.

De honore & reuerentia factis Domino Cani.

VNum tantùm referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Conſuetudo eſt in partibus illis quòd quando prędictus dominus per aliquam contratam tranſit, homines ante oſtia ſua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, et faciunt fumum, vt dominus tranſiens ſuauem ſentiat odorem, & multi obuiam ſibi vadunt. Dum autem ſemel veniret in Cambeleth, & fama vndique diuulgaretur de ſuo aduentu, vnus noſter Epiſcopus, & aliqui noſtri minores fratres & ego iuimus obuiàm ſibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, poſuimus crucem ſuper lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator ſpiritus: Et dum ſic cantaremus audiuit voces noſtras, fecitque nos vocari, ac iuſſit nos ad eum accedere; cùm vt ſuprà dictum eſt, nullus audeat appropinquare currui ſuo ad iactum lapidis, niſi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum cuſtodiunt. Et dum iuiſſemus ad eum, ipſe depoſuit galerum ſuum, ſiue capellū ineſtimabilis quaſi valoris, &

fecit reuerentiam Cruci; & ſtatim incenſum poſui in thuribulo; Epiſcopus noſter accepit thuribulum, & thurificauit eum; ac ſibi prædictus Epiſcopus dedit benedictionem ſuam. Accedentes verò ad prædictum dominum, ſempèr ſibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; ſecum illam antiquam legem obſeruantes; Non apparebis in conſpectu meo vacuus; Idcircò portauimus nobiſcum poma, & ea ſibi ſuper vnum inciſorium reuerentèr obtulimus; & ipſe duo accepit, & de vno aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis ſignum quòd recederemus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; ſtatimque ab eo diſceſſimus, atque diuertimus, & iuimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres noſtri ordinis ad fidem conuerſos, qui in exercitu eius erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipſa accipientes ita videbantur lætari, ac ſi præbuiſſemus eis familiaritèr magnum munus. Hæc prędicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in ſcriptis redegit, ſicut prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. menſe Maij in loco Sancti Antonij de Padua; Nec curauit de latino difficili, & ſtilo ornato; Sed ſicut ipſe narrabat ad hoc vt homines faciliùs intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Iulij de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum teſtificor, & teſtimonium perhibeo reuerendo patri Guidoto miniſtro prouinciæ Sancti Antonij in Marchia Triuiſana, cùm ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requiſitus, quòd hæc omnia quæ ſuperiùs ſcripta ſunt, aut proprijs oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis audiui: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec vidi teſtatur eſſe; Multa etiam alia ego dimiſiſſem, niſi illa proprijs oculis conſpexiſſem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas ſeu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & viuere me diſpono, ſi placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. diſponente ſe prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter ſuæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam vt via & labor eſſet ſibi magis ad meritum, decreuit primò præſentiam adire Domini & patris omnium ſummi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papæ 22, cuius benedictione obedientiáque recepta cum ſocietate fratrum ſecum ire volentium ad partes infidelium ſe transferret: Cúmque ſic eundo verſus ſummum Pontificem, non multum diſtaret à ciuitate Piſana, in quadam via occurrit ſibi quidam ſenex in habitu peregrini eum ſalutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quæreret quo modo ipſius haberet noticiam? Reſpondit, Dum eras in India noui te, tuúmque noui ſanctum propoſitum; Sed & tu modò ad conuentum vndè veniſti reuertere, quia die ſequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur ſenis attonitus & ſtupefactus, præſertim cùm Senex ille ſtatim poſt dictum ab eius aſpectu diſparuit; reuerti decreuit; Et reuerſus eſt in bona proſperitate nullam ſentiens grauedinem corporis, ſeu aliquam infirmitatem; Cúmque eſſet in conuentu ſuo Vtinenſi. N. in prouincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta ſibi fuit reuelatio, accepta communione, ipſóque ad Deum diſponente, etiam corpore exiſtens incolumis in Domino fœlicitèr requieuit: Cuius ſacer obitus Domino ſummo Pontifici præfato ſub manu Notarij publici tranſmittitur; qui ſic ſcribit.

Anno Domini 1331, decima quarta die menſis Ianuarij obijt in Chriſto Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonſtrauit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Caſtaldionis, & conſilij Vtini, ſcripſi, ſicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; ſed non de omnibus, quià ſunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad ſcribendum.

¶ Here beginneth the iournall of Frier *Odoricus*, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning ſtrange things which hee ſawe among the *Tartars* of the Eaſt.

Albeit many and ſundry things are reported by diuers authors concerning the faſhions and conditions of this world: notwithſtanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being deſirous to trauel vnto the forrein and remote nations of infidels, ſawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truely to auouch. Firſt of al therefore ſayling from Pera by Conſtantinople, I arriued at Trapeſunda. This place is right commodiouſly ſituate, as being an hauen for the Perſians and Medes, and other countreis beyonde the ſea. In this lande I behelde with great delight a very ſtrange ſpectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him more then foure thouſande partriges. The man himſelfe

Pera.

Trapeſunda.

The citie of Azaron in Armenia maior.

Sobiſſacalo.

Tauris a citie of Perſia.

Or, Sultania.

The Caſpian ſea.

Or, Caſſibin.

Geſte.

Como.

walked vpon the ground, and the partriges flew in the aire, which he ledde vnto a certaine caſtle called Zauena, being three dayes iourney diſtant from Trapeſunda. The ſaide partriges were ſo tame, that when the man was deſirous to lie downe and reſt, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And ſo hee led them vnto Trapeſunda, and vnto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleaſed, and the reſt the ſaide man carried vnto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Athanaſius, vpon the gate of the citie. And then I paſſed on further vnto Armenia maior, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tartars haue almoſt layed it waſte. In the ſaide citie there was abundance of bread and fleſh, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This citie alſo is very colde, and is reported to be higher ſituated, then any other city in the world. It hath moſt holeſome and ſweete waters about it: for the veines of the ſaid waters ſeeme to ſpring and flow from the mighty riuer of Euphrates, which is but a dayes iourney from the ſaide city. Alſo, the ſaid citie ſtands directly in the way to Tauris. And I paſſed on vnto a certaine mountaine called Sobiſſacalo. In the foreſaide countrey there is the very ſame mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah reſted: vnto the which I would willingly haue aſcended, if my company would haue ſtayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could euer aſcend the ſaid mountaine, because (ſay they) it pleaſeth not the higheſt God. And I trauailed on further vnto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Suſis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the world: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing elſe belonging vnto marchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city ſtands very commodiouſly: for vnto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may reſort for traffique. Concerning the ſaid citie, the Chriſtians in thoſe parts are of opinion, that the Perſian Emperour receiues more tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare vnto the ſaid city there is a ſalt-hill yeelding ſalt vnto the city: and of that ſalt ech man may take what pleaſeth him, not paying ought to any man therefore. In this city many Chriſtians of all nations do inhabite, ouer whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. Then I traueiled on further vnto a city called * Soldania, wherein the Perſian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progreſſe vnto another city ſtanding vpon the Sea called *Baku. Alſo the foreſaid city is very great and colde, hauing good and holeſome waters therein, vnto the which alſo ſtore of marchandize is brought. Moreouer I trauelled with a certaine company of Carauans toward vpper India: and in the way, after many dayes iourney, I came vnto the citie of the the three wiſemen called *Caſſan, which is a noble and renowmed city, ſauing that the Tartars haue deſtroyed a great part thereof: and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city vnto Ieruſalem (whither the three foreſaid wiſemen were miraculouſly led) it is fiftie dayes iourney. There be many wonders in this citie alſo, which, for breuities ſake, I omit. From thence I departed vnto a certaine city called *Geſte, whence the Sea of Sand is diſtant, one dayes iourney, which is a moſt wonderfull and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinds of victuals, and eſpecially of figs, reiſins, and grapes; more (as I ſuppoſe) then in any part of the whole world beſides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Perſian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Chriſtian can by any meanes liue therein aboue a yeere. Then paſſing many dayes iourney on forward, I came vnto a certaine citie called *Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times paſt great damage vnto the Romanes. In it there are ſtately palaces altogether deſtitute of inhabitants, notwithſtanding it aboundeth with great ſtore of victuals. From hence traueiling through many countreys, at length I came vnto the land of Iob named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleaſantly ſituated. Thereabouts are certaine mountaines hauing good paſtures for cattell vpon them. Here alſo Manna is found in great aboundance. Foure partriges are here ſolde for leſſe then a groat. In this countrey there are moſt comely olde men. Here alſo the men ſpin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth vpon the North part of Chaldęa.

Of the maners of the *Chaldæans*, and of *India*.

The tower of Babel.

FRom thence I traueled into Chaldęa, which is a great kingdome, and I paſſed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar vnto it ſelfe, and there are beautifull men, and deformed women. The men of the ſame countrey vſe to haue their haire kempt, and trimmed like vnto our women: and they weare golden turbants vpon their heades richly ſet with pearle, and pretious ſtones. The women are clad in a courſe ſmock onely reaching to their knees, and hauing long ſleeues hanging downe to the ground. And they goe bare-footed, wearing breeches which reach to the ground alſo. They weare no attire vpon their heads, but their haire hangs diſheueled

ueled about their eares: and there be many other ſtrange things alſo. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars ouerran and waſted. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the moſt part, whereof 42. li. are there ſold for leſſe then a groat. I paſſed further alſo many dayes iourney vnto the Ocean ſea, and the firſt land where I arriued, is called *Ormes, being well fortified, and hauing great ſtore of marchandize and treaſure therein. Such and ſo extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the priuities of men come out of their bodies and hang downe euen vnto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the ſame place, to preſerue their owne liues, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their priuie members therewith, do lap them vp in certaine bags faſtened vnto their bodies, for otherwiſe they muſt needs die. Here alſo they vſe a kinde of Bark or ſhippe called Iaſe being compact together onely with hempe. And I went on bourd into one of them, wherein I could not finde any yron at all, and in the ſpace of 28. dayes I arriued at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our Friers were martyred for the faith of Chriſt. This countrey is well ſituate, hauing abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and vnder the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battel with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worſhipping fire, ſerpents and trees. And ouer all this land the Saracens do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themſelues are in ſubiection vnto king Daldilus. There be diuers kinds of beaſts, as namely blacke lyons in great abundance, and apes alſo, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doues. Alſo there are miſe as bigge as our countrey dogs, and therefore they are hunted with dogs, becauſe cats are not able to incounter them. Moreouer, in the ſame countrey euery man hath a bundle of great boughs ſtanding in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a piller, and it will not wither, ſo long as water is applied thereunto: with many other nouelties and ſtrange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Ormus.

Thana, whereof Frederick Cæſar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

MOreouer, that it may be manifeſt how peper is had, it is to be vnderſtood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my ſelfe arriued, being called *Minibar, and it is not ſo plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes conteineth in circuit 18. dayes iourney. And in the ſaid wood or forreſt there are two cities, one called *Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Iewes and Chriſtians doe inhabite, betweene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Chriſtians ouercome the Iewes at all times. In the foreſaid wood pepper is had after this maner: firſt it groweth in leaues like vnto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere vnto great trees as we do our vines, and they bring forth pepper in cluſters, as our vines doe yeeld grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes, and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen veſſels: and thus is pepper made and kept. Now, in the ſame wood there be many riuers, wherein are great ſtore of Crocodiles, and of other ſerpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne vp with ſtraw and with other dry fewel, and ſo they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the ſaid forreſt ſtands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. All the inhabitants of that countrey do worſhip a liuing oxe, as their god, whom they put to labour for ſixe yeres, and in the ſeuenth yere they cauſe him to reſt from al his worke, placing him in a ſolemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beaſt. Moreouer they vſe this fooliſh ceremonie; Euery morning they take two baſons, either of ſiluer, or of gold, and with one they receiue the vrine of the oxe, and with the other his dung. With the vrine they waſh their face, their eyes, and all their fiue ſenſes. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they annoint the bals of their checks therewith, and thirdly their breaſt: and then they ſay that they are ſanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, euen ſo doe their King and Queene. This people worſhippeth alſo a dead idole, which, from the nauel vpward, reſembleth a man, and from the nauel downeward an oxe. The very ſame Idol deliuers oracles vnto them, and ſometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do conſecrate their daughters and their ſonnes vnto their idols, euen as Chriſtians do their children vnto ſome Religion or Saint in heauen. Likewiſe they ſacrifice their ſonnes and their daughters, and ſo, much people is put to death before the ſaid Idol by reaſon of that accurſed ceremony. Alſo, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutiſh beaſtly people commit: and I ſawe many moe ſtrange things among them which I meane not here to inſert. Another moſt vile cuſtome the foreſaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corps to aſhes: and if his wife ſuruiueth him, her they burne quicke, becauſe (ſay they) ſhe ſhall accompany her huſband in his tilthe and huſbandry, when he is come into a new world. Howbeit the ſaid wife hauing children by her huſband, may if ſhe will, remaine ſtill aliue with them,

Malabar.

Or, Alandrina.

Polumbrum.

The burning of their dead.

without

Mobar, or Maliapor.

without ſhame or reproch: notwithſtanding, for the moſt part, they all of them make choice to be burnt wᵗ their huſbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her huſband, that law bindeth not the huſband to any ſuch incõuenience, but he may mary another wife alſo. Likewiſe, yͤ ſaid nation hath another ſtrange cuſtome, in that their women drink wine, but their men do not. Alſo the women haue the lids & brows of their eyes & beards ſhauen, but the men haue not: with many other baſe & filthy faſhions which the ſaid women do vſe contrary to the nature of their ſexe. Frõ that kingdom I trauelled 10. daies iourney vnto another kingdom called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the ſame countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apoſtle is interred, the very ſame church being full of idols: and in 15. houſes round about the ſaid Church, there dwell certaine prieſts who are Neſtorians, that is to ſay, falſe, and bad Chriſtians, and ſchiſmatiques.

Of a ſtrange and vncouth idole: and of certaine cuſtomes and ceremonies.

Perhaps he meaneth Comori,

Sumatra,

Iaua,

IN the ſaid kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull ſtrang idole, being made after the ſhape and reſemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Chriſtopher, & conſiſting all of moſt pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a ſilke riband, ful of moſt rich & precious ſtones, ſome one of which is of more value then a whole kingdome. The houſe of this idol is all of beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pauement, and the ſieling of the wall within and without. Vnto this idol the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do vnto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, ſome with their hands bound behind them, ſome other with kniues ſticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the fleſh of their wounded arme feſtereth or corrupteth, they eſteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleaſed with them. Neare vnto the temple of that idol is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, whereinto the pilgrimes caſt gold, ſiluer, & precious ſtones, for the honour of the idol and the repairing of his temple. And therfore when any thing is to be adorned or mended, they go vnto this lake taking vp the treaſure which was caſt in. Moreouer at euery yerely feaſt of the making or repairing of the ſaid idol, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrimes aſſemble themſelues, & placing the ſaid idol in a moſt ſtately & rich chariot, they cary him out of their temple with ſongs, & with all kind of muſical harmonie, & a great company of virgins go proceſſion-wiſe two and two in a rank ſinging before him. Many pilgrims alſo put themſelues vnder the chariot wheeles, to the end that their falſe god may go ouer them: and al they ouer whom the chariot runneth, are cruſhed in pieces, & diuided aſunder in the midſt, and ſlaine right out. Yea, & in doing this, they think themſelues to die moſt holily & ſecurely, in the ſeruice of their god. And by this meanes euery yere, there die vnder the ſaid filthy idol, mo then 500. perſons, whoſe carkaſes are burned, and their aſhes are kept for reliques, becauſe they died in that ſort for their god. Moreouer they haue another deteſtable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the ſeruice of his falſe god, his parents, & all his friends aſſemble themſelues together with a conſort of muſicians, making him a great & ſolemne feaſt: which feaſt being ended, they hang 5. ſharpe kniues about his neck carying him before the idol, & ſo ſoone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his kniues crying with a loud voice, For the worſhip of my god do I cut this my fleſh, and then he caſteth the morſel which is cut, at yͤ face of his idol: but at the very laſt wound wherewith he murthereth himſelfe, he vtterth theſe words: Now do I yeeld my ſelf to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, & is eſteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the ſaid region is moſt rich in gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones, & there be the faireſt vnions in al the world. Traueling from thence by the Ocean ſea 50. daies iourney ſouthward, I came vnto a certain land named Lammori, where, in regard of extreeme heat, the people both men and women go ſtark-naked from top to toe: who ſeeing me apparelled ſcoffed at me, ſaying, that God made Adam & Eue naked. In this countrey al women are common, ſo that no man can ſay, this is my wife. Alſo when any of the ſaid women beareth a ſon or a daughter, ſhe beſtowes it vpon any one that hath lien with her, whõ ſhe pleaſeth. Likewiſe al the land of that region is poſſeſſed in cõmon, ſo that there is not mine & thine, or any propriety of poſſeſſion in the diuiſion of lands: howbeit euery man hath is owne houſe peculiar vnto himſelfe. Mans fleſh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our country. And albeit the people are moſt lewd, yet the cõtry is exceeding good, abounding with al cõmodities, as fleſh, corne, riſe, ſiluer, gold, wood of aloes, Campheir, and many other things. Marchants comming vnto this region for traffique do vſually bring wᵗ them fat men, ſelling them vnto the inhabitants as we ſel hogs, who immediatly kil & eat them. In this iſland towards the ſouth, there is another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke themſelues with red-hot yron in 12. ſundry ſpots of their faces: and this nation is at cõtinual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traueled further vnto another iſland called Iaua, the compaſſe whereof by ſea is 3000. miles. The king of this Iland hath 7. other crowned kings vnder his iuriſdiction. The ſaid Iland is throughly inhabited, & is thought to be one of the principall Ilands of yͤ whole world. In the ſame Iland there groweth great plenty of cloues, cubibez, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of ſpices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the ſaid land of Iaua hath a moſt braue and ſumptuous pallace, the moſt loftily built, that euer I ſaw any, & it hath moſt high greeſes & ſtayers to aſcend vp to the roomes therin contained, one ſtayre being of ſiluer, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Alſo the lower roomes were paued all ouer with one ſquare plate of ſiluer, & another of gold. All the wals vpon the inner ſide were ſeeled ouer with plates of beaten gold, wherupon were ingrauen yͤ pictures of knights, hauing about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adorned with precious ſtones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Iaua the great Can of Catay hath had many conflictes in war: whom notwithſtanding the ſaid king hath alwayes ouercome & vanquiſhed.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyſon.

NEere vnto the ſaid Iland is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamaſin. And the king of the ſame country hath many Ilands vnder his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the moſt deadly poiſon in all yͤ whole world: for againſt it there is but one only remedy: & that is this: if any man hath taken of yͤ poyſon, & would be deliuered from the danger therof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & ſo drinke a good quantity thereof, & it expels the poyſon immediatly, making it to auoid at the fundement. Meale is produced out of the ſaid trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there iſſueth out of the ſtocke a certain licour like vnto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaues, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the ſun, & at the end of thoſe 15 dayes, when the ſaid licour is throughly parched, it becõmeth meale. Then they ſteepe it firſt in ſea water, waſhing it afterward with freſh water, and ſo it is made very good & ſauorie paſte, whereof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my ſelfe did eate, & it is fayrer without & ſomewhat browne within. By this countrey is the ſea called Mare mortuũ, which runneth continually Southward, into yͤ which whoſoeuer falleth is neuer ſeene after. In this countrey alſo are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be alſo called Caſſan, which ouerſpread the earth like graſſe, & out of euery knot of them ſpring foorth certaine branches, which are continued vpon the ground almoſt for the ſpace of a mile. In the ſayd canes there are found certaine ſtones, one of which ſtones, whoſoeuer carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the moſt part, carry ſuch ſtones with them, whitherſoeuer they goe. Many alſo cauſe one of the armes of their children, while they are yong, to be launced, putting one of the ſaid ſtones into the wound, healing alſo, and cloſing vp the ſaid wound with the powder of a certaine fiſh (the name whereof I do not know) which powder doth immediatly conſolidate and cure the ſaid wound. And by the vertue of theſe ſtones, the people aforeſaid doe for the moſt part triumph both on ſea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of ſtratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the ſayd ſtones, doe practiſe againſt them: namely, they prouide themſelues armour of yron or ſteele againſt their arrowes, & weapons alſo poiſoned with the poyſon of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden ſtakes moſt ſharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: likewiſe they ſhoot arrowes without yron heads, and ſo they confound & ſlay ſome of their vnarmed foes truſting too ſecurely vnto the vertue of their ſtones. Alſo of the foreſayd canes called Caſſan they make ſayles for their ſhips, and litle houſes, and many other neceſſaries. From thence after many dayes trauell, I arriued at another kingdome called Campa, a moſt beautiful and rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king whereof, at my being there, had ſo many wiues & concubines, that he had 300 ſonnes & daughters by thẽ. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept euen as we keepe droues of oxen, or flocks of ſheepe in paſture.

A ſea running ſtill Southward.

Sayles made of reedes.

Campa.

Of the abundance of fiſhes, which caſt thẽſelues vpon the ſhore.

IN this countrey there is one ſtrange thing to be obſerued, yͭ euery ſeuerall kind of fiſhes in thoſe ſeas come ſwimming towards the ſaid countrey in ſuch abundance, that, for a great diſtance into the ſea, nothing can be ſeene but yͤ backs of fiſhes: which, caſting thẽſelues vpon the ſhore when they come neere vnto it, do ſuffer men, for the ſpace of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of thẽ as they pleaſe, & then they returne againe vnto the ſea. After that kind of fiſhes comes another kind, offering it ſelfe after the ſame maner, and ſo in like ſort all other kinds whatſoeuer: notwithſtanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what meanes this ſtrange accident could come to paſſe? They anſwered, that fiſhes were taught, euen by nature, to come & to do homage vnto their Emperour. There be Tortoiſes alſo as bigge as an ouen.

Tortoiſes.

ouen. Many other things I ſaw which are incredible, vnleſſe a man ſhould ſee them with his own eies. In this country alſo dead men are burned, & their wiues are burned aliue with them, as in the city of Polumbrum aboue mentioned: for the men of that country ſay that ſhe goeth to accompany him in another world, that he ſhould take none other wife in mariage. Moreouer I traueled on further by the ocean-ſea towards the ſouth, & paſſed through many countries and iſlands, whereof one is called Moumoran, & it cõtaineth in compaſſe ii. M. miles, wherin men & women haue dogs faces, and worſhip an oxe for their god: and therefore euery one of them cary the image of an oxe of gold or ſiluer vpon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, ſauing that they hang a linen cloth before their priuities. The men of the ſaid country are very tall and mighty, and by reaſon that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they cary yron or ſteele-targets before them, which do couer and defend their bodies from top to toe: and whomſoeuer of their foes they take in battel not being able to ranſom himſelfe for money, they preſently deuoure him: but if he be able to redeeme himſelfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and moſt beautifull vnions, and ſaith euery day 300. prayers vnto his god. He weareth vpon his finger alſo a ſtone of a ſpan long, which ſeemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approch vnto him: and they ſay that there is not any ſtone in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie obtaine it at his hands: notwithſtanding that he hath done the vtmoſt of his indeuour for this purpoſe.

Moumoran,

Of the iſland of *Sylan*: and of the mountaine where *Adam* mourned for his ſonne *Abel*.

I Paſſed alſo by another iſland called Sylan, which conteineth in cõpaſſe aboue ii. M. miles: wherin are an infinite number of ſerpents, & great ſtore of lions, beares, & al kinds of rauening & wild beaſts, and eſpecially of elephants. In the ſaid country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that regiõ do report that Adam mourned for his ſon Abel yͤ ſpace of 500. yeres. In the midſt of this moũtain there is a moſt beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake cõteining great plẽty of water, which water yͤ inhabitants report to haue proceeded frõ the teares of Adam & Eue: howbeit I proued that to be falſe, becauſe I ſaw the water flow in the lake. This water is ful of horſ-leeches, & blood-ſuckers, & of precious ſtones alſo: which precious ſtones the king taketh not vnto his owne vſe, but once or twiſe euery yere he permitteth certaine poore people to diue vnder the water for yͤ ſaid ſtones, & al that they can get he beſtoweth vpon them, to the end they may pray for his ſoule. But yͭ they may with leſſe danger diue vnder the water, they take limons which they pil, anointing themſelues throughly with the iuice therof, & ſo they may diue naked vnder yͤ water, the horſ-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth euen vnto the ſea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other precious ſtones out of the ſhore: whervpon it is thought, that yͤ king of this iſland hath greater abũdance of precious ſtones, then any other monarch in the whole earth beſids. In the ſaid country there be al kinds of beaſts and foules: & the people told me, that thoſe beaſts would not inuade nor hurt any ſtranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I ſaw in this iſland fouls as big as our country geeſe, hauing two heads, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Traueling on further toward the ſouth, I arriued at a certain iſland called Bodin, which ſignifieth in our language vnclean. In this iſland there do inhabit moſt wicked perſons, who deuour & eat raw fleſh cõmitting al kinds of vncleannes & abominations in ſuch ſort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his ſon, & the ſon his father, the huſband his owne wife, & the wife her huſband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be ſick, the ſon ſtraight goes vnto the ſooth-ſaying or prognoſticating prieſt, requeſting him to demand of his god, whether his father ſhall recouer of that infirmity or no: Then both of them go vnto an idol of gold or of ſiluer, making their praiers vnto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our god, & thee we do adore, beſeeching thee to reſolue vs, whether ſuch a man muſt die, or recouer of ſuch an infirmity or no? Then the diuel anſwereth out of yͤ foreſaid idol: if he ſaith (he ſhal liue) then returneth his ſon and miniſtreth things neceſſary vnto him, til he hath attained vnto his former health: but if he ſaith (he ſhal die) then goes yͤ prieſt vnto him, & putting a cloth into his mouth doth ſtrangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morſels, & al his friends and kinſfolks are inuited vnto the eating thereof, with muſique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are ſolemnely buried. And when I found fault with that cuſtome demanding a reaſon thereof, one of them gaue me this anſwere: this we doe, leaſt the wormes ſhould eat his fleſh, for then his ſoule ſhould ſuffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remooue them from that errour. Many other nouelties and ſtrange things there bee in this countrey, which no man would credite, vnles he ſaw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty God) do here

Or, Dadin.

make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as ſure, as a man may be ſure. Concerning the foreſaid iſlands I inquired of diuers wel-experienced perſons, who al of them, as it were with one conſent, anſwered me ſaying, That this India contained 4400. iſlands vnder it, or within it: in which iſlands there are ſixtie and foure crowned kings: and they ſay moreouer, that the greater part of thoſe iſlands are wel inhabited. And here I conclude cõcerning that part of India.

Of the vpper *India*: and of the prouince of *Mancy*.

Or, China.

First of al therefore, hauing traueled many dayes iourney vpõ the Ocean-ſea toward the Eaſt, at length I arriued at a certaine great prouince called Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Chriſtians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of al ſuch as bare any office vnder the great Can. Who all of them with one conſent anſwered, that this prouince of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, riſe, fleſh, and fiſh. All the men of this prouince be artificers & marchants, who, though they be in neuer ſo extreme penurie, ſo long as they can helpe themſelues by the labor of their hands, wil neuer beg almes of any man. The men of this prouince are of a faire and comely perſonage, but ſomewhat pale, hauing their heads ſhauen but a litle: but the women are the moſt beautiful vnder the ſunne. The firſt city of ẏ ſaid India which I came vnto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies iourney diſtant frõ the ſea, ſtands vpon a riuer, the water whereof, nere vnto the mouth, where it exonerateth it ſelfe into the ſea, doth ouerflow the land for the ſpace of 12. daies iourney. All the inhabitants of this India are worſhippers of idols. The forſaid city of Ceuskalon hath ſuch an huge nauy belonging thereunto, that no man would beleeue it vnleſſe he ſhould ſee it. In this city I ſaw 300. li. of good & new ginger ſold for leſſe then a groat. There are the greateſt, and the faireſt geeſe, & moſt plenty of them to be ſold in al the whole world, as I ſuppoſe: they are as white as milke, and haue a bone vpon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: vnder their throat they haue a ſkin or bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat & wel ſold. Alſo they haue ducks and hens in that country, one as big as two of ours. There be mõſtrous great ſerpents likewiſe, which are taken by the inhabitants & eaten: whereupon a ſolemne feaſt among them without ſerpents is nought ſet by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I paſſed by many cities, & at length I came vnto a city named Caitan, wherin ẏ friers Minorites haue two places of aboad, vnto the which I tranſported the bones of the dead friers, which ſuffred martyrdom for the faith of Chriſt, as it is aboue mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The ſaid city is as big as two of Bononia, & in it are many monaſteries of religious perſons, al which do worſhip idols. I my ſelfe was in one of thoſe Monaſteries, & it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, hauing xi. M. idols: and one of ẏ ſaid idols which ſeemed vnto me but litle in regard of the reſt, was as big as our Chriſtopher. Theſe religious men euery day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed thoſe things which they brought vnto them were good to eat, & fuming hote, inſomuch that the ſteame of the ſmoke thereof aſcended vp vnto their idols, & they ſaid that their gods were refreſhed with the ſmoke: howbeit, all the meat they conueyed away, eating it vp their owne ſelues, and ſo they fed their dumb gods with the ſmoke onely.

Or, Ceuskala.

He meaneth Pellicans, which the Spaniards cal Alcatrazi.

Or, Zaiton.

Of the citie Fuco.

Traueling more eaſtward, I came vnto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great & faire cocks, and al their hens are as white as the very ſnow, hauing wol in ſtead of feathers, like vnto ſheep. It is a moſt ſtately & beautiful city & ſtandeth vpon the ſea. Then I went 18. daies iourney on further, & paſſed by many prouinces & cities, and in the way I went ouer a certain great mountaine, vpon ẏ one ſide whereof I beheld al liuing creatures to be as black as a cole, & the men and women on that ſide differed ſomwhat in maner of liuing frõ others: howbeit, on the other ſide of the ſaid hil euery liuing thing was ſnow-white, & the inhabitants in their maner of liuing, were altogether vnlike vnto others. There, all maried women cary in token that they haue husbands, a great trunke of horne vpon their heads. From thence I traueiled 18. dayes iourney further, and came vnto a certaine great riuer, and entered alſo into a city, whereunto belongeth a mighty bridge to paſſe the ſaid riuer. And mine hoſte with whom I ſoiourned, being deſirous to ſhew me ſome ſport, ſaid vnto me: Sir, if you will ſee any fiſh taken, goe with me. Then hee led me vnto the foreſaid bridge, carying in his armes with him certaine diue-doppers or water-foules, bound vnto a company of poles, and about euery one of their necks he tied a threed, leaſt they ſhould eat the fiſh as faſt as they tooke them: and he caried 3. great baskets with him alſo: then looſed he the diue-doppers from the poles, which preſently went into the water, & within leſſe then the ſpace of one houre, caught as many fiſhes as filled the 3. baskets: which

A great riuer.

Foules catching fiſh.

which being full, mine hoſte vntyed the threeds from about their neckes, and entering the ſecond time into the riuer they fed themſelues with fiſh, and being ſatiſfied they returned and ſuffered themſelues to be bound vnto the ſaide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of thoſe fiſhes, me thought they were exceeding good. Trauailing thence many dayes iourneys, at length I arriued at another city called *Canaſia, which ſignifieth in our language, the city of heauen. Neuer in all my life did I ſee ſo great a citie: for it conteineth in circuit an hundreth miles: neither ſawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughly inhabited: yea, I ſawe many houſes of tenne or twelue ſtories high, one aboue another. It hath mightie large ſuburbs containing more people then the citie it ſelfe. Alſo it hath twelue principall gates: and about the diſtance of eight miles, in the high way vnto euery one of the ſaide gates ſtandeth a city as big by eſtimation as Venice, and Padua. The foreſaid city of Canaſia is ſituated in waters or marſhes, which alwayes ſtand ſtill neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like vnto Venice. In this citie there are mo then 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and paſſed ouer them: and vpon euery of thoſe bridges ſtand certaine watchmen of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the ſaid city, for the great Can the Emperour of Catay. The people of this countrey ſay, that they haue one duetie inioyned vnto them by their lord: for euery fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is fiue papers or pieces of ſilke, which are worth one floren and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelue houſholds are accompted for one fire, and ſo pay tribute but for one fire onely. Al thoſe tributary fires amount vnto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in al; And one Thuman cõſiſteth of 10000. fires. The reſidue of the people of the city are ſome of them Chriſtians, ſome marchants, and ſome traueilers through the countrey: whereupon I marueiled much howe ſuch an infinite number of perſons could inhabite and liue together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and eſpecially of hogſ-fleſh, with other neceſſaries.

* Or Cansai, or Quinzai.

The Italian copy in Ramuſius, hath 11000. bridges.

Of a Monaſtery where many ſtrange beaſtes of diuers kindes doe liue vpon an hill.

IN the foreſaide citie foure of our friers had conuerted a mighty and riche man vnto the faith of Chriſt, at whoſe houſe I continually abode, for ſo long time as I remained in the citie. Who vpon a certaine time ſaide vnto me: Ara, that is to ſay, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie? And I ſaid, yea. Then embarqued we our ſelues, and directed our courſe vnto a certaine great Monaſtery: where being arriued, he called a religious perſon with whom he was acquainted, ſaying vnto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to ſay, this religious Frenchman commeth from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleth to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you muſt ſhew him ſome rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may ſay, this ſtrange ſight or nouelty haue I ſeene in the city of Canaſia. Then the ſaid religious man tooke two great baſkets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me vnto a little walled parke, the doore whereof he vnlocked with his key, and there appeared vnto vs a pleaſant faire greene plot, into the which we entred. In the ſaid greene ſtands a litle mount in forme of a ſteeple, repleniſhed with fragrant herbes, and fine ſhady trees. And while we ſtood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they vſe to ring to dinner or beuoir in cloiſters, at the ſound whereof many creatures of diuers kinds came downe from the mount, ſome like apes, ſome like cats, ſome like monkeys; and ſome hauing faces like men. And while I ſtood beholding of them, they gathered themſelues together about him, to the number of 4200. of thoſe creatures, putting themſelues in good order, before whom he ſet a platter, and gaue them the ſaid fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang vpon his cymbal the ſecond time, and they al returned vnto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures thoſe might be? They are (quoth he) the ſoules of noble men which we do here feed, for the loue of God who gouerneth the world: and as a man was honorable or noble in this life, ſo his ſoule after death, entreth into the body of ſome excellent beaſt or other, but the ſoules of ſimple and ruſticall people do poſſeſſe the bodies of more vile and brutiſh creatures. Then I began to refute that foule error: howbeit my ſpeach did nothing at all preuaile with him: for hee could not be perſwaded that any ſoule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed vnto a certaine citie named Chilenfo, the walls whereof conteined 40. miles in circuit. In this city there are 360. bridges of ſtone, the faireſt that euer I ſaw: and it is wel inhabited, hauing a great nauie belonging thereunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went vnto a certaine riuer called Thalay, which, where it is moſt narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midſt of the land of Pygmæi, whoſe chiefe city is called Cakam, and is one of the goodlieſt cities in the world. Theſe Pigmæans are

Chilenfo.

Thalay.

Cakam.

three of my ſpannes high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and ſilke, then any other nation vnder the ſunne. And coaſting along by the ſaide riuer, I came vnto a certaine citie named Iamzu, in which citie there is one receptacle for the Friers of our order, and there be alſo three Churches of the Neſtorians. This Iamzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fires, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of ſuch beaſtes, foules and fiſhes, as Chriſtians doe vſually liue vpon. The lord of the ſame citie hath in yeerely reuenues for ſalt onely, fiftie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: inſomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth vnto the value of fifteene thouſand florens. Howbeit the ſayd lord fauoureth his people in one reſpect, for ſometimes he forgiueth them freely two hundred Thuman, leaſt there ſhould be any ſcarcitie or dearth among them. There is a cuſtome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about vnto certaine tauernes or cookes houſes appointed for the ſame purpoſe, he ſayth vnto euery particular hoſte, you ſhall haue ſuch, and ſuch of my friendes, whom you muſt intertaine in my name, and ſo much I will beſtowe vpon the banquet. And by that meanes his friends are better feaſted at diuerſe places, then they ſhould haue beene at one. Tenne miles from the ſayde citie, about the head of the foreſayd riuer of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greateſt nauy that I ſaw in the whole world. All their ſhips are as white as ſnow, and they haue banqueting houſes in them, and many other rare things alſo, which no man would beleeue, vnleſſe he had ſeene them with his owne eyes.

Iamzu.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

Trauelling eight dayes iourney farther by diuers territories and cities, at length I came by freſh water vnto a certaine citie named Lencyn, ſtanding vpon the riuer of * Karauoran, which runneth through the midſt of Cataie, and doth great harme in the countrey when it ouerfloweth the bankes, or breaketh foorth of the chanell. From thence paſſing along the riuer Eaſtward, after many dayes trauell, and the ſight of diuers cities, I arriued at a citie called *Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with ſilke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great ſcarcitie of ſilke, fortie pound is ſold for leſſe then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals alſo, as of bread, wine, fleſh, fiſh, with all choiſe and delicate ſpices. Then trauelling on ſtill towards the Eaſt by many cities, I came vnto the noble and renowmed citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being ſituate in the prouince of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neere vnto it within the ſpace of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelue gates, being each of them two miles diſtant from another. Alſo the ſpace lying in the midſt betweene the two foreſayd cities is very well and throughly inhabited, ſo that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compaſſe or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall ſeat, and his Imperiall palace, the walls of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere vnto this his palace are many other palaces and houſes of his nobles which belong vnto his court. Within the precincts of the ſayd palace Imperiall, there is a moſt beautifull mount, ſet and repleniſhed with trees, for which cauſe it is called the Greene mount, hauing a moſt royall and ſumptuous palace ſtanding thereupon, in which, for the moſt part, the great Can is reſident. Vpon the one ſide of the ſayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a moſt ſtately bridge is built, in which lake is great abundance of geeſe, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing vpon the mount there is great ſtore of all birds, and wilde beaſts. And therefore when the great Can will ſolace himſelfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not ſo much as once to ſtep foorth of his palace. Moreouer, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, hauing within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red ſkinnes, which are ſayd to be the moſt coſtly ſkinnes in all the world. In the midſt of the palace ſtandeth a ciſterne of two yards high, which conſiſteth of a precious ſtone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, & at ech corner thereof is the golden image of a ſerpent, as it were, furiouſly ſhaking and caſting foorth his head. This ciſterne alſo hath a kinde of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewiſe by the ſayd ciſterne there is drinke conueyed thorow certeine pipes and conducts, ſuch as vſeth to be drunke in the emperours court, vpon the which alſo there hang many veſſels of golde, wherein, whoſoeuer will may drinke of the ſayd licour. In the foreſayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: and when any Tartar maketh a banquet vnto his lord, if the gueſts chance to clap their hands for ioy and mirth, the ſayd golden peacocks alſo will ſpread abroad their wings, and lift vp their traines, ſeeming as if they danced: and this I ſuppoſe to be done by arte magike or by ſome ſecret engine vnder the ground.

Karamoron.

Sumacoto.

Of the glory and magnificence of the great *Can.*

Moreouer, when the great emperor Can ſitteth in his imperiall throne of eſtate, on his left hand ſitteth his queene or empreſſe, and vpon another inferior ſeate there ſit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his ſpouſe is abſent; but in the loweſt place of all, there ſit all the ladies of his kinred. All the maried women weare vpon their heads a kind of ornament in ſhape like vnto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the ſayd foote is adorned with cranes feathers, and is all ouer thicke ſet with great and orient pearles. Upon the right hand of the great Can ſitteth his firſt begotten ſonne and heire apparant vnto his empire, and vnder him ſit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee alſo foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor ſpeaketh. In whoſe preſence likewiſe ſtand his Barons and diuers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare ſpeake ſo much as one word, vnleſſe they haue obtained licence of the emperor ſo to doe, except his ieſters and ſtage-players, who are appointed of purpoſe to ſolace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleaſure of their emperor, and as hee enioineth them by lawe. About the palace gate ſtand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading vpon the threſhold of the ſayd gate. When it pleaſeth the great Can to ſolemnize a feaſt, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carying wreathes & litle crownes vpon their heads, and giuing attendance vpon their lord, and euery one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious ſtones, which is worth ten thouſand Florens. His court is kept in very good order, by gouernours of tens, gouernours of hundreds, and gouernours of thouſands, inſomuch that euery one in his place performeth his dutie committed vnto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there preſent in perſon for the ſpace of three yeeres, and was often at the ſayd banquets; for we friers Minorites haue a place of abode appointed out for vs in the emperors court, and are enioined to goe and to beſtow our bleſſing vpon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of perſons pertaining to the emperors court: And they anſwered mee, that of ſtage-players, muſicians, and ſuch like, there were eighteene Thuman at the leaſt, and that the keepers of dogs, beaſts and foules were fifteene Thuman, and the phyſicians for the emperours body, were foure hundred; the Chriſtians alſo were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foreſayd number of perſons had all kind of neceſſaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreouer, when he will make his progreſſe from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horſemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes iourney before, and another to come a dayes iourney after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the maner of a croſſe, he himſelfe being in the midſt, and ſo euery particular troupe haue their daily iourneys limited vnto them, to the ende they may prouide ſufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himſelfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, vpon which a maieſticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adorned with gold and great pearles, and precious ſtones, and foure elephants brauely furniſhed doe drawe the ſayd chariot, before which elephants foure great horſes richly trapped and couered doe leade the way. Hard by the chariot on both ſides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all perſons from approching neere vnto their emperour. Upon the chariot alſo two milke-white Ier-falcons doe ſit, and ſeeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and ſo they take it, and after this maner doth hee ſolace himſelfe as hee rideth. Moreouer, no man dare come within a ſtones caſt of the chariot, but ſuch as are appointed. The number of his owne followers, of his wiues attendants, and of the traine of his firſt begotten ſonne and heire apparant, would ſeeme incredible vnto any man, vnleſſe hee had ſeene it with his owne eyes. The foreſayd great Can hath diuided his Empire into twelue partes or Prouinces, and one of the ſayd prouinces hath two thouſand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that vnto whatſoeuer part thereof he intendeth his iourney, he hath ſpace enough for ſix moneths continual progreſſe, except his Iſlands which are at the leaſt 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hoſpitals appointed for trauailers throughout the whole empire.

The foreſayd Emperour (to the end that trauellers may haue all things neceſſary throughout his whole empire) hath cauſed certaine Innes to be prouided in ſundry places vpon the high wayes, where all things pertaining vnto victuals are in a continuall readineſſe. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre abſent from that part, his ambaſſadors vpon horſes or dromedaries ride poſt vnto him, and when themſelues and their beaſts are weary, they blow their horne, at the noiſe whereof, the next Inne likewiſe prouideth a horſe and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary, and runneth vnto another Inne: and ſo by diuers Innes, and diuers poſtes, the report, which ordinarily could ſkarce come in 30. dayes, is in one naturall day brought vnto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but ſtraightway he hath intelligence thereof. Moreouer, when ỹ great Can himſelfe will go on hunting, he vſeth this cuſtome. Some twenty dayes iourney from the citie of Kambalech there is a forreſt containing ſixe dayes iourney in circuit, in which forreſt there are ſo many kinds of beaſts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Vnto this forreſt, at the ende of euery third or fourth yeere, himſelfe with his whole traine reſorteth, and they all of them together enuiron the ſayd forreſt, ſending dogs into the ſame, which by hunting do bring foorth the beaſts: namely, lions and ſtags, and other creatures, vnto a moſt beautifull plaine in the midſt of the forreſt, becauſe all the beaſts of the forreſt doe tremble, eſpecially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himſelfe, being caried vpon three elephants, and ſhooteth fiue arrowes into the whole herd of beaſts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the reſt of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner diſcharge their arrowes alſo, and euery mans arrow hath a ſundry marke. Then they all goe vnto the beaſts which are ſlaine (ſuffering the liuing beaſts to returne into the wood that they may haue more ſport with them another time) and euery man enioyeth that beaſt as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow ſticking.

Of the foure feaſts which the great *Can* ſolemnizeth euery yeere in his Court.

Foure great feaſts in a yeere doeth the emperor Can celebrate: namely, the feaſt of his birth, the feaſt of his circumciſion, the feaſt of his coronation, and the feaſt of his mariage. And vnto theſe feaſts he inuiteth all his Barons, his ſtage-players, and all ſuch as are of his kinred. Then the great Can ſitting in his throne, all his Barons preſent themſelues before him, with wreaths and crownes vpon their heads, being diuerſly attired, for ſome of them are in greene, namely, the principall: the ſecond are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Iuorie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they ſtand vpon their feete keeping ſilence. About them ſtand the ſtage-players or muſicians with their inſtruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philoſophers or Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend vpon points or characters: and when the point and hower which the ſayd Philoſophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, ſaying, Incline or bowe your ſelues before your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat vpon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Ariſe all, and immediately they all ariſe. Likewiſe the Philoſophers attend vpon a point or character the ſecond time, and when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out amaine; Put your fingers in your eares: and foorthwith againe he ſaieth; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumſtances alſo doe they performe, all which they ſay haue ſome certaine ſignification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor giue any heed vnto them, becauſe they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the muſicians hower is come, then the Philoſophers ſay, Solemnize a feaſt vnto your Lord: with that all of them ſound their inſtruments, making a great and a melodious noyſe. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whiſt. Then come the women-muſicians and ſing ſweetly before the Emperour, which muſike was more delightfull vnto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeiſance vnto the great Can. Then the iuglers cauſe golden cups full of wine to flie vp and downe in the ayre, and to apply themſelues vnto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. Theſe and many other ſtrange things I ſawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleeue vnleſſe he had ſeen them with his owne eies, and therefore I omit to ſpeake of them. I was informed alſo by certaine credible perſons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the ſayd Can, wherein ſtand the mountains called Kapſei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there growe great Gourds or Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beaſt like vnto a yong lambe, euen as I my ſelfe haue heard reported, that there ſtand certaine trees vpon the ſhore of the Iriſh ſea, bearing fruit like vnto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is moſt true.

A lambe in a gourd.

Of diuers prouinces and cities.

And after three yeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, trauailing fiftie dayes iourney towards the Weſt. And at length I came vnto the empire of Pretegoani, whoſe principall

His returne Weſtward.

Caſan.

Or, Thebet.

The ſame ſtory concerning the very ſame people is in William de Rubricis.

city is Koſan, which hath many other cities vnder it. From thence paſſing many dayes trauell, I came vnto a prouince called Caſan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely prouinces vnder the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, inſomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my ſelfe ſaw in diuers of them. The breadth of the ſayd prouince is fifty dayes iourney, & the length aboue ſixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and eſpecially of cheſnuts, and it is one of the twelue prouinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came vnto a certaine kingdome called Tebek, which is in ſubiection vnto the great Can alſo, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread & wine then in any other part of the world beſides. The people of the ſayd countrey do, for the moſt part, inhabit in tents made of blacke fels. Their principall city is inuironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of moſt white and blacke ſtones, which are diſpoſed checkerwiſe one by another, and curiouſly compiled together: likewiſe all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paued. In the ſayd countrey none dare ſhed the bloud of a man, or of any beaſt, for the reuerence of a certaine idole. In the foreſayd city their Abaſſi, that is to ſay, their Pope is reſident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (vpon whom he beſtoweth and diſtributeth gifts after his maner) euen as our pope of Rome accounts himſelfe to be the head of all Chriſtians. The women of this countrey weare aboue an hundreth tricks and trifles about them, and they haue two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tuſhes of a boare. When any mans father deceaſeth among them, his ſonne aſſembleth together all the prieſts and muſicians that he can get, ſaying that he is determined to honour his father: then cauſeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinſfolks, friends, and neighbours accompanying him in the ſayd action) where the prieſts with great ſolemnity cut off the fathers head, giuing it vnto his ſonne, which being done, they diuide the whole body into morſels, and ſo leaue it behinde them, returning home with prayers in the company of the ſayd ſonne. So ſoone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accuſtomed to ſuch bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and cary away all the ſayd morſels of fleſh: and from thenceforth a fame is ſpread abroad, that the ſayd party deceaſed was holy, becauſe the angels of God carried him into paradiſe. And this is the greateſt and higheſt honour, that the ſonne can deuiſe to performe vnto his deceaſed father. Then the ſayd ſonne taketh his fathers head, ſeething it and eating the fleſh thereof, but of the ſkull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himſelfe with all his family and kinred do drinke with great ſolemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and deuoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the ſayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, becauſe men neither can nor will beleeue, except they ſhould haue the ſight of them.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nouriſhed by fiftie virgins.

Long nailes.

Meliſtorte.

While I was in the prouince of Mancy, I paſſed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damoſels continually attending vpon him, feeding him euery meale, as a bird feeds her yoong ones. Alſo he hath ſundry kindes of meat ſerued in at his table, and three diſhes of ech kinde: and when the ſayd virgins feed him, they ſing moſt ſweetly. This man hath in yeerely reuenues thirty thuman of tagars of riſe, euery of which thuman yeeldeth tenne thouſand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an aſſe. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pauement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of ſiluer. Neere vnto the wall of the ſayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and ſiluer, whereupon ſtand turrets and ſteeples and other delectable things for the ſolace and recreation of the foreſayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure ſuch men in the ſayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men of that countrey to haue long nailes vpon their fingers, and eſpecially vpon their thumbes, which nailes they may folde about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to haue ſmall and ſlender feet; and therefore the mothers when their daughters are yoong, do binde vp their feet, that they may not grow great. Trauelling on further towards the South, I arriued at a certaine countrey called Meliſtorte, which is a very pleaſant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certeine aged man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to incloſe the ſayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the faireſt and moſt chryſtall fountaines in the whole world: and about the ſayd fountaines there were moſt beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly horſes alſo, and in a word, euery thing that could be deuiſed for bodily ſolace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the ſame place by the name of Paradiſe.

The ſayd olde Senex, when he ſaw any proper and valiant yoong man, he would admit him into his paradiſe. Moreouer by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke to flow abundantly.

This Senex, when he hath a minde to reuenge himſelfe or to ſlay any king or baron, commandeth him that is gouernor of the ſayd paradiſe, to bring thereunto ſome of the acquaintance of the ſayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleaſure therein, and then to giue him a certaine potion being of force to caſt him into ſuch a ſlumber as ſhould make him quite voide of all ſenſe, and ſo being in a profound ſleepe to conuey him out of his paradiſe: who being awaked, & ſeeing himſelfe thruſt out of the paradiſe would become ſo ſorowfull, that he could not in the world deuiſe what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he go vnto the foreſaid old man, beſeeching him that he might be admitted againe into his paradiſe: who ſaith vnto him, You cannot be admitted thither, vnleſſe you will ſlay ſuch or ſuch a man for my ſake, and if you will giue the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I wil place you againe in paradiſe, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the ſame in execution, indeuouring to murther all thoſe againſt whom the ſayd olde man had conceiued any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the eaſt ſtood in awe of the ſayd olde man, and gaue vnto him great tribute.

Of the death of *Senex de monte.*

And when the Tartars had ſubdued a great part of the world, they came vnto the ſayd olde man, and tooke from him the cuſtody of his paradiſe: who being incenſed thereat, ſent abroad diuers deſperate and reſolute perſons out of his forenamed paradiſe, and cauſed many of the Tartarian nobles to be ſlaine. The Tartars ſeeing this, went and beſieged the city wherein the ſaid olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a moſt cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place haue this ſpeciall gift and prerogatiue: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Chriſt Ieſu, and in the vertue of his precious blood, which he ſhedde vpon the croſſe for the ſaluation of mankinde, they doe caſt foorth deuils out of them that are poſſeſſed. And becauſe there are many poſſeſſed men in thoſe parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes iourney vnto the ſayd friers, who being diſpoſſeſſed of the vncleane ſpirits, do preſently beleeue in Chriſt who deliuered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptiſed in his name, and alſo deliuering immediatly vnto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the ſayd friers kindle a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people reſort, that they may ſee the falſe gods of their neighbors burnt) and caſt the ſayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the firſt thoſe idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers ſprinkled the ſayd fire with holy water, caſting the idols into it the ſecond time, and with that the deuils fled in the likeneſſe of blacke ſmoake, and the idols ſtill remained till they were conſumed vnto aſhes. Afterward, this noiſe & outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and ſee how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by theſe meanes the friers doe baptiſe great multitudes, who preſently reuolt againe vnto their idols: inſomuch that the ſayd friers muſt eftſoones, as it were, vnderprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I ſaw there: for paſſing by a certaine valley, which is ſituate beſide a pleaſant riuer, I ſaw many dead bodies, and in the ſayd valley alſo I heard diuers ſweet ſounds and harmonies of muſike, eſpecially the noiſe of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley conteineth in length ſeuen or eight miles at the leaſt, into the which whoſoeuer entreth, dieth preſently, and can by no meanes paſſe aliue thorow the middeſt thereof: for which cauſe all the inhabitants thereabout decline vnto the one ſide. Moreouer, I was tempted to go in, and to ſee what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my ſelfe to God in the name of Ieſu, I entred, and ſaw ſuch ſwarmes of dead bodies there, as no man would beleeue vnleſſe he were an eye witneſſe thereof. At the one ſide of the foreſayd valley vpon a certaine ſtone, I ſaw the viſage of a man, which beheld me with ſuch a terrible aſpect, that I thought verily I ſhould haue died in the ſame place. But alwayes this ſentence, the word became fleſh, and dwelt amongſt vs, I ceaſed not to pronounce, ſigning my ſelfe with the ſigne of the croſſe, and neerer then ſeuen or eight paſes I durſt not approch vnto the ſaid head: but I departed & fled vnto another place in the ſayd valley, aſcending vp into a little ſandy mountaine, where looking round about, I ſaw nothing but the ſayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculouſly ſounding and playing by themſelues without the helpe of muſicians. And being vpon the toppe of the mountaine, I found ſiluer there like the ſcales of fiſhes in great abundance: and I gathered ſome part thereof into my boſome to ſhew for a wonder, but my conſcience rebuking me, I caſt it vpon the earth, reſeruing no whit at all vnto my ſelfe, and ſo, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley aliue, they reuerenced me much, ſaying that I was baptiſed and holy, and that the foreſayd bodies were men ſubiect vnto the deuils infernall, who vſed to play vpon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and ſo murther them. Thus much concerning thoſe things which I beheld moſt certainely with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus haue heere written: many ſtrange things alſo I haue of purpoſe omitted, becauſe men will not beleeue them vnleſſe they ſhould ſee them.

Of the honour and reuerence done vnto the great *Can*.

I Will report one thing more, which I ſaw, concerning the great Can. It is an vſuall cuſtome in thoſe parts, that when the forſayd Can trauelleth thorow any countrey, his ſubiects kindle fires before their doores, caſting ſpices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord paſſing by may ſmell the ſweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come foorth to meet him. And vpon a certaine time when he was comming towardes Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being publiſhed, a biſhop of ours with certaine of our minorite friers and my ſelfe, went two dayes iourney to meet him: and being come nigh vnto him, we put a croſſe vpon wood, I my ſelfe hauing a cenſer in my hand, and began to ſing with a loud voice: Veni creator ſpiritus. And as we were ſinging on this wiſe, he cauſed vs to be called, commanding vs to come vnto him: notwithſtanding (as it is aboue mentioned) that no man dare approch within a ſtones caſt of his chariot, vnleſſe he be called, but ſuch onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came neere vnto him, he vailed his hat or bonet being of an ineſtimable price, doing reuerence vnto the croſſe. And immediatly I put incenſe into the cenſer, and our biſhop taking the cenſer perfumed him, and gaue him his benediction. Moreouer, they that come before the ſayd Can do alwayes bring ſome oblation to preſent vnto him, obſeruing the ancient law: Thou ſhalt not appeare in my preſence with an empty hand. And for that cauſe we carried apples with vs, and offered them in a platter with reuerence vnto him: and taking out two of them he did eat ſome part of one. And then he ſignified vnto vs, that we ſhould go apart, leaſt the horſes comming on might in ought offend vs. With that we departed from him, and turned aſide, going vnto certaine of his barons, which had bene conuerted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the ſame time in his army: and we offered vnto them of the foreſayd apples, who receiued them at our hands with great ioy, ſeeming vnto vs to be as glad, as if we had giuen them ſome great gift.

All the premiſſes abouewritten frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing euen as the foreſayd frier Odoricus vttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330, in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent ſtile, but euen as Odoricus himſelfe rehearſed them, to the end that men might the more eaſily vnderſtand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minorites, do teſtifie and beare witneſſe vnto the reuerend father Guidotus miniſter of the prouince of S. Anthony, in the marqueſate of Treuiſo (being by him required vpon mine obedience ſo to doe) that all the premiſſes aboue written, either I ſaw with mine owne eyes, or heard the ſame reported by credible and ſubſtantiall perſons. The common report alſo of the countreyes where I was, teſtifieth thoſe things, which I ſaw, to be true. Many other things I haue omitted, becauſe I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpoſe with my ſelfe to trauell countreyes or lands, in which action I diſpoſe my ſelfe to die or to liue, as it ſhall pleaſe my God.

Of the death of frier *Odoricus*.

IN the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foreſayd frier Odoricus preparing himſelfe for the performance of his intended iourney, that his trauell and labour might be to greater purpoſe, he determined to preſent himſelfe vnto pope Iohn the two and twentieth, whoſe benediction and obedience being receiued, he, with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might conuey himſelfe vnto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was trauelling towards the pope, and not farre diſtant from the city of Piſa, there meets him by the way a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, ſaluting him by name, and ſaying: All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him: he anſwered: Whileſt you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpoſe alſo: but ſee that you returne immediatly vnto the couent from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you ſhall depart out of this preſent world. Wherefore being aſtoniſhed and amazed at theſe wordes (eſpecially the olde man vaniſhing out of his ſight, preſently after he had ſpoken them) he determined to returne. And ſo he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazedneſſe nor infirmity of body. And being in his couent at Vdene in the prouince of Padua, the tenth day after the foreſayd viſion, hauing receiued the Communion, and preparing himſelfe vnto God, yea, being ſtrong and ſound of body, hee happily reſted in the Lord: whoſe ſacred departure was ſignified vnto the Pope aforeſaid, vnder the hand of the publique notary in theſe words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Ianuarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minorite deceaſed in Chriſt, at whoſe prayers God ſhewed many and ſundry miracles, which I Guetelus publique notarie of Vtina, ſonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gaſtaldion, and one of the Councell of Vtina, haue written as faithfully as I could, and haue deliuered a copie thereof vnto the Friers minorites: howbeit not of all, becauſe they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of *Matthew Gourney*, a moſt valiant Engliſh Knight, againſt the *Moores* of *Algier* in *Barbarie* and *Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.*

NEc tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke vnder Hamden in comitatu Somerſetenſi appellato, ſepultum eſſe, virum bellicoſiſſimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui *96.* ætatis anno diem obiuit, cum (vt ex inſcriptione videre licuit) obſidioni d'Algizer contra Saracenos, prælijs Benamazin, Scluſenſi, Creſſiaco, Ingenos, Pictauienſi, & Nazarano in Hiſpania dimicaſſet.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IT is by no meanes to be paſſed ouer in ſilence, that Matthew Gourney, being a moſt valiant warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerſet, commonly called Stoke vnder Hamden: who deceaſed in the *96.* yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifeſt by the inſcription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaued himſelfe at the ſiege of Algizer againſt the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Creſſie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

In the reigne of Edward the third.

The comming of *Lyon* King of *Armenia* into *England*, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of *Richard* the ſecond, in truſt to finde ſome meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of *England* and the French king. *Iohn Froyſſart lib. 3. cap. 56.*

THus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Conſtable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had aſſigned him by the king, ſixe thouſande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his eſtate, tooke vpon him for a good intent to goe into England to ſpeake with the king there and his Councell, to ſee if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And ſo he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beſide Saint Denice, alonely with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a ſhippe, and ſo ſayled foorth till he came to Douer; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and was then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thouſand Archers, who lay there to keepe that paſſage, for the bruite ran, that the Frenchmen ſhould lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arriued at Douer, he had there good cheere, becauſe he was a ſtranger, and ſo he came to the kings Vncles there, who ſweetly receiued him, and at a time conuenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king anſwered and ſayd, that in truſt of goodneſſe he was come thither to ſee the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace betweene England and France, for he ſawe that he thought the warre was not meete: for he ſayd, by reaſon of warre betweene theſe two Realmes which hath indured ſo long, the Saracens, Iewes & Turkes are waxed prowde, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occaſion thereof I haue loſt my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe without there were firme peace in all Chriſtendome: & I would gladly ſhew the matter that toucheth all Chriſtendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I haue done to the French king. Then the kings Vncles demaunded of him if the French king ſent him thither or no; he anſwered and ſayd, no: there is no man that ſent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to ſee if the king of England & his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he anſwered I beleeue he be at Sluce, I ſawe not him ſithence I tooke my leaue of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge ſo to doe, and Sir, if yee be conueyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counſell, and the French king in the meane ſeaſon enter with his puiſſance into England; yee may happe thereby to receiue great blame, and your perſon to be in great ieoperdy with them of the Countrey. Then the King anſwered and ſaid, I am in ſuretie of the French king, for I haue ſent to him, deſiring him till I returne againe, not to remoue from Sluce, and I repute him ſo noble and ſo well aduiſed, that he will graunt my deſire, and that hee will not enter into the ſea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, ſirs, I pray you in the inſtance of loue and peace, to conuey me to ſpeake with the King, for I deſire greatly to ſee him: or elſe yee that be his Vncles, if ye haue authoritie, to giue me anſwere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham ſayd, ſyr king of Armenia, we be ordayned here to keepe and defend this paſſage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counſell, and wee haue no charge to meddle any further with the buſineſſe of the Realme, without we be otherwiſe commanded by the King. But ſith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but ſir, as for any firme anſwere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we ſhall conuey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and ſaid: I deſire nothing elſe but to ſee the king and to ſpeake with him.

How the King of *Armenia* returned out of *England*, and of the anſwere that was made to him.

When the king of Armenia was refreſhed at Douer a day, and had ſpoken with the kings Vncles at good leaſure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: ſo long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, becauſe he was a ſtranger, and he had good cheare made him, and ſo was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were ſore fortefying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous ſeaſon: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings preſence, he made his ſalutation and then beganne his proceſſe to the ſtates, how he was come out of France principally to ſee the king of England whõ he had neuer ſeene before, & ſaid, how he was right ioyous to be in his preſence, truſting that ſome goodneſſe might come thereby. And there he ſhewed by his wordes, that to withſtande the great peſtilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne good will to doe good therein if he might, not ſent from the French king, willing to ſet ſome accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleaſant wordes the king of Armenia ſpake to the king of England, and to his Counſell, then he was ſhortly anſwered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soueraigne lord, and all we are glad to ſee you here, but ſir, we ſay that the king hath not here all his Councell, but ſhortly they ſhall be here, and then ye ſhall be anſwered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and ſo returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counſelled (and I thinke he had ſent to his Vncles to know their intents, but they were not preſent at the anſwere giuing) to goe to the pallace at Weſtminſter and his Councell with him, ſuch as were about him, and to ſend for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the preſence of the king of England and his Councell, the king ſate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearſed againe his requeſtes that he made, and alſo ſhewed wiſely how all Chriſtendome was ſore decayed and feebliſhed by occaſion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended nothing elſe, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Conſtantinople leeſeth, and is like to leeſe; for before this warre the Knightes and Squires were wont to aduenture themſelues. And alſo the king of Armenia ſhewed that by occaſion of this warre he had loſt his Realme of Armenia, therefore he deſired for Gods ſake that there might be ſome treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To theſe wordes anſwered the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, for he had charge ſo to doe; And he ſayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor neuer was ſeene betweene two ſuch enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the king my Soueraigne lorde ſhould be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puiſſant army, wherefore ſir, we ſay to you, that if it pleaſe you, ye may returne to the French king, and cauſe him and all his puiſſance to returne backe into their owne countreys. And when euery man be at home, then if it pleaſe you ye may returne againe hither, and then we ſhall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the anſwere the king of Armenia could get there, and ſo he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee deuiſed, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and ſiluer, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leaue and returned vnto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two dayes at Douer, and there he tooke his leaue of ſuch lords as were there, and ſo tooke the ſea in a paſſager, and arriued at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he ſpake with the French king and with his Vncles, and ſhewed them how he had bene in England, and what anſwere he had: the French king and his Vncles tooke no regard of his ſaying, but ſent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as ſoone as they might haue winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Conſtable came to them: The winde was ſore contrary to them, for therewith they could neuer enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

The voyage of *Henrie* Earle of *Derbie*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and laſtly *Henry* the fourth king of *England*, to *Tunis* in *Barbarie*, with an army of Engliſhmen written by *Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.*

FRranci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac ſimul Genuenſium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram inſulaſque Italiæ latrocinijs infeſtas reddebant, ſuſcipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbienſem cum electa Anglicæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Angliq́ue viribus & animis conſociatis in Africã traijciunt, qui vbi littus attigere, eatenùs à Barbaris deſcẽſione prohibiti ſunt, quoad Anglorum ſagittariorum virtute factum eſt, vt aditus pateret: in terram egreſſi recta Tunetam vrbem regiam petunt, ac obſident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam noſtris dare placuit, vt ſoluta certa pecuniæ ſumma ab omni deinceps Italiæ, Galliæq́ue ora manus abſtinerent. Ita peractis rebus poſt paucos menſes, quàm eo itum erat, domum repediatum eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe French in the meane ſeaſon hauing gotten ſome leaſure by meanes of their truce, and being ſollicited and vrged by the intreaties of the Genuois, vndertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and ſpoyled all the coaſts of Italy, and of the Ilandes adiacent. Likewiſe Richard the ſecond, king of England, being ſued vnto for ayde, ſent Henry the Earle of Derbie with a choice armie of Engliſh ſouldiers vnto the ſame warfare. Wherefore the Engliſh and French, with forces and mindes vnited, ſayled ouer into Africa, who when they approched vnto the ſhore were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, vntill ſuch time as they had paſſage made them by the valour of the Engliſh archers. Thus hauing landed their forces, they foorthwith marched vnto the royall citie of Tunis, and beſieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being diſmayed, ſent Amballadours vnto our Chriſtian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted vnto them, vpon condition that they ſhould pay a certaine ſumme of money, and that they ſhould from thencefoorth abſtaine from piracies vpon all the coaſts of Italy and France. And ſo hauing diſpatched their buſineſſe, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

This Hiſtorie is ſomewhat otherwiſe recorded by *Froyſard* and *Holenſhed* in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the ſecond, the Chriſtians tooke in hand a iourney againſt the Saracens of Barbarie through ſute of the Genouois, ſo that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went Iohn de Beaufort baſtarde ſonne to the Duke of Lancaſter (as Froyſard hath noted) alſo Sir Iohn Ruſſell, Sir Iohn Butler, Sir Iohn Harecourt and others. They ſet forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and other veſſels of the Genouois were ready to paſſe them ouer into Barbarie. And ſo about midſomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, ſailed forth to the coaſt of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they landed: at which inſtant the Engliſh archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) ſtood all the company in good ſtead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the ſhore, which came downe to reſiſt their landing. The Chronicles of Genoa. After they had got to land, they inuironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a ſtrong ſiege: but at length, conſtrained with the intemperancy of the ſcalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army ſundry diſeaſes, they fell to a compoſition vpon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and ſo 61 dayes after their arriuall there they tooke the ſeas againe, and returned home, as in the hiſtories of France and Genoa is likewiſe expreſſed. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may ſeeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaſter earle of Derby ſhould be generall of the Engliſh men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in diuers parts of *Italie* of *Iohn Hawkwood* Engliſh man in the reigne of *Richard* the ſecond, briefly recorded by M. *Camden. pag. 339.*

AD alteram ripam fluuij Colne oppoſitus eſt Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, vt accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem ſuſpexerunt, vt Senatus Florentinus propter inſignia merita equeſtri ſtatua & tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideique teſtimonium ornauit. Res eius geſtas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Iouius in elogijs celebrat: ſat mihi ſit Iulij Feroldi tetraſtichon adijcere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italica, Italico præſidiúmq; ſolo,
Vt tumuli quondam Florentia, ſic ſimulachri
Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Hiſtorie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twiſe, to wit, in the common wealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord *Iohn* of *Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, brother by the mothers ſide to King *Richard* the ſecond, to *Ieruſalem* and Saint *Katherins* mount.

1394. Froyſſart. THe Lord Iohn of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Ieruſalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purpoſed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he paſſed through France (where he had great cheere of the king, and of his brother and vncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke ſhould haue battell together: therefore he thought ſurely to be at that iourney.

The voiage of *Thomas* lord *Moubray* duke of *Norfolke* to *Ieruſalem*, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by *Holinſhed, pag. 1233.*

THomas lord Moubray, ſecond ſonne of Elizabeth Segraue and Iohn lord Moubray her huſband, was aduanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of yͤ reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treaſon, and caried to the caſtle of Windſore, where he was ſtrongly & ſafely garded, hauing a time of combate granted to determine the cauſe betweene the two dukes, the 16. day of September, in the 22. of the ſayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was ſo ordred, that this duke of Norfolke was baniſhed for euer: whereupon taking his iourney to Ieruſalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the ſaid citie of Ieruſalem, in the firſt yeere of king Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

The comming of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* into *England*, to deſire the aide of *Henry* the 4. againſt the Turkes, 1400.

Thomas Walſingham. SVb eodem tempore Imperator Conſtantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, poſtulaturus ſubſidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die ſancti Thomæ Apoſtoli, ſuſcepitque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxitq; Londonarias, & per multos dies exhibuit glorioſè, pro expenſis hoſpitij ſui ſoluens, & eum reſpiciens tanto faſtigio donatiuis. Et paulò poſt: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator lætior receſſit ab Anglis, honoratus à rege donarijs precioſis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ABout the ſame time the emperour of Conſtantinople came into England, to ſeeke ayde againſt the Turkes: whom ỷ king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall vpon Blackeheath vpon the day of ſaint Thomas the Apoſtle, and receiued him as beſeemed ſo great a prince, and brought him to London, and royally entertained him for a long ſeaſon, defraying the charges of his diet, and giuing him many honourable preſents. And a litle afterward: Vpon the hearing of theſe newes, the emperour departed with great ioy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the biſhop of *VVincheſter* to *Ieruſalem*, in the ſixt yeere of the reigne of *Henry* the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, *1417. Thomas Walſing.*

VLtimo die menſis Octobris, epiſcopus Wintonienſis acceſſit ad concilium Conſtancienſe, peregrinaturus Hieroſolymam poſt electionē ſummi pontificis celebratam, vbi tantum valuit eius facunda perſuaſio, vt & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem ſummi pontificis ſe ocyus præpararent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe laſt day of October the biſhop of Wincheſter came to the Councell of Conſtance, which after the chuſing of the Pope determined to take his iourney to Ieruſalem: where his eloquent perſwaſion ſo much preuailed, that he both perſwaded my lords the Cardinals to vnity and concord, and alſo moued them to proceed more ſpeedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King *Henrie* the fourth to the *Holy land* againſt the infidels in the yere 1413, being the laſt yere of his reigne: wherein he was preuented by death: written by *Walſingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile,* and *Holenſhed.*

IN this foureteenth and laſt yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ſhips and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things neceſſary to be prouided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recouer the city of Ieruſalem from the infidels: for it grieued him to conſider the great malice of Chriſtian princes, that were bent vpon a miſchieuous purpoſe to deſtroy one another, to the perill of their owne ſoules, rather then to make warre againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian faith, as in conſcience, it ſeemed to him, they were bound. We finde, ſayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his laſt ſickneſſe, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards ſhrine, there as it were, to take his leaue, and ſo to proceede foorth on his iourney. He was ſo ſuddenly and grieuouſly taken, that ſuch as were about him feared leaſt he would haue died preſently: wherefore to relieue him, if it were poſſible, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and vſed all remedies to reuiue him. At length he recouered his ſpeech, and perceiuing himſelfe in a ſtrange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto anſwere was made, that it was called Ieruſalem. Then ſayde the king, Laudes be giuen to the father of heauen: for now I knowe that I ſhall die here in this chamber, according to the prophecie of mee declared, that I ſhould depart this life in Ieruſalem.

Order taken for building of ſhips and gallies.

Of this intended voyage *Polydore Virgile* writeth in manner following.

POſt hæc Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere eſſe antiquius, quàm ad officium iuſtitiæ, quæ ad hominum vtilitatem pertinet, omne ſuum ſtudium conferre, protinus omiſſo ciuili bello, quo pudebat videre Chriſtianos omni tempore turpiter occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hoſtes communes ſumendo, de Hieroſolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura deſtinabat, claſſemque iam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditanti caſus mortem attulit; ſubito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina ſubleuari potuit. Mortuus eſt apud Weſtmonaſterium, annum agens quadrageſimum ſextum, qui fuit annus ſalutis humanæ 1413.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Afterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly eſteemed by any man, then to doe the vtmoſt of his indeuour for the performance of iuſtice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abandoning ciuill warre (wherewith he was aſhamed to ſee, how Chriſtians at all times were diſhonourably buſied) entred into a more deepe conſideration of well gouerning his Realme of England, of waging warre againſt the common enemie, and of recouering, in proceſſe of time, the citie of Ieruſalem, yea, and was prouiding a nauie for the ſame purpoſe, whereas in the very midſt of this his heroicall action and enterpriſe, he was ſurpriſed with death: for falling into a ſudden diſeaſe, he could not be cured by any kinde of phiſicke. He deceaſed at Weſtminſter in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

A briefe relation of the ſiege and taking of the Citie of *Rhodes*, by *Sultan Soliman* the great Turke, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh at the motion of the Reuerend Lord *Thomas Dockwray*, great Prior of the order of *Ieruſalem in England*, in the yeere, 1524.

Willing faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Hiſtoriall, the great ſiege, cruell oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowmed citie of Rhodes, the key of Chriſtendome, the hope of many poore Chriſtian men, withholden in Turkie to ſaue and keepe them in their faith: the reſt and yeerely ſolace of noble pilgrimes of the holy ſepulchre of Ieſu Chriſt and other holy places: the refuge and refreſhing of all Chriſtian people: hauing courſe of marchandiſe in the parties of Leuant, I promiſe to all eſtates that ſhall ſee this preſent booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any perſon, nor preferred it for fauour. And firſt I ſhall ſhewe the occaſions that mooued this cruell bloodſhedder, enemie of our holy Chriſtian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoſte by ſea and by lande, to beſiege and aſſayle the ſpace of ſixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, The yeere of the incarnation of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, 1522.

The occaſions why the great Turke came to beſiege the Citie of *Rhodes*.

The firſt and principall cauſe was that he did conſider and ſawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Leuant that warred againſt him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing the continuall complaintes of his ſubiectes aſwell of Syria, as of Turkie, for the damages and priſes dayly done of their bodies and goods by Chriſtian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And alſo of the ſhippes and galleis of the religion, he tooke concluſion in himſelfe, that if he might put the ſayde Towne in his power and ſubiection, that then he ſhould be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, and that his ſubiects ſhould complaine no more to him.

The ſecond, that he might followe the doings of his noble predeceſſours, and ſhewe himſelfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterpriſe by him left the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all readineſſe his armie to the number of three hundreth ſayles purpoſing for to ſend them againſt Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his hoſt, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was ſurpriſed and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as ſome Turkes and falſe chriſtian men that were at this ſiege haue told me) did charge by his teſtament, or cauſed to charge his ſonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee ſhould make his two firſt enterpriſes, the one againſt Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other againſt Rhodes, for to get him honour, and to ſet his Countries

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and ſubiectes in reſt and ſuretie. The which fatherly motion eaſilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the ſayde Solyman his ſonne, the which ſoone after the death of his father put in effect the firſt enterpriſe, and raiſed an huge hoſte both by water and by land, and went himſelfe in perſon againſt Bellegrado, a right ſtrong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had beſieged it the ſpace of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by compoſition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one. The ſayd Solyman hauing this victory, being ſwollen and raiſed in pride and vaineglory, turned his heart agaynſt Rhodes. Neuertheleſſe, he not ignorant of the ſtrength of it, and conſidering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he ſhould be well receiued as his predeceſſours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furniſh his enterpriſe. For his capitaines and Baſhas turned him from it as much as they might by many reaſons, they knowing the force of it, ſaue onely Muſtofa Baſha his brother in lawe, the which counſelled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purpoſed entirely to haue it by treaſon or by force. And alſo for the ſame cauſe and purpoſe, his father in his dayes had ſent a Iewe phyſician into Rhodes as a ſpie, to haue the better knowledge of it: the ſayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherfore he ſent him worde that he ſhould abide there ſtill for the ſame cauſe. And gaue in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to ſend vnto the ſayd Iewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the ſame Iewe wrote to him of Sio, vnder priuie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to giue knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treaſon, the ſayde Iewe made himſelfe to bee baptiſed. And to bee the more named to be expert in Phyſike, he did ſome faire cures to ſuch as were diſeaſed, whereby he began to bee well truſted, and came in fauour with many ſubſtantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee aduertiſed the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auuergne, certifying him that if hee came haſtely with his hoſte, hee might eaſilie and at vnawares ſurpriſe the towne in ſuch eſtate as it was at that time. Many other aduertiſements and warnings hee ſhewed the Turke, which ſhall bee declared hereafter. But beſide his aduertiſement, the ſayd great Turke ſtirred and prouoked by a falſe traitour, a Portingale knight of ours, that time Chanceller of the ſayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and vnderſtanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counſell of the ſame, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was mooued and kindled to the ſayd enterpriſe of treaſon, whereof was no maruell, for it was a great hope and comfort to haue ſuch a perſon for him, that knew all the eſtate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occaſions of the curſed and vnhappy will of the ſaid traitor that had bene occaſion of ſo great loſſe and damage, and ſhall be more at the length, if the diuine power ſet not to his hand.

The taking of Belgrade.

Forren phyſitians become ſpies oftentimes.

A Portingale traitor.

And here it is manifeſtly to bee vnderſtood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great maſter of Rhodes, the ſayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and couetouſneſſe to bee great maſter, and ſeeing himſelfe deceiued of his hope, by the election made the two and twentieth day of Ianuary, of the right reuerend and illuſtrate lord, Philip de Villiers Liſleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke ſo great enuie and deſperation, enmitie and euill will, not onely againſt the ſayde lord, but againſt all the holy religion, that hee ſet all his ſtudie and purpoſe, to betray and ſell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the curſed miſbeleeuers, forgetting the great honours and goodneſſe that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receiue, with many other particuler pleaſures that the ſayd lord maſter had done to him. But the deuill, vnkindneſſe, and wickedneſſe had ſo blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wiſe could refraine him, but at euery purpoſe that was ſpoken afore him, hee was ſhort and might not diſſemble. And one day among other hee ſayde before many knights, that hee would that his ſoule were at the deuill, and that Rhodes and the religion were loſt. And many other fooliſh and diſhoneſt purpoſes and wordes hee vttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obſtinate as Iudas, hee put in execution his curſed will: for ſoone after that the tidings of the election was ſent Weſtward to the ſayde noble lord, the ſayd de Merall did ſend a Turke priſoner of his to Conſtantinople, vnder ſhadowe to fetch his ranſome. By whom hee aduertiſed the great Turke and his counſell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what ſtate and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, prouoking and ſtirring him to come with a great hoſte to beſiege the towne. And after the comming of the ſayd reuerend lord great maſter, he gaue other aduiſe to the great Turke, ſhewing him that hee could neuer haue better time to come, ſeeing that the

Philip de Villiers great maſter.

great maſter was new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occaſion of ſome Italian knights, rebels agaynſt the lord great maſter: of the which rebellion he was cauſer, the better to bring his curſed mind to paſſe: and alſo gaue the ſayde great Turke knowledge that all Chriſtian princes were buſie, warring each vpon other, and that he ſhould not doubt but if the rebellion laſted among them, the towne ſhould be his without faile, as it is ſeene by experience. And for lacke of ſuccours of euery part, and eſpecially of ſuch as might eaſily haue holpen vs beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the chriſtian faith. The which meditations and reaſons of the falſe traitor being vnderſtood and pondered by the great Turke and his counſell, it was conſidered of them not to looſe ſo good occaſion and time. Wherefore hee made moſt extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ſhips & veſſels of diuers ſorts, as galliaſſes, gallies, pallandres, fuſtes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. ſailes and moe.

When the priſoner that the ſayd de Merall did ſend into Turkie had done his commiſſion, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof euery man had maruell. And many folkes deemed euil of his comming againe, as of a thing vnaccuſtomed, but none durſt ſay any thing, ſeeing the ſayd de Merall of ſo great authoritie and dignitie, and he cheriſhed the ſayd priſoner more then he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his meſſage, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and ſhamefull mind of the ſayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke cauſed the paſſages to be kept, that none ſhould beare tidings of his hoſte to *Rhodes*.

The great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoſte both by ſea and by land, the better to come to his purpoſe, and to take the towne vnwarily as hee was aduertiſed, thought to keepe his doings as ſecret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his ſubiects ſhould goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And likewiſe he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the hauens and portes in thoſe coaſtes, becauſe they ſhould giue no knowledge of his armie. And alſo hee made the paſſages by land to bee kept, that none ſhould paſſe. Howbeit, ſo great apparell of an armie could not bee long kept cloſe: for the ſpies which the lord great maſter had ſent into Turkie, brought tidings to the caſtle of ſaint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was ſayd and done in Turkie. Neuertheleſſe, the ſayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, becauſe that many yeeres before, the predeceſſours of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was ſayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to beſiege Rhodes. And for this reaſon doubt was had of this laſt armie, and ſome thought that it ſhould haue gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordſhip of Venice. Howbeit the great maſter not willing to bee taken vnwarily, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, vnderſtanding theſe tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and ſtrengthen the towne. Amongſt all other things to build vp, and raiſe the bulwarke of Auuergne, and to cleanſe and make deeper the ditches. And the more to cauſe the workemen to haſte them in their buſineſſe, the ſayd lord ouerſawe them twiſe or thriſe euery day.

How the lord great maſter counſelled with the lordes for prouiſion for the towne.

Sir Ioh. Bourgh the Engliſh Turcoplier.

Then the ſayd reuerend lord thought to furniſh and ſtore the towne with more vitailes for the ſuſtenance thereof, and for the ſame many times hee ſpake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treaſurie, and of the expenſes thereof in his abſence, and ſince his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the ſayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the Engliſh nation: and the Chanceller Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is ſpoken afore, and of his vntruth agaynſt his religion. The which three lordes ſayd, that hee ſhould take no thought for it, for the towne was well ſtored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithſtanding it were good to haue more, or the ſiege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behooueful to ſend for wheate and other neceſſaries into the Weſt for ſuccours of the towne, and at that time to puruey for euery thing.

Of the prouiſion for vitailes and ordinance of warre.

AS touching the ſtore and ordinance of warre, the ſayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that there was great ſtore, and to haue laſted longer then it did. But it was needfull to ſpend largely at the firſt comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches ſides as they did. And moreouer you are to conſider the great number of them, and their power that was ſpred round about the towne, giuing vs ſo many aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes in ſo many places as they did, and by the ſpace of ſixe whole moneths day and night aſſailing vs, that much ordinance and ſtore was waſted to withſtand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no maruell. Howbeit the noble lord great maſter prouided ſpeedily for it, and ſent Brigantines to Lango, to the caſtle of ſaint Peter, and to the caſtels of his iſle Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and ſaltpeter to ſtrength the towne, but it ſuffiſed not.

And for to ſpeake of the purueiance of vitailes, it was aduiſed by the lord great maſter and his three lords, that it was time to ſend ſome ſhips for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoſte were come thither. And for this purpoſe was appointed a ſhip named the Gallienge, whoſe captaine hight Brambois, otherwiſe called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of the ſea, the which made ſo good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought good ſtore of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did vs great comfort.

How a Brigantine was ſent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ſhips that came to helpe the towne.

AFter this, a motion was made to make prouiſion of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durſt not ſaile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoſte: and alſo they of the towne would ſend no ſhip into Candie, fearing to be taken and encloſed with the ſayd hoſte by the way. Howbeit ſome merchants of the towne were willing to haue aduentured themſelues in a good ſhip of the religion, named the Mary, for to haue laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treaſure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cauſe came of the ſayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treaſure; for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterpriſe and will of the ſayd merchants, ſeeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whoſe part the ſaid traitour held in his diueliſh heart: that notwithſtanding, the reuerend lord great maſter, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, hath alway ſhewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might bee requiſite to a ſoueraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and ſent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he ſent a brother ſergeant named Anthonie of Boſus, a well ſprighted man and wiſe, that by his wiſedome wrought ſo well, that within a ſmall time he brought fifteene veſſels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came vnder ſhadow of thoſe wines, becauſe the gouernours of Candie durſt let none of their men goe to the ſuccour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And beſide thoſe fifteene Gripes came a good ſhip whoſe capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Meſſire Iohn Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ſhip laden with 700. buts of wine to ſuccour the towne with his perſon and folkes, whoſe good and lowable will I leaue to the conſideration of the readers of this preſent booke. For hee being purpoſed to haue had his wines to Conſtantinople, or he was enformed of the buſines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Caſtell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and aduantage. He being arriued at Rhodes, diſpatched and ſold his wine, which was a great encreaſe and comfort for the towne. And when he had ſo done, he preſented his perſon, his ſhip, and his folke, to the reuerend great maſter, the which retained him, and ſet him in wages of the Religion. And during the ſiege, the ſayd capitaine behaued him worthily in his perſon, and put himſelfe in ſuch places as worthy men ought to be, ſpending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompenſe for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was ſhorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoſte.

DUring theſe things, the reuerend lord great maſter carefull and buſie to haue euery thing neceſſary, as men and other ſtrengths, ſent veſſels called brigantines, for to cauſe the waſters of the ſea to come into Rhodes, for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the which at the firſt ſending came and preſented their perſons and ſhips to the ſeruice of the religion.

Harueſt in Aprill and May.

After that the ſayd lord cauſed to ſhere downe the Rie of his iſle, and cauſed it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in ſome places, he made to ſhere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the moſt part was left in the fields, becauſe the Turkes hoſte was come out of the ſtreights of Conſtantinople. And doubting that any number of ſhips ſhould come before to take the people of the ſayd Iſle vnwares, the ſayd lord made them to leaue ſhering of wheate, and cauſed the people of the furtheſt part of the Iſle to come into the towne.

While that the great maſter prouided for all things after the courſe of time and tidings that hee had, there arriued a Carak of Genoa laden with ſpicerie from Alexandria, the which paſſed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Foſſe, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkiſh hoſte. Then the lord willing to furniſh him with people as moſt behoouefull for the towne, ſent a knight of Prouence named ſir Anaſtaſe de ſancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the hauen with his ſhip for the defence of the towne, proffering him what he would, aſſuring him his ſhip. The captaine excuſed him, ſaying, that the merchandiſe was not his owne, but belonged to diuers merchants to whom he muſt yeeld account. Howbeit at the laſt after many words and promiſes to him made, hee came into the hauen, the which captaine was named meſſire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his perſon behaued him valiauntly in the time of the ſayd ſiege.

How the great maſter cauſed generall muſters to be made, and ſent a veſſell to the Turkes nauie, of whom he receiued a letter.

After the moneth of April the lord maſter ſeeing that the Turkes hoſte drew neere, and that he had the moſt part of the waſters within the towne, he cauſed generall muſters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which vpon holy Rood day in May made their muſters before the Commiſſioners ordained by the ſayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commiſſioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harneſſe & other things neceſſary for warre, & their araie faire & proper, with croſſes on them. When the muſter of the knights was done, the lord maſter thought to make the muſters of them of the towne, and ſtrangers together: but his wiſedome perceiued that harme ſhould come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people ſhould not bee ſo great as he would, or needed to haue, whereof the great Turke might haue knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he cauſed them of the towne to make their muſters ſeuerall by bandes and companies, and the ſtrangers alſo by themſelues, to the end that the number ſhould not bee knowen, notwithſtanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themſelues. And the more to hearten and giue them courage and good will, ſome knights of the Croſſe, decked their men with colours and deuiſes, and tooke with them men of the towne and ſtrangers, and with great noyſe of trumpets and timbrels, they made many muſters, as enuying each other which ſhould keepe beſt aray and order, and haue the faireſt company. It was a great pleaſure to ſee them all ſo well agree, and ſo well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were eſteemed, three or foure thouſand, beſide men of the villages, that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the ſame moneth, the Turkes hearing of thoſe tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fiſco, in the maine land right againſt Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to weet, when the ſhip of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Iaques truchman, the which vnder ſhadow to ſpeake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or ſome other man of the Rhodes to haue perfect knowledge in what eſtate the towne was then in euery thing. And they of the towne weening that the ſecond fire was for to deliuer Iaques, the reuerend lord great maſter ſent one of his galliaſſes, whoſe patron was called meſſire Boniface of Prouence, to know the cauſe thereof. And when hee arriued at the ſayd place of le Fiſco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they ſaid that it was becauſe their lord had ſent a letter to the great maſter, but as yet it was not come, and deſired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie & wiſe in the buſineſſe of the ſea, thought in himſelfe that the Turkes made ſuch prolonging to ſome euill intent, or to ſurpriſe his veſſell being alone, wherefore hee bade them giue him the letter ſpeedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the euill and diſhoneſt deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold the clarke vnder their wordes and ſafeconduct: and therewith he turned his galliaſſe to haue gone away. The Turkes ſeeing that, gaue him the letter, the which he tooke, and when he was arriued at Rhodes, he preſented it to the lord great maſter, which aſſembles the lordes of his counſell, and made it to be red: The tenor whereof was ſuch as foloweth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke ſent to the lord great maſter, and to the people of the Rhodes.

SVltan Solyman Baſha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Conſtantinople, and of himſelfe holding both the lands of Perſia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ieruſalem; of Aſia, Europe, Ægypt, and of all the Sea, lord and poſſeſſor: To the reuerend father lord Philip, great maſter of Rhodes, to his counſailors, and to all the other citizens great and ſmall, greeting. Sending conuenient and worthy ſalutations to your reuerences, wee giue you to weet, that we haue receiued your letters ſent vnto our imperiall maieſtie by George your ſeruant, the tenor whereof we doe well vnderſtand; and for this occaſion we ſend vnto you this our preſent commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know ſurely how by our ſentence we will haue that Iſle of Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the ſayd place done to vs and our ſubiects, and ye with your good will ſhall hold it of vs & doe vs obeiſance, and giue the citie to mine imperiall maieſtie. And we ſweare by God that made heauen and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Miſaſi that fell from the ſkies, and by our firſt prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeld you with good will vpon theſe othes, all you that will abide in the ſayd place, great and ſmall, ſhall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperiall maieſtie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who ſo will goe to any other place with his goods and houſhold, may ſo doe, and who ſo will dwell and inhabite in any other places vnder mine Imperiall maieſtie, may remaine where they like beſt, without feare of any perſon. And if there bee any of the principals and worthy men among you that is ſo diſpoſed, wee ſhall giue him wages and prouiſion greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the ſayd iſle, yee may ſo doe after your auncient vſages and cuſtomes, and much better. And therefore if that yee will accept theſe our othes and intreatings, ſend vnto vs a man with your letters to mine Imperiall maieſtie, or els know yee that wee will come vpon you with all prouiſions of warre, and thereof ſhall come as it pleaſeth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye may not ſay, but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe not thus with your good will, wee ſhall vault and vndermine your foundations in ſuch maner, that they ſhalbe torne vpſide downe, and ſhall make you ſlaues, and cauſe you to die, by the grace of God, as we haue done many, and hereof haue ye no doubt. Written in our court at Conſtantinople the firſt day of the moneth of Iune.

How the Turkes came to land in the Iſle of *Lango*, and were driuen to their ſhips againe by the Prior of S. *Giles*.

When the lord great maſter and his counſell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would giue none anſwere to the great Turke, but that he ſhould be receiued with good ſtrokes of artillerie. So that to a fooliſh demaund behooued none anſwere. And it was very like that he would haue nothing. For ſixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the ſaid moneth of Iune, the Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the ſaid armie, came againe and ſayd, that of a trueth the ſaid armie was comming, and that nigh to Lango an Iſle of the religion, an 100. mile from Rhodes, they had ſeene and told 30. ſailes that were moſt part gallies and fuſtes: the which veſſels ſet men on land in yͤ iſle of Lango. Thē the prior of S. Giles, Meſſire pre Iohn de Bidoux commander of the ſayd place, taried not long from horſebacke with his knights and people of the iſle, and he met ſo well with the Turkes, that he droue them to their ſhips, and ſlew a certaine number of them: and of the ſide of Pre Iohn ſome were hurt, and his horſe was ſlaine. When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called caſtle Iudeo on the maine land, betweene the ſayd iſle of Lango and the caſtle of S. Peter.

How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of *Rhodes*.

The 18. day of the ſaid moneth of Iune, theſe 30. gallies went from the ſayd place, and paſſed by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beſide Rhodes, and were diſcouered from the ſhade of the hill of Salaco, a caſtle in the iſle of Rhodes. On the morrow they came out of the gulfe by plaine day, and ſailing along by the coaſts, they entered into a hauen on maine land called Malfara, where they abode three dayes. Then they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the ſame moneth they iſſued out of Epimes, and trauerſing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a caſtle called Faues, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the ſame day, which was the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt our patron. The guard of a caſtle named Abſito in the yle of Rhodes diſcouered and ſpied the great hoſte, and in great haſte brought word to the lord maſter, and ſayd that the ſayd hoſte, that was in ſo great number of ſailes that they might not be numbred, was entred into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 ſailes that lay in the yle aroſe in the night, and went to the ſayd hoſte in the gulfe.

The 26 day of Iune the ſayd great hoſte aroſe and went out of Epimes on houre after the ſun riſing, & trauerſing the chanell, they came to a place called the Foſſe, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 firſt ſailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ſhips of Chriſtian men, if any paſſed by to Rhodes. The great hoſte abode ſtill till noone or one of the clocke, and then aroſe, not all, but about 80 or 100 ſhips, as gallies, galliaſſes, and fuſts: and paſſed one after another before the towne and hauen of Rhodes three miles off, and came to ſhore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, ſixe miles from the towne. In the which place the ſayd hoſte abode from that time to the end of that vnhappy ſiege.

The number and names of the veſſels that came to beſiege *Rhodes.*

The number of the ſhips were theſe: 30 galliaſſes, 103 gallies, aſwell baſtards as ſubtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fuſts, 64 great ſhips, ſixe or ſeuen gallions, & 30 galleres, beſide the nauy that waited for Chriſtian men, if any came to ſuccour vs. Theſe were the veſſels that came at the firſt to lay the ſiege. And ſith that the ſayd hoſt came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other ſailes, aſwell gallies as fuſts. And many other ſhips came ſith, and ioyned with the ſayd army in the time of the ſayd ſiege. And it was ſayd that there were 400 ſailes and moe.

The ſame day that part of the hoſt came to the ſayd place, the reuerend lord great maſter ordeined a great brigandine to ſend into the Weſt, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Chriſtian princes how the Turks army was afore Rhodes. And in the ſayd veſſell he ſent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude danſoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks nauy into the ſayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they ſet any ordinance on land, great or ſmall, or any quantity of men came on ſhore, whereof we marueiled. And it was tolde vs by ſome that came out of the campe, and alſo by the ſpies that the lord great maſter had ſent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoſte by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came ſome number for to view the towne, but they went priuily, for the ordinance of the towne ſhot without ceaſe.

All this while the gallies and galliaſſes went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ſhips paſſing nigh the town, were ſhot many ſtrokes with bombards, which made ſome ſlaughter of our enemies: and when the moſt part of them was paſt, they began to ſet ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great maſter departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, becauſe that place was moſt to be doubted: and alſo that at the other ſiege the great buſineſſe and aſſault was there.

How the lord great maſter made his petition before the image of *S. Iohn*, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and ſermons, and the laſt was in the church of S. Iohn Baptiſt. When the ſermon was done, a pontificall Maſſe was celebrate with all ſolemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great maſter and all his knights with great deuotions and reuerence heard it. And when the Maſſe was ended, the lord great maſter made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint Iohn Baptiſt his protectour: and aboue all other words, which were too long to tell, he beſought him meekly that it would pleaſe him to take the keyes of that miſerable city. The which keyes he preſented and layed vpon the altar before the image, beſeeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had giuen to him vnworthy the gouerning vnto that day: and by his holy grace to defend them from the great power of the enemies that had beſieged them.

How

How the women ſlaues would haue ſet fire in the towne.

THe eight day of Iuly it was knowen that the Turkiſh women being ſlaues and ſeruaunts in many houſes of the towne, had appointed to ſet fire in their maſters houſes at the firſt aſſault that ſhould be made, to the end that the men ſhould leaue their poſterns & defenſes to go and ſaue their houſes and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a ſlaue, was firſt moouer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The ſame day ſome of our men went out for to ſkirmiſh with the Turkes, and many of them were ſlaine with ſhot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunſhot.

THe 18. day of Iuly, for the beginning and firſt day they ſet vp a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as ſacres, wherewith they ſhot againſt the poſterns of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was ſoone broken and caſt downe, and their pieces deſtroyed with the ſhot of the wall, and they that ſhot them were moſt part ſlaine. As this firſt mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they ſet all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it ſhould be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the ſame moneth, they ſet vp two other mantellets. One beſide a church of ſaint Coſme and Damian, and another toward the Weſt. And from theſe mantellets they ſhot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombards agaynſt the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gaue many great ſtrokes, and often brake them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they ſet vp many other mantellets in diuers places, almoſt round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure ſcore: the which number was well leſſened by the great quantitie of ſtrokes of artillerie ſhot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was ſuch as followeth.

FIrſt there were ſixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of braſſe, that ſhot a ſtone of three foote and a halfe: alſo there were 15. pieces of iron that ſhot ſtones of fiue or ſixe ſpannes about. Alſo there were 14. great bombards that ſhot ſtones of eleuen ſpans about. Alſo there were twelue baſiliſkes, whereof they ſhot but with 8. that is to weet, foure ſhot agaynſt the poſterns of England and Spaine, and two againſt the gate of Italy: the other two ſhot ſometime againſt Saint Nicholas tower. Alſo there were 15. double gunnes caſting bullets as baſiliſkes. The meane ſhot, as ſacres and paſuolans, were in great number. The handgunſhot was innumerable and incredible. Alſo there were twelue potgunnes of braſſe that ſhot vpward, whereof eight were ſet behind the church of S. Coſme and Damian, and two at ſaint Iohn de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auuergne, the which were ſhot night and day: and there were three ſorts of them, whereof the greateſt were of ſixe or ſeuen ſpannes about. And the ſayd ſtones were caſt into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of ſhooting is little vſed amongſt chriſtian men. Howbeit by euident myracle, thanked be God, the ſayd pieces did no great harme, and ſlew not paſt 24. or 25. perſons, and the moſt part women and children, and they began to ſhoote with the ſaid pieces from the 19. day of the ſame moneth, vnto the end of Auguſt, & it was accounted that they ſhot 2000. times, more or leſſe.

Then the enemies were warned by the Iewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and ſayd in the towne, that the ſayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had ſlaine the third part of our people: and they were counſelled by him to leaue that ſhooting, for it was but time loſt, and powder waſted, and then they ſhot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they ſhot with the ſayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of braſſe or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did ſome harme. But at the laſt wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine *Gabriel Martiningo* came to the ſuccor of *Rhodes*, and all the ſlaues were in danger to be ſlaine.

THe 24. day of the ſame moneth a brigantine arriued that was ſent afore into Candie, wherein came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martiningo with two other captains. And there went to receiue him meſsieur prou Iohn prior of S. Giles, and the prior of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing as to him well appertained, they brought him before the lord great maſter, that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly ſeene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wiſe and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard renegado from the hoſt, that gaue vs warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in like wiſe there aroſe a great noiſe in the towne, that the ſlaues Turks that wrought for vs in the diches had ſlaine their keepers, and would haue fled, which was not ſo. Neuertheleſſe, the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the ſayd ſlaues comming to priſon, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger put them to death: ſo that there were ſlain an hundred & moe the ſame day. And if the lord great maſter had not commanded that none ſhould hurt them, they had bene all ſlaine, and there were fifteene hundreth of them: which ſlaues did great ſeruice in time of the ſiege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to caſt earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were neceſſary at our needs.

How the great *Turke* arriued in perſon before *Rhodes.*

The 25 day of the ſayd moneth many of our men went out for to ſkirmiſh in the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewiſe did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the ſame moneth the great Turke in perſon paſſed le Fiſco a hauen in the maine land with a galley and a fuſt, and arriued about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called vnhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his preſence and continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cauſe of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriued, all the other ſhippes of the hoſte hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their ſayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his horſe, and rode to his pauilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or fiue miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne ſhot. And on the morow, as it was reported to vs, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steuen, for to viewe the Towne and fortreſſes, whereas they had ſet vp mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

The laſt day of Iuly, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arayed as Turkes, and ſome of them could ſpeake Turkiſh, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoſte, and demaunded if there were any that would paſſe ouer into Turkie, that they ſhould haſte them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. perſons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The firſt day of Auguſt the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Maſter, and was made the firſt auncient of the Italian nation, of the firſt baliage or priorie that ſhould be vacant. And in the meane ſeaſon the religion ſhould giue him twelue hundred ducates for penſion euery yeere, and the ſame day he was receiued to the Councell in the roome of a bayliffe.

The fift day of the ſayd moneth our maſter gunner was ſlaine with a gunne, which was great loſſe for vs at that time.

The 15. day of the ſayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Meſſire Iohn Baptiſta, the phyſicion aforeſayd, which confeſſed his euill and diueliſh doings, and had his head ſtriken of.

Of the marueilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

After the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to ſhoote with ordinance of another ſort then they did before, and ſpecially with harquebuſhes and handguns, and alſo to make their trenches and approches. And alſo they did more diligence then afore, to bring yͤ earth nigh the towne with ſpades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they moued the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were ſhot out of the towne innumerable ſtrokes with ordinance againſt the ſayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the ſayd earth, were ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe they neuer left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raiſed it higher and higher in ſtrengthning it behind. And in concluſion the ſayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it ſeemed a hill. And it was agaynſt the gate of Auuergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates & bulwarks, in ſuch wiſe, that none durſt be ſeene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to couer our people and keepe them from the ſhot. And at the gate of Italy was made ſuch another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward: wherethorow they ſhot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aſwell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and ſlew many of them. Then the baſſhas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Muſtafa Baſſha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & captaines vnder him. Pery Baſſha went to the trenches againſt the gate of Italy with his folkes and captaines vnder him. Acmek Baſſha was in the trenches of Auuergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Ianizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Prouence. Allibey was with his company againſt the garden of ſaint Anthony on the North ſide, and diuers other captaines with him, and ſet his ordinance againſt the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and ſet vp ſeuen mantellets by the milles toward the Weſt: and by the ſpace of eight or nine dayes they beat vpon the ſame wall; which put vs in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble ſayd great maſter forthwith cauſed repaires to be made within, and planks & tables to be ſet to fortifie the ſayd weake wall: and abode there from the morning til night, to cauſe it to be the more haſted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Maſtik of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat ſo ſore and ſo often vpon the ſayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them ſo often: and they tooke vp the pieces, and bare them away. And alſo they could not well beat the ſayd wall becauſe the brimmes of the ditch without were almoſt as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the ſteeple of S. Iohns church ſo, that the moſt part was broken and caſt downe. The foreſayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the ſpace of ten or twelue dayes they ſhot ſore againſt it: but they had ſo ſharpe and vigorous anſwere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the ſayd tower and his folke did ſuch diligence and buſineſſe in ſhooting off their pieces, that the enemies durſt ſet vp no more mantellets by day, nor ſhoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did ſhine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praiſe. At the laſt when they had beaten againſt the ſayd tower a certaine time, ſeeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance frō thence, and bare it where they thought beſt.

During the ſhot in the ſayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in a ſleepe, but without ceaſe night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and ſet foureteene mantellets againſt it, ſhooting great bombards, whereof ſome of the ſtones were fiue or ſixe ſpannes about, and ſome other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and leſſe they caſt downe the wall almoſt euen ſmooth with the Barbican. And when the ſayd wall was ſo beaten, they ſet to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raiſe the defences: and in their trenches they ſet three great bombards, which ſhot ſtones of eleuen ſpannes in compaſſe, and with the ſayd pieces they beat the ſayd bulwarke and wall in ſuch wiſe, that they made great bracks, and the ſtones and earth that fell, ſerued the enemies for ladders, ſo that they might come vpon the plaine ground. In like ſort they raiſed the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the poſterne of Prouence, and ſet three great pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which ſhot ſtones of eleuen ſpannes againſt the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the poſterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did ſhoot without ceaſe againſt the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is ſayd in the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the poſterne of England was ſhot a gunne that brake downe one of the ſayd mantellets, and hit vpon one of the pieces, and ſlew foure or fiue men, and bare away both the legs of the maſter of the ordinance, which died ſoone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and ſayd that he had rather haue loſt one of his baſſhas or captaines then the ſayd maſter. Alſo it is to knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addreſſed againſt the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of ſhot that they made, there was alſo a breach, and by the earth and ſtones that were fallen, they might come vp to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine *Gabriel Martiningo* made within the towne againſt the breaches in the walles.

The captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue remedies to the needfull places, forthwith cauſed to make the trauerſes vpon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes ſmall and great which were ſet in the ſayd trauerſes, the which ſhot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aſwell at the aſſaults that they made as other whiles. And beſide the trauerſes, the ſayd captaine planted ſmall artillery, as harquebuſhes, and handgunnes vpon certaine houſes within the towne, that ſtood open againſt the breach, with good repaires: and from that place great ſlaughter of Turks was made at the aſſaults. Alſo it is of trueth that beſide the ſayd mantellets that ſhot againſt the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as baſiliſks with hollow ſtones and wilde fire in them, which ſhot againſt the wall into the towne at all auentures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houſes.

After theſe great & terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount vpon the towne walles, and come to hand with vs by trauerſing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more ſurely, and without hurt of our gunſhot, ſhooting thorow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they caſt vp much ſtone and earth, becauſe it ſhould couer them from the ſhot of the bulwarke of Auuergne. And alſo they ſhot feruently againſt the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raiſe the defences, of the which at the laſt they raiſed the moſt part, reſeruing only a few gunners below in the mine of the ſayd bulwarke, which litle or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunſhot, whereof I ſay not the third part, becauſe it is a thing incredible to them that haue not ſeene it. For ſome dayes they ſhot with thoſe great bombards that were on the brimme of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent againſt the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleeue verily that ſince the creation of the world ſuch artillery, and ſo great quantity was neuer bent and layed before any towne as hath bene againſt Rhodes at this ſiege. Wherfore it is no maruell if the walles be and haue bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the bulwarke of *England*.

ANd becauſe, as it is ſayd before, that the greateſt hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I haue ſpoken of the gunſhot and beatings, I ſhall ſhew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in ſo great quantity, and in ſo many places, that I beleeue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occaſion of the countermines that they within made, and alſo trenches that the right prudent lord the great maſter cauſed to be made deepe within the ditches, vnto two or three foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had cauſed in the ſayd ditches to be wrought, or the hoſt arriued, ſerued right well ſince: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them, and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to ſpeake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the poſterne of Spaine and Auuergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was ſo fell and ſtrong, that it cauſed moſt part of the town to ſhake, and caſt downe a great part of the ſayd bulwarke at the ſpring of the day: and by the earth and ſtones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought ſore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with ſhot of handgunnes. The lord great maſter that was come 15 dayes or more with his ſuccours to the ſayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the ſpace of two or three houres, the enemies repelled and driuen backe by our men from the ſayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on euery ſide, withdrew them with their loſſe, ſhame, and damage. And this was the firſt victory that our lord gaue vs, and there abode of our enemies a thouſand and more.

A thouſand & more Turkes ſlaine before the Engliſh bulwarke.

When this aſſault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordinance of the trauerſes of the walles and of the houſes made ſo faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdraw themſelues: for at the retreat, and alſo at their comming the ſayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made ſome repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or thereabout, aſwell knights as other. And the ſame day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord maſter, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to ſee the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breaſt, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a feuer, whereof he died.

How the Turks aſſailed the bulwarke of *England*, and how they were driuen away.

THe ninth day of the ſayd moneth, at ſeuen in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the poſterne of Prouence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of

England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was caſt downe afore. And the ſayd mine was as fierce as the other, or more, for it ſeemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almoſt all they that were in it ranne away. And when the ſtanderd of the religion came into the ſayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to haue entred: but when they ſaw the ſayd ſtanderd, as people loſt and ouercome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quoſquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and ſlew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great ſtrokes of ſwordes and other weapons, and to remount vpon the earth fallen from the ſayd bulwarke, and pight ſeuen banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with moriſpikes and fired ſpeares againſt them the ſpace of three whole houres, till at the laſt they being well beaten with great ordinance and ſmall on euery ſide, withdrew themſelues. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not poſſible to get any more: for aſſoone as any of our men went vp on our repaires, he was ſlaine with ſmall gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was ſlaine of our enemies that day at the aſſault 2000 of meane men, and three perſons of eſtate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harneſſe. And it was reported to vs from the campe, they were three ſaniacbeis, that is to ſay, great ſeneſhalles or ſtuards. And of Chriſtian men of our part aboue about thirty perſons. And this was the ſecond victory giuen to vs by the grace diuine.

Two thouſand Turks ſlaine at the Engliſh bulwarke.

How Sir *Iohn Bourgh* Turcoplier of *England* was ſlaine at an aſſault of the Engliſh bulwarke.

THe 17 day of the ſame moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to giue another aſſault to the ſayd bulwarke, at the ſame place aforeſayd, without ſetting of fire in mines, and brought fiue banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there ſtrong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which ſir Chriſtopher Valdenare, that time Caſtelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of ſir Iohn Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the ſuccours of the ſayd poſterne of England, a valiant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was ſlaine with the ſtroke of a handgunne, which was great damage. The ſayd banner was recouered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both ſides, the enemies ſeeing that they got nothing but ſtripes, returned into their trenches. At the ſayd fray the lord prior of S. Giles pre Iohn was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he eſcaped and was made whole. The ſame day, and the ſame houre of the ſayd aſſault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantity of artillery that was ſhot ſo buſily and ſo ſharply from our trauerſes on ech ſide, and out of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine, ſkirmiſhed them ſo well, that there abode as many at that aſſault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themſelues with their great loſſe and confuſion, which was the third time that they were chaſed and ouercome: thanked be our Lord, which gaue vs the force and power ſo to doe, for they were by eſtimation a hundred againſt one.

Alſo the 22 day of the ſame moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Prouence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the poſterne of *Auuergne*.

AND the 23 day of the ſame moneth they fired two mines, one at the poſterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auuergne, the which mine by Auuergne was ſo terrible, that it made all the towne to ſhake, and made the wall to open from aboue to beneath vnto the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke vnder the Barbican, the which did cleaue, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had iſſue. And if the ſayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned vpſide downe. And for truth, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the ſayd mine, thinking that the wall ſhould haue bene ouerthrowen, and then they might haue entred into the towne at their pleaſures: but when they ſaw the contrary, they were very ill pleaſed. And the captaines determined to giue aſſault at foure places at once, to make vs the more adoo, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the ſayd day and night they ceaſed not to ſhoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threeſcore thouſand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of *Spaine* was loſt, and woonne againe.

The 24 day of the ſame moneth, a little before day, they gaue aſſault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the poſterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The firſt that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Ianiſſaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three ſcore or three ſcore and tenne banners and ſignes, and pight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were paſſed, and the ſayd ſkirmiſh laſted about ſixe houres. And forthwith, as the aſſault was giuen, a great ſort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and ſet vp eight or nine ſignes or banners vpon it, and droue our men out, I can not tell how, vnwares or otherwiſe. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the ſayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke ſo loſt, gaue vs euill hope. But incontinently the lord great maſter being at the defence of the poſterne of England, hauing knowledge of the ſayd loſſe, and that there was great fighting and reſiſtance on both ſides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leauing the charge of the ſayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailiſe de la Moree meſsieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great ſkirmiſh, and euery man layed his hands to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was loſt. And the ſayde lord ſent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the ſayd gate, and went vp, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the poſterne of England, right againſt the bulwarke of Spaine, had ſo well met and ſcattered them, that within a while our men had ſlaine all them that were left. And thus the ſayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and ſtrengths to the ſayd place. And in like ſort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them eſcaped, and all their banners and ſignes were left with vs. Surely it may be ſayd, that after the grace of God (the trauerſes of Spaine and Auuergne, and the ſmall artillery ſet on the houſes right againſt the ſayd breaches, as it is ſayd, with the comming and preſence of the lord great maſter) hath giuen vs this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was ſuch that a man could not perceiue nor ſee any ground of the ditches. And the ſtench of the maſtifs carions was ſo grieuous, that we might not ſuffer it ſeuen or eight dayes after. And at the laſt, they that might ſaue themſelues did ſo, and withdrew themſelues to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great maſter abode victorious of the ſayd place, and in like ſort of the other three aſſaults, the which were but little leſſe then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in concluſion, the enemies beaten on all ſides, and in ſo many ſorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquiſhed, that there died that day at all the foure places fifteene or ſixteene thouſand. And the ſlaughter was ſo great at the plaine Italy, of the curſed enemies, that the ſea was made redde with their blood. And on our ſide alſo died to the number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne, hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Frenolz commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ſhip of Rhodes, and he was ſlaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two ſtrokes of harquebuſhes: it was great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died alſo meſſieur Naſtaſy de ſancta Camilla aforenamed, hauing two hundred men vnder him of the lord great maſters ſuccours. There died alſo diuers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that loſt any member, meſsieur Iohn de le Touz called Pradines, being at the ſayd bulwarke, with a ſtroke of artillery had his arme ſmitten away, in great danger to haue loſt his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like ſort the ſame day was hurt Sir William Weſton aboueſayd, captaine of the poſterne of England, and had one of his fingers ſtricken away with an harquebuſh: which knight behaued himſelfe right worthily at all the aſſaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines ſlaine vnder the Aga of the Ianiſſaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certaine dayes before, with ſixe hundred Mamelukes, and two or three thouſand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Natolia had a ſtroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Prouence. And many other were wounded, whoſe names be not rehearſed here, becauſe of ſhortneſſe.

Sir Will. Weſton captaine of the Engliſh poſterne hurt.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of *England*.

During this aſſault, the great Turke was by his pauillion in a place that he had cauſed to be made, and ſaw all the buſineſſe, and how his people were ſo ſharpely put backe, and the victory loſt on his ſide, he was very ſore diſpleaſed, and halfe in deſpaire: and he ſent for Muſtafa Baſha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, ſaying that he had cauſed him to come thither, and had made him to beleeue that he ſhould take the towne in fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furtheſt, and he had bene there already three monethes with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after theſe wordes he was purpoſed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Baſhas ſhewed him that he ought not to do iuſtice in the land of his enemies, for it would comfort them and giue them courage. Wherefore he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to ſend him to Cairo, leaſt the people there would rebell, by occaſion of the captaine of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not ſo ſuddenly, and or he went he thought to aſſay if he might do ſome thing for to pleaſe the Turke, aswell for his honour as for to ſaue his perſon, and was maruellous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to ouerthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines aswell to the ſayd bulwarke as elſwhere, beſide them ſpoken of before, and that they had fired. But the moſt part of the ſayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and ſollicitude of ſir Gabriel Du-chef ſteward of the houſe of the lord great maſter, which had the charge of the ſayd countermines at the ſame bulwarke. In the which buſineſſe he behaued himſelfe well and worthily, and ſpared not his goods to cauſe the people to worke and trauell, but ſpent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great aſſaults.

The Turks ſeeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and hauing but ſmall ſtore of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to haue raiſed the ſiege, and gone their way. And in deed ſome of them bare their cariages toward the ſhippes: and alſo certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their ſtandards ſtraight to the ſhips. And it was written vnto vs from the campe how the Ianiſſaries and other of the hoſt would fight no more: and that they were almoſt all of one opinion for to go away, ſaue ſome of the captaines of the foreſayd Muſtafa Baſſha or Acmek Baſſha. And in the meane ſeaſon the falſe traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giuing them knowledge of all that was ſayd and done among vs. And alſo an Albaneſe fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunſhot was nigh waſted, and that the moſt part of the knights and people ſhould be theirs ſhortly.

In like ſort then wrote the abouesayd Chanceller Sir Andrew de Merall, whoſe treaſon as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treaſon, I ſhall ſhew the knowledge that he gaue to the enemies at diuers times.

When the baſhas and captaines of the hoſte vnderſtood the ſayd warnings, they all purpoſed for to tary, and cauſed theſe tidings of the towne to be knowen ouer all the army. And beganne againe to ſhoot artillery faſter then euer they did, for new ſhot was come into the campe. Then Muſtafa Baſſha being in deſpaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunſhot, nor by aſſaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to aſſay his aduenture, and made three aſſaults three dayes together. The firſt was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the ſayd three aſſaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was aſſailed but with ſtones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at theſe three aſſaults many of our men were hurt with the ſayd fire, and with the ſtones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but ſtrokes, and returned into their trenches euill contented, and murmuring, and ſware by their Mahomet that Muſtafa Baſſha ſhoulde not make them to mount any more to the ſayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cauſe them to be ſlaine at the will and fantaſie of one man. Theſe wordes ſayd in Greeke by ſome of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And becauſe (as it is ſayd) that the enemies at the aſſaults that were made, came vp by the earth and ſtones that fell from the breaches, ſome of our men aduiſed to clenſe the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies ſhould not eaſily come vpon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoouefull to be done; by great diligence night and day by mines they voyded the barbican, and the moſt part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cauſe that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithſtanding, they had it but ſcarſely. But this cleanſing furthered the time, and cauſed them to get it ſooner then they ſhould haue done if the earth had lien ſtill: but their ſmall intent was to raiſe the defence of the bulwarks, and then paſſe at their pleaſure, and enter into the barbican, as they haue done: for the enemies ſeeing that the barbican was clenſed, thought to get into it by trenches, and ſo they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handguns that. The enemies ſeeing that they might not come neere it, couered their trenches with tables to ſaue themſelues: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by theſe two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eſchew the ſhot of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they ſlew by force of men. By this maner they being couered on all parts and without any danger, paſſed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an vnhappy day for the poore towne, and occaſion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the ſame.

At this point they ſlept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to finde meanes to driue them from the ſayde barbican with engins of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee ſlew many of them, but it auailed nothing: for the quantity and multitude of people that trauelled there was ſo great, that they cared not for loſſe of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might haue bene remedy to haue raiſed them from thence: but conſidering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might haue beene done, and that ſhould haue bene good then and other times alſo for fault of men of warre. At the laſt it was pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and vndoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made ſome holes to ſhoot at the enemies that ſlept not, but did as wee did, and ſhot at vs, and indeed they ſlew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies ſhould know with whom to meet. The trauerſes were made on ech ſide with good artillery great and ſmall: and the ſayd trauerſes and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the muraile of Spaine made by the reuerend lord great maſter Mery d'Amboiſe, & ended at the church of S. Saluador. The which trauerſes and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to ſay the fold.

The meane time that the repaires and trauerſes were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo neuer ceaſed going to euery place to puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a ſtroke of a hargubuſe from the trenches that ſmote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recouered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to paſſe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and ſpecially to the repaires of the breaches. Neuertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all ſuch things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the ſayd repaires and trauerſes, there and elſwere. The enemies on the other ſide night and day without reſt (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and vndermined the ſayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the vndermines, weening to haue caſt downe the wall, but they could not: then they would haue pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auuergne brake their ropes, and ſent them away lightly.

At the laſt they made a mine vnder the ſayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the ſame moneth they did put fire to the ſame mine, weening to haue ouerthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raiſed it, and made it to fall almoſt ſtraight vpright, which was more diſaduantage to the enemies then profit. Then they ſhot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neuertheleſſe it was not neceſſary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two walles at the poſterne of Quoſquino, and in that of England, whereas was a baſiliſke that beat right vpon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies ſought other meanes, and beganne to raiſe the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one ſide, and toward Auuergne on the other ſide, and would haue cut the wall further then our trauerſes were for to come in vnbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelue, & 16 foot in breadth: and ſo the enemies might goe no further forward, but ſhot great artillery againſt our repaires, for to breake and caſt them downe, and alſo they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and vnto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to haue ſome aſſault. The reuerend lord great maſter, the which, as it is ſayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that the great aſſault was made, and ſince that time he moued not from thence while they hewed the wall, & where as the breach was, becauſe that they were moſt dangerous & moſt vnquiet places. And continually the ſayd lord kept him behinde the ſayd repaires with his knights and men of ſuccours, intentiuely ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue his enemies as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode there three or foure dayes at the ſayd breach, continuing ſince it was made, vnto the end, fighting with his enemies euery day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himſelfe further in the preaſe then needed for the danger of his perſon, but he did it for to hearten and ſtrengthen the courage of his people, being ſo well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies aſſailed the poſternes of *Prouence* and *Italy*, and how they were driuen away.

BY the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue none aſſault, but continually ſhot againſt our repaires, and made trenches for to paſſe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they ſhot infinitely with harquebuſhes and handgunnes, and ſlew many of our folke, and ſpecially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and craſed. And they put vs in ſuch extremity, that we had almoſt no more ſlaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for vs, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not leſſe at the gate of Prouence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing either with aſſault or ſkirmiſh, and moſt at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit by the helpe of our Lord with the good conducting of the captaine of ſuccours of the ſame place, the priour of Nauarre, that was prompt and inuentiue, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the worſt, and were driuen from the ſayd plaine, and from the breach of Prouence.

How the treaſon of Sir *Andrew de Merall* was knowen, and of the maruellous aſſaults that the Turks made.

VPon theſe terrors and aſſaults, the treaſon of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I ſpake before, was perceiued: for a ſeruant of his, named Blaſe, was found ſhooting a quarrell of a croſſebow with a letter, whereof he was accuſed to the lord great maſter, which commanded to take him and examine him by iuſtice, and he confeſſed the ſhot of that letter & of other before, at the commandement of his maſter: and ſayd that he had great acquaintance with the Turks baſhas, and that it was not long ſince he had written a letter to them, warning them that they ſhould not go, for gunſhot began to faile, and the men were waſted by ſlaying and hurting at the aſſaults in great quantity: and if they abode ſtill and gaue no more aſſaults, at the laſt the towne ſhould be theirs. And diuers other things the ſeruant ſayd of his maſter, of the which I haue ſpoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great Turke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and aſſaults done in the ſayd place, by continuall ſhot of ſeuenteene great gunnes that beat the ſayd plaine, the repaires and trauerſes were almoſt broken and loſt. And by trenches the enemies were come ioyning to the breach, and neuer ceaſed to graue the earth and ſcrape the earth to cauſe the repaires & trauerſes to fall: and at the laſt the moſt part fell downe, & our men were conſtrained to leaue the ſayd plaine, ſaue a quarter that was toward the ſea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it, and raiſed the earth, & at the laſt they paſſed thorow into the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine. The lord great maſter ſeeing that, anon caſt downe a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of another church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and trauerſes as at the place of Spaine, wherein was made extreame diligence, but not ſuch as the ſayd needed, and as was needfull, becauſe there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had taken the moſt part of the bulwarke of England & the plaine of Italy, they purpoſed to make aſſault to the ſayd plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of vs. And for euer to affeeble the repaires and for to abaſh vs, the 28 day of Nouember all along the day and night they ceaſed not to ſhoot great artillery, both from the brimmes of the ditches with thoſe great pieces, caſting ſtones of nine & eleuen foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they ſhot the ſame day and night 150 times or more againſt our repaires and trauerſes of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the ſame moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the ſpring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiouſly for to fight with vs. But at their comming in, the artillery of the trauerſes, and the handgunnes, and the gunſhot of the milles found them ſo well and ſo ſharply, that he that came in, was anon diſpatched and ouerthrowen, and there abode about 2000 of the Turks ſlaine. The other that came after ſeeing their fellowes ſo euill welcommed, as people that were aſtonied and loſt, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles ſhot victoriouſly, and haſted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died ſixe thouſand or mo that day; the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for vs, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to eſcape that day, but to haue died all, and loſt the towne: howbeit, the pleaſure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it otherwiſe, and the enemies were chaſed and ouercome. And it is to be noted, that the ſame day the raine was ſo great and ſo ſtrong, that it made the earth to ſincke a great deale that they had caſt into the ditches, for to couer them from the ſhot of Auuergne. And the ſayd earth being ſo ſuncken, the artillery of the ſayde bulwarke (vnwares to them) ſmote them going and comming, and made great murder of the ſayd dogges. The ſayd day alſo the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to aſſault it; but when they vnderſtood that their fellowes had bene put backe ſo rudely, and with ſo great ſlaughter, they were afrayd, and ſo they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of *Spaine*.

AND that done, Acmek Baſha ſeeing their buſineſſe euery day goe from worſe to worſe, and that at the aſſaults were but loſſe of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to giue no more aſſaults, but to follow his trenches, and by them enter couertly without loſſe of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beſide Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleaſure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many ſkirmiſhes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were ſlaine many good men. And at the laſt, for default of more helpe and of gunſhot, it was left and giuen vp of our men, and ſo loſt. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoſo wel conſidered in what eſtate the poore towne was at that time, ſeeing their enemies haue ſo great aduantage, might well ſay, and iudge, that at length it ſhould be taken, and a loſt towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to ſpeake for a treaty, and deliuerance of the ſame.

A Few dayes after the ſaide iourney a Chriſtian man that was in the campe, the which by his ſpeech was a Genouois or Spiolis, came to the gate of Auuergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would haue, he ſayd that he had maruell of vs why we would not preſerue our ſelues, ſeeing the pitious eſtate the towne was in: and he as a Chriſtian man counſelled vs to yeeld our ſelues with ſome agreement: and that if we would harken thereto, that ſome ſhould be found expedient as to ſome what for our ſafegard. And it is very like that he ſayd not ſuch words, nor ſpake ſo farforth in the matter, without commiſſion and leaue of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himſelfe. To the which Spiolis was anſwered, that he ſhould go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not to ſpeake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great aduantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receiue and feaſt them, if they made any aſſault. Theſe words heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came againe, and demanded to ſpeake with a marchant Genouois of the towne, named Mathew de Vra, and he was anſwered that he which he demanded, was ſicke, and might not come, but that he ſhould deliuer the letter, and it ſhould be giuen to him. The ſayd Spiolis ſayd nay, and that he would giue it himſelfe, and ſpeake with him: and ſayd that he had alſo a letter of the Grand ſignior, for the lord maſter. Vpon this he was bidden to go his way: and to ſet him packing, they ſhot after him a piece of artillery. The next day after Ballantis Albaneſe that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the ſayd Genouois propoſing ſuch words, or like as the other had ſayd, ſaying likewiſe that the Grand ſignior had ſent a letter to the lord maſter. To whom no words were ſpoken, nor anſwere made, for the lord great maſter as wiſe and prudent conſidering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe loſt, defended vpon the paine of death ſith that Siotis had ſpoken theſe two times, that none ſhould be ſo hardy to ſpeake nor anſwere them of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but ſeeing they were ſuch ambaſſadors, they reported the words of the ſayd Albaneſe, or euer the ſayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words ſpread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and would haue vndone that that the Siotis ſaid: the which is no maruell whereas is much people, for with good will and moſt often they regard ſooner to ſaue the liues of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the reſidue. Howbeit not one durſt ſpeake a word openly of that buſineſſe, but all ſecretly: and ſome came and ſpake to certaine lords of the great croſſe for to ſpeake to ẏ lord great maſter. And in effect ſome lords ſpake thereof to him, perſuading him that it ſhould be good to thinke thereon, ſeeing that the towne went to loſſe. To whom the ſayd lord ſhewed many things for his honor and the Religion: and that no ſuch things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this anſwere, went their wayes, and then returned againe to the ſayd lord, aduiſing him more to thinke well on all things, and to the ſaluation of his towne and of his religion. And they ſayd moreouer, that they doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then to die themſelues, their wiues and children. The lord ſeeing that ſuch words were as things inforced, as who ſhould ſay, if thou do it not, we ſhall do it as wiſe men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counſell, called the lords of his Councell for to haue aduiſe in theſe doings, and other. And when they were aſſembled, the lord propoſed the words that were to him denounced, and ſayd: With theſe termes and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and preſented a ſupplication to the great maſter, and lords of the Councell, whereby they required and beſought meekely the ſayd reuerend lord to haue reſpect to them and their poore houſholds, and to make ſome appointment with the great Turke, ſeeing that the ſayd matter was already forward in purpoſe, that he would do it; and that it would pleaſe him to conſider the pitious & ſorowfull eſtate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to ſaue it: and at the leſt way, if the lord would not make appointment, to giue them leaue (of his goodneſſe) to haue their wiues and their children out of the Rodes to ſaue them, for they would not haue them ſlaine nor made ſlaues to the enemies. And the concluſion was, that if the ſayd lord would not puruey therefore, they would puruey for it themſelues. And there was written in the ſaid requeſt the names of eight or ten of the richeſt of the towne. Which words of the ſayd ſupplication being heard, the ſayd lord and his councell were abaſhed and ill content as reaſon would, ſeeing that it was but a courſe game, and thought on many things to make anſwere to the ſayd citizens, for to content and appeaſe them: and alſo to ſee if they ſhould intend to the appointment, as they required, and after as the Genowayes had reported: and the better to make the ſayd anſwere, and to know more plainly in what eſtate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, firſt of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the batteries. Alſo were demanded and aſked the lord of S. Giles pre Iohn, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martiningo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is ſaid) as to him that knew the trueth if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to ſaue it. The ſayd lord of S. Giles aroſe, ſaying and affirming vpon his honour and his conſcience that almoſt all the ſlaues and labourers were dead and hurt, and that ſcantly there were folke enow to remoue a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was impoſſible without ſome any more to make or ſet vp the repaires the which euery day were broken and cruſhed by the great, furious, and continuall ſhot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the ſayd lord ſayd, that all that was for ſtore in the towne, was ſpent long agone, and that which was newly brought, was not to ſerue & furniſh two aſſaults. And he ſeeing the great aduantage of the enemies being ſo farre within the towne, without power to put or chaſe them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne would be loſt, and that there was no meanes to ſaue it. The words of the ſayd lord finiſhed, the captaine Gabriel Martinigo for his diſcharge ſayd and declared to the reuerend lord and them of the Councell, that ſeeing and conſidering the great beatings of the ſhot that the towne had ſuffered, and after ſeeing the cutting which the enemies had ſo large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and ouerthwart; ſeeing alſo that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the moſt part of our knights and men of warre and other were ſlaine and hurt, and the gunpowder waſted, and that it was impoſſible for them to reſiſt their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was loſt if there came no ſuccors for to helpe and reſiſt the ſiege. The which opinions and reaſons of theſe two worthy men and expert in ſuch feats, vnderſtood and pondered by the lord great maſter and the lords of the Councell, they were moſt part aduiſed for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the ſauegard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy croſſe, the holy throne, the hand of S. John, and part of his head, and diuers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great maſter to whom the buſineſſe belonged very neere, and that tooke it moſt heauily, and was more ſorrowfull then any of the other, as reaſon required, was alway ſtedfaſt in his firſt purpoſe, rather willing to die then to conſent to ſuch a thing, and ſayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Aduiſe you, and thinke well on euery thing, and of the end that may happen, and he propoſed to them two points: that is to wit, Whether it is better for vs to die all, or to ſaue the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time diſputed, and there were diuers opinions: neuertheleſſe, at the laſt they ſayd all, that howbeit that it were well and ſafely done to die for the faith, and moſt honor for vs, notwithſtanding ſeeing and conſidering that there is no remedy to reſiſt againſt our enemies, and meanes to ſaue the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppreſſe vs to forſake our faith, but only would haue the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to ſaue all the iewels aboue ſayde, that ſhould be defiled and loſt if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And alſo to keepe ſo much ſmall people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut ſome in pieces, other take, and perforce cauſe them to forſake their faith, with innumerable violences, and ſhamefull ſinnes that ſhould be committed and done, if the towne were put to the ſword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people deſperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke ſent two of his men to the towne, to haue it by intreating. And how the lord great maſter ſent two knights to him, to know his aſſurance.

Vpon theſe conſultations and wordes almighty God that ſaueth them which truſt in him, and that would not that ſo many euils and cruelties ſhould come to the poore city & inhabitants of it, and alſo that the great Turke might not ariſe in ouer great pride and vaineglory, put him in minde to ſeeke to haue the ſayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to haue done for his honour, nor by reaſon, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like ſort he ought not to haue let vs goe as he did, ſeeing that we were his mortall enemies euer, and ſhall be ſtill in the time comming, conſidering the great ſlaughter of his people that we haue made in this ſiege. Howbeit, the eternall goodneſſe hath blinded him, and hath pleaſed that theſe things ſhould be thus, for ſome cauſe vnknowen of vs. And for concluſion, the great Turke ſent to haue a communication and parle in following the wordes of the Genoueſe afore ſayd. Then was a ſigne ſet vpon the church of the abbey without the towne; to the which was made anſwere with another at the milles of Quoſquino. And forthwith came two Turks to ſpeake with them of the towne. Then the lord great maſter ſent the Priour of S. Giles pre John, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cauſe of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long ſpeech, the two Turkes deliuered them a letter for to beare to the lord great maſter from the great Turke, and then returned ſafely into their tents. When the two lords had receiued it, they bare & preſented it to the reuerend lord great maſter, which cauſed it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great maſter to yeeld the towne to him, and in ſo doing he was content to let him go & all his knights, and all the other people of what condition ſoeuer they were, with all their goods & iewels ſafe without feare of any harme or diſpleaſure of his folkes. And alſo he ſware and promiſed on his faith ſo to do. The ſayd letter was ſealed with his ſignet that he vſeth, that is as it were gilded. And he ſayde afterward, that if the lord great maſter would not accept the ſayde treaty, that none of the city, of what eſtate ſoeuer he were, ſhould thinke to eſcape, but that they all vnto the cats ſhould paſſe by the edge of the ſword, and that they ſhould ſend him an anſwere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the ſight of the contents of the ſayd letters of ſo great weight, and the time ſo ſhort for to giue ſo great an anſwere, and ſuch demand, the ſayd lord great maſter and all the lords of the Councell were in great thoughts, howbeit they determined to giue an anſwere, ſeeing the eſtate of the towne ſo ill that it could be no worſe. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lords ordeined to view the defence of the towne, ſaying that the towne was loſt without remedy: conſidering alſo that the principalles of the towne would haue appointment. And in likewiſe, at the other counſell all the lordes had already willed and declared, that it were better to ſaue the towne for reſpect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foreſayd treatie. After the concluſion taken, anſwere was made readily for a good reſpect; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he ſhould not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For euery houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe vnto the great Turke were ordained theſe two knights, ſir Paſſin afore named, and he bare the token of the White croſſe: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruſe iudge Ordinarie.

When theſe two ambaſſadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quoſquino, and went to the tent of Acmek baſha, capitaine generall. And becauſe it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foreſaid capitaine Acmek led and conueied our ſayd ambaſſadours to the great Turkes pauillion, that they might haue the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reuerend lord great maſter, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the ſayd two ambaſſadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinſman of the ſayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord maſter cauſed to be well receiued, and they were lodged nigh the ſayd gate of Quoſquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and ſpake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambaſſadours of *Rhodes* ſpake with the great Turke, and what anſwere they had.

When our ambaſſadours had made reuerence to the great Turke, they ſayd that the lord great maſter of Rhodes had ſent them to his Imperiall maieſtie to know what he requeſted, and deſired that they might talke together, and how the great maſter had receiued his letter. The great Turke anſwered them by his truchman, that of demanding to ſpeake together, nor writing of letter to the great maſter he knew nothing. Howbeit, ſith the great maſter had ſent to him for to know his will, he bade ſay to them that the great maſter ſhould yeeld him the towne. And in ſo doing he promiſed by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiuing any diſpleaſure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the ſayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie ſhould die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there ſhould neither great nor litle eſcape, but vnto the cats they ſhould be all cut in pieces, and ſayd that within 3. dayes they ſhould giue him an anſwere, for hee would not that his people ſhould looſe time, and that during the ſayd truce they ſhould make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambaſſadours tooke their leaue of him, and returned to the towne, and there was giuen to each of them a rich garment of branched veluet, with cloth of gold of the Turkiſh faſhion. Then Acmek baſha tooke ſir Paſſin, and led him to his pauillion, and intreating him right well, cauſed him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many diſcourſes of things done at the ſiege, queſtioning each with other. And among all other things our ambaſſadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for trueth how many men died of the campe while the ſiege was laied. The ſaid Baſha ſware vpon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to ſay, of gunſhot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beſide them that died of ſickneſſe, which were about 40. or 50. thouſand.

64000. Turks ſlaine at the ſiege of Rhodes.

How one of the ambaſſadours made anſwere of his meſſage, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

Returne we now to our purpoſe and to the anſwere that our ambaſſadours brought to the lord great maſter. The ſayd Robert Perruſe made the anſwere, and told what the great Turke had ſayd, certifying that he would haue an anſwere quickly either yea or nay. The which anſwere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purpoſed and concluded by the whole counſel, and his offer yͤ treatie accepted, howbeit the ſayd ambaſſadours had it not to do ſo ſoone nor the firſt time that they went for good reaſons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare leaſt he ſhould repent him. And vpon theſe determinations that they would haue ſent the ſayd Peruſe to beare the anſwere, came ſome of the common people of the towne to the lord great maſter, that was with the lordes of the counſell, and ſayd that they were aduertiſed of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with couenants by him taken, which they ſuppoſed ought not to be done without calling of them. And becauſe they were not called to it, they ſayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by ſome way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great maſter ſent two ambaſſadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

When the reuerend lord great maſter had heard their wordes, he ſayd graciouſly to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks offer, it was needful ſo to do in the degree that the towne was, and the cauſes wherefore he had done it the counſell had ſeene and diſcuſſed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be ſayd nor publiſhed in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept ſtill and ſecret. And moreouer, that it was concluded to make an anſwere ſhortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, leaſt he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the anſwere had bene giuen, it had bene ouerlong buſineſſe, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counſell had well regarded and conſidered in all things, and for their profite and aduantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would ſend to the great Turke againe other ambaſſadours, the better to know his will, and to be ſurer of his promiſe. Then the lord great maſter ordained two other ambaſſadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named ſir Raimon Market, and the other meſſire Lopez, at whoſe iſſuing entered Sir Paſſin the firſt ambaſſadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek baſha, for to leaue them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pauillion, and had done him reuerence as appertained, our ambaſſadours ſayd that the great maſter had heard and ſeen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for ẏ it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and ſay with many men of diuers nations, and becauſe the time of anſwere was ſo ſhort, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded ſo ſoone. Howbeit hee would ſpeake with his people, and then hee would giue him an anſwere.

How the Turke began the aſſault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

When the great Turke heard the anſwere of our ambaſſadours, he ſayd nothing, but commaunded his Baſhas that they ſhould begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the ſhot of the enemies was ſharper then it was afore. And on the other ſide nothing, or very litle for fault of powder: for that that there was left, was kept for ſome great aſſault or neede. Howbeit the ſayd Amek Baſha kept one of the ambaſſadours, and meſſire Lopez onely entered. The great maſter ſeeing the warre begun, and the ſhot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had ſayde to him, that they would not the towne ſhould be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the ſayd lord ſayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they ſhould diſpoſe them to defend themſelues well, or to doe their endeuour better then they had done in times paſt. And to the ende that each one of them ſhould haue knowledge of his will (for as then he ſpake but to foure or fiue of them that gaineſayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the poſternes or gates ſhould giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the poſternes, or that were of his ſuccours, ſhould goe to the breach of Spaine where the ſayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the aboueſayd payne. The ſayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a young Rhodian left his poſterne and went to his houſe, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithſtanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the poſternes and breaches: in ſuch wiſe, that the enemies might come in without finding great reſiſtance, but of a fewe that the lord maſter cauſed to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his ſuccours, And in the night he ſought out moe people for to keepe ẏ watch at the ſaid breach, and paied to them as much as they would. The ſayd lord ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned and left of his people, he ſent to aſke them againe wherefore they did not their endeuour, and why they came not to day, as they ſayd before. Which made anſwere that they ſawe and knew well that the towne was loſt for certaine reaſons that were told them: by occaſion whereof they had gaineſaid the ordinance of the ſayd lord, and ſayd that they had bene wrongfully ſtayed of diuers things: and on the other ſide, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But ſithens they ſawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the aduenture and fortune, they ſayd that they put all to the ſayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would ſee what were beſt for them. And required the lord to doe them ſo much fauour as to let them chooſe one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambaſſadours for to haue ſuretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambaſſadours were choſen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of ſaint Creſice, and the foreſayd Paſſin ſhould returne with them for to make the ſayd anſwere. Then the great maſter or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) aduiſed to ſend a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or cauſed to be written. In the which letter he gaue his malediction or curſe to his children and ſucceſſours, if they enterpriſed to beſiege Rhodes. The ſayd Roben Perruſe bare the ſayd letter, and as he was accuſtomed, he went to Acmek Baſha for to cauſe him to haue audience, and to preſent the ſayd letter. And the Baſha ſayd hee would ſee the letter: for it is the guiſe in the great Turkes court, that none may ſpeake to him nor giue him a letter, but he be aduertiſed firſt what ſhall be ſaid, or what ſhall be written. When the Baſha had ſeene the wordes written in the ſaid letter, he brake it and caſt it on the ground, and did tread vpon it, ſaying many iniurious and villanous wordes to the ſayd iudge. And bade him returne apace to his great maſter, and bid him to thinke on his buſineſſe, and to make anſwere to the great lord (as he had ſent and commanded) or els it ſhould not be long or he ſawe his dolorous and wofull ende. And that ſame day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the ſayd Acmek cauſed an officer to cut off their noſes, fingers and eares, and gaue them a letter to beare to the lord great maſter, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the ſayd Perruſe was returned, meſſire Paſſin was ſent againe to the ſayde Baſha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any ſumme of money for his coſtes and expenſes, that he had made for his armie. The which anſwered that ſuch wordes or offers of ſiluer were not to bee ſayd nor preſented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee ſet more by honour then by ſiluer: And therefore hee bade him returne and ſay to the great maſter that hee ſhould make anſwere to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The ſayd Paſſin made relation of the wordes of the Baſha to the great maſter: the which for the great ſorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, ſaw himſelfe in ſuch pitious eſtate. Notwithſtanding, the ſayd lord putting all to the will of our lord, & conſidering that there was no remedie to do otherwiſe, nor to truſt any more his enemies: and being conſtrained on all ſides to make the appointment, with great heauineſſe, ineſtimable dolours and bewailings, at the laſt gaue his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatiſe or offers to him preſented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thouſand fiue hundreth and two and twentie.

An anſvvere to ſuch as will make queſtion for the deliuerance of the citie of *Rhodes*.

And if by any it were demaunded wherefore the ſayd lord great maſter hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requeſting it with treatie and conuenants, which was a ſigne that he feared and would no more fight, but giue his way. To this I anſwere; Notwithſtanding that the great Turke was aduertiſed by ſome traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almoſt failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleeued not, nor gaue credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and conſidered that hee muſt tary till they were waſted and ſpent, wherein behoued time. And ſeeing all his eſtate entred into ſtrange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there alreadie ſixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne perſon) thinking on the other ſide, that taking the towne by aſſault, he ſhould loſe many of his folke; and yet when hee had ouercome and wonne the towne, they ſhould fall each vpon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For theſe reaſons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to haue the towne by compoſition and treatie, then otherwiſe. And it ſuffiſed him to driue his olde enemies out of the countreys of Leuant, and ſet the ſubiects of his countreys in reſt and ſuretie. And we of the towne that knew our weakneſſe, & that we might do no more, it ſeemed better to ſaue ſo much ſmall people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwiſe could we not haue done, but tempt God, and died as in diſpaire.

How the citie of *Rhodes* was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the euil behauiour of certaine Turkes.

BUt to returne to our principall: After that the reuerend great maſter had giuen his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he ſent the ſaid Paſſin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were choſen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Baſha. To whom the ſayd Paſſin firſt made this pitious anſwere and concluſion to yeeld the towne. Notwithſtanding, he ſayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to ſpeake of their particular doings, and to haue ſome ſuretie of their perſons, wiues, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to thoſe of Bellegrado. The ſayd Acmek led the three ambaſſadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pauillion, the ſayde meſſire Paſſin made the report of his ambaſſade to the ſayd lord, and ſayd that the great maſter yeelded him the towne vnder the promiſe made by his Imperiall maieſtie, with the treatie promiſed. Of the which promiſe hee held him ſure and certaine, and that hee would doe no leſſe: howbeit, the people had required him to giue them licence to goe to his maieſtie for to aſke ſome requeſt of him. Then the two citizens beſought the great Turke that he would for ſuretie remooue his campe from the towne, to the ende that they ſhould haue no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, ſhould goe, and that they that would abide ſtill, might be well entreated. The great Turke anſwered by his interpreter to meſſire Paſſin, that hee accepted the towne, and promiſed againe vpon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great maſter, that he would performe that he had promiſed, and ſent to him by the ſame Paſſin that he ſhould not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ſhips ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he would deliuer the artillerie that was wont to be in the ſhips of ẏ Religion. And as touching the requeſt of the people, he ſayd that he would remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they ſhould bee well entreated, and ſhould pay no tribute in fiue yeeres, and their children ſhould not be touched, and who ſo would goe within the ſayd ſpace of fiue yeeres, they ſhould goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambaſſadours tooke leaue of him, & when they were departed, they ſpake againe with the ſayd Acmek Baſha for to haue a letter of the contents of the promiſe of the ſayd lord. And by his commandement the ſayd letter was made, whereby he promiſed to let go the great maſter with all his knights, ſtrangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without hauing diſpleaſure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to meſſire Paſſin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the ſayd Baſha promiſed againe that he would do it, ſince the great lord would ſo: howbeit he remooued but from the trenches, and ſome of his people went a litle way off. And the ſayd Baſha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they ſhould ſend to him in hoſtage foure and twentie knights, whereof two ſhould bee of the great Croſſe, and two and twentie citizens. And the ſayd lord ſhould ſend onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Ianiſſaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And ſo it was done; and beſide this hee gaue twelue dayes reſpite to the lord great maſter, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in concluſion all this done, our ambaſſadours returned and made the report to the reuerend great maſter of all that they had done and practiſed with the great Turke, and the ſayd Baſha, and gaue him the letter for to goe ſurely. Then the great maſter with his counſell ordained the foure and twentie perſons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well entreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Baſha paſſed from the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or fiue and twentie thouſand Ianiſſaries, which by the commandement of the great Turke was gone vpon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke ſeeing the people of the campe diſcouraged and willing no more to goe to the aſſaults, ſent to the ſayde Baſha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withſtood vs ſore, as freſh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull miracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be ſuppoſed that the deed had gone otherwiſe, and there had bene many ſtrokes giuen: but I beleeue that the ende ſhould haue bene pitious for vs, but God would not that the Turke ſhould haue victory vpon vs as hee might haue had, ſeeing the great aduantage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he ſhould know his might. And on the other part it may be

ſayd

ſaid and marueiled how it was poſsible alway to haue ouercome our enemies in all aſſaultes thirtie dayes, and at the end to looſe the towne, it was the will of God that ſo hath pleaſed for ſome cauſe to vs vnknowen. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunſhot, and the enemies ſo farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treaſons, haue cauſed the towne to be loſt. Two or three dayes after the comming of the ſayd Baſha, his Janiſſaries and other of the armie entred into the Towne, which was on Chriſtmas day, within the time giuen to vs, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuertheleſſe there was no ſwoord drawen, and in that reſpect promiſe was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houſes of the caſtle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ranſacked the houſes, they entred into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other ſaints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hoſpitall of poore and ſicke folke, called the Fermarie, and tooke all the ſiluer veſſell that the ſicke folke were ſerued with, and raiſed them out of their beds, and droue them away, ſome with great ſtrokes and ſtaues, and ſome were caſt downe from the galleries. When theſe houndes had done that acte, they went to the church of ſaint Iohn and tooke downe the tombes of the great maſters, and ſought if there were any treaſure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were chriſtened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children that the ſayd men had made chriſtians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrowe after Chriſtmas day, the reuerend lord great maſter went to the great Turkes pauillion for to viſite him, and to be better aſſured of his promiſe, the which lord he made to be wel & graciouſly receiued. And he ſignified vnto him by his interpreter, that the caſe ſo happened to him was a thing vſuall and common; as to looſe townes and lordſhips, and that hee ſhould not take ouermuch thought for it: and as for his promiſe, he bare that he ſhould not doubt in any thing, and that he ſhould not feare any diſpleaſure to his perſon, and that he ſhould goe with his people without feare. With theſe wordes the ſayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leaue and departed.

FINIS.

y *Lenuoy* of the Tranſlator.

GOe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the *Rhodians* fearefull oppugnation,
To all eſtates complaining ruthfully
Of thine eſtate, and ſudden tranſmutation:
Excuſing me if in thy tranſlation
Ought be amiſſe in language or in werke,
I me ſubmit with their ſupportation,
To be correct, that am ſo ſmall a clerke.

An ambaſſage from *Don Ferdinando*, brother to the emperor *Charles* the 5. vnto king *Henry* the 8. in the yere 1527. deſiring his aide againſt *Solyman* the great Turke. *Holinſhed. pag. 894.*

ON the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Octonburge, Iohn Burgraue of Syluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous clerke, after biſhop of Vien, as ambaſſadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was ſlaine by Solyman the Turke the laſt Summer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings preſence, all the nobilitie being preſent; and there after great reuerence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Goſpell, Exijt ſeminator ſeminare ſemen ſuum: and of that hee declared how Chriſt and his diſciples went foorth to ſowe, and how their ſeed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Chriſtian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that ſowing, Mahomet had ſowen ſeed, which brought foorth euill fruit. He alſo ſhewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increaſed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had ſubdued euen to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then liuing had done; and in eſpeciall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the ſlaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he ſayd) of all the kings chriſtened. Hee ſet forth alſo what power the Turke had, what diuerſities of companies, what capitaines he had, ſo that he thought, that without a maruellous great number of people, hee could not be ouerthrowen. Wherefore he moſt humbly beſought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to aſſiſt the king his maſter in that godly warre and vertuous purpoſe.

He meaneth the Emperor & the French king.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore anſwered; that much hee lamented the loſſe that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterpriſed that acte: wherefore he with all his ſtudie would take paine, firſt, to ſet an vnitie and peace throughout all Chriſtendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Chriſtendome. After this done, the ambaſſadours were well cheriſhed, and diuers times reſorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and ſo the third day of May next following, they tooke their leaue & departed homeward.

The antiquitie of the trade with Engliſh ſhips into the *Leuant*.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. diuers tall ſhips of London, namely, The Chriſtopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Greſham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunſon, and the maſter one Iohn Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was maſter Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was maſter William Capling, with certaine other ſhips of Southampton and Briſtow, had an ordinarie and vſuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and ſomewhiles to Cyprus, as alſo to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kerſies of diuers colours, courſe Kerſies, white Weſterne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calueſkins which were well ſold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmeſies, Muſkadels and other wines, ſweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and ſome other ſpices, &c. Beſides, the naturall inhabitants of the foreſayd places, they had, euen in thoſe dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne Engliſh ſhipping before mentioned, but ſundry ſtrangers alſo: as namely, Candiots, Raguſeans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliaſſes, Spaniſh and Portugale ſhips. All which particulars doe moſt euidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of maſter Iohn Greſham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt haue diligently peruſed and copied out. And here for authorities ſake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpoſe, a letter of king Henry the eight, vnto Don Iohn the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England *Henry* the eight, to *Iohn* king of *Portugale*, for a *Portingale* ſhip with the goods of *Iohn Greſham* and *Wil. Locke* with others, vnladen in *Portugale* from *Chio*.

SEreniſſimo Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugallię, & Algarbiorum citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquiſtæ, nauigationis, & commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Perſiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico noſtro chariſſimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, fidei defenſor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Sereniſſimo Principi; domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi Portugallię, & Algarbiorũ citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineę, & conquiſtæ nauigationis, & cõmercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Perſiæ, atq; Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico noſtro chariſſimo, ſalutẽ. Tanto libentiùs, promptiúſq; iuſtas omnes cauſas veſtrę Serenitati commendandas ſuſcipimus, quanto apertiori indies noſtrorũ, qui in eiuſdem veſtrę Serenitatis regno ac ditione negociantur, ſubditorum teſtimonio cognoſcimus, ipſam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratè, exactéq; ius ſuum cuiq; præbere, vt ad eã nemo iuſtitiæ conſequendæ gratia fruſtrà vnquam confugiat. Cúm itaque dilectus ac fidelis ſubditus noſter Ioannes Greſham mercator Londonienſis nuper nobis humiliter expoſuerit, quod quidã Willielmus Heith ipſius Factor, & negotiorum geſtor nauim quandam Portugallenſem, cui nomen erat Sancto Antonio, præerátque Diego Peres Portugallenſis ſuperioribus menſibus in Candia conduxerit,

rit, cum nauiſq; præfecto conuenerit, vt in inſulam Chium ad quaſdam diuerſi generis merces onerandas primò nauigaret, In Candiamque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc noſtrum regnum poſtmodum aduecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentioníſque inſtrumento apertius conſtat, accidit, vt præfatus Diego veſtræ Serenitatis ſubditus, dictis ſuſceptis mercibus, & iam in itinere parùm fideliter, & longè præter initas conuentiones, grauiſſimo certe noſtrorum ſubditorum detrimento, vbi in Portugalliæ portum diuertiſſet, ſententia huc nauigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, noſtrorúmque etiam ſubditorum merces detineat: quam iniuriam (quum ſubditis noſtris in veſtræ Serenitatis regno, & ab eius ſubdito illata ſit) ex æquitate, ac iuſtitia ab ipſa corrigi, emendaríque confidimus, noſtro quoque potiſſimum intuitu, qui veſtræ Serenitatis ipſiúſque ſubditorum cauſas, mercéſque, ſi quando in hoc noſtrum regnum appulerint, ſemper commendatiſſimas habemus, id quod ſuperiori anno teſtati ſumus: proinde ipſam vehementer rogamus, vt Iohannem Ratliffe præſentium latorem, & dicti Iohannis Greſham nouum conſtitutum procuratorem, huius rei cauſa iſtuc venientem, velit in ſuis agendis, in dictíſque bonis recuperandis, impunéque aſportandis remittendíſque vectigalibus (quod nos in veſtros ſubditos fecimus) quum per nauis prefectum fraude, ac dolo iſtuc merces fuerint aduectæ, niſi iſtic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, ſic commendatum ſuſcipere, ſicque ad ſuos, quos opus fore intellexerit magiſtratus miſſis literis rem omnem iuuare, & expedire, vt perſpiciamus ex hac noſtra commendatione fuiſſe noſtrorum ſubditorum iuri, & indemnitati quàm maximè conſultum. Quod nobis gratiſſimum eſt futurum, & in re conſimili, aut grauiori veſtra Serenitas nos ſibi gratificandi cupidiſſimos experietur, quę fœliciter valeat. Ex Regia noſtra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the high and mightie prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarue on this ſide and beyond the ſea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conqueſt, nauigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Perſia, India, &c. our moſt deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to Iohn by the ſame grace, king of Portugale and Algarue, on this ſide and beyond the ſea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conqueſt, nauigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, India, &c. our moſt deare and welbeloued brother, ſendeth greeting. So much ÿ more willingly and readily we vndertake the recommending of all iuſt cauſes vnto your highneſſe, becauſe by the daily teſtimonie of our ſubiects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a moſt worthy prince, ſo carefully and exactly you miniſter iuſtice vnto euery man, that all men moſt willingly repaire vnto your highneſſe, with full truſt to obtaine the ſame. Whereas therefore our welbeloued and truſtie ſubiect Iohn Greſham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath ſignified vnto vs, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe did hire in Candie a certaine Portugale ſhip called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and couenanted with the patrone of the ſayd ſhip, that he ſhould firſt ſaile to the Iſle of Sio, to take in merchandize of ſundry ſorts, & then eftſoones returne to Candie, to be fraighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of couenant & agreement more plainly appeareth: it ſo fel out, that ÿ aforeſaid Diego your highnes ſubiect hauing receiued the ſaid goods, very trecherouſly & much contrary to his couenant, to the exceeding great loſſe of our ſubiects, putting in by the way into an hauen of Portugale, & altering his purpoſe of comming into England, he remaineth ſtill in that hauen, & likewiſe detaineth our ſubiects goods. Which iniury (ſeeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will ſee reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our requeſt, which alwayes haue had a ſpeciall care of the cauſes & goods of your Highnes, & of your ſubiects whenſoeuer they come into our kingdome, whereof we made proofe the laſt yeere. Wherefore we inſtantly requeſt your Highnes, ÿ you would ſo receiue Iohn Ratcliffe the bearer of theſe preſent letters, & the new appointed agent of Iohn Greſham, which commeth into your dominions about this buſines, being thus commended vnto you in this buſines, & recouering & freely bringing home of the ſaid goods, & in remitting of the cuſtoms, vnleſſe they were ſold there (the like whereof we did towards your ſubiects) ſeeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ſhip, the wares were brought thither, & finally in diſpatching ÿ whole matter, according to iuſtice, & ſo further the ſame by directing your highnes letters to your officers whom it may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our ſubiects right and liberty hath eſpecially beene maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in moſt thankfull part, and your highnes ſhal find vs in the like or a greater matter moſt ready to gratifie you, whom we wiſh moſt heartily well to fare. From our Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the ſhippes called the *Holy Croſſe*, and the *Mathew Gonſon*, to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio*, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Maſter *Richard Hackluit*, by *Iohn Williamſon*, Cooper and citizen of *London*, who liued in the yere 1592, and went as cooper in the *Mathew Gonſon* the next voyage after.

The Holy Croſſe and the Mathew Gonſon depart for Turkie.

THe ſhippes called the Holy Croſſe, and the Mathew Gonſon, made a voyage to the Iſlandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonſon, ſonne of old Maſter William Gonſon, paymaſter of the kings nauie. In this firſt voyage went William Holſtocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Maieſties Nauie, lately deceaſed) as page to M. Richard Gonſon aforeſaid, which M. Gonſon died in Chio in this his firſt voyage. The ſhip called the Holy Croſſe was a ſhort ſhippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And hauing beene a full yeere at the ſea in performance of this voyage, with great danger ſhe returned home, where, vpon her arriuall at Blackwall, in the riuer of Thames, her wine and oyle caſke was found ſo weake, that they were not able to hoyſe them out of the ſhip, but were conſtrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new veſſels, and ſo to vnlade the ſhippe. Their chiefe fraight, was very excellent Muſcatels and red Malmeſie, the like whereof were ſeldome ſeene before in England. They brought home alſo good quantitie of ſweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and ſome other ſpices. The ſaide ſhippe called the Holy Croſſe was ſo ſhaken in this voyage, and ſo weakened, that ſhe was layd vp in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio* made by the ſhippe the *Mathew Gonſon*, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of *Iohn Williamſon*, then Cooper in the ſame ſhip, made to M. *Richard Hackluit* in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonſon goeth into Turkie.

THe good ſhippe called the Mathew Gonſon, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonſon, pay-maſter of the kings Nauie, made her voyage in the yere 1535. In this ſhip went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Ruſsia. Maſter William Holſtocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Nauie went then as purſer in the ſame voyage. The Maſter was one Iohn Picher, ſeruant to old M. William Gonſon, Iames Rumnie was Maſters mate. The maſter cooper was Iohn Williamſon citizen of London, liuing in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunſtons pariſh in the Eaſt. The M. Gunner was Iohn Godfrey of Briſtoll. In this ſhip were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Meſsina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ſhip road there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere vnto vs, & in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ſhip were about 100. men, we were alſo furniſhed with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio vntill we came through the ſtraight of Gibaltar into the maine Ocean. We had alſo a great long boat and a ſkiff. We were out vpon this voyage eleuen moneths, yet in all this time there died of ſickneſſe but one man, whoſe name was George Forreſt, being ſeruant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, ſeruant vnto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of Nouember 1533, and continued vntill the 4 of Iuly 1544. I find that he the ſaid William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Maſter, but alſo for the duke of Norfolkes grace, & for many other worſhipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accomptes of theſe eſpecially, to wit, of his ſaid Maſter, ſir William Bowyer, of William & Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of Iohn Starky Mercer, of William Oſtrige Marchant, & of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the ſaid ligier booke, a note of the ſaid Eyms, of all ſuch goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Maſters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of Oliuer Leſſon, ſeruant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proofe of the continuance of this trade vntill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed vnto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of Nouember 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Eſquire M. *Peter Read* in the ſouth Ile of Saint *Peters* Church in the citie of *Norwich*, which was knighted by *Charles* the fift at the winning of *Tunis* in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

HEre vnder lyeth the corpes of Peter Reade Eſquire, who hath worthily ſerued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but alſo the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conqueſt of Barbarie, and at his ſiege at Tunis, as alſo in other places. Who had giuen him by the ſayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir *Thomas Chaloner* to *Alger* with *Charles* the fift 1541, drawen out of his booke *De Republica Anglorum inſtauranda.*

THomas Chalonerus patria Londinenſis, ſtudio Cantabrigenſis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, veréque Chriſtianus fuit. Itaque cum iuuenilem ætatem, mentemq; ſuam humanioribus ſtudijs roboraſſet, Domino Henrico Kneuetto à potentiſſimo rege Henrico eius nominis octauo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem tranſmiſſo legato, vnà cum illo profectus eſt, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem à conſilijs. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto nauali certamine à Genua & Corſica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas claſſem ſoluente ac hoſtiliter proficiſcente, ornatiſſimo illo Kneuetto legato regis, Thoma Chalonero, Henrico Knolleo, & Henrico Iſamo, illuſtribus viris eundem in illa expeditione ſuapte ſponte ſequentibus, pariterque militantibus, mirifice vitam ſuam Chalonerus tutatus eſt. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel ſcopulis alliſa, vel grauiſſimis procellis conquaſſata, naufragus cum ſe diù natatu defendiſſet, deficientibus viribus, brachijs manibuſque languidis ac quaſi eneruatis, prehenſa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi iam propinqua tum fuerat eiecta, non ſine dentium aliquorum iactura ac fractura ſeſe tandem recuperauit, ac domum integer relapſus eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by ſtudie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a deuout and true Chriſtian. Therfore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the ſtudies of good learning, when Sir Henry Kneuet was ſent ambaſſadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the ſaid Charles the 5. paſſing ouer from Genoa and Corſica to Alger in Africa in warlike ſort, with a mighty army by ſea, that honorable Kneuet the kings ambaſſadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Iſham, right worthy perſons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & ſerued him in that warre, wherin Thomas Chaloner eſcaped moſt wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either daſhed againſt the rockes, or ſhaken with mighty ſtormes, and ſo caſt away, after he had ſaued himſelfe a long while by ſwimming, when his ſtrength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was caſt out of the next gally, not without breaking and loſſe of certaine of his teeth, at length recouered himſelfe, and returned home into his countrey in ſafety.

The voyage of M. *Roger Bodenham* with the great Barke Aucher to *Candia* and *Chio*, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the ſaid ſhip at Graueſend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Leuant. The maſter of my ſhip was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes vntill the 6. of Ianuary 1551. The 6 of Ianuarie, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had prouided a ſkilfull pylot to cary me ouer the lands end, whoſe name was M. Wood, and with all ſpeede I valed downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Douer, and there came to an anker, and there remained vntill tueſday, meeting with the worthy knight ſir Anthony Aucher owner of the ſaide ſhip.

The Barke Aucher goeth for Leuant.

The 11 day we arriued in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we ſet forward on our voyage with a proſperous winde, and the 16 we had ſight of Cape Finiſter on the coaſt of Spaine.

The 30 we arriued at Cades, and there diſcharged certaine marchandiſe, and tooke others aboord.

Mallorca.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & paſſed the ſtraights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and ſtaied there fiue daies with contrary windes.

Meſſina.

The firſt of March, we had ſight of Sardenna, and the fift of the ſaid moneth wee arriued at Meſſina in Sicilia, and there diſcharged much goods, and remained there vntill good Friday in Lent.

The Turke prepareth an army to beſiege Malta.

The Barke Aucher at Micone.

The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 ducats for the ſafegard of the Barke Aucher.

The chiefe marchant that laded the ſayd Barke Aucher was a marchant ſtranger called Anſelm Saluago, and becauſe the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Leuant, eſpecially to Chio, without a ſafe conduct from the Turke, the ſaid Anſelm promiſed the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we ſhould receiue the ſame at Meſſina. But I was poſted from thence to Candia, and there I was anſwered that I ſhould ſend to Chio, and there I ſhould haue my ſafe conduct. I was forced to ſend one, and hee had his anſwere that the Turke would giue none, willing me to looke what was beſt for me to doe, which was no ſmall trouble to me, conſidering I was bound to deliuer the goods that were in the ſhip at Chio, or ſend them at mine aduenture. The marchants without care of the loſſe of the ſhip would haue compelled me to goe, or ſend their goods at mine aduenture, the which I denied, and ſayd plainely I would not goe, becauſe the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe againſt Malta, but by the French kings meanes, he was perſwaded to leaue Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes veſſels called Skyraſas, which had brought wheat thither to ſell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning betimes, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the ſame night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man priuie, vntill I ſawe time. Then I had no ſmall buſineſſe to cauſe my mariners to venture with the ſhip in ſuch a manifeſt danger. Neuertheleſſe I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I ſet on land, and with all diligence I was readie to ſet foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone ſhine night, & went out. Then my 3 marriners made ſuch requeſts vnto the reſt of my men to come aborde, as I was conſtrained to take them in. And ſo with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde ſcanted, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, hauing a greeke Pilot to carrie the ſhip to Chio. In this meane ſeaſon, there came many ſmall botes with myſſon ſayles to goe for Chio, with diuerſe goods to ſell, & the Pilot requeſted me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the ſayde dayes expired, I wayed & ſet ſaile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I caſt to ſeaward againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foreſaid ſmal veſſels which came in my company, departed from me to win the ſhore, to get in yͤ night, but vpon a ſudden they eſpied 3 foyſtes of Turkes comming vpon them to ſpoyle them. My Pilot, hauing a ſonne in one of thoſe ſmall veſſels, entreted me to caſt about towards them, which at his requeſt I did, and being ſome thing farre from them, I cauſed my Gunner to ſhoot a demy-coluering at a foyſt that was readie to enter one of the botes. This was ſo happy a ſhott, that it made the Turke to fall a ſterne of the bote and to leaue him, by the which meanes hee eſcaped. Then they all came to me, and requeſted that they might hang at my ſterne vntill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and ſent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to ſend for their goods out of hand, or elſe I would returne back with all to Candia, & they ſhould fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perſwaſion of my merchants Engliſh men, & thoſe of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a ſafe aſſurance for 20 dayes againſt the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the ſumme of 12000 ducats. So I made haſt & ſolde ſuch goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much ſpeede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So vpon the ſudden they called me of great friendſhip, & in ſecret told me, I had no way to ſaue my ſelfe but to be gone, for ſaid they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to helpe our ſelues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaueth what he liſt, but the chiefe of the Turkes ſet order yͭ none ſhal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was ſuch news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants Engliſh men and other regarding more their gaines then the ſhip, hindered me very much in my purpoſe of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to haue a time to employ the ſame there. But God prouided ſo for me, that I paied them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not let the ſhip foorth, I would make them to anſwere the ſame in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had ſomewhat to looſe, thoſe did ſticke to me. I had twelue gunners: the Maſter gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners ſeruant had a parlament betweene themſelues, and he vpon the ſame came vp to me with his ſword drawen, ſwearing that hee had promiſed the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to liue and die in the ſayde ſhippe againſt all that ſhould offer any harme to the ſhippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and neuer yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe; but at the laſt I made him confeſſe his fault and followe mine aduiſe. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the ſea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueſes botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and being out God ſent mee a ſpeciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I cauſed a peece to be ſhotte off for ſome of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboord, and then I ſet ſayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the ſayle I could, and about halfe an houre paſt two of the clocke there came ſeuen gallies into Chio to ſtay the ſhippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage becauſe ſhe was gone. Whereupon they put ſome of the beſt in priſon, and tooke all the men of the three ſhips which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would haue followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 ſayle, taking their voyage for to ſurpriſe the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the ſight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or euer I could get in, where I thought my ſelfe out of their daunger. There I continued vntill the Turkes armie was paſt, who came within the ſight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many baniſhed men, that liue continually in the mountaines, they came downe to ſerue, to the number of foure or fiue thouſand, they are good archers, euery one with his bowe and arrowes, a ſword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach vp to their grine, and a ſhirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, theſe were ſent away againe aſſoone as the armie was paſt. They would drinke wine out of all meaſure. Then the armie being paſt, I laded my ſhippe with wines and other things: and ſo after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Meſſina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Gallions of Turkes, laying aboord of certaine veſſels of Venice laden with Muſcatels: I reſcued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and ſhot: and within a few dayes after I came to Meſſina. I had in my ſhippe a Spaniſh pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Leuant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the ſhippe, he ſtoode me in good ſteede vntill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And ſo from thence I came to London with the ſhippe and goods in ſafetie, God be prayſed. And all thoſe Mariners that were in my ſayd ſhippe, which were, beſides boyes, threeſcore and tenne, for the moſt part were within fiue or ſixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chanceller, who firſt diſcouered Ruſſia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Maiesties chiefe ſhip-wright.

The companie doe murmure againſt their Captaine.

The Turkes Gallies come to ſeeke the Barke Aucher.

Fiue thouſand baniſhed men in Candia.

Maſter Richard Chancellour. Maſter Mathew Baker.

The voyage of M. *Iohn Locke* to *Ieruſalem*.

In my voyage to Ieruſalem, I imbarked my ſelfe the 16 of March 1553 in the good ſhippe called the Mathew Gonſon, which was bound for Liuorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next enſuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accuſtomed maner with all ſhippes of extraordinarie greatnes and burden, picked a quarrell againſt the company, meaning to haue forfeited, or at the leaſt to haue arreſted the ſaid ſhippe. And they grew ſo malicious in their wrongfull purpoſe, that I being vtterly out of hope of any ſpeedie releaſe, to the ende that my intention ſhould not be ouerthrowen, was inforced to take this courſe following. Notwithſtanding this hard beginning, it fell out ſo luckily, that I found in the roade a great ſhippe called the Caualla of Venice, wherein after agreement made with the patron, I ſhipped my ſelfe the 24 of May in the ſaid yeere 1553. And the 25 by reaſon of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the Straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coaſt of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine ſea 2 leagues from ſhore, and continued ſo vntill two houres before ſunne ſet, and then we weighed againe, and turned our courſe towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforeſayd, the winde being very calme, but the current of the ſtraites very fauourable. The ſame day the winde beganne to riſe ſomewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and ſo continued at Northweſt vntill we arriued at Legorne the third of Iune. And from thence riding ouer land vnto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Ieruſalem in the Pilgrimes ſhippe.

The ſhip Fila Cauena departeth for Ieruſalem.

Rouignio a port in Iſtria.

I Iohn Locke, accompanied with Maiſter Anthony Raſtwold, with diuers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good ſhippe called Fila Cauena of Venice, the 16 of Iuly 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and ſayled towardes the coaſt of Iſtria, to the port of Rouigno, and the ſaid day there came aboord of our ſhip the Perceuena of the ſhippe named Tamiſari, for to receiue the reſt of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for euery man for that voyage, after the rate of fiue ſhillings ſtarling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

Sancta Euſemia.

The 19 day we tooke freſh victuals aboord, and with the bote that brought the freſh prouiſion we went on land to the Towne, and went to ſee the Church of Sancta Euſemia, where we ſawe the bodie of the ſayd Saint.

Monte de Ancona.

The 20 day wee departed from Rouignio, and about noone we had ſight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or elſe of Sclauonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles diſtant from ech other, and more.

Il pomo.

Sant Andrea.

Liſſa an Iland.

Lezina Iland.

The 21 we ſayled ſtill in ſight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had ſight of a rocke in the midſt of the ſea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in ſhape like a ſugarloafe. Alſo we ſawe another rocke about two miles compaſſe called Sant Andrea: on this rocke is onely one Monaſterie of Friers: we ſayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of vs, and we had alſo kenning of another Iland called Liſſa, all on the left hande, theſe three Ilands lie Eaſt and Weſt in the ſea, and at ſunne ſetting we had paſſed them. Il pomo is diſtant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Liſſa 10 miles, and Liſſa from another Iland called Lezina, which ſtandeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Liſſa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and fruites, and hereagainſt we were becalmed.

Carza.

Pelagoſa.

Auguſta.

Meleda.

Monte Sant Angelo.

The 22 we had ſight of another ſmall Iland called Carza, which is deſolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagoſa, this is alſo deſolate, and lyeth in the midſt of the ſea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out fiue miles in to the ſea, ſo that many ſhips by night are caſt away vpon them. There is betweene Carza and Pelagoſa 30 miles, and theſe two Ilands are diſtant from Venice 400 miles. There is alſo about twelue miles eaſtward, a great Iland called Auguſta, about 14 miles in length, ſomewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this alſo we left on the left hand: & we haue hitherto kept our courſe from Rouignio Eaſt ſoutheaſt. This Iland is vnder the Signiorie or gouernement of Raguſa, it is diſtant from Raguſa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is alſo vnder the gouernement of Raguſa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by Eaſt from Auguſta, and ouer againſt this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, vpon the coaſt of Puglia in Italy, and we had ſight of both landes at one time.

Raguſa payeth 14000. Sechinos to the Turke yerely.

Il Cromo.

The 23 we ſayled all the day long by the bowline alongſt the coaſt of Raguſa, and towardes night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Raguſa, that we might ſee the white walles, but becauſe it was night, we caſt about to the ſea, minding at the ſecond watch, to beare in againe to Raguſa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew ſo hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Raguſa payeth tribute to the Turke yeerely fourteene thouſand Sechinos, and euery Sechino is of Venetian money eight liuers and two ſoldes, beſides other preſents which they giue to the Turkes Baſſas when they come thither. The Venetians haue a rocke or cragge within a mile of the ſaid towne, for the which the Raguſeos would giue them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the name ſake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southſide of the towne, and is called Il cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monaſterie called Sant Ieronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cauſe they are in great ſubiection. This night wee were put backe by contrarie windes, and ankered at Melleda.

Zupanna.

Iſola de Mezo.

Sant Andrea.

The 24 being at an anker vnder Melleda, we would haue gone on land, but the winde came ſo faire that we preſently ſet ſayle and went our courſe, and left on the right hand of vs the forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene vs and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within a mile of that vnder the maine by Eaſt, another Iland called Iſola de Mezo. This Iland hath two Monaſteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Alſo there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: theſe Ilands are from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or fiue miles ouer by geſſe, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie ſaue wine onely. This night toward ſunne ſet it waxed calme, and we ſayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were paſt Raguſa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ſhips, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would haue ſpoken with vs, for we were deſirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to haue ſent ſome letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had ſcant ſight of Caſtel nouo, which Caſtell a fewe yeeres paſt the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were ſlaine three hundred Spaniſh ſouldiers, beſides the reſt which were taken priſoners, and made gallie ſlaues. This Caſtell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians haue a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth vp to Budoa, and further vp into the countrey. About ſunneſet we were ouer againſt the hilles of Antiueri in Sclauonia, in the which hilles the Venetians haue a towne called Antiueri, and the Turkes haue another againſt it called Marcheuetri, the which two townes continually ſkirmiſh together with much ſlaughter. At the end of theſe hils endeth the Countrey of Sclauonia, and Albania beginneth. Theſe hilles are thirtie miles diſtant from Raguſa.

Caſtle nouo.

Boca de Cataro.

The towne Cataro.

Budoa.

Antiueri.

Marcheuetri.

The end of Sclauonia and the beginning of Albania.

The 27 we kept our courſe towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had ſight of both the maines, but we were neerer the coaſt of Puglia, for feare of Foyſtes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, ſo that it is ſeene the further. Thus ſayling our courſe along the coaſt of Puglia, we ſaw diuerſe white Towers, which ſerue for ſeamarkes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we had ſight of a rocke called Il fano, 48 miles from Corfu, and by ſunne ſet we diſcouered Corfu. Thus we kept on our courſe with a proſperous winde, and made our way after twelue mile euery houre. Moſt part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fiſhes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fiſh three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, ſome what bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cauſe it is ſaid that the Turke will not ſuffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

Puglia.

Cape Chimera.

Cape Otranto.

Il fano.

Corfu.

Palomidè.

The 29 in the morning we were in ſight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is vnder the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne ſtrongly ſituated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath alſo a very ſtrong fortreſſe or Caſtle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is diſtant from the maine of Morea, thirtie miles, it is in compaſſe 80 miles. One houre within night we ſayled by the towne ſtanding on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceiue their lights. There come oftentimes into the creekes and riuers, the Turkes foyſtes and gallies where at their arriuall, the Countrey people doe ſignifie vnto their neighbours by ſo many lights, as there are foiſtes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland ouer. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde ſcanted, and wee minded to haue gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is diſtant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is diſtant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

Cephalonia.

Morea.

Zante.

The 30 day we remained ſtill turning vp and downe becauſe the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde amended, ſo that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia & Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles ouer, and theſe two beare Eaſt and by South, and Weſt and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about fiue of the clocke in the morning, I with fiue Hollanders went on land, and hoſted at the houſe of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfaſt we went to ſee the towne, and paſſing along we went into ſome of the Greeke churches, wherein we ſawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monaſterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, theſe are weſterne Chriſtians, for the Greekes haue nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monaſterie we ſawe the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was found about ſixe yeeres ſince, when the Monaſtery was built, there was in time paſt a ſtreete where the tombe ſtoode. At the finding of the tombe there was alſo found a yard vnder ground, a ſquare ſtone ſome what longer then broad, vpon which ſtone was found a writing of two ſeuerall handes writing, the one as it ſeemed, for himſelfe, and the other for his wife, and vnder the ſame ſtone was found a glaſſe ſomewhat proportioned like an vrinall,

John Locke, and fiue Hollanders goe on land.

Santa Maria de la Croce.

The tombe of M. T. Cicero.

*Or, Aue.

The deſcriptiõ of the tombe.

vrnall, but that it was eight ſquare and very thicke, wherein were the aſhes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as ſtories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for inſurrection. And his wife hauing got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote vpon his tombe this ſtyle M. T. Cicero, *Haue. Then followeth in other letters, *Et tu Terentia Antonia*, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on euery ſide like a graue, in the botome whereof was found the ſayd ſtone with the writing on it, & the ſaid glaſſe of aſhes, and alſo another litle glaſſe of the ſame proportion, wherein, as they ſay, are the teares of his friendes, that in thoſe dayes they did vſe to gather and bury with them, as they did vſe in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the ſayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we reſted vntill it drew towards euening by reaſon of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, theſe are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not ſixe dayes ſince. This Frierie hath a garden very pleaſant, and well furniſhed with Orenges, Lemons, pomegranates, and diuers other good fruites. The way to it is ſomewhat ragged, vp hill and downe, and very ſtonie, and in winter very durtie. It ſtandeth very pleaſantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good proſpect. From thence we aſcended the hill to the Caſtle, which is ſituated on the very toppe of a hill. This Caſtle is very ſtrong, in compaſſe a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is neuer vnfurniſhed) and manned with men of truſt, it may defend it ſelfe againſt any Princes power. This Caſtle taketh the iuſt compaſſe of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is ſo ſteepe downe, and ſo high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or euer he be halfe way vp. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure ſquare, and it commaundeth the towne and porte. The Venetians haue alwayes their Podeſta, or Gouernour, with his two Counſellours reſident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of houſholders. The Iland by report is threeſcore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thouſand fighting men. They ſay they haue alwayes fiue or ſixe hundred horſemen readie at an houres warning. They ſay the Turke hath aſſayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could neuer bring his purpoſe to paſſe. It is ſtrange to mee how they ſhould maintaine ſo many men in this Iland, for their beſt ſuſtenance is wine, and the reſt but miſerable.

Sant Elia, but one Frier.

The deſcriptiõ of the Caſtle of Zante.

The Turke hath attempted the Iland of Zante.

The Caſtle of Torneſſe.

Twelue turks gallies at Modon, and Coron, and Candia.

The firſt of Auguſt we were warned aboord by the patron, and towards euening we ſet ſayle, and had ſight of a Caſtle called Torneſſe, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they haue now loſt it, it ſtandeth alſo on a hill on the ſea ſide in Morea. All that night we bare into the ſea, becauſe we had newes at Zante of twelue of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cauſe we kept at the ſea.

Modon. Coron.

The ſecond of Auguſt we had no ſight of land, but kept our courſe, and about the third watch the winde ſcanted, ſo that we bare with the ſhore, and had ſight of Modon and Coron.

Cauo Matapan.

The third we had ſight of Cauo Matapan, and all that day by reaſon of contrary windes, which blew ſomewhat hard, we lay a hull vntill morning.

The fourth we were ſtill vnder the ſayd Cape, and ſo continued that day, and towardes night there grewe a contention in the ſhip amongſt the Hollanders, and it had like to haue bene a great inconuenience, for we had all our weapons, yea euen our kniues taken from vs that night.

Candia.

The fift, we ſayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had ſight of the Iland of Candia, and towardes noone we might ſee it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

Gozi.

Candia.

Cape Spada. C. Salomon.

The ſixt toward the breake of day we ſaw two ſmall Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of theſe Ilands is fifteene miles about, and the other 10 miles. In thoſe Ilands are nouriſhed ſtore of cattell for butter and cheeſe. There are to the number of fiftie or ſixtie inhabitants, which are Greekes, and they liue chiefly on milke and cheeſe. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they ſay, able to make one hundred thouſand fighting men. We ſayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are diſtant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are ſtrong men, and very good archers, and ſhoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

The ſeuenth we ſayled all along the ſayd Iland with little winde and vnſtable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the Eaſt end of the Iland.

The 9 and 10 we ſayled along with a proſperous winde and ſaw no land.

Ponta Maloca. Baffo. Cauo Bianco.

The 11 in the morning, we had ſight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Maloca, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about ſunne ſet we paſſed Cauo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled

Cauo de la gatte.

Cauo de le gatte, and ankered afore Limiſſo, but the wind blew ſo hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durſt any man goe on land. The towne is from Cauo de le gatte twelue miles diſtant.

Limiſſo.

Caualette, is a certaine vermine in the Iſland of Cyprus.

The 12. of Auguſt in the morning wee went on land to Limiſſo: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, ſaue onely in the midſt of the towne there hath bene a fortreſſe, which is now decayed, and the wals part ouerthrowen, which a Turkiſh Rouer with certaine gallies did deſtroy about 10. or 12. yeeres paſt. This day walking to ſee the towne, we chanced to ſee in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Caualette. It is as I can learne, both in ſhape and bigneſſe like a graſſehopper, for I can iudge but little difference. Of theſe many yeeres they haue had ſuch quantitie ẏ they deſtroy all their corne. They are ſo plagued with them, ẏ almoſt euery yeere they doe well nie looſe halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them iudge that beſt can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the deſtruction of thẽ, they haue throughout the whole land a conſtituted order, that euery Farmor or huſbandman (which are euen as ſlaues bought and ſold to their lord) ſhall euery yeere pay according to his territorie, a meaſure full of the ſeede or egges of theſe forenamed Caualette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and preſent to the officer appointed for the ſame, the which officer taketh of them very ſtraight meaſure, and writeth the names of the preſenters, and putteth the ſayd egges or ſeed, into a houſe appointed for the ſame, and hauing the houſe full, they beate them to powder, and caſt them into the ſea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the deſtruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne being had away, in the clods of the ſame ground do the huſbandmen find ẏ neſtes, or, as I may rather terme them, caſes of the egges of the ſame vermine. Their neſts are much like to the keies of a haſelnut tree, when they be dried, and of the ſame length, but ſomewhat bigger, which caſe being broken you ſhall ſee the egges lie much like vnto antes egges, but ſomewhat leſſer. Thus much I haue written at this time, becauſe I had no more time of knowledge, but I truſt at my returne to note more of this iſland, with the commodities of the ſame at large.

The pilgrimes going to the Greeke churches.

The 13 day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to ſee the order of their ceremonies, and of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious croſſings, it were to long. Wherefore leaſt I ſhould offend any man, I leaue it vnwritten: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or ſeruice, not one did euer kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I euer ſee any grauen images, but painted or portrayed. Alſo they haue ſtore of lampes alight, almoſt for euery image one. Their women are alwayes ſeperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboord the ſhip, although the wind were contrary, we did it becauſe the patrone ſhould not find any lacke of vs, as ſometimes he did: when as tarying vpon his owne buſineſſe, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The 14. day in the morning we ſet ſaile, and loſt ſight of the Iſland of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewiſe at Sea, and ſawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we ſawe none. But becauſe we ſuppoſed our ſelues to be neere our port, we tooke in all our ſailes except onely the foreſaile and the miſſen, and ſo we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, ſome ſixe miles from Iaffa, but it prooued contrary. But becauſe we would be ſure, wee came to an anker ſeuen miles from the ſhore, and ſent the ſkiffe with the Pilot and the maſter gunner, to learne the coaſt, but they returned, not hauing ſeen tree nor houſe, nor ſpoken with any man. But when they came to the ſea ſide againe, they went vp a little hill ſtanding hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they ſawe the hill of Ieruſalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his iudgement) that wee were paſt our port. And ſo this place where we rode was, as the mariners ſayd, about 50. mile from Iaffa. This coaſt all alongſt is very lowe, plaine, white, ſandie, and deſert, for which cauſe it hath fewe markes or none, ſo that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

A great currant.

The 18. day we abode ſtill at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: and the 19. we ſet ſaile, but the currant hauing more force then the winde, we were driuen backe, inſomuch, that the ſhip being vnder ſaile, we caſt the ſounding lead, & (notwithſtanding the wind) it remained before the ſhippe, there wee had muddie ground at fifteene fadome. The ſame day about 4. of the clocke, wee ſet ſaile againe, and ſayled Weſt alongſt the coaſt with a freſh ſide-winde. It chanced by fortune that the ſhippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her ſelfe very valiantly aboue water, notwithſtanding the great waues, ſtill ſwimming, the which the maſter knowing, he cauſed the Skiffe with halfe a dozen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when ſhe was almoſt halfe a mile from the ſhippe, and all this while the ſhip

A Cat fallen into the ſea and recouered.

ſhippe lay on ſtates. I hardly beleeue they would haue made ſuch haſte and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haſte becauſe it was the patrons cat. This I haue written onely to note the eſtimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they eſteeme their cattes, as in England we eſteeme a good Spaniell. The ſame night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and becauſe none of the ſhippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelue fathome.

The 20 it was ſtill calme, and the current ſo ſtrong ſtill one way, that we were not able to ſtemme the ſtreame: moreouer we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were paſt, or ſhort of our port, the Maſter, Pilot, and other Officers of the ſhippe entered into counſell what was beſt to doe, whereupon they agreed to ſende the bote on lande againe, to ſeeke ſome man to ſpeake with all, but they returned as wiſe as they went. Then we ſet ſayle againe and ſounded euery mile or halfe mile, and found ſtill one depth, ſo we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, ſeuen or eight miles by Weſt from the place we were at. Thus ſtill doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were ſhort 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene ouerſhot by eaſt fiftie miles. Thus in theſe doubts we loſt foure dayes, and neuer a man in the ſhippe able to tell where we were, notwithſtanding there were diuerſe in the ſhippe that had beene there before. Then ſayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the ſhore, by chance he ſaw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkiſh, inſomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of vnderſtanding, (ſeeing them to be Chriſtians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they ſtayed to ſpeake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to vnderſtand ech other, but our men made to them the ſigne of the Croſſe on the ſande, to giue them to vnderſtand that they were of the ſhippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country elſe doth) that it was the vſe of Chriſtians to go to Ieruſalem, ſhewed them to be yet by weſt of Iaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther weſt that we ſayled, the leſſe water we had.

They met with two Moores on land.

The 21 we ſet ſayle againe, and kept our courſe Northeaſt, but becauſe we would not goe along the ſhore by night, wee came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we ſet ſayle againe, and kept our courſe as before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone wee had ſight of the two towers of Iaffa, and about fiue of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they ſay he fiſhed, when Chriſt bid him caſt his net on the right ſide, and caught ſo many fiſhes. This rocke is now almoſt worne away. It is from Iaffa two or three mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrimes after ſupper, in ſalutation of the holy lande, ſang to the prayſe of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the ſhippe was a Frier of Santo Franciſco, who for anger becauſe he was not called and warned, would not ſing with vs, ſo that he ſtood ſo much vpon his dignitie, that he forgot his ſimplicitie, and neglected his deuotion to the holy land for that time, ſaying that firſt they ought to haue called him yer they did beginne, becauſe he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

The two towers of Iaffa.
Scolio di Santo Petro.

The 23 we ſent the bote on land with a meſſenger to the Padre Guardian of Ieruſalem. This day it was notified vnto mee by one of the ſhippe that had beene a ſlaue in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, becauſe their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reaſon of the Scriuanello, who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

A meſſenger departeth for Ieruſalem.
Mahomet is clothed in greene.

The 24, 25, and 26 we taryed in the ſhippe ſtill looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a ſtorme which laſted all the next day.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, yͤ Subaſſi, & the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at vs by reaſon of the ſtormy weather: in the afternoone we aſſayed to ſend the bote on land, but the weather would not ſuffer vs. Then againe toward night the bote went a ſhore, but it returned not that night. The ſame day in the afternoone we ſawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like vnto the tayle of a ſerpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the ſea: and we did ſee the water vnder the ſayde cloude aſcend, as it were like a ſmoke or myſte, the which this Cion drew vp to it. The Marriners reported to vs that it had this propertie, that if it ſhould happen to haue lighted on any part of the ſhippe, that it would rent and wreth ſayles, maſt, ſhroudes and ſhippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houſes, or whatſoeuer elſe it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. Theſe marriners did vſe a certaine coniuration to breake the ſayd tayle, or cut it in two, which

The Guardian of Ieruſalem commeth to Iaffa, with the Cady and Subaſſi.

A cloud called of the Italians Cion moſt dangerous.

A coniuration.

as they ſay with preuaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the ſame did croſſe the ſaid taile as if they would cut it in twaine, ſaying theſe words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they ſtucke the knife on the ſhip ſide with the edge towards the ſaid cloude, and I ſaw it therewith vaniſh in leſſe then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then conſumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vaniſh I know it not, but it was gone. Hereof let them iudge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very ſtormy, inſomuch that neither cheſte, pot, nor any thing elſe could ſtand in the ſhippe, and wee were driuen to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other, and ſo ſit downe vpon the hatches to eate, for ſtand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went ſo high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with ſtormy weather. The reaſon is, as the Mariners ſaid to me, becauſe that there meete all the waues from all places of the Straights of Gibraltar, and there breake, and that in moſt calmes there go greateſt ſeas, whether the winde blow or not.

The 28. the weather growing ſomewhat calme, wee went on land and reſted our ſelues for that day, and the next day we ſet forward toward the city of Ieruſalem.

What I did, and what places of deuotion I viſited in Ieruſalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Iaffa, vntill my returne to the ſaid port, may briefly be ſeene in my Teſtimoniall, vnder the hand & ſeale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

VNiuerſis & ſingulis preſentes litteras inſpecturis ſalutem in Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto. Atteſtamur vobis ac alijs quibuſcunq;, qualiter honorabilis vir Iohannes Lok ciuis Londonienſis, filius honorabilis viri Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad ſacratiſſima terræ ſanctæ loca perſonaliter ſe contulit, ſanctiſſimum Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſepluchrum, e quo die tertia glorioſus à mortuis reſurrexit, ſacratiſſimum Caluariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus eſt, Sion etiam montem vbi cœnam illam mirificam cum diſcipulis ſuis fecit, & vbi ſpiritus ſanctus in die ſancto Pentecoſtes in diſcipulos eoſdem in linguis igneis deſcendit, Oliuetiq; mõtem vbi mirabiliter coelos aſcendit, intemeratę virginis Marię Mauſoleum in Ioſaphat vallis medio ſitum, Bethaniam quoq;, Bethlehem ciuitatem Dauid in qua de puriſſima virgine Maria natus eſt, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraq; loca alia tam in Hieruſalem ciuitate ſancta terre Iudęę, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis viſitari ſolita, deuotiſſimè viſitauit, pariterq; adorauit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorũ regularis obſeruantię, prouincię diui Anthonij Sacri conuentus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terrę Sanctæ, apoſtolica authoritate comiſſarius & rector, has Sigillo maiori noſtri officij noſtraque ſubſcriptione muniri volui. Datum Hieroſolymis apud ſacratiſſimum domini coenaculum in ſępè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo, quinquageſimo tertio, die vero ſexto menſis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui ſupra.

The pilgrimes returne from Ieruſalem.

THe 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aboord our ſhippe, and ſet ſaile, and kept our courſe West toward the Iland of Cipres, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freſhed, and we paſſed by Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very ſcant, yet we kept the ſea, and towards night wee had a guſte of raine whereby wee were conſtrained to ſtrike our ſailes, but it was not very ſtormie, nor laſted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept ſtill the ſea and ſaw no land becauſe we had very litle winde, and that not very fauourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatſwaine ſent ſome of the Mariners into the boat, (which we towed a ſterne from Iaffa) for certaine neceſſaries belonging to the ſhip, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fiſh in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners ſaid they had ſeene the like a foote long and more) the which fiſh had on euery ſide a wing, and towards the taile two other leſſer as it were finnes, on either ſide one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. Theſe wings grow out betweene the gils and the carkaſſe of the ſame fiſh. They are called in the Italian tongue Peſce columbini, for in deede, the wings being ſpred it is like to a flying doue, they ſay it will flie farre, and very high. So it ſeemeth that being weary of her flight, ſhe fell into the boate, and not being able to riſe againe died there.

Peſce columbini.

The 23. 24. and 25. we ſailed our direct courſe with a ſmall gale of winde, and this day we had ſight of the Iland of Cyprus. The firſt land that we diſcouered was a headland called Cauo de la Griega, and about midnight we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hill, long and ſquare, and on the Eaſt corner it hath a high top, that appeareth vnto thoſe at the ſea, like a white cloud, for towards the ſea it is white, and it lieth into the ſea Southweſt. This coaſt of Cyprus is high declining towards the ſea, but it hath no cliffes.

Cauo de la Griega.

Salini.
Arnacho di Salini.
Caſalia.

The 26. we ſet ſaile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence, called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Caſalia. This is diſtant from Iaffa 250. Italian miles.

The 27. we reſted, and the 28. we hired horſes to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The ſalt pit is very neere two miles in compaſſe, very plaine and leuell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in vntill the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the reſt is conueyed by a trench into the ſea. This water is let runne in about October, or ſooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth aſſorde. There they let it remaine vntill the ende of Iuly or the middeſt of Auguſt, out of which pits at that time, in ſteade of water that they let in they gather very faire white ſalt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the ſunne. This the Venetians haue, and doe maintaine to the vſe of S. Marke, and the Venetian ſhips that come to this Iland are bound to caſt out their ballaſt, and to lade with ſalt for Venice. Alſo there may none in all the Iland buy ſalt but of theſe men, who maintaine theſe pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horſemen to the end it be not ſtolne by night. Alſo vnder the Venetians dominions no towne may ſpende any ſalt, but they muſt buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any ſalt at one towne to carie to another, but euery one muſt buy his ſalt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more ſalt then he ſpendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accuſed, hee looſeth an eare. The moſt part of all the ſalt they haue in Venice commeth from theſe Salines, and they haue it ſo plentifull, that they are not able, neuer a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in Iuly, Auguſt, and September, and not fully theſe three monethes. Yet notwithſtanding the abundance that the ſhippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, ſome heapes able to lade nine or tenne ſhippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, ſome of three and ſome of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great ſumme of golde, and when the ſhips do lade, they neuer take it by meaſure, but when they come at Venice they meaſure it. This ſalt as it lyeth in the pit is like ſo much ice, and it is ſixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cauſe their ſlaues to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famaguſta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24. Engliſh miles.

Sixe horſemen to watch the ſalt pit.

Famaguſta.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famaguſta, and after we were refreſhed we went to ſee the towne. This is a very faire ſtrong holde, and the ſtrongeſt and greateſt in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and ſtrongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, reſponding one to another, theſe walles did the Venetians make. They haue alſo on the hauen ſide of it a Caſtle, and the hauen is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to ſay, one for the lande and another for the ſea, they haue in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 ſouldiers, and fortie and ſixe gunners, beſides Captaines, petie Captaines, Gouernour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie ſouldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the ſea gate fiue and twentie, vpon the walles euery night doe watch fifteene men in watch houſes, for euery watch houſe fiue men, and in the market place 30 ſouldiers continually. There may no ſoldier ſerue there aboue 5. yeres, neither will they without friendſhip ſuffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may ſerue of all nations except Greekes. They haue euery pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 ſhillings ſterling. Their horſemen haue onely ſixe ſoldes Venetian a day, and prouender for their horſes, but they haue alſo certaine lande therewith to plow and ſowe for the maintenance of their horſes, but truely I maruell how they liue being ſo hardly fed, for all the ſommer they feede onely vpon chopt ſtrawe and barley, for hey they haue none, and yet they be faire, fat and ſeruiceable. The Venetians ſend euery two yeeres new rulers, which they call Caſtellani. The towne hath allowed it alſo two gallies continually armed and furniſhed.

Mozenigo.
Money of Venice.

Caſtellani.

Saint Katherens Chappel in old Famaguſta.

The 30 in the morning we rode to a chappell, where they ſay Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in olde Famaguſta, the which was deſtroyed by Engliſhmen, and is cleane ouerthrowne to the ground, to this day deſolate and not inhabited by any perſon, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and ſtrong buildings, and not onely there, but alſo in many places of the Iland. Moreouer when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde ſometimes olde antient coines, ſome of golde, ſome of ſiluer, and ſome of copper, yea and many tombes and vaults with ſepulchers in them. This olde Famaguſte is from the other, foure miles, and ſtandeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famaguſta againe to dinner, and toward euening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we ſawe the tombe of king Iaques, which was the laſt king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred ſeuentie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of

Diuers coines vnder ground.

Venice, of the houſe of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great reuenues in this Iſland, and by meanes of that mariage, the Venetians chalenge the kingdome of Cyprus.

Cornari, a famile of Venice married to king Iaques.

The firſt of October in the morning, we went to ſee the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to ſee a pot or Iarre of ſtone, which is ſayd to bee one of the ſeuen Iarres of water, the which the Lord God at the mariage conuerted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought vpon with drawen worke, and hath on either ſide of it, inſtead of handles, eares made in fourme as the Painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and ſmall at the bottome, with a long necke and correſpondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelue gallons; and hath a tap-hoſe to drawe wine out thereat, the Iarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famaguſta is very vnwholeſome, as they ſay, by reaſon of certaine mariſh ground adioyning vnto it. They haue alſo a certaine yeerely ſickneſſe raigning in the ſame towne, aboue all the reſt of the Iſland: yet neuertheleſſe, they haue it in other townes, but not ſo much. It is a certaine redneſſe and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their ſight, ſo that yeerely almoſt in that towne, they haue about twentie that loſe their ſight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the moſt part in this moneth of October, and the laſt moneth: for I haue met diuers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their liuing is better cheape in Famaguſta then in any other place of the Iſland, becauſe there may no kinde of prouiſion within their libertie bee ſolde out of the Citie.

No vitailes muſt be ſold out of the city of Famaguſta.

The ſecond of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee reſted vntill the ſixt day. This towne is a prettie Village, there are thereby toward the Sea ſide diuers monuments, that there hath bene great ouerthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging vnder ground, either coines, caues, and ſepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did ſee many, ſo that in effect, all alongſt the Sea coaſt, throughout the whole Iſland, there is much ruine and ouerthrow of buildings: for as they ſay, it was diſinhabited ſixe and thirtie yeres before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And ſince that time it hath bene ruinated and ouerthrowen by Richard the firſt of that name, king of England, which he did in reuenge of his ſiſters rauiſhment comming to Ieruſalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famaguſta.

Great ruines in Cyprus.

Cyprus 36. yeres diſinhabited for lacke of water.

Cypr. ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The ſixt day we rid to Nicoſia, which is from Arnacho ſeuen Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancienteſt citie of the Iſland, and is walled about, but it is not ſtrong neither of walles nor ſituation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and alſo very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Iſland, and there hath euery Cauallier or Conte of the Iſland an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by ſaint Marke, which is bound euery eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for euery tree a Bizantin, which is twelue ſoldes Venice, and ſix pence ſterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth euery yeere to ſaint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The ſtreetes of the citie are not paued, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to ſeeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be alſo Monaſteries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Iaſpis ſtone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelue ſpannes long, ſixe ſpannes broad, and ſeuen ſpannes high, which they ſay was found vnder ground. It is as faire a ſtone as euer I haue ſeene.

Nicoſia.

A fountaine that watereth al the gardens in the citie.

A Bizantin is 6. d. ſterling.

S. Sophia the Cathedral church of Nicoſia.

The ſeuenth day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleaſaunt place, and the Friers feaſted vs according to their abilitie. Theſe Friers are ſuch as haue bene Prieſts, and their wiues dying they muſt become Friers of this place, and neuer after eate fleſh, for if they do, they are depriued from ſaying maſſe: neither, after they haue taken vpon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a ſingle woman. Theſe Greekiſh Friers are very continent and chaſt, and ſurely I haue ſeldome ſeen (which I haue well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and reſted there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not diſpoſed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Vpon the ſayd hill is a certaine croſſe, which is, they ſay, a holy Croſſe. This Croſſe in times paſt did by their report of the Iſland, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the croſſe and the chappell it hung in, were ouerthrowen, ſo that neuer ſince it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now couered with ſiluer, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood

Monte de la Croce.

on it (as they ſay) and there is in the midſt of the great croſſe, a little croſſe made of the croſſe of Chriſt, but it is cloſed in the ſiluer, you muſt (if you will) beleeue it is ſo, for ſee it you cannot. This croſſe hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may ſwing it vp and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I ſawe it not.

The 10. at night we went aboord by warning of the patron: and the 11. in the morning we ſet ſaile, and crept along the ſhore, but at night we ankered by reaſon of contrary windes.

Limiſſo.

The 12. we ſet ſaile toward Limiſſo, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

Carrobi.

Vulture.

The 13. and 14. we remained ſtill on land, and the 15. the patrone ſent for vs; but by reaſon that one of our company was not well, we went not preſently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to ouertake the ſhip tenne miles into the ſea. At this Limiſſo all the Venetian ſhips lade wine for their prouiſion, and ſome for to ſell, and alſo vineger. They lade alſo great ſtore of Carrobi: for all the countrey thereabout adioining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade alſo cotton wooll there. In the ſayd towne we did ſee a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Iſland) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a fowle that is as big as a Swanne, and it liueth vpon carion. The ſkinne is full of ſoft downe, like to a fine furre, which they vſe to occupie when they haue euill ſtomacks, and it maketh good digeſtion. This bird (as they ſay) will eate as much at one meale as ſhall ſerue him fortie dayes after, and within the compaſſe of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they haue any dead beaſt, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they ſuppoſe the ſayd Vultures to haunt, they ſeeing the carion doe immediately greedily ſeaze vpon it, and doe ſo ingraft their talents, that they cannot ſpeedily riſe agayne, by reaſon whereof the people come and kill them: ſometimes they kill them with dogs, and ſometimes with ſuch weapons as they haue. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but vnder her great feathers ſhe is onely downe, her necke alſo long and full of downe. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the ſhoulders, a heape of fethers like a Taſſell, her thighs vnto her knees are couered with downe, her legs ſtrong and great, and dareth with her talents aſſault a man. They haue alſo in this Iſland a certaine ſmall bird, much like vnto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, theſe are ſo extreme fat that you can perceiue nothing els in all their bodies: theſe birds are now in ſeaſon. They take great quantitie of them, and they vſe to pickle them with vineger and ſalt, and to put them in pots and ſend them to Venice and other places of Italy for preſents of great eſtimation. They ſay they ſend almoſt 1200. Iarres or pots to Venice, beſides thoſe which are conſumed in the Iſland, which are a great number. Theſe are ſo plentifull that when there is no ſhipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is ſtore of ſhipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Famaguſta do keepe the ſtatutes of yͤ Frenchmen which ſometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicoſia obſerue the order of the Genoueſes, who ſometimes alſo did rule them. All this day we lay in the ſea with little wind.

Great plenty of very fat birds.

The Famaguſtans obſerue the French ſtatutes.

Cauo Bianco.

The 16. we met a Venetian ſhip, and they willing to ſpeake with vs, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reaſon of the euill ſtirrage of the other ſhip, we had almoſt boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered vnder Cauo Bianco, but becauſe the winde grew faire, we ſet ſaile againe preſently.

Another Cion.

A ſhip called el Bonna.

The 17, 18, 19, and 20. we were at ſea with calme ſommer weather, and the 20. we had ſome raine, and ſaw another Cion in the element. This day alſo we ſawe, and ſpake with a Venetian ſhip called el Bonna, bound for Ciprus.

A great tempeſt.

The 21. we ſailed with a reaſonable gale, and ſaw no land vntil the 4. of Nouember. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and ſtormie weather, but God be praiſed we eſcaped all dangers.

Candia, Gozi.

Antonie Gelber departeth this life.

The 4. of Nouember, we had firſt ſight of the Iſland of Candia, and we fell with the Iſlands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this preſent life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Pruſſia, who onely tooke his ſurfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, becauſe the wind was contrary, and the weather troubleſome.

The 5. we had very rough ſtormie weather. This day was the ſayd Anthonie Gelber ſowed in a Chauina filled with ſtones and throwen into the ſea. By reaſon of the freſhnes of the wind we would haue made toward the ſhore, but the wind put vs to the ſea, where we endured a great ſtorme and a troubleſome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the ſea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recouered the way which we had loſt, and ſailed out of ſight of Candia.

The 9. we ſailed all day with a proſperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had ſight of Cauo Matapan, and by noone of Cauo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reaſon of contrary wind, likewiſe we had ſight of Modon, vnder the which place we ankered. This Modon is a ſtrong towne, and built in the ſea, and ioineth on the North ſide to the land. It hath a litle caſtle built into the ſea, with a peere for litle ſhips and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South ſide of the chanell, the Iſland of Sapiencia, with other litle Iſlands all diſinhabited. The chanell lieth Southweſt and Northeaſt betweene the Iſlands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as ſome ſay it was taken frõ them by force of the Turke, and others ſay by compoſition: in like caſe Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is alſo in Morea. This night the Flemmiſh pilgrims being drunke would haue ſlaine the patrone becauſe he ankered here.

Cauo Matapan. Cauo Gallo, Modon.

Sapiencia.

Coron. Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we ſet ſaile againe, and as we paſſed by Modon, we ſaluted them with ordinance, for they that paſſe by this place, muſt ſalute with ordinance, (if they haue) or els by ſtriking their top ſailes, for if they doe not, the towne will ſhoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee paſſed by the Iſland of Prodeno, which is but litle, and deſert, vnder the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had ſight of the Iſlands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

Prodeno.

Zante and Cephalonia.

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at Weſt, we doubled betweene Caſtle Torneſte, and the Iſland of Zante. This caſtle is on the firme land vnder the Turke. This night we ankred afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and reſted there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboord by the patrone. This night the ſhip tooke in victuals and other neceſſaries.

Caſtle Torneſte vnder the Turke.

The 16. in the morning we ſet ſaile with a proſperous wind, and the 17. we had ſight of Cauo de ſanta Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the caſtles of Corfu, and went on land and refreſhed our ſelues.

Cauo S. Maria on the coaſt of Albania.

Corfu Iſland.

The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the caſtle or fortreſſe of Corfu, which is not onely of ſituation the ſtrongeſt I haue ſeene, but alſo of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two ſtrong caſtles ſituated on the top of two high cragges of a rocke, a bowe ſhoot diſtant the one from the other: the rocke is vnaſſaultable, for the ſecond warde it hath ſtrong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can deuiſe. For the third warde and vttermoſt, it hath very ſtrong walles with rampires of the rocke it ſelfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the Sea. The bulwarkes of the vttermoſt warde are not yet finiſhed, which are in number but two: there are continually in the caſtle ſeuen hundred ſouldiours. Alſo it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the ſea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath ſufficient, beſides the ſtore remaining in their ſtorehouſes. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for ſtrength it may be no leſſe. This Iſland is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and oliues great ſtore. This Iſland is parted from Albania with a chanell, in ſome places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is vnder the Turke, but in it are many Chriſtians. All the horſemen of Corfu are Albaneſes; the Iſland is not aboue 80. or 90. miles in compaſſe.

The deſcription of the force of Corfu.

The Iſland of Corfu is very plentifull.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboord and ſet ſaile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ſhip all that day, and toward Sunne ſet, the caſtle ſent a Fragatta vnto vs, to giue vs warning of three Foiſtes comming after vs, for whoſe comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, vntill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing ſtanding but the walles. There is alſo a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Caſſopo, and the townes name is called Caſſopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee paſſed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Iſland, hauing almoſt no wind. This night after ſupper, by reaſon of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there aroſe in the ſhip ſuch a troubleſome diſturbance, that all the ſhip was in an vprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wiſedome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great ſlaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put vnder hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very ſore. All this night the wind blew at Southeaſt, and ſent vs forward.

Caſſopo.

A dangerous tumult in the ſhip.

The 24. in the morning wee found our ſelues before an Iſland called Saſeno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind proſperous.

Saſeno.

Valona.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiueri, and about ſunne ſet wee paſſed Raguſa, Meleda.

and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, hauing Sclauonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of vs, and the winde Southweſt.

Curzola a fruitfull Iland.

The 26 in the morning we ſet ſayle, and paſſed the channell between Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the moſt. This Iland is vnder the Raguſes. At after noone with a hard gale at weſt and by north we entered the channell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not paſt 3 miles ouer, and we ankered before the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built vpon the ſea ſide, hauing on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is vnder the Venetians, there grow very good vines, alſo that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, eſpecially for wines. In the ſaid Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tenne gallies, and three foyſtes. All that night we remained there.

In the Iland of Leſina, are taken ſtore of Sardinas.

The 27 we ſet ſayle and paſſed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we paſſed in before the Iland of Auguſta, and about ſunne ſet before the towne of Leſina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they ſpend in Italy. This day we had a proſperous winde at Southeaſt. The Iland of Leſina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adioyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and paſſed along.

The gulfe of Quernero. Rouignio.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Iſtria, and at ſunne ſet we were at anker afore Rouignio which is alſo in Iſtria and vnder the Venetians, where all ſhips Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the ſommer the Pilots lie at Rouignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouignio 18 miles by Weſt.

Parenzo.

The 29 we ſet ſayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

S. Nicolo an Iland.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Iland hard by vninhabited, but only it hath a Monaſtery, it is full of Oliue trees, after maſſe wee returned and went aboord. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to ſee the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handſome towne, vnder the Venetians. After ſupper wee imbarked our ſelues againe, and that night wee ſayled towardes Venice.

Caorle ſtanding at the entry of the marſhes of Venice.

The firſt of December we paſt a towne of the Venetians, ſtanding on the entery to the Palude or marſhes of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driuen thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and fortie from Venice, there we remayned that night.

Our arriuall at Venice.

The ſecond two houres before day, with the winde at Southeaſt, we ſayled towards Venice, where we arriued (God be prayſed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept ſo long from landing, becauſe we durſt not land vntill we had preſented to the Prouidor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The manner of the entring of *Soliman* the great Turke, with his armie into *Aleppo* in *Syria*, marching towards *Perſia* againſt the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon*, preſent at that time.

There marched before the Grand Signior, otherwiſe called the Great Turke, 6000 Eſperes, otherwiſe called light horſemen very braue, clothed all in ſcarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the ſame, of the Tartary faſhion, two foote long, with a great role of the ſame colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkiſh faſhion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkiſh Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimſon veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thouſand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a ſhort weapon by their ſides, called in their language, Simitерro.

After came 16000 Ianizaries, called the ſlaues of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one hauing his harquebuſh, who be his gard, all clothed in violet ſilke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a ſtrange forme, called Cuocullucia, faſhioned in this ſort: the entering in of the forehead is like a ſkull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode, of the ſame colour, and vpon the forepart of the ſaid ſkull, iuſt in the middes of his forehead there is ſtanding bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of ſiluer, garniſhed moſt richly with

Goldſmiths worke, and precious ſtones, and in the top of the ſaid trunke a great buſh of fethers, which waueth vp and downe moſt brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying harquebuſhes, and the other halfe Turkiſh bowes, with their truſſes of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harneſſe coates of the Turkes faſhion, of Libard ſkinnes, and murrions vpon their heads, their ſpeares charged, and at the end of their ſtaffe hard by ỳ head of the ſpeare, a horſe taile died in a bloody colour, which is their enſigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne perſon.

After them came ſeuen pages of honour in cloth of ſiluer, vpon ſeuen white horſes, which horſes were couered with cloth of ſiluer, all embrodered and garniſhed with precious ſtones, emeraunds, diamonds, and rubies moſt richly.

After them alſo came ſixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turkes faſhion by his ſide.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himſelfe with great pompe & magnificence, vſing in his countenance and geſture a wonderfull maieſtie, hauing onely on each ſide of his perſon one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himſelfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horſe, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered moſt richly with the moſt precious ſtones, and vpon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by eſtimation fifteene yards, which was of ſilke and linnen wouen together, reſembling ſomething Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Oſtrich feathers, and his horſe moſt richly apparelled in all points correſpondent to the ſame.

After him folowed ſixe goodly yong ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of ſiluer, which were of the faſhion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle and precious ſtones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldſmiths worke, hauing great flackets of haire, hanging out on each ſide, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the ſame colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each ſide, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike faſhion.

After marched ỳ great Baſha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimſon, and vpon the ſame another ſhort garment very rich, and about him fiftie Ianizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimſon veluet, being armed as the great Turks owne Ianizaries.

Then after enſued three other Baſhas, with ſlaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thouſand men.

After came a companie of horſemen very braue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thouſand.

All this aforeſayd army, moſt pompous to behold, which was in number foure ſcore and eight thouſand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himſelfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly caſtle, ſituated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The reſt of his armie paſſed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the reſt of his armie, intending to march into Perſia, to giue battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well thoſe that went by the mountaines, as alſo thoſe that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horſemen & footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and vitailes for the ſaid army, were in number 200000.

A note of the preſents that were giuen at the ſame time in *Aleppo*, to the grand Signior, and the names of the preſenters.

First the Baſha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horſes.

The Baſha of Damaſco, preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horſes, with diuers ſorts of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Baſha of Aman preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horſes, and a cup of gold, with two thouſand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis preſented ſix camels, charged all with ſilkes, 20. horſes, and a little clocke of gold, garniſhed with precious ſtones, eſteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The Conſul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kiſſe the grand Signiors hand, and preſented him a great baſin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The ſafeconduct or priuiledge giuen by *Sultan Solyman* the great Turke, to maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon* at *Aleppo* in *Syria*, in the yeere 1553.

SVltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Iuſticers, Officers, and ſubiects of Tripolis in Syria, Conſtantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of all other townes and cities vnder our dominion and iuriſdiction: We will and commaund you, that when you ſhall ſee Anthony Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe preſent letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the ſayd letter for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his ſhip or ſhips, or other veſſels whatſoeuer, that you ſuffer him to lade or vnlade his merchandiſe whereſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good vnto him, trafficking for himſelfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way diſturbing of him, his ſhip, his people or merchandiſe, and without enforcing him to pay any other cuſtome or toll whatſoeuer, in any ſort, or to any perſons whatſoeuer they be, ſaue onely our ordinarie duties contained in our cuſtome houſes, which when he hath paied, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himſelfe as for his people, merchandiſe, ſhip or ſhips, and all other veſſels whatſoeuer: and in ſo doing that he may traffike, bargaine, ſell and buy, lade and vnlade, in all our foreſayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like ſort, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians vſe, and enioy, and more if it bee poſſible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Conſuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Conſuls reſident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince ſoeuer they be, not to conſtraine, or cauſe to conſtraine by them, or the ſayd Miniſters and Officers whatſoeuer they be, the ſayd Anthony Ienkinſon, or his factor, or his ſeruaunts, or deputies, or his merchandiſe, to pay any kind of conſullage, or other right whatſoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to moleſt nor trouble him any maner of way, becauſe our will and pleaſure is, that he ſhall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie cuſtome. And in caſe any man hinder and impeach him, aboue, and beſides theſe our preſent letters, wee charge you moſt expreſly to defend and aſſiſt him agaynſt the ſayd Conſuls, and if they will not obey our preſent commandement, that you aduertiſe vs thereof, that we may take ſuch order for the ſame, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foiſtes or other Veſſels, that when they ſhall finde the ſayd Ienkinſon, or his factor, his ſhip or ſhips, with his ſeruaunts and merchandiſe, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they aſſiſt and defend him agaynſt all ſuch as ſeeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailes, according to his want, and that whoſoeuer ſhall ſee theſe preſents, obey the ſame, as they will auoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Ieſus, 1553. ſigned with the ſcepter and ſignet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A diſcourſe of the trade to *Chio*, in the yeere 1569. made by *Gaſpar Campion*, vnto maſter *Michael Locke*, and vnto maſter *William Winter*, as by his letters vnto them both ſhall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

1569. WOrſhipfull Sir, &c. As theſe dayes paſt I ſpake vnto you about the procurement of a ſafeconduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great eaſe ſhall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you ſhall vnderſtand that the Iland of Chio in time paſt hath bene a Signiorie or lordſhip of it ſelfe, and did belong vnto the Genowaies. There were 24. of thē that gouerned the Iland which were called Mauneſes. But in continuaunce of time the Turke waxed ſo ſtrong and mightie, that they, conſidering they were not able to keepe it, vnleſſe they ſhould become his tributaries, becauſe the Iland had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to ſuſtaine themſelues, but onely that which muſt of neceſſitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the ſayd Iland being incloſed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the ſaid Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thouſand ducates yeerely. Alwayes prouided, that they ſhould keep their lawes both ſpirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuiledge, which they inioyed for many yeeres, ſo that all ſtrangers, and alſo many Engliſh men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in ſafety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to ſerue the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies againſt the Turke. And ſince that time diuers other captaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the ſeruice of king Philip againſt the Turke. Moreouer, whenſoeuer the Turke made out any army, he perceiued that no nation did him more hurt then thoſe Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewiſe at the Turkes ſiege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with loſſe of his men, and alſo of his gallies, he found none ſo troubleſome vnto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and diuers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which ſight, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure againſt them of Chio, that he ſent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to ſeiſe vpon all the goods of the 24 Mauneſes, and to turne them with their wiues and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, becauſe the Iland ſhould not be vnpeopled. So that now the Turke hath ſent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more eaſie for vs to obtaine our ſafeconduct then euer it was before. For if the townſmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times paſt) they themſelues, and alſo the cuſtomer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his cuſtomes) would be the chiefeſt procurer of this our ſafeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no ſmall matter: for we can pay no leſſe then ten in the hundred throwout the Turks whole dominion. Inſomuch, that if one of our ſhippes ſhould go thither, it would be for the cuſtomers profit 4000 ducats at leaſt, whereas if we ſhould not trade thither, he ſhould loſe ſo much. Alſo the burgeſſes, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do by any other nation whatſoeuer: for we do vſe to buy many of their ſilke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, ſo that we would not ſo gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twiſe ſo willing. Wherefore they themſelues would be a meanes vnto their gouernour, by their petition to bring this trade to paſſe: giuing him to vnderſtand that of all nations in the world we do him leaſt hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in conſuming thoſe commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more requiſite that we ſhould cary our owne commodities, then to ſuffer a ſtranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a ſtranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine own experience, for I haue traded in the countrey aboue this 30 yeres, and haue bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24 yeres, ſo that you may aſſure your ſelfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare vnto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreyes neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the beſt ſort whereof are ſold in England fiue ſhillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is alſo cotten wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlets, mocayares, grogerams, ſilke of diuers countreyes, cordouan ſkinnes tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and alſo courſe wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it ſelfe are ſilke rawe, and maſticke. Of theſe commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great ſhips of Genoa, beſides fiue or ſixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ſhips are fraughted for Genoa, Meſſina, and Ancona. And now that the Mauneſes and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are baniſhed, the trade is cleane loſt, by reaſon whereof merchandiſe muſt now of neceſſity be better cheape then they haue bene in times paſt. But yet when all thoſe ſhips did trade to the countrey, & alſo our ſhips, we neuer had leſſe then three kintals of galles for a carſie, and in England we ſold them for 35 and 36 ſhillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they ſell them vnto vs for three pound tenne ſhillings, and foure pound the hundred. Alſo we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carſie, and ſolde the wooll in England for 50 ſhillings or 3 pound at the moſt, whereas now the Italians ſell the ſame to vs for 4 pound 10 ſhillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the beſt ſort two and a halfe for a carſie, and could not ſell them aboue 20 ſhillings and 22 ſhillings the piece, they ſell them for 30 and 35 ſhillings the piece. Alſo grogerams, where we had of the beſt, two pieces and a halfe for a carſie, they ſell them for foure ſhillings and foure ſhillings and ſixe pence the yard. Carpets the ſmaller ſort which ſerue for cupboords, we had three for a carſie: whereas we at the moſt could not ſell them but for 20 ſhillings the piece, they ſell them for 35 ſhillings the piece. And ſo all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they ſell them to vs for the third part more gaines then we our ſelues in thoſe dayes that we traded in thoſe parts. Likewiſe the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we neuer could ſell them aboue foure nobles the barrell, where they ſell them alwayes for 50 ſhillings & 3 pound the barrell. What great pity is this, that we ſhould loſe ſo good

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The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies vnder the Emperor.

Iuanette Doria.

The Mauneſes put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.

The cuſtome throwout all Turkie is ten in euery hundreth.

Engliſh men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.

Great ſtore of ſundry commodities to be had in Chio.

a trade, and may haue it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreouer, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their moſt trade is into Alexandria. And for to aſſure you that we had theſe commodities in barter of our carſies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir Iohn Greſham, and his brethren, and you ſhall finde what I haue ſayd to be true.

Diuers places where we may haue ſweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Alſo you know, that we are forced to ſeeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for theſe many yeeres they haue bene ſolde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foreſayd ſafeconduct from the Turke, there are diuers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound ſterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelue miles diſtant the one from the other, and do ſtand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly ſee by the Card. Alſo theſe are places where we may vtter our owne commodities, and not onely theſe two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles, and be better vſed then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and alſo are very euill intreated many wayes, as to you is not vnknowen. So that by theſe meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eaſed, and haue ſuch a trade as the like is not in Chriſtendome. Now, as for getting the ſafeconduct, if I were but able to ſpend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to loſe it, if that I did not obtaine the foreſayd ſafeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither againe, they at their owne coſt would procure to vs a ſafeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to ſolicit the cauſe, I will vndertake it my ſelfe. Wherefore I pray you ſpeake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me haue your anſwere herein aſſoone as conueniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this buſineſſe muſt be done. Thus I commit you to God, and reſt alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your ſeruant *Gaſpar Campion.*

To the worſhipfull M. *VVilliam VVinter.*

IT may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and alſo for owners of ſhippes (as it was well knowen in thoſe dayes when the Matthew Gonſon, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauiour of Briſtow, with diuers other ſhips which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue moneths, and the longeſt in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. Iohn Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reaſon that wee haue not traded into thoſe parts theſe many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ſhips doe not trade as they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring thoſe commodities hither, and doe ſell them for double the value that we our ſelues were accuſtomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none ſo fit to furniſh this voyage as your ſelfe: my requeſt is that there may be a ſhippe of conuenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will ſatiſfie you at large what is to be done therein. And becauſe the Turke, as I ſayd before, is waxen ſtrong, and hath put out the Chriſtian rulers, and placed his owne ſubiects, we may doubt whether we may ſo peacealy trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare vndertake to obtaine a ſafeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can ſatiſfie you at large. Moreouer, I can informe you more of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I haue bene in thoſe parts theſe thirty yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of our ſhips commeth thither, they bring at the leaſt ſixe or eight thouſand carſies, ſo that the cuſtome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houſes: ſo that one of our ſhippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines then ſixe ſhips of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cauſe why the Chriſtian rulers were diſplaced: for when they payd not their yerely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ſhip that muſt go, ſhe muſt obſerue this order, ſhe muſt be a ſhip of countenance, and ſhe muſt not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but ſhe muſt lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of ſtrangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence ſhe muſt make her money to buy wines, by exchange to Candia, for there both cuſtome & exchange are reaſonable: and not do as the Math. Gonſon & other ſhips did in time paſt, who made ſale of

Gaſpar Campion maried in Chio 24 yeeres.

their wares at Meſſina foꝛ the lading of their wines, and payed foꝛ turning their white money into golde after foure and fiue in the hundreth, and alſo did hazzard the loſſe of ſhippe and goods by carying away their money. Thus by the afoꝛeſayd courſe we ſhall trade quietly, and not be ſubiect to theſe dangers. Alſo from Legorno to Caſtilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will coſt carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thouſand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia foꝛ euery thouſand of hoops you ſhall haue a but of Malmeſey cleare of all charges. Inſomuch that a ſhip of the burden of the Mathew Gonſon will cary foure hundꝛeth thouſand hoops, ſo that one thouſand ducats will lade her, and this is an vſual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can teſtifie. Furthermoꝛe, it is not vnknowen to you, that the oiles which we do ſpend in England foꝛ our cloth, are bꝛought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot ſell them vnder 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I ſay we may haue good oile, and better cheape in diuers places within the ſtreights. Wherefoꝛe if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will infoꝛme you moꝛe particularly when you pleaſe. In the meane time I reſt your woꝛſhips to command.

Stoꝛe of hoops laden at Caſtilla de la mare foꝛ Candia.

Yours at your pleaſure Iaſper Campion.

The true report of the ſiege and taking of *Famaguſta*, of the antique writers called *Tamaſſus*, a city in *Cyprus* 1571.

In the which the whole order of all the skirmiſhes, batteries, mines, and aſſaults giuen to the ſayd fortreſſe, may plainly appeare. Engliſhed out of Italian by *William Malim*.

To the right honourable and his ſingular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of *Leiceſter*, Baron of *Denbigh*, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maieſties moſt honourable priuy Councell &c. *William Malim* wiſheth long health with increaſe of honour.

IT hath bene a naturall inſtinct (right honourable and mine eſpeciall good lord) ingraffed in noble perſonages hearts, much approued and confirmed alſo by cuſtome, for them to ſeeke from time to time, by ſome meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their poſteritie: leaſt otherwiſe with their body, their fame alſo altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which conſideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time paſt of noble perſonages (hauing had wealth at will) in ſuch ſort, that not onely certaine ruines of the ſame ſumptuous works builded ſo many hundred yeres paſt, do ſtill remaine, but alſo the moſt part of thoſe princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the *Pyramides* made at *Memphis*, or neere the famous riuer of *Nilus*, by the great expenſes of the kings of *Egypt*: the tower called *Pharia*, made in the Iland of *Pharos* by king *Ptolomee*: the walles of *Babylon*, made or at the leaſt reedified by queene *Semiramis*: *Dianas* church at *Epheſus* builded by all the noble perſons of *Aſia*: *Mauſolus* toome or ſepulchre, made by his wife queene of *Caria*: *Coloſſus Solis* placed at *Rhodes*, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of *Cares Lindius* ſcholar to *Lyſippus*: and the image of *Iupiter*, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilfull workman *Phydias*. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themſelues from obliuion deſerued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanſhip of the ſame, to be accounted in thoſe dayes as the ſeuen woonders of the world. Since the which time, an eaſier, readier, and lighter way, being alſo of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were firſt inuented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented ſince by others, to our great benefit, and now laſt of all (no long time paſt) the ſame to haue bene committed to Printers preſſes, to the greateſt perfection of the ſame: men being firſt inforced to write their actes and monuments in beaſts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwiſe perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we ſee how eaſie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble perſons, to liue for euer by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of thoſe two woorthy and valiant captaines *Scipio* and *Hannibal* had bene long before this preſent quite forgotten, except *Titus Liuius*, or ſome ſuch learned Hiſtoriographer had written of them in time. And *Alexander Magnus* himſelfe that great conquerour had nothing beene ſpoken of, had not *Q. Curtius*, or ſome other like by his learned ſtile reuiued the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his poſteritie. For the which cauſe we ſee commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble perſonages, as that rare paterne of learning *Ariſtotle* to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowmed Monarch *Alexander*: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, then to king *Philip* his father, becauſe the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this preſent, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in hiſtories, and ſo familiarly acquainted with the matter it ſelfe, that is in ſtill entertaining learned men with all curteſie, I ſhould ſeeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accuſtomed to performe the ſame. *Craſſus* ſayth in *Tullies* firſt booke, *De Oratore*: that a Lawyers houſe is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iuſtly witneſſe, that for theſe fiue yeeres laſt paſt, ſince my returne from my trauell beyond the ſeas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vndeſerued goodneſſe to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* (of the which Vniuerſity your lordſhip is Chanceller) to their great ſatisfaction of minde, and ready diſpatch of their ſutes. Eſpecially for Preachers and Miniſters of true religion: of the which you haue beene from time to time not onely a great fauourer, but an earneſt furtherer, and protectour: ſo that theſe two nurſeries of learning (in one of the which I haue before this ſpent part of my time, that I may ſpeake boldly what I thinke) ſhould wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themſelues, if by all meanes poſſible they ſhould not heerafter (as at this preſent to their ſmal powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in ſhewing of themſelues thankefull, to reuerence and honour your lordſhip, and honeſt their owne names: whoſe ſtudies certeinly would ſuddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held vp by ſuch noble proppes, and had not ſome ſure ankerholds in their diſtreſſe to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell is, and hath long beene beſides to benefit all other perſons, in whom any ſparke of vertue or honeſty remaineth, I need not labour to expreſſe, the world knowing already the ſame. But whoſoeuer they be, that in all their life time haue an eſpeciall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon *Strabo* affirmeth this moſt truely to be ſpoken of them: *Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint.* That is, Mortall men then ſpecially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it bringeth to any noble perſonage, that as the Moone, that light and brightneſſe which ſhe receiueth of the Sun, is wont preſently to ſpread abroad vpon the face of the earth, to the refreſhing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: ſo for him, to beſtow all that fauour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which cauſeth men, as *Tully* writeth in his booke *De Amicitia*, to be loued & honored oft of thoſe perſons, which neuer ſaw them. Whereof I neuer had better proofe (I take God & mine one conſcience to witneſſe, the which I declared alſo to certaine of my friends aſſoone as I returned) then at my laſt being at *Conſtantinople*, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft reſorting (as occaſion ſerued) to the right honorable Chriſtian ambaſſadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto *Monſieur Antonio Petrimol*, lieger there for the French king, *Sig. M. Victor Bragadino*, for the ſegniory of *Venice*, *Sig. Lorenzo Giuſtiniano*, for the ſtate of *Scio*, or *Chios*, and *Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti*, for the duke of *Florence*) heard them often report and ſpeake very honorably of your lordſhip, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but eſpecially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of diuers of their friends & countrymen, which vpon ſundry occaſions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men iuſtly fauour your honourable dealings and deſerts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the ſame euermore both here at home, and elſwhere abroad, wiſhing often to haue had ſome iuſt occaſion to pay part of that in good will, which my ſlender abilitie will neuer ſuffer me fully to diſcharge. For vnto whom ſhould I ſooner preſent any thing any way, eſpecially concerning matters done abroad, then vnto your lordſhip, by whom I was much cheriſhed abroad in my trauell, and mainteined ſince my returne here at home? For the which cauſe I haue enterpriſed (hoping greatly of your lordſhips fauour herein) to clothe and ſet forth a few Italian newes in our Engliſh attire, being firſt mooued thereunto by the right worſhipfull M.

Maſter Malim at Conſtantinople 1564.

D. Wilſon Maſter of her Maieſties Requeſts, your honours aſſured truſty friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers reſpects ought to reuerence: who remembring that I had bene at *Cyprus*, was willing that my pen ſhould trauell about the Chriſtian and Turkiſh affaires, which there lately haue happened: perſwading himſelfe, that ſomewhat thereby I might benefit this our natiue countrey. Againſt whoſe reaſonable motion I could not greatly wreſtle, hazzarding rather my ſlender skill in attempting and performing this his requeſted taske, then he through my refuſall ſhould ſeeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes, although I ſhall preſent no new thing to your honour, becauſe you are ſo well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I truſt your lordſhip will not miſlike, that the ſame which is both pleaſant to reade, and ſo neceſſary to be knowen for diuers of our captaines and other our countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now ſhew it ſelfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordſhips protection. Certeinly it mooueth me much to remember the loſſe of thoſe three notable Ilands, to the great diſcomfort of all Chiſtendome, to thoſe helliſh Turkes, horſeleeches of Chriſtian blood: namely *Rhodes* beſieged on S. *Iohn Baptiſts* day, and taken on *Iohns* day the *Euangeliſt*, being the 27 of December 1522. *Scio* or *Chios* being loſt ſince my being there, taken of *Piali Baſſa* with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now laſt of all not only *Famaguſta* the chiefe holde & fortreſſe in *Cyprus* to haue bene loſt of the Venetians the 15 of Auguſt laſt paſt 1571 (the chiefe gouernors & captaines of thē being hewen in ſunder by the cōmandement of that tyrant *Muſtafa Baſſa*) but all the whole Iland alſo to be conquered by thoſe cruell Turks, ancient profeſſed enemies to all Chriſtian religion. In the which euill ſucceſſe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall loſſe: ſo I am ſurely penſiue to vnderſtand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of *Venice*, *Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo*, and *Sig. M. Giouanni Antonio Querini*: of both the which I in my trauaile was very courteouſly vſed, the former of them being then (as now alſo he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of *Baffo* in *Cyprus*, the other captaine of one of the caſtels at *Corcyra* in Greece, now called *Corfu*. But things paſt are paſt amendment, and they could neuer die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Beſides that the late blowes, which the Turks haue receiued ſince this their fury, in token of Gods wrath againſt them, do much comfort euery Chriſtian heart. Moreouer, this vniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Chriſtian Princes (would God by all generally) againſt theſe barbarous Mahometiſts: whoſe cruelty and beaſtly behauiour I partly know, and am able to iudge of, hauing bene in Turky amongſt them more then eight moneths together. Whoſe vnfaithfulneſſe alſo and breach of promiſe, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themſelues, and their fortreſſe, your honour may eaſily reade in this ſhort treatiſe and ſmall handfull of leaues, I hauing ſet downe alſo a ſhort deſcription of the Iland of *Cyprus*, for the better vnderſtanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely moſt humbly beſeech your honour now fauourably to accept as an earneſt peny of more to come, and of my preſent good will: but with your accuſtomed goodneſſe towards me, to defend the ſame againſt ſuch perſons, whoſe tongues too readily roule ſometime againſt other mens painfull trauels, perſwading themſelues to purchaſe the ſooner ſome credit of learning with the ruder ſort, by controlling and ouerdaintie ſifting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Baſilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd heerein, as I aſſuredly truſt of your honours fauourable acceptation of this my poore preſent, wiſhing long life with the increaſe of Gods holy ſpirit to your lordſhip and to all your moſt honourable familie (vnto whom I haue wholly dedicated my ſelfe by mine owne choiſe and election for euer) I, crauing pardon for my former boldneſſe, moſt humbly thus take my leaue. From *Lambhith* the 23 of March. *Ann.* 1572.

Rhodes loſt.

Scio loſt.

Cyprus loſt.

Your honours moſt humble and faithfull ſeruant
for euer, *William Malim.*

A briefe deſcription of the Iland of *Cyprus*: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they haue ſo long enioyed it, but alſo the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

The Iland of *Cyprus* is inuironed with diuers ſeas: for Weſtward it is waſhed with the ſea called *Pamphilium*: Southward, with the ſea *Ægyptium*: on the Eaſt part, with the ſea *Syrium*: and Northward, with the ſea called *Cilicium*. The which Iland in time paſt had diuers names: called once *Acamantis*, as *Sabellicus* witneſſeth.

ſeth. *Philonides* maketh mention, that it was called ſometime *Ceraſis*. *Xenogoras* writeth, that is was named *Aſpelia*, *Amathuſa*, & *Macaria*. There were in times paſt fifteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongſt the which *Famaguſta* is the chiefeſt & ſtrongeſt, ſituated by the ſea ſide. There is alſo *Nicoſia*, which was woont, by the traffike of Marchants, to be very wealthy: beſides the city of *Baffo*, *Arnica*, *Saline*, *Limiſſo*, *Melipotamo*, & *Epiſcopia*. *Timoſthenes* affirmeth, that this Iland is in compaſſe 429 miles: and *Arthemidorus* writeth the length of the ſame to be 162 miles, meaſuring of it from the Eaſt to the Weſt, betwixt two promontories named *Dinaretta* and *Acamanta*. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious ſtones, pleaſant, profitable, and neceſſary for mans vſe, and much frequented of Marchants of *Syria*, vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as *Plinie* writeth, ioyned ſometime with *Syria*, as *Sicilia* hath beene alſo with *Italy*. It was a long time ſubiect vnto the Romans, after to the Perſians, and to the Soldan of *Ægypt*. The ſelfeſame Iland was ſometime alſo Engliſh, being conquered by king *Richard* the firſt, in his voyage to *Hieruſalem* in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as *Polydore* writeth in his fourteenth booke of our Engliſh hiſtorie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriuall there, inuaded and conquered the ſame ſoone after by force: and hauing left behinde him ſufficient garriſons to keepe the ſame, departed from thence to *Ptolemayda*: who afterward exchanged the ſame with *Guy* of *Luſignan*, that was the laſt chriſtened king of *Hieruſalem*, for the ſame kingdome. For the which cauſe the kings of *England* were long time after called kings of *Hieruſalem*. And laſt of all, the Venetians haue enioyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, *Iohn* king of the ſayd Iland, ſonne to *Ianus* of *Luſignan*, had by *Helen* his wife, which was of the Emperiall houſe of *Paleologus*, one daughter only called *Charlotta*, and a baſtard called *Iames*: the which *Iames* was afterward conſecrated Biſhop of *Nicoſia*. This *Charlotta* was married firſt to the king of *Portingall*, of whom he had no iſſue, ſo that he being dead, *Lewes* Duke of *Sauoy* (to whom ſhee was the ſecond time married) ſonne to *Lewes* the ſecond of that name (vnto whom the ſaid Iland by the right of this his wife *Charlotta* did appertaine) had the poſſeſſion of the ſame. *Iames* the baſtard aſſoone as his father was dead, of a Biſhop became a ſouldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of *Sauoy* hearing theſe newes, with a number of well appointed ſouldiers, arriued ſhortly after in *Cyprus*, and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the baſtard to flie foorthwith ouer to the Soldan of *Ægypt*. Who making himſelfe his ſubiect, in time ſo wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in perſon at his requeſt paſſed ouer into *Cyprus*, beſieged Duke *Lewes* in the caſtle of *Nicoſia*, and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So that this Biſhop became againe King of this Iland: who ſhortly after cleauing to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendſhip with them, married by their conſent one *Catherina* the daughter of *Marco Cornaro, which Catherin* the Senate of *Venice* adopted vnto them ſoone after as their daughter. This Biſhop not long after ſickened, and died, leauing this his wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which meanes the Venetians making themſelues the next heires to *Catherina* by the law of adoption, tooke vnto them the poſſeſſion of this kingdome, and haue kept and enioyed the ſame almoſt this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called *Sultan Selim* in the right of the Soldan of *Ægypt*, whom his grandfather (called alſo *Sultan Selim*) conquered, pretendeth a right title vnto it, and now, as you may vnderſtand by reading of this ſhort Treatiſe, hath by conqueſt obtained the ſame. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it be his holy will, ſhortly to root out from thence,

To the Reader.

I Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which ſhould pleaſe and ſatisfie all perſons, we being commonly of ſo diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe *Tully* affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all reſpects perfect. Wherefore I truſt by your owne iudgement I ought of reaſon to be the ſooner pardoned (my tranſlation being preciſely tied to mine authours meaning) if any thing heerein beſides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the ſelfeſame matter out of the Italian language into our countrey ſpeech. But who ſo doeth what he poſſibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the requeſt of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my ſelfe) haue accompliſhed that in the ende, which I promiſed and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better iudge, if it pleaſe them to trie the ſame, caſting aſide this exampler. I ſpeake it not arrogantly, I take God to witneſſe: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor ſurely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or diſcreet. By whoſe gentle acceptation if theſe my preſent doings be now ſupported, I will perſwade my ſelfe that I haue reaped ſufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wiſh proſperous ſucceſſe in all their affaires,

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In Turchas precatio.

Summe Deus, ſuccurre tuis, miſereſce tuorum,
Et ſubeat gentis te noua cura tuæ.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quouſque Sathan?
Antè Rhodum, mox indè Chium, nunc deniquè Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit ſanguinolenta manus.
Muſtafa fœdifragus partes graſſatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cypriam ſtrage cruentat humum.
Nec finem imponit ſceleri, mollitue furorem,
Nec niſi potato ſanguine paſtus abit.
Qualis, quæ nunquam niſi plena tuménſque cruore
Sanguiſuga obſeſſam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam ſequitur tortura, cruórque cruorem,
Et cædem admiſſam cædis alius amor.
Sæuit inops animi, nec vel ſe temperat ipſe,
Vel manus indomitum noſtra domare poteſt.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum diſperde Tyrannum,
Nec ſine mactare ſemper ouile tuum.
Exulet hoc monſtrum, ne ſanguine terra redundet.
Excutiántque nouum Cypria regna iugum.
Et quòd Chriſticolæ fœdus pepigere Monarchæ,
Id fauſtum nobis omnibus eſſe velis.
Tu pugna illorum pugnas, & bella ſecundes,
Captiuóſque tibi ſubde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Vnus ſic Chriſtus fiet, & vna fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the ſucceſſe of *Famaguſta*, made by the Earle *Neſtor Martiningo*, vnto the renowmed Prince the Duke of *Venice*.

The ſixteenth day of February, *1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde vnto Famaguſta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thouſand footmen, eight hundred of them choſen ſouldiers, and three thouſand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the reſt two hundred in number were ſouldiers of Albania. After the arriuall of the which ſuccour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole garriſon, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Gouernours and Captaines not withdrawing themſelues from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day ſearching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, againſt whom they made no ſally out of the City to ſkirmiſh but very ſeldome, eſpecially to vnderſtand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whileſt we made this diligent prouiſion within the Citie, the Turks without made no leſſe preparation of all things neceſſary, fit to batter the fortreſſe withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all ſpeed by the Sea, many woolpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpoſe.

*In Italy and other places the date of the yere of yͤ Lord is alwayes changed the firſt of Ianuary, or on New yeres day, and from that day reckoned vpon: although wee heere in England, eſpecially the temporall lawyers for certaine cauſes are not woont to alter the ſame vntill the Annunciation of our Lady.

At the beginning of April Halli Baſha landed there with fourſcore gallies or thereabout in his company, who brought thither that, which of our enemies was deſired, who ſoone after departing from thence, and leauing behinde him thirty gallies, which continually tranſported ſouldiours, munition, freſh victuals, and other neceſſaries, beſides a great number of * Caramuſalins, or Brigandines, great Hulkes called * Maones, and large broad veſſels termed of them * Palandrie which continually paſſed to and fro betweene Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great ſpeed, ſtanding in feare of the Chriſtian army. And about the middeſt of the ſame moneth the Turkes cauſed to be brought out of the Citie of Nicoſia, which they had woone a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raiſing their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches neceſſary, incamped themſelues in gardens, and toward the Weſt part of Famaguſta neere a place called Precipola.

* Caramuſalini be veſſels like vnto yͤ French Gabards, ſailing dayly vpon the riuer of Bordeaux, which ſaile with a miſen or triangle ſaile.

* Maone be veſſels like vnto yͤ great hulks, which come hither frō Denmarke, ſome of the which cary 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a piece, flat and broad, which ſaile ſome of them with ſeuen miſens a piece.

* Palandrie be great flat veſſels made like Feriboats to tranſport horſe.

Nicoſia, otherwiſe called Licoſia.

The fiue and twentieth day of the ſame moneth they raiſed vp mounts to plant their artillery vpon, and cauſed trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approching ſtill very neere the Citie, in ſuch order, as was almoſt impoſſible to ſtay the ſame, fortie thouſand of their Pioners continually labouring there the moſt part of all the night. The intent of the enemie being then knowen, and in what part of the Citie he minded moſt to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places neceſſary within. For the which cauſe wee placed a great watch in that way, which was couered with a counterſcharfe, and in the ſallies of their priuy Poſternes, for the defence of the ſaid counterſcharfe, there were new flanckers made, alſo Trauerſes called Buttetiſſes made vpon the Cortaine, with one trench of Turues two foot high and broad, the which was made on that ſide of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the ſhot of the Turkes, with certaine loope holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterſcharſe. Two noble perſonages Bragadino and Baglione perſonally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Chriſtian affaires paſſed in very good order. All the bread for our Souldiers was made in one ſtorehouſe, of the which the noble gentleman Lorenzo Tiepolo captaine of * Baffo had charge, who refuſed no paine, where he thought his trauell might preuaile. In the caſtle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the caſtle principally, next vnto the ſea ſide, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the better defence of the * Arſenall.

Sig. Bragadino was Proueditore, that is, Gouernour, and Sig. Baglione Generall of the Chriſtian armie.

* Baffo of the ancient writers named Paphos, in the which Citie there was a ſumptuous Church dedicated to Venus.

* Arſenall in Conſtantinople and Venice is the place for munition and artillery to lie in.

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Maſter of the Ordinance, who was ſlain within few dayes after in a ſkirmiſh, whoſe garriſon the noble Bragadino Proueditore before named preſently deliuered ouer to me. Three other captaines were appointed ouer the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for euery one of them, choſen out of the armie, to vſe and execute the ſame as occaſion ſhould ſerue. The beſt pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth vnto that ſide of the Towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made priuy fences to couer the better their cannon ſhot withall. There was no want in the Chriſtians to annoy their enemies in iſſuing often out of euery ſide againſt them, aſwell to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwiſe at diuers times. They alſo rendered to vs the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famaguſta one time iſſuing out of the citie, armed onely with their ſwords and targets, with ſo many Italian Harquebuzers alſo in their company, receiued great dammage, becauſe the trenches of the enemies were made about ſo thicke, although at the ſame preſent wee compelled them to flie, and ſlew alſo many of them: yet they increaſed to ſuch number, that they killed preſently thirty, and hurt there threeſcore of our company. For the which cauſe order was taken, that our men ſhould no more come forth of their holde, committing themſelues to manifeſt perill to bid their enemies the baſe.

The Turkes in proceſſe of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterſcharfe, and hauing furniſhed their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, hauing threeſcore and fouretene pieces of great artillery within their cuſtody, amongſt the which there were foure Baſiliſkes (for ſo they terme them) of an immeaſurable greatneſſe, and began to batter from the gate Limiſſo vnto the Arſenall, and layed fiue batteries againſt the towne, the one againſt the great high Turret of the Arſenall, which was battered with fiue pieces of Ordinance mounted vpon that fort of the rocke, the other againſt the Cortaine it ſelfe of the Arſenall, battered by one fort with eleuen pieces: another againſt the Keepe of Andruzzi with two commanders, or caualiers, which were aboue with one fort of eleuen other pieces: another battery againſt the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Baſiliſks. The gate of Limiſſo, which had one high commander or caualier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Muſtafa himſelfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in perſon. At the firſt they ſeemed not to care much to ſpoile the walles, but ſhot ſtill into the city, and againſt our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, aſwell our ſouldiours, as the Grecians, aſſoone as the battery began, withdrawing themſelues, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the ſiege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being preſent at all that was done, both encouraged, and puniſhed the ſouldiers according to their deſerts. The right worſhipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe ouer the Ordinance, who anſwering all mens expectation of him, with great courage diuided the charge thereof vnto ſixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the prouiſion of things neceſſary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate of the Citie for to attend vpon the ſeruice of the artillery. The valiant captaine Franceſco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arſenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended vpon the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, vnto the gate of Limiſſo. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended vpon the Brey and Cortaine, toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limiſſo, which was more troubled then all the reſt, attended the Captaine Roberto Maluezzi. At the ſame time, when the battery began (by the commiſſion of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the ſouldiers, aſwell Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Pottage, Cheeſe, and Bakon: all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, ſo that no ſouldier there ſpent any more in bread then two ſouſes a day. They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worſhipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who beſides this his ordinary charge was found preſent in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our ſouldiours. And wee made a counterbattery againſt our enemies for ten dayes ſpace, with ſo great rage, that we choked and deſtroyed fifteene of their beſt pieces, alſo we killed and diſpatched of them about thirty thouſand at that ſeaſon, ſo that they were diſappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly diſmayed. But we foreſeeing that we had no great ſtore of powder left, there was made a reſtraint, and ſuch order taken, that thirty pieces ſhould not ſhoot off but thirty ſhot a piece euery day, and that in the preſence of the Captaines, who were ſtill preſent, becauſe the Souldiers and Gunners ſhould not ſhoot off in vaine.

Two Venetian ſouſes or Soldi amount but to one peny English.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, encreaſed marueilouſly euery mans courage. The Turks with great trauell and ſlaughter of both ſides, had woonne at the laſt the counterſcharfe from vs, with great reſiſtance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other ſide of the fift battery to fill vp the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterſcharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the ſhot of their artillery, was caried away of vs within the city, all our company labouring continually aſwell by night as day, vntill our enemies had made certaine loopeholes in the wall, thorow the which they flancking and ſcouring all the ditch with their harquebuſſe, ſtopped our former courſe of carying, or going that way any more, without certaine and expreſſe danger. But M. Giouanni Marmori, a fortifier, had deuiſed a certaine kinde of ioyned boords, the which being caried of the ſouldiers, defended them from the ſhot of the Harquebuzers, ſo that ſome other quantity of earth, but no great ſtore, was caried alſo away: in the which place this foreſayd fortifier was ſlaine, who had done eſpeciall good ſeruice in all our neceſſary affaires. And our enemies hauing caſt ſo much earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made it a firme way to the wall of the counterſcharfe, and caſting before them the earth by little and little, they made one trauerſe euen vnto the wall on two ſides in all their batteries, the which they made thicke and ſtrong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to aſſure themſelues the better of our flanckers.

When they had once poſſeſſed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of vs but by chance, they began foorthwith to caſt and digge out vndermines to vndermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrion of the Arſenall: ſo that being able no longer to ſerue our turne and inioy thoſe fewe flanckers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very ſore, becauſe it fired their woolpacks, & alſo their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the ſouldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gaue to euery ſouldier one duckat, yͤ which could gaine or recouer any of the former woolpackes, making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our buſineſſe ſerued with ſuch diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requiſite. But the countermines met not, ſauing thoſe of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, becauſe they were open, and our men ſallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceiue better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. Nor we ceaſſed at any time through the vnſpeakable trauell of the Lord Baglione (who had the ouerſight of all theſe matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all maner of wit and policie, diuiding the companies for the batteries, ioyning and planting in all places a garriſon of the * Albanois ſouldiours, who aſwell on foot as on horſebacke, ſhewed alwayes notable courage and manhood.

* Albanois ſouldiers, ſouldiers of Albania, otherwiſe called Epirus, who cōmonly ſerue the Venetians both on horſebacke and foot, very ſkilfull & painfull.

The firſt aſſault.

The one and twentieth day of Iune they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arſenall, whereas Giambelat Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in ſunder a moſt great and thicke wall, and ſo opened the ſame, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking alſo one part of the vaimure, made before to vphold the aſſault. And ſuddenly a great number of the Turkes ſkipping vpon the ruines thereof, diſplayed their Enſignes, euen to the toppe of the ſame. Captaine Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much ſhaken and terrified by that ſudden ruine. I with my company came firſt thither, ſo that they ſhortly tooke the repulſe, and although they refreſhed themſelues with new ſupplies fiue or ſixe times, yet they failed of their purpoſe. There fought perſonally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed ſtood not farre off to refreſh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Caſtell with the Ordinance, that was planted vpon the Butteries, deſtroyed many of our enemies, when they gaue ẏ aſſault, the which endured fiue houres together: ſo that of Turkes were ſlaine very many, and of our ſide betweene them that were ſlaine and hurt one hundred: moſt part of the which number were caſt away by a miſchance of our wilde-fire, the which being vnaduiſedly and negligently handled, burnt vp many of our owne company. There died at that preſent the Earle Gio. Franceſco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of ſtones Hercole Malateſta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerdbearers, were very ſore hurt.

Of this noble & painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewen in ſunder by the cōmandement of Muſtafa) I was entertained very courteouſly in my trauell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Caſtellano or Captaine of one of the caſtles.

The night following arriued in Cyprus a Pinnaſſe from Candia, which bringing newes of moſt certaine ayde, greatly increaſed both the mirth and courage of vs all, ſo that we made ſoone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certaine retreats flancked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they ſuſpected that the enemy had digged vp any mines, with Hogſheads, Cheſts, Tikes, and Sacks ſtuffed full of moiſt earth (the Grecians with all ſpeed hauing already brought almoſt all that which they had) becauſe they hauing diſpatched their Canuels about neceſſary vſes, they brought their hangings, curtaines, carpets, euen to their very ſheets, to make and ſtuffe vp their foreſayd ſacks, a very good and ready way to make vp againe their vaimures, the which were throwen downe with the fury of the artillery, which neuer ſtinted, ſo that we made vp againe ſtill that in the night, the which was throwen downe and broken in the day, ſleeping very ſeldome: all the ſouldiers ſtanding alwayes vpon the walles, viſited continually of the Gouernors of the Citie, which ſlept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their reſt, becauſe the enemie was at hand, giuing vs continually alarmes, not ſuffering vs long to breath.

In extremities mē haue no regard to ſpare trifles.

Prouident & carefull gouernours or magiſtrates ſeldome ſleepe all the night at any time, much leſſe in dangerous ſeaſons.

The ſecond aſſault.

The nine and twentieth day of the ſame moneth they ſet the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in ſtone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and cauſed great ruine, making an eaſie way for the enemy to aſſault vs, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Muſtafa their Generall was altogether preſent, which aſſault was receiued, and ſtayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garriſon, and ſo were repulſed by our company, who fought without any aduantage of couert, the vaimure being throwen downe by the mine. There were ſlaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Eraſmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Aſcoli, Captaine Gio. d'Iſtria, Standerd bearers, with many other officers, were ſore wounded, there died alſo 30 other of our common ſouldiers. At the Arſenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and ſmall hurt to vs.

A ſmall thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.

Fiue onely of our part being ſlaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano alſo was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebuſh ſhot. The which aſſault continued ſixe houres, the Biſhop of Limiſſo ſtanding vp there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where alſo were found preſent ſtout women, who came thither with weapons, ſtones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies vnderſtanding how great hinderance they had receiued at theſe two aſſaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then euer they had before accuſtomed to lay battery to all places, and into our retreats, ſo that they labouring more ſpeedily then euer they did, made ſeuen other forts more, vnder the caſtle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it ſomewhat nerrer, to the number of foureſcore, they battered the holde with ſo great rage, that on the eighth day of Iuly, with the ſame night alſo were numbred fiue thouſand Canon ſhot, and after that ſort they ouerthrew to the ground the vaimures, that ſcarſely with great trauell and paine we could repaire them againe, becauſe our men that laboured about them were continually ſlaine by their Ordinance, and by reaſon of the endleſſe tempeſt of the ſhot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decreaſe. For the Turkes cauſed vs to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in ſuch ſort, that there being no more ſtanding left for our Souldiours, becauſe we making our vaimures more thicke, our ſtanding began to waxe narrower, the which preſently we of neceſſitie enlarged with boords as a ſcaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might haue more elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio alſo made one mine vnder the ſayd Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the ſame might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

That certaine women inhabiting this Iland be viragos, or mankind, I ſaw ſufficient triall at my laſt being there, in a city called Saline.

It is accounted a good warlike ſhift, to leaue that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and vſe to our owne commoditie.

The third aſſault.

TO the ſayd Brey the ninth day of Iuly they gaue the third aſſault, to the Curtion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Cortaine, to the Keepe of the Arſenall: the which aſſault hauing continued more then ſixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great loſſe, and ours alſo: becauſe we being aſſaulted, our company being not able to mannage their Pikes in good order, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſtanding where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had preſcribed vnto them, and could not, caſt themſelues at the laſt into a confuſe order, and retired, they being mingled amongſt the Turkes: ſo that fire being giuen to our mine, the ſame (with a terrible ſight to beholde) ſlew preſently of our enemies more then one thouſand, and aboue one hundred of vs. There was ſlaine Roberto Maluezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grieuouſly wounded. At the aſſault of the Arſenall was ſlaine Captaine Dauid Noce maſter of the Campe, & I my ſelfe was hurt by the racing of a Cannon ſhot. This aſſault continued fiue houres, and the Citizens of Famaguſta ſhewed great courage in euery place, with their women alſo, and yoong ſtriplings. The Brey was ſo defaced by reaſon of this mine ſet on fire, that no body any more attempted to recouer the ſame: becauſe there was no apt place remaining to ſtay vpon. The left flancker onely remained ſtill, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limiſſo was ouer againſt this foreſayd Brey, and ſomewhat lower, which was alwayes open, hauing made to the ſame a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a ſmall cord, was a preſent defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to bring in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they ſaw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench aboue the Brey, and by the flanckers aboue they ſuffered no perſon to paſſe out of the gate, the which thing brought great ſuſpition vnto our enemies, becauſe they were often times aſſailed of our company.

The fourth aſſault.

WHerefore they came the fourteenth day of Iuly to aſſault the gate of Limiſſo, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Enſignes euen before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readineſſe, who had taken vpon them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who aſſoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, ſallying ſwiftly foorth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the laſt giuing fire to the mine of the flancker ſlew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the ſame time woon an Enſigne of our enemies, wraſting it violently out of one of the Enſigne bearers hands. The day following they gaue fire to the mine of the Cortaine, the which thing not falling

The forwardneſſe of the captaine at dangerous times not onely much comforteth the common ſouldier, but alſo increaſeth greatly his credit & commendation with all men.

out greatly to their purpoſe, they followed not their prepared aſſault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and aduance higher their trauerſes in the ditches, for their better aſſurance againſt they ſhould giue the aſſault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere vnto the counterſkarfe, where they lodged in their pauillions, ſo that we could not deſcrie them. They ſhot ſeuen pieces of artillery vpon the wall of the counterſcharfe ſo couertly, that they were not ſeene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And they came with certaine boordes couered with rawe and greene hides, vnder which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde or forgetfull to caſt wilde-fire amongſt them, and ſometime to iſſue foorth of our ſallies called Poſternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hinderance. And we ſtill repaired the vaimures by all meanes poſſible, with Buffe ſkinnes, being moiſt and wet, throwing in alſo earth, threads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famaguſta gathering themſelues together into companies in euery ſtreet (being guided of one of their Monkes called Caloiero) reſorted dayly to a certaine place appointed, to labour, gathering and prouiding for the ſouldiers, ſtones and water, the which was kept for all aſſaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongſt them.

Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth eaſily, and ſauoreth vnpleaſantly, of the which there is great ſtore in Sicilia: ſometime it is vſed for a torch.

Hauing had no great ſucceſſe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which eaſily burned, and ſmelt very euill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots faſtened to the ſame, with certaine beames beſmeered with Pitch, kindled ſuddenly ſo great a fire, as was not poſſible for vs to quench the ſame, although we threw vpon it whole Buts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts preſently brake in ſunder.

No neceſſarie thing to bee done was left vnattempted on either part.

Mans courage oft abateth, but hope ſeldome forſaketh. Saguntina fames.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by reaſon of the extreame heat and ſtinch, to withdraw our ſelues further inward, and they deſcending towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other mines, ſo that the gate was ſhut vp, becauſe it could be no longer kept open, and ſuddenly (a thing maruellous to be ſpoken) the ſtanding of the Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer againſt the gate, the which of vs with ſtones, earth and other things, was ſuddenly buried vp. By this time we were driuen to an exigent, all our prouiſion within the Citie ſtooping very lowe, ſauing onely hope, the noble courage of the Gouernours and Captaines, and the ſtout readineſſe of the Souldiours: our wine, and fleſh as well powdered as vnpowdered was ſpent, nor there was any Cheeſe to be gotten, but vpon an vnreaſonable price, our company hauing eaten vp their Horſes, Aſſes, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a ſmall quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we dranke water and Vineger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceiued that our enemies had digged and caſt vp three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then euer they did before, bringing into the ditch, ouer againſt the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall aboue the Counterſcharfe ouer againſt the Turrion of the Arſenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with ſhares, like vnto plough ſhares, in proportion and height correſpondent to ours.

In July the heat is ſo extreme in this Iland, that the inhabitants thereof are not woont to trauell, but by night onely.

A letter or ſupplication exhibited by the Cypriottes vnto Sig. Bragadino.

Within the Citie were remaining but fiue hundreth Italian Souldiours, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in thoſe feruent and burning heates, which are in thoſe parts. And the greater and better part alſo of the Grecians were by this time ſlaine, whenas the chiefe of thoſe Citizens remaining did fully reſolue themſelues (the which was about the twentieth day of July) to preſent a ſupplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, deſiring and beſeeching him, that ſeeing their Citie and Fortreſſe was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without ſufficient ayde to defend the ſame, without ſubſtance or ſuſtenance, hauing no hope of ſuccour, or any newe ſupply, they hauing ſpent and conſumed not onely their goods, but alſo their liues for the defence of them, and in teſtifying of their dutifull ſeruice towardes the noble and royall ſtate of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe pleaſe him, and the reſt of the honourable Gouernours, that were preſent, and put in truſt, hauing a carefull eye vnto ſome honourable conditions, to haue now at the laſt a reſpect to the credit and honour of their long trauelled wiues, and the ſafegard of their poore children, which otherwiſe were ſhortly very like to be a pray to their bloudthirſting and rauening enemies. To the which letter or ſupplication ſpeedy anſwere was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they ſhould by no meanes abate their courage, and that ſhortly he looked for ſuccour from the Segniorie, diminiſhing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceiued in their hearts,

The anſwere of the former letter.

hearts, diſpatching and ſending away ſuddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinneſſe to certifie the duke and gouernours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and ſet them on fire, the 29. of July: in the which ſpace our men, according as they were woont to doe, renued and made vp againe the rampires ruined before by the Ordinance, and hauing no other ſtuffe left to aduaunce them with, made ſackes of Kerſie, vnto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to vs, hauing throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the gouernour Randacchi was ſlaine. The mine of the Arſenall ouerthrew all the reſt of the Turrion, hauing ſmoldered and choked one whole garriſon of our ſouldiers, the two ſlanckers onely ſtill remaining.

It ſtandeth with reaſon, in hope of ſauing the greater, to let the leſſer go.

The fift Aſſault.

The enemies trauelled much to become maſters of thoſe foreſayd flankers, and to ſally foorth by the other batteries, and this aſſault laſted from three of the clocke in the after noone vntil night, where, and at what time were ſlaine very many of our enemies. In this aſſault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongſt the reſt, ſhewed much worthineſſe, as hee had done before in other conflictes.

The ſixt and laſt aſſault.

The next morning following, at the breake of the day, they aſſailed all places, the which aſſault continued more then ſixe houres, with very little hurt on our ſide, becauſe our enemies fought more coldly then they were wont to doe, annoying of vs continually on the Sea ſide with their Gallies, ſhooting in all their aſſaults and batteries continually Cannon ſhot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulſed this aſſault, and perceiued things brought to a narrower ſtraite then they were wont to be at, wee hauing left in all the whole Citie but ſeuen barrels of pouder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde vp themſelues and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefore the firſt of Auguſt in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one being come for that purpoſe from Muſtafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two hoſtages a piece, vntill ſuch time as both armies were agreed. For our hoſtages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were ſent foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colſi a Citizen of Famaguſta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Muſtafa, and the Aga of the Giannizzers, the which were met, euen vnto the gate of the Citie, of Signiour Baglione with two hundreth harquebuſers: ours alſo were met in like maner with great pompe with horſemen and harquebuſers, with the ſonne alſo of Muſtafa in perſon, who made very much of them.

Neceſſitie oftimes preſſeth vs in the end to that, which our will continually ſpurneth againſt.

Giannezzeri be the gard of the great Turke, in that Aga de Giannizzeri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparld with theſe hoſtages, which were then come for that purpoſe of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their liues, armour, and goods, fiue peeces of Ordinance, three of the beſt horſes, and ſafe paſſage from thence vnto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and laſt of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Iſland, might dwell there ſtill quietly, and enioy peaceably their owne goods and poſſeſſions, liuing ſtill Chriſtians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requeſts and articles were agreed vpon, granted, and ſubſcribed vnto by the hand of Muſtafa. Foorthwith were ſent Gallies, and other veſſels into the hauen, ſo that our ſouldiers immediatly began to imbarke themſelues, of the which the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines alſo being likewiſe very deſirous to depart.

Iuſt Turkiſh dealing, to ſpeake and not to meane: ſo baſely to promiſe, and neuer to performe the ſame.

The 15. of Auguſt in the morning, the worthy Bragadino ſent me with a letter vnto Muſtafa, by the which hee ſignified, that the ſame night hee would come vnto him to deliuer vp the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leaue in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whileſt hee ſhould haue iuſt cauſe thus to bee abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking vntill that time, practiſed with vs all familiarly, and without any ſuſpition of ſiniſter or double dealing, they hauing ſhewed vs much courteſie both in word and deede. Muſtafa himſelfe by worde of mouth preſently anſwered me to this letter, in this ſort, that I ſhould returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had ſent mee, that he ſhould come ouer to him at his owne pleaſure, for hee was very deſirous both to ſee and know him, for his great worthineſſe and proweſſe, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whoſe manhood and courage he would honourably report, where ſoeuer he came, as occaſion ſhould ſerue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee ſhould nothing doubt of any thing: becauſe in no maner of condition hee would ſuffer any violence to be done to thoſe, which remained behind within the Citie. So I ſpeedily returning, made true report of the ſame: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worſhipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worſhipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haſte, with the captaine Carlo Ragonaſco, with captaine Franceſco Straco, with captaine Hector of Breſcia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie ſouldiours, the Gouernours and Noble men with their ſwordes, and the ſouldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went vnto the pauillion of Muſtafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were curteouſly receiued, and cauſed to ſit downe by him, he reaſoning and diſcourſing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the laſt vpon a ſudden picked a quarell vnto them, eſpecially burdening that noble Bragadino with an vntrueth, laying to his charge ẏ he had cauſed certaine of his ſlaues in the time that the truce continued betweene thē, to be put to death. The which thing was moſt falſe. So that hee being angry therewith, ſuddenly ſtept foorth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being vnarmed (not ſuffered at that time to enter into his pauillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pauillion, being preſently cut and hewen in ſunder in his preſence, and laſt of all from that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the reſt, and being commaunded twiſe or thriſe to ſtretch foorth his necke, as though hee ſhould haue bene beheaded, the which moſt boldly hee did without any ſparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and cauſing him to bee ſtretched out moſt vilely vpon the ground, Muſtafa talked with him, and blaſphemed the holy name of our Sauiour, demaunding him, where is now thy Chriſt, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no anſwere at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was ſent for one of the hoſtages, who was alſo bound, was hidden by one of Muſtafas eunuches vntill ſuch time as his furie was paſt, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches ſlaue. Three Grecians which were vnder his pauillion were left vntouched. All the ſouldiers which were found in the campe, and all ſortes of Chriſtians to the number of three hundred, were ſuddenly ſlaine, they nothing miſtruſting any ſuch treaſon, or tirannie. The Chriſtian ſouldiers which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made ſlaues, all things being taken from them, and ſtripped into their ſhirtes.

The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be broken with ſudden terrors.

Muſtafa, coſin germaine to ẏ thiefe, which hong on the left ſide of our Sauiour at his Paſſion.

The ſecond day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of Auguſt, Muſtafa entred the firſt time into the Citie, and cauſed the valiant and wiſe gouernour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that preſent, when other of my countreymen were thus miſerably ſlaine and made ſlaues, hid my ſelfe in certaine of the Grecians houſes the ſpace of fiue dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in couert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynſt ſuch tranſgreſſors and concealers, I offred, and gaue my ſelfe ſlaue to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promiſing him fiue hundred * Zechins for my ranſome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes ſabboth day) this woorthy and pacient gentleman Bragadino was led ſtill in the preſence of that vnfaithfull tirant Muſtafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baſkets of earth, the one vpon his backe, the other in his hand ſlaue-like, to euery ſundry battrie, being enforced alſo to kiſſe the ground as oft as he paſſed by him, was afterward brought vnto the ſea ſide, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and ſtay vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and faſtened vnto the maineyard of a galley, and hoiſted vp with a crane, to ſhew him to all the Chriſtian ſouldiours and ſlaues (which were in the hauen already ſhipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormenters tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillorie, whereas he was moſt cruelly flaied quicke; with ſo great conſtancie and faith on his part, that he neuer loſt or abated any iot of his ſtedfaſt courage, being ſo farre from any fainting, that hee at that preſent with moſt ſtout heart reproched them, and ſpake much ſhame of his moſt traiterous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promiſe. At the laſt without any kind of alteration of his conſtancie, he recommending his ſoule vnto almightie God, gaue vp the ghoſt. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his ſkin being taken and filled with ſtrawe, was commaunded foorthwith to be hanged vpon the bowſprit of a * Foiſt, and to be caried alongſt the coaſt of Syria by the ſea ſide, that all the port townes might ſee, and vnderſtand who he was.

*Zechini, be certaine pieces of fine gold coined in Venice, euery one of the which is in value ſixe ſhillings eight pence of our mony, & ſomewhat better: & equal altogether to a Turkiſh Byralcom.

His death anſwerable to his former life.

*A Foiſt is as it were a Brigandine, being ſomewhat larger then halfe a galley, much vſed of the Turkiſh Curſaros, or as we call them Pirates or Rouers.

This is now ſo much as I am able to declare to your highneſſe by that I ſawe my ſelfe, and can remember whileſt that I was in the Fortreſſe: that alſo which by true relation of others I could vnderſtand, and ſawe alſo my ſelfe in the campe, whileſt I was ſlaue, I will likewiſe briefly vtter vnto you. The enemies armie was in number two hundred thouſand perſons of all ſortes and qualities. Of ſouldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thouſand, beſides the which number, there were 14. thouſand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them alſo which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the ſword were 60. thouſand in number. The reaſon, why there were ſo many of this ſort, was becauſe Muſtafa had diſperſed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famaguſta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicoſia was: ſo for that cauſe, and by the commodious and eaſie paſſage from Syria ouer into Cyprus, theſe venturers were eaſily induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie ſtill continued) 140. thouſand iron pellets were ſhot of, numbred, and ſeene. The chiefe perſonages which were in their armie neere vnto Muſtafa, were theſe following: the Baſſa of Aleppo, the Baſſa of Natolia, Muſafer Baſſa of Nicoſia, the Baſſa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat *Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the *Begliarbei of Greece, the Baſſa of Sciuaſſi and of Maraſco, Ferca Framburaro, the *Sangiaccho of Antipo, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Muſtafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat gouernour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diuerie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of leſſer credite, with the number of fourescore thouſand perſons beſides, as by the muſter made by his Commiſſion might well appeare.

*The gate of the great Turke, is as much to ſay, as Conſtantinople: the which they call in the Turkiſh language Stanboll.

Gli Venturieri da ſpada, are a kind of venturing ſouldiers, who commonly are wont to folow the army in hope of the ſpoile.

Aleppo, a famous citie neere vnto Antiochia, otherwiſe called in Greeke, ἡλιόπολις, the city of the Sunne.

*Bey in ẏ Turkiſh language, ſignifieth knight with vs.

*Begliarbei ſignifieth lord Admirall.

*Sangiaccho, is that perſon with the Turkes, that gouerneth a prouince or countrey.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouernour at Famaguſta, and the report was that there ſhould bee left in all the Iſland of Cyprus, twentie thouſand perſons, with two thouſand horſes, many of the which I ſaw, being very leane and euill appoynted for ſeruice. It ſeemeth alſo a thing not impertinent to the matter, to ſignifie to you, how I, by the eſpeciall grace of God, was deliuered out of their cruel hands, I hauing paied within two & fortie dayes (all the which time I was ſlaue) fiue hundred Zechins for my ranſome to him, whoſe priſoner I was, by the meanes of the Conſul for the French merchants, a ligier then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria vnto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this ſumme of money to him, hee would not ſo ſet me at libertie, but fed mee vp ſtill with faire wordes, and promiſed mee that hee would firſt bring mee vnto his gouernement, which abutted vpon a piece of the famous riuer of Euphrates, and afterward diſmiſſe me. The which malice and falſehood of his I perceiuing, determined with my ſelfe to giue him the ſlip, and to flie: ſo I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a ſmall Fiſher boate, of the which a poore Grecian was Owner and maſter, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a ſmall ſaile made of two ſhirts, I paſſed ouer from Cyprus vnto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in couert in the houſe of certaine Chriſtians, vntill the fiue and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little French ſhippe called Santa Vittor, which came into theſe partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Weſtward, called Capo delle Gatte, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what ſort the Iſland was tilled: to the which they anſwered, that they could not poſſiblie bee in worſe pickle then they were at that preſent, not enioying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and ſlaues, and almoſt alwayes carying away the Baſtonados, ſo that now (they ſayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleaſant and peaceable gouernment of the Chriſtians, wiſhing and praying God that they might ſhortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Iſland they made anſwere moreouer, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, ſauing onely that mountaine which was towards the Weſt, and that becauſe they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and Eaſt part of the Iſland, there was ſmall ſeede ſowen therein, but became in a maner deſert, there being left but few inhabitants, and leſſe ſtore of cattell there. Afterward we departing from thence arriued in * Candia, I for my part being clothed in ſackecloth, whereas ſoone after by the great curteſie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orſino, I was new apparelled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my neceſſitie relieued. From whence I ſhortly after ſayling in a Cypriottes ſhip (thankes be to almightie God) arriued in this Citie in health, and am ſafely come home now at the honorable feete of your highneſſe.

God ſuffereth much to be done to his ſeruants, but neuer forſaketh them.

Neceſſitie oft times ſharpeneth mens wits, & cauſeth boldnes.

The nature of euery commoditie is ſooner vnderſtood by lacking, then by continuall enioying of the ſame.

*Candia, of the old writers called Creta in latin, Ἑκατόμπολις in Greeke, becauſe it had once a 100. Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Canea, Retimo, and Scythia.

The Captains of the Chriſtians ſlaine in Famaguſta.

The lord Eſtor Baglione,
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Aſta Vicegouernor.
The capitaine Dauid Noce Maſter of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serieant Maior.
The earle Sigiſmond of Caſoldo.
The earle Franceſco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Franceſco Troncauilla.
The captaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Caſtello.
The captaine Charles Ragonaſco of Cremona.
The captaine Franceſco Siraco,
The captaine Roberto Maluezzo.
The captaine Cæſar of Aduerſa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio,
The captaine Franceſco Bugon of Verona,
The captaine Iames of Fabiano,
The captaine Sebaſtian del Sole of Florence.
The captaine Hector of Breſcia, the ſucceſſour to the captaine Cæſar of Aduerſa.
The captaine Flaminio of Florence, ſucceſſor vnto Sebaſtian del Sole.
The captaine Eraſmus of Fermo, ſucceſſor to the captaine of Cernole.
The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The captaine Iohn Battiſta of Riuarole.
The captaine Iohn Franceſco of Venice.

The names of Chriſtians made ſlaues.

The Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Iulius Cæſar Ghelſo a Souldiour of Breſſa.
The earle Neſtor Martinengo, which fled.
The captaine Marco Criuellatore,
The lord Herocles Malateſta.
The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.
The captaine Horatio of Veletri.
The captaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte Iames of Corbara.
The captaine Iohn of Iſtria.
The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The captaine Iohn of Aſcoli.
The captaine Antonie of the ſame towne.
The captaine Sebaſtian of the ſame towne.
The captaine Salgano of the citie of Caſtello.
The captaine Marcheſo of Fermo.
The captaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.
The captaine Carletto Naldo.
The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
The captaine Barnardo of Breſcia.
The captaine Barnardino Coco,
The captaine Simon Bagneſe, ſucceſſour to the captaine Dauid Noce.
The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, ſucceſſor vnto Conte Sigiſmond.
The captaine Ioſeph of Lanciano, ſucceſſour vnto captaine Franceſco Troncauilla.
The captaine Morgante, ſucceſſor to captain Hannibal,
The Lieutenant, ſucceſſour vnto the captaine Scipio.
The Standerdbearer, ſucceſſour to captaine Roberto.
The captaine Octauio of Rimini, ſucceſſour to the captaine Franceſco Bugon.
The captaine Mario de Fabiano, ſucceſſour to captaine Iacomo.
The captaine Franceſco of Venice, ſucceſſour vnto captaine Antonio.
The captaine Matteo of Capua.
The captaine Iohn Maria of Verona.
The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmori, ſlaine.
The knight Maggio, ſlaine.

Turkiſh Captaines at *Famaguſta.*

Muſtafa Generall.
The Baſſa of Aleppo.
The Baſſa of Natolia, ſlaine.
Muſafer Baſſa of Nicoſia.
The Baſſa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, ſlaine.

The Begliarbei of Greece.
The Baſſa of Sciuaſſi and Maraſco.
Fercu Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, ſlaine.
Soliman Bey, ſlaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia, ſlaine.
Muſtafa Bey, Generall of the Venturers, ſlain.
Fergát, ruler of Malathia, ſlaine.
The Framburaro of Diuerie, ſlaine.

The woorthy enterpriſe of *Iohn Foxe* an Engliſh man in deliuering 266. Chriſtians out of the captiuitie of the Turkes at *Alexandria*, the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.

Iohn Foxe taken 1563.

AMong our merchants here in England it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ſhip, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fenſed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and hauing wind & tide, ſet from Portſmouth, 1563. and bended her iourney toward Siuill a citie in Spaine, intending there to traffique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued thēſelues to be beſet round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in ſuch wiſe, that there was no way for thē to flie or eſcape away, but that either they muſt yeeld or els be ſunke. Which the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to ſhew their manhood, ſhewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requeſting them alſo not to faint in ſeeing ſuch a heape of their enemies ready to deuour them; putting them in mind alſo, that if it were Gods pleaſure to giue them into their enemies hands, it was not they ẏ ought to ſhew one diſpleaſant looke or countenance thereagainſt; but to take it patiently, & not to preſcribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themſelues vnder his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to ſhew his mighty power by thē, if their enemies were ten times ſo many, they were not able to ſtand in their hands; putting them likewiſe in mind of the old and ancient woorthineſſe of their countreymen, who in the hardeſt extremities haue alwayes moſt preuailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almoſt impoſſible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantneſſe of our countreymen, and ſuch hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With other like incouragements, exhorting them to behaue themſelues manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly vnto God: who being all riſen vp againe perceiued their enemies by their ſignes and defiances bent to the ſpoyle, whoſe mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then ſtood vp one Groue the maſter, being a comely man, with his ſword and target, holding them vp in defiance agaynſt his enemies. So likewiſe ſtood vp the Owner, the Maſters mate, Boateſwaine, Purſer, and euery man well appointed. Nowe likewiſe ſounded vp the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would haue encouraged any man, had he neuer ſo litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge Iohn Foxe the gunner in the diſpoſing of his pieces in order to the beſt effect, and ſending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewiſe beſtowed their pieces thriſe as faſt toward the Chriſtians. But ſhortly they drew neere, ſo that the bowmen fel to their charge in ſending forth their arrowes ſo thicke amongſt the Gallies, & alſo in doubling their ſhot ſo ſore vpon the gallies, that there were twiſe ſo many of the Turkes ſlaine, as the number of the Chriſtians were in all. But the Turks diſcharged thriſe as faſt againſt the Chriſtians, & ſo long, that the ſhip was very ſore ſtricken & bruiſed vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made the more haſte to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the loſſe of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found ſo hote a ſkirmiſh, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feaſt. For the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, maſter, boateſwaine, and their company ſtoode to it ſo luſtily, that the Turkes were halfe diſmaied. But chiefly the boateſwaine ſhewed himſelf valiant aboue the reſt: for he fared amongſt the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durſt ſtand in his face, till at the laſt there came a ſhot from the Turkes, which brake his whiſtle aſunder, and ſmote him on the breſt, ſo that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewiſe to winne praiſe by death, rather then to liue captiues in miſery and ſhame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to haue done, as it appeared by their ſkirmiſh: but the preaſe and ſtore of the Turkes was ſo great, that they were not able long to endure, but were ſo ouerpreſſed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reaſon wherof, they muſt needs

The valour & death of their Boatſwaine.

be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the maſters mate, who ſhrunke from the ſkirmiſh, like a notable coward, eſteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the preſent example of his fellowes, nor hauing reſpect to the miſeries, whereunto he ſhould be put. But in fine, ſo it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cauſe to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to ſee theſe Infidels ſo violently intreating the Chriſtians, not hauing any reſpect of their manhood which they had taſted of, nor yet reſpecting their owne ſtate, how they might haue met with ſuch a bootie, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow: but no remorſe hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tirannous dealing, but that the Chriſtians muſt needs to the gallies, to ſerue in new offices: and they were no ſooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and torne from their backes, and they ſet to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miſeries, being now vnder their enemies raging ſtripes. I thinke there is no man wil iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloden of ſtripes, and not peſtered with too much heate, and alſo with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpoſe, which is, to ſhew the ende of thoſe, being in meere miſerie, which continually doe call on God with a ſtedfaſt hope that he will deliuer them, and with a ſure faith that he can doe it.

The Engliſhmen caried priſoners vnto an Hauen nere Alexandria.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fenſible with ſtrong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe cuſtomably bring their gallies on ſhoare euery yeere, in the winter ſeaſon, and there doe trimme them, and lay them vp againſt the ſpring time. In which road there is a priſon, wherein the captiues & ſuch priſoners as ſerue in the gallies, are put for all that time, vntill the ſeas be calme and paſſable for the gallies, euery priſoner being moſt grieuouſly laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and ſore diſabling of them to any labour taking. Into which priſon were theſe Chriſtians put, and faſt warded all the Winter ſeaſon. But ere it was long, the Maſter and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the reſt abiding ſtill by the miſerie, while that they were all (through reaſon of their ill vſage and worſe fare, miſerably ſtarued) ſauing one Iohn Fox, who (as ſome men can abide harder and more miſerie, then other ſome can, ſo can ſome likewiſe make more ſhift, and worke more deuiſes to helpe their ſtate and liuing, then other ſome can doe) being ſomewhat ſkilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reaſon thereof made great ſhift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Inſomuch, til at the laſt, God ſent him fauour in the ſight of the keeper of the priſon, ſo that he had leaue to goe in and out to the road, at his pleaſure, paying a certaine ſtipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewiſe, ſixe more had vpon like ſufferance: who by reaſon of their long impriſonment, not being feared or ſuſpected to ſtart aſide, or that they would worke the Turkes any miſchiefe, had libertie to go in and out at the ſayd road, in ſuch maner, as this Iohn Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter ſeaſon, the gallies happily comming to their accuſtomed harborow, and being diſcharged of all their maſtes, ſailes, and other ſuch furnitures, as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Maſters and mariners of them being then neſted in their owne homes: there remained in the priſon of the ſaid road two hundred threeſcore and eight Chriſtian priſoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of ſixteen ſundry nations. Among which there were three Engliſhmen, whereof one was named Iohn Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portſmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Eſſex. Which Iohn Fox hauing bene thirteene or fourteene yeres vnder their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his eſcape, weighed with himſelfe by what meanes it might be brought to paſſe: and continually pondering with himſelf thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be not alwayes ſcourging his children, and neuer ceaſſed to pray him to further his pretended enterpriſe, if that it ſhould redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and ſomewhat from thence, at one ſide of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling houſe, which one Peter Vnticaro had hired, paying alſo a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the road. This Peter Vnticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Chriſtian, and had bene priſoner about thirtie yeeres, and neuer practiſed any meanes to eſcape, but kept himſelfe quiet without touch or ſuſpect of any conſpiracie: vntill that nowe this Iohn Foxe vſing much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the reſtraint of their libertie and impriſonment. So that this Iohn Fox at length opening vnto this Vnticaro the deuiſe which he would faine put in practiſe, made priuie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at ſuch times as they could compaſſe to meete together: inſomuch, that at ſeuen weekes ende they had ſufficiently concluded how the matter ſhould be, if it pleaſed God to farther them there-

to:

ro: who making fiue more priuie to this their deuiſe, whom they thought they might ſafely truſt, determined in three nights after to accompliſh their deliberate purpoſe. Whereupon the ſame Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other ſixe appointed to meete all together in the priſon the next day, being the laſt day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the reſt of the priſoners, what their intent and deuiſe was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpoſe to paſſe: who therunto perſwaded them without much a doe to further their deuiſe. Which the ſame Iohn Fox ſeeing, deliuered vnto them a ſort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpoſe, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man ſhould be readie diſcharged of his yron by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

The laſt of December.

On the next day at night, this ſaid Iohn Fox, and his ſixe other companions, being all come to the houſe of Peter Vnticaro, paſſing the time away in mirth for feare of ſuſpect, till the night came on, ſo that it was time for them to put in practiſe their deuiſe, ſent Peter Vnticaro to the maſter of the roade, in the name of one of the Maſters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whoſe requeſt he alſo would come at the firſt: who deſired him to take the paines to meete him there, promiſing him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, ſaying, that he would not ſtay long, but would come againe with all ſpeede.

Ianuarie.

In the meane ſeaſon, the other ſeuen had prouided them of ſuch weapons, as they could get in that houſe: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde ruſtie ſword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to ſerue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the ſword, in ſteed of a pomell, and the other had got ſuch ſpits and glaiues as they found in the houſe.

The keeper now being come vnto the houſe, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyſe, ſtraightway ſuſpected the matter: and returning backward, Iohn Fox ſtanding behind the corner of the houſe, ſtepped foorth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, ſaide, O Fox, what haue I deſerued of thee, that thou ſhouldeſt ſeeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) haſt bene a bloodſucker of many a Chriſtians blood, and now thou ſhalt know what thou haſt deſerued at my handes: wherewith he lift vp his bright ſhining ſword of tenne yeeres ruſt, and ſtroke him ſo maine a blowe, as therewithall his head claue a ſunder, ſo that he fell ſtarke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the reſt how the caſe ſtood with the keeper: who came preſently foorth, and ſome with their ſpits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in ſunder, cut off his head, and mangled him ſo, that no man ſhould diſcerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered ſoftly, where were ſixe warders, whom one of them asked, ſaying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, prooued contrary: for, quoth Fox, my maſters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your partes. Who ſo behaued themſelues in deede, that they had diſpatched theſe ſixe quickly. Then Iohn Fox intending not to be barred of his enterpriſe, and minding to worke ſurely in that which he went about, barred the gate ſurely, and planted a Canon againſt it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortreſſe & priſon by his bed ſide, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a cheſt, wherein was a rich treaſure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Vnticaro, & two more, opening, ſtuffed themſelues ſo full as they could, betweene their ſhirts and their ſkinne: which Iohn Fox would not once touch, and ſayde, that it was his and their libertie which he ſought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marte of the wicked treaſure of the Infidels. Yet did theſe words ſinke nothing into their ſtomackes, they did it for a good intent: ſo did Saul ſaue the fatteſt Oxen, to offer vnto the Lord, that they to ſerue their owne turne. But neither did Saul ſcape the wrath of God therefore, neither had theſe that thing which they deſired ſo, and did thirſt after. Such is Gods iuſtice. He that they put their truſt in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous handes of their enemies, he (I ſay) could ſupply their want of neceſſaries.

Now theſe eight being armed with ſuch weapons, as they thought well of, thinking themſelues ſufficient champions to encounter a ſtronger enemie, and comming vnto the priſon, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called foorth all the priſoners, whom he ſet, ſome to ramming vp the gate, ſome to the dreſſing vp of a certaine gallie, which was the beſt in all the roade, and was called the Captaine of Alexandria, whereinto ſome caried maſtes, ſailes, oares, and other ſuch furniture as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the priſon were certaine warders, whom Iohn Fox and his companie ſlewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the priſon: vnto whom, Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot ſkirmiſh. For ſome of them were there ſlaine, ſome wounded, and ſome but ſcarred, and not hurt. As Iohn Fox was thriſe ſhot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were ſlaine, as not able to wield themſelues, being ſo peſtered with the weight and vneaſie carying of the wicked and prophane treaſure: and alſo diuerſe Chriſtians were aſwell hurt about that ſkirmiſh, as Turkes ſlaine.

Amongſt the Turkes was one thrall thorowe, who (let vs not ſay that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the priſon wall, and made ſuch a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there ſcattering ſtoode a houſe or two) came and dawed him, ſo that they vnderſtood the caſe, how that the priſoners were paying their ranſomes: whereupon they raiſed both Alexandria which lay on the weſt ſide of the roade, and a Caſtle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and alſo an other Fortreſſe which lay on the Northſide of the roade: ſo that nowe they had no way to eſcape, but one, which by mans reaſon (the two holdes lying ſo vpon the mouth of the roade) might ſeeme impoſſible to be a way for them. So was the red ſea impoſſible for the Iſraelites to paſſe through, the hils and rockes lay ſo on the one ſide, and their enemies compaſſed them on the other. So was it impoſſible, that the wals of Iericho ſhould fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wiſedome, pollicie, or helpe ſet or put thereunto. Such impoſſibilities can our God make poſſible. He that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel aſunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring canons of this helliſh force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Ouen, from the three children, that praiſed his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blaſtes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with luſtie ſouldiers, labourers, and mariners, who are faine to ſtand to their tackling, in ſetting to euery man his hand, ſome to the carying in of victuals, ſome munitions, ſome oares, and ſome one thing, ſome another, but moſt are keeping their enemie from the wall of the road. But to be ſhort, there was no time miſpent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill beſtowed, or in vaine. So that in ſhort time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haſte, hoyſing vp the ſayles luſtily, yeelding themſelues to his mercie and grace, in whoſe hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the ſafetie of the roade: now haue the two Caſtles full power vpon the gally, now is there no remedy but to ſinke: how can it be auoided? The canons let flie from both ſides, and the gally is euen in the middeſt, and betweene them both. What man can deuiſe to ſaue it? there is no man, but would thinke it muſt needes be ſunke.

There was not one of them that feared the ſhottes, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once ſcarred or touched, with fiue & forty ſhot, which came from the Caſtles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he ſhieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermoſt. Now commeth his ſpeciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinkes them paſt all helpe, then commeth he himſelfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his preſent remedie moſt readie preſt. For they ſaile away, being not once touched with the glance of a ſhot, and are quickly out of the Turkiſh canons reach. Then might they ſee them comming downe by heapes to the water ſide, in companies like vnto ſwarmes of bees, making ſhew to come after them with gallies, in buſtling themſelues to dreſſe vp the gallies, which would be a ſwift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, maſtes, ſailes, gables, nor any thing elſe ready in any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, ſome into one gally, and ſome into another, ſo that, being ſuch a confuſion amongſt them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impoſſible to ouertake them: beſide that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was ſo rough, and there was ſuch an amazedneſſe amongſt them. And verily I thinke their God was amaſed thereat: it could not be but he muſt bluſh for ſhame, he can ſpeake neuer a word for dulnes, much leſſe can he helpe them in ſuch an extremitie. Well, howſoeuer it is, he is very much to blame, to ſuffer them to receiue ſuch a gybe. But howſoeuer their God behaued himſelfe, our God ſhewed himſelfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely liuing God: for the ſeas were ſwift vnder his faithfull, which made the enemies agaſt to behold them, a ſkilfuller Pilot leades them, and their mariners beſtirre them luſtily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any ſkilfull Maſter, that was in a readineſſe at this pinch.

When the Chriſtians were ſafe out of the enemies coaſt, Iohn Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almightie God for their deliuerie, and moſt humbly to fall downe vpon their knees, beſeeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into another danger, ſith hee had moſt mightily deliuered them from ſo great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell ſtraight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour ſtriuing to come to ſome Chriſtian land, as neere as they could geſſe by the ſtarres. But the windes were ſo diuers, one while driuing them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a newe maze, thinking that God had forſaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And foraſmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might haue beene a cauſe to them (if they had beene the Iſraelites) to haue murmured againſt their God: but they knew how that their God, who had deliuered them out of Ægypt, was ſuch a louing and mercifull God, as that hee would not ſuffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought ſo great a wonder: but what calamitie ſoeuer they ſuſtained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and alſo (in putting them in mind of their farther miſerie) to cauſe them not to triumph and glory in themſelues therefore. Hauing (I ſay) no victuals in the gally, it might ſeeme that one miſerie continually fel vpon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be ſo great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the ſea, there died eight perſons, to the aſtoniſhment of all the reſt.

Extremity of famine.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29 day, after they ſet from Alexandria, they fell on the Iſle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who cauſed them to ſtay there, while they were well refreſhed and eaſed. They kept there the ſworde, wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, eſteeming it as a moſt precious iewell, and hung it vp for a monument.

Iohn Fox his ſword kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they ſayled along the coaſt, till they arriued at Tarento, where they ſolde their gallie, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiuing ſo ſhamefull a foile at their hand, purſued the Chriſtians, and ſcoured the ſeas, where they could imagine that they had bent their courſe. And the Chriſtians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and ſeuen gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by thoſe who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing leaſt they ſhould haue bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a ſunder, euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Engliſhman, who preſented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his moſt worthy enterpriſe gaue him in fee twentie pence a day. From whence, being deſirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at ſuch time as he conueniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went vnto the Court, and ſhewed all his trauell vnto the Councell: who conſidering of the ſtate of this man, in that hee had ſpent and loſt a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Chriſtians.

The copie of the certificate for *Iohn Fox*, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of *Gallipoli*, where they firſt landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Couent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe teſtifie, that vpon the 29 of Ianuary laſt paſt, 1577, there came in to the ſaid citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Chriſtians, whereof was principal Maſter Iohn Fox, an Engliſhman, a gunner, and one of the chiefeſt that did accompliſh that great worke, whereby ſo many Chriſtians haue recouered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earneſt requeſt to the ſame Iohn Fox, he hath left here an olde ſworde, wherewith he ſlewe the keeper of the priſon: which ſword we doe as a monument and memoriall of ſo worthy a deede, hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent houſe. And for becauſe all things aforeſaid, are ſuch as we will teſtifie to be true, as they are orderly paſſed, and haue therefore good credite, that ſo much as is aboue expreſſed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforeſaide, haue ratified and ſubſcribed theſe preſents. Geuen in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the ſame place, confirme the premiſſes, as they are aboue written.
I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.
I Prier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforeſaid.
I Prier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue ſaid.
I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Biſhop of *Rome* his letters in the behalfe of *Iohn Fox.*

BE it knowen vnto all men, to whom this writing ſhall come, that the bringer hereof Iohn Fox Engliſhman, a Gunner, after he had ſerued captiue in the Turkes gallies, by the ſpace of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Ianuarie laſt paſt, ſlew the keeper of the priſon, (whom he firſt ſtroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the aſsiſtance of his fellow priſoners: and with 266. Chriſtians (of whoſe libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arriued firſt at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written teſtimony and credite of which things, as alſo of others, the ſame Iohn Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Eaſter eue he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spaniſh Court, hoping there to obtaine ſome reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore diſtreſſed man humbly beſeecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Chriſt, deſire you, that taking compaſsion of his former captiuitie, and preſent penurie, you doe not onely ſuffer him freely to paſſe throughout all your cities and townes, but alſo ſuccour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you ſhall hereafter moſt aſſuredly receiue, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende vnto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Groles Engliſhman Biſhop of Aſtraphen.

Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.

Andreas Ludouicus Regiſter to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premiſes, haue ſet my ſeale to theſe preſents. At Rome, the day and yeere aboue written.

Mauricius Clement the gouernour and keeper of the Engliſh Hoſpitall in the citie.

The King of *Spaine* his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of *Iohn Fox* in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illuſtrious Prince, Veſpaſian Gonſaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Capitaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Hauing conſideration, that Iohn Fox Engliſhman hath ſerued vs, and was one of the moſt principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Chriſtian captiues: we licence him to practiſe, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our ſaid Realme, there to ſerue in the ſaid office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe command, that you cauſe to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he ſhall ſerue in the ſaide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwiſe prouide for him, the ſaide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our prouiſion, preſent and to come, and to haue regarde of thoſe which come with him. From Eſcuriall the tenth of Auguſt, 1577.

I the King.

Iuan del Gado.

And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

The renuing and increaſing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerſe places in the Leuant ſeas, and to the chiefeſt partes of all the great Turks dominions, by the meanes of the Right worſh. citizens Sir *Edward Oſborne* Alderman, and M. *Richard Staper* marchant of *London.*

This trade into the Leuant (as is before mentioned, page 96 of this preſent volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very vſuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterward alſo, though not ſo commonly, vntill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher vnder the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a proſperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foreſaid trade (not withſtanding the Grand Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. Anthony Ienkenſon 1553, and the ſtrong and weighty reaſons of Gaſpar Campion for that purpoſe) was vtterly diſcontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the ſpace of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the diſcreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper ſeriouſly conſidering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foreſaid diſcontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Maieſties cuſtomes, the furthering of nauigation, the venting of diuerſe generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to vſe ſome effectuall meanes for the reeſtabliſhing and augmenting thereof.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foreſaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expenſes ſent Iohn Wight and Ioſeph Clements by the way of Poland to Conſtantinople, where the ſaid Ioſeph remained 18 monethes to procure a ſafe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free acceſſe into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the ſame.

The voyage of Iohn Wight and Ioſeph Clements to Conſtantinople.

Which buſineſſe after two yeres chargeable trauell and ſuit being accompliſhed, the ſayd M. Harborne the firſt of Iuly 1578 departed from London by the ſea to Hamburgh, and thence accompanied with Ioſeph Clements his guide and a ſeruant, he trauailed to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himſelfe, his guide, and his ſeruant after the Turkiſh faſhion (hauing firſt obteyned the king of Poland his ſafe conduct to paſſe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next vnto Turky) by good meanes he obteined fauour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambaſſadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Conſtantinople, to bee receiued into his companie and carouan. And ſo the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the ſaid Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and trauelling through Moldauia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiauodes with certaine curteſies, he arriued at Conſtantinople the 28 of October next inſuing. Where he behaued himſelfe ſo wiſely and diſcreetely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuiledge for himſelfe, and the two worſhipfull perſons aforeſaid, but alſo procured his honourable and friendly letters vnto her Maieſtie in maner following.

The firſt voyage of M. William Harborne to Conſtantinople.

The letters ſent from the Imperiall Muſulmanlike highneſſe of *Zuldan Murad Can*, to the ſacred regall Maieſtie of *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the firſt priuileges.

IN greatnes and glory moſt renowmed Elizabeth, moſt ſacred Queene, and noble prince of the moſt mightie worſhippers of Ieſus, moſt wiſe gouernor of the cauſes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of moſt pleaſant raine, and ſweeteſt fountaine of nobleneſſe and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happineſſe & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all ſorts ſeeke vnto and ſubmit themſelues) we wiſh moſt proſperous ſucceſſe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto you ſuch pleaſures and curteſies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as beſt beſeemeth vs) our former ſalutations.

In moſt friendly maner we giue you to vnderſtand, that a certaine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie, commending vnto vs from you all kindneſſe, curteſie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highneſſe would vouchſafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto || two other merchants of your kingdome, to reſort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be ſuffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like ſort to make their returne.

|| Theſe two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper.

Our ſtately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the acceſſe both of our enemies and friends. But becauſe we are informed that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of louing affection towards vs, ſo much the rather ſhall the ſame our Countrey be alwayes open to ſuch of your ſubiects, as by way of merchandize ſhall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aide & ſuccor any of them that are or ſhal be willing to eſteeme of our friendſhip, fauour, & aſſiſtance: but will reckon it ſome part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highneſſe is giuen to vnderſtand that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie doth excell in bountie & curteſie, we therfore haue ſent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauellers by ſea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie ſeafaring men, all condemned perſons, and officers of Ports and cuſtomes, ſtraightly charging and commanding them, that ſuch foreſaid perſons as ſhall reſort hither by ſea from the

Realme of England, either with great or ſmall veſſels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man ſhall dare to moleſt or trouble them. And if in like ſort they ſhall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horſebacke, no man ſhall at any time withſtand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germany, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like ſort the marchants of your moſt excellent Regall Maieſties kingdome ſhall haue ſafe conduct and leaue to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and ſo to returne againe into their own Country: ſtraightly charging that they be ſuffered to vſe and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Chriſtians doe, without let or diſturbance of any.

‖ He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.

Therefore when theſe our Imperiall letters ſhall be brought to your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie, it ſhall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your moſt excellent Maieſty, that you likewiſe bethinke your ſelfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendſhippe towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nouriſh by all good meanes this kindneſſe and friendſhip: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highneſſe to our ſubiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by ſea with their ſhips, or by land with their wagons or horſes, and to returne home againe: and that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendſhip towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof vnto vs.

The Turke demandeth like priuileges for his ſubiects in the Queenes dominions.

Giuen at our citie of Conſtantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our moſt holy Prophet Mahomet ‖ 987.

‖ With vs the yeere 1579.

The anſwere of her Maieſtie to the aforeſaid Letters of the Great Turke, ſent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of *London* by Maſter *Richard Stanley*.

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnici cœli terræq; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Chriſtianæ contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, & Chriſti nomen falſò profitentium Idololatrias inuictiſſima & potentiſſima Defenſatrix, auguſtiſſimo, inuictiſſimoq; principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentiſſimo, Imperijq; orientis Monarchæ ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo, ſalutē, & multos cum rerum optimarū affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Auguſtiſſime & inuictiſsime Cæſar, accepimus inuictiſsimæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martij currentis anni ad nos ſcriptas Conſtantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmq; clementer, literæ ſupplices quæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudini a quodam ſubdito noſtro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celſitudinis veſtræ ciuitate Conſtantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro ſe & ſocijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus ſubditis noſtris cum mercibus ſuis ad terras ditioneſq; Imperio veſtro ſubiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeq; reuerſionis veniæ poteſtatiſq; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictiſſima veſtra Cæſarea celſitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id ſolùm, ſed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaq; auguſtiſsma Cæſarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis ſupplicibus poſitum, ei ſocijſq; ſuis donatum & conceſſum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, ſolùm opinione, quam de nobis, & noſtra amicitia veſtra celſitudo concepit. Quod ſingulare beneficium in dictos ſubditos noſtros collatum tam gratè tamq; beneuolè accepimus (maximas celſitudini veſtræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum noſtrarum ratione, proq; ea quam nobis inſeuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auſpicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotiſsimas nos eſſe voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima ſuſpitione, docuitq; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis nos ſineremus vinci, aut ſuperari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium depoſuiſſe, ſe veſtra Celſitudo exiſtimet. Proptereaq; animum noſtrum inpræſentiarum veſtræ celſitudini emetimur, benè ſentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obſtrictas beneficij huius in ſubditos noſtros collati putemus memoriâ ſempiternâ: longè vberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga veſtram celſitudinem noſtræ teſtificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident vt poſsimus, & à nobis deſiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ noſtris paucis ſubditis, eaq; ſuis ipſorum precibus, ſine vlla interceſsione noſtra conceſſa donatio eſt, in æquè libera poteſtate ſita eſt ad omnes terras ditioneſq; Imperio veſtro ſubiectas, cum mercibus ſuis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi & redeundi, atq; inuictiſsimę Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum ſubditis largita vnquam aut donata

nata fuit, celſitudinem veſtram rogamus ne tam ſingularis beneficentiæ laus in tam anguſtis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, ſed ad vniuerſos ſubditos noſtros diffuſa, propagatáque, celſitudinis veſtræ beneficium eò reddat auguſtius, quò eiuſdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam ſingularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celſitudini veſtræ minùs pœnitendum, quò ſunt merces illæ, quibus regna noſtra abundant, & aliorum principũ ditiones egent, tam humanis vſibus commodæ tamq; neceſſarię, nulla gens vt ſit, quæ eis carere queat, proptereaq́; longiſſimis, difficillimiſq́; itineribus conquiſitis non vehementer gaudeat. Cariùs autem diſtrahunt alijs, quo ex labore ſuo quiſq; victum & quæſtum quæritat, adeo vt in earum acquiſitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus ſit. Vtilitas celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum noſtrorum hominum ad terras veſtras profectione: onus minuetur, profectionis quorumcúnque ſubditorum noſtrorum donatione. Accedet prætereà quæ à nobis in celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditos proficiſcetur, par, ęquáque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiáq; noſtra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celſitudini veſtræ pollicemur tam amplam latéque patentem fore, quàm eſt vlla à confœderatorum veſtrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditis vllo vnquam tempore conceſſa & donata. Qua in re ſi honeſtæ petitioni noſtræ inuictiſſima Cæſarea veſtra celſitudo dignabitur auſcultare, faciétque vt acceptis noſtris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura ſit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea propoſita præſtitáque ſecuritate, quæ ſubditos noſtros quoſcúnque ad dominia ſua, terra, maríque proficiſcentes, indéq; reuertentes tutos & ſecuros reddat ab omni quorumcúnque ſubditorum ſuorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiáq; noſtra contulit commoda (quæ tam ſingularia ſunt, omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, ſummęq; neceſſitudinis coniunctionem nobiſcum contrahendam, ſtabiliendámque quo liberius tantis ſummi Dei beneficijs fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) noſtri ſubditi ad regna dominiáque Celſitudinis veſtræ aduehant tam affluenter támque cumulate, vt vtrique incommodo prædicto neceſſitatis & oneris pleniſſimè ſuccurratur. Facit prætereà ſingularis iſta Celſitudinis veſtrę in nos Gentémque noſtram ſummæ beneuolentiæ ſignificatio ac fides, vt eandem, in cauſam quorundam ſubditorum noſtrorum, qui captiui triremibus veſtris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúſque, vt quoniam nullo in celſitudinem veſtram peccato ſuo, ſiuè arma in eam ferendo, ſiuè iniquiùs præter fas & ius gentium ſe gerendo in ſuos ſubditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, ſoluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro ſua fide & obſequio inſeruientes, cauſam vberiorem præbeant veſtræ Celſitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui ſolus, & ſupra omnia & omnes eſt acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, ſuíque honoris contra Gentium & aliorum falſos Deos Zelotes, pręcabimur, vt veſtram inuictiſſimam Cæſaream Celſitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quę ſola & ſummè iure merito habentur deſideratiſſima.

Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici, prope ciuitattem noſtram Londinum, quintodecimo Menſis Octobris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti Saluatoris noſtri 1579, Regni verò noſtri viceſimo primo.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Elizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mighty defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Chriſtians, and falſly profeſſe the Name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, ſole and aboue all, and moſt ſoueraigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the beſt things.

Moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters of your mightie highneſſe written to vs from Cõſtantinople the fifteenth day of March this preſent yere, whereby we vnderſtand how graciouſly, and how fauorably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a ſubiect of ours, reſident in the Imperial citie of your highnes preſented vnto your Maieſtie for the obteining of acceſſe for him and two other Marchants more of his company our ſubiects alſo, to come with marchandizes both by ſea and land, to the countreis and territories ſubiect to your gouernment, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie ſpeed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it ſeemeth) of that opinion which your highneſſe conceiued of vs and our amitie: which ſingular benefit done to our aforeſaid ſubiects, wee take ſo thankefully, and in ſo good part (yeelding for the ſame our greateſt thanks to your highneſſe) that

we will neuer giue occaſion to your ſaid highneſſe (according as time, and the reſpect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke ſo great a pleaſure beſtowed vpon an vngratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whoſe grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodneſſe of nature, that wee deteſt and abhorre the leaſt ſuſpition of ingratitude, and hath taught vs not to ſuffer our ſelues to bee ouermatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde vnto your highneſſe, by well conceiuing, and publiſhing alſo abroad, how much we repute our ſelfe bound in an euerlaſting remembrance for this good pleaſure to our Subiects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull teſtification of our thankefulneſſe, when time conuenient ſhall fall out, and the ſame ſhall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a fewe of our Subiects, and at their onely requeſt without any interceſſion of ours, ſtandeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms ſubiect to your Maieſtie, both by land & ſea with marchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your Imperiall highneſſe confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as alſo to the ſubiects of the king of the Romanes, wee deſire of your highneſſe that the commendation of ſuch ſingular curteſie may not bee ſo narrowly reſtrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our ſubiects in generall, that thereby your highneſſe goodneſſe may appeare the more notable, by reaſon of the graunting of the ſame to a greater number of perſons. The beſtowing of which ſo ſingular a benefit your highneſſe ſhall ſo much the leſſe repent you of, by howe much the more fit and neceſſary for the vſe of man thoſe commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, ſo ẏ there is no nation that can be without them; but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they ſell them much deerer to others, becauſe euery man ſeeketh to make profite by his labour: ſo that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is loſſe. But this profite will be increaſed to the ſubiects of your highneſſe by this free acceſſe of a few of our ſubiects to your dominions, as alſo the loſſe and burden wilbe eaſed, by the permiſſion of generall acceſſe to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the ſubiects of your highneſſe with vs for the vſe of traffique, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promiſe to your highneſſe ſhalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your ſubiects by the aforeſaide princes your confederats, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe ſhall vouchſafe to incline to our reaſonable requeſt, and ſhall giue order vpon theſe our letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the ſame is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with ſufficient ſecuritie for our ſubiects to go, and returne ſafe and ſecure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other ſide wil giue order, that thoſe commodities which Almighty God hath beſtowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed ſo excellent, that by reaſon of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enioy theſe ſo great bleſſings of God, which we haue, and they can in no caſe want) our ſubiects ſhall bring them ſo abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highneſſe, that both the former inconueniences of neceſſitie, and loſſe, ſhall moſt ſufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the ſignification and aſſurance of your highneſſe great affection to vs and our nation, doeth cauſe vs alſo to intreat and vſe mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our ſubiects, who are deteined as ſlaues and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that foraſmuch as they are fallen into that miſery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes againſt your highneſſe, or in behauing of themſelues contrary to honeſtie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and reſtored to libertie, for their ſeruice towardes vs, according to their duetie: which thing ſhall yeeld much more abundant cauſe to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beſeeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a moſt ſeuere reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honour againſt the falſe gods of the nations) to adorne your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe with all the bleſſings of thoſe gifts, which onely and deſeruedly are accounted moſt worthy of aſking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the fiue and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour one thouſand, fiue hundreth, ſeuentie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The

The charter of the priuileges granted to the Engliſh, & the league of the great *Turke* with the Queenes Maieſtie in reſpect of traffique, dated in Iune 1580.

Immenſa & maxima ex poteſtate potentiſſimi, terribilibúſque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabilique clementia & ineffabili auxilio ſanctiſſimi & pura mente colendiſſimi tremendiſſimiq; vniuerſitatum creatoris, princeps temporum pręſentium, vnicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus ſceptra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiæq; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum prouinciarúmue, & vrbium ciuitatúmue diſtributor permultarum: Nos ſacratiſſimus Cæſar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id eſt domus diuinæ, Medinæ, glorioſiſſimæ & beatiſſimæ Ieruſalem, Aegypti fertiliſſimæ, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Iabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Halepiæ, Caramaniæ & Diabekiruan & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypri diuitis, & regnorum Aſiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Meſopotamiæ, Africæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, ſelectiſſimæq; Europæ, Budæ, & Temeſuar, & regnorum tranſalpinorum, & his ſimilium permultorum princeps Cæſarúq; ſacratiſſimus, potentiſſimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentiſſimus Murad Can hoc in ſignum noſtræ Cæſareæ amicitiæ ſignificamus manifeſtamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Chriſtianitate honoratiſſima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus ſit fœliciſſimus) ad noſtram excelſam, & iuſtitiæ plenam, fulgidiſſimamue portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi eſt refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas miſit ſuas, quibus ſua maieſtas ſignificauit, quod tempore præterito quidam ſubditi ſui veniſſent ad noſtram portam excelſam, & ſuam obedientiam erga eam demonſtrauiſſent, & ob eam cauſam illis quoque ad noſtras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poſcerent, venia & poteſtas fuiſſet data: & quòd in locis & hoſpitijs eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cęſareum fuiſſet datum: & quòd hanc noſtram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus ſuæ maieſtatis demonſtrauiſſemus, vniuerſis ſuis ſubditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cum ſereniſſimis beneuolentiam & obedientiam, ſeruitiáue ſua demonſtrantibus erga noſtram portam excelſam regibus & principibus confœderatis (vt ſunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & cæteri) pacem & fœdus ſanctiſſimum pepigimus: ſic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam cuſtodiendam, pacem & fœdus coniunximus. Illius igitur homines, & vniuerſi mercatores, ſine aliquo impedimento cum ſuis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas pacificè & ſecurè veniant, & ſuam exerceant mercaturam, maneant in ſuis ſtatibus, & ſecundum ſuos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, ſua maieſtas ſignificabat ex hominibus ſuis aliquos iamdudum captos fuiſſe, & in captiuitate detineri, & quòd hi dimitterentur petebat, & quòd ſicut alijs principibus nobiſcum confœderatis priuilegia & mandata Cæſarea ſuper fœdus ſanctiſſimum dediſſemus, ſic præfatæ quoque Reginæ priuilegium & mandata Cæſarea vt daremus, noſtræ Cæſareæ celſitudini placeret. Quare ſecundùm noſtram beneuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata ſuę maieſtatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc noſtrum priuilegium iuſtitijs plenum dedimus maieſtati ſuæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis noſtris, & Kazijs, id eſt, iudicibus, & omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuum, & vadorum firmiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte pręfatæ reginæ fœdus, & pax, & eorum conditiones articulíque (vt conuenit) cuſtodiuntur & ſeruantur, noſtræ quóque Cæſareæ celſitudinis mandata ſunt:

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

Articuli huius priuilegij.

1 Vt præfatæ Reginę homines, & ſubditi eius quibuslibet rebus & mercibus, oneribus & ſupellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, ſecurè & pacificè ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, ſed ſecurè & ſine aliquo impedimento negocientur, & in ſuis ſtatibus & conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, ſi præfati homines & mercatores in ſuis rectis vijs & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, ſine aliqua tergiuerſatione dimittantur, liberentúrque.

3 Item, ſi naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & ſine impedimento veniant, & diſcedant in ſua loca.

4 Item, ſi in tempeſtatibus maris naues eorum eſſent in periculo & auxilio opus eſſet illis, naues noſtræ Cæſareæ celſitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naues hominéſque ſtatim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, ſi edulia ſuis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo reſiſtat illis, ſed ſine impedimento edulia emant.

6 Item, ſi infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Begi & iudices, & cęteri noſtri ſubditi ſint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum quę remanſerint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, ſi præfatæ reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, ſiue per terram, ſiue per mare mercandi gratiâ ad noſtras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in perſonis, & rebus eorum, pecoribúſque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, ſi aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ęre alieno eſſet obſtrictus, inuenirique non poſſit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus niſi eſſet fideiuſſor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, ſi Anglus teſtamentum fecerit, & ſua bona cuicúnque legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, & ſi ſine teſtamento moreretur, conſul eorum cuicúnque ſociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, ſi Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiuſſionibus & rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, & in librum inſcribi faciant negotium, & ſi voluerint, literas quóque accepiant à iudice, propterea quòd ſi aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & ſecundùm tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum ſuſpecta: ſi autem néque in librum inſcriberentur, néque literas haberent, iudex falſa teſtimonia non admittat, ſed ſecundùm iuſtitiam legem adminiſtrans non ſinat illos impediri.

11 Item, ſi aliquis diceret, quod iſti Chriſtiani noſtræ fidei Muzulmanicæ maledixerint, & eam vituperijs affecerint, in hoc negotio etiam & alijs, teſtes falſi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, ſi aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patrarét, & fugiens non poſſit inueniri, nullus niſi eſſet fideiuſſor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, ſi aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & conſul eorũ peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & ſi inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, ſi aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, ſiue ſit vxoratus, ſiue ſit ſine vxore, non ſoluat cenſum.

15 Item, ſi in Alexandria, in Damaſco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in alijs omnibus locis, vbicúnq; voluerint facere Conſules, faciant: Et iterum ſi voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorũ conſulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis reſiſtat.

16 Item, ſi illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatus abeſſet, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, ſi Angli inter ſe aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad ſuos conſules ire, nemo reſiſtat illis, ſed liberè veniant ad Conſules ſuos, vt ſecundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, ſi poſt tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, piratæ, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, ſecundùm iuſtitiam examinetur: & ſi Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam aſſumpſerit, liberè dimittatur: ſi autem adhuc eſſet Chriſtianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores ſuam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, ſi noſtræ Cæſareæ Celſitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inuenerint naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiſcum confœderatis regibus, & principibus priuilegium, & articulos priuilegijs dedimus, & conceſſimus, ſimili modo his quóque Anglis priuilegium & articulos priuilegijs dedimus & conceſſimus, & contra legem diuinam, & hoc priuilegium, nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, ſi naues magnæ, & paruæ in itinere & loco vbi ſtant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, ſed potiùs auxilio ſint illis.

21 Item, ſi latrones & fures vi raperent naues illorum, nauiúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures, & ſeueriſſimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, & Zanziacbegi, Capitanei noſtri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes ſerui Capitaneorum, & Iudices, & Teloniatores, & Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes iſti præfati, ſecundùm tenorem huius priuilegij, tenorémue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in priuilegio deſcriptum fœdus, & pax illius Maieſtatis ex parte ſanctè ſeruabitur, & cuſtodietur, ex parte etiam noſtra Cæſarea cuſtodiri, & obſeruari mandamus.

Datum conſtantinopoli, anno noſtri prophetæ Sanctiſſimi 988, in principio menſis Iunij, anno autem Ieſu 1580.

The

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the moſt mightie and *Muſumanlike* Emperour *Zuldan Murad Can*, granted at the requeſt of *Elizabeth* by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and only Creator of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the ſaid Princes and their ſubiects.

WE moſt ſacred Muſulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the euerlaſting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the vnſpeakable helpe of the moſt mighty & moſt holy God, creator of all things, to be worſhipped and feared with all pureneſſe of minde, and reuerence of ſpeech, The prince of theſe preſent times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue ſcepters to the potentates of the whole world, the ſhadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the diſtributer of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes and cities, Prince, and moſt ſacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to ſay, of Gods houſe, of Medina, of the moſt glorious and bleſſed Ieruſalem, of the moſt fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Aſia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Meſopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the Weſt, of the moſt choiſe and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeſwar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others ſuch like, moſt mightie Murad Can, the ſonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the ſonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the ſonne of Zelim Can, which was the ſonne of Paiizid Can, which was the ſonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We moſt mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendſhip, doe ſignifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the moſt honourable Queene of Chriſtendom (to whoſe marchants we wiſh happy ſucceſſe) ſent her letters by her worthy ſeruant William Hareborne vnto our ſtately and moſt magnificent Porch repleniſhed with iuſtice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Maieſtie ſignified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her ſubiects had repaired to our ſaide ſtately Porche, and had ſhewed their obedience to the ſame, and for that cauſe had deſired that leaue and libertie might alſo be granted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques ſake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be giuen, that no man ſhould preſume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or paſſages by ſea or land, and whereas ſhee requeſted that we would graunt to all her ſubiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee haue entred into amitie, and moſt holy league with the moſt excellent kings and princes our confederats, ſhewing their deuotion, and obedience or ſeruices towards our ſtately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) ſo alſo we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace and league with the aforeſaid Queene. Therefore wee giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and ſafely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandiſe and goods without any impeachment, to exerciſe their traffique, to vſe their owne cuſtomes, and to buy and ſell according to the faſhions of their owne country.

And further her Maieſtie ſignified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken priſoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee ſet at libertie, and that as we had granted vnto other Princes our confederats, priuileges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our moſt inuiolable league with them, ſo it would pleaſe our Imperial Maieſty to graunt and confirme the like priuileges, and princely decrees to the aforeſaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed diſpoſition, the requeſts of her Maieſtie were accepted of vs, and we haue granted vnto her Maieſtie this priuilege of ours agreeable to reaſon & equitie. And we ſtraightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our ſeruants, and our Reyz, that is to ſay, our Iudges, and all our cuſtomers in all places, hauens and paſſages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obſerued on the behalfe of the aforeſaid Queene, 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleaſure is, that the people and ſubiects of the ſame Queene, may ſafely and ſecurely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandiſe, and ladings, and other commodities by ſea, in great and ſmal veſſels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man ſhall hurt them, but they may buy and ſell without any hinderance, and obſerue the cuſtomes and orders of their owne country.

2 Item, if the aforeſaid people and marchants ſhalbe at any time in the courſe of their iourneis and dealings by any meanes taken, they ſhall be deliuered and inlarged, without any excuſe or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ſhips purpoſe to ariue in any of our ports and hauens, it ſhalbe lawfull for them ſo to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it ſhall happen that any of their ſhips in tempeſtuous weather ſhall bee in danger of loſſe and periſhing, and thereupon ſhall ſtand in need of our helpe, we will, and command that our men and ſhips be ready to helpe and ſuccour them.

5 Item, if they ſhalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no perſon ſhall withſtand them, but they ſhall buy the ſame without any diſturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any caſualtie their ſhippes ſhall bee driuen on ſhoare in perill of ſhipwracke, our Begs and Iudges, and other our Subiects ſhall ſuccour them, and ſuch wares, and goods of theirs as ſhall bee recouered from the loſſe, ſhall bee reſtored to them, and no man ſhall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforeſayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, ſhall for traffique ſake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and cuſtome, they ſhall haue quiet paſſage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and ſhippes, nor any kinde of perſons, ſhall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way moleſt them.

8 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall grow in debt, and ſo owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth abſent himſelfe that he can not be found, let no man be arreſted or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the ſurety.

9 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall make his will and teſtament, to whom ſoeuer by the ſame hee ſhall giue his goods, the partie ſhall haue them accordingly, and if hee die inteſtate, hee to whom the Conſull or gouernour of the ſocietie ſhall ſay the goods of the dead are to bee giuen, hee ſhall haue the ſame.

10 Item, if the Engliſhmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iuriſdiction of England ſhall happen in the buying and ſelling of wares, by promiſes or otherwiſe to come in controuerſie, let them go to the Iudge, and cauſe the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them alſo take letters of the Iudge teſtifying the ſame, that men may ſee the booke and letters, whatſoeuer thing ſhall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuerſie and in doubt may be ended: but if ſuch things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the perſons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he ſhall admit no falſe witneſſe, but ſhall execute the Law according to iuſtice, and ſhall not ſuffer them to be abuſed.

11 Item, if any man ſhall ſay, that theſe being Chriſtians haue ſpoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue ſlandered the ſame, in this matter as in all others, let no falſe witneſſes in any caſe be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them ſhall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arreſted, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his ſuretie.

13 Item, if any ſlaue ſhall be found to be an Engliſhman, and their Conſull or gouernour ſhall ſue for his libertie, let the ſame ſlaue be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be Engliſh, let him be diſcharged and reſtored to the Engliſhmen.

14 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall come hither either to dwel or traffique, whether hee be married or vnmarried, he ſhall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damaſco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis in yͤ weſt, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpoſe to chooſe to themſelues Conſuls or gouernours, let them doe ſo, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Conſuls place others, let them do ſo alſo, and no man ſhall reſtraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter ſhalbe at any time abſent, being occupied in other ſerious matters, let the thing then in queſtion bee ſtayed and differred till his comming, and in the meane time no man ſhall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuerſie ſhall ariſe among the Engliſhmen, and thereupon they ſhall appeale to their Conſuls or gouernours, let no man moleſt them, but let them freely doe ſo, that the controuerſie begunne may be finiſhed according to their owne cuſtomes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuilege, any pirats or other free gouernours of ſhips trading the Sea ſhall take any Engliſhman, and ſhall make ſale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this ſide of the Sea, the matter ſhalbe examined according to iuſtice, and if the partie ſhalbe found to be Engliſh, and ſhall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be diſcharged, but if he wil ſtill remaine a Chriſtian, let him then be reſtored to the Engliſhmen, and the buyers

ſhall demaund their money againe of them who ſolde the man.

19 Item, if the ſhips of warre of our Imperiall highneſſe ſhal at any time goe forth to Sea, and ſhall finde any Engliſh ſhips laden with marchandiſe, no man ſhall hinder them, but rather ſhall vſe them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as wee haue giuen and granted articles, and priuileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, ſo alſo wee haue giuen the like to the Engliſh: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuilege, let no man preſume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or ſmall ſhips ſhall in the courſe of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee ſtayed or arreſted, let no man continue the ſame arreſt, but rather helpe and aſſiſt them.

21 Item, if any theeues and robbers ſhall by force take away any of their ſhips, and marchandiſe, let the ſame theeues and robbers be ſought, and ſearched for with all diligence, and let them be puniſhed moſt ſeuerely.

22 Laſt of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our ſlaues and ſeruants of Captaines vſing the ſea, and our Iudges, cuſtomers and gouernours of ſhips called Reiz, and free Reiz, all theſe, according to the tenor of this priuilege and articles, ſhalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part ſhall duely keepe and obſerue this league and holy peace, expreſſed in this priuilege, we alſo for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the ſame ſo long to be ſtraightly kept and obſerued.

Giuen at Conſtantinople, in the 988. yeere of our moſt holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of Iune, And in the yeere of IESVS 1580.

Her Maieſties letter to the *Turke* or *Grand Signior* 1581. promiſing redreſſe of the diſorders of *Peter Baker* of *Ratcliffe*, committed in the *Leuant*.

Elizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland moſt ſacred Queene, and of the moſt Chriſtian faith, againſt all the prophaners of his moſt holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the moſt renowned and Emperious Cæſar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the Eaſt Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whoſoeuer, moſt fortunate yeeres with the ſucceſſe of al true happineſſe. As with very great deſire we wiſh and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the ſame by al good duetics and meanes we ſeeke to be confirmed: ſo to vs there may bee nothing more grieuous and diſliking, then that any thing ſhould happen through the default of our Subiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into ſuſpition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like miſaduenture be abuſed, where the doings of the Subiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But ſuch matters of importance and ſo well approued we may not omit: ſuch is to vs the ſacred eſtimation of our honour, and of our Chriſtian profeſſion, as we would the ſame ſhould appeare aſwell in the concluding of our promiſes and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the ſame.

The matter which by theſe our letters wee ſpecially beholde, is a moſt iniurious and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderſtanding, that ſhould be done vnto certaine of your ſubiects by certaine of our Subiects, as yet not apprehended: but with all ſeueritie vpon their apprehenſion they are to be awarded for the ſame. And as the deede in it ſelfe is moſt wicked, ſo is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the eſtimation of our word faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which ſo great a diſorder if wee ſhould not manifeſt our hatred towardes ſo wicked and euil diſpoſed perſons, we might not onely moſt iuſtly be reproued in the iudgement of all ſuch as truely fauour Iuſtice, but alſo of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no leſſe be condemned. That therefore conſidered, which of our parts is ordained in this cauſe which may be to the good liking of your highneſſe, we are moſt eſpecially to requeſt of your Imperiall Maieſtie, that through the default and diſorder of a ſort of euill and wicked diſpoſed perſons, you wil not withdraw your gracious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the trafique of our Subiects, which by vertue of your highneſſe ſufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their perſons or goods they be preiudiced in their traueyling by land or by water, promiſing vnto your greatneſſe moſt faithfully, that the goods whereof your ſubiects by great wrong and violence haue bene ſpoyled, ſhall wholy againe be reſtored, if either by the liues or poſſeſſions of the robbers it may any way be brought to paſſe: And

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Leuant.

that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue ſpeciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie ſhall be ſuffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

Neither they which haue committed theſe euil parts had any power vnder your highneſſe ſafe-conduct graunted vnto our ſubiects, but from ſome other ſafeconduct, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any perſon within the gouernment of Marſeils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth vtterly abhorre. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer it be, wee will ſurely meaſure their euill proceedings with moſt ſharpe and iuſt correction, and that it ſhall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as alſo it ſhalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunate hap had neuer chanced, and that the ſinguler affection of our Subiects towardes your Imperiall Maieſtie vowed, and dayly more and more deſired, might be conſerued and defended, we thereunto do make our humble ſuite vnto your greatneſſe: And for ſo great goodneſſe towardes vs and our people granted, doe moſt humbly pray vnto the Almightie creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your moſt renowmed Maieſtie in all happineſſe and proſperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of Iune, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuileges graunted by her Maieſtie to *Sir Edward Osborne*, Maſter *Richard Staper*, and certaine other Marchants of *London* for their trade into the dominions of the great *Turke*, in the yeere 1581.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, miniſters, and Subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as elſe where vnder our obeyſance, iuriſdiction, or otherwiſe, vnto whom theſe our letters ſhall be ſeene, ſhewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our ſayde City Marchant, haue by great aduenture and induſtrie, with their great coſts and charges, by the ſpace of ſundry late yeeres, trauailed, and cauſed trauaile to bee taken, as well by ſecret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and paſſages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and ſet open a trade of Marchandize and trafique into the Lands, Iſlands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe liuing knowen to be commonly vſed and frequented by way of marchandiſe, by any the Marchants or any Subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and alſo haue by their like good meanes and induſtrie, and great charges procured of the ſayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, ſafetie, and freedome, for trade and trafique of Marchandiſe to bee vſed, and continued by our Subiects within his ſayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Chriſtendome, and reliefe of many Chriſtians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or neceſſitie vnder the ſayde Grand Signior, his vaſſals or Subiects, and alſo good and profitable vent and vtterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and ſundry other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increaſe of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subiects in their good enterpriſes for the aduauncement of the Common weale, haue of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt vnto our ſayd truſtie, and welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Eſquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and adminiſtrators, and to the executours and adminiſtratours of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and ſuch other perſon and perſons Engliſhmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the ſayde Edward, and Richard ſhall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the ſayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their ſocietie by themſelues, their ſeruants, Factours or deputies, and to ſuch others as ſhall bee nominated according to the tenour of theſe our letters Patents, ſhall and may during the terme of ſeuen yeeres from the date of theſe Patents, freely trade, trafique, and vſe feates of Marchandiſe into, and from the dominions of the ſayde Grand Signior, and euery of them, in ſuch order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purpoſes as ſhalbe betweene them limitted and agreed, and not otherwiſe, without any moleſtation, impeachment, or diſturbance, any Lawe, ſtatute, vſage, diuerſitie of religion or faith, or other cauſe or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And that it ſhalbe lawful to the ſaid Edward and Richard their executors and adminiſtrators, (during the ſaid terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the ſayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, ſuch perſons not exceeding the number of twelue (as afore is ſaid) to trafique and vſe the ſaid trade & feate of marchandiſe according to our ſaide graunt. And that all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons, as ſhall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the ſaid trade or trafique according to theſe our letters patents, ſhall and may from the time of ſuch appointment or admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the ſaid trade end trafique, during the reſidue of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, according to ſuch limitation and agreement as is aforeſaide, and that it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and adminiſtratours, ſeruants, factours and deputies, and all ſuch as ſhall be ſo appointed, nominated or admitted, to bee parteners or aduenturers in the ſaide trade, or ſo many of them as can and will, to aſſemble themſelues for or about any the matters, cauſes, affaires or buſineſſe of the ſaide trade in any place or places for the ſame conuenient, from time to time during the ſaid terme of 7. yeres, within our dominions or elſewhere, and to make, ordeine, and conſtitute reaſonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the ſaid Company, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the ſaid trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, eſtatutes or cuſtomes of our Realme, and the ſame lawes or ordinances ſo made to put in vſe, and execute accordingly, and at their pleaſures to reuoke the ſame lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occaſion ſhall require.

And in conſideration that the ſaid Edward Osborne hath bene the principall ſetter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in vre of the ſaid trade, we do therfore eſpecially ordeine, conſtitute, and prouide by theſe patents, that the ſaide Edward Osborne ſhall be gouernour of all ſuch as by vertue of theſe our letters patents, ſhall be parteners, aduenturers, or trafiquers in the ſaid trade, during the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, if hee ſo long liue: And that if the ſaid Edward ſhall happen to deceaſe during the ſaide terme, the ſaide Richard Staper then liuing, then the ſayd Richard Staper ſhall likewiſe be gouernour during the reſidue of the ſaid terme (if he ſo long liue) and that if the ſaid Edward and Richard ſhall both happen to deceaſe during the ſaid terme, then the partners or aduenturers for the time being, or the greateſt part of them, ſhall from time to time as neceſſitie ſhall require, chooſe and elect a gouernour of the ſaid Company.

Prouided alwayes, that if there ſhall happen any great or vrgent occaſion to remoue or diſplace any perſon that ſhall be gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, that then it ſhall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, to remooue, and diſplace euery ſuch gouernour, and to place another of the ſaid fellowſhip in the ſame office, during ſuch time as ſuch perſon ſhould haue enioyed the ſame, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cauſe to the contrary.

And we further for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators, that nothing ſhall bee done to be of force or validitie touching the ſayde trade or trafique, or the exerciſe thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſaid Edward, during ſuch time as hee ſhall bee Gouernour as afore is ſaide. And after that time without the conſent of the Gouernour for the time being, and the more part of the ſaid Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, haue graunted, and by theſe patents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe graunt to the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that they, the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, and the ſaid perſon and perſons, by them the ſaid Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is ſaid, together, with ſuch two other perſons, as wee our heires or ſucceſſors from time to time during the ſayd terme ſhall nominate, ſhall haue the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vſe and priuilege of trading, and trafiquing, and vſing feate of marchandiſe, into, and from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there ſhall be no ſuch perſons ſo nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, that then the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators, and ſuch perſons by them ſo to be appointed, ſhall haue the ſaide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vſe, and priuilege of trading and trafiquing aforeſaid. And that they the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors & adminiſtrators, and alſo al ſuch as ſhal ſo be nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the ſaid trade, according to ſuch agreement as is aboueſaid, and euery of them, their ſeruants, factors and deputies, ſhal haue ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and euery the ſaide dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occaſion of the ſaid trade, they ſhall happen to arriue or come, whether they be Chriſtians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, riuers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coaſtes and places with their ſhips, barks, pinneſſes and other veſſels, and with ſuch mariners and men, as they will lead with them or ſend for the ſaid trade, as they ſhall thinke good at their owne proper coſt and expenſes, any law, ſtatute, vſage, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary notwithſtanding. And that it ſhalbe lawful for the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the perſons aforeſaid, and to and for the mariners and ſeamen to bee vſed and employed in the ſaid trade and voyage to ſet and place in the tops of their ſhips and others veſſels the armes of England with the red croſſe ouer the ſame, as heretofore they haue vſed the red croſſe, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And we of our further royal fauor, and of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt to the ſaid Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators by theſe preſents, that the ſaid lands, territories, and dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior, or any of them, ſhall not be viſited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandiſe by any other our ſubiects during the ſaid terme, contrary to the true meaning of theſe patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogatiue royall (which wee will not haue argued or brought in queſtion) we ſtraightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, all our ſubiects (of what degree or qualitie ſoeuer they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do viſite, haunt, frequent or trade, traffique, or aduenture by way of marchandiſe into, or from any of the Dominions of the ſayde Grand Signior, or other places aboueſayde by water or by lande (other then the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or adminiſtrators, or ſuch as ſhalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforeſaide) without expreſſe licence, agreement, and conſent of the ſaid Gouernour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the ſaid Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and loſſe, as well of the ſhip and ſhippes, with the furniture thereof, as alſo of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be of thoſe our Subiects which ſhall attempt, or preſume to ſaile, traffique, or aduenture, to or from any the dominions, or places aboueſaid, contrary to the prohibition aforeſaid: the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of vs, our heires & ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to the vſe of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the ſaid companie, and further to ſuffer impriſonment during our pleaſure, and ſuch other puniſhment as to vs, for ſo high contempt, ſhal ſeeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace ſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condeſcended and graunted, and by theſe patents for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe condeſcend and grant to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that we our heires & ſucceſſors during the ſaid terme, will not grant liberty, licence or power to any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, contrary to the tenor of theſe our letters patents, to ſaile, paſſe, trade, or traffique into or from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior or any of them, without the cõſent of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and ſuch as ſhalbe named or appointed as afore is ſaid, or the moſt of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the ſaid terme, yͤ ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the ſuruiuors of them, ſhal admit or nominate any of our ſubiects to be partners & aduenturers in the ſaid trade to the number of 12. or vnder as afore is ſaid, that then we our heires and ſucceſſors at the inſtance and petition of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the ſuruiuors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and vpon the ſight of theſe preſents, will grant and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the ſuruiuors of them, and to ſuch perſons as ſo ſhall be nominated or appointed by their ſpeciall names, ſurnames, & additions as is aforeſaid, new letters patents vnder the great ſeale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauſes, prohibitions, prouiſoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in theſe our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeres then remaining vnexpired. And that the ſight of theſe preſents ſhalbe ſufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great ſeale for the time being, for the making, ſealing and paſſing of ſuch new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the ſame to be required, had, or obtained.

And the ſaid Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and ſuch others as ſhalbe ſo nominated and appointed, as is aforeſaid, to be of their trade or companie, ſhall yeerely during 6. of the laſt yeres of the ſaid 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforeſaid, ſo much goods and marchandizes, as the cuſtome, and ſubſidie inwards and outwards, ſhall amount in the whole to the ſumme of 500. li. yeerely. So that the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the ſaid perſons ſo to be nominated as is aforeſaid, or any of them, or their ſhip or ſhippes be not barred, ſtayed, reſtrained or let by any reaſonable occaſion from the ſayde trade or trafique, and ſo that the ſaid ſhip or ſhips do not periſh by any miſfortune, or bee ſpoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and ſuch others as ſhall be appointed as aforeſaide to be of their ſaide trade or Company, ſhall giue notice vnto the Lord Admirall of England, or to ſome of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of ſuch ſhip or ſhippes as they ſhall ſet foorth in the ſame voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the ſame ſhip or ſhippes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes before the ſetting or going foorth of the ſame ſhip or ſhippes. And alſo the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and ſuch other as ſhall be by them the ſaide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the ſaid trade, ſhall and will at the ſetting foorth of their ſhip, or ſhippes, for the ſame voyage, permit and ſuffer the Maſter of the Ordinance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, or ſome others, out of their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of ſuch Ordinance, powder, and munition, as ſhall be caried in the ſaid ſhip, or ſhippes, and ſhall alſo at the returne of the ſame ſhip, or ſhippes, ſuffer a view to be taken, and vpon requeſt made, make an accompt to the ſaide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenſes, and waſtes of the ſaid Ordinance, powder, and munition, ſo to bee caried in the ſame ſhip, or ſhippes.

Prouided alwayes, that if any of the ſaid trade or Company, or their ſeruants, factors, or ſailers, in any ſhip by them laden, ſhall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the ſeas, and that, if the ſaid Company or ſocietie ſhall not, or do not, within reaſonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the ſaid Company, or to any of them, either ſatiſfie or recompenſe the parties that ſo ſhall fortune to be robbed, or ſpoiled by any of the ſaid Company, or ſailers, in the ſaid ſhips, or els ſhall not do their endeuour to the vttermoſt of their reaſonable power, to haue the parties ſo offending puniſhed for the ſame their offences, that then, and from thencefoorth, theſe preſent letters patents ſhall be vtterly voyd, ceaſe, and determine.

Prouided likewiſe, that if it ſhall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, ſhall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our ſucceſſors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth, vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the ſaid Company, or to the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, this preſent grant ſhall ceaſe, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes.

Prouided alſo, that we, our heires and ſucceſſors, from time to time, during the ſaid 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authoriſe two perſons, being fit men, to be of the ſaide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the ſaid trade, for ſuch ſtocke and ſumme of money, as they ſhall put in, ſo that the ſaid perſons to bee nominated, or authoriſed, ſhall be contributorie to all charges of the ſaid trade & aduenture indifferently, according to their ſtockes: and as other aduenturers of the ſaid trade ſhall doe for their ſtockes, and ſo that likewiſe they doe obſerue the orders of the ſaid Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that ſuch perſons ſo to be appointed by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, ſhall, and may, with the ſaide Company, and fellowſhip, vſe the trade and feate of marchandiſe aforeſaide, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of theſe our letters patents, any thing in theſe our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condeſcended and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe condeſcend, and grant to the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and adminiſtrators, that if at the ende of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, it ſhall ſeeme meete, and conuenient vnto the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, that this preſent grant ſhall be continued: and if that alſo it ſhall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that the continuance thereof ſhall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or ſucceſſors, at the inſtance and petition of the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, will grant and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the ſuruiuer of them, and to ſuch other perſons, as ſo ſhal be by the ſaid Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great ſeale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like couenants, grants, clauſes, and articles, as in theſe preſents are contained, or with addition of other neceſſary articles, or change of theſe in ſome part, for and during the full terme of ſeuen yeeres then next following. Willing, and ſtraightly commanding, and charging all and ſinguler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Iuſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Eſcheaters, Conſtables, Bailiffes, and all and ſinguler our other officers, miniſters, liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and aſſiſting vnto the ſaid Gouernour, and company, and their ſucceſſors, and to their Deputies, officers, ſeruants, aſſignes, and miniſters, and euery of them, in executing, and enioying the premiſſes, as well on land as on ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, ſhall be thereunto required, any ſtatute, act, ordinance, prouiſo, proclamation, or reſtraint heretofore had, made, ſet forth, ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cauſe or thing to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, witneſſe our ſelfe, at Weſtminſter, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The firſt voyage or iourney, made by Maſter *Laurence Alderſey*, Marchant of *London*, to the Cities of *Ieruſalem*, and *Tripolis, &c.* In the yeere 1581. Penned and ſet downe by himſelfe.

I Departed from London the firſt day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, paſſing through the Nether-land and vp the riuer Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And vpon Thurſday, the thirde day of May, I came to Auguſta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Maſter Ieniſe, and Maſter Caſtler, whom I found very willing to pleaſure me, in any thing that I could or would reaſonably demaund. He firſt furniſhed me with a horſe to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to ſhew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide.

The deſcription of Auguſta in Germanie.

He ſhewed me firſt the State-houſe, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought mee to the fineſt garden, and orchard, that euer I ſawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both aboue and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to ſit in, which was full of thoſe Canarie birdes. There was ſuch an other for Turtle dooues: alſo there were two pigeon houſes ioyning to them, hauing in them ſtore of Turtle dooues, and pigeons. In the ſame garden alſo were ſixe or ſeuen fiſhponds, all railed about, and full of very good fiſh. Alſo, ſeuen or eight fine fountaines, or water ſprings, of diuers faſhions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all ſorts, as Orenges, figges, raiſons, wallnuts, grapes, beſides apples, peares, filbirds, ſmall nuts, and ſuch other fruite, as wee haue in England.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the ſame Citie, that by a ſleight and deuiſe hath the water brought vp as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the ſtrange deuiſes of all, it paſſeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hooſe, where are buts for the long bowe, the croſſe bowe, the ſtone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exerciſes more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, vpon one ſide of the towne, ſo full of fiſh, as euer I ſawe any pond in my life, and it is reſerued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other ſide of the Citie is alſo a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaſeth the States to hunt for their pleaſure, thither they reſort, and haue their courſes with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpoſe.

Venice.

The fift of May, I departed from Auguſta towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitſunday, the thirteenth of the ſame moneth. It is needleſſe to ſpeake of the height of the mountaines that I paſſed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is ſo wel knowen already to the world: the heigth of them is maruellous, and I was the ſpace of ſixe dayes in paſſing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which laſted fourteene dayes, wherein I ſawe very many, and faire ſhewes of wares. I came thither too ſhort for the firſt paſſage, which went away from Venice about the ſeuenth or eight of May, and with them about three ſcore pilgrims, which ſhippe was caſt away at a towne called Eſtria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, ſauing thirtie, or thereabout, loſt.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Chriſti day, which was a day amongſt them of proceſſion, in which was ſhewed the plate and treaſure of Venice, which is eſteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it worth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more then I ſawe. To ſpeake of the ſumptuouſneſſe of the Copes, and Veſtments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they bee very ſumptuous, many of them ſet all ouer with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Ieſuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

The number of Iewes in Venice.

The number of Iewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and haue alſo a place, to which they reſort to pray, which is called the Iewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offſpring vſe to weare red caps, (for ſo they are commaunded) becauſe they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of theſe people, I went into their Sinagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their ſeruice or prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fiue bookes of Moſes, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papiſts doe their croſſe.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people ſit round about it, and in the midſt, there is a place for him that readeth to the reſt: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Pſalmes they ſing as wee doe, hauing no image, nor vſing any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleeue not in Chriſt, nor yet receiue the New Teſtament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to bee commended, wherein is good order for all things: and alſo it is very ſtrong and populous: it ſtandeth vpon the maine Sea, and hath many Iſlands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory: there is one choſen that euer beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but ſeruant to the Seigniorie, for of himſelfe hee can doe litle: it is no otherwiſe with him, then with a Prieſt that is at Maſſe vpō a feſtiual day, which putting on his golden garment, ſeemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue ſome friendſhip at his handes, hee will ſay, you muſt goe to the Maſters of the Pariſh, for I can not pleaſure you, otherwiſe then by preferring of your ſuite: and ſo it is with the duke of Venice, if any man hauing a ſuite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his ſupplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You muſt come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your ſuite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the beſt friendſhip that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, hee may not open it, but in the preſence of the Seigniorie, and they are to ſee it firſt, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the priuie Counſell of Venice, who vſually are arayed in gownes of crimſen Satten, or crimſen Damaſke, when they ſit in Counſell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a ſouldier for the Seigniorie, or a ſcholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

The exceſſe of the women of Venice.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monſters, then women. Euery Shoomakers or Taylors wife will haue a gowne of ſilke, and one to carie vp her traine, wearing their ſhooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a ſtranger meete one of them, he will ſurely thinke by the ſtate that ſhe goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

His embarking at Venice for Ieruſalem.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Midſommer day, being the foure and twentieth of Iune, and thinking that the ſhip would the next day depart, I ſtayed, and lay a ſhippeboord all night, and we were made beleeue from time to time, that we ſhould this day, and that day depart, but we taried ſtill, till the fourteenth of Iuly, and then with ſcant winde wee ſet ſayle, and ſayled that day and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the ſixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, ſo that the Maſter knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot deſcried a ſaile, and at laſt perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

The Maſter being a wiſe fellowe, and a good ſayler, beganne to deuiſe howe to eſcape the danger, and to looſe litle of our way: and while both he, and all of vs were in our dumps, God ſent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threeſcore and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in ſixe dayes after we were ſeuen leagues paſt Zante. And vpon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the ſame moneth, we came in the ſight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blaſts, and ſtormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the ſame moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out vpon me, becauſe I was an Engliſh man, & ſayd, I was no good Chriſtian, and wiſhed that I were in the middeſt of the Sea, ſaying, that they, and the ſhippe, were the worſe for me. I anſwered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my ſelfe the worſt creature in the worlde, and conſider you your ſelues alſo, as I doe my ſelfe, and then vſe your diſcretion. The Frier preached, and the ſermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderſtand him: I anſwered, yea, and tolde the Frier himſelfe, thus you ſaide in your ſermon, that we were not all good Chriſtians, or elſe it were not poſſible for vs to haue ſuch weather: to which I anſwered, be you well aſſured, that we are not indeede all good Chriſtians, for there are in the ſhip ſome that hold very vnchriſtian opinions: ſo for that time I ſatiſfied him, although (they ſaid) that I would not ſee, when they ſaid the proceſſion, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was alſo a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a paſſenger in the ſhip, and he tolde me what they ſaid of me, becauſe I would not ſing, Salue Regina, and Aue Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to ſo many, or ſought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne deſtructions.

All this was told the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at euening prayer, they ſent the purſer about with the image of our Lady to euery one to kiſſe, & I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not ſee it: yet at laſt he fetched his courſe about, ſo that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refuſed it: whereupon there was a great ſtirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and euery one ſaide I was a Lutheran, and ſo called me: but two of the friers that were of greateſt authoritie, ſeemed to beare mee better good will then the reſt, and trauelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

Cyprus, Miſſagh.

The ſecond day of Auguſt we arriued in Cyprus, at a towne called Miſſagh: the people there be very rude, and like beaſts, and no better, they eat their meat ſitting vpon the ground, with their legges acroſſe like taylors, their beds for the moſt part be hard ſtones, but yet ſome of them haue faire mattraces to lie vpon.

Ioppa.

The Baſha of Ioppa.

Vpon thurſday the eight of Auguſt we came to Ioppa in a ſmall barke, which we hired betwixt Miſſagh and Salina, and could not be ſuffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Baſha, who ſate vpon the top of a hill to ſee vs ſent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any houſe for victuals, but were to content our ſelues with our owne prouiſion, and that which we bought to carie with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of ſtirrops, which I bought at Venice to ſerue me in my iourney, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Baſha ſaw me vp before the reſt of the companie, he ſent one to diſmount me, and to ſtrike me, whereupon I turned me to the Baſha, and made a long legge, ſaying, Grand mercie Signior: and after a while we were horſed vpon litle aſſes, and ſent away, with about fiftie light horſemen to be our conduct through the wilderneſſe, called Deſerta fœlix, who made vs good ſport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

Rama.

That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Ioppa, and there we ſtayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the caſtell, euery man a chekin, which is ſeuen ſhillings and two pence ſterling. So then we had a new gard of ſouldiers, and left the other.

The houſe we lodged in at Rama had a doore ſo low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, & within it are three roomes to lodge trauellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouiſion, without ſtooles or benches to ſit vpon. Our victuals were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great ſtore of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oringes, and ſuch like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it ſelfe is ſo ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of ſtones then a towne.

Troopes of theeuiſh Arabians.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, ſo we ſtayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a freſh gard of ſouldiers we departed toward Ieruſalem. We had not ridde fiue Engliſh miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who ſtayed vs, and would not ſuffer vs to paſſe till they had ſomewhat, ſo it coſt vs for all our gard aboue twentie ſhillings a man betwixt Ioppa and Ieruſalem. Theſe Arabians troubled vs oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for vs was ſtriken downe, and had his head broken becauſe he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that ſhould haue reſcued both him and vs, ſtood ſtill, and durſt doe nothing, which was to our coſt.

His arriuall in the ſight of Ieruſalem.

Being come within ſight of Ieruſalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thankes, that it hath pleaſed him to bring vs to that holy place where he himſelfe had beene: and there we leaue our horſes, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and ſo we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The gouernor of the houſe met vs a mile out of the towne, and very curteouſly bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monaſterie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the houſe of the Chriſtians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monaſtery: there we lay, & dieted of free coſt, we fared reaſonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the

the meat well ſerued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monaſterie two dayes, friday and ſaturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the houſe with vs: in the way thither we ſaw many monuments, as:

The monuments in and about Ieruſalem.

The mountaine where the Angell tooke vp Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Ieremie.

The place where the wiſe men met that went to Bethlem to worſhip Chriſt, where is a fountaine of ſtone.

Being come to Bethlem we ſawe the place where Chriſt was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they ſay maſſe: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the ſepulchre of the innocents ſlaine by Herod, the ſepulchres of Paul, of Ierome, and of Euſebius.

Alſo a litle from this monaſterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Chriſt when Herod ſought him to deſtroy him.

We ſtayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Iudea, which are about eight miles from Ieruſalem, where are the ruines of an olde monaſterie. In the mid way from the monaſterie to Ieruſalem is the place where Iohn Baptiſt was borne, being now an olde monaſterie, and cattell kept in it. Alſo a mile from Ieruſalem is a place called Inuentio ſanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the croſſe.

In the citie of Ieruſalem we ſaw the hall where Pilat ſate in iudgement when Chriſt was condemned, the ſtaires whereof are at Rome, as they told vs. A litle from thence is the houſe where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is alſo the piſcina or fiſhpoole where the ſicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Ieruſalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluaria is a great church, and within the doore therof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and fiue great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of tauerne doores in London, they ſit that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of ſtone, & their legs a croſſe like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right againſt the church doore is the graue where Chriſt was buried, with a great long ſtone of white marble ouer it, and rayled about, the outſide of the ſepulchre is very foule, by meanes that euery man ſcrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the ſepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they ſay maſſe, and at the doore thereof is the ſtone whereupon the Angell ſate when he ſayde to Marie, He is riſen, which ſtone was alſo rowled to the doore of the ſepulchre.

The altar ſtone within the ſepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure perſons, right ouer the ſepulchre is a deuiſe or lanterns for light, and ouer that a great louer, ſuch as are in England in ancient houſes. There is alſo the chappell of the ſepulchre, and in the midſt thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great ſort of Eſtridge egges hanging at it, with taſſels of ſilke and lampes.

Behinde the ſepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Upon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his ſonne: and in the ſame place the tombe of Melchiſedech.

S. Helens chappell.

There is a chappell alſo in the ſame church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vp to the place where Chriſt was crucified: the ſtayres are fiftie ſteps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the croſſe ſtood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with ſiluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent alſo of the mountaine is there to be ſeene in the creuis, wherein a man may put his arme.

Upon the other ſide of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue ſacrificed his ſonne. Where alſo is a chapell, and the place paued with ſtones of diuers colours.

There is alſo the houſe of Annas the high Prieſt, and the Oliue tree whereunto Chriſt was bound when he was whipt. Alſo the houſe of Caiphas, and by it the priſon where Chriſt was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Ieruſalem in the vally of Ioſaphat is a church vnder the ground, like to the ſhrowds in Pauls, where the ſepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the ſtaires be very broad, and vpon the ſtaires going downe are two ſepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Ioſaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Ioachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Ioſaphat we came to mount Oliuet, where Chriſt praied vnto his father before his death: and there is to be ſeene (as they tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the eyes of Chriſt. A litle higher vpon the ſame mount is the place where the Apoſtles ſlept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Chriſt was impriſoned.

Vpon the mountaine alſo is the place where Chriſt ſtood when he wept ouer Ieruſalem, and where he aſcended into heauen.

His departure from Ieruſalem.

Now hauing ſeene all theſe monuments, I with my company ſet from Ieruſalem, the 20 day of Auguſt, and came againe to Ioppa the 22 of the ſame moneth, where wee tooke ſhipping preſently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ſhips lie that come for Tripolis.

Tripolis in Syria.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, ſo that no ſhip can come further then Mecina: ſo that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for paſſage, and at laſt we imbarked our ſelues in a good ſhip of Venice called the new Naue Ragaſona. We entred the ſhip the ſecond of September, the fourth we ſet ſaile, the ſeuenth we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we ſtayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell ſicke of an ague, but recouered againe, I praiſe God.

Salina.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was deſtroyed by the Turke ten yeeres paſt: there are in it now but ſeuenteene perſons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a ſalt piece of ground, where the water groweth ſalt that raineth vpon it.

Miſſagh a town in Cyprus.

Thurſday the 21 of September, we came to Miſſagh, & there we ſtayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Miſſagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, becauſe the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuſe to ſeeke for foure men which (they ſaid) our ſhip had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not ſuffer any of them to come in to vs.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at ye leaſt, whereupon our captaine ſent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleaſure: they ſaid they ſought for 4 men, and therfore would talke with our maiſter: ſo then the maiſters mate was ſent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes ſpeake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimſon damaſke, and other very braue apparell, and fiue or ſixe other gentlemen richly apparelled alſo. They hauing the Turks ſafe conduct, ſhewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: ſo with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

Candie.

That day as aforeſaid, we came to Miſſagh, and there ſtayed eight dayes, and at laſt departed towards Candie, with a ſcant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which alſo made a ſleeueleſſe arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our captaines paſport, and the gift of 100 chekins diſcharged all.

Zante.

Iſtria.

The 27 of October we paſſed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of Nouember we arriued at Iſtria, and there we left our great ſhip, and tooke ſmall boates to bring vs to Venice.

The 9 of Nouember I arriued again at Venice in good health, where I ſtaied nine daies, and the 25 of the ſame moneth I came to Auguſta, and ſtaied there but one day.

The 27 of Nouember I ſet towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there ſtaied till the 9 of December, and was very well intertained of the Engliſh marchants there: and the gouernors of the towne ſent me and my company ſixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Vtreight, from Vtreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Fluſhing, from Fluſhing to London, where I arriued vpon Twelfe eue in ſafetie, and gaue thanks to God, hauing finiſhed my iourney to Ieruſalem and home againe, in the ſpace of nine moneths and fiue dayes.

The paſſeport made by the great Maiſter of *Malta* vnto the Engliſhmen in the barke *Reynolds.* 1582.

F*Rere Hugo de Loubenx Verdala*, Dei gratia ſacræ domus hoſpitalis ſancti Ioannis Hieroſolymitani magiſter humilis, pauperumq; Ieſu Chriſti cuſtos, vniuerſis & ſingulis principibus eccleſiaſticis & ſecularibus, archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, caſtellanis, admiralijs, & quibuſcunque triremium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, poteſtatibus ac magiſtratibus,

cæteriſque officialibus, & quibuſcunque perſonis cuiuſuis dignitatis, gradus, ſtatus & conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum & terrarum conſtitutis, ſalutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis atteſtamur, *come nel meſe di Maggio proſſime paſſato le noſtre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, doue hauendo mandato per ſoccorrere a vn galionetto de Chriſtiani che hauea dato trauerſo in quelle parti, eſſendo arriuati ſopra queſta iſola alla parte de ponente trouarono vna naue Ingleſa, ſopra cargo de eſſa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & David Filly patrono, volendo la reconoſcere che naue foſſe, han viſto, che ſe metteua in ordine per defenderſi, dubitando che dette noſtre galere foſſero de inimici: & per che vn marinaro riuoltoſe contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giouani Keale & David Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verſo vna de dette galere, & che non ſe amangnaua la vela de la Maieſtra ſecondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & David Filly patrono, fu rimenſata detta naue nel preſente general porto di Malta, ſecondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, & eſſendo qua, monſignor Inquiſitore ha impedita quella per conto del ſancto officio, & ſi diede parte alla ſantita di noſtro ſignor Gregorio papa xiij. A la fin fu licenciata per andarſene al ſuo viaggio. Han donq; humilmente ſupplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & David Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edvardo Oſborn ſenatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Ingleſi della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaſo Wilkinſon ſcriuano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli voleſſimo dare le noſtre lettere patente & ſaluo condutto, acciochè potranno andare & ritornare quãdo gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benuiſta: ſi come noi, eſſendo coſa giuſta & che retornera commoda a noſtra relligione & a queſti forreſtieri, per tenor de li preſenti ſe gli habiamo conceſſe con le conditione però infra ſcritte.* videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con ſopradetta naue o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contra bando, & che conſtara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de ſanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarſe de tutte le victuarie neceſſarie, & praticare in queſta iſola & dominij, & poi partirſene & ſeguire ſuo viaggio per doue voleſſero in leuante o altroue, come tutti altri vaſelli & ſpecialmente de Franceſi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual ſi voglia mercantia a loro benuiſta.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuſo, ſalnitro, carboni di petra roſetta, platine de rame, ſtagno, acciale, ferro, cariſee commune, tela groſſa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, baſtardi & alteri. Et in concluſione, hauenda viſto che loro per il tempo che reſtarano qua, ſi portorno da fideli & Catholici Chriſtiani, & che ſua ſanctita habbia trouato bono il ſaluo condutto del gran Turko a loro conceſſo, per il timor della armata Turkeſca & di altri vaſelli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di ſua ſanctitá, & maſſime per che hauera de andare & paſſare per diuerſi lochi & tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altroue, a noi ha parſo farle le preſente noſtre lettere patente come fidele conuerſatore noſtro, accio piu ſecuramente & ſenſa obſtaculo poſſa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta naue o con altre, a loro benuiſta. Per tanto donque tutti & ciaſcun di voi ſudetti affectuoſamente pregamo, che per qual ſi voglia de voſtra iuriſditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouani Keale & David Filly a nome quo ſupra con la naue & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caſchera, nauigare, paſſare, & venire ſicuramente, alla libera, ſenſa alcuno diſturbo o altro impedimento li laſciate, & facciate laſciare ſtare, & paſſare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione noſtra il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome quo ſupra con le naue, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, faſtidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi ſe gli dia ogni agiuto & fauore, coſa degna di voi, giuſta, & a noi gratiſſima, de recompenſaruila con vguale & maggior ſeruitio, quando dall' occaſione ne ſaremo rechieſti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual ſi voglia relligioſi & frati de noſtra relligione di qual ſi voglia cõditione, grado & ſtato che ſiano, & a tutti riceuitori & procuratori noſtri in tutti & qual ſi voglia priorati noſtri deputati & deputandi in vertu di ſanta obedientia, & a tutti noſtri vaſſalli & alla giuriſditione di noſtra relligione ſoggetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome vt ſupra, naue, marinari, & mercantia, ſenſa permittere, che nel detto ſuo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo ſia moleſtato, o in qual ſi voglia manera impedito, anzi tutte le coſe ſue & negotij loro ſian da voi agiontati & continuamente fauoriti. In cuius rei teſtimonium Bulla noſtra magiſtralis in cera nigra præſentibus eſt impreſſa. Data Melita in conuentu noſtro die duodecimo Menſis Iulij. 1582.

The ſame in Engliſh.

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, maſter of the holy houſe, the hoſpital of S. Iohn at Ieruſalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Ieſus Chriſt, to all & euery prince eccleſiaſtical & ſecular, archbiſhops, biſhops, Dukes, Marqueſes, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Caſtellanes, Admirals, and whatſoeuer patrons of Gallies, or other greater ſhippes, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magiſtrates, and other officers and perſons whatſoeuer,

of what dignitie, degree, ſtate and condition ſoeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witneſſe, that in the moneth of May laſt paſt, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to ſuccour a little ſhip of the Chriſtians which was driuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this Iland on the Weſt part they found one Engliſh ſhip vnder the charge of the worſhipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie maſter: and our men willing to know what ſhip it was, they ſeemed to put themſelues in order for their defence, doubting that the ſaid our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worſhipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie maiſter, and had ſhot off a piece of artillerie againſt one of the ſaid gallies, and becauſe ſhe would not ſtrike amaine her ſayle, according to the will of the ſaide worſhipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie maſter, the ſaid ſhip was brought backe againe vnto the preſent port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the ſaid gallies: and in being there, maiſter Inquiſitor ſtaid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holineſſe of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worſhipfull maſter Eward Oſborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, Engliſh marchants of the noble citie of London, haue humbly beſought together with Thomas Wilkinſon the purſer, pilots, maſter and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and ſafe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they ſhall ſee opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleaſure: whereupon the thing ſeeming vnto vs iuſt, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of theſe ſtrangers, by the tenor of theſe preſents we haue granted the ſame to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz.

That euery time the ſaid marchants of the ſaid ſhip, or with any other, ſhall not bring ſuch marchandize as is forbidden, and that by ſufficient proofe and letters teſtimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themſelues with all neceſſarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Leuant or elſe where, as all other veſſels, and eſpecially of France and other nations do, and ſell and buy whatſoeuer marchandize they ſhal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebuſh, ſaltpecter, cole of Newcaſtle, plates of lattin, tinne, ſteele, yron, cõmon karſies white, courſe canuas to make ſaile for the gallies, balles of yron for ſhot, fine milſtones, trees & maſts for gallies, licle and others, and in concluſion, hauing ſeene that they for the time of their abode here, did behaue themſelues like faithfull and catholike Chriſtians, & that his holines hath allowed the ſafeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkiſh armie, and other veſſels of the enemie, ſubmitting our ſelues to the pleaſures of his holineſſe, and eſpecially becauſe our people haue occaſion to paſſe by diuers places ſo farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Weſtwards, and in other places, we haue vouchſafed to make theſe our letters patents, as our faithfull aſſiſtant, ſo as more ſurely, and without let they may go and returne when they ſhall thinke good, with the ſaid ſhip or with others at their pleaſure. We therefore pray all and euery of your ſubiects effectually that by what part ſoeuer of your iuriſdiction, vnto the which the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie by name aboueſaid, with the ſhip and mariners of the ſaid principall place or other, ſhall haue acceſſe, ſaile, & paſſe, and come ſafely with libertie without any diſturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cauſe leaue to be giuen that they may paſſe, ſtay and returne, and when they pleaſe, depart, in ſuch ſort, that for our loue & contentation the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele, with the ſhip and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, alſo that you giue all helpe and fauour, a thing worthy of your iuſtice, and to vs moſt acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater ſeruice, when vpon occaſion it ſhalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatſoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatſoeuer condition, degree, and ſtate they be, and all other receiuers and procurators, in all and whatſoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of our religion, that in, and by the ſame they hold, and repute the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele in the name as aboueſaid, the ſhip, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the ſame their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not moleſted, nor in any wiſe hindered, but that in all their cauſes and buſineſſe they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witneſſe whereof, our ſeale of gouernment is impreſſed to theſe preſents in blacke waxe. Giuen at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere 1582.

The Queenes Commiſſion vnder her great ſeale, to her ſeruant maſter *William Hareborne*, to be her maieſties Ambaſſadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris vnici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falſò Chriſti nomen profitentes inuicta & potentiſſima propugnatrix, vniuerſis, & ſingulis præſentes has literas viſuris, & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm auguſtiſſimus, & inuictiſſimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentiſſimus, imperijque Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiſcum percuſſerit, iurauerítque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuiolatè ſeruare deſtinamus) ad eámque magis ornandam, illuſtrandámque conceſſerit idem auguſtiſſimus Imperator ſubditis noſtris liberam ſuas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Muſulmanici imperij ſui partibus, cum tam ampla priuilegiorum conceſſione, quàm alijs bonis principibus, ſocijs, & fœderatis noſtris largitus eſt, quorum priuilegiorum donationem nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratiſſima mente fouere, promereríque: Sciatis, nos de ſingulari erga nos, obſequiúmque noſtrum, fide, obſeruantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, è cuſtodibus corporis noſtri vnius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem noſtrum certum & indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, & conſtituimus, per præſentes: dantes ei, & concedentes poteſtatem, & authoritatem, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis prædictũ amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, priuilegiorum conceſſionem in manus ſuas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & ſingulis ſubditis noſtris, Muſulmanicis oris terríſque negotiantibus, pro Maieſtatis noſtræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, vt ſint in ſuis commercijs, quamdiu, quotiéſquecum Manſulmanicis verſantur, dictorum priuilegiorum præſcripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obſequia tanta amicitia digna ſe componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus noſtrum iuſtitiam exequatur. Poteſtatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & ſingulos ſubditos noſtros in quibuſcunque & locis, & partibus Muſulmanici Imperij dominationi ſubiectis negotiantes, conſtituendi emporiorum ſuorum ſedes in quibus voluerit portubus, & ciuitatibus, in alijs vetandi, in conſtitutis autem emporiorum ſedibus, conſules curandi, leges præceptionéſque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præſcripto dicti noſtri ſubditi, & eorum quilibet ſeſe publicè, & priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, caſtigandíq;, omnia denique & ſingula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum ſubditorum noſtrorum honeſtam gubernationem, & commercij exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noſter, à legibus noſtris non abhorrentia in præmiſſis aut præmiſſorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei teſtimonium, has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes, & ſigilli noſtri impreſſione iuſſimus muniri. Datum è caſtro noſtro Windeſoriæ, 20. die Menſis Nouembris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti 1582. regni verò noſtri, viceſimo quarto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Elizabeth, by the clemencie of the moſt good and moſt great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and moſt mightie defender of the true faith, againſt all Idolaters falſly profeſſing the name of Chriſt, to all and ſinguler perſons, to whoſe ſight and view theſe our preſent letters may come, greeting. Whereas the moſt renowmed, and moſt inuincible Prince Zuldan Murad Can, the moſt mighty gouernour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, hath entered into league and friendſhip with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpoſe ſolemnly, and inuiolablie to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the ſame, the foreſayd renowmed Emperour hath graunted vnto our ſubiects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his ſacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of priuileges, as is giuen to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which priuileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and throughly determined to keepe and mainetaine, with the like goodneſſe and curteſie of minde, deſiring nothing more, then with an honourable reſpect to nouriſh, and deſerue the beneuolent affections of good Princes toward vs: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the ſingular truſtineſſe,

obedience, wiſedome, and diſpoſition of our welbeloued ſeruaunt William Hareborne, one of the Eſquiers of our body, towards vs, and our ſeruice, doe by theſe preſents, make, ordaine and conſtitute him our true and vndoubted Orator, Meſſenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for vs, to confirme the foreſaid league of friendſhip, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the priuileges, and to commaund, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maieſtie, all and ſingular our Subiects trading and dealing in any of the coaſtes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his ſubiects, they be obedient to the preſcription and order of the foreſayd priuileges, applying themſelues in all things, and through all things, to ſuch dueties and ſeruices as appertaine to ſo great a league and friendſhip, and the offenders agaynſt this our league to receiue iuſtice, and puniſhment accordingly. We further giue vnto him power and authoritie ouer all and ſinguler our Subiects, dealing, and vſing traffique in any place or part whatſoeuer, ſubiect to the gouernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Hauen or Citie it ſhall pleaſe him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and whereſoeuer their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Conſuls or Gouernours, to enact lawes and ſtatutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foreſayd ſubiects, and euery one of them, ſhall both publikely and priuately vſe and behaue themſelues, to correct and puniſh the breakers of thoſe lawes: and laſt of all, to doe and fulfill all and ſingular things whatſoeuer, which ſhall ſeeme requiſite and conuenient for the honeſt and orderly gouernment of our ſaid ſubiects, and of the maner of their traffique in thoſe parts. Promiſing aſſuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatſoeuer ſhall be done of our ſayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premiſſes, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, ſhall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, and our ſeale thereunto to be appenſed. Giuen at our Caſtle of Windſore, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Chriſt 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Maſter *Hareborne*, when he was ſent Ambaſſadour.

ELIZABETH &c. Auguſtiſſimo inuictiſſimóque principi, &c. Cùm ad poſtulatum noſtrum Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtas, anno ſaluatoris noſtri Ieſu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiſcum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberaliſſima priuilegiorum quorundam conceſſione, quorum beneficio ſubditi noſtri cum omni ſecuritate tutiſſimè liberriméque ad vniuerſas & ſingulas Muſulmanici imperij veſtri partes terra maríque proficiſci, in iiſque commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindéque ire & redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui ſub Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtate in magiſtratu ſunt vbique locorum protegendi defendendique ſine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum læſione: nos tantæ conceſſionis beneficium gratum acceptúmque habentes, quantum in nobis eſt, approbamus confirmamúſque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem ſine vlla violatione ſartam tectámq; conſeruabimus: faciemúſq; vt ſubditi noſtri priuilegiorum ſibi indultorum conceſſione ita vtantur, vt Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem magnificentiſſimæ ſuæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem conceſſionis huius virtus in vſu potiùs quàm verbis, Maieſtatis vtriúſq; noſtrum ſententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex ſatellitibus quibus ad corporis noſtri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem ablegare, qui tum nomine noſtro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam ſubditorum noſtrorum mercimoniorum rationem ſtabiliẽdam, tam in Imperiali veſtra ciuitate Conſtantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij veſtri Muſulmanici locis, quæ ex præſcripto priuilegiorum, Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis benignitate, conceditur, & ex vſu ſubditorum vtriúſq; noſtrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis authoritate, ſumma contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui ſub ſe in magiſtratu ſunt, vt quibuſcunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic noſtro mandatario in Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis placito exequendo, adiutores ſint & eſſe velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem ſuam ſit honeſtè liberaturus erga Maieſtatem vtriuſq; noſtrũ neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus ſint obtemperantes noſtri ſubditi, quantum Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis conceſſio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Muſtafa ſacræ Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis Muſulmannorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus ſummoperè vt in noſtram gratiam eum in Muſtafaracarum

Muſtafa interpres.

rum ordinem Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliiſque omnibus honeſtis cauſis hic noſter agens ſubditiq; noſtri Imperatoriæ veſtræ ſublimitatis æquanimitatem ſenſerint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic veſtræ Maieſtatis fauori & beneuolentiæ (ſi vlla ratione rebus veſtris commodare poterimus) reſpondere libentiſſimè ſemper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Elizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God and only creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mighty defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kind of idolatries of all that liue among the Chriſtians and falſly profeſſe the name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the moſt mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, ſole aboue all, and moſt ſoueraigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our requeſt your Imperiall Maieſtie in the yeere of our Sauiour Ieſus 1580. hath entred into a League of peace with vs, whereunto was vnited a moſt large & bountifull grant of certaine priuileges, by benefite whereof our ſubiects may with all ſecuritie moſt ſafely and freely trauell by Sea and land into all and ſingular parts of your Muſulmanlike Empire, and in the ſame exerciſing the trade of merchandiſe, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleaſure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by ſuch as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maieſtie: we thankfully and gratefully receiuing the benefite of ſo great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth doe approoue and confirme the ſame, promiſing in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the ſaid league perfect and inuiolable, and will cauſe our ſubiects ſo to vſe the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maieſtie ſhall neuer haue occaſion to repent you of your moſt princely liberalitie. And becauſe the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maieſties, ſeemeth rather to conſiſt in the vſe thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to ſend vnto your Imperiall maieſtie this our ambaſſadour William Hareborne, one of the Eſquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe ſhould yeeld thanks vnto your maieſtie, and alſo that we might vſe his good indeuour for the eſtabliſhing of ſuch order in our ſubiects trade of merchandiſe, as well in your Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, as in other places of your Muſulmanlike Empire, as according to the preſcript of the priuileges is granted by your princely maieſties goodneſſe, and ſhall be for the benefite of both our ſubiects. For performance whereof, becauſe hee ſtandeth in neede of your Imperiall Maieſties authoritie) wee earneſtly beſeech the ſame, that you would cauſe all thoſe which bee in authoritie vnder your Highneſſe, by all their beſt meanes to aide and aſſiſt this our Ambaſſadour in executing this your Imperiall Maieſties pleaſure, for vnto him wee haue committed this charge: wherein how honeſtly hee will diſcharge his credite toward both our Maieſties, I no whit ſtand in doubt: to whom alſo our pleaſure is, that all our ſubiects ſhall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall maieſtie doeth permit. Moreouer, whereas that worthie perſonage Muſtafa, your Imperiall maieſties Interpreter, hath taken ſpeciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, wee earneſtly beſeech you that for our ſakes your Imperiall Maieſtie would vouchſafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Muſtafaraks or chiefe penſioners. If in theſe and in all other honeſt cauſes, our aforeſayde Agent and our ſubiectes ſhall finde your Imperiall Highneſſes fauour, a noble traffique will flouriſh betweene theſe nations, and wee (if by any way wee may ſtand your State in ſteade) will alwayes moſt willingly be readie to requite this your Maieſties fauour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightie God the maker of the world preſerue and keepe your Imperiall Maieſtie, &c.

M. Wil. Hareborne ſent ambaſſador to the Turke.

A requeſt for the preferring of Muſtafa Beg.

A Letter of the Queenes Maieſtie to *Alli Baſſa* the Turkes high Admirall, ſent by her ambaſſadour M. *William Hareborne*, and deliuered vnto him aboord his gallie in the *Arſenal*.

ELIZABETHA, &c. Illuſtriſſimo viro Alli Baſſa, magni Muſulmanici Cæſaris Admiralio, ſalutem & ſucceſſus fortunatos. Non ignotum eſſe Excellentiæ veſtræ arbitramur, priuilegia quædam à potentiſſimo Cæſare Muſulmanico domino veſtro clementiſſimo ſubditis noſtris Anglicis conceſſa eſſe, vt illis liceat in omnibus imperij Muſulmanici prouincijs tutò & ſecurè manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipſum Francis, Polonis, Venetis, Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis custodibus vnũ, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Constantinopolis ciuitatem pro agente misimus: qui ex priuilegiorum prædictorum præscripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentiæ vestræ Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles authoritate, commendaremus: petentes summopere vt tutò in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, & securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis & iniurijs, tam ipse quàm omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versari: vti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra fecerit, si portuum omnium, aliorúmque locorum, qui vestræ iurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium & nauium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, vt Guilielmus iste, aliíque Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amicè & humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliáue loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet fauore ijs omnibus officijs prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Benè & fœliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesorij die vicessimo mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi saluatoris nostri 1582, Regni verò nostri vicessimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at *Constantinople*, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple, and giuen to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 Anile wherewith we colour Blew, to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.

3 And also all other herbes vsed in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees, whose Leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serue to that vse, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes seruing to that vse to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren vsed in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found vpon sight.

7 Also with the materials vsed in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate vpon Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to Venice and to diuers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endeuour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeuour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endeuour vent of knit Stockes made of Norwich yarne, & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our diuers labour.

14 To endeuour a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for maſter S. to giue him the better occaſion to informe himſelfe of ſome things in *England*, and after of ſome other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foreſayd maſter *Richard Hakluyt*, for a principall Engliſh Factor at *Conſtantinople* 1582.

SInce all men confeſſe (that be not barbarouſly bred) that men are borne as well to ſeeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne priuate benefite, it may ſeeme follie to perſwade that point, for each man meaneth ſo to doe. But wherein men ſhould ſeeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or ſumme of the matter, ſince euery good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite ſort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things ſo to bee done be diuers, ſo are they to bee done by diuers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or leſſe fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, ſome tend more, and ſome leſſe, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the ſame. And underſtanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Conſtantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the Engliſh Factors there, then you. And therefore I am ſo bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with ſome indeuour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite ſort of the poore people occaſion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth,&c.

1 FIrſt, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the moſt fine Wooll, the moſt ſoft, the moſt ſtrong Wooll, the moſt durable in Cloth, and moſt apte of nature of all other to receiue Die, and that no Iſland or any one kingdome ſo ſmall doeth yeeld ſo great abundance of the ſame: and that no Wooll is leſſe ſubiect to mothes, or to fretting in preſſe, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be ſhewed may plainly teſtifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may ſet ſo many poore ſubiects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in ſo much treaſure, and ſo much enrich the merchant, and ſo much employ the Nauie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the ſame are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and ſo haue diuers prouinces of Chriſtendome and of Heatheneſſe, and cloth is made of the ſame in diuers places.

1 But if England haue the moſt fine, and the moſt excellent Wools of the world in all reſpects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the ſame, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we ſhall haue vent for our Clothes, although the reſt of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanſhip and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of England, vnleſſe the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials vſed in dying ſhould be the cauſe of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and ſhall die the ſame in truer, ſurer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then ſhall they ſell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the Engliſh cloth of better wooll ſhall reſt vnſold, to the ſpoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imployed in clothing in ſeuerall degrees of labour here in England.

Which things weyed, I am to tell you what things I wiſh you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeuour from time to time, as your leiſure may permit the ſame.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 TO know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be yͤ ſame in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatſoeuer, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking; as the ſorting together of Wools of ſeuerall natures, ſome of nature to ſhrinke, ſome to hold out, which cauſeth cloth to cockle and lie vneuen.

The euill ſorting of threed of good or bad wooll, ſome tootoo hard ſpun, ſome tootoo ſoft ſpun deliuered to be wouen.

The faults in Weauing.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking the Clothes aboue meaſure vpon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honeſt men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be ſhunned and not to be vſed.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to diſcerne all kind of colours; as which be good and ſure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the ſubſtances bee deare, and which by reaſon of the cheapeneſſe of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and ſubſtances vſed in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or ſilke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials vſed in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the ſcarceneſſe of each of them.

Theſe things ſuperficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to ſerue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an entrie into the thing that I wiſh you to trauell in.

What you ſhall doe in Turkie, beſides the buſineſſe of your Factorſhip.

1 FOraſmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee moſt excellently died, you ſhall ſend home into this realme certaine Mouſters or pieces of ſhew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be ſhewed, partly to remoue out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they haue conceiued of their owne cunning, and partly to mooue them for ſhame to endeuour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the vniuerſall benefit of the realme.

2 You ſhall deuiſe to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought vp in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of ſkill, or rather to deuiſe to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by ſome great Baſſas meane, or if your owne credite there be not ſufficient by meane of your ſmall abode in thoſe parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambaſſador there reſident, for which purpoſe you may inſinuate your ſelfe into his acquaintance, and otherwiſe to leaue no meane vnſought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumſtances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and ſubſtances that the Turkes vſe in dying, be they of Herbes, ſimple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els ſoeuer. But before all other, ſuch things as yeeld thoſe famous colours that carrie ſuch ſpeciall report of excellencie, that our Merchants may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vſe of thoſe, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wiſe, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commoditie of thoſe parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to ſend the ſame into this realme by ſeed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of ſowing, ſetting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the ſame, that it may become a naturall commoditie in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which deuoureth yeerely great treaſure) may be brought

downe, So ſhall the marchant buy his cloth leſſe deare, and ſo he ſhalbe able to occupy with leſſe ſtocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and alſo become a greater gainer himſelfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vſe, as to ſend the ſame by ſeed, berry, root, &c: for by ſuch meanes Saffron was brought firſt into this realme, which hath ſet many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the moſt excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the ſame, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great loſſe of the French our olde enemies. And it doth maruellouſly import this realme to make naturall in this realme ſuch things as be ſpecial in the dying of our clothes. And to ſpeake of ſuch things as colour blew, they are of greateſt vſe, and are grounds of the moſt excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that qualitie.

7 And becauſe yellowes and greenes are colours of ſmall prices in this realme, by reaſon that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plentie, therefore to bring our clothes ſo died to common ſale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore ſubiects of this realme, for in ſale of ſuch our owne naturall colours we conſume not our treaſure in forren colours, and yet we ſell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here alſo naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely ſpeciall thing. For in this ſo temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in ſome regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in ſome other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and bleſſed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatneſſe of their riuers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dreſſe all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raiſed to an higher price, we of England haue in all Shires ſtore of milles vpon falling riuers. And theſe riuers being in temperate zones are not dried vp in Summer with drought and heat as the riuers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen vp in Winter as all the riuers be in all the North regions of the world: ſo as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dreſſe clothes cheaply. Then we haue alſo for ſcowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Oborne little inferior to Sope in ſcowring and in thicking. Then alſo haue we ſome reaſonable ſtore of Alum and Copporas here made for dying, and are like to haue increaſe of the ſame. Then we haue many good waters apt for dying, and people to ſpin and to doe the reſt of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could deuiſe to ſupply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatſoeuer he were that could bring it about, might deſerue immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and ſuch a deuiſe was offered to the Parliament and refuſed, becauſed they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, ſome others hauing obtained the ſame before, that practiſed to worke that effect by Rauiſh ſeed, which onely made a triall of ſmall quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plentie: and now he that offered this deuiſe was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the deuiſe is dead with him.

Supply of the want of oile.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a citie called Muhaiſira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the ſeed of an herbe called Seſamum. Pena and Lobell, Phyſicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily ſeed, and that there is plenty of this ſeede brought out of Egypt to diuers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will proſper in this realme, our marchants may eaſily bring of it, &c.

Leo Africanus lib. 8.

9 Hauing herein thus troubled you by raiſing to your minde the conſideration of certaine things, it ſhall not be impertinent to tell you that it ſhall not be amiſſe that you note all the order of the degrees of labour vſed in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to ſee if any way they excell in that profeſſion our people of theſe parts, and to bring notice of the ſame into this realme.

10 And if you ſhall finde that they make any cloth of any kinde not made in this realme, that is there of great vſe, then to bring of the ſame into this realme ſome Mowlders, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the ſame for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can deuiſe to make, the more ample vent of our commodities we ſhall haue, and the more ſale of the labour of our poore ſubiects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our ſelues according to the deſires of forren nations, be it that they deſire thicke or thinne, broad or narrowe,

long or ſhort, white or blacke. 11 But with this proviſo alwayes, that our cloth paſſe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great conſideration ought to be had: for (if vent might ſo admit it) as it were the greateſt madneſſe in the world for vs to vent our wooll vnclothed, ſo were it madneſſe to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the ſame in Kerſies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a ſacke of wooll in the one, and the like ſacke of wooll in the other, of which I wiſh the marchant of England to haue as great care as he may for the vniuerſall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a ſacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And alſo not to carry out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the ſubiects of this realme may take as much benefit as is poſſible, and rather to ſeeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then ſuch as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of neceſſity we muſt be forced to receiue certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wiſh that our marchants procure Anile and ſuch other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in diuers other places, that this realme may haue that brought in for as baſe prices as is poſſible, and that falling out with one place we may receiue the ſame from another, and not buy the ſame at the ſecond or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere neceſſity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchaſed.

1 How many ſeuerall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of thoſe colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and ſubſtances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our ſoiles, that may die the reſt of the colours, that preſently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it ſure. This wood you muſt take with you, and ſee whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may enrich your ſelfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeuoured earneſtly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other ſome things to be remembred.

If you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elſewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottiſh cap as it were without brims, you ſhould do your countrey much good: for as a ſacke of wooll turned into fine Deuonſhire kerſies doth ſet many more people on worke then a ſacke ſpunne for broad cloth in a groſſer thred, ſo a ſacke of wooll turned into thoſe Bonets doth ſet many more poore people on worke, then a ſacke turned into Kerſies, by reaſon of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeuour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a maruellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeaſt and Southweſt thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hoſe of Woollen yarne, Woorſted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may ariſe, and a great value in fine Kerſies and in thoſe knit wares may be couched in a ſmall roome in the ſhip. And for theſe things our people are growen apt, and by indeuour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the beſt of the vniuerſall world groweth in this realme, and foraſmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in diuers ſorts, and ſetteth the people on worke ſo plentifully, I wiſh you to ſee whether you can finde out ample vent for the ſame, ſince it is gone out of great vſe in thoſe parts. It is a ſpice that is cordiall, and may be vſed in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow ſilks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in thoſe parts Garian, ſo as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodneſſe of it, and the places of the vent. But it is ſayd that from that hill there paſſeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that thoſe regions notwithſtanding lacke ſufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Eſſex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge ſhire reuiue the trade for the benefit of the ſetting of the poore on worke. So would they doe in Hereford ſhire by Wales, where the beſt of all England is, in which place the ſoile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which ſheweth the naturall inclination of the ſame ſoile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the ſoile be manured and that way employed.

Leo Africanus lib. 4.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telenſin, about ſix miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all

Diers. And it is ſayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, & that they employ that, and alſo that they vſe there in their dyings, of the Saffron [illegible]. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly portes of the Mediterran ſea, be eaſily learned in your paſſage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may vnderſtand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purpoſing to do good to his countrey, ſtole an head of Saffron, and hid the ſame in his Palmers ſtaffe, which he had made hollow before of purpoſe, and ſo he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great trauellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans hauing that care, brought from all coaſtes of the world into Italie all artes and ſciences, and all kinds of beaſts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, buſhs and plants that might yeeld profit or pleaſure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our anceſters, then had our life bene ſauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaſe nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleaſant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horſe nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we inioy, without which our life were to be ſayd barbarous: for theſe things and a thouſand that we vſe more the firſt inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things haue bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaſke roſe by Doctour Linaker king Henry the ſeuenth and king Henrie the eights Phyſician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres paſt, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske roſe plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abricot by a French Prieſt one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within theſe foure yeeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Auſtria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and thoſe and other procured thither a little before from Conſtantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Cluſius. And it is ſayd that ſince we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is alſo brought into this realme from thence; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerue for pleaſure and for ſome vſe, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well ſpare, although the climat ſo colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reaſon of the colde climat, ſome other things brought in haue by negligence bene loſt. The Archbiſhop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariſke from thence, and this plant he hath ſo increaſed that there be here thouſands of them: and many people haue receiued great health by this plant: and if of things brought in ſuch care were had, then could not the firſt labour be loſt. The ſeed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the Weſt Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eaſed of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a iourney to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Conſtantinople, the Weſt Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of theſe, yet forſomuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich ſetled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make ſute to ſuch as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other buſineſſes, to haue ſome care heerein, and to ſet before their eyes the examples of theſe good men, and to endeuour to do for their parts the like, as their ſpeciall buſineſſes may permit the ſame. Thus giuing you occaſion by way of a little rememembrance, to haue a deſire to do your countrey good, you ſhall, if you haue any inclination to ſuch good, do more good to the poore ready to ſterue for reliefe, then euer any ſubiect did in this realme by building of Almeshouſes, and by giuing of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to driue idleneſſe the mother of moſt miſchiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the Weſt Indies.

This may be learned at Alger.

The voyage of the *Suſan* of *London* to *Conſtantinople*, wherein the worſhipfull M. *William Harborne* was ſent firſt Ambaſſadour vnto *Sultan Murad Can*, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maieſties Ligier almoſt ſixe yeeres.

THe 14 of Nouember 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Conſtantinople, in the tall ſhippe called the Suſan of London: the Maſter whereof was Richard Parſons, a very excellent and ſkilfull man in his facultie. But by occaſion of contrary weather we ſpent two moneths before we could recouer the Rowes

in

January the fourteenth.

C. Vincente.
C. Santa Maria.
Tariffa.
Velez Malaga.
C. de Gates,
C. de Palos,
Denia.
Formentera.
Cabrera.
February the firſt.
Mallorca,

The ſhippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro,

The Ambaſſadour betrayed.

February the ſixth.

The Engliſh men are ſurpriſed.

The Spaniards come to the ſea ſide to ſpeake with the captaine.

in the Iſle of Wight. Where the 14 of January following we tooke in the worſhipfull M. William Hareborne her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the Turke, and his company, and ſailed thence to Yarmouth in the foreſayd Iſle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did ſee Cauo de Sant Vincente. The ſame day we were thwart of Cauo Santa Maria. The 27 we paſſed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we paſſed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Cauo de Gates. The 29 at night we had ſight of Cauo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did ſee the high land of Denia, in the kingdome of Valencia, and that night we had ſight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera. The firſt of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would haue euill intreated vs for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might haue bene as bolde there as in other places of Chriſtendome, but it prooued farre otherwiſe. The firſt man we met on land was a ſimple Shepheard, of whom we demaunded whether we might haue a ſheepe or ſuch like to refreſh our ſelues, who tolde vs yea. And by ſuch conference had with him, at the laſt he came aboord once or twiſe, and had the beſt cheare that we could make him: and our Ambaſſadour himſelfe talked with him, and ſtill he made vs faire promiſes, but nothing at all meant to performe the ſame, as the end ſhewed. In the meane time came in a ſhippe of Marſeils, the Maſter whereof did know our Ambaſſadour very well, with whom our Ambaſſadour had conference, and with his Marchants alſo. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is vnder the gouernement of the Great Turke. They did preſent our Ambaſſadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I ſuppoſe, he was bewrayed of his purpoſe as touching his meſſage, but yet ſtill we had faire words of the Shepheard aforeſayd, and others. So that vpon their words, our Purſer and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire ſpeeches, and ſuch ſmall things as could be gotten vpon the ſudden, and ſo returned to the ſhippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the ſixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purſer, and one of the Ambaſſadours men went to the Towne aforeſayd, thinking to doe as the Purſer and the other had done before, but it prooued contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and ſuch neceſſaries for their money, vntill ſuch time as they were beſet with men, and the Maiorcans neuer ſhewed in their countenance any ſuch matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the moſt part to be trecherous to vs, if they thinke they haue any aduantage. For vpon the ſudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as ſure as might be in ſuch a ſimple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and ſtill deluded with faire words, & they ſayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboord to ſee the ſhippe. But they preſently ſent the Purſer to the Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very ſtraightly, what their ſhippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confeſſed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewiſe ſtraightly examined by a Prieſt and other officers vpon their othes: who for their othes ſake declared the whole eſtate of their voyage. The Ambaſſadours man was a French man, and therefore was ſuffered to goe to the ſhippe on a meſſage, but he could tell the Ambaſſadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the ſhippe, and that our men ſhould come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marſeilian Marchants were ſtayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better ſhew vnto vs. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men vnto vs euery day, more or leſſe, but one day eſpecially there came two men on horſebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being luſty men, and very well horſed. Theſe men deſired to ſpeake with our Captaine (for all things that paſſed there were done in the name of our Captaine Iohn Gray) for it was ſayd by vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Maieſties ſhippes: wherefore all things paſſed in his name: and the Ambaſſadour not ſeene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, becauſe of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himſelfe went on land clothed in Veluet, and talked with theſe men, and with him ten or twelue luſty fellowes well weaponed, ech one hauing a Boareſpeare or a Caliuer, the Captaine Iohn Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to ſuſpect, becauſe the place was more frequented with men then it was woont. The men on horſebacke were in doubt to come neere, becauſe hee came ſo well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gaue him great ſalutations in words as their maner is: and demaunded why he came ſo ſtrong, for they ſayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Anſwere was made, that it was the maner of Engliſh Captaines to goe with their guard in ſtrange places. Then they tolde our Ambaſſador (thinking

king him to be the Captaine) that they were ſent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promiſed him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpoſe was to haue gotten more of our men if they could, and they ſayde that wee ſhould haue our men againe the next day: with ſuch prety deluſions they fed vs ſtill. Then our Ambaſſadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Maieſties name, and in our Captaine Iohn Grayes name, and not in his owne, and ſent it by them, deſiring him to ſend his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had giuen him no ſuch cauſe, nor any of his. So theſe men departed with great courteſie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did ſee men on horſebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accuſtomed to be, but we could perceiue nothing thereby. The next day, or the ſecond, came either foure or ſixe of the beſt of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men beſides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horſe, but came not neere the water ſide. And thoſe in like order deſired to ſpeake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might ſound: but then the Ambaſſadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor ſuffer the trumpets to be ſounded, for that he thought it was a trappe to take himſelfe, and more of his company. But did ſend one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine Iohn Gray went alſo with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a ſouldiour. Thus they receiued of thoſe men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who ſayd we ſhould haue our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. Then our Ambaſſadour did write another letter, and ſent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no anſwere of any of them. In all this time they had priuily gathered together the principall men of the Iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any ſhew of their trecherie towards vs. But the ſame night following, we ſaw very many lights paſſe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken vp, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and ſaw ſtanding on land the cariage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did deſcrie two or three pieces, and alſo many men on the ſhoare, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then they ſuddenly tooke foure or fiue braſſe pieces, and placed them on either ſide of the harborough where we ſhould go out, and hid them with ſtones and buſhes that we ſhould not ſee them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be aboue the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their meaning which was moſt plaine; wee agreed to take vp our anker and goe out, and leaue our men there, hauing none other way to take. Then our Ambaſſadour intreated the Maſter of the Marſeilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who ſatiſfied his requeſt. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very true, that they would lay holde of vs if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the ſhippe forward with the boat. The Viceroy himſelfe was at the water ſide with more then fiue hundred men on both ſides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our ſhippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambaſſadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Maſter commanding of the company, and trimming of the ſailes, the Pilot ſtanding on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furniſhed, and euery man in order about their buſineſſe very ready, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire piece mounted on the North ſide openly in all our ſights, as the ſhippe paſſed by, they trauerſed that piece right with the maine maſt or after-quarter of the ſhippe, and a Gunner ſtanding by, with a lintſtocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire. Our whole noiſe of trumpets were ſounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Pinion of braſſe on the ſummer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners trauerſed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, ſtill looking when they on land ſhould ſhoot, for to anſwere them againe. The Pilot ſtanding on the poope, ſeeing this readineſſe, and the ſhippe going very ſoftly, becauſe of the calmeneſſe of the winde, he called to them on the South ſide, where the Viceroy was, and ſayd vnto him: Haue you warres with vs? If you haue, it is more then we know; but by your prouiſion it ſeemeth ſo: if you haue, ſhoot in Gods name, and ſpare not, but they held all faſt and ſhot not. Then the Viceroy himſelfe held vp a paper, and ſayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and deſired vs to ſtay for it. Then we anſwered and ſayd we would not, but willed him to ſend it by the Marſeilians boat, and our men alſo. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute ſounded, and ſo we paſſed out in the face of them all. When they perceiued that they could lay no holde on vs, they preſently ſent to the Towne for our men, whom within leſſe then three houres after they ſent aboord with the ſayd letter, wherein he deſired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would haue ſeene our ſhippe. His letter did import theſe and ſuch like faire ſpeeches: for it altogether contained courteous ſalutations,

ſaying

The Spaniards come againe to parle.

The Ambaſſadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

The ſhip Suſan prepareth to defend herſelfe.

The effect of the Viceroys letter to the Captaine of the Suſan.

ſaying that he might boldly come into any port within his Iland, and that he and his would ſhew him what friendſhip they might: and that the iniury that was offered was done at the requeſt of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more ſafegard of their flockes, and becauſe it was not a thing vſuall to haue any ſuch ſhippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the ſayd letter. Then our Ambaſſadour wrote vnto him another letter to anſwere that, and gaue him thanks for his men that he had ſent him, and alſo for his good will, and ſent him a preſent. This done, we ſhot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoiſed our ſailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purſer and the reſt of our men that had beene in holde, tolde vs that they did ſee the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, hauing their buſkins and ſtockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the buſhes day and night to make that ſudden prouiſion. The 12 of February we ſaw an Iland of Africa ſide called Galata, where they vſe to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we ſaw likewiſe Sardinia, which is an Iland ſubiect to Spaine. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did ſee an Iland neere Sicilia, and an Iland on Africa ſide called Cyſimbre. The ſame day likewiſe we ſaw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Paſſaro, which is the Southeaſt part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this preſent gouerned by the Signory of Venice, as the reſt of Grecia is vnder the Turke, for the moſt part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arriued at Zante which is alſo in Grecia; for at this preſent wee entred the parts of Grecia. The ſecond of March we came from Zante; and the ſame day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno: and the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia. There ſtandeth a faire Towne and a Caſtle on the maine ouer againſt it, called Modon. The ſame day by reaſon of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, becauſe we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe.. The tenth we were as farre ſhot as Cauo Matapan; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and paſſed thorow betweene Cerigo and Cauo Malio. This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did ſometimes reigne, from whome was ſtollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The ſame day we had ſight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewiſe ſee both the Milos, being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, and the Iland of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewiſe Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Pſara and Saraſo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the ſixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. This port is 9 Engliſh miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelue of their miles) this night we ſtayed in the ſayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the gouernour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and thoſe that were with him, and vnderſtood of our arriuall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambaſſadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Cuſtomer, and alſo the French Conſull, with diuers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendſhip as he could or would deſire: for he did offer to attend vpon vs, and towe vs if need were to the Caſtles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day paſſed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Aſia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we paſſed by a head land called Baberno, and is alſo in Aſia. And that day at night we paſſed by the Iſle of Tenedo, part of Aſia, and by another Iland called Maure. And the ſame day we paſſed thorow the ſtraights of Galipoli, and by the Caſtles, and alſo by the Towne of Galipoli it ſelfe, which ſtandeth in Europa. And that night we were in ſight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Aſia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were ſet on land to goe to the City about the Ambaſſadours buſineſſe, but there they could not land becauſe we had the winde faire. That place of ſome is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this ſide of Conſtantinople, and becauſe of the winde, they followed in the ſkiffe vntill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a little bridge, it ſtandeth eight Turkiſh miles from Conſtantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an houſe of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging vnto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the ſhippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ſhip came to the ſeuen Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies

The effect of the Ambaſſadors anſwere.

Galata.
Sardinia.
Fauagniana.
Ciſimbri,
Pantalaria.
Sicilia.
C. Paſſaro.
Porto de Conte in Cephalonia.

Zante.

Prodeno.
Sapientia.
Modon.

C. Matapan.
Cerigo.

C. Malio.
Menelaus.

Bellapola.
Both Milos.
Falconara.
Antemila.
Fermenia, Zea.
Negroponte.
Andri.
Pſara. Saraſo.
Sigra, a port in Metelin.

Porto Delfin.

The city of Chio.

A By.

Ermin, or Cuſtomer.

Baberno.
Tenedo.
Maure.
Galipoli.
Marmora.

Araclia.
Silauria.

Ponte grande.

Ponte picola.

Ponte S. Stephano.

to bring vs vp further: and when the ſhippe came againſt the great Turks palace, we ſhot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambaſſadour, and then we diſcharged foure and twenty pieces, who was receiued with more then fifty or threeſcore men on horſebacke. The ninth of April he preſented the great Baſſa with ſixe clothes, foure cannes of ſiluer double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Baſſas, that is to ſay, the ſecond Baſſa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Baſſa, to the third who maried the great Turks ſiſter, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Baſſa, to euery one of theſe he gaue foure clothes. Now, before the great Baſſa, and Abraham Baſſa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gaue a great ſhout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the ſound, and this man, ſay they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare wodden pattens of two ſorts, in his hand, a flagge, or ſtreamer ſet on a ſhort ſpeare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and ſometimes vnder his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other ſeruingmen there were with the ſayd Baſſas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe ſomewhat ſmaller towardes the end, with ſcuffes or plates of mettall, like vnto the chape of an ancient arming ſword, ſtanding on their foreheads like other Ianiſaries. Theſe Baſſas entertained vs as followeth: Firſt, they brought vs into a hall, there to ſtand on one ſide, and our Ambaſſadour and gentlemen on the other ſide, who ſate them downe on a bench couered with carpets, the Ambaſſadour in the midſt; on his left hand ſate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their maſter goeth in and out: the common ſort of Turkes ſtayed in the Court yard, not ſuffered to come neere vs. When our Ambaſſadour had ſitten halfe an houre, the Baſſas (who ſate by themſelues in an inner ſmall roome) ſent for him; to whom the Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen went: they all kiſſed his hand, and preſently returned (the Ambaſſadour onely excepted, who ſtayed there, and a Turks chaus with him) with the Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen went in alſo ſo many of our men as there were preſents to cary in, but theſe neither kiſſed his hand nor taried. After this I went to viſit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Chriſtians, and now is the chiefe ſee and church of primacie of this Turke preſent: before I entred I was willed to put off my ſhoes, to the end I ſhould not prophane their church, I being a Chriſtian. The pillers on both ſides of the church are very coſtly and rich, their Pulpets ſeemely and handſome, two are common to preach in, the third reſerued onely for their Paſchall. The ground is couered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapiſtry. They haue alſo Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatneſſe, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded vpon rich and ſtately pillers. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and fiue of his ſonnes in tombes right coſtly, with their turbents very white and cleane, ſhifted (as they ſay) euery Friday, they be not on their heads, but ſtand on mouldes made for that purpoſe. At the endes, ouer, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beſet with iewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his ſonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the firſt chappell is a thing foure foot high, couered with greene, beſet with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and ſtandeth on the left ſide of the head of the great Turks tombe. Theſe chappels haue their floores couered, and their walles hanged with Tapiſtrie of great price, I could value the couering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no leſſe then fiue hundred poundes, beſides their lamps hanging richly gilded. Theſe chappels haue their roofes curiouſly wrought with rich ſtone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for euery man to reade. The 11 day of April the ſhippe came to the Key of the Cuſtome houſe. The 16 the Ambaſſadour and we his men went to the Captaine Baſſa, who is Admirall of the ſeas, his name is Vchali, he would not receiue vs into his houſe, but into his gallie, to deliuer our preſent, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two ſiluer pots gilt & grauen. The poope or ſterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and vnder his feet, and where he ſate was all couered with very rich Tapiſtry. Our Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen kiſſed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambaſſadour ſate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus ſtood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, ſome of vs taried, and ſome went out againe. The gally had ſeuen pieces of braſſe in her prowe, ſmall and great, ſhe had thirty bankes or oares on either ſide, and at euery banke or oare ſeuen men to rowe. The 18 day the ſhippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leaue of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with ſixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with

The arriuall of the Suſan at Conſtantinople.

The Ambaſſadour giueth a preſent to the great Baſſa.

A man halfe naked goeth before ẏ great Baſſa.

The Ambaſſadours entertainment with the Baſſas.

Santa Sophia.

A diſcription of their church.

The ſhip commeth to the cuſtome houſe.

The Ambaſſador preſenteth the Admirall Vchali.

The Suſan goeth from the Cuſtome houſe.

The Admirall departeth to the ſea.

The Ambaſſadours repaire to the great Turks court.

The entertainment at dinner of the Ambaſſadours men.

gilding and painting, and beſet with flags and ſtreamers, all the which gallies diſcharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gaue him one and twenty pieces. Then he went to his houſe with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Caſtle that ſtandeth in the water gaue him foureteene or ſixteene pieces: and when he came againſt the Turks Seraglio he ſhot off all his caliuers and his great pieces, and ſo hee went his way. The 24 our Ambaſſadour went to the Court, whoſe entertainement with the order thereof followeth. When wee came firſt on land there was way made for vs by two or three Baſſaes and diuers chauſes on horſebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambaſſadour to the Court. Alſo they brought horſes for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furniſhed: and by the way there met with vs other chauſes to accompany vs to the Court. When we came there wee paſſed thorow two gates, at the ſecond gate there ſtood very many men with horſes attending on their maſters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compaſſe twiſe ſo bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the ſayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and ſuch other prouiſion. On the left ſide was the like, halfe the Court ouer: it was diuided into two parts, the innermoſt fairer then the other. The other part of that ſide is the place where the Councell doe vſually ſit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to ſit in, much like vnto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren vſe to ſit, thither was our Ambaſſadour brought, and ſet in that place. Within that ſayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Aſſoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermoſt alley of the ſecond roome, on the left ſide of the Court, which was ſpread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie ſeuerall diſhes ſet thereon, that is to ſay, Mutton boiled and roſted, Rice diuerſly dreſſed, Fritters of the fineſt faſhion, and diſhes daintily dight with pretty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expreſſe them. We had alſo roſted Hennes with ſundry ſorts of fowles to me vnknowen. The gentlemen and we ſate downe on the ground, for it is their maner ſo to feede. There were alſo Greekes and others ſet to furniſh out the roome. Our drinke was made with Roſe water and Sugar and ſpices brewed together. Thoſe that did ſerue vs with it had a great bagge tied ouer their ſhowlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the ſayd bagge vnder his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a deuiſe to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambaſſadour when hee had eaten, paſſed by vs, with the chauſes aforeſayd, and ſate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he ſate was againſt the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, ſomewhat on the left ſide of the Court, this was at the Eaſt end of the Court, for we came in at the Weſt. All this time our preſents ſtood by vs vntill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking vp the diſhes. Certaine were called in, like thoſe of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. Theſe came in like rude and rauening Maſtifs, without order or faſhion, and made cleane riddance: for he whoſe hungry eye one diſh could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus euen on the ſudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauſes and brought our gentlemen to ſit with the Ambaſſadour. Immediatly came officers & appointed Janiſers to beare frō vs our preſents, who caried them on the right ſide of the Court, and ſet them hard by the doore of the Priuy chamber, as we call it: there all things ſtoode for the ſpace of an houre. Thus the Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen ſate ſtill, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himſelfe went in and out at, and on the South ſide of that doore ſate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North ſide of the Weſt gate ſtood his gard, in number as I geſſe them a thouſand men. Theſe men haue on their heads round cappes of mettall like ſculles, but ſharpe in the toppe, in this they haue a bunch of Oſtridge feathers, as bigge as a buſh, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of theſe feathers was there a ſmaller feather, like thoſe that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had ſmal ſtaues, & moſt of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambaſſadour with his gentlemen had ſitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauſes, and brought them into the great Turkes preſence. At the Priuy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambaſſadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his ſleeues, and ſo brought him to the great Turke where he ſumptuouſly ſate alone. He kiſſed his hand and ſtood by vntill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and yede backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambaſſadour. The ſalutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, moſt of the Noble men that ſate on the South ſide of the Priuy chamber ſate likewiſe on cloth of golde. Many officers or Ianiſaries there were with ſtaues, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatſoeuer might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambaſſadours entring they followed that bare his preſents, to ſay, twelue fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one caſe of candleſticks, the caſe whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes or pots, and one leſſer, one baſin and ewer, two poppiniayes of ſiluer, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire maſtifs in coats of redde cloth, three ſpaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of ſilke: one clocke valued at fiue hundred pounds ſterling: ouer it was a forreſt with trees of ſiluer, among the which were deere chaſed with dogs, and men on horſebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke ſtood a caſtle, and on the caſtle a mill. All theſe were of ſiluer. And the clocke was round beſet with iewels. All the time that we ſtayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to ſend into Perſia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in euery bagge, as it was tolde vs, one thouſand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty thouſand *   , and in ſterling Engliſh money to fourescore and nineteene thouſand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeiſance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breaſts, and he in like order reſaluted them: he was in cloth of ſiluer, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the firſt gate, and there we were commanded to ſtay vntill the Captaine of the guard was paſſed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, ſome on horſebacke and ſome on foot, but the moſt part on foot carrying on their ſhoulders the money before mentioned, and ſo we paſſed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the moſt part a foole reſembling the firſt, but not naked as was the other at the Baſſas: but he turned him cōtinually, & cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I ſaw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horſes before and behinde him, but moſt before him. There were many empty horſes that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himſelfe in white ſattin. There did ride behinde him ſixe or ſeuen youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they ſayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforeſayd fooles.

The Turke is preſented with a rich preſent.

A letter of *Muſtapha Chaus* to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie.

SEreniſſima, prudentiſſima, & ſacra Regia Maieſtas, domina mihi ſemper clementiſſima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratiſſimámque commendationem. Generoſus & virtuoſus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus veſtræ ſacræ Maieſtatis venit ad portam excelſiſſimam potentiſſimi & inuictiſsimi, & ſemper Auguſtiſsimi Cæſaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantáque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus veſter tanta reuerentia, tantáque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus eſt in porta excelſiſsima. Et poſthac ſubditi & homines veſtræ ſacræ Maieſtatis ad ditiones omnes Cæſareas venire, & ſua negocia tractare, & ad ſuam patriam redire ſine impedimento, vt in literis excelſiſsimi, potentiſsimi, & inuictiſsimi, & ſemper Auguſtiſsimi Cæſaris ad veſtram ſacram Regiam Maieſtatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè poſſunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele ſtudium & nunc eodem confirmando nauaui, & in futurum quoque vſque in vltimum vitæ ſpiritum in negotijs potentiſsimi & inuictiſsimi Cæſaris, & veſtræ ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis egregiam nauabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & vtilitatem vtriúſque Reipublicæ ſecundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Maieſtatem fœliciſsimè valere exopto. Datum Conſtantinopoli anno 1583, die octauo Maij.

A letter of the Engliſh Ambaſſadour to M. *Haruie Millers*, appointing him Conſull for the Engliſh nation in *Alexandria*, *Cairo*, and other places of *Egypt*.

HAuing to appoint our Conſull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adiacent, for the ſafe protection of body and goods of her Maieſties ſubiects; being well perſwaded of your ſufficient abilitie; in her Maieſties name I doe elect and make choiſe of you, good friend Haruie Millers, to execute the ſame worſhipfull office, as ſhall be required for her Maieſties better ſeruice, the commodity of her ſubiects, and my contentation: hauing and inioying for merit of your trauell in the premiſſes the like remuneration incident to the reſt of ours in ſuch office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires ſet aſide) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend vpon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accompliſh. For the due execution whereof, we heere with ſend you the Grand Signiors Patent of priuilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in ſo ample maner, as any other Conſull whoſoeuer doeth or may enioy the ſame. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Maieſty our moſt gracious Miſtreſſe, I will be ready alwayes to employ my ſelfe to the generall benefit of her Maieſties ſubiects, for your maintenance in all iuſt cauſes incident to the ſame. And thus eftſoones requiring and commanding you as aboueſayd, to performe my requeſt, I bid you moſt heartily well to fare, and deſire God to bleſſe you. From my manſion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commiſſion giuen by M. *VVilliam Hareborne* the Engliſh Ambaſſadour, to *Richard Forſter*, authoriſing him Conſul of the Engliſh nation in the parts of *Alepo, Damaſco, Aman, Tripolis, Ieruſalem*, &c.

I William Harborne, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Leuant doe in her Maieſties name confirme and appoint Richard Forſter Gentleman, my Deputie and Conſull in the parts of Alepo, Damaſco, Aman, Tripolis, Ieruſalem, and all other ports whatſoeuer in the prouinces of Syria, Paleſtina, and Iurie, to execute the office of Conſull ouer all our Nation her Maieſties ſubiects, of what eſtate or quality ſoeuer: giuing him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all ſuch her Maieſties ſubiects as to him ſhall be obedient, in all honeſt and iuſt cauſes whatſoeuer: and in like caſe no leſſe power to impriſon, puniſh, and correct any and all ſuch as he ſhall finde diſobedient to him in the like cauſes, euen in ſuch order as I my ſelfe might doe by vertue of her Maieſties Commiſſion giuen me the 26 of Nouember 1582, the copie whereof I haue annexed to this preſent vnder her Maieſties Seale deliuered me to that vſe. Straightly charging and commanding all her Maieſties ſubiects in thoſe parts, as they will auoid her Highneſſe diſpleaſure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and haue due reſpect vnto the ſame, aiding and aſſiſting him there with their perſons and goods in any cauſe requiſit to her Maieſties good ſeruice, and commoditie of her dominions. In witneſſe whereof I haue confirmed and ſealed theſe preſents at Rapamat my manſion houſe by Pera ouer againſt Conſtantinople, the 20 of Iune 1583.

A letter of directions of the Engliſh Ambaſſadour to M. *Richard Forſter*, appointed the firſt Engliſh Conſull at *Tripolis* in *Syria*.

COuſin Forſter, theſe few words are for your remembrance when it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to ſend you ſafe arriuall in Tripolis of Syria. When it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may haue their houſe in a readineſſe, and alſo meet you perſonally at your entrance to accompany you, being your ſelfe apparelled in the beſt maner. The next, ſecond, or third day, after your comming, giue it out that you be crazed and not well diſpoſed, by meanes of your trauell at Sea, during which time, you and thoſe there are moſt wiſely to determine in what maner you are to preſent your ſelfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers: who euery of them are to be preſented according to the order accuſtomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of Iohn Blanke, late Vice-conſull of Tripolis for the French, deliuered you heerewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can ſaue any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to giue you there alſo another Ianizarie according as the French hath; whoſe outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in ſuch ſort as you bee not his inferiour, according as thoſe of our Nation heeretofore with him reſident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wiſely to proceede conſidering both French and Venetian will haue an enuious eye on you: whome if they perceiue wiſe and well aduiſed, they will feare to offer you any iniurie. But if they ſhall perceiue any inſufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occaſion to harme you. They are ſubtile, malicious, and diſſembling people, wherefore you muſt alwayes haue their doings for ſuſpected, and warily walke in all your actions: wherein if you call for Gods diuine aſſiſtance, as doth become euery faithfull good Chriſtian, the ſame ſhall in ſuch ſort direct you as he ſhall be glorified, your ſelfe preſerued, your doings bleſſed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywiſe you omit and forget, your enemies malice ſhalbe ſatiſfied with your confuſion, which God defend, and for his mercies ſake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to ſuffer, but to impriſon the chiefe officers, and ſuffer the reſt not to traffike at any time, and together enter in ſuch bonds as you thinke meete, that both they ſhall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and alſo not harme, during their voyage, any his ſubiects ſhippes, veſſels, or whatſoeuer other, but quietly depart out of the ſame country without any harme doing. And touching thoſe there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priuiledge & ſuch commandements as you haue had hence, in the beſt order you may. In all and euery your actions, at any hand, be ware of raſhneſſe and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandiſe, you are not to deale otherwiſe then in ſecret and counſell. You are carefully to foreſee the charge of the houſe, that the ſame may be in all honeſt meaſure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the beſt hand, and in due time to prouide things needfull, to ſaue what may be: for he that buyeth euery thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne houſe, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wiſdome to foreſee the buying of all things in their natiue ſoile, in due time, and at the firſt hand euery yeere, as you are to ſend the company the particular accounts of the ſame expenſes. Touching your ſelfe, you are to cauſe to be employed fifty or threeſcore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the reſt in Spices, whereof the moſt part to be Pepper, whereof we ſpend very much. The Spices are to be prouided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your firſt arriuall, for that this ſhippe lading the ſame commodity will cauſe it to amount in price. From our manſion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable *VVilliam Hareborne* her Maieſties Ambaſſadour with the *Grand Signior* from *Alger*.

Right honorable, we haue receiued your honors letters dated in Conſtantinople the 5 of Nouember, and accordingly deliuered that incloſed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command vs in her Maieſties name, that he would vouchſafe to giue order to all his Captaines & Raies that none of them ſhould meddle with our Engliſh ſhippes comming or going to or from theſe parts, for that they haue order not to paſſe by the Chriſtian coaſt, but vpon the coaſt of Barbary, and ſhewing him of the charter giuen by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like caſe that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendſhip and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Maieſty, he would giue vs fiue or ſix ſafeconducts for our ſhips, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither ſhoot at them: who made me anſwere he would neither giue me any ſafe conduct nor commiſſion to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he truſted to take ſome of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I ſpake to the chiefe of the Ianiſers and the Leuents, who made me anſwere, the beſt hope they had this yere was to take ſome of them, and although they haue the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other prouoke them to ſhoot ſome ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And ſome of them ſay further, we care not for their ſafeconduct, for if they ſhew it vs, we will conuey it away, we are ſure the dogs cannot be beleeued againſt vs. The premiſſes conſidered, your honor is with all ſpeed to procure the Grand Signior his fauorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Ianiſers, & Leuents, & another like to Romadan Baſſa, king of Tripolis, cõmanding them in no maner whatſoeuer to deale with our Engliſh ſhips bound into thoſe parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they ſhould ſhoot one at another: for when our ſhips ſhall meet them, for that, as your honor is aduertiſed, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta haue made a league to take all our ſhips comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of theſe gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may ſhoot at them, which if therefore they ſhould make them prizes, were againſt Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reaſon and conſcience, conſidering that all the world doth know that Marchants ſhips laden with marchandiſe do not ſeeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwiſe to defend themſelues from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honor do not

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get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforeſayd, & ſend them hither with all ſpeed by ſome one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or ſome other of the Grand Signiors ſeruants, it is impoſſible that our Engliſh ſhips can eſcape freely from theſe or the Chriſtians: for either they muſt of force go on the Chriſtian coaſt, and ſo fall into their hands, or els on this coaſt, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they ſhould, will neuer be recouered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beſeech your honor in the behalfe of all the Engliſh marchants (who ſent me hither to follow ſuch order as your honor ſhould giue me) to certifie her Maieſtie, to the end that they may be commanded to leaue off traffique, and not to loſe their goods, and her poore ſubiects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leaue, I deſiſt from troubling your honor. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. *Harborne* to *Muſtapha*, challenging him for his diſhoneſt dealing in tranſlating of three of the *Grand Signior* his commandements.

Domine Muſtapha, neſcimus quid ſibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vtilem conceſſa perperàm reddas, quæ male ſcripta, plus damni, quàm vtilitatis adferant: quemadmodum conſtat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus ſummum aut principale deeſt aut aufertur. In poſterum noli ita nobiſcum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in noſtrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum ſpem Turcicè ſcriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita prouidere debes; vt non eueniant huiuſmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut ſcriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum ſermonem, ne damnum inſequatur. Noſti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus noſtris inuidentes, quorum malitiæ veſtræ eſt prudentiæ aduerſari. Hi noſtri, Secretarius & minimus interpres ex noſtra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Vt deinceps ſimiles errores non eueniant precamur. Iſta emendes, & cætera Sereniſſimæ regiæ Maieſtatis negocia, vti decet veſtræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam vnicuique ſuo officio ſtrenuè eſt laborandum vt debito tramite omnia ſuccedant: quod ſpero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Paſport in Italian granted to *Thomas Shingleton* Engliſhman, by the king of *Algier*. 1583.

NOi Aſſan Baſha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della iuriſditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero ſaluo condutto a Thomas Shingleton *mercadante, che poſſi con ſuo vaſſello e marinari de che natione ſe ſiano, e mercadantia di qualſi voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiare, e contrattare liberamente in queſta citta de Algier & altri lochi de la noſtra iuriſditione coſi di ponente comi di Leuante: & coſi anchora commandiamo al capitan di mare di Algier & d' altri lochi de noſtra iuriſditione, Rais de Vaſſelli & capitani de Leuante, & altri capitani di vaſſelli tanto groſſi como picholi, ſi commanda a qual ſi voglia, che trouando il ſopradetto* Thomas Shingleton *Ingleſe nelli mari di Genua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con ſuo vaſſello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi ſi ſiano, non gli debba moleſtare, ne pigliare, ne toccare coſa de neſſuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual ſi voglia altra robba, ſotto la pena e diſgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor noſtro patrone* Soltan Murates Ottomano, *lo laſciarete andare per ſuo camino ſenza dargli neſſuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in noſtro reggio Palazzo, ſigillato del noſtro reggio ſigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & ſcritto del noſtro reggio Secretario, il di 23 de Ienaro, 1583.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

WE Aſſan Baſsha Viceroy and lieutenant, and captaine of the iuriſdiction of Algier, giue and grant free ſafeconduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ſhip and mariners, of what nation ſoeuer they be, & with his marchandize of what countrey ſoeuer, he may go and come, and trade & traffike freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our iuriſdiction, as well of the Weſt as of the Eaſt. And in like ſort we further command the captaine of the ſea of Algier, and other places of our iuriſdiction, the Reiz of veſſels & captaines of the Leuant, & other captaines of veſſels aſwell great as ſmall, whoſoeuer they be, we do command them, that finding the foreſayd Thomas Shingleton Engliſhman in the ſeas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ſhip and merchandize, and men of what nation ſoeuer they be, that they moleſt thē not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, vnder paine and peril of looſing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, ſo ſee you let him paſſe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, ſigned with our princely Signet, and ſealed with our great ſeale, and written by our Secretarie of eſtate, the 23. of Ianuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spaniſh by Sir *Edward Oſborne*, to the king of *Alger*, the 20. of Iuly, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine Engliſh captiues there detained.

Muy alto y poderoſo Rey,

Sea ſeruida voſtra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentiſſima mageſtad del Gran Senor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Sereniſſima Mageſtad de nueſtra Reyna d'Inglaterra, para los vaſſallos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de ſu potentiſſima Mageſtad, Como a la clara pareſce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el traſlado al Senor Iuan Tipton nueſtro commiſſario, para le mueſtrar a voſtra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galerias de ſu ciudad de Alger ha ſido hechado al fondo en la mar vn de nueſtros nauios que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá ſe compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y abogados en la mar, y el reſto eſtan detenidos por eſclauos: coſa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y priuilegios. Que es occaſion, que por eſto ſupplicamos a voſtra Alteza muy humilmente, que pues que la potentiſſima mageſtad del Gran Sennor es ſeruida nos fauoreſcer por los dichos articulos, tambien ſea ſeruida voſtra Alteza aſſiſtirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por voſtra autoridad ſu aiuda y fauor, ſegun que eſperamos, para que puedan eſtar libres, y boluer para aca aquellos pobres hombres anſi hechos eſclauos, como dicho es. Y anſi meſmo, que mande voſtra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maeſtres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nueſtro trafico con ſeys naos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del gran Sennor a paz y a ſaluo, por no cõtrariar a los dichos nueſtros priuilegios, Lleuando cada vna de nueſtras dichas naos por ſe conoſcer vn ſaluo conducto de ſu alta & potentiſſima mageſtad. Y con eſta voſtra tan ſenallada merced y fauor que en eſſo reciberemos, quedaremos noſotros con grandiſſima obligation a voſtra Alteza de ſeruirla por ello, ſegun que el dicho Sennor Iuan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera a voſtra Alteza: Cuya ſereniſſima perſona y eſtado ſupplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente proſpere y accreſceme con toda felicitad y honra. De la ciudad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Al ſeruicio de vueſtra Alteza por y en nombre de todos
los tratantes en Turquia, Io el Mayor de Londres,
Edward Oſborne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Right high and mightie king,

May it pleaſe your highneſſe to vnderſtand, that the moſt high and moſt mightie maieſtie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuileges with the moſt excellent maieſtie of our Queene of England, that her ſubiects may freely go and come, and traffike by ſea and land in the dominions of his moſt mighty maieſty, as appeareth more at large by yͤ ſaid articles, whereof we haue ſent the copy vnto M. Ioh. Tipton our Commiſſarie, to ſhew the ſame vnto your highnes. Againſt the tenor of which articles, one of our ſhips which came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in thoſe parts, was ſunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greateſt number of the men thereof were ſlain and drowned in the ſea, the reſidue being detained as ſlaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforeſaid articles and priuileges: which is the occaſiō that by theſe preſents we beſeech your highneſſe very humbly, that ſince it hath pleaſed the moſt mightie maieſtie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the ſayd priuileges, it would pleaſe your Highneſſe in like maner to aſſiſt vs in the ſame, granting vs by your authoritie, your ayde and fauour, according as our hope is, that theſe poore men ſo detained in captiuitie, as is aforeſaid, may be ſet at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewiſe that your highneſſe would ſend to giue order to the captaines, maſters and people of your gallies, that from henceforth they would ſuffer vs to vſe our traffique with ſixe ſhips yerely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and ſafetie, that they do not

An Engliſh ſhip ſunke by two gallies of Alger.

withſtand thoſe our ſaid priuileges, euery one of our foreſaid ſhips carying with them a paſſeport of his moſt high and moſt mightie maieſtie to be knowen by. And for that your ſo ſingular fauour and curteſie which in ſo doing we ſhall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highneſſe, will ſeeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the ſayd maſter Iohn Tipton (to whom wee referre our ſelues touching all other circumſtances) ſhall more at large enforme your highneſſe, whoſe moſt excellent perſon and eſtate, we pray and beſeech almightie God to proſper and increaſe with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of Iuly, 1584.

At the ſeruice of your highneſſe, for and in the name of
our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maior of
London, *Edward Oſborne.*

Notes concerning the trade of *Alger.*

The money of Alger.

THe money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Aſiano, & Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Aſiano, but the Doubla is moſt vſed, for all things be ſold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aſpers there.

The Aſper there is not ſo good by halfe & more, as that in Conſtantinople: for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Conſtantinople is at Alger worth an 150. Aſpers, and at Conſtantinople it is but 66. Aſpers.

The piſtolet and roials of plate are moſt currant there.

The ſaid piſtolet goeth for 130. Aſpers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aſpers, but oftentimes is ſold for more, as men need them to cary vp into Turkie.

Their Aſianos and Doublaes are pieces of courſe gold, worth here but 40. s. the ounce, ſo the ſame is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aſpers, for that they be leſſe then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The cuſtome.

The cuſtome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it ſelfe, or as it ſhall be rated.

There is another cuſtome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Iuſtice of the Chriſtians: the goods for this cuſtome are rated as they are for the kings cuſtome.

Hauing paid cuſtome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waights.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and ſpices, &c. which is here 120. li. ſubtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and ſuch groſſe wares, are ſold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: ſo it is 180. li. ſubtil of ours here.

The meaſure.

The meaſure of corne is by a meaſure called a Tarcis, which is about 4. buſhels of our meaſure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The ſureſt lodging for a Chriſtian.

The ſureſt lodging for a Chriſtian there is in a Iewes houſe: for if he haue any hurt, the Iew and his goods ſhall make it good, ſo the Iew taketh great care of the Chriſtian and his goods that lieth in his houſe, for feare of puniſhment.

An Engliſhman called Thomas Williams, which is M. Iohn Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the ſtreete called The Soca of the Iewes.

Notes concerning the trade in *Alexandria.*

This is another officer.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the caſtles, preſently the Ermyn ſends aboord to haue one come and ſpeake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will ſet guards aboord the ſhip to ſee all the goods diſcharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the * Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and ſo from thence to the Conſuls houſe where you lie. The Venetians haue a Conſul themſelues. But all other nations goe to the French nations Conſul, who will giue you a chamber for your ſelues apart, if you will ſo haue it.

Other ſmal cuſtoms you pay beſides, which may be at two in the hũdred: and for Conſullage you pay two in the hundred.

The cuſtoms inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the cuſtome is paid in wares alſo that you buy: for the ſame wares in barter you pay alſo ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you ſell for mony, you pay no more cuſtome but the ten aforeſaid, and one and a halfe in the hundred, which is for the cuſtome of the goods you lade for the ſayd mony, for more cuſtome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the cuſtome of the ſame. And if you ſell your wares for mony, and with the ſame money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the cuſtome thereof. And if you ſteale any cuſtome, if it be taken, you pay double cuſtome for that you ſteale.

The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marſeils 109. li. of Marſeils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 163. li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150. li. of Marſeils waight, by which are ſold all things to eate: but ſpice is ſold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies iourney, but you muſt take a Ianiſſarie with you: & to go vp thither by water it is 8. dayes iourney. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the beſt money you can cary. And 4. roials are worth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aſpers. Piſtolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are beſt.

Cairo thre daies iourney from Alexandria by land.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a preſent to the Bye and Ermine ſome may paſſe.

All ſortes of ſpices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill diſpoſed. And after you be ſearched & haue leaue to paſſe, you muſt preſently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will ſearch you againe. And you muſt depart in the day, for in the night the caſtles will not ſuffer you to depart. The duetie to the Conſul is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Siluer is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Carauans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the ſpices, and therfore the ſpices are brought moſt to Alexandria, where each Chriſtian nation remaineth at the Conſuls houſes. Yet oftentimes the chriſtians go vp to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they ſee cauſe. And the commodities there vendible are all ſorts of kerſies, but the moſt part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is vſually ſold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You muſt take canuas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is alſo fine flaxe, and good ſtore of Buffe hides.

A letter of the Engliſh ambaſſador to M. *Edward Barton*.

MAſter Barton I ſend you 3. commandements in Turkiſh, with a copy thereof in Engliſh, to the ende our ſhips might not come in danger of breach of league, if they ſhould ſhoote at the gallies of thoſe of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the Weſt: which after you haue ſhewed the Baſſas, receiue againe into your hands, and ſee them regiſtred, and then deliuer one of them to our friend M. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the priuilege which you cary with you, and ſee them ioinctly regiſtred in the Cadies booke, deliuering the copy of the ſaid priuilege ſealed by the Cadi, alſo to the ſayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliuerie at all times to vs or our aſſignes. And require them in her maieſties and the grand Signors name, that they will haue our ſhips paſſing too and fro vnder licence and ſafeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I haue not receiued any aduiſe thereof, ſince your departure, ſo muſt I leaue you to God and my former directiō. The ſhip patroniſed of Haſſan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, prooued to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Haſſan and other Iewes in his ſhip, it was affirmed to be ſold to the Malteſes, which with the reſt you are to receiue there. And hauing ended theſe affaires and regiſtred our priuilege, and theſe three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make ſpeedy returne, and for that which may be recouered, make ouer the ſame either to Richard Rowed for Patraſſo in Morea, or otherwiſe hither to Iohn Bate in the ſureſt maner you may, if the regiſtring of that your priuilege and theſe commandements will not ſuffer you in perſon to returne with the ſame. From my Manſion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of Iune 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the *Grand Signior* by her Maieſties ambaſſador M. *Will. Hareborne*, for the quiet paſſing of her ſubiects to and frō his dominions, ſent in *An. 1584.* to the Viceroyes of *Algier*, *Tunis* & *Tripolis* in *Barbary*.

To our *Beglerbeg* of *Algier*.

WE certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambaſſador to the Queenes maieſtie of England hath ſignified vnto vs, that the ſhips of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteſes, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge: which aboueſaid Chriſtians will not quietly ſuffer their egreſſe and regreſſe, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captiues, times, and forfeit the ſhippes and goods, as the laſt yeere the Malteſes did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their deſtruction, whereupon they are conſtrained to ſtand to their defence at any ſuch time as they might meet with them. Wherefore conſidering by this means they muſt ſtand vpon their guard, when they ſhall ſee any gallie a-farre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do ſhoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not ſhoote any more, but require to paſſe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, ſaying, the peace is brokē becauſe you haue ſhot at vs, and ſo make prize of them contrary to our priuileges, and againſt reaſon: for the preuenting of which inconuenience the ſaid ambaſſador hath required this our commaundement. We therefore command thee, that vpon ſight hereof thou doe not permit any ſuch matter in any ſort whatſoeuer, but ſuffer the ſayd Engliſhmen to paſſe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement giuen, without any diſturbance or let by any means vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies ſhould ſhoot at them, yet ſhall you not ſuffer them to hurt them therfore, but quietly to paſſe. Wherefore looke thou that they may haue right, according to our priuilege giuen them, & finding any that abſenteth himſelf, & wil not obey this our commandement, preſently certify vs to our porch, that we may giue order for his puniſhment, and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou ſhalt againe returne it vnto them that preſent it. From our palace in Conſtantinople, the 1. of Iune 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her maieſties ambaſſ. with the grand Signior to M. *Tipton*, appointing him Conſul of the Engliſh in *Algier*, *Tunis*, & *Tripolis* of *Barbarie*.

Maſter Tipton, I haue receiued among others, yours of the 10. of Nouember 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of Iune 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being regiſtred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the priuilege to be broken by our ſhips in ſhooting, & therfore be lawfully taken, you are deceiued, for of thoſe taken in thē, hath the grand Signior now deliuered vs free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promiſed the reſt in like caſe, whereſoeuer they be, & that hereafter no violence ſhalbe ſhewed, conſidering ours be merchāts ſhips which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off whether they were friends or the Chriſtians gallies in league againſt vs, of whom they moſt doubted, who not ſuffring our ſhips to come into theſe parts, will make prize of the goods & captiue the mē, ſo as they are not to let them come nigh them: & ſince ours haue not done contrary to the articles of the ſame priuilege, wherein is no order for Algier preſcribed vs, as both by the originall now ſent vs, & alſo by the copy now ſent you frō London you may perceiue, they according to right are as aboueſaid to be ſet free, and their goods reſtored, which if it be not there accompliſhed as the grand Signior hath now cōmanded & moſt faithfully promiſed, neither yet in caſe of their denial, thoſe offenders puniſhed here, and our iniuries redreſſed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her maieſties ſubiects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prooued & found by the grand Signior to be ſo beneficial to his countries as we are aſſured ſo well thereof, as alſo for the honor which his anceſtors neuer had of friēdſhip w̄ ſo mighty a prince as is her maieſty, he wil not but maintaine ẏ faith promiſed her, & the intercourſe in due force. And where you ſay ẏ the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean mā, nor tooke no place, that is not material to vs, our letters are after another ſort much more effectuall. For our caſe & theirs be found far different, in ẏ they be not onely now out of fauour with him, but alſo the commodities which they bring hither, as ſuger, paper, bracelets, ropes of baſt almonds, &c. all which may be here wel ſpared, & we contrarily ſo wel eſteemed, as he neuer denied vs any thing ſince our comming demanded, which neither their ambaſſador, nor the Venetian could haue here, & therfore we reſt perſwaded, knowing the wiſdom of the Beglerbeg, who is aduiſed by his frīds from hence, of this our credite w̄ his maſter, he wil ſo reſpect his cōmandements, as to accōpliſh ẏ tenor therof according to our deſire. And where you ſay ẏ the Ianizers rule all there, I know right wel ẏ if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant muſt anſwer it. And therefore I am fully perſwaded if he doe what he may they dare not reſiſt him, for if they ſhould, thoſe rebels ſhould not be vnpuniſhed of ẏ grand Signior. And though they ſpeake their pleaſures amōg themſelues there, yet they be not ſo brutiſh, but they wel conſider that their maſter ẏ grand Signior may not be gainſaid or mocked of any. For vpon his word dependeth the life or death euē of the chiefeſt, as I haue ſeene ſince my comming hither. So whatſoeuer theſe Ianizaries ſay, they will be better aduiſed in their deedes then to withſtand their Viceroy, if he himſelfe wil vſe his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himſelfe here of their euill proceedings againſt the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrarywiſe, the head, the feete, and all the reſt of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwiſe you omit as a faithfull true ſubiect to her maieſtie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her maieſties name, to the vttermoſt to vſe your good and faithful endeuour, as becommeth a true ſubiect, & in all things that may concerne her maieſties good ſeruice, aſſiſting the Chaus with the reſt of our meſſengers in counſel, trauel, & what els ſhall be thought requiſite for your good diſcharge of your dutie. And to yͤ end you may boldly proceed herein as alſo for the good opinion ſir Edward Oſborne & the company haue of you, and I no leſſe perſwaded of your wiſedom, vpright dealing, & good experience in thoſe parts, do ſend you herewith the grand Signiors & our patents for exerciſing the office of Conſul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth chalenge in defence of our priuilege, to redreſſe all iniuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of yͤ Beglerbies vpon your complaint, I thereof aduertiſed, ſhal doe it here, and to the vttermoſt maintaine you in al rightful cauſes whatſoeuer, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your aduiſe, I wil and do giue our ſhips order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoiſe out their ſkiffe and and go aboord to ſhew them their ſafeconduct, & to preſent the captain with a garment, & you there in ſuch like caſe are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whoſe friendſhip in her maieſties behalfe I deſire) will not onely performe the ſame your iuſt requeſt, & according to right, reſtore to libertie our mē ſince the priuilege taken, but alſo cauſe thoſe yͭ tooke & ſunke our ſhips to anſwere the value, which I haue ſet downe truly, and rather with the leaſt in the Inuentorie tranſlated into Turkiſh, whereof the incloſed is the copy in Engliſh, which I ſend to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her maieſties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captiues, which if the Viceroy do wel conſider, according to his wiſedom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he ſhal wel perceiue it not onely a great honour to his maſter as aforeſaid, to continue this amitie with her maieſtie, but chiefly to the whole eſtate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means ſhall be abundantly ſerued with the chiefeſt commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroies experienced wiſdom can wel conſider thereof, in ſuch ſort as he wil not deny to accompliſh his maſters commandement, & our earneſt requeſt in ſo ſmal a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refuſall: for thereby he ſhall increaſe his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her maieſtie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future ſuite againſt him may happen, and his gallies free of ſuch doubtful iſſue as doeth chance, fighting with our ſhips. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, haue ſo great hearts as neuer cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that reſpect (after the prouerbe, like eſteeme of their like) they are the more of ſuch a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious ſouldiers to be in all friendſhip cheriſhed and better eſteemed. If the captaine Baſſa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner haue procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will ſuffiſe. Thus commending your ſelfe and theſe proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you moſt heartily wel to fare. From my manſion Rapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March 1585.

The Inuentorie of our ſhips and goods ſunke and taken by the gallies of Alger.

Series vel regiſtrum valoris nauium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes Argerienſes *ereptorum, vna cum captiuorum hominum nominibus,* Beglerbego Argerienſi Haſſano.

1 Salomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum ſale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garneſey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, reuertens de Patraſſo cum mandato Cæſareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore Dauid Fillie de London, Patraſſum veniens cum mādato Cæſareo: huius præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Sereniſſimæ Reginæ maieſtatis literas Cæſari & oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus vna cum ſuperiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forſter, onerata cum vuis ſiccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore *Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ* ſpoliatæ & ereptæ naues,merces,& homines.

1 IVdith de London, rectore Iacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Ieſus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus, Valorem huius & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Baſſa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barton, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & viuentium tunc temporis, quando Cæſar illu*ſtriſſimus, & dominus Orator* Chauſeum Mahumetem *miſerunt* Algiram.

1	Ante fœdus initum in naue Peter de Briſtow.	**John Winter.** **Robert Barton.**
2	In naue Swallow de London.	**Rich.Crawford.** **Anthony Eluers.** **Wil.Rainolds.**
	Poſt fœdus initum in naue Britona.	**James Yoong.**
1	In naue Rabnet de Hampton.	**Thomas Liſney.**
2	In naue Salomon.	**John Tracie.** **Wil.Griffith.** **Wil.Cocke.**

1 In naue Elizabeth. **John Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard James, Oliuer Dallimore, and Richard Maunſell.**

2 In naue Maria Martin. **Thomas Moore, Wil.White, Wil. Palmer, Nich.Long, Peter March, Rich.Haſlewood, Wil.Dewly, Wil.Cowel, John Franke, Henry Parker, John Cauendiſh, Moiſes Robinſon, James Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich.Smith, Henry Ragſter, Rich.Dauiſon, Rich.Palmer.**

3 In naue Elizabeth Stokes. **Dauid Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Dauis, John Quinte, Ambroſe Hariſon, John Peterſon, Triſtram Tois, Roger Kibbe.**

4 In naue Nicholas, **Thomas Forſter** rector nauis & eius nautæ.

To *Aſſan Aga*, Eunuch & Treaſurer to *Haſſan Baſſa* king of *Alger*, which *Aſſan Aga* was the ſonne of *Fran.Rowlie* of *Briſtow* merchant, taken in the *Swalow*.

I Receiued your letters of Will.Hamor gentleman, my ſeruant very thankfully, aſwel for the feruent faith that by his report I heare you haue in our lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whoſe onely merits and bloodſhedding, you together with vs and all other good Chriſtians ſo truly beleeuing, ſhalbe ſaued, as alſo for your faithfull obedience like a true ſubiect to her Maieſtie, naturally louing your countrey & countreymen, declared in your fauourable furtherance of the ſaid Wil.Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I reioice to vnderſtand, ſo wil I impart the ſame to your ſinguler cōmendation, both to our miſtreſſe her Maieſtie, & her moſt honorable counſellers the nobilitie of England, to whom aſſure your ſelfe the report ſhalbe very welcome. And now this ſecond time I am inforced by duetie to God & her maieſty, as alſo by the ſmal regard your maſter had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine vnto him, though not ſo vehemently as I had occaſion by his moſt vnworthy anſwer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this ſecond commandement, threatning him, not obſeruing the ſame, loſſe of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful induſtry procured, wil manifeſt to all the world, eſpecially to her maieſty, & me her ambaſſador, your true chriſtian mind & Engliſh heart, intentiuely bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I truſt you be ordained another Ioſeph, to folow his example in true pietie, in ſuch ſort that notwithſtãding your body be ſubiect to Turkiſh thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free frō thoſe vices, next vnder God addict to ẏ good ſeruice of your liege Lady & ſoueraigne princes, her moſt excellent maieſty, wil continually ſeeke by all good means to manifeſt ẏ ſame in this & the like faithful ſeruice to your ſinguler cōmendation, whereby both my ſelfe & others in that place hauing found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like caſe performe the like towards you, when & where you may haue occaſion to vſe me: which as I for my part do aſſuredly promiſe, & wil no leſſe faithfully performe; ſo accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom moſt heartily ſaluted I commend to the diuine tuition and holy direction. From my houſe Rapamat, this 28. of June 1586.

Your louing and good friend her Maieſties Ambaſſador
with the *Grand Signor*, *Will.Harborne.*

A petition

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of ſundry iniuries offered our nation in *Morea*, as alſo for ſundry demaundes needefull for the eſtabliſhing of the traffike in thoſe parts.

1 FIrſt that our people may be freed of ſuch wonted moleſtation, as the Ianiſſers of Patraſſo haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be remoued and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements haue beene graunted to ours, that no perſon whatſoeuer ſhall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwiſe then paying them before the deliuerie thereof, for the ſame in readie money, at ſuch price as they themſelues will, and ſell ordinarily to others, as alſo that no officer whatſoeuer, of the kings or any other, ſhall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwiſe then the needfull, at their owne will and pleaſure, that the ſaid commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with ſuch ſtraight charge for the execution of the ſame, as is requiſite for their due effect.

3 That whereas ſundry exactions and oppreſſions be offered ours by ſuch Byes, Sanjacbies, iuſtices and Cadies, Ianizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into thoſe parts, who finding there reſident no other nation but only ours, will vnder the name of preſents forceable take from them what they pleaſe: We do require to obuent theſe harmes, it may be ſpecified by a commandement from the king to which of ſuch his officers, preſents may be giuen, and their ſundry values, whereby both they and ours may reſt contented, ſeuerely prohibiting in the ſaid commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but thoſe onely ſpecified in that commaundement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatſoeuer.

4 That the Nadir and Cuſtomer of the port, hauing permitted our ſhip to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward cuſtome due to the king for the ſame goods. And being ſo laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be viſited, requiring for the viſiting no more then formerly they were accuſtomed to pay at their firſt comming. After which the ſaid ſhip to depart at the Conſuls pleaſure, without any moleſtation of them, or any other officer whatſoeuer.

5 That Mahomet Chaus, ſometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his ſubſtitute being with him may be ſeuerely puniſhed to the example of others, for often and vniuſtly moleſting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they diſdainefully contemned, as alſo that the ſaid Mahomet reſtore and pay vnto ours thirtie for 300 ſackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his cuſtome, and that from hence forth, neither the ſaid Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or perſon whatſoeuer doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about ther affaires.

6 That whereas certaine Iewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities ſolde them, haue not hitherto ſatiſfied them, notwithſtanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recouery of the ſame debts, but fled and abſented themſelues out of the Towne at the comming of the ſame, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiment, whatſoeuer may be found of theirs in goods, houſes, vineyards, or any other thing, may be ſold, and ours ſatiſfied of their ſaid debt, according to equitie and reaſon.

A commandement to *Patraſſo* in *Morea*.

WHen this commandement ſhall come vnto you, know you, that the Conſull of the Engliſh Nation in our port of Patraſſo, hath giuen vs to vnderſtand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that hauing paied once cuſtome for the currants bought to lade in their ſhips, they ſhall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Petraſſo, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another cuſtome of him, and requiring him to know why he ſo did contrary to our commandement, he anſwered vs, he tooke it not for cuſtome, but for a preſent. Moreouer the ſayd Conſull certified vs how that the ſaid Nadir contrary to to ancient cuſtome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will haue of the poore men money at his pleaſure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly ſell to vs at a much higher price, ſaying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that you looke to this matter betweene this Conſull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And ſee that our cōmandement in this matter be obſerued in ſuch ſort, as they hauing once in the port paied full cuſtome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of preſent, for that therein it is moſt certaine he doth them iniurie contrary to the Canon. And if with you ſhall be found to the value of one Aſper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, ſee it preſently reſtored to them, without any default. And from henceforth ſee that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Conſull and his hereafter haue no occaſion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwiſe. This know you for certaine, and giue credit to this my commaundement, which hauing read deliuer againe into the Conſuls handes. From Conſtantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for *Chio.*

VObis, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui eſtis in Chio, ſignificamus: quod sereniſſimæ Reginæ Maieſtatis Angliæ orator, qui eſt in excelſa porta per literas ſignificauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis veniſſet ad portum Chio, & illinc Conſtantinopolim recto curſu voluiſſet venire, & contra priuilegium detinuiſtis, & non ſiuiſtis venire. Hęc prædictus orator ſignificauit nobis: & petiuit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, vt naues Anglicæ veniant & redeant in noſtras ditiones Cæſareas, Priuilegium datum & conceſſum eſt ex parte Serenitatis Cæſareæ noſtræ: & huius priuilegij copia data eſt ſub inſigni noſtro. Et contra noſtrum priuilegium Cæſareum quod ita agitur, quæ eſt cauſa? Quando cum hoc mandato noſtro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, ſi nauis venerit ad portum veſtrum, & ſi res & merces ex naue exemerint, & vendiderint, & triceſſimam ſecundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manſerint Conſtantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et ſi aliquis contra priuilegium & articulos eius aliquid ageret, non ſinatis, nec vos facite: & impediri non ſinatis eos, vt rectà Conſtantinopolim venientes in ſuis negotiationibus ſine moleſtia eſſe poſſint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum & priuilegium noſtrum aliquid fecerit, nobis ſignificate. Huic mandato noſtro & inſigni fidem adhibete. In principio menſis Decembris.

A commandement for *Baliabadram.*

SEreniſſimæ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis ſupplicatorijs in porta noſtra fulgida ſignificauit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naues & homines eorum, contra priuilegium impedirentur & moleſtarentur. Inter nos enim & Reginam cum fœdus ſit, vt mercatores, homines & naues eorum contra priuilegium impediantur aut moleſtentur, nullo vnquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, vt literæ noſtræ Cæſareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in perſona propria cures, ſecundum quod conuenit, videaſq; ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, & alias ob cauſas venientibus hominibus, in ſumma Anglienſibus & nauibus eorum, & in nauibus exiſtentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & priuilegium, iniuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: ſed, vt conuenit, defendas, vt naues, mercatores, & homines, noſtri velut proprij ſubditi, liberi ab omni vi & iniuria permaneant, & negotijs ſuis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Ianiſſeri illos impedirent, ſignificatum eſt: vt illi illis nocumento ſint nullo modo concedimus. Iuxta tenorem mandati huius illos commonefacias, vt nihil quicquam contra fœdus faciant, ita vt nunquam huiuſmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expoſtulabimus. Negligentiam poſtponito, & inſigni Cęſareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for *Egypt.*

SCito, quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea exiſtens libellum ſupplicem ad portam noſtram mittens ſignificauit, quod cum ex Ægypto Conſul eorum abeſſet, Conſul illic Gallicus exiſtens, Vento nuncupatus, quamuis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum noſtrum fuerit datum, Angli ſub vexillo & tutela noſtra ſunt inquiens, mandatum Cæſareum vili exiſtimans, non ceſſauit perturbare Anglos. Quare ſcito quod Reginæ Angliæ priuilegium noſtrum eſt datum. Iuxta illud priuilegium Anglis nulla ratione Conſul Gallicus Conſulatum agat, neue manus immittat, mandatum noſtrum poſtulauit eius legatus. Quare mando, vt contra priuilegium noſtrum Conſul Gallicus Anglis iniuriam non inferat, neue Conſulatum agat. Iudici Ægypti literæ noſtræ ſunt datæ: hanc ob cauſam mando tibi quoque, vt iuxta illud mandatum noſtrum, contra priuilegium noſtrum Anglis Gallum Conſulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic ſcito, & inſigni meo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement of the Grand *Signior* to the *Cadie* or Iudge of *Alexandria.*

THe Embaſſadour for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Conſul Vento ſealing vp his fondego and chamber, tooke vnder his ſeale al his goods and marchandiſe into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be reſtored againe according to iuſtice vnto the Engliſhmen: wherefore we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commandement, you aſſemble thoſe of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not paſſed fiue yeeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate preſented vnto vs, that the foreſaid French Conſull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceaſed Engliſh marchant vnder his ſeale, that then you cauſe him to reſtore all the ſaid goods and marchandiſe ſealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the Engliſh marchants: doe in this matter according to iuſtice, and credite this our ſeale.

A commandement to the *Baſſa* of *Alexandria.*

THe Embaſſadour for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty of England by ſupplication certified vs, how that notwithſtanding our priuilege granted them to make Conſuls in al parts of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne cuſtome & law, to defend them againſt all wrongs and iniuries whatſoeuer; yet that the French Conſull affirming to thee that art Baſſa, that they were vnder his banner, and that he ſhould gouerne them, and ouerſee their buſineſſe, and hauing got a new priuilege, mentioning therein the Engliſh men to be vnder his banner, did by all meanes moleſt & trouble them, inſomuch that their Conſull oppreſſed with many iniuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didſt maintaine the French Conſul herein; whereupon the Embaſſadour required our commandement, that they might haue iuſtice for theſe iniuries: wherefore we command thee that hauing receiued this our commandement, you examine diligently that his priuilege, and ſend the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Conſull Vento hath by ſubtiltie got the aforeſaid priuilege written, that you then ſee him puniſhed, and ſuffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Conſuls to intermeddle with their buſineſſe. Obey this our commaundement, and giue credite to the ſeale.

A commaundement to the *Byes*, and *Cadies* of *Metelin* and *Rhodes*, and to all the *Cadies* and *Byes* in the way to *Conſtantinople.*

TO the Saniakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniacbies bordering on the ſea-coaſt, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coaſtes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embaſſadour of England required of vs our commaundement that their ſhips comming to Chio, & from thence to Conſtantinople, no man ſhould hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the ſea or on the land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ſhips comming to any of the ſaid places or ports with marchandiſe, if they themſelues will, they may ſell their commodities, & as much, and as litle as they will, and if it be in a place where cuſtome was not woont to be taken, hauing taken the cuſtome due by the olde Canon you ſuffer them not to bee iniuried, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietneſſe to Conſtantinople, and certifie vs of thoſe that be diſobedient to our commaundement, and giue credite to our ſeale. And hauing read this our commaundement, giue it to them againe.

A commaundement for *Aleppo.*

WHen my letters ſhal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her Embaſſador by ſupplication certified how that before this time we had giuen our cōmandement that the ſumme of 70 ducats, & other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, ſaying he was a Venetian, ſhould be giuen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they ſhould ſend all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treaſurie. But becauſe that man was an Engliſhman, the Embaſſadour required that the ſayde goods might not be diminiſhed, but that they might be reſtored to one of their Engliſhmen. This buſineſſe was ſignified vnto vs in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This buſineſſe pertaineth to the Engliſhmen, who haue in their handes our priuilege, according to which priuilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Againſt this priuilege do nothing, aſke nothing of them, but reſtore to euery one his goods. And I command that when my cōmandement ſhall come vnto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambaſſadour certified, and that they haue the priuilege, peruſe the ſame, looke that nothing be committed againſt it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, reſtore them their goods according to iuſtice, and take heede diligently in this buſineſſe: if another ſtrange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Engliſhman, let not his goods periſh among you. Before this time one of our Chauſes called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was ſent with our commaundement to ſende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you ſhall be puniſhed. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Engliſhman in veritie, doe not looſe the goods of the ſaid dead marchant vnder the name of a Venetian or Engliſhman, doe not to the diſcommoditie of my treaſurie, for after it will be hard to recouer it.

The voyage made to *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, in the yeere 1583. with a ſhip called the *Ieſus*, wherein the aduentures and diſtreſſes of ſome Engliſhmen are truely reported, and other neceſſary circumſtances obſerued. Written by *Thomas Sanders.*

This voyage was ſet forth by the right worſhipfull ſir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkiſh company, and one maſter Richard Staper, the ſhip being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Ieſus, ſhe was builded at Farmne a riuer by Portſmouth. The owners were maſter Thomas Thomſon, Nicholas Carnaby, and Iohn Gilman. The maſter was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Ierado a Frenchman, of the prouince of Marſeils: the purſer was one William Thomſon our owners ſonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs ſeruant vnto the ſaid maſter Staper. The owners were bound vnto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thouſand markes, that the ſaid ſhip by Gods permiſſion ſhould goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to ſay, firſt from Portſmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwiſe called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the Eaſt part of Africa, and ſo to returne vnto London. But here ought euery man to note and conſider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth diſappoint. The ſaid maſter hauing ſome occaſion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purſer, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the ſaid maſter, the purſer, and all the company: onely the ſaid Pilot by experience in ſwimming ſaued himſelfe: theſe were the beginnings of our ſorrowes. After which the ſaid maſters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this miſfortune, and the vnwillingneſſe of the maſters mate, did ſend downe one Richard Deimond, and ſhipped him for maſter, who did chuſe for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and ſo the ſaid ſhip departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to ſay, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. ſhe made ſaile from Portſmouth, and the 18 day then next following ſhe arriued at Newhauen, where our ſaide laſt maſter Deimond by a ſurfeit died. The factors then appointed the ſaid Andrew Dier, being then maſters mate, to be their maſter for that voiage, who did chuſe to be his Mates the two quarter maſters of the ſame ſhip, to wit, Peter Auſtine, and Shillabey, and for Purſer was ſhipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of Nouember we made ſaile forthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Porteſmouth, where we renued our victuals and other neceſſaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the firſt day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made foorthward againe, & by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntill the firſt day of Ianuary: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the ſaid moneth we arriued ſafely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made ſaile from thence, and about the 18 day of the ſame moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and alſo of the commons. The commodities of that place are ſweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himſelfe before his commons) requeſted our ſaid factors to traffique with him, and promiſed them that if they would

Man doth purpoſe, and God doth diſpoſe.

A new maſter choſen.

The new maſter died.

The Ieſus arriued in Tripolis.

would take his oiles at his owne price, they ſhould pay no maner of cuſtome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithſtanding the cuſtome free, they deſired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleaſure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, inſomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king cuſtome free, and ſo laded the ſame aboord.

Another ſhip of Briſtow came to Tripolis.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenſon in a ſhip of Briſtow, who together with our ſaid Factors tooke a houſe to themſelues there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings deſired to buy a commoditie in the market, and wanting money, deſired the ſaide Miles Dickenſon to lend him an hundred Chikinoes vntill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the ſame Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenſon in the ſtreete, and deliuered him money bound vp in a napkin: ſaying, maſter Dickenſon there is the money that I borowed of you, and ſo thanked him for the ſame: hee doubted nothing leſſe then falſhoode, which is ſeldome knowne among marchants, and ſpecially being together in one houſe, and is the more deteſtable betweene Chriſtians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The ſaid Dickenſon did not tell the money preſently, vntill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that euery Chikino is woorth ſeuen ſhillings of Engliſh money, he came to the ſayde Romane Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and aſked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him? Sonnings anſwered, an hundred: Dickenſon ſaid no: and ſo they proteſted and ſwore on both parts. But in the end the ſayd Romane Sonnings did ſweare deepely with deteſtable othes and curſes, and prayed God that hee might ſhewe his workes on him, that other might take enſample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if he did not deliuer vnto the ſayde Dickenſon an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blaſphemers, curſers and ſwearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to paſſe, that God ſheweth his miracles vpon ſuch monſtrous blaſphemers, to the enſample of others, as nowe hereafter you ſhall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

There was a man in the ſaid towne a pledge, whoſe name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings ſome pleaſure there. The foreſaid Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne, in the ſumme of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods ſent by him into Chriſtendome in a ſhip of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himſelfe remained in Tripolis as pledge vntill his ſaid brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arriuall into Chriſtendome, he came among lewde companie, and loſt his brothers ſaid ſhip and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

A conſpiracie practiſed by the French Factor, to deceiue a Turkiſh marchant of 450 crownes

The ſaid Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, conſulted with the ſaid Sonnings for to ſwimme a ſeaboorde the Iſlands, and the ſhip being then out of danger, ſhould take him in (as after was confeſſed) and ſo to goe to Tolon in the prouince of Marſeills with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

The ſhippe being readie the firſt day of May, and hauing her ſayles all aboorde, our ſayde Factors did take their leaue of the king, who very courteouſly bade them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Maſter and the companie haſtily to get out the ſhip: the Maſter anſwered that it was vnpoſſible, for that the winde was contrary and ouerblowed. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our bandes, that we ſhould doe our indeuour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the ſhippe, and preſently the king ſent a boate aboord of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the ſaide Sonnings to come a ſhoare: at whoſe comming, the king demaunded of him cuſtome for the oyles: Sonnings anſwered him that his highneſſe had promiſed to deliuer them cuſtome free. But notwithſtanding the king weighed not his ſaid promiſe, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee cauſed the ſayde Sonnings to pay the cuſtome to the vttermoſt penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haſte away, ſaying, that the Ianizaries would haue the oyle aſhoare againe.

The beginning of their troubles, and occaſion of all their miſerie.

Theſe Ianizaries are ſouldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboue the Kings. And ſo the ſaide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterſide, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foreſaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquiſitiue to know what man that was, Sonnings anſwered, that he was his countreyman, a paſſenger: I pray God ſaid the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then ſaid Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwiſe then well, I muſt anſwere for all.

Nowe the Turke vnto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, miſſing him (ſuppoſed him to be aboorde of our ſhippe) preſently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboord of the Engliſh ſhip, whereupon the King preſently ſent a boat aboord of vs, with three men in her, commanding the ſaid Sonnings to come a ſhoare, and not ſpeaking any thing as touching the man, he ſaide that hee would come preſently in his owne boate, but aſſoone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe foorth the ſhip, and ſaide that he would ſee the knaues hanged before he would goe a ſhoare. And when the king ſawe that he came not a ſhoare, but ſtill continued warping away the ſhippe, he ſtraight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to ſhoote three ſhootes without ball. Then we came all to the ſaid Sonnings, and aſked of him what the matter was that we were ſhot at, he ſaid that it was the Ianizaries who would haue the oyle a ſhoare againe, and willed vs to make haſte away, and after that he had diſcharged three ſhots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeuour to ſinke vs, but the Turkiſh gunners could not once ſtrike vs, wherefore the king ſent preſently to the Banio: (this Banio is the priſon wheras all the captiues lay at night) and promiſed if that there were any that could either ſinke vs, or elſe cauſe vs to come in againe, he ſhould haue a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebaſtian, which had bene an old ſeruitour in Flanders, and he ſaid, that vpon the performance of that promiſe, hee would vndertake either to ſinke vs, or to cauſe vs to come in againe, and thereto he would gage his life, and at the firſt ſhotte he ſplit our rudders head in pieces, and the ſecond ſhotte he ſtrake vs vnder the water, and the third ſhotte he ſhotte vs through our foremaſt with a Colvering ſhot, and thus he hauing rent both our rudder and maſte, and ſhot vs vnder water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebaſtian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, ſo promiſed by the ſaid king, but after his ſeruice done was committed againe to priſon, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants ſeeing no remedie, they together with fiue of our companie went a ſhoare, and then they ceaſed ſhooting: they ſhot vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie ſhootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a ſhoare, the King commaunded preſently that they with the reſt of our companie that were with them, ſhould be cheined foure & foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ſhip, there came preſently aboue an hundred Turks aboord of vs, and they ſearched vs, and ſtript our very clothes from our backes, & brake open our cheſts, and made a ſpoyle of all that we had: and the Chriſtian caitifes likewiſe that came a boord of vs made ſpoyle of our goods, and vſed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our maſters mate hauing a Geneua Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who ſhewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went preſently to the kings treaſurer, and tolde him of it, ſaying, that ſith it was the will of God that we ſhould fall into their handes, yet that they ſhould grant vs to vſe our conſciences to our owne diſcretion, as they ſuffered the Spaniards and other nations to vſe theirs, and he granted vs: then I told him that the maiſter gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treaſurer went preſently and commaunded him to deliuer vp the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I ſhewed the Treaſurer of it, and preſently he commaunded him to deliuer it againe: ſaying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Chriſtianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that firſt was a Chriſtian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and ſo he deliuered me the Bible the ſecond time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and ſpake theſe wordes, ſaying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in deſpight of thee, and tooke it from me, ſaying: If thou tell the kings treaſurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be reuenged of thee. Notwithſtanding I went the third time vnto the kings Treaſurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, ſaying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou ſhalt haue an hundred baſtonadoes. And foorthwith he deliuered me the booke, ſaying, he had not the value of a pin of the ſpoyle of the ſhip, which was the better for him, as hereafter you ſhall heare: for there was none, neither Chriſtian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from vs, but periſhed both bodie and goods within ſeuenteene moneths following, as hereafter ſhall plainely appeare.

Then came the Guardian Baſha, which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a ſhoare, and then I remembring the miſerable eſtate of poore diſtreſſed captiues, in the time of their bondage to thoſe infidels, went to mine owne cheſt, and tooke out thereof a iarre of oyle, and filled a baſket full of white Ruſke to carie a ſhoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkiſh boyes had taken away almoſt all my bread, and the keeper ſaide, deliuer me the iarre of oyle, and when thou commeſt to the Banio thou ſhalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and ſawe our Marchants and all the reſt of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receiue the ſame reward, what heart in the world is there ſo hard, but would haue pitied our cauſe, hearing or ſeeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the firſt of May, 1584.

And the ſecond day of the ſame moneth, the King with all his counſell ſate in iudgement vpon vs. The firſt that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Maſters, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a ſhoare when he ſent for them. And Romaine Sonnings anſwered, that though he were king on ſhoare, and might commaunde there, ſo was hee as touching thoſe that were vnder him: and therefore ſaid, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my ſelfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the ſaide Romaine Sonnings ſhould be hanged ouer the Northeaſt bulwarke, from whence he conueyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Maſter Andrew Dier, and vſed fewe wordes to him, and ſo condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Weſternmoſt bulwarke.

The Engliſhmen araigned.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and ſaid, I beſeech your highneſſe either to pardon our Maſter, or elſe ſuffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cauſe. And then the people of that countrey fauouring the ſaid Richard Skegs beſought the king to pardon them both. So then the king ſpake theſe wordes: Beholde, for thy ſake, I pardon the Maſter. Then preſently the Turkes ſhouted, and cried, ſaying: Away with the Maſter from the preſence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde vs what had happened, and we all reioyced at the good hap of maſter Skegs, that hee was ſaued, and our Maſter for his ſake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double ſorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counſell had aduiſed him, that vnleſſe the Maſter died alſo, by the lawe they could not confiſcate the ship nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king ſent for our Maſter againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cauſe, which was that hee ſhould be hanged. Here all true Chriſtians may ſee what truſt a Chriſtian man may put in an infidels promiſe, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the ſame cauſe before a whole multitude: and alſo promiſed our Factors their oyles cuſtome free, and at their going away made them pay the vttermoſt penie for the cuſtome thereof.

Maſter Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

And when that Romaine Sonnings ſaw no remedy but that he ſhould die, he proteſted to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue ſaued his life. Then ſaide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, ſpeake the words that thereunto belong: and he did ſo. Then ſaide they vnto him, Now thou ſhalt die in the faith of a Turke, and ſo hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned ſlaue perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foreſaid ſumme of money.

A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number ſixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the firſt day wee came on ſhoare, by the viſitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned ſlaues perpetually vnto the great Turke, and the ſhip and goods were confiſcated to the vſe of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thankes for this ſorrowfull viſitation, and giuing our ſelues wholy to the Almightie power of God, vnto whom all ſecrets are knowen, that he of his goodneſſe would vouchſafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Chriſtian hearts ſee the wonderfull workes of God ſhewed vpon ſuch infidels, blaſphemers, whoremaſters, and renegate Chriſtians, and ſo you ſhall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the ſaid goods.

But firſt to ſhewe our miſerable bondage and ſlauerie, and vnto what ſmall pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fiue men had allowance but fiue aſpers of bread in a day, which is but two pence Engliſh: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very ſimple cape to couer vs, wee were alſo forceably and moſt violently ſhauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and ſixe more of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were ſent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekiſh Carmoſell, which came into Africa to ſteale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked aboue the girdle, and the Boteſwaine of the Galley walked abaft the maſte, and his Mate afore the maſte, and eche of them a bulls piſſell dried in their handes, and when their diueliſh choller roſe, they would ſtrike

Euery fiue men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

the Chriſtians for no cauſe: And they allowed vs but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of ſuſtenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee ſaw the Carmoſell, we were not ſuffered to haue neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred baſtonadoes: wee were then alſo cruelly manackled in ſuch ſort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote aſunder the one from the other, and euery night they ſearched our chaines three times, to ſee if they were faſt riueted: Wee continued fight with the Carmoſell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and loſt but two of our men in that fight, but there were ſlaine of the Greekes fiue, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were ſound, were preſently made ſlaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of ſlauerie. I was put to hewe ſtones, and other to cary ſtones, and ſome to draw the Cart with earth, and ſome to make morter, and ſome to draw ſtones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of ſlauerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the huſbandmen of the countrey, rebelled againſt the king, becauſe he would haue conſtrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, ſo that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to haue ioyned battell againſt the Moores for their rebellion, and the King ſent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawen by the captiues twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the ſight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Chriſtians more were ſent twelue miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the ſame day.

The Turkes builded a church.

Nowe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne: and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct vs the way: he ſayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other: and hee ſaid, Eaſt Northeaſt, and Weſt Southweſt. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell aſleepe, and the guide and all the reſt rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my ſelfe alone durſt not call nor hallow, for feare leaſt the wilde Moores ſhould heare me, becauſe they holde this opinion, that in killing a Chriſtian they do God good ſeruice: and muſing with my ſelfe what were beſt for me to do, if I ſhould goe foorth, and the wilde Moores ſhould hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other ſide, if I ſhould returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I ſhould be moſt miſerably vſed: therefore of two euils, rather I had to goe foorth to the looſing of my life, then to turne backe and truſt to their mercie, fearing to bee vſed as before I had ſeene others: for vnderſtanding by ſome of my company before, howe Tripolis and the ſaide wood did lie one off another, by the North ſtarre I went forth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee reſted and gaue our camels prouender, and aſſoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I ſeeing no wood there, but a ſticke here and a ſticke there, about the bigneſſe of a mans arme growing in the ſand, it cauſed mee to marueile how ſo many camels ſhould be loden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it vp by ſtrength of hands rootes and all, which a man might eaſily do, and ſo gathered it together, a little at one place and ſo at another, and laded our camels, and came home about ſeuen of the clocke that night folowing: becauſe I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

The Chriſtians ſent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whoſe name was Benedetto Venetiano, and ſeuenteene captiues more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in ſight of an Iſland called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the ſhoare, & very faire weather, one of their company ſaid, In diſpetto de dio adeſſo venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to ſay: In the deſpite of God I ſhall now fetch the ſhoare, and preſently there aroſe a mighty ſtorme, with thunder and raine, and the wind at North, their boate being very ſmall, ſo that they were inforced to beare vp roome, and to ſteare right afore the winde ouer againſt the coaſt of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing vp and downe the coaſt, their victuals being ſpent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come aſhoare, thinking to haue ſtolne ſome ſheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiuing their intent, gathered together a threeſcore horſemen, and hid themſelues behinde a ſandie hill, and when the Chriſtians were come all a ſhoare, and paſt vp halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and ſome of them purſued the Chriſtians, and ſo they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had

Eighteene captiues run away from Tripolis.

The iudgement of God vpon blaſphemers.

had before eſcaped: and preſently the king commaunded that the foreſaide Benedetto with one more of his company ſhould loſe their eares, and the reſt ſhould be moſt cruelly beaten, which was preſently done. This king had a ſonne which was a ruler in an Iſland called Gerbi, whereunto arriued an Engliſh ſhippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Maſter one M. Blonket, who hauing a very vnhappy boy in that ſhippe, and vnderſtanding that whoſoeuer would turne Turke ſhould be well enterteined of the kings ſonne, this boy did runne a ſhoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings ſonne came to Tripolis to viſite his father, and ſeeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purſer, and Iames Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very deſirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his deſire, ſaying: We are your fathers ſlaues, and as ſlaues wee will ſerue him. Then his father the king ſent for them, and aſked them if they would turne Turkes? And they ſaide: If it pleaſe your highneſſe, Chriſtians we were borne, and ſo we will remaine, and beſeeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his houſe a ſonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings ſonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelſon: him the king cauſed to be brought to theſe yong men, and then ſaid vnto them: Wil not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they ſaide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings ſonne went home to Gerbi againe, being ſixe ſcore miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foreſaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and Iames Smith: and after their departure from vs, they ſent vs a letter, ſignifying that there was no violence ſhewed vnto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently vſed, for that the kings ſonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then anſwered Richard Burges, a Chriſtian I am, and ſo I will remaine. Then the kings ſonne very angerly ſaid vnto him: By Mahomet thou ſhalt preſently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did ſo, and circumciſed him, and would haue had him ſpeake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he anſwered them ſtoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet ſayd he, A Chriſtian I was borne, and ſo I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwiſe.

The Greene Dragon.

The kings ſonne, had a captiue that was ſonne to one of the Queenes Maieſties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce alſo: but he was very ſtrong, for it was ſo much as eight of the kings ſonnes men could doe to holde him, ſo in the ende they circumciſed him, and made him Turke. Now to paſſe ouer a litle, and ſo to ſhewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miſerable captiuitie.

In May aforeſaid, ſhortly after our apprehenſion, I wrote a letter into England vnto my father dwelling in Tauiſtoke in Deuonſhire, ſignifying vnto him the whole eſtate of our calamities: and I wrote alſo to Conſtantinople to the Engliſh Embaſſadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderſtood the trueth of our miſhap, and the occaſion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in ſhort ſpace acquainted her highneſſe with the whole cauſe thereof, and her Maieſtie like a moſt mercifull princeſſe tendering her Subiects, preſently tooke order for our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worſhipful ſir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all ſpeed to the Engliſh Embaſſadour in Conſtantinople, to procure our deliuery: and he obteined the great Turkes Commiſſion, and ſent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Maſter Edward Barton, together with a Iuſtice of the great Turkes, and one ſouldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could ſpeake beſides Greeke, Turkiſh, Italian, Spaniſh and Engliſh. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the firſt night they did lie in a Captaines houſe in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for ioy to Maſter Barton and the other Commiſſioners to ſee them. Then maſter Barton ſaid vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly interteined vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two ſhillings, and ſaid, Serue God, for to morrow I hope you ſhall be as free as euer you were; We all gaue him thankes and ſo departed.

The firſt motion for thoſe Engliſhmens deliuerie.

The next day in the morning very early, the King hauing intelligence of their comming, ſent word to the keeper, that none of the Engliſhmen (meaning our company) ſhould goe to worke. Then he ſent for Maſter Barton and the other Commiſſioners, and demaunded of the ſaide Maſter Barton his meſſage: the Iuſtice anſwered, that the great Turke his Soueraigne had ſent them vnto him, ſignifying that he was informed that a certaine Engliſh ſhippe, called the Ieſus, was by him the ſaide king confiſcated, about twelue moneths ſince, and nowe my ſaide Soueraigne hath here ſent his eſpeciall commiſſion by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the ſaide ſhippe and goods, and alſo the free libertie and deliuerance of the Engliſhmen of the ſame ſhippe, whom you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the ſame Iuſtice ſaide, I am authorized by my

ſaid

The Engliſhmen releaſed.

ſaid ſoueraigne the great Turke to ſee it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commiſſion, preſently to make reſtitution of the premiſſes or the value thereof: and ſo did the Iuſtices deliuer vnto the King the great Turkes commiſſion to the effect aforeſaide, which commiſſion the king with all obedience receiued: and after the peruſing of the ſame, he foorthwith commanded all the Engliſh captiues to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to ſtrike off all our yrons, which done, the king ſaid, You Engliſhmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the ſame lawes therefore ſome of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithſtanding, ſeeing it hath pleaſed my ſoueraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your ſaid offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make deliuery of you to this Engliſh Gentleman: ſo hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Maſter Barton, who required alſo thoſe two yong men which the Kings ſonne had taken with him. Then the king anſwered that it was againſt their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ſhip and goods, the king ſaid, that he had ſolde her, but would make reſtitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his hands, and ſo the king aroſe and went to dinner, and commaunded a Iew to goe with Maſter Barton and the other commiſſioners, to ſhew them their lodging, which was a houſe prouided and appointed them by the ſaid king. And becauſe I had the Italian & Spaniſh tongues, by which their moſt trafique in that countrey is, Maſter Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and deliuered me money needfull for the ſame. Thus were wee ſet at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plagues and puniſhments that happened to the King and his people.

The king loſt 150. Camels, taken by the wilde Moores.

Two Engliſhmen ſhipped to Conſtantinople with M. Barton.

The ſouldiers of Tripolis kil the King.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and puniſhments, which Almighty God at his will and pleaſure ſendeth vpon men in the ſight of the worlde, and likewiſe of the plagues that befell his children and others aforeſaide. Firſt when wee were made bondmen, being the ſecond day of May 1584. the king had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the ſame day that wee were made bondſlaues: that preſent moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearſed: and on the fourth day of Iune next following the king loſt 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the ſaide moneth of Iune, one Geffrey Malteſe, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and ſtole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Chriſtians withall, and caried with him twelue Chriſtians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the tenth day of Iuly next following, the king road foorth vpon the greateſt and faireſt mare that might be ſeene, as white as any ſwanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his houſe, but on a ſudden the ſame mare fell downe vnder him ſtarke dead, and I with ſixe more were commaunded to burie her, ſkinne, ſhoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliuerie, Maſter Barton, with all the reſidue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a veſſell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriuall at Zante wee remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our veſſell, before wee coulde haue Platego (that is, leaue to come a ſhoare) becauſe the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a ſhoare, thither came another Settea of Marſeils bound for Conſtantinople. Then did Maſter Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, ſhippe themſelues as paſſengers in the ſame Settea, and went to Conſtantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, ſhipt our ſelues in a ſhippe of the ſaid Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the ſouldiers of Tripolie killed the ſaid king. And then the Kings ſonne, according to the cuſtome there, went to Conſtantinople, to ſurrender vp all his fathers treaſure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the great Turke, and tooke with him our ſaide Purſer Richard Burges, and Iames Smith, and alſo the other two Engliſhmen, which he the ſaid kings ſonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforeſayd. And they the ſaid Engliſhmen finding now ſome opportunitie, concluded with the Chriſtian captiues which were going with them vnto Conſtantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings ſonne, and all the Turkes which were aboorde of the Galley, and priuily the ſaide Engliſhmen conueyed vnto the ſaide Chriſtian captiues, weapons for that purpoſe. And when they came into the maine Sea, towarde Conſtantinople (vpon the faithfull promiſe of the ſayde Chriſtian captiues) theſe foure Engliſhmen lept ſuddenly into the Croſſia, that is, into the middeſt of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their ſwordes drawne, did fight againſt all the foreſaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the ſaide Chriſtian captiues, who falſly brake their promiſes, the ſaid Maſter Blonkets boy was killed, and the ſayde Iames Smith, and our Purſer Richard Burges, and the other Engliſhman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arriuall in Conſtantinople: and as the Lords will was, about two dayes after, paſſing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Iſland called Cephalonia, they met with two of the Duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they ſaued the Chriſtian captiues, and would haue killed the two Engliſhmen becauſe they were circumciſed, and become Turkes, had not the other Chriſtian captiues excuſed them, ſaying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings ſonne, and ſhewed the Venetians alſo, how they did enterpriſe at ſea to fight againſt all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were ſlaine in that fight. Then the Venetians ſaued them, and they, with all the reſidue of the ſaid captiues, had their liberties, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the ſaide Gallie, and all the Turkes treaſure was confiſcated to the vſe of the ſtate of Venice. And from thence our two Engliſhmen trauelled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight ſhipped themſelues at Zante, in a ſhippe of the ſaid Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arriued the Aſſenſion, and the George Bonauenture of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogoſtoria, whoſe Merchants agreed with the Marchants of our ſhippe and ſo laden al the merchandiſe of our ſhippe into the ſaid ſhippe of London, who tooke vs eight in as paſſengers, and ſo we came home, and within two moneths after our arriuall at London, our ſaid Purſer Richard Burges, and his fellow came home alſo: for the which we are bound to praiſe Almightie God, during our liues, and as duetie bindeth vs, to pray for the preſeruation of our moſt gracious Queene, for the great care her Maieſtie had ouer vs, her poore Subiects, in ſeeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforeſaide: and alſo for her honourable priuie Counſell, and I eſpeciall for the proſperitie and good eſtate of the houſe of the late deceaſed, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whoſe honour I muſt confeſſe, moſt diligently at the ſuite of my father now departed, trauelled herein: for the which I reſt continually bounden to him, whoſe ſoule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almightie, vnto which place he vouchſafe to bring vs all, that for our ſinnes ſuffered moſt vile and ſhamefull death vpon the Croſſe, there to liue perpetually world without ende, Amen.

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and all the Turkes in it, and releaſed all the Chriſtians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the *Turke* 1584. for the reſtitution of the ſhippe called the *Ieſus*, and the *Engliſh* captiues detained in *Tripolie* in *Barbarie*, and for certaine other priſoners in *Argier*.

ELIZABETHA, Dei ter maximi & vnici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Chriſtianæ contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, Chriſtique nomen falſò profitentium idololatrias, inuictiſſima & potentiſſima defenſatrix: auguſtiſſimo, inuictiſſimóque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Muſulmanici regni dominatori potentiſſimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo ſalutem, & multos cum ſumma rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Auguſtiſſime & potentiſſime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem ſcripſimus, vt dilectus noſter famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatiſſimus pro legato noſtro Conſtantinopoli, alijſque Muſulmanici imperij ditionibus, ſublimi veſtra authoritate reciperetur: ſimul etiam Angli ſubditi noſtri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis prouincijs exerceant, non minus liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæterique veſtri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant, operam nauantes, vt mutuis commercijs coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quæ priuilegia, cum noſtris ſubditis Anglis inuictiſſima veſtra Maieſtas literis & diplomate ſuo liberaliſſimè indulſerit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noſter capere poteſt gratias, eo nomine ageremus: ſperantes fore, vt hæc inſtituta commerciorum ratio maximas vtilitates, & commoda vtrinque, tam in imperij veſtri ditiones, quàm regni noſtri prouincias ſecum adferat.

Id vt planè fiat, cùm nuper ſubditi noſtri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argellæ ab eius loci incolis voluntatem veſtram fortè neſcientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem beneuolè rogamus, vt per Legatum noſtrum eorum cauſam cognoſcas, & poſtremò earum prouinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, vt noſtri liberè in illis locis, ſine vi aut iniuria deinceps verſari, & negotia gerere poſſint.

Et nos omni opera viciſſim ſtudebimus ea omnia præſtare, quæ Imperatoriæ veſtræ Maieſtati vllo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutiſſimè incolumem & florentem ſeruet. Datæ in palatio noſtro Londini, quinto die Menſis Septembris: anno IESV CHRISTI Seruatoris noſtri, 1584. Regni verò noſtri viceſſimo ſexto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth, by the grace of the moſt high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Chriſtian faith, againſt all the Idolaters and falſe profeſſors of the Name of CHRIST dwelling among the Chriſtians, moſt inuincible and puiſſant defender: to the moſt valiant and inuincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Muſulman, and of the Eaſt Empire the onely and higheſt Monarch aboue all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the beſt things.

Moſt noble and puiſſant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe paſſed, wee wrote vnto your Imperiall Maieſtie, that our welbeloued ſeruant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receiued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambaſſadour in Conſtantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Muſulman: And alſo that the Engliſhmen, being our Subiects, might exerciſe entercourſe and marchandize in all thoſe Prouinces, no leſſe freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which trauelle through diuers of the Eaſt parts: endeuouring that by mutuall trafique, the Eaſt may be ioyned and knit to the Weſt.

Which priuileges, when as your moſt puiſſant Maieſtie, by your letters and vnder your diſpenſation moſt liberally and fauourably granted to our Subiects of England, wee could no leſſe doe, but in that reſpect giue you as great thankes, as our heart could conceiue, truſting that it will come to paſſe, that this order of trafique, ſo well ordeined, will bring with it ſelfe moſt great profits and commodities to both ſides, as well to the parties ſubiect to your Empire, as to the Prouinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas ſome of our Subiects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of thoſe places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleaſure) euill intreated and grieuouſly vexed, wee doe friendly and louingly deſire your Imperiall Maieſtie, that you will vnderſtand their cauſes by our Ambaſſadour, and afterward giue commaundement to the Lieutenants and Preſidents of thoſe Prouinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, trauelle, and do their buſineſſe in thoſe places.

And we againe with all endeuour, ſhall ſtudie to performe all thoſe things, which we ſhall in any wiſe vnderſtand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maieſtie, which God, the onely maker of the world, moſt beſt and moſt great, long keepe in health, and flouriſhing. Giuen in our pallace at London, the fiſt day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The *Turkes* letter to the King of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, commanding the reſtitution of an *Engliſh* ſhip, called the *Ieſus*, with the men, and goods, ſent from *Conſtantinople*, by *Mahomet Beg*, a Iuſtice of the Great *Turkes*, and an Engliſh Gentleman, called Maſter *Edward Barton*. Anno 1584.

HOnourable, and worthy Baſſa Romadan Beglerbeg, moſt wiſe and prudent Iudge of the Weſt Tripolis, wee wiſh the ende of all thy enterpriſes happie, and proſperous. By theſe our highneſſe letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambaſſadour in our moſt famous Porch, for the moſt excellent Queenes Maieſtie of England, in perſon, and by letters hath certified our highneſſe, that a certaine ſhippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thouſand duckets, arriuing in the port of Tripolis, and diſcharged of her lading and marchandize, paide our cuſtome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their ſhippe with oyle, which by conſtraint they were inforced to buy of you, & hauing anſwered in like maner the cuſtome for the ſame, determined to depart: a Frenchman aſſiſtant to the Marchant, vnknowen to the Engliſhmen, caried away with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force cauſed the Engliſhmen, and ſhippe to depart: who neither ſuſpecting fraude, nor deceite, hoiſed ſailes. In the meane time, this man, whoſe debter the Frenchman had ſtollen away, went to the Baſſa with the ſupplication, by whoſe meanes, and force of the Caſtle, the Engliſhmen were conſtrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the euill, with the Maſter of the ſhip an Engliſhman,

liſhman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and ſixe and twentie Engliſhmen caſt into priſon, of whom through famine, thirſt, and ſtinke of the priſon, eleuen died, and the reſt like to die. Further, it was ſignified to our Maieſtie alſo, that the marchandiſe and other goods, with the ſhippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be ſo, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maieſtie, that the Engliſh ſhippe, and all the marchandize, and whatſoeuer elſe taken away bee wholy reſtored, and that the Engliſhmen be let goe free, and ſuffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement ſhall come vnto thee, wee ſtraightly commaund, that the foreſaid buſineſſe be diligently looked vnto, and diſcharged. And if it be ſo, that a Frenchman, and no Engliſhman hath done this craft, and wickedneſſe vnknowen to the Engliſhmen, and as authour of the wickedneſſe is puniſhed, and that the Engliſhmen committed nothing againſt the peace and league, or their articles: alſo if they payd cuſtome according to order, it is againſt law, cuſtome of Countreys, and their priuilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their ſhippe, marchandiſe, and all their goods taken, ſhould be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the Engliſh ſhippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be reſtored to the Engliſhmen: alſo that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this buſineſſe is diſpatched, certifie vs at our moſt famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Conſtantinople, in the *992.* yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of IESVS 1584.

A letter of Maſter *VVilliam Hareborne*, the Engliſh Ambaſſadour, Ligier in *Conſtantinople*, to the *Baſſa Romadan*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, for the reſtoring of an Engliſh ſhippe called the Ieſus, with the goods, and men, detained as ſlaues, Anno 1585.

MOlto magnifico Signor,

Noi ha ſtato ſignificato per diuerſe lettere di quanto ha paſſato circa di vna naue noſtra chiamata Ieſus, ſopra il quale in aginto di Ricciardo Skegs, *vno de gli noſtri mercanti di eſſa gia morto, venina vn certo Franceſe per ſopra cargo, chiamato* Romano Sonings, *il quale per non eſſer ben portato ſecondo che doueua, volendo importar ſeco vn altro Franceſe debitore a certi voſtri ſenſa pagarcene, per giuſticia era appiccato col patron Ingleſe* Andre Dier, *che come ſimplice credendo al detto Franceſe, ſenza auedercene de la ſua ria malitia, non retornaua, quando da voſtra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto triſto Franceſe approuiamo como coſa benfatta. Ma al contrario, doue lei ha confiſcato la detta naue e mercantia en eſſa, & fatto ſciaui li marinari, como coſa molto contraria a li priuilegij dal* Gran Signor *quattro anni paſſati conceſſi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Sereniſſima Mageſta* d'Ingilterra *noſtra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto* Gran Signor, *il quale eſſendo dal ſopra detto a pieno informato, noi ha conceduto il ſuo regale mandamento di reſtitutione, la qual mandiamo a voſtra magnifica Signoria col preſente portator* Edoardo Barton, *noſtro Secretario, &* Mahumed Beg, *droguemano di ſua porta excelſa, con altre lettere del excellentiſſimo Vizir, & inuictiſſimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del* Gran Signor, *quanto di ſua Sereniſſima Mageſta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglij, naue col fornimento, danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei & per veſtro ordine da gli noſtri tolti ſiano reſi à queſto mio Secretario liberamente ſenza empacho alcuno, como il* Gran Signor *da ſua gratia noi ha conceduto, ſpecialmente per eſſer detti oglij comprati per ordine di ſua Sereniſſima Mageſtà, per prouiſione della Corte ſua. Il qual non facendo, proteſtiamo per queſta noſtra al incontra di eſſo tutti futuri danni che puono ſuccedere per queſta cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni noſtri, como per li priuilegij, che lei moſtrerà il noſtro, conſta: per obſeruatione de gli quali noi ſtiamo di fermo en queſta excelſa Porta. Et coſi reſponderete nel altro mondo al ſolo Iddio, & quà al* Gran Signor *queſto maſſimo peccato commeſſo da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per queſta crudeltà ſono in parte morti, in parte retenuti da eſſo en duro cattiuerio. Al contrario, piacendo lei euitar queſto incommodo & reſtarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li noſtri patroni, amicheuolmente, (como conuien à par voſtro di moſtrarſi prudente gouernatore, & fidel ſeruitor al patrono) adimpirete queſta noſtra giuſtiſſima domanda, per poter reſultarni à grand honore & commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a laduenire li noſtri in quella voſtra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riſcontrarete, ſiano, ſecondo che manda il* Grand Signor, *de voſtra Signoria magnifica amicheuolmente recolti & receuuti: Et noi non mancharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza voſtra, piacendo lei amicitia noſtra, como deſideramo. Il*

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

Signor Iddio lei conceda (adimpiendo queſta noſtra giuſta rechieſta, per cauar noi di piu futura fatica in queſto negocio, & lei di diſgratia) ogni vera felicitá, & ſupremo honore. Data in palazzo noſtro che fu da Rapamat appreſſo Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Il Ambaſſiatore de la Majeſta Sereniſſima d'Ingilterra, amico
de voſtra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Right honourable Lord, it hath bene ſignified vnto vs by diuers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine ſhippe of ours, called the Ieſus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our Marchants in the ſame, nowe deceaſed, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behauiour, according to his deſerts, ſeeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by ſentence of iuſtice, together with Andrew Dier, the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip, who ſimply and without fraude, giuing credite to the ſaid Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordſhip. The death of the ſaid lewde Frenchman we approoue as a thing well done, but contrarywiſe, whereas your Lordſhip hath confiſcated the ſaid ſhip with the goods therein, and hath made ſlaues of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the priuileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres ſince, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe of the moſt excellent the Queenes Maieſtie of England our Myſtreſſe, and altogether contrary to the league of the ſaide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforeſaid cauſe, hath granted vnto vs his royall commandement of reſtitution, which we ſend vnto your honourable Lordſhip, by the preſent bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Iuſtices of his ſtately Court, with other letters of the moſt excellent Admirall, and moſt valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordſhip, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie my Myſtreſſe, that the men, oyles, ſhippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatſoeuer, by your Lordſhip, and your order taken from our men, be reſtored vnto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodneſſe hath graunted vnto vs, eſpecially in regard that the ſame oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, for the prouiſion of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee proteſt by theſe our leters againſt you, that you are the cauſe of all the inconueniences which may enſue vpon this occaſion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league ſworne by both our Princes, as by the priuileges, which this our ſeruant will ſhewe you, may appeare. For the ſeeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this ſtately Court. And by this meanes you ſhall anſwere in another world vnto God alone, and in this world vnto the Grand Signior, for this hainous ſinne committed by you againſt ſo many poore ſoules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in moſt miſerable captiuitie. Contrarywiſe, if it ſhall pleaſe you to auoyd this miſchiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you ſhall friendly fulfill this our iuſt demaund (as it behoueth you to ſhew your ſelfe a prudent Gouernour, and faithfull ſeruant vnto your Lord) and the ſame may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may vſe in that gouernment of yours: which generally, as well thoſe poore men, as all others, which you ſhall meete at the ſea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and receiued of your honourable Lordſhip, and we will not faile in the dueties of a ſpeciall friend, whenſoeuer you ſhal haue occaſion to vſe vs, as we deſire. Almighty God grant vnto your Lordſhip (in the fulfilling of this our iuſt requeſt, whereby wee may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your ſelfe from further diſpleaſure) all true felicitie, and increaſe of honour.

Giuen in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the 15. of Ianuarie 1585.

The voyage of Maſter *Henry Auſtell* by *Venice* and thence to *Raguſa* ouer land, and ſo to *Conſtantinople*: and from thence by *Moldauia*, *Polonia*, *Sileſia* and *Germanie* to *Hamburg*, &c.

The 9. of Iune we tooke ſhipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Iſle of Walcheren with very ſtormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the ſame Iſland.

The twelft we tooke ſhipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the ſame day went to Delft by boat, and ſo that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke ſhipping at Amſterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuyſen.

The 19. we tooke ſhipping and by the Zuyderſee we paſſed that day the Vlie, and ſo into the maine ſea; And the next day we entred into the riuer of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the ſame riuer before a towne of the biſhop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and ſpecially for wine, and ſo that night wee landed at Hamburg, where we ſtayde three dayes.

Hamburg.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Pariſh Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntſon, and ſo ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and trauailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Maſter Sanders vpon the heathes, and paſſed by a towne of the duke of Lunenborg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an Engliſh mile of Brunſwig.

Brunſwig.

The 27. we lay at Halberſtat, which is a great towne ſubiect to the biſhop of that towne.

Halberſtat.

The 28. we baited at Erinſleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the ſame night we lay at a towne called Eiſleben, where Martine Luther was borne.

Eiſleben.

The 29. we paſſed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and ſo that night went to Neuburg vpon the riuer of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire.

Copper Mines.

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the ſame riuer, and the ſame night wee lay at Cone vpon that riuer.

Iena.

The firſt of Iuly we baited at Salfeld: and the ſame day we entred firſt into the great woods of firre trees, and that night to Greuandal; The ſecond to dinner to Neuſtat.

Great woods of firre trees.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee paſſed the riuer of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim.

Bamberg.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there ſtayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield.

Nurenberg.

The 7. we paſſed without Weiſſenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we paſſed the riuer of Danubius at Tonewertd, and ſo to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augſpurg, otherwiſe called Auguſta, vpon the riuer of Lech.

Augſpurg.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the ſaid riuer, in the duke of Bauars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Suanego, and that night to Hamber againſt the mountaines, where the ſmall copes be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk,, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Auſtria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inſpruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of braſſe with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we paſſed by Stizen, and dined at Priſena, and ſo that night to Cluſen,

The 14. to dinner at Bolſan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we paſſed the dangerous place, where ſo many murthers haue bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.

The borders of Italy.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the laſt toll of the Emperour is: and ſo we came by Churſa, which is a ſtreight paſſage. And the keeper thereof is drawne vp by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at caſtle Franco: by the way we ſtayed at Taruiſo, and there tooke coche, and that night came to Meſtre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we ſtayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicolas de Ponte died, and we ſaw his burial. The Senators were continually ſhut vp together, as the maner is, to chuſe a newe duke, which was not yet choſen when we departed from thence.

Venice.

The 2. of Auguſt at night wee did embarke our ſelues vpon the Frigate of Cattaro, an hauen neere Raguſa. The 3. we came to a towne in Iſtria called Citta noua.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and ſo that night to Forcera of the biſhop.

The 5. we paſſed by Rouignio: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Galies of the Venetians: we paſſed in the ſight of Pola; and the ſame day paſſed the gulfe that parteth Iſtria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of Auguſt we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a ſtrong towne of the Venetians; and ſo that night to Sebenico, which ſtandeth in a maruellous goodly hauen, with a ſtrong caſtle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on ſhore, but trauelled all night.

The 8. we paſſed by a very wel ſeated town called Curzola, which ſtandeth in an iſland of that name. The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Raguſa, and there ſtayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen.

Raguſa.

The 11. being prouided of a Ianizarie we departed from Raguſa in the company of halfe a dozen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. So

Seruia.

Chierniſa.

trauelling in barren and craggie mountaines for the ſpace of foure dayes, wee came by a ſmall Towne of the Turkes called Chierniſa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.

Or, *Fochia.

The 16. we dined in a Cauarſara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taſlizea.

Nouibazar.

The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted frõ thence, trauailing ſtil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in yͤ fields.

Or, Niſſa.

The 22. we paſſed within ſight of Nicea.

The 23. we paſſed in ſight of another towne called Circui: and about thoſe places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worſe.

Sophia.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee ſtayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants houſe of Raguſa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and alſo wee had in company, euer ſince wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with vs till we came very neere Conſtantinople.

Philippopoli.

The firſt of September we came to Philippopoli, which ſeemeth to be an ancient towne, and ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.

Andrinopolis.

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which ſtandeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauarzaras, that were built by Mahomet Baſſha with ſo many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Siliueri.

The 8. we came to Siliueri, which by report was the laſt towne that remained Chriſtian.

Conſtantinople.

The 9. of September wee arriued at the great and moſt ſtately Citie of Conſtantinople, which for the ſituation and proude ſeate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and ſumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moſchea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whoſe name was Amurat, kept his Court and reſidence, in a marueilous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houſes of pleaſure, which is at the leaſt two Engliſh miles in compaſſe, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the ſea: and on the Northeaſt part of the Citie on the other ſide of the water ouer againſt the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the moſt part of the Chriſtians do lye. And there alſo wee did lye. And on the North part of the ſaide Towne is the Arſenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southſide is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houſes of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Raguſa to Conſtantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Boſnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefeſt feaſtes.

Pompeys piller.

The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we ſawe a piller of white Marble that was ſet vp by Pompeius: and from thence wee paſſed to the other ſide of the water, vpon the ſhore of Aſia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Conſtantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchiſea, that is to ſay, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of ſcattered buildings.

Prouaz.
Varna.

The 5. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney diſtant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi vpon the riuer of Danubius.

Or, Moldania.
Palſin vpon the riuer of Prut.
Yas.

The 10. we paſſed the ſaid riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entred into the countrey of *Bogdania: they are Chriſtians but ſubiects to the Turke.

The 12. we came to Palſin vpon the riuer Prut.

The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his reſidence, of whom wee receiued great courteſie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he cauſed vs to be ſafe conducted through his ſaid Countrey, and conueyed without coſte.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

Sotſchen.

The 19. we came to Zotſchen, which is the laſt towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Nieſter, that parteth the ſaid countrey from Podolia.

Nyeſter a riuer.
Camyenets.

The 20. we paſſed the riuer of Nyeſter and came to Camyenetz in the countrey of Podolia, ſubiect to the king of Poland: this is one of the ſtrongeſt Townes by nature and ſituation that can be ſeene.

The 21. we came to Skala.

Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Ruſſia alba, and ſo is the moſt part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well gouerned, full of traſique and plentifull: and there we ſtayed fiue dayes.

Leopolis, or Leunpurg.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

Grodecz. Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Moſtiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The firſt of Nouember in the morning before day wee paſſed without the Towne of Iaroslaw, where they ſay is one of the greateſt faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horſes, and that night to Roſdnoska.

Iaroslaw.

The ſecond to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

Lanczut.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fifth to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his reſidence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracouia ſtandeth on the riuer of Viſtula.

Cracouia.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkuſch, where the leade Mines are.

Leade Mines.

The 10. wee paſſed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are alſo leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the laſt towne of Poland towards Sileſia; and there is a toll.

Bendzin.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Ruſſia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other Countreys adioyning vnto them, doe conſume no other ſalt but ſuch as is digged in Sorſtyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any ſtone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other ſalt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the firſt Towne of Sileſia.

Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland.
Bitom.

The 12. we paſſed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen vpon the riuer of Odera.

Oppelen.

The 13. we paſſed by Schurgaſſe, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee could not bee ſuffered to come in by reaſon of the plague which was in thoſe partes in diuers Townes.

Schurgaſſe.
Brigk.

The 14. wee paſſed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breſlaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well ſeated vpon the riuer of Odera.

Breſlaw.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee paſſed by Lignizt and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee paſſed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuer of Neiſſ, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we paſſed by Baudzen and Camnitz, and that night to Renſperg.

The 20. we paſſed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we ſhould haue paſſed the riuer of Elbe, but the boate was not there, ſo that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we paſſed the ſaid riuer, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch; and at night to Bretſch.

The 22. wee paſſed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very ſtrong towne, with a good Vniuerſitie: and that day we paſſed by Coſwig.

The 23. wee paſſed through Zerbſt in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very ſtrong Towne, and well gouerned as wee did heare. The moſt part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes iourney on this ſide Breſlawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.

Magdeburg.

The 24. wee paſſed by a caſtle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerſtat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, that night we lay at Winſon.

Lunenburg.

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there ſtayed one weeke.

Hamborg.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and paſſed the Elbe by boate being much froſen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxtehoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence paſſed ouer land to Emden.

Chierniſa.

trauelling in barren and craggie mountaines for the ſpace of foure dayes, wee came by a ſmall Towne of the Turkes called Chierniſa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.

Or, *Fochia.

The 16. we dined in a Cauarſara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taſlizea.

Nouibazar.

The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted frō thence, trauailing ſtil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in yͤ fields.

Or, Niſſa.

The 22. we paſſed within ſight of Nicea.

The 23. we paſſed in ſight of another towne called Circui: and about thoſe places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worſe.

Sophia.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee ſtayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants houſe of Raguſa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and alſo wee had in company, euer ſince wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with vs till we came very neere Conſtantinople.

Philippopoli.

The firſt of September we came to Philippopoli, which ſeemeth to be an ancient towne, and ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.

Andrinopolis.

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which ſtandeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauarzaras, that were built by Mahomet Baſſha with ſo many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Siliueri.

The 8. we came to Siliueri, which by report was the laſt towne that remained Chriſtian.

Conſtantinople.

The 9. of September wee arriued at the great and moſt ſtately Citie of Conſtantinople, which for the ſituation and proude ſeate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and ſumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moſchea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whoſe name was Amurat, kept his Court and reſidence, in a maruellous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houſes of pleaſure, which is at the leaſt two Engliſh miles in compaſſe, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the ſea: and on the Northeaſt part of the Citie on the other ſide of the water ouer againſt the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the moſt part of the Chriſtians do lye. And there alſo wee did lye. And on the North part of the ſaide Towne is the Arſenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southſide is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houſes of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Raguſa to Conſtantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Boſnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefeſt feaſtes.

Pompeys piller.

The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we ſawe a piller of white Marble that was ſet vp by Pompeius: and from thence wee paſſed to the other ſide of the water, vpon the ſhore of Aſia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Conſtantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchiſes, that is to ſay, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of ſcattered buildings.

Prouaz.
Varna.

The 5. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney diſtant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi vpon the riuer of Danubius.

Or, Moldania.
Palſin vpon the riuer of Prut.
Yas.

The 10. we paſſed the ſaid riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entred into the countrey of *Bogdania: they are Chriſtians but ſubiects to the Turke.

The 12. we came to Palſin vpon the riuer Prut.

The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his reſidence, of whom wee receiued great courteſie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he cauſed vs to be ſafe conducted through his ſaid Countrey, and conueyed without coſte.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

Zotſchen.

The 19. we came to Zotſchen, which is the laſt towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Nieſter, that parteth the ſaid countrey from Podolia.

Nyeſter a riuer.
Camyenets.

The 20. we paſſed the riuer of Nyeſter and came to Camyenets in the countrey of Podolia, ſubiect to the king of Poland: this is one of the ſtrongeſt Townes by nature and ſituation that can be ſeene.

The 21. we came to Skala.

Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Ruſſia alba, and ſo is the moſt part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well gouerned, full of traſique and plentifull: and there we ſtayed fiue dayes.

Leopolis, or Leunpurg.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

Grodecz. Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Moſtiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The firſt of Nouember in the morning before day wee paſſed without the Towne of Iaroſlaw, where they ſay is one of the greateſt faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horſes, and that night to Roſdnoska.

Iaroſlaw.

The ſecond to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

Lanczut.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fifth to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his reſidence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracouia ſtandeth on the riuer of Viſtula.

Gracouia.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkuſch, where the leade Mines are.

Leade Mines.

The 10. wee paſſed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are alſo leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the laſt towne of Poland towards Sileſia; and there is a toll.

Bendzin.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Ruſſia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other Countreys adioyning vnto them, doe conſume no other ſalt but ſuch as is digged in Sorſtyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any ſtone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other ſalt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the firſt Towne of Sileſia.

Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland.

Bitom.

The 12. we paſſed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen vpon the riuer of Odera.

Oppelen.

The 13. we paſſed by Schurgaſſe, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee could not bee ſuffered to come in by reaſon of the plague which was in thoſe partes in diuers Townes.

Schurgaſſe. Brigk.

The 14. wee paſſed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breſlaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well ſeated vpon the riuer of Odera.

Breſlaw.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee paſſed by Lignitz and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee paſſed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuer of Neiſſ, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we paſſed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Renſperg.

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Hamburg.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and paſſed the Elbe by boate being much froſen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxtehoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence paſſed ouer land to Emden.

Thence hauing paſſed through Friſeland and Holland, the 25. being Chriſtmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leiceſter with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and ſouldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there ſtayed eight dayes for paſſage.

The fifth of Ianuary we tooke ſhipping.

The 7. we landed at Graueſend, and ſo that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes paſſeport or ſafeconduct for Captaine *Auſtell*, and *Iacomo Manuchio*.

KNow thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly paſſe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embaſſador of England hauing two Engliſh gentlemen deſirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Auſtel, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requeſted our highneſſe letters of Safeconduct to paſſe through our dominions with one ſeruant to attende on them. Wherefore wee ſtraightly charge you and all other our ſeruants by whom they ſhall paſſe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue prouided for them in this their iourney (for their money) all ſuch neceſſary prouiſion as ſhalbe neceſſary for themſelues and their horſes, in ſuch ſort as they may haue no cauſe hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where they ſhal ſtand in feare either of their perſons or goods, that then you carefully cauſe them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all ſuſpected places, with ſufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our countrey any of our ſeruiceable horſes. Obey our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

A Paſſeport of the Earle of *Leiceſter* for *Thomas Forſter* gentleman trauailing to *Conſtantinople*.

RObertus Comes Leiceſtriæ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterij & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Sereniſſimæ Reginę Angliæ a Secretioribus conſilijs, & magiſter equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus eiuſdem Regiæ maieſtatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & prouinciarum vnitarum & aſſociatarum, omnibus ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint, ſalutem. Cùm lator præſentium Thomas Forſter nobilis Anglus neceſſarijs de cauſis hinc Conſtantinopolim profecturus ſit, & inde ad nos quanta poteſt celeritate reuerſurus: petimus ab omnibus & ſingulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magiſtratibus, & alijs, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum tranſitum per eorum ditiones & territoria ſine detentione aut impedimento iniuſto, & prouideri ſibi de neceſſarijs iuſtum precium reddenti, ac aliter conuenienter & humaniter tractari, vt occaſiones eius eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Maieſtates, Serenitates, Celſitudines, & dominationes veſtræ paratos inuenietis, vt veſtratibus in ſimilibus caſibus gratum ſimiliter faciamus.

Datum in caſtris noſtris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. ſtylo veteri.

A deſcription of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the *Mahumitans*, *Turkes* and *Moores* vnto *Mecca* in *Arabia*.

Of the Citie of *Alexandria*.

ALexandria the moſt ancient citie in Africa ſituated by the ſeaſide containeth ſeuen miles in circuite, and is enuironed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then thoſe without, with a great ditch round about the ſame: yet is not this Citie very ſtrong by reaſon of the great antiquitie, being almoſt halfe deſtroyed and ruinated. The greatneſſe of this Citie is ſuch, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compaſſed with a double wall, it might be truely ſaid, that there were two Alexandrias one builded vpon another, becauſe vnder the foundations of the ſaide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillers. True it is, that this part underneath remaineth at this day inhabitable, becauſe of the corrupt aire, as alſo for that by time, which conſumeth all things, it is greatly ruinated. It might well be ſayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterpriſes, ſo likewiſe in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himſelfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is ſubiect to an euill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollowneſſe vnderneath, out of the which iſſueth infinite moiſture: and that this is true the ayre without doth euidently teſtifie, which is more ſubtile and holeſome then that beneath. The waters hereof be ſalt, by reaſon that the ſoile of it ſelfe is likewiſe ſo. And therefore the inhabitants, at ſuch time as the riuer Nilus floweth, are accuſtomed to open a great ditch, the head whereof extendeth into the ſaid riuer, and from thence they conueigh the ſame within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and ſo conſequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth vnto the ceſternes of Alexandria, which being full ſerue the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Hiſtories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of ſuch heighe and thickneſſe, that it is ſuppoſed there is not the like in the whole world beſides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance ſaue a litle caſtle which is guarded with 60 Ianizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towardes Roſſetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the ſea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Gheſira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholy an Iland, becauſe a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninſula, that is to ſay, almoſt an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houſes of the Iewes, in reſpect of the aire. This Peninſula is ſituate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more ſafe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the veſſels of Barbarie, and the ſixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputed for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath vpon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a caſtle of ſmall importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other ſide of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not vnfitly giuen vnto it, for that in all mens iudgement in times paſt there hath not beene water there, becauſe in the midſt of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are diſcouered and found great ſepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Iaſpar and Porphyrie ſtones of great value, of the which great ſtore are ſent to Conſtantinople for the ornament of the Meſquitas or Turkiſh Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all ſuch veſſels as traffique to this place. This port hath on ech ſide a caſtle, whereof that vpon the Peninſula is called Faraone, vpon the toppe whereof euery night there is a light ſet in a great lanterne for direction of the ſhips, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Ianizaries: the other on the other ſide is but a litle caſtle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this hauen of Alexandria is one of the chiefeſt hauens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of euery Nation, and all ſorts of veſſels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by ſtrangers, marchants, and Chriſtians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are fiue Fontechi, that is to ſay, one of the Frenchmen, where the Conſul is reſident, & this is the faireſt and moſt commodious of all the reſt. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguſeans, and the fourth to the Genoueſes. And all ſtrangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are vnder the French Conſull. It is alſo to be vnderſtood, that all the Chriſtians dwell within their Fontechi, and euery euening at the going downe of the ſunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and ſhut all the gates of the ſaide Fontechi outward, and the Chriſtians ſhut the ſame within: and ſo likewiſe they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their deuotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are ſecure and voide of feare: for in ſo doing the Chriſtians may ſleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they ſleepe or pray, that the Chriſtians ſhould make any tumult, as in times paſt hath happened.

Fontecho ſignifieth an houſe of trafique, as the Stilyard.

Of the coaſt of *Alexandria*.

ON the ſide towardes Barbarie along the ſea-coaſt for a great ſpace there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other ſide towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria ſtandeth a litle caſtle called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which caſtle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times paſt was good, but at this preſent is vtterly decayed and full of ſand, ſo that the veſſels which come thither dare not come neere the ſhoare, but ride far off into the ſea. Fortie miles further is Roſſetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is ſituate vpon the banke of Nilus three miles from the ſea, at which place many times they build ſhips and other veſſels, for gouernement whereof is appointed a Saniacbey, without any other guard:

Bichier.

Roſſetto.

guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the ſea-ſide and the riuer banke is another litle caſtle like vnto the aboueſayde, and becauſe the Moores beleeue, that Mecca will in ſhort time be conquered by the Chriſtians, they holde opinion, that the ſame being loſt ſhall be renued in this place of Roſſetto, namely, that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages ſhall be tranſported to Roſſetto, as the religious order of Saint Iohn of the Rhodes is tranſlated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles ſtandes another caſtle of ſmall importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and ſecure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fiſh, which they ſale, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the ſame, and it is greatly eſteemed, eſpecially of the Candiots, who hauing great abundance of wine aduenture abroad to ſeeke meate fitte for the taſte of the ſayd wine. Diſtant from Brulles fiue and thirtie miles there is another caſtle like vnto the aboueſayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the riuers ſide is Damiata an auncient citie enuironed with walles contayning fiue miles in circuit, and but of ſmall ſtrength. For the gouernement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his houſholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleaſant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Larma, a caſtle of very ſmall importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes vnder an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Paſſing this place we enter Iudęa. But becauſe our intent is to reaſon ſimply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our firſt way, let it ſuffice to ſay, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing worthie of memorie.

Of the mightie Citie of *Cairo*.

Cairo containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being ſo inhabited and repleniſhed with people, that almoſt it cannot receiue more; and therefore they haue begunne to builde newe houſes without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Chriſtians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Iewes, Indians, Medians, Perſians, Arabians, and other ſortes of people, which reſort thither by reaſon of the great traffique. This citie is gouerned by a Baſha, which miniſtreth iuſtice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Alſo there are two and twentie Saniackes, whoſe office is onely to ouerſee and guarde the kingdome for euery good reſpect. There are alſo ſeuen thouſand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thouſand Ianizaries, and foure thouſand horſemen: The reſt of the people in Cairo are for the moſt part marchants which goe and come; and the remnant are Moores and other baſe people. About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but deſtroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo anſwereth euery yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the ſame, which mony is ſent to Conſtantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, vnder the cuſtodie of three hundred horſemen, and two hundred Ianizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Meſquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are fiue principall. The firſt is called Moraſtane, that is to ſay, The hoſpitall, which hath of rent fiue hundred ducats of golde euery day left vnto it by a king of Damaſco from auncient times; which king hauing conquered Cairo, for the ſpace of fiue dayes continually put the people thereof to the ſword, and in the end repenting him of ſo great manſlaughter, cauſed this crueltie to ceaſe, and to obtaine remiſſion for his ſinne committed, cauſed this hoſpitall to be built, enriching it as is aboueſaid. The ſecond famous monument of Cairo is called Neffiſa, of one Neffiſa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooued by luſt, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the ſame, and ſayde ſhe beſtowed this almes for the loue of her Prophet Mahomet, and therefore at this day they adore her, reuerence her, and finally haue canonized her for a Saint, affirming that ſhee did many miracles. The third is called Zauia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamſciafij, where is buried Sciafij the ſecond Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damaſco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & laſt famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the houſe of Lazarus: and this
1566. is the generall Uniuerſity of the whole kingome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of Ianuary by miſfortune of fire were burned nine thouſand bookes of great value,

as well for that they were written by hand, as alſo wrought ſo richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And becauſe it could neuer be knowen yet how this fire beganne, they haue and doe holde the ſame for a moſt ſiniſter augurie, and an euident and manifeſt ſigne of their vtter ruine. The houſes of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Euery perſon which reſorteth to this place for traffiques ſake, is bound to pay halfe a duckat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguſeans, becauſe they are tributarie to the Grand Signior. Cairo is diſtant from the riuer Nilus a mile and more, being ſituate on a plaine, ſaue that on the one ſide it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof ſtands a faire caſtle, but not ſtrong, for that it may be battered on euery ſide, but very rich & large, compaſſed about with faire gardens into the which they conueigh water for their neceſſitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheeles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleaſant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the ſame. Notwithſtanding the great pleaſures of Cairo are in the moneth of Auguſt, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the riuer Nilus ouerfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the riuer, and paſſeth through the midſt of the citie, and entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with ſinging, eating, drinking and feaſting, take their ſolace. The women of this countrey are moſt beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious ſtones, and iewels of great value, but chiefely perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewiſe, but foule and hard fauoured. The ſoile is very fertile and abundant, the fleſh fat which they ſell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, becauſe the Moores eate the tallow. They vſe alſo certaine litle furnaces made of purpoſe, vnder the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or fiue hundred egges, and the ſaid fire they nouriſh by litle and litle, vntill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become ſomewhat bigger, they ſell them by meaſure in ſuch ſort, as we ſell and meaſure nuts and cheſtnuts and ſuch like.

The deſcription of Cairo.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of *Cairo*.

WIthout the Citie, ſixe miles higher into the land, are to be ſeene neere vnto the riuer diuerſe Piramides, among which are three maruellous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of theſe are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cauſe whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian ſoile, which will not conſume the fleſh of man, but rather dry and harden the ſame, and ſo alwayes conſerueth it. And theſe dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phiſicians and Apothecaries doe againſt our willes make vs to ſwallow. Alſo by digging in theſe Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, ſiluer, and other mettall, but vnder the other piramides the bodies are not taken vp ſo whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neare to theſe piramides appeareth out of the ſand a great head of ſtone ſomewhat like marble, which is diſcouered ſo farre as the necke ioyneth with the ſhoulders, being all whole, ſauing that it wanteth a little tippe of the noſe. The necke of this head contayneth in circuit about ſixe and thirty foot, ſo that it may be according to the necke conſidered, what greatneſſe the head is of. The riuer Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Croccodiles from Cairo vpward, but lower then Cairo paſſeth no ſuch creature: and this, they ſay, is by reaſon of an inchantment made long ſince which hindereth their paſſage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreouer of theſe creatures there are ſometimes found ſome of an incredible bigneſſe, that is to ſay, of fourtie foot about. The males haue their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. Theſe monſters oftentimes iſſue out of the water to feede, and finding any ſmall beaſts, as ſheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are forth of the water, if they happen at vnwares vpon any man, woman or childe, whom they can ouercome, they ſpare not their liues. In the yeere of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftie it happened, that certaine poore Chriſtians trauelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Ianni to reſcue certaine ſlaues, were guided by a Chaus, and iourneyed alongſt the banke of the ſaid riuer. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their cuſtome is) at a place called Tana, whom being buſie in his double deuotion one of theſe Crocodiles ceazed by the ſhoulders, and drew him vnder water, ſo that he was neuer after ſeene. And for this cauſe they haue made in ſundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, ſo that betwixt the hedge and banke of the riuer there remaineth ſo much water, that the women waſhing may take water without danger at their pleaſure. This countrey is ſo fruitfull, that it cauſeth the women as alſo other creatures to bring foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Fiue miles ſouthwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined: and therefore ſome will ſay, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the ſaid place, wherein they are deceiued: for the ſayde trees growe two dayes iourney from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but ſaluage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the ſame within litle cheſts from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the ſoyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatſoeuer) it ſufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour ſo much in theſe dayes eſteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houſes, with moſt goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themſelues affirme, that the mother of the bleſſed Chriſt fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there ſaued her ſelfe with the childe, wherein that ſaying of the Prophet was fulfilled, Ex Ægypto vocaui filium meum. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro firſt Conſull of that place went to viſite, and cauſed it to be renued and reedified, ſo that in theſe dayes there reſort thither many Chriſtians, who oftentimes bring with them a Prieſt, to ſay maſſe there. Alſo about an Harquebuz-ſhotte from Matarea is a ſpire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. Neere vnto the olde Cairo are yet twelue ſtorehouſes of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and theſe till late dayes ſerued to keepe corns for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Ioſeph the ſonne of Iacob, for conſideration of the ſeuen deare yeeres. Alſo paſſing higher vp by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee ſeene a fayre Citie ouerflowed with water, the which at ſuch time as Nilus floweth lyeth vnder water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainely appeare princely palaces, and ſtately pillars, being of ſome called Thebes, where they ſay that Pharao was reſident. Moreouer three dayes iourney higher vp are two great images of ſpeckled marble, all whole, and ſomewhat ſunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to conſider of, for the noſe of either is two ſpannes and an halfe long, and the ſpace from one eare to the other conteineth tenne ſpannes, the bodies being correſpondent to their heads, and grauen in excellent proportion, ſo that they are ſhapes of maruellous hugeneſſe, and theſe they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharao.

Olde Thebes.

Of the patriarke of *Greece.*

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Iacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They ſay, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being enuied at by the Iewes of the countrey, for none other cauſe, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I ſay) that being in diſputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in preſence of the Sultan, and reaſoning of their lawe and faith, it was ſayd vnto him by one of theſe Miſcreants: ſith thou beleeueſt in the faith of Chriſt, take and drinke this potion which I will giue thee; and if thy Chriſt be true Meſſias and true God, he will (ſayd he) deliuer thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke anſwered, that he was content: whereupon that curſed Iewe brought him a cuppe of the moſt venemous and deadly poyſon that could be found, which the holy Patriarke hauing perceiued, ſaid: In the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt: and hauing ſo ſayde he dranke it quite vp; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gaue it vnto the Iewe, ſaying vnto him. I in the name of my Chriſt haue drunke thy poyſon, and therefore in the name of thy expected Meſſias drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Iewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and hauing drunke the water, within halfe an houre burſt a ſunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, ſaue that he became ſomewhat pale in ſight, and ſo remained euer after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no leſſe) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the preſence of a thouſand perſons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who ſeeing the deſpight of the Iewes, vnto their owne coſt and confuſion compelled them to make the conduct, which with ſo many engines commeth into the caſtle from Nilus aboue mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long ſince was aliue, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

Of the preparation of the *Carouan* to goe to *Mecca*.

AS touching the Carouan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be vnderſtoode, that the Mahumetans obſerue a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moueable ceremonie, which ſometimes falleth high, ſometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feaſt is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe vnto Mecca reſort vnto Cairo, becauſe that twentie dayes after the feaſt the Carouan is readie to depart on the voyage: and thither reſort a great multitude of people from Aſia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, ſome mooued by deuotion, and ſome for traffiques ſake, and ſome to paſſe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feaſt they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues vnto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carouan. This place hath a great pond cauſed by the inundation of Nilus, and ſo made, that the camels and other beaſtes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at leaſt fortie thouſand, and the perſons which followe the Carouan euerie yeere are about fiftie thouſand, fewe more or leſſe, according to the times. Moreouer euery three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carouan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giueth euery voiage eighteene purſes, conteyning each of them ſixe hundred twentie and fiue ducates of golde, and theſe be for the behoofe of the Carouan, and alſo to doe almes vnto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, beſides other ſeruingmen which follow him, hath alſo fonre Chauſi to ſerue him. Likewiſe he hath with him for the ſecuritie of the Carouan foure hundred ſouldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horſemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Ianizaries riding vpon Camels. The Chauſi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Ianizaries not ſo, for their prouiſion is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Ianizaries after another ſort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and hauing before a great piece of wrought ſiluer on their heads. The charge of theſe is to cauſe the Carouan to march in good array when neede requireth; theſe are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carouan. Moreouer the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes ſtable and firme from heire to heire, and theſe goe before guiding the Carouan, and ſhewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they gouerne them as the mariners, by the ſtarre. Theſe alſo vſe to ſende before foure or fiue men carrying pieces of dry wood which giue light, becauſe they ſhould not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander aſtray out of the way, they are caſt downe and beaten with ſo many baſtonadoes vpon the ſoles of their feete, as ſerue them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carouan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fifteene Spachi, and he hath the charge to ſet the Carouan in order, and to cauſe them to depart on their iourney when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is ſome whiles to goe before with the forewarde, ſometimes to come behinde with the rereward, ſometimes to march on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, to ſpy, that the coaſt be cleare. The Carouan carrieth with it ſixe pieces of ordinance drawen by 12 camels, which ſerue to terrifie the Arabians, as alſo to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carouan, ſome carry for marchandiſe cloth of ſilke, ſome Corall, ſome tinne, others wheat, riſe, and all ſorts of graine. Some ſell by the way, ſome at Mecca, ſo that euery one bringeth ſomething to gaine by, becauſe all marchandiſe that goeth by land payeth no cuſtome, but that which goeth by ſea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

Pieces of dry wood in ſtead of torches.

The beginning of the voyage.

THe feaſt before the Carouan ſetteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers reſort vnto the caſtle of Cairo before the Baſha, which giueth vnto euery man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are ſerued according to their degree. Moreouer he deliuereth vnto him yͤ Chiſua Talnabi, which ſignifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this veſture is of ſilke, wrought in the midſt with letters of gold, which ſignifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Reſullala: that is to ſay, There are no gods but God, and his ambaſſadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpoſe to couer from top to botome a litle houſe in Mecca ſtanding in the midſt of the Meſquita, the which houſe (they ſay) was builded by Abraham or by his ſonne Iſmael. After this he deliuereth to him a gate made of purpoſe for the foreſaid houſe of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanſhip, and it is a thing of great value. Beſides, he deliuereth vnto him a couering of greene veluet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with moſt fine golde, and this is to couer the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and beſides that couering there are brought many others of golde and ſilke, for the ornament of the ſayde tombe. Which things being conſigned, the Baſha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carouan taketh his leaue with all his officers and ſouldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a proceſſion, with ſinging, ſhouting and a thouſand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the caſtle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Naſſera, without the which ſtandes a Moſquita, and therein they lay vp the ſayd veſtures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make ſo great account, that the world commeth to ſee this ſight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feaſt, for that in ſo doing the wife may ſeparate her ſelfe from her huſband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of ſo great a treſpaſſe. Now this proceſſion proceeding from the caſtle towardes the Moſquita, the Camels which bring the veſtures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and paſſing along the ſtreete you may ſee the multitude caſting vpon the ſaid veſtures thouſands of beautifull flowers of diuers colours, & ſweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the ſame, which euer after they keepe as reliques with great reuerence. Afterward hauing left the veſture in the Moſquita, as is aforeſaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the ſpace of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the veſtures out of the Moſquita, carieth the ſame to the foreſaid place of Birca, where the Captaine hauing pitched his tent with the ſtandard of the grand Signior ouer the gate, & the other principall tents ſtanding about his, ſtayeth there ſome tenne dayes and no more: in which time all thoſe reſort thither that meane to follow the Carouan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you ſhall ſee certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted vpon Camels, adorned with ſo many tryfles, taſſels, and knots, that in beholding the ſame a man cannot refraine from laughter. The laſt night before their departure they make great feaſting and triumph within the Carouan, with caſtles and other infinite deuiſes of fireworke, the Ianizaries alwayes ſtanding round about the tent of the Captaine with ſuch ſhouting and ioy, that on euery ſide the earth reſoundeth, and this night they diſcharge all their ordinance, foure or ſixe times, and after at the breake of the day vpon the ſound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the *Carouan* trauelleth, and when it reſteth.

IT is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes iourney or thereabout, & the ſame great dayes iourneies. For the cuſtome of the Carouan is to trauell much and reſt little, and ordinarily they iourney in this maner: They trauell from two a clocke in the morning vntill the ſunne riſing, then hauing reſted till noone, they ſet forward, and ſo continue till night, & then alſo reſt againe, as is aboueſaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they obſerue vntill the end of the voiage, neuer changing the ſame, except in ſome places, whereof we will hereafter ſpeake, where for reſpect of water they reſt ſometimes a day and an halfe, and this they obſerue to refreſh themſelues, otherwiſe both man and beaſt would die.

In what order the *Carouan* trauelleth.

THe maner and order which the Carouan obſerueth in marching is this. It goeth diuided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaues, & ech knaue carrieth a ſinew of a bul, to the end that if occaſion requireth, ẏ baſtonado may be giuen to ſuch as deſerue the ſame. Theſe knaues caſt offendours downe, turning vp the ſoles of their feete made faſt to a ſtaffe, giuing them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they trauell in the night. Alſo there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants vpon their heads, & theſe eat and ride at the coſt of the Captaine of the Carouan. Theſe Santones when the Carouan arriueth at any good lodging, ſuddenly after they haue eſcried the place, cry with an horrible voyce ſaying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wiſhed lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company beſtow their beneuolence vpon them. In this foreward goeth very neere the third part of the people of the Carouan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with ſwords, bowes & arrowes to defend them from thieues. Next vnto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the ſame are drawen the ſayd ſixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fifteene Spachi Archers. And next vnto theſe commeth the chiefe phyſicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, hauing with him many medicines, oyntments, ſalues, and other like refreſhings for the ſicke, hauing alſo camels with him for the ſicke to ride on, which haue no horſe nor beaſt. Next vnto him goeth one Camell alone, the faireſt that can be found: for with great induſtrie is ſought the greateſt and faireſt which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell alſo is decked with cloth of golde and ſilke, and carieth a litle cheſt made of pure Legname made in likeneſſe of the arke of the olde Teſtament: but, as is aboueſayd, made of pure Legname, without golde or any other thing of coſt. Within this cheſt is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of maſſie golde, and the cheſt during their voyage is couered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all couered with cloth of golde, adorned with iewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforeſayd which carrieth the cheſt, is compaſſed about with many Arabian ſingers and muſicians, alwayes ſinging and playing vpon inſtruments. After this folow fifteene other moſt faire Camels, euery one carying one of the aboueſayd veſtures, being couered from toppe to toe with ſilke. Behind theſe goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and prouiſion of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carouan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the muſicians of the captaine, and fiue and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about theſe marueilous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carouan. Behind theſe, leſſe then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occaſion whereof is, for that the merchants ſeeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the ſecuritie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which haue litle to looſe care not though they come behind. Behind theſe alwayes goe fiue and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And becauſe the Carouan goeth alwayes along the red ſea banke, which in going forth they haue on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Ianiſſaries parted into three companies goe vpon their left hand well armed and mounted vpon Camels bound one to another, for vpon that ſide is all the danger of thieues, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carouan alwayes going about his people, ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, neuer keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted vpon Dromedaries, and 8. muſicians with violes in their handes, which ceaſe not ſounding till the captaine take his reſt, vpon whom they attend, till ſuch time as he entreth his pauillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are ſeene in this voyage by the way.

BEcauſe in the way there are not many things found woorthie memorie, for that the Carouan ſeldome reſteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carouan reſteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Caſtles found in the way, which bee theſe, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which fiue, the two firſt are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they haue eight men or tenne at the moſt in euery Caſtle, with foure or fiue Smerigli, which ſerue to keepe the water from the Arabians, ſo that the Carouan comming thither, may haue wherewithall to refreſh it ſelfe. Agerut is diſtant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes reſident fiue and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is diſtant from the Sea a dayes iourney. The walles of Acba are founded vpon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewiſe are daſhed with the waues of the Sea. Ezlem is diſtant from thence aboue a dayes iourney. Theſe fiue Caſtles aboueſayd are not of force altogether to defend themſelues agaynſt an hundred men. The Carouan departing from Birca vntill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Caſſap, and the other Magaraxiaibi, that is to ſay, the riuer of Iethro the father in lawe of Moſes, for this is the place mentioned in the ſecond chapter of Exodus, whither it is ſayd that Moſes fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would haue killed him, becauſe hee had ſlaine the Ægyptian, which fought with the Hebrew, in which place ſtoode the citie of Midian; and there are yet the pondes, neere vnto the which Moſes ſate downe. And from that place forward they finde more ſtore of water by the way, and in more places, though not ſo good. It is alſo to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an vſuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purſe in theſe places, and beſtow preſents, garments, and turbants vpon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may giue him and his Carouan free paſſage: who alſo promiſe, that their followers likewiſe ſhall doe no damage to the Carouan, and bind themſelues to accompliſh the ſame, promiſing alſo by worde of mouth, that if the Carouan bee robbed, they will make reſtitution of ſuch things as are ſtollen: but notwithſtanding, the Carouan is by them oftentimes damnified, and thoſe which are robbed haue no other reſtitution at the Arabians handes then the ſhewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into ſuch places as it is impoſſible to finde them. Nowe the Carouan continuing her accuſtomed iourneys, and hauing paſſed the aboueſayd caſtles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Iehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the ſtate and realme of Seriſo the king of Mecca: where, at their approching iſſueth out to meete them the gouernour of the land, with all his people to receiue the Carouan, with ſuch ſhouting and triumph, as is impoſſible to expreſſe, where they ſtaie one whole day. This place aboundeth with freſh and cleare waters, which with ſtreames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreouer, in this place are great ſtore of dates, and fleſh great ſtore and good cheape, and eſpecially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the wearie pilgrimes haue commoditie to refreſh themſelues, ſaying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of ſinnes, and beſides increaſeth deuotion to proſecute the voiage. Touching the building in theſe places, it is to bee iudged by the houſes halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie: but becauſe it was in times paſt inhabited more with thieues then true men, it was therefore altogether deſtroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage vnto Mecca, and paſſing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof ſome iniurie done vnto his Carouan, which hee vnderſtanding of, diſſembled till his returned from Mecca, and then cauſed it to bee burned and deſtroyed in pitifull ſort for reuenge of the iniurie done vnto the Carouan. The Carouan hauing reſted and being refreſhed as is aboueſayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the firſt place they arriue at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforeſayd) grow thoſe little ſhrubbes whereout Balme iſſueth. And before the Carouan arriueth at this place, a mile from the citie is a large and great field enuironed about with moſt high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a moſt fierce and cruell battell giuen by the Chriſtians of the countrey and other people which ſet themſelues agaynſt them, and withſtood his opinion, ſo that hee was ouercome and vanquiſhed of the Chriſtians, and almoſt halfe of his people ſlaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet ſeeing himſelfe in ſuch extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they ſay, that God hauing compaſſion vpon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and ſent him infinite thouſands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and ouercame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carouan lodgeth euery yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they ſay that as yet there is heard vpon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carouan paſſeth, neuer ceaſeth ſounding. And they ſay further, that the ſayd drumme is ſounded by the angels in ſigne of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Alſo the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the ſayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, becauſe as yet they vſed not circumciſion, ſo they returned vnto him, anſwering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Muſulmans from the Chriſtians. To whom the prophet anſwered, ſaying: Turne againe, and all thoſe which you ſhall finde with their faces downeward, leaue them, becauſe all they are miſbeleeuers; and the other which you ſhall finde with their faces turned vpward, them burie, for they are the true Muſulmani, and ſo his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne riſing, the Carouan arriueth at Bedrihonem, in which place euery man waſheth himſelfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leauing off their apparell, hauing each one a cloth about their priuities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one vpon their ſhoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, do ſo, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe ſo make a vowe to ſacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons: and after they bee waſhed, it is not lawfull for any man or woman

man to kill either flea or lowſe with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, vntill they haue accompliſhed their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons aboueſayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine ſtickes made of purpoſe in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Caſſah Guch, with which they grate their ſhoulders. And ſo the Carouan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they reſt that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe poſſible they ſet forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho iſſueth foorth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, ſhouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a bowe-ſhoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middeſt the pauillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Seriſo, after ſalutations on each ſide, they light from their horſes and enter into the pauillion, where the king of Mecca depriueth himſelfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the ſame to the aboue-named captaine, giuing him full licence and authoritie to commaund, gouerne, and miniſter iuſtice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other ſide the captaine to requite this liberalitie vſed toward him by the Seriſo, giueth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine iewels and other like things. After this, ſitting downe together vpon carpets and hides they eate together, and riſing from thence with certaine of the chiefeſt, and taking with them the garment and gate aboueſayd, they goe directly to the Moſquita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cauſe the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe couerture vpon the houſe of Abraham, and the olde veſture is the eunuchs which ſerue in the ſayde Moſquita, who after ſell it vnto the pilgrimes at foure or fiue ſeraſines the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himſelfe, which can get neuer ſo litle a piece thereof, to conſerue euer after as a moſt holy relique: and they ſay, that putting the ſame vnder the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his ſinnes are forgiuen. Alſo they take away the old doore, ſetting in the place the new doore, and the old by cuſtome they giue vnto the Seriſo. After hauing made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Seriſo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth vnto his pauillion.

Of the *Seriſo* the king of *Mecca.*

The Seriſo is deſcended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli huſband to her, and ſonne in lawe to Mahumet, who had no iſſue male, ſaue this ſtocke of the Seriſo, to the eldeſt ſonne whereof the realme commeth by ſucceſſion. This realme hath of reuenues royall, euery yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all ſuch as are of the prophets kinred, or deſcended of that blood (which are almoſt innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to ſay, lordes. Theſe all goe clothed in greene, or at the leaſt haue their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of thoſe Chriſtians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they haue any thing of greene about them: for they ſay it is not lawfull for miſbeleeuers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of god Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of *Mecca.*

The Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to ſay, an habitation. This citie is inuironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the ſayde mountaines and the citie are many pleaſaunt gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is alſo great abundance of good water and fleſhe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite fiue miles. The houſes are very handſome and commodious, and are built like to the houſes in Italie. The palace of the Seriſo is ſumptuous and gorgeouſly adorned. The women of the place are courteous, iocund, and louely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the moſt of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are giuen to that abhominable, curſed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but ſmall account by reaſon of the pond Zun Zun, wherein hauing waſhed themſelues, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clenſed from all ſinne whatſoeuer, of which ſin we will hereafter more largely diſcourſe. In the midſt of the city is yͤ great Moſquita, with the houſe of Abraham ſtanding in the very middeſt thereof, which Moſquita was built in the time when their prophet liued. It is foure ſquare, and ſo great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to ſay, halfe a mile each ſide. Alſo it is made in maner of a cloiſter, for that in the midſt thereof ſeparate from the reſt, is the aboueſayd houſe of Abraham, alſo the galleries round about are in maner of 4. ſtreetes, and the partitions which diuide the one ſtreet from the other are pillars, whereof ſome are of marble, and others of lime and ſtone. This famous and ſumptuous Moſquita hath 99. gates, and 5. ſteeples, from whence the Taliſmani call the people to the Moſquita. And the pilgrimes which are not prouided of tents, reſort hither, and for more deuotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one vpō another, ſo that their houſe of praier becommeth worſe ſometimes then a den of thieues.

Of the houſe of Abraham.

The houſe of Abraham is alſo foure ſquare, and made of ſpeckled ſtone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And vpon one ſide of this houſe within the wall, there is a ſtone of a ſpan long, and halfe a ſpan broad, which ſtone (as they ſay) before this houſe was builded, fell downe from heauen, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that whereſoeuer this ſtone fell, there ſhould be built the houſe of God, wherein God will heare ſinners. Moreouer, they ſay that when this ſtone fell from heauen, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whiteſt ſnow, and by reaſon it hath bene ſo oft kiſſed by ſinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kiſſe this ſtone, otherwiſe they cary their ſinnes home with them again. The entrance into this houſe is very ſmall, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, ſo that it is painful to enter. This houſe hath without 31. pillars of braſſe, ſet vpon cubike or ſquare ſtones being red and greene, the which pillars ſuſtaine not ought els ſaue a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are faſtened many burning lampes. Theſe pillars of braſſe were cauſed to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, hauing entred with the difficultie aboueſayd, there ſtand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each ſide one. In the midſt there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and couered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which ſerue to vnderproppe the Terratza. It is ſo darke, that they can hardly ſee within for want of light, not without an euill ſmell. Without the gate fiue paſes is the aboueſayd pond Zun Zun, which is that bleſſed pond that the angell of the lord ſhewed vnto Agar whiles ſhe went ſeeking water for her ſonne Iſmael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

In the beginning we haue ſayd how the Mahumetans haue two feaſts in the yeere. The one they call Paſcha di Ramazaco, that is to ſay, The feaſt of faſting, and this feaſt of faſting is holden thirtie dayes after the feaſt, wherein the Carouan trauelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feaſt of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to ſacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to ſay, The great feaſt. And as the Carouan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feaſt, ſo likewiſe they come hither fiue or ſixe dayes before the great feaſt, to the ende the pilgrimes may haue time before the feaſt to finiſh their rites and ceremonies, which are theſe. Departing from the Carouan, and being guided by ſuch as are experienced in the way, they goe vnto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a ſtreete which aſcendeth by litle and litle till they come vnto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each ſide in marble ſtone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue ſignifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is deſcried the great Moſquita, which enuironeth the houſe of Abraham, which being deſcried, they reuerently ſalute twiſe, ſaying, Salem Alech Iara ſul Alla, that is to ſay, Peace to thee, ambaſſadour of God. This ſalutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche vpon their right hand, whereon they aſcend fiue ſteps, vpon the which is a great voyd place made of ſtone: after, deſcending other fiue ſteps, and proceeding the ſpace of a flight-ſhoot, they finde another arche like vnto the firſt, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, ſaying alwaies ſome of their prayers, which (they ſay) the afflicted Agar ſayd, whiles ſhe ſought and found not water for her ſonne Iſmael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Moſquita, and drawing neere vnto the houſe of Abraham, they goe round about it other ſeuen times, alwayes ſaying: This is the houſe of God, and of his ſeruaunt Abraham; This done, they goe to kiſſe that blacke ſtone aboueſayd. After they go vnto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they waſh themſelues from head to foote, ſaying, Tob ah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to ſay, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking alſo of that water, which is both muddie, filthie, and of an ill ſauour, and in this wiſe waſhed and watered, euery one returneth to his place of abode, and theſe ceremonies euery one is bound to doe once at the leaſt. But thoſe which haue a mind to ouergoe their fellowes, and to go into paradiſe before the reſt, doe the ſame once a day while the Carouan remaineth there.

What the *Carouan* doeth after hauing reſted at *Mecca*:

The mountain of pardons.

The Carouan hauing abode within the citie of Mecca fiue dayes, the night before the euening of their feaſt, the captaine with all his company ſetteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Iabel Araſata. This mountaine is diſtant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to ſay, The hauen, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will ſpeake. Now firſt touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleaſant, containing in circuit two miles, and enuironed round about with the goodlieſt plaine that euer with mans eie could be ſeen, and the plaine likewiſe compaſſed with exceeding high mountains, in ſuch ſort, that this is one of the goodlieſt ſituations in the world: and it ſeemeth verily, that nature hath therein ſhewed all her cunning, in making this place vnder the mountaine of pardons ſo broad and pleaſant. Vpon the ſide towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and freſh, and aboue all moſt wholeſome, falling down into certaine veſſels made of purpoſe, where the people refreſh and waſh themſelues, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Euah were caſt out of paradiſe by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans ſay, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Alſo they ſay, that they had loſt one another, and were ſeperated for the ſpace of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great ioy & gladneſſe, and builded a litle houſe vpon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to ſay, the houſe of Adam.

Of the three Carouans.

The ſame day that the Carouan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carouans alſo, one of Damaſco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes iourney round about, ſo that at one time there is to be ſeen aboue 200000. perſons, and more thē 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feaſt, the three hoſtes caſt themſelues into a triangle, ſetting the mountaine in the midſt of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor ſeene, but gunſhot and fireworkes of ſundry ſortes, with ſuch ſinging, ſounding, ſhouting, halowing, rumors, feaſting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feaſt being come, they are all at reſt and ſilence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to ſacrifice oblations and prayers vnto God, and in the euening all they which haue horſes mount thereon, and approch as nigh vnto the mountaine as they can, and thoſe which haue no horſes make the beſt ſhift they can on foote, giuing euer vnto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the ſecond to the captaine of Damaſco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, & being all approched as is aboueſayd, there commeth a ſquare ſquire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furniſhed, who at the other ſide of the mountain aſcendeth fiue ſteps into a pulpit made for that purpoſe, and all being ſilent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a ſhort ſermon of the tenour folowing.

The ſumme of the *Santones* ſermon.

The ſumme of this double doctors ſermon is thus much in briefe. He ſheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath giuen to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloued friend and prophet Mahomet, hauing deliuered them from the ſeruitude of ſinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gaue vnto them the houſe of Abraham wherein they ſhould be heard, and likewiſe the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remiſſion of their ſinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giuer of all good things, commaunded his ſecretarie Abraham to build him an houſe in Mecca, where his ſucceſſours might make their prayers vnto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with ſufficiencie of ſtones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for pouertie could not go to diſcharge this debt, for the which it became ſorrowfull, weeping beyond all meaſure for the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God hauing pitie and compaſſion vpon this poore Mountaine, ſaide vnto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints haue aſcended vp into mine eares, therefore comfort thy ſelfe: for I will cauſe all thoſe that ſhall goe to viſite the houſe of my friend Abraham, that they ſhall not be abſolued from their ſinnes, vnleſſe they firſt come to doe thee reuerence, and to keepe in this place their holieſt feaſt. And this I haue commanded vnto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This ſaid, he exhorteth them vnto the loue of God, and to prayer and almes. The ſermon being done at the Sunne-ſetting they make 3. prayers, namely, the firſt for the Serifo, the ſecond for the Grand Signior with his hoſte, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry ſaying; Amni Ia Alla, Amni Ia Alla, that is to ſay, Be it ſo Lord, be it ſo Lord. Thus hauing had the Santones bleſſing and ſaluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came vnto Mina, whereof wee haue made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the aboueſaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech ſide of the way, through the midſt whereof they ſay it is needfull that euery one paſſe, ſaying, that who ſo paſſeth without looſeth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Alſo from the mountaine of pardons vntil they be paſſed the ſaid pillers none dare looke backward, for feare leaſt the ſinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being paſt theſe pillers euery one lighteth downe, ſeeking in this ſandy field 50. or 60. litle ſtones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the aboueſaid place of Mina, where they ſtay 5. dayes, becauſe at that time there is a faire free and franke of al cuſtome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but ſet in diuers places, where (as their prophet ſaith) were the three apparitions which the diuel made vnto Abraham, and to Iſmael his ſonne; for amongſt them they make no mention of Iſaac, as if he had neuer bene borne. So they ſay, that the bleſſed God hauing commanded Abraham his faithfull ſeruant to ſacrifice his firſt begotten Iſmael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods wil, and met with the infernal enemie in the ſhape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he anſwered, that he went to ſacrifice his ſonne Iſmael, as God had commanded him. Againſt whom the diuel exclaiming ſaid: Oh doting old man, ſith God in thine old age hath maruellouſly giuen thee this ſon (in whom all nations ſhalbe bleſſed) wherefore giuing credite vnto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom ſo much thou haſt deſired, and ſo intirely loued. But Abraham ſhaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel ſeeing his words could not preuaile with the father attempted the ſonne, ſaying; Iſmael, haue regard vnto thy ſelfe betimes in this thing which is ſo dangerous. Wherefore? anſwered yͤ childe. Becauſe (ſaith the diuel) thy doting father ſeeketh to take away thy life. For what occaſion, ſaid Iſmael? Becauſe (ſaith the enemie) he ſaith, that God hath commanded him. Which Iſmael hearing hee tooke vp ſtones and threw at him, ſaying, Auzu billahi minal ſcia itanil ragini, which is to ſay, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would ſay, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and reſiſt the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpoſe, the pilgrimes during their aboad there goe to viſite theſe three pillers, throwing away the little ſtones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the ſame words which they ſay, that Iſmael ſaid to the diuell, when hee withſtoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to ſacrifice his ſonne, as is aboueſaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims reſort to make their prayers, and there is a great ſtone naturally ſeparated in the midſt; and they ſay, that Iſmael, while his father Abraham was buſie about the ſacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prooue how it would cut, and making triall diuided the ſtone into two parts. The fiue dayes being expired, the captaine ariſeth with all the Carouan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other fiue dayes. And while theſe reſt, we will treat of the city and port of Grida vpon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port neere Mecca.

Therefore wee ſay that from Mecca to Grida they make two ſmall dayes iourney: and becauſe in thoſe places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reaſon of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the euening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-riſing they are arriued halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furniſhed, and good Innes to lodge in, but eſpecially women ynough which voluntarily beſtowe their almes vpon the poore pilgrims: likewiſe departing the next euening, the morning after, they come vnto Grida. This citie is founded vpon the Red Sea banke, enuironed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almoſt cōſumed and waſted: on the ſide to ſeaward it ſtands vnwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche ſide, and the thirde in the midſt towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, neere vnto which are 6, or 7. Turks vpon the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons vpon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Alſo to ſea-ward where the wall ioyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like vnto a bulwarke, where they haue planted 25 pieces of the beſt ordinance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. More outward towards the ſea vpon the fartheſt olde tower are other fiue good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other ſide of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke ſtrong and well guarded by a Saniaccho with 150 Turks wel prouided with ordinance and all other neceſſaries and munition, and all theſe fortifyings are for none other cauſe then for feare and ſuſpition of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worſe nor more dangerous, being all full of rocks and ſands, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſhips cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the leaſt two miles off. At this port arriue euery yeere forty or fifty great ſhippes laden with ſpices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in cuſtome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth vnto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Seriſo. And becauſe there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carouan which hath almoſt reſted enough.

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red ſea.

Forty or fifty rich ſhips arriue yerely at Grida.

Of their going to Medina.

THe Carouan departeth for Medina returning the ſame way they came vnto Bedrihonem abouesayd, where they leaue their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they haue no need, with the pilgrims which haue ſeene Medina aforetime, and deſire not to ſee it againe, but ſtay in that place, expecting the carouan, and reſting vntill the carouan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they allwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of ſweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come vnto a great plaine called by them Iabel el ſalema, that is to ſay, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to deſcry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which ſight they light from their horſes in token of reuerence. And being aſcended vp the ſayd mountaine with ſhouting which pierceth the ſkies they ſay, Sala tuua ſalema Alaccah Iarah ſul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccah Ianabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Iahabit Allah: which words in the Arabian tongue ſignifie: Prayer and health be vnto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be vpon thee, oh beloued of God. And hauing pronounced this ſalutation, they proceed on their iourney, ſo that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina: and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariſeth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the gouernour vnder the Seriſo, accompanied with his people to receiue the Carouan, hauing pitched their tents in the midſt of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

MEdina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not aboue two miles, hauing therein but one caſtle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houſes thereof are faire and well ſituated, built of lime and ſtone, and in the midſt of the city ſtands a foureſquare Moſquita, not ſo great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and ſumptuous in building. Within the ſame in a corner thereof is a tombe built vpon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were vnder a pauement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is ſo high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Moſquita, being couered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone vpon the top: and within the pauement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great ſtaires of yron aſcending vp vntill the midſt of the pillers, and in the very midſt thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a cheſt of yron cleauing to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreouer, ouer the body they haue built a tombe of ſpeckled ſtone a‖ brace and an halfe high, and ouer the ſame another of Legmame foureſquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the ſepulture there hangeth a curtaine of ſilke, which letteth the ſight of thoſe without, that they cannot ſee the ſepulture. Beyond this in the ſame Moſquita are other two ſepulchres couered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the huſband of the ſayd Fatma. The attendants vpon theſe ſepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, ſauing to three white eunuches the oldeſt and beſt of credit; vnto whom it is lawfull to enter but twiſe in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other ſeruices. All the other eunuchs attend without to the ſeruice of the Moſquita, and the other two ſepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where euery one may go and touch at his pleaſure, and take of the earth for deuotion, as many do.

‖Or, a fathome.

Of things without the City.

Without the city and on euery ſide are moſt faire gardens, with many fountaines of moſt ſweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much honeſt liuing, ſo that this place is very pleaſant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hoſpitall cauſed to be built by Caſſachi, called the Roſe, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The ſayd hoſpitall hath nought els worthy mention, ſaue that it is fairely built, and hath large reuenues belonging thereunto, and nouriſheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houſes whereof they affirme one to be the ſame, where Mahumet in his life-time dwelt. This houſe hath on euery ſide very many faire date trees, amongſt which there are two which grow out of one ſtocke exceeding high, and theſe, they ſay, their Prophet graffed with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes ſent to Conſtantinople, to be preſented vnto the Grand Signior, and is ſayd to be that bleſſed fruit of the Prophet. Nere vnto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and ſweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Alſo there is a little Moſquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reuerenced: the firſt they affirme, that their Prophet made his firſt prayer in, after he knew God: the ſecond is that whither he went when he would ſee the holy houſe of Abraham, where when he ſate downe to that intent, they ſay the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to ſhew him the houſe, and after cloſed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midſt of the ſayd Moſquita, where is a tombe made of lime and ſtone foureſquare, and full of ſand, wherein, they ſay, was buried that bleſſed camell which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride vpon. On the other ſide of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and euery one of them hath a tombe built vpon foure pillers, amongſt which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are viſited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the veſtures vnto the ſepulchres.

The Carouan being come to Medina two houres before day, and reſting there till the euening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims ſetteth forward, with the greateſt pompe poſſible: and taking with him the veſture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and ſilke, departeth, going thorow the midſt of the city, vntill he come to the Moſquita, where hauing praied, he preſenteth vnto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiuing hands are ready) the veſture for the ſayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old veſture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and diuiding the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are preſented other veſtures for the ornament of the Moſquita. Alſo the people without deliuer vnto the eunuchs ech man ſomewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great deuotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine reſteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finiſh their deuotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Iambor. A good dayes iourney thence is a ſteepe mountaine, ouer which is no paſſage, ſauing by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times paſt called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans ſay, that Ally the companion and ſonne in law of Mahumet, being here purſued by many Chriſtians, and comming vnto this mountaine, not ſeeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his ſword, and ſtriking the ſaid mountaine, diuided it in ſunder, and paſſing thorow ſaued his life on the other ſide. Moreouer, this Alli among the Perſians is had in greater reuerence then Mahumet, who affirme, that the ſayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous then Mahumet, and therefore they eſteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carouan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with threeſcore horſes come thither to bring refreſhments to the ſaid captaine of the pilgrimage, as alſo to ſell vnto the pilgrims ſome victuals. From thence they ſet forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the maſter of the houſe of the Baſſha of Cairo with all his horſemen come thither to receiue him, with a ſumptuous and coſtly banket made at the coſt of the Baſha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreſhed departeth toward the caſtle of Cairo to ſalute the Baſha, who receiuing him with great ioy and gladneſſe in token of good wil preſenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the cheſt preſenteth it to the Baſha, who hauing kiſſed it, commandeth to lay it vp againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arriued at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing ſo: for they are ſo ſuperſtitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. But if by caſualty he ſhould die, in this caſe happy and bleſſed they thinke themſelues, which can get a morſell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carouan of Cairo.

The voyage and trauell of M. *Caſar Fredericke*, Marchant of *Venice*, into the *Eaſt India*, and beyond the *Indies*. Wherein are conteined the cuſtomes and rites of thoſe countries, the merchandiſes and commodities, aſwell of golde and ſiluer, as ſpices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: tranſlated out of Italian by M. *Thomas Hickocke*.

Cæſar Fredericke *to the Reader*.

I Hauing (gentle Reader) for the ſpace of eighteene yeeres continually coaſted and trauelled, as it were, all the Eaſt Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I haue had both good and ill ſucceſſe in my trauels: and hauing ſeene & vnderſtood many things woorthy the noting, and to be knowen to all the world, the which were neuer as yet written of any: I thought it good (ſeeing the Almighty had giuen me grace, after ſo long perils in paſsing ſuch a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I ſay, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and ſet forth this voyage made by me, with the maruellous things I haue ſeene in my trauels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that gouerne thoſe countreys, their religion and faith that they haue, the rites and cuſtomes which they vſe, and liue by, of the diuers ſucceſſe that happened vnto me, and how many of theſe countreys are abounding with ſpices, drugs, and iewels, giuing alſo profitable aduertiſement to all thoſe that haue a deſire to make ſuch a voyage. And becauſe that the whole world may more commodiouſly reioyce at this my trauell, I haue cauſed it to be printed in this order: and now I preſent it vnto you (gentle & louing Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein conteined, I hope that it ſhall be with great delight receiued. And thus God of his goodneſſe keepe you.

Cæſar Fredericke trauelled eighteene yeeres in the Eaſt Indies.

A voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, and beyond the *Indies*, &c.

In the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæſar Fredericke being in Venice, and very deſirous to ſee the Eaſt parts of the world, ſhipped my ſelfe in a ſhippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandiſe, gouerned by M. Iacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ſhip, with whom I went: and when we were arriued in Cyprus, I left that ſhip, and went in a leſſer to Tripoly in Soria, where I ſtayed a while. Afterward I tooke my iourney to Alepo, and there I acquainted my ſelfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were marchants, and conſorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes iourney and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

The authours going frō Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

Of the city called *Bir*.

Bir is a ſmall city very ſcarſe of all maner of victuals, and nere vnto the walles of the city runneth the riuer of Euphrates. In this city the marchants diuide themſelues into companies, according to their merchandiſe that they haue, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the riuer Euphrates, with charge of a maſter and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: theſe boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very ſtrong: and for all that they are ſo ſtrong, they will ſerue but for one voyage. They are made according to the ſholowneſſe of the riuer, becauſe that the riuer is in many places full of great ſtones, which greatly hinder and trouble thoſe that goe downe the riuer. Theſe boats ſerue but for one voyage downe the riuer vnto a village called Feluchia, becauſe it is impoſſible to bring them vp the riuer backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or elſe ſell them for a ſmall price; for that at Bir they coſt the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they ſel them at Feluchia for ſeuen or eight chickens a piece, becauſe that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they haue marchandiſe or goods that oweth cuſtome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wilderneſſe, paſſing that way with a great deale leſſer charges then the other way. And if they haue not marchandiſe that oweth cuſtome, then they goe by the way of Moſul, where it coſteth them great charges both the Carouan and company.

The riuer Euphrates.

Feluchia a ſmall city on Euphrates.

Moſul.

company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themſelues to Feluchia ouer againſt Babylon, if the riuer haue good ſtore of water, they ſhall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the riuer, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes iourney downe, becauſe that when the barks ſtrike on the ſtones that be in the riuer, then they muſt vnlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they haue mended them: therefore it is not neceſſary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat ſplit and be loſt with ſtriking on the ſholdes, they may haue another ready to take in their goods, vntill ſuch time as they haue mended the broke boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the riuers euery night, when you make faſt your boat to the banckeſide, you muſt keepe good watch againſt the Arabians which are theeues in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but ſteale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons againſt them, for that they ſtand greatly in feare of the ſhot. And as you paſſe the riuer Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you muſt paſſe by, where you pay cuſtome certaine medines vpon a bale, which cuſtome is belonging to the ſonne of Aboriſe king of the Arabians and of the deſert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the riuer Euphrates.

The Arabian theeues are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

Feluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe vnbarke themſelues and vnlade their goods, and it is diſtant from Babylon a dayes iourney and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of ſtrangers becauſe it is a great thorowfare for Perſia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into diuers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or ſkinnes called Vtrij. This riuer Tygris doeth waſh the walles of the city. Theſe Raffes are bound faſt together, and then they lay boards on the aforeſayd blowen ſkinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and ſo come they to Babylon where they vnlade them, and being vnladen, they let out the winde out of the ſkinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is ſituate in the kingdome of Perſia, but now gouerned by the Turks. On the other ſide of the riuer towards Arabia, ouer againſt the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchãts, with very many lodgings, where the greateſt part of the marchants ſtrangers wich come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The paſſing ouer Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: prouided, that when the riuer wareth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other ſide of the riuer: and as long as the bridge is open, they paſſe the riuer in ſmall boats with great danger, becauſe of the ſmalneſſe of the boats, and the ouerlading of them, that with the fierceneſſe of the ſtreame they be ouerthrowen, or els the ſtreame doth cary them away, ſo that by this meanes, many people are loſt and drowned: this thing by proofe I haue many times ſeene.

The olde Babylon hath great trade wᵗ marchants ſtill.

A bridge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

The Tower of Nimrod or Babel is ſituate on that ſide of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine diſtant from Babylon ſeuen or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on euery ſide, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: ſo that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it ſtanding, which is compaſſed and almoſt couered with the aforeſayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of foureſquare Brickes, which Brickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: firſt they layed a lay of Brickes, then a Mat made of Canes, ſquare as the Brickes, and in ſtead of lime, they daubed it with earth: theſe Mats of Canes are at this time ſo ſtrong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of ſuch great antiquity: I haue gone round about it, and haue not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my iudgement in circuit about a mile, and rather leſſe then more.

Theſe bricks be in thicknes ſix or ſeuen inches, and a foot & a halfe ſquare.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are ſeene afar off, for they ſeeme ſmall, & the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off ſeemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the leſſer. My iudgement & reaſon of this is, that becauſe the Tower is ſet in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any ſhew ſauing the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this reſpect deſcrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet ſtandeth with the mountaine that is made of the ſubſtance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater ſhew then you ſhall finde comming neere to it.

Babylon and Baſora.

FRom Babylon I departed for Baſora, ſhipping my ſelfe in one of the barks that vſe to go in the riuer Tigris from Babylon to Baſora, and from Baſora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fuſts or Galliots with a Speron and a couered poope: they haue no pumpe in them becauſe of the great abundance of pitch which they haue to pitch them with all: which pitch they haue in abundance two dayes iourney from Babylon. Nere vnto the riuer Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere vnto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very maruellous to beholde, and a thing almoſt incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with continuall ſmoake, this pitch is throwen with ſuch force, that being hot it falleth like as it were ſprinckled ouer all the plaine, in ſuch abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and the Arabians of that place ſay, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people haue great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the riuer of Tygris is well repleniſhed with water, you may paſſe from Babylon to Baſora in eight or nine dayes, and ſometimes more and ſometimes leſſe: we were halfe ſo much more which is 14 or 15 daies, becauſe the waters were low: they may ſaile day & night, and there are ſome places in this way where you pay ſo many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes iourney.

This hole whereout cõmeth this pitch is moſt true, and the water & pitch runneth into the valley or Iland where the pitch reſteth, & the water runneth into the riuer Euphrates, and it maketh all the riuer to be as it were brackiſh with the ſmell of pitch and brimſtone.

Baſora.

BAſora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was gouerned by thoſe Arabians called Zizarij, but now it is gouerned by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

Zizarij, an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarij haue the poſſeſſion of a great countrey, and cannot be ouercome of the Turke, becauſe that the ſea hath diuided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and for that cauſe the Turke cannot bring an army againſt them, neither by ſea nor by land, and another reaſon is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very ſtrong and warlike men. A dayes iourney before you come to Baſora, you ſhall haue a little caſtle or fort, which is ſet on that point of the land where the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the caſtle is called Corna: at this point, the two riuers make a monſtrous great riuer, that runneth into the ſea, which is called the gulfe of Perſia, which is towards the South: Baſora is diſtant from the ſea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of ſpices and drugges which come from Ormus. Alſo there is great ſtore of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I ſhipped my ſelfe in Baſora to go for Ormus, and ſo we ſailed thorow the Perſian ſea ſix hundred miles, which is the diſtance from Baſora to Ormus, and we ſailed in ſmall ſhips made of boards, bound together with ſmall cords or ropes, and in ſtead of calking they lay betweene euery board certaine ſtraw which they haue, and ſo they ſowe board and board together, with the ſtraw betweene, wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Baſora we paſſed 200 miles with the ſea on our right hand, along the gulfe, vntil at length we arriued at an Iland called Carichij, fro whẽce we ſailed to Ormus in ſight of the Perſian ſhore on the left ſide, and on the right ſide towards Arabia we diſcouered infinite Ilands.

At the caſtle of Corna the riuer Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

Ormus is the barrenneſt Iland in all the world.

Carichij an Iland in ẏ gulfe of Perſia.

Ormus.

ORmus is an Iland in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barreneſt and moſt drie Iland in all the world, becauſe that in it there is nothing to be had, but ſalt water, and wood, all other things neceſſary for mans life are brought out of Perſia twelue miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adioyning, in ſuch abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes repleniſhed with all maner of ſtore: there is ſtanding neere vnto the waters ſide a very faire caſtell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes reſident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this caſtell is a very faire proſpect: in the city dwell the maried men, ſouldiers and marchants of euery nation, amongſt whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all ſorts of ſpices, drugges, ſilke, cloth of ſilke, brocar-

Ormus is alwayes repleniſhed with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Iland.

Great trade of merchandiſe in Ormus.

do, and diuers other ſorts of marchandiſe come out of Perſia: and amongſt all other trades of merchandiſe, the trade of Horſes is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore king of the race of the Perſians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the caſtle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and ſaw the ceremonies that they vſe in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuſeth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the caſtle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine ſweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Gouernour, and then he giueth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feaſting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath ſufficient reuenues to maintaine himſelfe without troubling of any, becauſe the Captaine of the caſtle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the conſent of the Captaine firſt had: it behooueth them to doe this, and it is neceſſary, becauſe of the great trade that is in the city: their proper language is the Perſian tongue. There I ſhipped my ſelfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a ſhippe that had fourescore horſes in her. This is to aduertiſe thoſe Marchants that go from Ormus to Goa to ſhippe themſelues in thoſe ſhippes that carry horſes, becauſe euery ſhippe that carrieth twenty horſes or vpwards is priuileged, that all the marchandiſe whatſoeuer they carry ſhall pay no cuſtome, whereas the ſhippes that carry no horſes are bound to pay eight per cento of all the goods they bring.

The election of the king of Ormus.

A priuilege for Marchants.

Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, where is reſident the Viceroy with his Court and miniſters of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure ſcore and ten miles diſtance, in which paſſage the firſt city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is ſituate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greateſt ſtrength that the Portugals haue in all the Indies, yet a ſmall city, but of great trade, becauſe there they lade very many great ſhips for the ſtraights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandiſe, and theſe ſhippes belong to the Moores and Chriſtians, but the Moores can not trade neither ſaile into thoſe ſeas without the licence of the Viceroy of the king of Portugall, otherwiſe they are taken and made good priſes. The marchandiſe that they lade theſe ſhips withall commeth frō Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in ſmall barks, becauſe there can no great ſhippes come thither, by reaſon of the ſholdneſſe of the water thereabouts, and theſe ſholds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a ſtraight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to ſay, as a race of a tide, becauſe the waters there run out of that place without meaſure, ſo that there is no place like to it, vnleſſe it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then theſe doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called Amadauar, it is a dayes iourney and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houſes and large ſtreets, with a faire place in it with many ſhippes, and in ſhew like to Cairo, but not ſo great: alſo Cambaietta is ſituate on the ſeas ſide, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & ſcarſeneſſe, ſo that I haue ſeene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their ſonnes and their daughters, and haue deſired the Portugals to buy them, and I haue ſeene them ſolde for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiiii.s. iiii.d. For all this, if I had not ſeene it, I could not haue beleeued that there ſhould be ſuch a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of euery new Moone and euery full Moone, the ſmall barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at thoſe times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. Theſe barkes be laden with all ſorts of ſpices, with ſilke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Veluets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde worth ſeuen ſhillings a piece ſterling, with money, and with diuers ſorts of other marchandize. Alſo theſe barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbaſt of all ſorts, as white ſtamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger & conſerued, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraſo in paſte, great ſtore of ſugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Aſſa Fetida, Puchio, with many other ſorts of drugges, turbants made in Dui, great ſtones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaſpry, Calcidonij, Hematiſts, and ſome kinde of naturall Diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will;

Diu.

Cambaietta.

but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certaine Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and haue euery one of them fifteene or twenty ſeruants, and the Marchants that vſe that countrey haue their Brokers, with which they be ſerued: and they that haue not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what broker they ſhall be ſerued. Now euery fifteene dayes (as aboue ſayd) that the fleet of ſmall ſhippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water ſide, and theſe Marchants aſſoone as they are come on land, do giue the cargaſon of all their goods to that Broker that they will haue to do their buſineſſe for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they haue: and the marchant hauing taken on land all his furniture for his houſe, becauſe it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies cary prouiſion of houſholde with them, becauſe that in euery place where they they come they muſt haue a new houſe, the Broker that hath receiued his cargaſon, commandeth his ſeruants to carry the Marchants furniture for his houſe home, and load it on ſome cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers haue diuers empty houſes meet for the lodging of Marchants, furniſhed onely with bedſteds, tables, chaires, and empty iarres for water: then the Broker ſayth to the Marchant, Goe and repoſe your ſelfe, and take your reſt in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water ſide with the cargaſon, and cauſeth all his goods to be diſcharged out of the ſhip, and payeth the cuſtome, and cauſeth it to be brought into the houſe where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither cuſtome, nor charges. Theſe goods being brought to this paſſe into the houſe of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he haue any deſire to ſell his goods or marchandiſe, at the priſes that ſuch wares are worth at that preſent time: And if he hath a deſire to ſell his goods preſently, then at that inſtant the Broker ſelleth them away. After this the Broker ſayth to the Marchant, you haue ſo much of euery ſort of marchandiſe neat and cleare of euery charge, and ſo much ready money. And if the Marchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that ſuch and ſuch commodities will coſt ſo much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant vnderſtanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or ſell at the priſes currant, he giueth order to make his marchandiſe away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 duckets, all ſhalbe barred or ſolde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot ſell his goods at the priſe currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be ſolde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the cuſtome: and perchance tarying ſometimes for ſale of their commodity, they make good profit, and ſometimes loſſe: but thoſe marchandiſe that come not ordinarily euery fifteene dayes, in tarying for the ſale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to lade the ſhips that go from thence for the ſtreights of Mecca and Ormus, and ſome go to Chaul and Goa: and theſe ſhips be very wel appointed, or els are guarded with the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corſaries or Pyrats which goe courſing alongſt that coaſt, robbing and ſpoiling: and for feare of theſe theeues there is no ſafe ſailing in thoſe ſeas, but with ſhips very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforeſayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, becauſe that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the aſſault of Diu, was there ſlaine; whoſe name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or fiue captaines of the army diuided the kingdome amongſt themſelues, and euery one of them ſhewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelue yeeres ago the great Mogol a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes iourny within the land of Amadauar, became the gouernour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any reſiſtance, becauſe he being of great power and force, deuiſing which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any reſiſtance, although they were tyrants and a beaſtly people, they were ſoone brought vnder obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I ſaw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Manij, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are ſpent euery yeere many thouſands of crownes: the reaſon whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatſoeuer of their kindred, then in ſigne and token of mourning and ſorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and preſently they go and buy new againe, becauſe that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Marchants that trauell to the Indies muſt cary their prouiſion of houſhold with thē.

Great ſtore of men of warre and rouers on the coaſt of Cambaia.

A marueilous fond delight in women.

Daman. Baſan. Tana.

Hauing paſſed Diu, I came to the ſecond city that the Portugals haue, called Daman, ſituate in the territory of Cambaia, diſtant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no towne of merchandiſe, ſaue Rice and corne, and hath many villages vnder it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleaſure, but in time of warre the enemies haue the ſpoile of them; in ſuch wiſe that the Portugals haue little benefit by them. Next vnto Daman you ſhall haue Baſan, which is a filthy place in reſpect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make ſhippes and gallies. And a ſmall diſtance beyond Baſan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: theſe haue nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armeſine, and weauers of girdles of wooll and bumbaſt blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Tana an Iland whereof Odoricus writeth, pag 41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEyond this Iland you ſhall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals haue is ſituate lower then the other, and gouerneth the mouth of the harbour, and is very ſtrongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe diſtant from this is the city of Moores, gouerned by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ſhips come to the city of the Moores, becauſe the Portugals with their ordinance will ſincke them, for that they muſt perforce paſſe by the caſtles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the ſea, and are great cities, and haue vnto them great traffique and trade of merchandiſe, of all ſorts of ſpices, drugges, ſilke, cloth of ſilke, Sandols, Marſine, Verſine, Porcelane of China, Veluets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Meca: with many other ſortes of merchandiſe. There come euery yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fifteene great ſhippes laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the ſelfe ſame Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon theſe Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and eſpecially from this place to Goa, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodneſſe then this tree is, neither doe men reape ſo much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but ſerueth for ſome vſe, and none of it is worthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make ſhippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make ſailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the ſpring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a veſſell vnder euery tree, and euery euening and morning they take it away full, and then diſtilling it with fire it maketh a very ſtrong liquour: and then they put it into buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in ſhort time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great ſtore of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for ſhippes, and, as they ſay, theſe ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedſteds, after the Indies faſhion, and Scauaſches for merchandiſe. The leaues they cut very ſmall, and weaue them, and ſo make ſailes of them, for all maner of ſhipping, or els very fine mats. And then the firſt rinde of the Nut they ſtampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke ſhippes, great and ſmall: and of the hard barke thereof they make ſpoones and other veſſels for meat, in ſuch wiſe that there is no part thereof throwen away or caſt to the fire. When theſe Nuts be greene they are full of an excellent ſweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirſty, with the liquour of one of the Nuts he may ſatiſfie himſelfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coaſts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandiſe that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbaſt white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of euery ſort, great ſtore of Boraſo in Paſte, great ſtore of Fetida, great ſtore of yron, corne, and other merchandiſe. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thouſand men of warre, and hath great ſtore of artillery, ſome of them made in pieces, which for their greatneſſe can not bee carried to and fro: yet although they bee made in pieces, they are ſo commodious that they worke with them maruellous well, whoſe ſhotte is of ſtone, and there hath bene of that ſhot ſent vnto the king of Portugall for the rareneſſe of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul ſeuen or eight dayes iourney, which city is called Abneger. Threeſcore and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an hauen of the king Zamallaco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great ordinance made in pieces, and yet ſeruiceable.

Goa.

Goa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is reſident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reaſonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reaſonable faire, but the Iland is farre more fairer: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, repleniſhed with diuers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforeſayd. This city is of great trafique for all ſorts of marchandiſe which they trade withall in thoſe parts: and the fleet which commeth euery yeere from Portugall, which are fiue or ſixe great ſhippes that come directly for Goa, arriue there ordinarily the ſixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one ſhippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is diſtant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is ſituate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whoſe chiefe city is vp in the countrey eight dayes iourney, and is called Biſapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to giue aſſault to Goa, being encamped neere vnto it by a riuer ſide with an army of two hundred thouſand men of warre, and he lay at this ſiege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongſt his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongſt them in the time of Winter, and alſo killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567. I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narſinga eight dayes iourney from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian horſes to that king: becauſe the horſes of that countrey are of a ſmall ſtature, and they pay well for the Arabian horſes: and it is requiſite that the merchants ſell them well, for that they ſtand them in great charges to bring them out of Perſia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ſhip that bringeth twenty horſes and vpwards payeth no cuſtome, neither ſhip nor goods whatſoeuer; whereas if they bring no horſes, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horſes pay cuſtome, two and forty pagodies for euery horſe, which pagody may be of ſterling money ſixe ſhillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horſes are of great value in thoſe countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horſe, and to 1000 duckets a horſe.

The chiefe place the Portugals haue in the Indies.

A very good ſale for horſes.

Bezeneger.

The city of Bezeneger was ſacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of theſe foure kings were theſe following, the firſt was called Dialcan, the ſecond Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet theſe foure kings were not able to ouercome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treaſon. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongſt all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and theſe two captaines had either of them in charge threeſcore and ten or fourescore thouſand men. Theſe two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger eſteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were ioyned, the battell laſted but a while not the ſpace of foure houres, becauſe the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefeſt of the fight, with their companies turned their faces againſt their king, and made ſuch diſorder in his army, that as aſtonied they ſet themſelues to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome gouerned by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull king in priſon, it was their vſe euery yeere once to ſhew him to the people, and they at their pleaſures ruled as they liſted. Theſe brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in priſon, which when he died, left his ſonne very yong, and then they tooke the gouernment to themſelues. The chiefeſt of theſe three was called Ramaragio, and ſate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the ſecond was called Temiragio, and he tooke the gouernment on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was captaine generall of the army. Theſe three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefeſt and the laſt were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battel, hauing loſt one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the ouerthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of theſe three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept priſoner) fled away, ſpoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained ſixe moneths, ſearching vnder houſes & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their

A moſt vnkind & wicked treaſon againſt their prince: this they haue for giuing credit to ſtrangers, rather then to their owne natiue people.

The ſacking of the city.

owne kingdomes, becauſe they were not able to maintaine ſuch a kingdome as that was, ſo farre diſtant from their owne countrey.

An excellent good policy to intrap men.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and ſent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horſes, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cauſe the aforeſayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried thoſe horſes that they had to Bezeneger. Alſo this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horſes that were taken in the aforeſayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and beſide he gaue generall ſafe conduct to all that ſhould bring them. When by this meanes he ſaw that there were great ſtore of horſes brought thither unto him, hee gaue the Merchants faire wordes, untill ſuch time as he ſaw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their horſes, which when the poore men ſaw, they were deſperate, and as it were mad with ſorrow and griefe.

I reſted in Bezeneger ſeuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue diſcharged all my buſineſſe, for it was neceſſary to reſt there untill the wayes were cleere of theeues, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I reſted there, I ſaw many ſtrange and beaſtly deeds done by the Gentiles. Firſt, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife muſt burne herſelfe aliue, for the loue of her husband, and with the body of her husband: ſo that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or three, or as ſhee will, to burne her ſelfe in, and that day being come, wherein ſhee ought to be burnt, that morning ſhee goeth out of her houſe very earely, either on horſebacke or on an eliphant, or elſe is borne by eight men on a ſmal ſtage: in one of theſe orders ſhe goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her ſhoulders, garniſhed with iewels and flowers, according to the eſtate of the party, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: ſhee carrieth in her left hand a looking glaſſe, and in her right hand an arrow, and ſingeth thorow the City as ſhe paſſeth, and ſayth, that ſhe goeth to ſleepe with her deere ſpowſe and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the riuers ſide called Nigondin, which runneth under the walles of the City, untill they come unto a place where they uſe to make this burning of women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great ſquare caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fiue ſteppes up: the foreſayd caue is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to ſee the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and ſhe that ſhall be burned eateth with as great ioy and gladneſſe, as though it were her wedding day: and the feaſt being ended, then they goe to dancing and ſinging a certeine time, according as ſhe will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the ſquare caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then preſently ſhe leaueth the feaſt, and taketh the neereſt kinſeman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foreſayd riuer, where ſhee putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parents or kinſefolke, and couering herſelfe with a cloth, becauſe ſhe will not be ſeene of the people being naked, ſhe throweth herſelfe into the riuer, ſaying: O wretches, waſh away your ſinnes. Comming out of the water, ſhe rowleth herſelfe into a yellow cloth of fourteene braces long: and againe ſhe taketh her husbands kinſeman by the hand, and they go both together up to the pinnacle of the ſquare caue wherein the fire is made. When ſhe is on the pinnacle, ſhee talketh and reaſoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they uſe to ſet a mat, becauſe they ſhall not ſee the fierceneſſe of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, ſhewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that ſight. When this ſilly woman hath reaſoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and ſprinckleth it ouer her head, and with the ſame ſhe anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and preſently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the caue great pieces of wood, ſo by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that ſhe hath with the wood throwen after her, ſhe is quickly dead, and after this there groweth ſuch ſorrow and ſuch lamentacion among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in ſuch wiſe, that a man could ſcarſe beare the hearing of it. I haue ſeene many burnt in this maner, becauſe my houſe was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his ſlaues

A diſcription of the burning place.

Feaſting and dancing when they ſhould mourne.

Mourning when they ſhould reioyce.

with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themſelues together with him. Alſo in this kingdome I haue ſeene amongſt the baſe ſort of people this vſe and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his ſepulchre, and ſetting him as it were vpright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, caſting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and claſping him, vntill ſuch time as the Maſons haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and strangleth her: then when ſhe is dead, the workemen finiſh the wall ouer their heads, and ſo they lie buried both together. Beſides theſe, there are an infinite number of beaſtly qualities amongſt them, of which I haue no deſire to write. I was deſirous to know the cauſe why theſe women would ſo wilfully burne themſelues againſt nature and law, and it was tolde mee that this law was of an ancient time, to make prouiſion againſt the ſlaughters which women made of their huſbands. For in thoſe dayes before this law was made, the women for euery little diſpleaſure that their huſbands had done vnto them, would preſently poiſon their huſbands, and take other men, and now by reaſon of this law they are more faithfull vnto their huſbands, and count their liues as deare as their owne, becauſe that after his death her owne followeth preſently.

The cauſe why the women do ſo burne themſelues.

Penegonde.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill ſucceſſe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was ſacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a caſtle eight dayes iourney vp in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Alſo ſixe dayes iourney from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compaſſed with a wall, and that they ſell the earth within the wall, for ſo much a ſquadron, and the limits are ſet how deepe or how low they ſhall digge. Thoſe Diamants that are of a certeine ſiſe and bigger then that ſiſe are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, ſince they got any there, for the troubles that haue beene in that kingdome. The firſt cauſe of this trouble was, becauſe the ſonne of this Temetagio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in priſon, for which cauſe the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great diuiſion in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether deſtroyed, yet the houſes ſtand ſtill, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beaſts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certeine mountaines. The houſes ſtand walled with earth, and plaine, all ſauing the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houſes: theſe are made with lime and fine marble. I haue ſeene many kings Courts, and yet haue I ſeene none in greatneſſe like to this of Bezeneger, I ſay, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. Firſt when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are fiue great ports or gates: theſe are kept with Captaines and ſouldiers: then within theſe there are foure leſſer gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the firſt gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with fiue and twenty ſouldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the firſt, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wiſe are the firſt fiue gates guarded and kept with thoſe Captaines: and then the leſſer gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates ſtand open the greateſt part of the night, becauſe the cuſtome of the Gentiles is to doe their buſineſſe, and make their feaſts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very ſafe from theeues, for the Portugall merchants ſleepe in the ſtreets, or vnder porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vſe to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and prouiſion, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes iourney, but we went in the midſt of Winter, in the moneth of July, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the ſea coaſt, ſo in eight dayes I had loſt my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came vnto a riuer where was a little bridge to paſſe ouer, I put my bullocke to ſwimming, and in the middeſt of the riuer there was a little Iland, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding paſture, there he remained ſtill, and in no wiſe we could come to him: and ſo perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go ſeuen dayes

Men ride on bullocks, and trauell with them on the way.

The marchandiſe that come in and out to Bezeneger euery yere.

The apparell of thoſe people.

a foot with great paines : and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our iourney, for that euery day wee were taken priſoners, by reaſon of the great diſſenſion in that kingdome : and euery morning at our departure we muſt pay reſcat foure or fiue pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new gouernours countrey, as euery day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet euery one of them ſtamped a ſeueral coine of Copper, ſo that the money that we tooke this day would not ſerue the next : at length, by the helpe of God, we came ſafe to Ancola, which is a countrey of the queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandiſe that went euery yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian horſes, Veluets, Damaſks, and Sattens, Armeſine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets : and from Bezeneger they had in Turky for their commodities, iewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde : the apparell that they vſe in Bezeneger is Veluet, Satten, Damaſke, Scarlet, or white Bumbaſt cloth, according to the eſtate of the perſon with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Veluet, Satten, Damaſke, or Scarlet, girding themſelues in ſtead of girdles with ſome fine white bombaſt cloth : they haue breeches after the order of the Turks : they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aſpergh, and at their eares they haue hanging great plenty of golde.

Their Winter is our Summer.

Foure ſmall fortes of the Portugals.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to loſe, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being diſpoſed to go, taried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in thoſe parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and laſteth vnto the end of October : and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horſes in a palanchine, and two Portugall ſouldiers which came from Zeilan, and two cariers of letters, which were Chriſtians borne in the Indies: all theſe conſorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and cauſed a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes ; and in one of them Canes I hid priuily all the iewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me : and one day about eleuen of the clocke wee ſet forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we paſſed a mountaine which diuideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company, was aſſaulted by eight theeues, foure of them had ſwordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me vnderſtood the noiſe of the aſſault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me : preſently the theeues were on my necke, and rifeling me, they ſtripped me ſtarke naked, and I fained my ſelfe ſicke, becauſe I would not leaue the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes ; the theeues ſought it very narrowly and ſubtilly, and found two purſſes that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeues thinking it had beene ſo many duckats of golde, ſearched no further : then they threw all my clothes in a buſh, and hied them away, and as God would haue it, at their departure there fell from them an handkercher, and when I ſaw it, I roſe from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it vp, and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then theſe my Falchines were of ſo good condition, that they returned to ſeeke mee, whereas I thought I ſhould not haue found ſo much goodneſſe in them : becauſe they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the vſe, I had thought to haue ſeene them no more. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my iewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to haue made me a walking ſtaffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I ſhould haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulnes of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and ſo in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeues left me neither money, golde, nor ſiluer, and that which I did eat was giuen me of my men for Gods ſake : and after at my comming to Goa I payed them for euery thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene theſe two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you ſhall haue from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which is in the kingdome of the queene of Bartacella, which is tributary to the king of Bezeneger : there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and company he keepeth there. And paſſing this place, you ſhall come to another ſmall caſtle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very ſmall trade but onely for a little Rice : and from thence you goe to a little fort called Barzelor, there they haue good ſtore of Rice which is carried to Goa : and from thence you ſhall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebuſh ſhot diſtant from the chiefeſt city that yͤ king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles : and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes hauing delight to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their intereſt to let their merchandize paſſe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomũ, great ſtore of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ſhips laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bigneſſe of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all thoſe partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like vnto our Iuie leafe, but a litle leſſer and thinner: they eate it made in plaiſters with the lime made of Oiſterſhels, and thorow the Indies they ſpend great quantitie of money in this compoſition, and it is vſed daily, which thing I would not haue beleeued, if I had not ſeene it. The cuſtomers get great profite by theſe Herbes, for that they haue cuſtome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their ſpittle to bee red like vnto blood, and they ſay, that it maketh a man to haue a very good ſtomacke and a ſweete breath, but ſure in my iudgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie luſtes, and of a knauerie, for this Herbe is moyſt and hote, & maketh a very ſtrong expulſion. Frõ Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another ſmal Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of ſmall importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieues, being vnder the king of Calicut, a king alſo of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the neſt and reſting for ſtranger theeues, and thoſe bee called Moores of Carpoſa, becauſe they weare on their heads long red hats, and theſe thieues part the ſpoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a rouing, liberally to goe, in ſuch wiſe, that all along that coaſt there is ſuch a number of thieues, that there is no ſailing in thoſe Seas but with great ſhips and very well armed, or els they muſt go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15. miles.

Bettell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

Enimies to the king of Portugall.

Cochin.

Cochin is, next vnto Goa, the chiefeſt place that the Portugales haue in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other ſortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their ſhippes by bulke, and not in ſackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not ſo good as that which goeth for Mecca, becauſe that in times paſt the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reaſon of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither riſe nor fall, which is a very lowe and baſe price, and for this cauſe the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that giue a better price, haue it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are ſtollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is ſituate neereſt vnto the Sea, and that of the king of Cochin is a mile and a halfe vp higher in the land, but they are both ſet on the bankes of one riuer which is very great and of a good depth of water, which riuer commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whoſe kingdome are many Chriſtians of ſaint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is alſo a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to thoſe Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Chriſtians that come out of the Weſt, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuileges which the Citizens haue of that city, becauſe there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are theſe. The great ſtore of Silke that commeth from China, and the great ſtore of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any cuſtome for theſe two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento cuſtome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleaſure. Thoſe which are not married and ſtrangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandiſe. I was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the priuilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay cuſtome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ſhips withall that went to Portugale and ſtole the cuſtome in the night. The king of Cochin hauing vnderſtanding of this, would not ſuffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then preſently after this, the marchants were licenſed to doe as they did before, and there was no more ſpeach of

this

Within Cochin is the kingdom of Pepper.

The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not ſo good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought hither by ỹ ſtreights.

Great priuileges that the citizens of Cochin haue.

this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a ſmall power in reſpect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but ſeuentie thouſand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and ſome are called Nairi: theſe two ſorts of men eſteeme not their liues any thing, ſo that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thruſt themſelues forward in euery danger, although they know they ſhall die. Theſe men goe naked from the girdle vpwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their ſwordes naked, theſe Nairi haue their wiues common amongſt themſelues, and when any of them goe into the houſe of any of theſe women, hee leaueth his ſworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee ſo hardie as to come into that houſe. The kings children ſhall not inherite the kingdome after their father, becauſe they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of ſome other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the ſonnes of the kings ſiſters, or of ſome other woman of the blood roial, for that they be ſure they are of the blood roiall.

A very ſtrange thing hardly to be beleeued.

The Nairi and their wiues vſe for a brauerie to make great holes in their eares, and ſo bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they eſteeme themſelues. I had leaue of one of them to meaſure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the ſhoulder, clothed as it was, ſo that in effect they are monſtrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpoſe, which maketh the hole ſo great. They lade ſhips in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they eaſilie get leaue to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and ſo all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conſerued, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great ſtore of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great ſtore into Portugale.

Note the departing of the ſhips from Cochin.

The ſhippes euery yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fift day of December, or the fift day of January. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, diſtant from Cochin ſeuentie and two miles, which Coulam is a ſmall Fort of the king of Portugales, ſituate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of ſmall trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ſhip of Pepper, and then ſhe goeth to Cochin to take in the reſt, and from thence to Cao Comori is ſeuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coaſt of the Indies: and alongſt this coaſt, neere to the water ſide, and alſo to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chilao, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Chriſtian faith: there are alſo Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in thoſe places in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in inſtructing them in the law of Chriſt.

The fiſhing for Pearles.

The order how they fiſh for pearles.

The Sea that lieth betweene the coaſt which deſcendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fiſhing of Pearles, which fiſhing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it laſteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fiſhe euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the ſame ſea. When the time of this fiſhing draweth neere, then they ſend very good Diuers, that goe to diſcouer where the greateſt heapes of Oiſters bee vnder water, and right agaynſt that place where greateſt ſtore of Oiſters bee, there they make or plant a village with houſes and a Bazaro, all of ſtone, which ſtandeth as long as the fiſhing time laſteth, and it is furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, and nowe and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fiſhe. The Fiſhermen are all Chriſtians of the countrey, and who ſo will may goe to fiſhing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coaſt. All the while that they are fiſhing, there are three or foure Fuſtes armed to defend the Fiſhermen from Rouers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my paſſage, and I ſaw the order that they vſed in fiſhing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make conſort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle leſſe, there goe ſeuen or eight men in a boate: and I haue ſeene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coaſt. When they are at anker, they caſt a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make faſt a great ſtone, and then there is readie a man that hath his noſe and his eares well ſtopped, and annointed with oyle, and a baſket about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as faſt as he can hee filleth the baſket, and when it is full, he ſhaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him vp with the baſket: and in ſuch wiſe they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their barke with oyſters, and at euening they come to the village, and then euery company maketh their mountaine or heape of oyſters one diſtant from another, in ſuch wiſe that you ſhall ſee a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oyſters, and they are not touched vntill ſuch time as the fiſhing bee ended, and at the ende of the fiſhing euery companie ſitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oyſters, and fall to opening of them, which they may eaſilie doe becauſe they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyſter had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchaſe, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fiſhing is ended, then they ſee whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which ſet and make the price of pearles according to their carracts, beautie, and goodneſſe, making foure ſortes of them. The firſt ſort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, becauſe the Portugales doe buy them. The ſecond ſorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third ſort which are not ſo good as the ſecond, they call Aia of Canara, that is to ſay, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and laſt ſort, which are the leaſt and worſt ſort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being ſet, there are merchants of euery countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, ſo that in a fewe dayes all is bought vp at the priſes ſet according to the goodneſſe and caracts of the pearles.

These pearles are priſed according to the caracts which they weigh, euery caract is 4. graines, and these men that priſe thē haue an inſtrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to ſort yͤ perles withall.

In this Sea of the fiſhing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Chriſtians of the countrey which firſt were Gentiles, and haue a ſmall hold of the Portugales being ſituate ouer agaynſt Zeilan: and betweene theſe two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a ſmall depth therein: by reaſon whereof there cannot any great ſhippe paſſe that way, but ſmall ſhips, and with the increaſe of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they muſt vnlade them and put their goods into ſmall veſſels to lighten them before they can paſſe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their ſhippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all ſmall ſhippes that paſſe that way, but thoſe ſhippes that goe for the Indies Eaſtwardes, paſſe by the coaſt of Coromandel, on the other ſide by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coaſt of Corômandel, they looſe ſome ſhippes, but they bee emptie, becauſe that the ſhippes that paſſe that way diſcharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatane, and there land their goods into ſmall flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run ouer euery Shold without either danger or loſſe of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane vntill ſuch time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to paſſe the Sholdes, the ſmall ſhippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they haue ſailed ſixe and thirtie miles, they arriue at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe ſo forcibilie, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not hauing any other refuge to ſaue themſelues. The flat bottomed boates goe ſafe thorow, where as the ſmall ſhippes if they miſſe the aforeſayd chanell, ſticke faſt on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are loſt: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but paſſe by the chanell of Manar as is aboueſayd, whoſe chanell is Ozie, and if the ſhippes ſticke faſt, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reaſon why this chanell is not more ſure to goe thither, is, becauſe the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell ſo ſhalow with water, that almoſt there is not any paſſage. From Cao Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan.

ZEilan is an Iland, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that ſide towards the Indies lying Weſtward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Chriſtian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being depriued of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two ſonnes, the firſt named Barbinas the prince; and the ſecond Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yonger ſonne, was depriued of his kingdome, who becauſe hee had entiſed and done that which pleaſed the armie and ſouldiours, in deſpight of his father and brother being prince, vſurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. Firſt, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered priſoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is ſo called by the name of Candia, which had a reaſonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which ſayd that hee liued ſecretly a Chriſtian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine gouerned this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

Cairo is a ſtuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great ſtore of Pepper, great ſtore of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great ſtore of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great ſtore of Chriſtall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they ſay that they finde there ſome Rubies, but I haue ſold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was deſirous to ſee how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the time that I was there, was the ſeaſon which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to ſatiſfie my deſire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great ſtore of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a ſmall tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Baie tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the ſappe goeth vp to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wiſe. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioint to ioint, aboue and belowe, and then eaſilie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wiſe it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but againſt the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the beſt Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not ſo good as the other is; and in theſe woods groweth much Pepper.

The cutting & gathering of Sinamom.

A rare thinge.

Negapatan.

FRom the Iland of Zeilan men vſe to goe with ſmall ſhippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and ſeuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Chriſtians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of ſmall trade, neither haue they any trade there, ſaue a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbaſt which they carie into diuers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale leſſe; and that abundance of victuals cauſed many Portugales to goe thither and build houſes, and dwell there with ſmall charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neuertheleſſe the Portugales and other Chriſtians are well intreated there, and haue their Churches there with a monaſterie of Saint Francis order, with great deuotion and very well accommodated, with houſes round about: yet for all this, they are amongſt tyrants, which alwayes at their pleaſure may doe them ſome harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred, ſixtie and fiue: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to ſay, the lord of the citie, ſent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horſes, and they hauing denied them vnto him, and gaineſayd his demaund, it came to paſſe that this lord had a deſire to ſee the Sea, which when the poore citizens vnderſtood, they doubted ſome euill, to heare a thing which was not woont to bee, they thought that this man would come to ſacke the Citie, and preſently they embarked themſelues the beſt they could with their mooueables, marchandize, iewels, money, and all that they had, and cauſed the ſhippes to put from the ſhore. When this was done, as their euill chance would haue it, the next night following, there came ſuch a great ſtorme that it put all the ſhippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were ſaued, were taken from them by the ſouldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to ſee the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea ſide, not thinking that any ſuch thing would haue happened.

A fooliſh feare of Portugals.

Saint Thomas or San Tome.

S. Thomas his ſepulchre.

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the Eaſt an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the houſe of bleſſed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great deuotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they haue heard to haue bene done by that bleſſed Apoſtle: neere vnto this Church the Portugals haue builded them a Citie in the countrey ſubiect to the king of Bezeneger, which citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement it is the faireſt in all that part of the Indies: and it hath very faire houſes and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated: it hath ſtreetes large and ſtreight, with many Churches of great deuotion, their houſes be ſet cloſe one vnto another, with litle doores, euery houſe hath his defence, ſo that by that meanes it is of force ſufficient to defend ŷ Portugals againſt the people of that countrey. The Portugals there haue no other poſſeſſion but their gardens and houſes that are within the citie: the cuſtomes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very ſmall and eaſie, for that it is a countrey of great riches and great trade: there come euery yeere two or three great ſhips very rich, beſides many other ſmall ſhips: one of the two great ſhips goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbaſt cloth of euery ſort, painted, which is a rare thing, becauſe thoſe kinde of clothes ſhew as they were gilded with diuers colours, and the more they be waſhed, the liuelier the colours will ſhew. Alſo there is other cloth of Bumbaſt which is wouen with diuers colours, and is of great value: alſo they make in San Tome great ſtore of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will neuer waſte, but the more it is waſhed, the more redder it will ſhew: they lade this yarne the greateſt part of it for Pegu, becauſe that there they worke and weaue it to make cloth according to their owne faſhion, and with leſſer charges. It is a maruelous thing to them which haue not ſeene the lading and vnlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do: it is a place ſo dangerous, that a man cannot bee ſerued with ſmall barkes, neither can they doe their buſineſſe with the boates of the ſhippes, becauſe they would be beaten in a thouſand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpoſe) high, which they call Maſadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being ſowed to another with ſmall cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thruſt the boate with her lading into the ſtreame, and with great ſpeed they make haſte all that they are able to rowe out againſt the huge waues of the ſea that are on that ſhore, vntill that they carie them to the ſhips: and in like maner they lade theſe Maſadies at the ſhippes with merchandiſe and men. When they come neere the ſhore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that ſhe caſt not thwart the ſhore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea ſetteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or danger, and ſometimes there are ſome of them that are ouerthrowen, but there can be no great loſſe, becauſe they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, ſo that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

A painted kind of cloth & died of diuers colours which thoſe people delight much in, and eſteeme them of great price.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand, fiue hundred, ſixtie and ſixe, I went from Goa vnto Malacca, in a ſhippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went vnto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thouſand eight hundred miles, we paſſed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call thoſe Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people ſauage or wilde, becauſe they eate one another: alſo theſe Ilands haue warre one with another, for they haue ſmall Barkes, and with them they take one another, and ſo eate one another: and if by euil chance any ſhip be loſt on thoſe Ilands, as many haue bene, there is not one man of thoſe ſhips loſt there that eſcapeth vneaten or vnſlaine. Theſe people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with any, but liue onely of ſuch fruites as thoſe Ilands yeeld: and if any ſhip come neere vnto that place or coaſt as they paſſe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere vnto our ſhip laden with fruite, as with Mouces which wee call Adams apples, with freſh Nuts, and with a fruite called Inani, which fruite is like to our Turneps, but is very ſweete and good to eate: they would not come into the ſhippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde ſhirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, theſe ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow.

In the Ilands of Andemaon, they eate one another.

what they thought thoſe things to bee worth, ſo much fruite they would make faſt to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at ſometimes a man ſhall haue for an old ſhirt a good piece of Amber.

Sumatra.

The commodities that grow in the kingdom of Aſſi.

THis Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and deuided and gouerned by many kings, and deuided into many chanels, where through there is paſſage: vpon the headland towardes the Weſt is the kingdom of Aſſi gouerned by a Moore king: this king is of great force and ſtrength, as he that beſide his great kingdom, hath many Foiſts and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great ſtore of Pepper, Ginger, Beniamin: he is an vtter enemy to the Portugals, and hath diuers times bene at Malacca to fight againſt it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withſtood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great ſpoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The Citie Malacca.

The great trade that is at Malacca.

At the Moluccos they lade the Cloues.

The kingdoms of Aſſa.

The ſhip of drugs, ſo termed of the Portugals.

Ilands not diſcouered.

China is vnder the gouernment of the great Tartar.

MAlacca is a Citie of marueilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from diuers partes, becauſe that all the ſhippes that ſaile in theſe ſeas, both great and ſmall, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their cuſtome there, although they vnlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elſinor: and if by night they eſcape away, and pay not their cuſtome, then they fall into a greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and haue not the ſeale of Malacca, they pay double cuſtome. I haue not paſſed further then Malacca towards the Eaſt, but that which I will ſpeake of here is by good information of them that haue bene there. The ſailing from Malacca towards the Eaſt is not common for all men, as to China and Iapan, and ſo forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leaue granted vnto them of the king to make ſuch voiages, or to the iuriſdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thither, & theſe are the kings voiages, that euery yere there departeth frõ Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of thẽ goeth to ẏ Moluccos to lade Cloues, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. Theſe two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, ſauing the portage of the Mariners and ſouldiers, and for this cauſe they are not voiages for marchants, becauſe that going thither, they ſhal not haue where to lade their goods of returne; and beſides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of theſe two places. There goe ſmall ſhippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coaſt of Iaua, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Aſſa, and theſe be the Maces, Cloues, and Nutmegs, which go for the ſtreights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are theſe, of China and Iapan, from China to Iapan, and from Iapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and euery ſort of Bumbaſt cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coaſt of Iaua, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ſhip that goeth euery yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ſhip of Drugs, becauſe ſhe carieth diuers drugs of Cambaia, but the greateſt part of her lading is ſiluer. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Iapan goeth euery yeere a ſhippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of ſiluer which they trucke in China. The diſtance betweene China and Iapan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are diuers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of ſaint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Chriſtians there like to themſelues. From theſe Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet diſcouered for the great ſholdneſſe of Sandes that they find. The Portugals haue made a ſmall citie neere vnto the coaſt of China called Macao, whoſe church and houſes are of wood, and it hath a biſhoprike, but the cuſtoms belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the ſame at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes iourney and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are ſo iealous and fearefull, that they would not haue a ſtranger to put his foote within their land: ſo that when the Portugals go thither to pay their cuſtome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not conſent that they ſhall lie or lodge within the citie, but ſend them foorth into the ſuburbes. The countrey of China is neere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be iudged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeue there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world beſides.

Firſt, great ſtore of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little ſhippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great aboundance of fine ſilke, cloth of damaſke and taffata, great quantitie of muſke, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quickſiluer and of Cinaper, great ſtore of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in veſſels of diuerſe ſortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and ſquares, infinite ſtore of the rootes of China: and euery yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great ſhippes, laden with moſt rich and precious marchandiſe. The Rubarbe commeth from thence ouer lande, by the way of Perſia, becauſe that euery yeere there goeth a great Carouan from Perſia to China, which is in going thither ſixe moneths. The Carouan arriueth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is reſident with his Court. I ſpake with a Perſian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the iuriſdiction of the Captaine of the caſtle, are theſe: Euery yeere he ſendeth a ſmall ſhippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the beſt commeth from this Iland: there commeth ſome alſo from Solor, but that is not ſo good: alſo he ſendeth another ſmall ſhip euery yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere vnto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not ſuffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandiſe, the people bring that a boord the ſhip in ſmall barkes, ſo that euery day there is a mart kept in the ſhip, vntill ſuch time as ſhe be laden: alſo there goeth another ſhip for the ſaid Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all theſe voiages are for the Captaine of the caſtle of Malacca, and when he is not diſpoſed to make theſe voiages, he ſelleth them to another.

A yeerely Carouan from Perſia to China.

A market kept aboord of the ſhips.

The citie of *Sion*, or *Siam*.

Sion was the imperiall ſeat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie and ſeuen, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths iourney with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thouſand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gaue aſſault to it, and beſieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great loſſe of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu ſixe moneths after his departure, and ſawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, ſent fiue hundreth thouſand men of warre to furniſh the places of them that were ſlaine and loſt in that aſſault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treaſon againſt the citie, it had not beene loſt: for on a night there was one of the gates ſet open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became gouernour of Sion: and when the Emperour ſawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemie was in the citie, he poyſoned himſelfe: and his wiues and children, friends and noblemen, that were not ſlaine in the firſt affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captiues into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home & returning from the warres was a goodly ſight to beholde, to ſee the Elephants come home in a ſquare, laden with golde, ſiluer, iewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken priſoners in that citie.

A prince of a marueilous ſtrength and power.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great ſhippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie ſituate on the coaſt of Coromandel: and becauſe the Captaine of the caſtles of Malacca had vnderſtanding by aduiſe that the king of *Aſſi would come with a great armie and power of men againſt them, therefore vpon this he would not giue licence that any ſhippes ſhould depart: Wherefore in this ſhip wee departed from thence in the night, without making any prouiſion of our water: and wee were in that ſhippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were ſo contrary, that they would not ſuffer vs to fetch it, ſo that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the ſea as it were loſt, and we were driuen too and fro, ſo that the firſt lande that we diſcouered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then fiue hundreth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere vnto the kingdome of Oriſa, and ſo wee came to Oriſa with many ſicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were ſicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the ſpace of a yeere after had my throat ſo ſore and hoarſe, that I could neuer ſatiſfie my thirſt in drinking of water: I iudge the reaſon of my hoarſeneſſe to bee with ſoppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I ſuſteyned my ſelfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey

* Or Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

are

are ſo hot that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I ſawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ſhip, that ſolde a ſmall diſh full for a duckat, after this I ſawe one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle meaſure of water, and he could not haue it. Truely I beleeue that I had died with my ſlaue, whom then I had to ſerue mee, which coſt mee verie deare: but to prouide for the daunger at hand, I ſolde my ſlaue for halfe that he was worth, becauſe that I would ſaue his drinke that he drunke, to ſerue my owne purpoſe, and to ſaue my life.

Of the kingdome of *Oriſa*, and the riuer *Ganges.*

ORiſa was a faire kingdome and truſtie, through the which a man might haue gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the land ſixe dayes iourney. This king loued ſtrangers maruellous well, eſpecially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in ſuch wiſe that hee would take no cuſtome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the ſhippe that came thither payde a ſmall thing according to her portage, and euery yeere in the port of Oriſa were laden fiue and twentie or thirtie ſhips great and ſmall, with ryce and diuers ſortes of fine white bumbaſte cloth, oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a ſeed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fiſh withal, great ſtore of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great ſtore of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of ſilke which groweth amongſt the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About ſixteene yeeres paſt, this king with his kingdome were deſtroyed by the king of Patane, which was alſo king of the greateſt part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he ſet cuſtome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enioyed his kingdome but a ſmall time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any reſiſtance. I departed from Oriſa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is diſtant from Oriſa towardes the Eaſt a hundred and ſeuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongſt the coaſt fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuer Ganges: from the mouth of this riuer, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themſelues together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increaſe of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe againſt it, by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foiſtes, yet they cannot preuaile againſt that ſtreame, but for refuge muſt make them faſt to the banke of the riuer vntill the next flowing water, and they call theſe barkes Bazaras and Patuas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as euer I haue ſeene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan; you ſhall haue a place which is called Buttor, and from thence vpwards the ſhips doe not goe, becauſe that vpwardes the riuer is very ſhallowe, and litle water. Euery yeere at Buttor they make and vnmake a Village, with houſes and ſhoppes made of ſtrawe, and with all things neceſſarie to their vſes, and this village ſtandeth as long as the ſhips ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, euery man goeth to his plot of houſes, and there ſetteth fire on them, which thing made me to maruaile. For as I paſſed vp to Satagan, I ſawe this village ſtanding with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ſhips and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Capteine of the laſt ſhip, for whom I tarried, I was al amazed to ſee ſuch a place ſo ſoone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the ſigne of the burnt houſes. The ſmall ſhips go to Satagan, and there they lade.

The commodities that go out of Oriſa.

This cloth we call Nettle cloth.

The riuer of Ganges.

Of the citie of *Satagan.*

IN the port of Satagan euery yeere lade thirtie or fiue and thirtie ſhips great and ſmall, with rice, cloth of Bombaſt of diuerſe ſortes, Lacca, great abundance of ſugar, Mirabolans dried and preſerued, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other ſorts of marchandiſe. The citie of Satagan is a reaſonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was gouerned by the king of Patane, and now is ſubiect to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure monethes, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with theſe barkes they goe vp and downe the riuer of Ganges to faires, buying their

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

commoditie with a great aduantage, becauſe that euery day in the weeke they haue a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I alſo hired a barke and went vp and downe the riuer and did my buſineſſe, and ſo in the night I ſaw many ſtrange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times paſt hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neuertheleſſe there is great ſtore of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I haue ſpoken of Gentiles, is to be vnderſtood Idolaters, and wheras I ſpeak of Moores I meane Mahomets ſect. Thoſe people eſpecially that be within the land doe greatly worſhip the riuer of Ganges: for when any is ſicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the riuer, and there they make him a ſmall cottage of ſtrawe, and euery day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of ſtickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone vntill it be halfe roſted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie iarre faſt about his necke, and ſo throw him into the riuer. Theſe things euery night as I paſſed vp and downe the riuer I ſaw for the ſpace of two moneths, as I paſſed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cauſe that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the riuer Ganges, yet to the ſight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles diſtant. That voyage is woont to be made in fiue and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ſhip was without victuals. The Pilot told vs that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanaſary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and theſe his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many vninhabited rockes, and there were alſo ſome Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe alſo where the citie of Tanaſari was.

Moores are of the ſect of Mahomet.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they are dead.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is ſituate on a great riuers ſide, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this riuer runneth into the ſea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whoſe harbour euery yeere there lade ſome ſhips with Verzina, Nypa, and Beniamin, a few cloues, nutmegs and maces which come from the coaſt of Sion, but the greateſt marchandiſe there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whoſe liquour they diſtill, and ſo make an excellent drinke cleare as chriſtall, good to the mouth, and better to the ſtomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good ſtore of this, he ſhall be whole againe, and I haue ſeene it proued, becauſe that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whoſe noſe beganne to drop away with that diſeaſe, and he was counſelled of the doctors of phiſicke, that he ſhould goe to Tanaſary at the time of the new wines, and that he ſhould drinke of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was diſtilled, which at that time is moſt delicate, but after that it is diſtilled, it is more ſtrong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkenneſſe. This man went thither, and did ſo, and I haue ſeene him after with a good colour and ſound. This wine is very much eſteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought ſo farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, becauſe it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is euery yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpoſe, I ſay, being amongſt theſe rockes, and farre from the land which is ouer againſt Tanaſary, with great ſcarcitie of victuals, and that by the ſaying of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforeſayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the ſhippe ſhould ſtay for vs in a place aſſigned. We were twentie and eight perſons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke we went from the ſhip, aſſuring our ſelues to bee in the harbour before night in the aforeſaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any ſigne of good landing, and this came to paſſe through the euill counſell of the two Portugales that were with vs.

Marchandiſe comming from Sion.

Niper wine good to cure the French diſeaſe.

For we had ouerſhot the harbour and left it behind vs, in ſuch wiſe that we had loſt the lande inhabited, together with the ſhippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with vs in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice with him in the boate to barter away for ſome other thing, and it was not ſo much but that three or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: I tooke the gouernment of this Ryce, promiſing that by the helpe of God that Ryce ſhould be nouriſhment for vs vntil it pleaſed God to ſend vs to ſome place that was inhabited: & when I ſlept I put the ryce into my boſome becauſe they ſhould not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongſt the coaſt, without finding any thing but countreys vninhabited, & deſert Ilands, where if we had found but graſſe it would haue ſeemed

Great extremitie at ſea.

ſugar vnto vs, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaues of a tree, and they were ſo hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood ſufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made faſt our boat to the banke of one of thoſe Ilandes, and in theſe nine dayes that we rowed, we found a caue or neſt of Tortoiſes egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe vnto vs: theſe egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and haue no ſhell about them but a tender ſkinne, euery day we ſodde a kettle full of thoſe egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleaſed God that at the ende of nine dayes we diſcouered certaine fiſher men, a fiſhing with ſmall barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were neuer men more glad then we were, for wee were ſo ſore afflicted with penurie, that we could ſcarce ſtande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we ſet for our ryce, when we ſawe thoſe fiſher men, there was left ſufficient for foure dayes. The firſt village that we came to was in the gulfe of Tauay, vnder the king of Pegu, whereas we found great ſtore of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arriuall there, we would eate but litle meate any of vs, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the moſt part of vs. From Tauay to Martauan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are ſeuentie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals which were aboundantly ſufficient for ſixe monethes, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martauan, where in ſhort time we arriued, but we found not our ſhip there as we had thought we ſhould, from whence preſently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to paſſe, becauſe that ſhe wanted her boat a moneth, which ſhould haue made her prouiſion of wood and water, the ſhippe alſo by the grace of God arriued ſafely in the aforeſaid port of Martauan.

Tauay vnder the king of Pegu.

The Citie of *Martauan.*

WE found in the Citie of Martauan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other baſe men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or gouernour of the citie, and all for this cauſe, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had ſlaine fiue falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thouſand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion, They haue for cuſtome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being whereſoeuer his pleaſure is to bee out of his kingdome, that euery fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carouan of Falchines, with euery one a baſket on his head full of ſome fruites or other delicates of refreſhings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carouan paſſing by Martauan, and reſting themſelues there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of deſpight, and from wordes to blowes, and becauſe it was thought that the Portugales had the worſe, the night following, when the Falchines were a ſleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off fiue of their heads. Now there is a lawe in Pegu, that whoſoeuer killeth a man, he ſhall buy the ſhed blood with his money, according to the eſtate of the perſon that is ſlaine, but theſe Falchines being the ſeruants of the king, the Retors durſt not doe any thing in the matter, without the conſent of the king, becauſe it was neceſſarie that the king ſhould knowe of ſuch a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gaue commaundement that the malefactors ſhould be kept vntill his comming home, and then he would duely miniſter iuſtice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliuer thoſe men, but rather ſet himſelfe with all the reſt in armes, and went euery day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and enſignes diſplayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reaſon they were gone all to the warres and in buſineſſe of the king: in the middeſt of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a ſtrange thing to ſee the Portugales vſe ſuch inſolencie in another mans Citie. And I ſtoode in doubt of that which came to paſſe, and would not vnlade my goods becauſe that they were more ſure in the ſhippe then on the land, the greateſt part of the lading was the owners of the ſhippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diuerſe marchants there, but their goods were of ſmall importance, all thoſe marchants tolde me that they would not vnlade any of their goods there, vnleſſe I would vnlade firſt, yet after they left my counſell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and loſt euery whit. The Rector with the cuſtomer ſent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my cuſtome as other men did: To whom I anſwered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and ſeeing ſuch diſorder amongſt the Portugales, I doubted the loſſe of my goods which coſt me very deare, with the ſweate of my face, and for this cauſe I was determined not

Martauan a citie vnder the king of Pegu.

A cuſtom that theſe people haue when the king is in the warres.

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

Great pride of the Portugales.

to put my goods on lande, vntill ſuch time as his honour would aſſure me in the name of the king, that I ſhould haue no loſſe, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods ſhould haue any hurt, becauſe I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my reaſon ſounded well in the Retors eares, and ſo preſently he ſent for the Bargits, which are as Counſellers of the Citie, and there they promiſed mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods ſhould haue any harme, but that we ſhould be ſafe and ſure: of which promiſe there were made publike notes. And then I ſent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my cuſtome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the ſame goods, and for my more ſecuritie I tooke a houſe right againſt the Retors houſe. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the ſhippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles deuiſed to be reuenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution vntill ſuch time as our ſmall ſhippe had diſcharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thouſand ſouldiers with ſome Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor ſent, and gaue commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyſe, that for any thing they ſhould not goe out of their houſes, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyſe of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houſes of the Portugales, and their houſes of wood and ſtrawe, in the which tumult there were ſome Portugales wounded, and one of them ſlaine; and others without making proofe of their manhoode, which the day before did ſo bragge, at that time put themſelues to flight moſt ſhamefully, and ſaued themſelues a boord of litle ſhippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and ſome that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the ſuburbes into the Citie, and thoſe Portugales that had their goods in the ſuburbes alſo. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the ſhippes to ſaue themſelues, tooke a newe courage to themſelues, and came on lande and ſet fire on the houſes in the ſuburbes, which houſes being made of boorde and ſtrawe, and the winde blowing freſh, in ſmall time were burnt and conſumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to haue beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recouer any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the ſumme of ſixteene thouſand duckats, which, if they had not ſet fire to the towne, they might haue had againe without any loſſe at all. Then the Portugales vnderſtanding that this thing was not done by the conſent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and ſhoot their ordinance againſt the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure dayes, but all was in vaine, for the ſhotte neuer hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a ſmall hill neere vnto it, ſo that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceiued that the Portugales made battery againſt the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and ſent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry vntill ſuch time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done vnto them. I my ſelfe was alwayes in my houſe with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man ſhould doe me iniurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in ſuch wiſe that hee perfourmed all that he had promiſed me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, becauſe I was twenty and one moneths ſequeſtred, that I could not buy nor ſell any kinde of marchandize. Thoſe commodities that I brought thither, were peper, ſandols, and Porcellan of China: ſo when the king was come home, I made my ſupplication vnto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

A reuenge on the Portugales.

From Marcauan I departed to goe to the chiefeſt Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is alſo called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by ſea in three or foure daies; they may goe alſo by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by ſea and leſſer charge. And in this voyage you ſhall haue a Macareo, which is one of the moſt marueilous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I neuer ſaw any thing ſo hard to be beleeued as this, to wit, the great increaſing & diminiſhing of the water there at one puſh or inſtant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyſe that the ſaid Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Marcauan in barkes, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the increaſe of the water, and they goe as ſwift as an arrowe out of a bow, ſo long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the higheſt, then they drawe themſelues out of the Chanell towardes ſome banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminiſhed, then they reſt on dry land: and

A thing moſt marueilous, that at the comming of a tide the earth ſhould quake.

and when the barkes reſt dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any houſe top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie ſo high for this reſpect, that if there ſhould any ſhippe reſt or ride in the Chanell, with ſuch force commeth in the water, that it would ouerthrowe ſhippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be ſo farre out of the Chanell, and though the water hath loſt her greateſt ſtrength and furie before it come ſo high, yet they make faſt their prowe to the ſtreme, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow vp by ſtrength, ſhee would be ouerthrowen and loſt with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increaſe, it maketh ſuch a noyſe and ſo great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and preſently at the firſt it maketh three waues. So that the firſt waſheth ouer the barke, from ſtemme to ſterne, the ſecond is not ſo furious as the firſt, and the thirde rayſeth the Anker, and then for the ſpace of ſixe houres while the water encreaſeth, they rowe with ſuch ſwiftneſſe that you would thinke they did fly: in theſe tydes there muſt be loſt no iot of time, for if you arriue not at the ſtagions before the tyde be ſpent, you muſt turne backe from whence you came. For there is no ſtaying at any place, but at theſe ſtagions, and there is more daunger at one of theſe places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martauan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, becauſe they will lay their barkes vp aloft on the bankes, for the reaſon aforeſayd. I could neuer gather any reaſon of the noyſe that this water maketh in the increaſe of the tide, and in deminiſhing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in compariſon of this. By the helpe of God we came ſafe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant ſtrangers, and marchantes of the Countrey, for there are the greateſt doings and the greateſt trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great ſuburbes. Their houſes be made with canes, and couered with leaues, or with ſtrawe, but the marchants haue all one houſe or Magaſon, which houſe they call Godon which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to ſaue them from the often miſchances that there happen to houſes made of ſuch ſtuffe. In the new citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finiſhed the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure ſquare, walled round about, and with ditches that compaſſe the wals about with water, in which diches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, fiue for euery ſquare on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and couered or guilt with gold, the ſtreetes thereof are the fayreſt that I haue ſeene, they are as ſtreight as a line from one gate to another, and ſtanding at the one gate you may diſcouer to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breaſt in them: and thoſe ſtreetes that be thwart are faire and large, theſe ſtreetes, both on the one ſide and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houſes, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious ſhadowe, the houſes be made of wood and couered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very neceſſary for their vſe, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled caſtle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all ouer gilded, with fine pinacles, and very coſtly worke, couered with plates of golde. Truely it may be a kings houſe: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one ſide to the other, wherein there are made places for the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt Eliphants appointed for the ſeruice of the kings perſon, and amongſt all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing ſo rare that a man ſhall hardly finde another king that hath any ſuch, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he ſendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that coſt me ſomething the ſight of them, for that they commaund the marchants to goe to ſee them, and then they muſt giue ſomewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants giue for euery man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tanſa, which amounteth to a great ſumme, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they haue payde the aforeſayde Tanſa, they may chuſe whether they will ſee them at that time or no, becauſe that when they are in the kings ſtall, euery man may ſee them that will: but at that time they muſt goe and ſee them, for it is the kings pleaſure it ſhould be ſo. This King amongſt all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of theſe white Eliphantes, and would not ſend them vnto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he eſteemeth theſe white Eliphants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete ſeruice, euery one of them is in a houſe, all guilded ouer, and they haue their meate giuen them in veſſels of ſiluer and golde, there is one blacke Eliphant the greateſt that hath bene ſeene, and he is kept according to his bigneſſe, he is nine cubites high, which is a marueilous thing.

This tide is like to the tides in our riuer of Seuerne.

Theſe tides make their iuſt courſe as ours doe.

This Macareo is a tide or a currant.

Houſes made of canes, & couered with leaues of trees.

Godon is a place or houſe for marchants to lay their goods in.

The forme of the building of the new citie of Pegu.

A rich and ſtately palace.

Foure white Eliphants.

This money called Tanſa is halfe a duckat which may be three ſhillings & foure pence.

It is reported that this king hath foure thouſand Elephants of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they vſe to put on their two vppermoſt teeth ſharpe pikes of yron, and make them faſt with rings, becauſe theſe beaſtes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath alſo very many yong Eliphants that haue not their teeth ſprowted foorth: alſo this king hath a braue deuiſe in hunting to take theſe Eliphants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to ſtande to ſee this hunting: neere vnto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this buſineſſe. Euery hunter carieth out with him fiue or ſixe of theſe feminines, and they ſay that they anoynt the ſecret place with a certaine compoſition that they haue, that when the wilde Eliphant doeth ſmell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leaue them: when the hunts-men haue made prouiſion, & the Eliphant is ſo entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and ſhut with engines, before which doore there is a long ſtreight way with trees on both the ſides, which couereth the way in ſuch wiſe as it is like darkeneſſe in a corner: the wilde Eliphant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At the end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters haue gotten this praye, when they firſt come to this field, they ſend preſently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all ſpeed there go out fiftie or ſixtie men on horſebacke, and doe beſet the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this buſineſſe goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters ſhoute and make a great noyſe, as much as is poſſible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and aſſoone as hee is in, the gate is ſhut without any noyſe, and ſo the hunters with the female Eliphants, and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a ſmall time the females withdraw themſelues away one by one out of the Court, leauing the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiueth that he is left alone, he is ſo madde that for two or three houres to ſee him, it is the greateſt pleaſure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he iuſtleth, hee thruſteth vnder the places where the people ſtand to ſee him, thinking to kil ſome of them, but the poſts and timber is ſo ſtrong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; At length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with ſweat, then he plucketh in his truncke into his mouth, and then hee throweth out ſo much water out of his belly, that he ſprinckleth it ouer the heades of the lookers on, to the vttermoſt of them, although it bee very high: and then when they ſee him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long ſharpe canes in their hands, and prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houſes that is made alongſt the Court for the ſame purpoſe: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himſelf to go backe againe. And it is requiſite that theſe men ſhould be very wary and ſwift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not ſwift to ſaue themſelues: at length when they haue gotten him into one of thoſe houſes, they ſtand ouer him in a loft and get ropes vnder his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him faſt, and ſo let him ſtand foure or fiue dayes, and giue him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of theſe foure or fiue dayes, they vnlooſe him and put one of the females vnto him, and giue them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgment there is not a beaſt ſo intellectiue as are theſe Eliphants, nor of more vnderſtanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper ſaith, ſo that he lacketh nothing but humaine ſpeech.

A warlike policie.

An excellent deuiſe to hunt and take wilde Eliphants.

An excellent paſtime of the Eliphants.

Theſe canes are like to them in Spaine which they call loco de tore.

A ſtrange thing that a beaſt ſo wilde ſhould in ſo ſhort time be made tame.

It is reported that the greateſt ſtrength that the king of Pegu hath is in theſe Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they ſet on their backes a Caſtle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Caſtle foure men very commodiouſly ſet to fight with hargubuſhes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they ſay that the ſkinne of this Eliphant is ſo hard, that an harquebuſſe will not pierce it, vnleſſe it bee in the eye, temples, or ſome other tender place of his body. And beſides this, they are of great ſtrength, and haue a very excellent order in their battel, as I haue ſeene at their feaſtes which they make in the yeere, in which feaſtes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in ſo barbarous a people there ſhould be ſuch goodly orders as they haue in their armies, which be diſtinct in ſquares of Eliphants, of horſemen, of harquebuſhers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they haue very bad pikes, their ſwords are worſe made, like long kniues without points, his harquebuſhes are moſt excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thouſand harquebuſhes, and the number of them encreaſeth dayly. Becauſe the king will haue them

The greateſt ſtrength that the king of Pegu hath.

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

ſhoote

26. Crowned kings at his commaund. Fifteene hundreth thouſand men in one Campe.

Eating of ſerpents.

The riches of the king of Pegu.

The great pompe of the king.

The order of Iuſtice.

No difference of perſons before the King in controuerſies or in iuſtice.

ſhoote euery day at the Plancke, and ſo by continuall exerciſe they become moſt excellent ſhot: alſo hee hath great Ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or ſtrength then this king of Pegu, becauſe hee hath twentie and ſixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the fielde againſt his enemies. The ſtate of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to conſider, & the victuals that ſhould maintaine ſuch a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will eaſily beleeue it. I haue ſeene with mine eyes, that thoſe people and ſouldiers haue eaten of all ſorts of wild beaſts that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or otherwiſe all ſerueth for their mouthes: yea, I haue ſeene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, alſo they feed of all kinde of herbes and graſſe. So that if ſuch a great armie want not water and ſalt, they wil maintaine themſelues a long time in a buſh with rootes, flowers and leaues of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, & that ſerueth them in ſtead of comfits, it is ſo daintie vnto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by ſea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and ſiluer, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treaſure and ſtrength. This king hath diuers Magaſons ful of treaſure, as gold, & ſiluer, and euery day he encreaſeth it more and more, and it is neuer diminiſhed. Alſo hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires & Spinels. Neere vnto his royal pallace there is an ineſtimable treaſure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it ſtandeth in ſuch a place that euery one may ſee it, and the place where this treaſure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of ſtone, with two gates which ſtand open euery day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houſes couered with lead, & in euery one of theſe are certaine heatheniſh idoles of a very great valure. In the firſt houſe there is a ſtature of the image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beſet with moſt rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the ſecond houſe there is the ſtature of a man of ſiluer, that is ſet as it were ſitting on heapes of money: whoſe ſtature in height, as hee ſitteth, is ſo high, that his highneſſe exceedes the height of any one roofe of an houſe; I meaſured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the firſt. And in the thirde houſe, there is a ſtature of braſſe of the ſame bigneſſe, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and laſt houſe there is a ſtature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Ganſa, which is the metall they make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This ſtature alſo hath a crowne on his head like the firſt: this treaſure being of ſuch a value as it is, ſtandeth in an open place that euery man at his pleaſure may go & ſee it: for the keepers therof neuer forbid any man the ſight thereof. I ſay as I haue ſaid before, that this king euery yere in his feaſtes triumpheth: & becauſe it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawen by 16. goodly horſes: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy ouer it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lords & nobles, with euery one a rope in his hand made faſt to the cart for to hold it vpright that it fal not. The king ſitteth in the middle of the cart; & vpon the ſame cart about the king ſtande 4. of his nobles moſt fauored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforeſaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, that are in his dominions, a marueilous thing it is to ſee ſo many people, ſuch riches & ſuch good order in a people ſo barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Seralio, he hath 300 concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. children. This king ſitteth euery day in perſon to heare the ſutes of his ſubiects, but he nor they neuer ſpeake one to another, but by ſupplications made in this order. The king ſitteth vp aloft in a great hall, on a tribunall ſeat, and lower vnder him ſit all his Barons round about, then thoſe that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there ſet them downe on the ground 40. paces diſtant from the kings perſon, and amongſt thoſe people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they ſit with their ſupplications in their hands, which are made of long leaues of a tree, theſe leaues are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a ſharpe iron made for ẏ purpoſe, & in thoſe leaues are their ſupplications written, & with their ſupplications, they haue in their hands a preſent or gift, according to the waightines of their matter. Then come ẏ ſecretaries downe to read theſe ſupplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that fauour or iuſtice that they demaund, then he cõmandeth to take the preſents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not iuſt or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or preſents. In the Indies there is not any marchandiſe that is good to bring to Pegu, vnleſſe it bee at ſome times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he ſhall loſe by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of cloth made there, which they vſe in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombaſt wouen and painted, ſo that the more that kinde of cloth is waſhed, the more liuelie they ſhew their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made ſuch accompt of this kinde of cloth which is of ſo great importance, that a ſmall bale of it will coſt a thouſand or two thouſand duckets. Alſo from S. Tome they layd great ſtore of red yarne, of bombaſt died with a roote which they call Saia, as aforeſayd, which colour will neuer out. With which marchandiſe euery yeere there goeth a great ſhippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they vſually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, & if ſhe ſtay vntil the twelfth, it is a great hap if ſhe returne not without making of her voiage. Their vſe was to depart the ſixt of September, and then they made ſure voyages, and now becauſe there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dried, as alſo the greedineſſe of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to haue the wind alwayes to ſerue their turne, they ſtay ſo long, that at ſometimes the winde turneth. For in thoſe parts the windes blow firmely for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arriue not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they muſt returne backe againe : for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coaſt & anker there, then with great labour they may ſaue their voyage. Alſo there goeth another great ſhippe from Bengala euery yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombaſt of all ſorts, which arriueth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ſhip that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where theſe two ſhips arriue is called Coſmin. From Malaca to Martauan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many ſmall ſhips, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Procellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo, and other marchandiſe. The ſhips that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and thoſe ſhippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they loſe, and they bring them becauſe they haue no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they eſteeme not the loſſe of them, for that they make ſuch great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Alſo the king of Aſſi his ſhips come thither into the ſame port laden with peper; from the coaſt of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it vp the riuer in foure daies, with the encreaſing water, or with the flood, to a City called Coſmin, and there they diſcharge their ſhips, whither the Cuſtomers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of euery man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and conuey them to Pegu, into the kings houſe, wherin they make the cuſtome of the marchandize. When the Cuſtomers haue taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giueth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe vp to Pegu with their marchandize; and ſo three or foure of them take a barke and goe vp to Pegu in company. God deliuer euery man that hee giue not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to ſteale any cuſtome: for if they do, for the leaſt trifle that is, he is vtterly vndone, for the king doeth take it for a moſt great affront to bee deceiued of his cuſtome; and therefore they make diligent ſearches, three times at the lading and vnlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this ſearch they make when they goe out of the ſhip for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for becauſe that all the iewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay cuſtome, but Rubies, Safyres and Spinels pay no cuſtome in nor out: becauſe they are found growing in that Countrey. I haue ſpoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, muſt cary al maner of houſhold ſtuffe with them which is neceſſary for a houſe, becauſe that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hoſtes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the firſt thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hier a houſe, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to ſtay in thoſe parts.

The commodities that are ventured in Pegu.

Note the departure of the ſhips from S. Tome to Pegu.

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth ſterling 7. ſhillings.

Great rigour for the ſtealing of Cuſtomes.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houſes for ſixe moneths. Nowe from Coſmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in ſixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make faſt their boate to the riuer ſide, and there tary vntil the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleaſant voyage, hauing on both ſides of the riuers many great villages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage vp to Macceo, diſtant frō Pegu twelue miles, & there they diſcharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a cloſet which they call Deling, in the which a man ſhall be very well accommodated, with cuſhions vnder his head, and couered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may ſleepe if he haue wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The cuſtome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount vnto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or leſſe ſtolen from him that day they cuſtome the goods. It is requiſite that a man haue his

Deſcription of the fruitfulneſſe of that ſoyle.

Deling is a ſmall litter caried with men as is aforeſaid.

eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to haue many friendes, for when they cuſtome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their ſlaues, and theſe gentlemen haue no ſhame that their ſlaues rob ſtrangers: whether it be cloth in ſhewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke thereto ſo narrowly but one or other wil rob ſomething, either more or leſſe, according as their marchandiſe is more or leſſe: and yet on this day there is a worſe thing then this: although you haue ſet ſo many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you eſcape vnrobbed of the ſlaues, a man cannot chooſe but that he muſt be robbed of the officers of the cuſtome houſe. For paying the cuſtome with the ſame goods oftentimes they take the beſt that you haue, & not by rate of euery ſort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be diſpatched out of the cuſtome houſe in this order, the Marchant cauſeth them to be caried to his houſe, and may do with them at his pleaſure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to ſell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil ſell their goods at that price, they ſel them away, and the brokers haue two in the hundreth of euery ſort of marchandiſe, and they are bound to make good the debts of thoſe goods, becauſe they be ſold by their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giueth his goods, yet he cannot loſe any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wiſe to pay him, and if the marchant ſel his goods without the conſent of the broker, yet neuertheleſſe he muſt pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very ſeldom ſeene, becauſe the wife, children, and ſlaues of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his houſe, and ſhut him vp in a Magaſin, whereby preſently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and ſlaues of the debtor, and ſel them, for ſo is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Ganſa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but euery man may ſtamp it that wil, becauſe it hath his iuſt partition or value: but they make many of them falſe, by putting ouermuch lead into them, and thoſe will not paſſe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or ſiluer, Rubies and Muſke, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongſt them. And Golde, ſiluer and other marchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

A lawe for Banckrupts.

Euery man may ſtampe what money he wil.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for yͤ accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or leſſe: and albeit that Gold and ſiluer is more or leſſe in price, yet the Byza neuer changeth: euery Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and ſo the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Iewels, if he wil do well, it behoueth him to be a whole yere there to do his buſineſſe. For if ſo be that he would return with the ſhip he cāme in, he cānot do any thing ſo cōueniently for the breuitie of the time, becauſe that when they cuſtome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ſhips, it is as it were about Chriſtmas: and when they haue cuſtomed their goods, then muſt they ſell them for their credits ſake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ſhips depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiment of their goods, gold, and ſiluer, which is neuer wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all ſatiſfied: alſo they may haue Rubies in paiment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be aduertized, that in the ſale of their goods, they ſpecifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiment, & that their paiment ſhalbe in ſo many Ganza, and neither golde nor ſiluer: becauſe that with the Ganza they may buy & ſel euery thing with great aduātage. And how needful is it to be aduertized, when they will recouer their paiments, in what order they ſhal receiue their Ganza? Becauſe he that is not experienced may do himſelfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganſa, as alſo in the falſeneſſe of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceiued, becauſe that from place to place it doth riſe and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receiue money or make paiment, he muſt take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his buſineſſe, and giue him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiueth it and ſeales the bags with his ſeale: and when hee hath receiued any ſtore, then hee cauſeth it to bee brought into the Magaſon of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

How a man may diſpoſe himſelfe for the trade in Pegu.

Good inſtructions.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a ſtrong Porters burden; and alſo where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for thoſe goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiueth his money muſt make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the

Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiueth and payeth out his money without loſſe or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Siluer, Rubies, Saphyres, Spinelles, great ſtore of Beniamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, ſome ſugar, yet there might be great ſtore of ſugar made in the Countrey, for that they haue aboundance of Canes, but they giue them to Eliphants to eate, and the people conſume great ſtore of them for food, and many more doe they conſume in vaine things, as theſe folowing. In that kingdome they ſpend many of theſe Sugar canes in making of houſes and tents which they call Varely for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and ſmal, and theſe houſes are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaues or to Bells, and ſome of theſe houſes are as high as a reaſonable ſteeple, at the foote they are very large, ſome of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The ſaide houſes within are full of earth, and walled round about with brickes and dirt in ſteade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a couering for them with Sugar canes, and plaiſter it with lime all ouer, for otherwiſe they would bee ſpoyled, by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in thoſe Countreys. Alſo they conſume about theſe Varely or idol houſes great ſtore of leafe-gold, for that they ouerlap all the tops of the houſes with gold, and ſome of them are couered with golde from the top to the foote: in couering whereof there is great ſtore of gold ſpent, for that euery 10. yeeres they new ouerlap them with gold, from the top to the foote, ſo that with this vanitie they ſpend great aboundance of golde. For euery 10. yeres the raine doeth conſume the gold from theſe houſes. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they conſumed not ſo much in this vanitie. Alſo it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of iewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge ſhall haue as good iewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wiſe. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Iewels. Theſe foure men haue all the Iewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that will buy commeth to one of theſe Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath ſo much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of theſe foure men paſſe all the Rubies: for they haue ſuch quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but ſell them at moſt vile and baſe prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of theſe brokers or Tareghe, they cary him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Iewels: and when the Iewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round ſumme, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The vſe generally of this Citie is this: that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his houſe, let them be of what value they will, he ſhall haue ſpace to looke on them and peruſe them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he ſhall alwayes haue many Marchants in that Citie that haue very good knowledge in Iewels; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counſell, and may ſhew them vnto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Iewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any loſſe at all. Which thing is ſuch a ſhame to the Tareghe to haue his Iewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it ſhould be thought that he ſolde them ſo deere to haue them returned. For theſe men haue alwayes great care that they affoord good penworths, eſpecially to thoſe that haue no knowledge. This they doe, becauſe they would not looſe their credite: and when thoſe Marchants that haue knowledge in Iewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faults and not the brokers: yet it is good to haue knowledge in Iewels, by reaſon that it may ſomewhat eaſe the price. There is alſo a very good order which they haue in buying of Iewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that ſtand by at the making of the bargaine, and becauſe they ſhall not vnderſtand howe the Iewels be ſolde, the Broker and the Marchants haue their hands vnder a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the ioynts they knowe what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the ſtanders by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thouſand or 10. thouſand duckets. For euery ioynt and euery finger hath his ſignification. For if the Marchants that ſtande by ſhould vnderſtand the bargaine, it would breede great controuerſie amongſt them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of Auguſt, in Anno 1569. hauing gotten well by my endeuour, I was deſirous to ſee mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I ſhould tary vntill March.

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

Idol houſes couered with gold.

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

An honeſt care of heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers vnder a cloth.

In which iourney I was counſailed, yea, and fully reſolued to go by the way of Bengala, with a ſhippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe ſmal ſhips to Cochin, before the fleete depart for Portugall, in which ſhips I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and ſo to Venice. When I had thus reſolued my ſelfe, I went a boord of the ſhippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to vnderſtand, that in the Eaſt Indies often times,

This Touffon is an extraordinary ſtorme at Sea.

times, there are not ſtormes as in other countreys; but euery 10. or 12. yeeres there are ſuch tempeſts and ſtormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to thoſe that haue ſeene it, neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

The Touſon cōmeth but euery 10. or 12. yeeres.

Vnfortunate are they that are at ſea in that yere and time of the Touffon, becauſe few there are that eſcape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at ſea with the like ſtorme, but it happened well vnto vs, for that our ſhip was newly ouer-plancked, and had not any thing in her ſaue victuall and balaſts, Siluer and golde, which from Pegu they cary to Bengala, and no other kinde of Marchandiſe. This Touffon or cruel ſtorme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our ſailes, yards, and rudder; and becauſe the ſhippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our maſt ouer boord: which when we had done ſhe laboured a great deale more then before, in ſuch wiſe, that ſhe was almoſt full with water that came ouer the higheſt part of her and ſo went downe: and for the ſpace of three dayes and three nights ſixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wiſe, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this ſtorme, the ſhippe was ſo good, that ſhee tooke not one iot of water below through her ſides, but all ran downe through the hatches, ſo that thoſe ſixtie men did nothing but caſt the Sea into the Sea. And thus driuing too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke caſt on a ſholde: yet when it was day, we could neither ſee land on one ſide nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleaſed the diuine power, there came a great waue of the Sea, which draue vs beyonde the ſhould. And when wee felt the ſhippe aflote, we roſe vp as men reuiued, becauſe the Sea was calme and ſmooth water, and then ſounding we found twelue fadome water, and within a while after wee had but ſixe fadome, and then preſently we came to anker with a ſmall anker that was left vs at the ſterne, for all our other were loſt in the ſtorme: and by and by the ſhippe ſtrooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that ſhe ſhould not ouerthrow.

A manifeſt token of the ebbing and flowing in thoſe Countreis.

When it was day the ſhippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we diſcouered an Iſland not farre from vs, and we went from the ſhippe on the ſands to ſee what Iſland it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my iudgement, the fertileſt Iſland in all the world, the which is diuided into two parts by a chanell which paſſeth betweene it, & with great trouble we brought our ſhip into the ſame chanel, which parteth the Iſland at flowing water, and there we determined to ſtay 40. dayes to refreſh vs. And when the people of the Iſland ſaw the ſhip, and that we were cōming a land: preſently they made a place of bazar or a market, with ſhops right ouer againſt the ſhip with all maner of prouiſion of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and ſold it ſo good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapeneſſe thereof. I bought many ſalted kine there, for the prouiſion of the ſhip, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. ſhillings ſixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dreſſed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the moſt a pennie: and the people told vs that we were deceiued the halfe of our money, becauſe we bought things ſo deare. Alſo a ſacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and conſequently all other things for humaine ſuſtenance were there in ſuch aboundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that haue ſeene it. This Iſland is called Sondiua belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, diſtant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might haue robbed vs of all, becauſe the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes againſt the Retor of that place, & euery day there were ſome ſlaine, at which newes we reſted there with no ſmal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord euery night as the vſe is, but the gouernour of the towne did comfort vs, and bad vs that we ſhould feare nothing, but that we ſhould repoſe our ſelues ſecurely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had ſlaine the gouernour of that City, and ſaid that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreouer he did vs euery day what pleaſure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations conſidering that they & the people of Chatigan were both ſubiects to one king. We departed from Sondiua, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the ſame time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the gouernours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ſhip ſhould depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ſhips of Portugales great and ſmall. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithſtanding contented to depart to his greateſt hinderance, rather then hee would ſeeke to hinder ſo many of his friends as were there, as alſo becauſe the time of the yeere was ſpent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, euery ſhip that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to eaſe his charge and to recompence his courteſies. In this time there came a meſſenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who ſaide in the behalfe of his king, that hee had

This Iſland is called Sondiua.

Sondiua is the fruitfulleſt Countrey in al the world.

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ſhips.

The King of Rachim, or Aracam, neighbour to Bengala.

had heard of the courage and valure of him, deſiring him gently that he would vouchſafe to come with the ſhip into his port, and comming thither he ſhould be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well ſatiſfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his ſeate in the middle coaſt betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greateſt enemie he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu deuiſeth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his ſubiect, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: becauſe the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of *Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fuſts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine ſluſes with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleaſure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu ſhould come with his power to hurt him.

Or, Aracam.

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great ſtore of Rice, very great quantitie of Bombaſt cloth of euery ſort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reaſon of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ſhips taried there ſo long, that they arriued not at Cochin ſo ſoone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cauſe the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arriued there, and I being in one of the ſmall ſhippes before the fleete, in diſcouering of Cochin, we alſo diſcouered the laſt ſhippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where ſhee made ſaile, for which I was marueilouſly diſcomforted, becauſe that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arriued at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was beſieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this aſſault, becauſe they ſuppoſed that it would not continue long. For all this I imbarked my ſelfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to ſhippe my ſelfe for Ormus; but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not ſuffer any Portugal to depart, by reaſon of the warres. And being in Goa but a ſmall time, I fell ſicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phiſicke and diet coſt me eight hundreth duckets, and there I was conſtrained to ſell a ſmal quantitie of Rubies to ſuſtaine my neede: and I ſolde that for fiue hundreth duckets, that was worth a thouſand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my diſeaſe, I had but little of that money left, euery thing was ſo ſcarſe: For euery chicken (and yet not good) coſt mee ſeuen or eight Liuers, which is ſixe ſhillings, or ſixe ſhillings eight pence. Beſide this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no ſmall charge to me. At the ende of ſixe moneths they raiſed the ſiege, and then I beganne to worke, for Iewels were riſen in their prices: for, whereas before I ſold a few of refuſed Rubies, I determined then to ſell the reſt of all my Iewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for becauſe that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great requeſt, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round ſumme of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which coſt me two thouſand & a hundreth duckets, euery ducket at foure ſhillings two pence. Moreouer I bought three bales of Bombaſt cloth, which coſt me eight hundred duckats, which was a good cõmoditie for Pegu: when I had bought theſe things, the Viceroy commanded that the cuſtome of the Opium ſhould be paide in Goa, and paying cuſtome there I might cary it whither I would. I ſhipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a ſhippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforeſaid cuſtome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ſhip that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I vnderſtood that the ſhip that had my three bales of cloth was caſt away and loſt, ſo that I loſt my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in caſting about for the Iſland of Zeilan the Pilote was deceiued, for that the Cape of the Iſland of Zeilan lieth farre out into the ſea, and the Pilot thinking that he might haue paſſed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and paſt all remedy to go out, by reaſon the winds blew ſo fiercely againſt vs. So that by this meanes we loſt our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ſhip to winter there, the ſhip hauing loſt her maſtes, and with great diligence we hardly ſaued her, with great loſſes to the Captaine of the ſhip, becauſe he was forced to freight another ſhip in S. Tome for Pegu with great loſſes and intereſt, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary vs to S. Tome; which thing we did withal the reſt of the marchants; and ariuing at S. Tome I had newes through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, ſo that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and ſo it would haue proued, if my aduerſe fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ſhip from Cambaya, to the king of Aſſi, with great quantitie of Opium, & there to lade peper: in which voyage there came ſuch a ſtorme, that the ſhip was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles,

The commodities that goe from Chatigan to the Indies.

The Portugal ſhips depart toward Portugall out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa was beſieged.

Opium a good commoditie in Pegu.

and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arriued a day before mee; ſo that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a baſe price: ſo that which was ſold for fiftie Bizze before, was ſolde for 2. Bizze & an halfe, there was ſuch quantitie came in that ſhip; ſo that I was glad to ſtay two yeres in Pegu vnleſſe I would haue giuen away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I beſtowed in Cambaya, I made but a thouſand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I loſt occaſion to make me riche, for whereas I might haue brought good ſtore of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this ſmall quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very neceſſary before I ende my voyage, to reaſon ſomewhat, and to ſhewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. Firſt, in the Indies and other Eaſt parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in ſome parts of the Indies, the greateſt quantitie of peper groweth amongſt wilde buſhes, without any maner of labour: ſauing, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Iuie, which runneth vp to the tops of trees whereſoeuer it groweth: and if it ſhould not take holde of ſome tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Iuie berry, and thoſe berries be graines of peper: ſo that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

Peper tree.

The Ginger groweth in this wiſe: the land is tilled and ſowen, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. Theſe two ſpices grow in diuers places.

Ginger.

The Cloues come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Iſlands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

Cloues.

The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Iſland of Banda, whoſe tree is like to our walnut tree, but not ſo big.

Nutmegs and Maces.

All the good white Sandol is brought from the Iſland of Timor. Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into theſe parts: for that in India they conſume great ſtore, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

White Sandol.
Canfora.

Lignum Aloes,
Beniamin.

The Beniamin commeth from the kingdome of Aſſi and Sion.

Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Iaua.

Long peper.

Muſke commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I haue bene told. There is a certaine beaſt in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beaſt they take aliue, & beat him to death with ſmall ſtaues y^t his blood may be ſpread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the fleſh with the blood in a morter very ſmal, and dry it, and make purſes to put it in of the ſkin, and theſe be the cods of muſke.

This Muſke the Iewes doe counterfeit and take out halfe the good muſke and beat the fleſh of an aſſe and put in the roome of it.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are diuers opinions of it, but this is moſt certaine, it is caſt out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found vpon the ſea bankes.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from diuers places; and I know but three ſorts of them. That ſort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Thoſe that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Iaua, but the Diamants of Iaua are more waightie then the other. I could neuer vnderſtand from whence they that are called Balaſſi come.

Rubies Saphyres, and Spinels.

The Balaſſi growe in Zeilan.

Pearles they fiſh in diuers places, as before in this booke is ſhowne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my houſe there, becauſe that (as I haue ſaid before) they make their houſes there of wouen canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongſt the coaſt of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafraria: on that coaſt are many good harbors kept by the Moores. Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombaſt cloth of a low price, and great ſtore of Paternoſters or beads made of paltrie glaſſe, which they make in Chaul according to the vſe of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, ſlaues called Cafari, and ſome Amber and Gold. On this coaſt the king of Portugall hath his caſtle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any caſtle that hee hath in all his Indies vnder his protection, and the Captaine of this caſtle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they vſe to goe in ſmall ſhippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and ſelling is without any ſpeach one to the other. In this wiſe the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongſt the Sea coaſt, and lay them downe:

Spodiom.

On the coaſt of Melynde in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, the great trade that the Portugals haue.

Buying and ſelling without wordes one to another.

and ſo depart, and the Caſar Marchants come and ſee the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and ſo goe their way and leaue their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ſhip, and then commeth the Caſar and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there ſtill, it is a ſigne that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Caſar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales muſt not ſtand with them too ſtrickt; for if they doe, then they will haue no more trade with them: For they diſdaine to be refuſed, when they thinke that they haue offered ynough, for they be a peeuiſh people, and haue dealt ſo of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Caſtle of Mozámbique, which is in an Iſland not farre diſtant from the firme land of Caſraria on the coaſt of Ethiopia, and is diſtant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Maſter Francis Berettin of Venice, and we fraighted a bark together to goe for Baſora for 70. duckets, and with vs there went other Marchants, which did eaſe our fraight, and very commodiouſly wee came to Baſora and there we ſtayed 40. dayes for prouiding a Carouan of barks to go to Babylon, becauſe they vſe not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. becauſe in the night they cannot go, but muſt make them faſt to the banks of the riuer, and then we muſt make a very good & ſtrong guard, and be wel prouided of armor, for reſpect & ſafegard of our goods, becauſe the number of theeues is great that come to ſpoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our ſaile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we ſtayed there 4. moneths, vntil the Carouan was ready to go ouer the wildernes, or deſert for Alepo; in this citie we were 6. Marchants that accompanied together, fiue Venetians and a Portugal; whoſe names were as followeth, Meſſer Florinaſa with one of his kinſmen, Meſſer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and ſo wee furniſhed our ſelues with victuals and beanes for our horſes for 40. dayes; and wee bought horſes and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my ſelfe bought a horſe there for 11. akens, and ſolde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Alſo we bought a Tent which did vs very great pleaſure: we had alſo amongſt vs 32. Camels laden with marchandiſe: for the which we paid 2. duckets for euery camels lading, and for euery 10. camels they made 11, for ſo is their vſe and cuſtome. We take alſo with vs 3. men to ſerue vs in the voyage, which are vſed to goe in thoſe voyages for fiue D d. a man, and are bound to ſerue vs to Alepo: ſo that we paſſed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to reſt, our pauilion was the firſt that was erected. The Carouan maketh but ſmall iourneis about 20. miles a day, & they ſet forwards euery morning before day two houres, and about two in the after noone they ſit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cauſe we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, ſo that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for euery good reſpect that might chance in the deſert, ſo that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furniſhed of euery thing, and euery day we eat freſh mutton, becauſe there came many ſhepheards with vs with their flocks, who kept thoſe ſheepe that we bought in Babylon, and euery marchant marked his ſheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the ſhepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our ſheep on the way, and for killing of them. And beſide the Medin they haue the heads, the ſkinnes, and the intrals of euery ſheepe they kil. We ſixe bought 20. ſheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. aliue of them. And in the Carouan they vſe this order, that the marchants doe lende fleſh one to another, becauſe they will not cary raw fleſh with them, but pleaſure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

Golden trades that the Portugals haue.

An order how to prouide to goe ouer the Deſert from Babylon to Alepo.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes iourney, of the which they make 36. dayes ouer the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither ſee houſe, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no ſigne of any way in the world. The pilots go before, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they ſit downe all the Carouan vnladeth and ſitteth downe, for they know the ſtations where the wells are. I ſay, in 36. dayes we paſſe ouer the wilderneſſe. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we paſſe by villages inhabited vntil we haue paſſed the riuer Euphrates, And then within two dayes of Alepo we haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Iuſtice vnto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the Carouan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Maſter Florin, and Maſter Andrea Polo, and I, with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with vs to Ieruſalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arriued at Iaffa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Ieruſalem, and we gaue order to our barke to tary for vs vntill our returne. Wee ſtayed in Ieruſalem 14. dayes, to viſite thoſe holy places: from whence we returned to Iaffa, and from Iaffa to Tripolie, and there wee

36. Dayes iourney ouer the wildernes.

An order how to prouide for the going to Ieruſalem.

The author returneth to Venice 1581.

wee ſhipped our ſelues in a ſhip of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the diuine power, we arriued ſafely in Venice the fift of Nouember 1581. If there be any that hath any deſire to goe into thoſe partes of India, let him not be aſtonied at the troubles that I haue paſſed: becauſe I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore frõ Venice with 1200. duckets imployed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell ſicke in the houſe of Maſter Regaly Oratio, and this man ſent away my goods with a ſmall Carouan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carouan was robd, and all my goods loſt ſauing foure cheſts of glaſſes which coſt me 200. duckets, of which glaſſes I found many broken: becauſe the theeues thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them vp, and ſeeing they were glaſſes they let them all alone. And with this onely ſtocke I aduentured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did bleſſe and helpe mee, ſo that I got a good ſtocke. I will not be vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a deſire to goe into thoſe parts, how they ſhall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very ſecurely. In all the cities that the Portugales haue in the Indies, there is a houſe called the ſchoole of Sancta miſericordia comiſſaria: the gouernours whereof, if you giue them for their paines, will take a coppy of your will and Teſtament, which you muſt alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in thoſe voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to adminiſter Iuſtice to all Chriſtians of the Portugales. Alſo this captaine hath authoritie to recouer the goods of thoſe Marchants that by chance die in thoſe voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and regiſtred them in the aforeſaide ſchooles, the Captaines wil conſume their goods in ſuch wiſe, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Alſo there goeth in theſe ſame voyages ſome marchants that are commiſſaries of the ſchoole of Sancta miſericordia, that if any Marchant die and haue his Wil made, and hath giuen order that the ſchoole of Miſericordia ſhall haue his goods and ſell them, then they ſende the money by exchange to the ſchoole of Miſericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Teſtament, then from Lisbon they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Chriſtendome ſoeuer it be, and the heires of ſuch a one comming thither, with teſtimoniall that they be heires, they ſhall receiue there the value of his goods: in ſuch wiſe that they ſhall not looſe any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu looſe the thirde part of their goods by ancient cuſtome of the Countrey, that if any Chriſtian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers reſt heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath neuer bene any deceit or fraude vſed in this matter. I haue knowen many rich men that haue dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they haue deſired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with al their goods and ſubſtance without let or trouble.

A very good order that they haue in thoſe Countreys for the recouering of the goods of the dead.

Order of apparel in Pegu.

In Pegu the faſhion of their apparel is all one, as well the Noble man, as the ſimple: the onely difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombaſt one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wiſe: Firſt, a white Bombaſt cloth which ſerueth for a ſhirt, then they gird another painted bombaſt cloth of foureteene braſes, which they binde vp betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a ſmall tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter, and ſome goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hiue on their heades, which doeth not paſſe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted vp: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men neuer goe on foote, but are caried by men in a ſeate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaues of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwiſe they ride on horſebacke with their feete bare in the ſtirops. All ſorts of women whatſoeuer they be, weare a ſmocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three braſes, open before; ſo ſtraite that they cannot goe, but they muſt ſhewe their ſecret as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cãnot by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of their cloth. They ſay that this vſe was inuented by a Queene to be an occaſion that the ſight thereof might remoue from men the vices againſt nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto: which ſight ſhould cauſe them to regard women the more. Alſo the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopes of golde and Iewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled vp about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their ſhoulders in ſtead of a cloake.

The order of the womens apparel in Pegu.

Now to finiſh that which I haue begunne to write, I ſay, that thoſe parts of the Indies are very good, becauſe that a man that hath litle, ſhall make a great deale thereof; alwayes they muſt gouerne themſelues that they be taken for honeſt men. For why? to ſuch there ſhal neuer want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, becauſe he ſhall alwayes be a begger, and die a poore man.

Letters concerning the voyage of *M. Iohn Newbery* and *M. Ralph Fitch*, made by the way of the *Leuant* Sea to *Syria*, and ouerland to *Balſara*, and thence into the Eaſt *Indies*, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

¶ A letter written from the Queenes Maieſtie, to *Zelabdim Echebar* King of *Cambaia*, and ſent by *Iohn Newbery*. In February Anno 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the moſt inuincible, and moſt mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subiects haue, to viſit the moſt diſtant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatſoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both ſides may come, is the cauſe that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, ioyntly with thoſe that be in his company, with a curteous and honeſt boldneſſe, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Maieſtie through your royal grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our ſake, to make vs greatly beholding to your Maieſtie; wee ſhould more earneſtly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the ſingular report that is of your imperial Maieſties humanitie in theſe vttermoſt parts of the world, we are greatly eaſed of that burden, and therefore we vſe the fewer and leſſe words: onely we requeſt that becauſe they are our ſubiects, they may be honeſtly intreated and receiued. And that in reſpect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places ſo far diſtant, it would pleaſe your Maieſtie with ſome libertie and ſecuritie of voiage to gratifie it, with ſuch priuileges as to you ſhall ſeeme good; which curteſie if your Imperiall maieſtie ſhal to our ſubiects at our requeſts performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompence the ſame with as many deſerts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maieſtie to farewel.

A letter written by her Maieſtie to the King of *China*, In Februarie 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Moſt Imperial and inuincible prince, our honeſt ſubiect Iohn Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our fauour hath taken in hand the voyage which nowe hee purſueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not truſting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooued to vndertake a thing of ſo much difficultie, being perſwaded that hee hauing entred into ſo many perils, your Maieſtie will not diſlike the ſame, eſpecially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your royall Maieſtie, and that to your people it will bring ſome profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himſelfe for his deſtinated voyage vnto vs well liked of. For by this meanes we perceiue, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both ſides, al the princes our neighbors in yͤ West do receiue, your Imperial maieſtie & thoſe that be ſubiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy and benefit ſhal haue the ſame, which conſiſteth in the tranſporting outward of ſuch things whereof we haue plenty, & in bringing in ſuch things as we ſtand in need of. It cannot otherwiſe be, but that ſeeing we are borne and made to haue need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Maieſtie wil wel like of it, & by your ſubiects wͩ like indeuor wil be accepted. For the increaſe whereof, if your imperial Maieſtie ſhall adde the ſecuritie of paſſage, with other priuileges moſt neceſſary to vſe the trade with your men, your maieſtie ſhall doe that which belongeth to a moſt honorable & liberal prince, and deſerue ſo much of vs, as by no cōtinuance or length of time ſhalbe forgotten. Which requeſt of ours we do moſt inſtantly deſire to be takē in good part of your maieſtie, and ſo great a benefit towards vs & our men, we ſhall endeuor by diligence to requite when time ſhal ſerue thereunto. The God Almighty long preſerue your Imperial maieſtie.

A letter of *M. Iohn Newbery*, written from *Alepo*, to *M. Richard Hakluit* of *Oxford*, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.

RIght welbeloued, and my aſſured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we ſet ſaile from Graueſend, which was the 13. day of February laſt, wee remained vpon our coaſt vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we ſet ſaile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till wee arriued in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the laſt day of Aprill laſt paſt, where wee ſtayed 14. dayes: and the twentie

Abilſada Iſmael his Coſmographie.

of this preſent we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within fiue or ſixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I haue made very earneſt inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Coſmographie of Abilſada Iſmael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some ſay that poſſibly it may be had in Perſia, but notwithſtanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balſara, and if I can finde it in any of theſe places, I wil ſend it you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Steuens in Goa, as alſo the note you gaue mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue ſent you here incloſed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Perſia, and from hence is gone the Baſſa of a towne called Rahemet, and ſhortly after goeth the Baſſa of Tripolis, and the Baſſa of Damaſco, but they haue not all with them aboue 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Aſmerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they ſhal meete with diuers captaines and ſouldiers that come from Conſtantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Perſia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and ſo hath there euery yeere ſince the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithſtanding, they get of the Perſians, and make caſtles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to maſter Peter Guillame, and maſter Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the reſt of our friends. Maſter Fitch hath him heartily commended vnto you: and ſo I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who bleſſe and keepe you, and ſend vs a ioyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your louing friend to command in all that I may,

John Newberie.

Another letter of the ſaid *M. Newberie*, written to Maſter *Leonard Poore* of *London*, from *Alepo*.

March 11.

The laſt of Aprill.

Right welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the reſt of my friends remembred. My laſt I ſent you was the 25. of February laſt, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained vpon our owne coaſt, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee ſet ſaile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great ſtorme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great ſtorme wee had ſome of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we ſailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and ſo remained at Sea, and ankered at no place vntil our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the laſt day of April. This was a very good paſſage, God make vs thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this preſent wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arriued here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balſara, and ſo into India. Our friend Maſter Barret hath him commended to you, who hath ſent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the ſmall trifles you ſent him, which I hope long ſince you haue receiued. Alſo hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee ſolde thoſe things, whereof I can ſay nothing, becauſe I haue not ſeene the accompt thereof, neither haue demaunded it: for euer ſince our comming hither hee hath bene ſtill buſie about the diſpatch of the ſhippe, and our voyage, and I likewiſe in buying of things here to cary to Balſara, and the Indies.

Currall.
Amber greeſe.
Sope.
Broken glaſſe.

Wee haue bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and ſome ſope and broken glaſſe, with all other ſmall trifles, all which things I hope will ſerue very wel for thoſe places that wee ſhall goe vnto. All the reſt of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was ſent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For maſter Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, ſo that our part is 200. pound. Beſides ſuch profit as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſende thereof: wherefore you ſhall doe very well to ſpeake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your ſelfe to trauell for three or foure yeeres, I would wiſh you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like ſo well of the place, that I thinke you would not deſire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it ſhould be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would chooſe this before all other that I know. My reaſon is, the place is healthfull and pleaſant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being vſed in good order: for there ſhould come in euery ſhip the fourth part of her Cargaſon in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Alſo to haue two very good ſhips to come together, would doe very well: for in ſo doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Maſter

Giles Porter and maſter Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a ſmall barke to Iaffa, the ſame day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this preſent, ſo that no doubt but long ſince they are in Ieruſalem: God ſend them and vs ſafe returne. At this inſtant I haue receiued the account of M. Barret, and the reſt of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Boſtocke I left certaine ſmall trifles, which I pray you demaund. And ſo once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preſerue vs. From Aleppo the 29 of May. 1583.

Yours aſſured, Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of Maſter *Newberie* to the aforeſaide M. *Poore*, written from *Babylon*.

My laſt I ſent you, was the 29 of May laſt paſt from Aleppo, by George Gill the purſer of the Tiger, which the laſt day of the ſame moneth came from thence, & arriued at Feluge the 19 day of Iune, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithſtanding ſome of our company came not hither till the laſt day of the laſt moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reaſon of the great heate that is here, Camels are very ſcant to be gotten. And ſince our comming hither we haue found very ſmall ſales, but diuers ſay that in the winter our commodities will be very well ſold, I pray God their words may prooue true. I thinke cloth, kerſies & tinne, haue neuer bene here at ſo low prices as they are now. Notwithſtanding, if I had here ſo much readie money as the commodities are worth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balſara, and ſo by Gods helpe there will be reaſonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditie, may be bought here the beſt ſort of ſpices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this inſtant ſmall good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balſara, and from thence of force I muſt goe to Ormus for want of a man that ſpeaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twiſe in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The beſt ſort of ſpices at Babylon, Balſara, Ormus.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this inſtant.

The prices of ſpices at Babylon.

Cloues and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.
Cynamom 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.
Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.
Ginger, 40 medins.
Pepper, 75 medins.
Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.
Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.
Silke, much better then that which commeth from Perſia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces Engliſh waight. From Babylon the 20 day of Iuly, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

Maſter *Newberie* his letter from *Ormus*, to M. *Iohn Eldred* and *William Shals* at *Balſara*.

Right welbeloued and my aſſured good friends, I heartily cōmend me vnto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed frō you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this preſent we arriued here, & the 10 day I with the reſt were committed to priſon, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil ſend vs all in his ſhip for Goa. The cauſe why we are taken, as they ſay, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cauſe, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we ſhall be delt withall in Goa, and therfore if you can procure our maſters to ſend the king of Spaine his letters for our releaſement, you ſhould doe vs great good: for they cannot with iuſtice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long in priſon: Gods will be done. All thoſe commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well ſold, if this trouble had not chanced. You ſhall do well to ſend with all ſpeed a meſſenger by land from Balſara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this miſchance, although it coſt thirtie or fortie crownes, for that we may be the ſooner releaſed, and I ſhalbe the better able to recouer this againe which is now like to be loſt: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the priſon in Ormuz, this 21 of September 1583.

His ſecond Letter to the foreſaid Maſter *Iohn Eldred* and *William Shales.*

THe barke of the Iewes is arriued here two daies paſt, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath ſhewed me here very great courteſie, wherfore I pray you ſhew him what fauor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we ſhall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he ſhould not goe, then I pray you diſpatch away a meſſenger with as much ſpeede as poſſible you may. I can ſay no more, but do for me as you would I ſhould do for you in the like cauſe, and ſo with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the priſon in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, *Iohn Newberie.*

His third Letter to Maiſter *Leonard Poore,* written from *Goa.*

Michael Stropene an Italian accuſed our men to be ſpies.

MY laſt I ſent you was from Ormuz, wherby I certified you what had happened there vnto me, and the reſt of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arriuall there, we were all committed to priſon, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine neuer examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accuſed vs, had informed the Captaine of him. The firſt day we arriued there, this Stropene accuſed vs that we were ſpies ſent from Don Antonio, beſides diuers other lies: notwithſtanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Engliſhmen, I know no reaſon to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Iewes & Gentiles, Perſians, Moſcouites, and there is no nation that they ſeeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iuſtice and reaſon that they ſhould ſuffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I deſire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I ſhall be deſirous to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be ſuffered to come out of priſon, I was forced to put in ſuerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwiſe except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods againe, & haue taken an houſe in the chiefeſt ſtreete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we ſell our goods.

Two cauſes of our mens impriſonment at Ormus.

There were two cauſes which moued the captaine of Ormus to impriſon vs, & afterwards to ſend vs hither. The firſt was, becauſe Michael Stropene had accuſed vs of many matters, which were moſt falſe. And the ſecond was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, cauſed two pieces of his ordinance to be ſhot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they ſay. But of theſe things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ſhip that we were ſent in came the chiefeſt iuſtice in Ormus, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, ſo that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, ſent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I anſwered: and amongſt the reſt, he ſaid, that Maſter Drake was ſent out of England with many ſhips, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee cauſed two pieces of his greateſt ordinance to be ſhot at the ſame: and ſo perceiuing that this did greatly grieue them, I asked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done: To the which he anſwered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

He ſaid moreouer, that the cauſe why the captaine of Ormus did ſend me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would vnderſtand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the beſt that I was ſent hither, the which I truſt in God wil ſo fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleaſed God to put into the minds of the archbiſhop and other two Padres or Ieſuits of S. Pauls colledge to ſtand our friends, we might haue rotted in priſon. The archbiſhop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his ſeruantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuyſen, whoſe name is Iohn Linſcot, who did vs great pleaſure: for by them the archbiſhop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs; the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wilſhire in England, and is called ‖Padre Thomas Steuens;

The author of the book of the East Indies.

‖This is he whoſe letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was ſometimes of New colledge in Oxford.

Alſo I chanced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the moſt part of his bringing vp hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea; and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who alſo hath done me great pleaſure here.

In the priſon at Ormus we remained many dayes, alſo we lay a long time at ſea comming hither, and forthwith at our arriuall here were caried to priſon, and the next day after were ſent for before the Aueador, who is the chiefeſt iuſtice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he preſently ſent vs backe againe to priſon.

And after our being here in priſon 13 daies, Iames Storie went into the monaſtery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

Iames Storie their painter.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arriuall here) I came out of priſon, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

They arriued at Goa the 20 of Nouember 1583.

If theſe troubles had not chanced, I had beene in poſſibility to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with ſo much money. Many of our things I haue ſolde very well, both here and at Ormus in priſon, notwithſtanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to ſell what I could before we imbarked: & ſo with officers I went diuers times out of the caſtle in the morning, and ſolde things, and at night returned againe to the priſon, and all things that I ſolde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captain gaue order that I ſhould deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the ſcriuano, or purſer of the ſhip, which I did, and the ſcriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my ſelfe and the reſt with money & goods he ſhould deliuer into the hands of the Aueador generall of India: but at our arriuall here, the Aueador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue any thing againſt vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ſhip 9 or 10 daies after our arriuall, and then, for that the ſhip was to ſaile from thence, the ſcriuano ſent the goods on ſhore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they ſuffered this bringer to receiue them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an houſe which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or fiue daies. But afterward when they ſhould deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iuſtice, that both the money and goods ſhould be deliuered into the poſitors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of priſon. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of ſiluer and gilt, ſixe kniues, ſixe ſpoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for fiue and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the ſame twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Alſo he had fiue emrauds ſet in golde, which were worth fiue hundred or ſixe hundred crownes, and payed for the ſame an hundred pardaos. Alſo he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which coſt in London twenty ſhillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the ſame twelue larines a pike. Alſo he had two pieces of greene Kerſies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them ſixteene pardaos a piece: beſides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and ſome for nothing at all. But the cauſe of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not worth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thouſand crownes, and he grieueth that any other ſtranger ſhould trade thither but himſelfe. But that ſhall not ſkill, for I truſt in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and ſell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue paſſed ſince my parting from you. But of all the troubles that haue chanced ſince mine arriuall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to ſtay here: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may ſend your letters to ſome friend at Lisbone, & frō thence by the ſhips they may be conueyed hither.

Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguiſe or Spaniſh, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Ianuarie. 1584.

A Letter written from *Goa* by Maſter *Ralph Fitch* to Maſter *Leonard Poore* aboueſaid.

LOuing friend Maſter Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I haue not written vnto you any letters, by reaſon that at Babylon I was ſicke of the fluxe, and being ſicke, I went from thence for Balſara, which was twelue dayes iourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my diſeaſe, ill fare, and worſe lodging, by reaſon our boat was peſtered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very ſmall, ſo that if we had ſtayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balſara, preſently I mended, I thanke God. There we ſtayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our ſelues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were put in priſon the ninth of the ſame moneth, where we continued vntill the 11 of October, and then were ſhipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ſhip, with an 114 horſes, and about 200 men: and paſſing by Diu & Chaul, **Diu. Chaul.** where we went on land to water the 20 of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the 29 of the ſaid moneth, where for our better intertainment we were preſently put into a faire ſtrong priſon, where we continued vntill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Engliſhman, the other a Flemming. The Engliſhmans name is Padre Thomas Steuens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. Theſe did ſue for vs vnto the Viceroy and other officers, and ſtood vs in as much ſtead, as our liues and goods were worth: for if they had not ſtucke to vs, if we had eſcaped with our liues, yet we had had long impriſonment.

After 14 dayes impriſonment they offered vs, if we could put in ſuerties for 2000 duckats, we ſhould goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the ſaid Padres found ſuerties for vs, that we ſhould not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth ſpite the Italians to ſee vs abroad: **The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the Eaſt.** and many maruell at our deliuery. The painter is in the cloiſter of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in priſon, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and loſt, and we haue beene at great charges in gifts and otherwiſe, ſo that a great deale of our goods is conſumed. There is much of our things which wil ſell very well, & ſome we ſhall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they ſay, to winne a caſtle of the Moores, whoſe returne is thought will be about Eaſter, then we ſhall get our libertie, and our ſuerties diſcharged. Then I thinke it wil be our beſt way, either one or both to returne, becauſe our troubles haue bene ſo great, & ſo much of our goods ſpoyled and loſt. But if it pleaſe God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleaſant countrey, and very fruitfull. The ſummer is almoſt all the yeere long, but the chiefeſt at Chriſtmas.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marueſlous great ſtore of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will paſſe ouer to certifie you of ſtrange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preſerue you and vs all. From Goa in the Eaſt Indies the 25 of Ianuarie 1584.

Yours to command, *Ralph Fitch.*

The voyage of M. *Ralph Fitch* marchant of *London* by the way of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, to *Ormus*, and ſo to *Goa* in the Eaſt *India*, to *Cambaia*, and all the kingdome of *Zelabdim Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty riuer *Ganges*, and downe to *Bengala*, to *Bacola*, and *Chonderi*, to *Pegu*, to *Iamahay* in the kingdome of *Siam*, and backe to *Pegu*, and from thence to *Malacca*, *Zeilan*, *Cochin*, and all the coaſt of the Eaſt *India*: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the ſtrange rites, maners, and cuſtomes of thoſe people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of thoſe countries are faithfully ſet downe and diligently deſcribed, by the aforeſaid M. *Ralph Fitch.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being deſirous to ſee the countreys of the Eaſt India, in the company of M. Iohn Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Ieweller, and Iames Story Painter, being chiefly ſet foorth by the right worſhipfull Sir Edward

ward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ſhip my ſelfe in a ſhip of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in ſeuen dayes with the Carouan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe trauaile with Camels.

Birra.

Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the riuer of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a maſter and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. Theſe boats be but for one voiage; for the ſtreame doth runne ſo faſt downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you ſell the boate for a litle money, for that which coſt you fiftie at Birra you ſell there for ſeuen or eight. From Birra to Felugia is ſixteene dayes iourney, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it ſhould chance to breake, you ſhould haue much a doe to ſaue your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made faſt, it is neceſſarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeues, will come ſwimming and ſteale your goods and flee away, againſt which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the riuer of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay cuſtome, ſo many Medines for a ſome or Camels lading, and certaine raysons and ſope, which is for the ſonnes of Aboriſe, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great deſert, and hath ſome villages vpon the riuer. Felugia where you vnlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Felugia.

Babylon.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of ſtrangers, for that it is the way to Perſia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carouans for theſe and other places. Here are great ſtore of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris. They are brought vpon raftes made of goates ſkinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde vpon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being diſcharged they open their ſkinnes, and carry them backe by Camels, to ſerue another time. Babylon in times paſt did belong to the kingdome of Perſia, but nowe is ſubiect to the Turke. Ouer againſt Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you paſſe to Babylon vpon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made faſt on either ſide of the riuer. When any boates are to paſſe vp or downe the riuer, they take away certaine of the boates vntill they be paſt.

The tower of Babel.

The Tower of Babel is built on this ſide the riuer Tygris, towardes Arabia from the towne about ſeuen or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all ſides, and with the fall therof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, ſo that it hath no ſhape at all: it was made of brickes dried in the ſonne, and certaine canes and leaues of the palme tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be ſeene to goe into it. It doth ſtand vpon a great plaine betwixt the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris.

Boyling pitch continually iſſuing out of the earth.

By the riuer Euphrates two dayes iourney from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere vnto it, is a ſtrange thing to ſee: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth againſt the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy ſmoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fielde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores ſay that it is the mouth of hell. By reaſon of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the out ſide, ſo that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great ſtore of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Baſora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be ſmall ſtore it will coſt you the more dayes.

Baſora in times paſt was vnder the Arabians, but now is ſubiect to the Turke. But ſome of them the Turke cannot ſubdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the riuer Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeues all and haue no ſetled dwelling, but remoue from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horſes, wiues and children and all. They haue large blew gownes, their wiues eares and noſes are ringed very full of rings of copper and ſiluer, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Baſora ſtandeth neere the gulfe of Perſia, and is a towne of great trade of ſpices and drugges which come from Ormus. Alſo there is great ſtore of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they ſerue Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Baſora to Ormus downe the gulfe of Perſia in a certaine ſhippe made of bordes, and ſowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huſke of Cocoes, and certaine canes or ſtrawe leaues ſowed vpon the ſeames of the bordes which is the cauſe that they leake very much. And ſo hauing Perſia alwayes on the left hande, and the coaſt of Arabia on the right hande we paſſed many Ilandes, and among others the famous Ilande

Baharim

Babarim from whence come the beſt pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus.

Diu.

Daman.

Baſaim.

Tana.

Chaul.

Ormus is an Iſland in circuit about fiue and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the drieſt Iſland in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely ſalt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things neceſſary come out of Perſia, which is about twelue miles from thence. All the Iſlands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are ſent vnto Ormus. The Portugales haue a caſtle here which ſtandeth neere vnto the ſea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale hauing vnder him a conuenient number of ſouldiers, wherof ſome part remaine in the caſtle, and ſome in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all ſortes of ſpices, drugs, ſilke, cloth of ſilke, fine tapeſtrie of Perſia, great ſtore of pearles which come from the Iſle of Babarim, and are the beſt pearles of all others, and many horſes of Perſia, which ſerue all India. They haue a Moore to their king which is choſen and gouerned by the Portugales. Their women are very ſtrangely attyred, wearing on their noſes, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings ſet with iewels, and lockes of ſiluer and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde vpon the ſide of their noſes. Their eares with the weight of their iewels be worne ſo wide, that a man may thruſt three of his fingers into them. Here very ſhortly after our arriuall wee were put in priſon, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Captaine of the caſtle, whoſe name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleuenth of October he ſhipped vs and ſent vs for Goa vnto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Franciſco de Maſcarenhas. The ſhippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horſes in it. All marchandiſe carried to Goa in a ſhippe wherein are horſes pay no cuſtome in Goa. The horſes pay cuſtome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ſhip which bringeth no horſes, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The firſt citie of India that we arriued at vpon the fift of Nouember, after we had paſſed the coaſt of Zindi, is called Diu, which ſtandeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the ſtrongeſt towne that the Portugales haue in thoſe partes. It is but litle, but well ſtored with marchandiſe; for here they lade many great ſhippes with diuerſe commodities for the ſtreits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and theſe be ſhippes of the Moores and of Chriſtians. But the Moores cannot paſſe, except they haue a paſſeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that prouince, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will ſell their children for very little. The laſt king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the ſiege of Diu, and ſhortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes iourney from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare vpon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elepſants teeth, wherein they take ſo much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going from Diu we come to Daman the ſecond towne of the Portugales in the countrey of Cambaia which is diſtant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They haue many villages vnder them which they quietly poſſeſſe in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemie is maiſter of them. From thence we paſſed by Baſaim, and from Baſaim to Tana, at both which places is ſmall trade but only of corne and rice. The tenth of Nouember we arriued at Chaul which ſtandeth in the firme land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neereſt to the ſea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little aboue that is the towne of the Moores which is gouerned by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all ſortes of ſpices and drugges, ſilke, and cloth of ſilke, ſandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much ſugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitableſt tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, ſugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaues are made thatch for the houſes, ſayles for ſhippes, mats to ſit or lie on: of the branches they make their houſes, and broomes to ſweepe, of the tree wood for ſhippes. The wine doeth iſſue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot vpon it, which they emptie euery morning and euery euening, and ſtill it and put in certaine dried rayſins, and it becommeth very ſtrong wine in ſhort time. Hither many ſhippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They haue a very ſtrange order among them, they worſhippe a cowe, and eſteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the walles of their houſes. They will kill nothing not ſo much as a louſe: for they holde it a ſinne to kill any thing. They eate no fleſh, but liue by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the huſbande dieth his wife is burned with him, if ſhee be aliue: if ſhee will not, her head is ſhauen, and then is neuer any account made of her after. They ſay if they ſhould be buried, it were a great ſinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were conſumed, thoſe wormes would lacke ſuſtenance, which were a ſinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the towne they haue hoſpitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will giue meat to the Ants.

Goa.

Goa is the moſt principal citie which the Portugals haue in India, wherin the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It ſtandeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about: It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath ſome villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth euery yeere from Portugal, which be foure, fiue, or ſixe great ſhippes, commeth firſt hither. And they come for the moſt part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the reſt goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues ſouthward. Goa ſtandeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey ſixe or ſeuen dayes iourney. His chiefe citie is called Biſapor. At our comming we were caſt into the priſon, and examined before the Iuſtice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be ſpies, but they could prooue nothing by vs. We continued in priſon vntill the two and twentie of December, and then we were ſet at libertie, putting in ſureties for two thouſand duckats not to depart the towne; which ſureties father Steuens an Engliſh Ieſuite which we found there, & another religious mã a friend of his procured for vs. Our ſureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and ſtill he demaunded more: whereupon we made ſute to the Viceroy and Iuſtice to haue our money againe, conſidering that they had had it in their hands neere fiue moneths and could prooue nothing againſt vs. The Viceroy made vs a very ſharpe anſwere, and ſayd wee ſhould be better ſifted before it were long, and that they had further matter againſt vs. Whereupon we preſently determined rather to ſeeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for euer to be ſlaues in the countrey, for it was told vs we ſhould haue ẏ ſtrapado. Wherupon preſently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being ſet ouer the riuer, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durſt truſt none. One of the firſt townes which we came vnto, is called Bellergan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other ſoft ſtones. From Bellergan we went to Biſapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they haue their idols ſtanding in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, ſome like a Monkie, ſome like Buffles, ſome like peacockes, and ſome like the deuill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they haue good ſtore of gold and ſiluer: their houſes are of ſtone very faire and high. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de laſhach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleaſant, with faire houſes of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great ſtore of fruites and freſh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

This was the 20. of Nouember.

Bellergan a towne.

Biſapor.

Gulconda.

The winter beginneth here about the laſt of May. In theſe partes is a porte or hauen called Maſulipatan, which ſtandeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many ſhippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, ſpices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Seruidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houſes here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is ſmall religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and ſo to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of ſiluer round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good ſiluer. It is marueilous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, there is no paſſing in the ſtreetes but with horſes, the waters be ſo high. The houſes are made of lome and thatched. Here is great ſtore of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great ſtore of corne and Rice. We found mariages great ſtore both in townes and villages in many places where wee paſſed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of fiue or ſix yeeres old. They both do ride vpon one horſe very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and ſo returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the moſt part of the night and ſo make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together vntill they be ten yeeres old. They ſay they marry their children ſo yoong, becauſe it is an order that when

Maſulipatan.

Seruidore.

Bellapore.

Strange mariages.

Mandoway a very ſtrong town

Vgini.

Agra a great citie.

The great Mogor.

The like is reported of the cities of China.

Wil. Leades ſerued the king of Cambaia.

The ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Bramanes,

Ganges.

the man dieth, the woman muſt be burned with him: ſo that if the father die, yet they may haue a father in lawe to helpe to bring vp the children which bee maried: and alſo that they will not leaue their ſonnes without wiues, nor their daughters without huſbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very ſtrong towne. It was beſieged twelue yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before hee could winne it. It ſtandeth vpon a very great high rocke as the moſt part of of their caſtles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Vgini and Serringe, where wee ouertooke the ambaſſadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a maruellous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great ſtore of drugs. From thence we went to Agra paſſing many riuers, which by reaſon of the raine were ſo ſwollen, that wee waded and ſwamme oftentimes for our liues. Agra is a very great citie and populous, built with ſtone, hauing faire and large ſtreetes, with a faire riuer running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire caſtle and a ſtrong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the moſt part call him The great Mogor. From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houſes and ſtreetes be not ſo faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thouſand horſes, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: ſuch ſtore of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very ſtrange to ſee. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then Loudon and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were ſtill in a towne, and ſo many people as if a man were in a market. They haue many fine cartes, and many of them carued and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bigneſſe of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horſe, and carie two or three men in one of theſe cartes: they are couered with ſilke or very fine cloth, and be vſed here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great reſort of marchants from Perſia and out of India, and very much marchandiſe of ſilke and cloth, and of precious ſtones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a ſhirt tied with ſtrings on the one ſide, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his houſe but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we ſtaied all three vntill the 28. of September 1585. and then maſter Iohn Newberie tooke his iourney toward the citie of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Perſia and then for Aleppo or Conſtantinople, whether hee could get ſooneſt paſſage vnto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promiſe me, if it pleaſed God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a ſhippe out of England. I left William Leades the ieweller in ſeruice with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gaue him an houſe and fiue ſlaues, an horſe, and euery day ſixe S.S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and foureſcore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and diuers other commodities downe the riuer Iemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In theſe countries they haue many ſtrange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their prieſts, come to the water and haue a ſtring about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade vp water with both their hands, and turne the ſtring firſt with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be neuer ſo cold, they will waſh themſelues in cold water or in warme. Theſe Gentiles will eate no fleſh nor kill any thing. They liue with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dreſſe their meat & eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat vpon the earth, and riſe vp and turne themſelues about 30. or 40. times, and vſe to heaue vp their hands to the ſunne, & to kiſſe the earth, with their armes and legs ſtretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Euery time they lie downe, they make a ſcore on the ground with their finger to know when their ſtint is finiſhed. The Bramanes marke themſelues in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & euery morning they do it. And they haue ſome old men which go in the ſtreetes with a boxe of yellow powder, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wiues do come by 10, 20, & 30. together to the water ſide ſinging, & there do waſh themſelues, & then vſe their ceremonies, & marke themſelues in their forheds and faces, and cary ſome with them, and ſo depart ſinging. Their daughters be maried, at, or before the age of 10. yeres. The men may haue 7. wiues. They be a kind of craftie people, worſe then the Iewes. When they ſalute one another, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, and ſay Rame, Rame. Frõ Agra I came to Prage, where the riuer Iemena entreth into the mightie riuer Ganges, and Iemena looſeth his name. Ganges commeth out of the Northweſt, & runneth Eaſt into the gulfe of Bengala. In thoſe parts there are many Tigers and many partriges & turtle-doues, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in theſe countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Scheſche. Here I ſawe one which was a monſter among the reſt. He would haue nothing vpon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he couered his priuities. The nailes of ſome of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he ſpeake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they ſpake for him. When any man ſpake to him, he would lay his hand vpon his breſt and bowe himſelfe, but would not ſpeake. Hee would not ſpeake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great ſtore of fiſh of ſundry ſorts, & of wild foule, as of ſwannes, geeſe, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the moſt part haue their faces ſhauen, and their heads very long, except ſome which bee all ſhauen ſaue the crowne: and ſome of them are as though a man ſhould ſet a diſh on their heads, and ſhaue them round, all but the crowne. In this riuer of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very ſweete and pleaſant, and the countrey adioyning very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great ſtore of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shaſhes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greateſt idolaters that euer I ſawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongſt the waters ſide bee very many faire houſes, and in all of them, or for the moſt part they haue their images ſtanding, which be euill fauoured, made of ſtone and wood, ſome like lions, leopards, and monkeis, ſome like men & women, and pecocks, and ſome like the deuil with foure armes and 4. hands. They ſit croſſe legged, ſome with one thing in their hands, & ſome another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and waſh thēſelues in Ganges. And there are diuers old men which vpon places of earth made for the purpoſe, ſit praying, and they giue the people three or foure ſtrawes, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they waſh themſelues: and ſome ſit to marke them in the foreheads, and they haue in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they haue waſhed themſelues, they giue to the old men which ſit there praying. Afterwards they go to diuers of their images, & giue them of their ſacrifices. And when they giue, the old men ſay certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in diuers places there ſtandeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they haue diuers great ſtones carued, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon ſome rice, wheate, barly, and ſome other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreouer, they haue a great place made of ſtone like to a well with ſteppes to goe downe; wherein the water ſtandeth very foule and ſtinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it ſtinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they ſay when they waſh themſelues in it, that their ſinnes be forgiuen them, becauſe God, as they ſay, did waſh himſelfe in that place. They gather vp the ſand in the bottome of it, and ſay it is holy. They neuer pray but in the water, and they waſh themſelues ouer head, and lade vp water with both their handes, and turne themſelues about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and ſo goe to their gods which ſtand in thoſe houſes. Some of them will waſh a place which is their length, and then will pray vpon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will riſe vp and lie downe, and kiſſe the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not ſtirre their right foote. And ſome of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or ſixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bel when they make their mixtures tenne or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and diuers ſit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they ſay diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their gods, and ſtrowe their ſacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which ſit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and ſometime an hundred together, to waſh them in this well, and to offer to theſe idols.

Bannaras.

A pilgrimage of the Gentiles.

They haue in ſome of theſe houſes their idoles ſtanding, and one ſitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde vpon them. And when they ſee any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many giue them their almes, but eſpecially thoſe which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and haue clawes of braſſe with long nayles, and ſome ride vpon peacockes and other foules which be euill fauoured, with long haukes bils, and ſome like one thing and ſome another, but none with a good face. Among the reſt there is one which they make great account of: for they ſay hee giueth them all things both foode and apparell, and one ſitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here ſome bee burned to aſhes, ſome ſcorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and foxes doe preſently eate them. The wiues here doe burne with their huſbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be ſhauen, and neuer any account is made of them afterward.

The people goe all naked ſaue a litle cloth bound about their middle. Their women haue their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of ſiluer, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of Iuorie, adorned with amber ſtones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great ſpot of red in their foreheads, and a ſtroke of red vp to the crowne, and ſo it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a ſlit to looke out at, and ſo tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or a woman be ſicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that ſhall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and ſit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters ſide and ſet him vpon a litle raft made of reeds, and ſo let him goe downe the riuer. When they be maried the man and the woman come to the water ſide, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is, a prieſt, a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they giue the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a baſket croſſe bound with diuers things in it: the cloth hee laieth vpon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and ſaieth certaine wordes: and ſhe hath a copper or a braſſe pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wiues hand by her huſbands, and all haue the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot vpon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade vp water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they giue ſomewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or prieſt they giue the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to diuers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat vpon the ground and kiſſe it diuers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and euill fauoured, their mouthes monſtrous, their eares gilded, and full of iewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, ſiluer, and glaſſe, ſome hauing one thing in their handes, and ſome another. You may not come into the houſes where they ſtand, with your ſhooes on. They haue continually lampes burning before them. From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the riuer of Ganges: where in the way we paſſed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great riuers doe enter into Ganges, and ſome of them as great as Ganges, which cauſe Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and ſo broad that in the time of raine you cannot ſee from one ſide to the other. Theſe Indians when they bee ſcorched and throwen into the water, the men ſwimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces vpwards, I thought they tied ſomething to them to cauſe them to doe ſo: but they ſay no. There be very many thieues in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they haue no certaine abode, but are ſometime in one place and ſometime in another. Here the women bee ſo decked with ſiluer and copper, that it is ſtrange to ſee, they vſe no ſhooes by reaſon of the rings of ſiluer and copper which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and waſh the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times paſt it was a kingdom, but now it is vnder Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and ſlender, and haue many old folks among them: the houſes are ſimple, made of earth and couered with ſtrawe, the ſtreetes are very large. In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much ſugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium & other commodities. He that is chiefe here vnder the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I ſaw a diſſembling prophet which ſate vpon an horſe in the market place, and made as though he ſlept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kiſſed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but ſure he was a laſie lubber. I left him there ſleeping. The people of theſe countries be much giuen to ſuch praiing and diſſembling hypocrites.

This tying of new maried folks together by the clothes, was vſed by the Mexicans in old time.

Patenaw.

Gold found.

Tanda in Gouren

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times paſt bene a kingdom, but now is ſubdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waſte. It ſtandeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great ſtore of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda ſtandeth from the riuer Ganges a league, becauſe in times paſt the riuer flowing ouer the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and ſo they do remaine. And the old way which the riuer Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occaſion that the citie doeth ſtand ſo farre from the water. From Agra downe the riuer Iemena, and downe the riuer Ganges, I was fiue moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be ſailed in much ſhorter time.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes iourny Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counſe: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they ſay they haue pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is ſet with Bambos or Canes made ſharpe at both the endes & driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the ground aboue knee deepe, ſo that mē nor horſes can paſſe. They poiſon all the waters if any wars be. Here they haue much ſilke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue eares which be marueilous great of a ſpan long, which they draw out in length by deuiſes when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They haue hoſpitals for ſheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other liuing creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them vntil they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they wil giue him mony for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hoſpitals or let it go. They wil giue meat to the Ants. Their ſmal mony is almonds, which oftentimes they vſe to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which ſtandeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and ſtandeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, becauſe the right way was full of thieues, where we paſſed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almoſt all wildernes, & ſaw many buffes, ſwine & deere, graſſe longer then a mā, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno ſouthweſtward, ſtandeth an hauen which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it ſelfe, & the king was a great friend to ſtrangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixa ſtandeth 6. daies iourney from Satagan ſouthweſtward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great ſtore of cloth which is made of graſſe, which they call Yerua, it is like a ſilke. They make good cloth of it which they ſend for India & diuers other places. To this hauen of Angeli come euery yere many ſhips out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and diuers other places; & lade from thence great ſtore of Rice, & much cloth of cotton wooll, much ſugar, & long pepper, great ſtore of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they haue euery day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they haue many great boats which they cal pericoſe, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: theſe boates haue 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but haue no couerture. Here the Gentiles haue the water of Ganges in great eſtimation, for hauing good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they haue not ſufficient to drinke, they will ſprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themſelues well. From Satagam I trauelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen haue almoſt continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be ſtronger then the king of Tippara, ſo that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes vnder the king of Recon.

Couche: this ſeemeth to be Quicheu, accounted by ſome among the prouinces of China.

Pure Gentiliſme.

In Mexico they vſe likewiſe for ſmall money the fruit Cacao which are like almonds.

Hugely.

Porto Angeli.

The like cloth may be made of the long graſſe in Virginia.

Satagam.

Tippara or porto Grande.

There is a country 4. daies iournie from Couche or Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and ſtrong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they ſay out of Muſcouia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agats, ſilke, pepper and ſaffron like the ſaffron of Perſia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths iourney. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them ſo ſteep that when a man is 6. daies iourney off it, he may ſee it perfectly. Vpon theſe mountains are people which haue eares of a ſpanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They ſay that when they be vpon the mountaines, they ſee ſhips in the Sea ſayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the Eaſt, they ſay, from vnder the ſunne, which is from China, which haue no beards, and they ſay there it is ſomething warme. But thoſe which come from the other ſide of the mountains which is from the North, ſay there it is very cold. Theſe Northern merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hoſen cloſe, and bootes which be of Moſcouia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they haue very good horſes, but they be litle: ſome men haue foure, fiue, or ſixe hundred horſes and kine: they liue with milke and fleſhe. They cut the tailes of their kine, and ſell them very deere, for they bee in great requeſt, and much eſteemed in thoſe partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is aboue a ſpanne long: they vſe to hang them for brauerie vpon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much vſed in Pegu and China: they buie and ſell by ſcores vpon the ground. The people be very ſwift on foote.

Bottanter a great Northern country. Marchants of China, Moſcouia and Tartaria.

This ſeems to be the mountains of Imaus, called by the people Cumao.

The apparel of the Tartarie marchants.

Cowe tailes in great requeſt.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man

Bacola.

very well diſpoſed and delighteth much to ſhoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath ſtore of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of ſilke. The houſes be very faire and high builded, the ſtreetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waſte. The women weare great ſtore of ſiluer hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with ſiluer and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

Serrepore.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels againſt their king Zebaldim Echebar: for here are are ſo many riuers & Iſlands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horſemen cannot preuaile againſt them. Great ſtore of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan.

Sinnergan is a towne ſixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the beſt and fineſt cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all theſe countries is called Iſacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Chriſtians. The houſes here, as they be in the moſt part of India, are very litle, and couered with ſtrawe, and haue a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no fleſh, nor kill no beaſt: they liue of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the reſt of their bodies is naked. Great ſtore of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they ſerue all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

Sundiua Iſland

Negrais.

Coſmin.

Ladders vſed to auoyd the danger of wild beaſts.

Dwelling in boats.

I went from Serrepore the 28. of Nouember 1586. for Pegu in a ſmall ſhip or foiſt of one Albert Carauallos, and ſo paſſing downe Ganges, and paſſing by the Iſland of Sundiua, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leauing them on our left ſide with a faire wind at Northweſt: our courſe was South & by Eaſt, which brought vs to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had throwen many of our things ouer-boord: for we were ſo peſtered with people & goods, that there was ſcant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We entred the barre of Negrais, which is a braue barre & hath 4. fadomes water where it hath leaſt. Three dayes after we came to Coſmin, which is a very pretie towne, and ſtandeth very pleaſantly, very well furniſhed with all things. The people be very tall & well diſpoſed; the women white, round faced, with litle eies: the houſes are high built, ſet vpon great high poſtes, & they go vp to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of riuers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houſes with wife and children in them.

Medon.

From the barre of Nigrais to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes iourney by the riuers. Wee went from Coſmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and paſſing vp the riuers wee came to Medon, which is a prety towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houſes and their markets in them all vpon the water. They rowe too and fro, and haue all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or ſhadow ouer their heads to keepe the ſunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

Dela.

Cirion.

Macao.

Coches caried on mens ſhoulders.

Pegu.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the ſea, from whence go many ſhips to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houſes, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for there about in the wilderneſſe they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the ſea, whither come many ſhips from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from diuers other places. And there the ſhips ſtaie and diſcharge, & ſend vp their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats or Paroes, & in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords & cloth quilted, & caried vpon a ſtang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the ſame day. Pegu is a citie very great, ſtrong, and very faire, with walles of ſtone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants ſtrangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are ſold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many ſuburbes round about it, and all the houſes are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and bee couered with ſtrawe. In your houſe you haue a Warehouſe which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or fiue hundred houſes: ſo that if the Godon were not, you ſhould bee in danger to haue all burned, if any winde ſhould riſe, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made ſquare and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made of ſtone, for euery ſquare fiue gates. There are alſo many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The ſtreets are the faireſt that euer I ſaw, as ſtraight as a line from one gate to the other, and ſo broad that tenne or twelue men may ride a front thorow them. On both ſides of them at euery mans doore is ſet a palmer tree which is the nut tree, which make a very faire ſhew and a very commodious ſhadow, ſo that a man may walke in the ſhade all day. The houſes be made of wood, and couered with tiles. The kings houſe is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very ſumptuouſly gilded, and great workemanſhip is vpon the forefront, which is likewiſe very coſtly gilded. And the houſe wherein his Pagode or idole ſtandeth is couered with tiles of ſiluer, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the firſt gate of the kings houſe is a great large roome, on both ſides whereof are houſes made for the kings elephants, which be maruellous great and faire, and are brought vp to warres and in ſeruice of the king. And among the reſt he hath foure white elephants, which are very ſtrange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will ſend vnto him for it. When any of theſe white elephants is brought vnto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to ſee them, and to giue him a preſent of halfe a ducat, which doth come to a great ſumme: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you haue giuen your preſent you may come and ſee them at your pleaſure, although they ſtand in the kings houſe. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king haue one, and will not ſend it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather loſe a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great ſeruice vnto theſe white elephants; euery one of them ſtandeth in an houſe gilded with golde, and they doe feede in veſſels of ſiluer and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the riuer to be waſhed, as euery day they do, goeth vnder a canopy of cloth of golde or of ſilke carried ouer him by ſixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, ſhawmes, or other inſtruments: and when he is waſhed and commeth out of the riuer, there is a gentleman which doth waſh his feet in a ſiluer baſin: which is his office giuen him by the king. There is no ſuch account made of any blacke elephant, be he neuer ſo great. And ſurely there be woonderfull faire and great, and ſome be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath aboue fiue thouſand elephants of warre, beſides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It ſtandeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great groue or wood: and there be many huntſmen, which go into the wilderneſſe with ſhe elephants: for without the ſhe they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpoſe: and euery hunter hath fiue or ſixe of them: and they ſay that they anoint the ſhe elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth ſmell, he will not leaue her. When they haue brought the wilde elephant neere vnto the place, they ſend word vnto the towne, and many horſemen and footmen come out and cauſe the ſhe elephant to enter into a ſtrait way which doeth goe to the palace, and the ſhe and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth ſhut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male ſeeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth againſt the walles, which be made of ſo ſtrong trees, that ſome of them doe breake their teeth with running againſt them. Then they pricke him with ſharpe canes, & cauſe him to go into a ſtrait houſe, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him ſtand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in theſe elephants. And when they go into the warres they ſet a frame of wood vpon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein ſit foure or ſixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they ſay that their ſkinnes are ſo thicke that a pellet of an harquebuſh will ſcarſe pearce them, except it be in ſome tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They haue gunnes, but ſhoot very badly in them, darts and ſwords ſhort without points. The king keepeth a very great ſtate: when he ſitteth abroad as he doth euery day twiſe, all his noble men which they call Shemines ſit on ech ſide, a good diſtance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will ſpeake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heaue vp his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he ſitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he ſitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he ſitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very ſtrong. At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thouſand men, and fiue thouſand elephants. Thirty thouſand men were his guard. Theſe

Foure white elephants.

The king of the white elephants.

Odia a city in Siam.

people

This maner of cariage on mens ſhoulders is vſed in Peru, and in Florida.

Paper of the leaues of a tree.

people do eate roots, herbs, leaues, dogs, cats, rats, ſerpents, and ſnakes; they refuſe almoſt nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes vpon an elephant with a fine caſtle vpon him very fairely gilded with gold; and ſometimes vpon a great frame like an horſliter, which hath a little houſe vpon it couered ouer head, but open on the ſides, which is all gilded with golde, & ſet with many rubies & ſaphires, whereof he hath infinite ſtore in his country, and is caried vpon ſixteene or eighteene mens ſhoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feaſting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by Sea, becauſe hee hath but very few ſhips. He hath houſes full of golde and ſiluer, and bringeth in often, but ſpendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and ſaphires, and ſpinelles. Neere vnto the palace of the king, there is a treaſure woonderfull rich; the which becauſe it is ſo neere, he doth not account of it: and it ſtandeth open for all men to ſee in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houſes gilded very richly, and couered with leade: in euery one of them are Pagodes or images of huge ſtature and great value. In the firſt is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and ſaphires, and about him there ſtand foure children of golde. In the ſecond houſe is the picture of a man in ſiluer woonderfull great, as high as an houſe; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made ſitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with ſtones. In the third houſe is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of braſſe, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and laſt houſe doth ſtand another, made of braſſe, greater then the other, with a crowne alſo on his head very rich with ſtones. In another court not farre from this ſtand foure other Pagodes or idoles, maruellous great, of copper, made in the ſame place where they do ſtand; for they be ſo great that they be not to be remooued: they ſtand in foure houſes gilded very faire, and are themſelues gilded all ouer ſaue their heads, and they ſhew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderfull. The king hath one wife and aboue three hundred concubines, by which they ſay he hath foureſcore or foureſcore and ten children. He ſitteth in iudgement almoſt euery day. They vſe no ſpeech, but giue vp their ſupplications written in the leaues of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. Theſe leaues are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are alſo double. He which giueth in his ſupplication, doth ſtand in a place a little diſtance off with a preſent. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his preſent, and granteth his requeſt: if his ſute be not liked of, he returneth with his preſent; for the king will not take it.

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and ſcarlets ſolde in Pegu.

The money of Pegu.

The ſeuerall merchandiſes of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

In India there are few commodities which ſerue for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Maſulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is ſpent there in great quantity. They bring thither alſo much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they call Saia, which will neuer loſe his colour: it is very wel ſolde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your mony you loſe much. The ſhips which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Maſulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Coſmin. To Martauan a port of the ſea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ſhips from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ſhips from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and ſuch like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to ſell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you giue them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, becauſe you ſell your marchandiſes vpon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your houſe: which is a great ſhame for him. And if he pay you not preſently, you may take his wife and children and his ſlaues, and binde them at your doore, and ſet them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in theſe parts is a kinde of braſſe which they call Ganſa, wherewith you may buy golde, ſiluer, rubies, muſke, and all other things. The golde and ſiluer is marchandiſe, and is worth ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe, as other wares be. This braſen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or ſomewhat leſſe. The marchandiſe which be in Pegu, are golde, ſiluer, rubies, ſaphires, ſpinelles, muſke, beniamin or franckincenſe, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard ware, rice, and wine made of rice, and ſome ſugar. The elephants doe eate the ſugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they conſume many canes likewiſe in making of their Varellaes or Idole temples, which are in great number both great and ſmall. They be made round like a ſugar loafe, ſome are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, ſome a quarter of a mile in compaſſe: within they be all earth done about with ſtone. They conſume in theſe Varellaes great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and euery ten or twelue yeeres they muſt be new gilded, becauſe the raine conſumeth off the golde: for they ſtand open abroad. If they did not conſume their golde in theſe vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes iourney from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bigneſſe, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an houſe by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their Prieſts doe preach. This houſe is fiue and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which ſtand betweene the walks; and it is open on all ſides with a number of ſmall pillars, which be likewiſe gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houſes very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houſes for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded ouer with golde. It is the faireſt place, as I ſuppoſe, that is in the world: it ſtandeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are ſet with trees of fruits, in ſuch wiſe that a man may goe in the ſhade aboue two miles in length. And when their feaſt day is, a man can hardly paſſe by water or by land for the great preſſe of people; for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feaſt. In Pegu they haue many Tallipoies or prieſts, which preach againſt all abuſes. Many men reſort vnto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to ſay, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great iarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they waſh their feet; and then they enter in, and lift vp their hands to their heads firſt to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and ſo ſit downe. The Tallipoies go very ſtrangely apparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times vpon their ſhoulder: and thoſe two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they haue a ſkinne of leather hanging on a ſtring about their necks, whereupon they ſit, bare headed & bare footed; for none of them weareth ſhooes; with their right armes bare and a great broad ſombrero or ſhadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or prieſts take their Orders, firſt they go to ſchoole vntill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpoſe, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefeſt and moſt learned, and he oppoſeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leaue their friends, and the company of all women, and take vpon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth vpon an horſe about the ſtreets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to ſhew that he leaueth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried vpon a thing like an horſliter, which they call a ſerion, vpon ten or twelue mens ſhoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and ſo they go with him to his houſe, which ſtandeth without the towne, and there they leaue him. Euery one of them hath his houſe, which is very little, ſet vpon ſix or eight poſts, and they go vp to them with a ladder of twelue or foureteene ſtaues. Their houſes be for the moſt part by the hie wayes ſide, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and couered, tied with a broad girdle vpon their ſhoulder, which commeth vnder their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fiſh, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people preſently doe giue them, ſome one thing, and ſome another: and they put all together in their potte: for they ſay they muſt eate of their almes, and therewith content themſelues. They keepe their feaſts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greateſt feaſt: and then the people ſend rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are ſent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they ſit and preach. And there is one which ſitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is diuided among them. They haue none other ceremonies nor ſeruice that I could ſee, but onely preaching.

The Tallipoies or Prieſts of Pegu.

The apparell of their prieſts.

Obſeruation of new moones.

I went from Pegu to Iamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Iangomes; it is fiue and twenty dayes iourney Northeaſt from Pegu. In which iourney I paſſed many fruitfull and pleaſant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire riuers. The houſes are very bad, made of canes, and couered with ſtraw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Iamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houſes of ſtone, well peopled, the ſtreets are very large, the men very well ſet and ſtrong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all theſe countreys they weare no ſhooes. The women be much fairer then thoſe of Pegu. Heere in all theſe countreys they haue no wheat. They make ſome cakes of rice. Hither to Iamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great ſtore of muſke, golde, ſiluer, and many other things of China worke. Here is great ſtore of victuals: they haue ſuch plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places.

Iamahey fiue & twenty dayes iourny Northeaſtward from Pegu.

Here is great ſtore of copper and beniamin. In theſe countreys when the people be ſicke they make a vow to offer meat vnto the diuell, if they eſcape: and when they be recouered they make a banket with many pipes & drummes and other inſtruments, and danſing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arrecaes, and other fruites, and with great dauncing and reioycing they offer to the diuell, and ſay, they giue the diuel to eat, and driue him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this ſort they ſay they driue him away. And when they be ſicke a Tallipoy or two euery night doth ſit by them & ſing, to pleaſe the diuell that he ſhould not hurt them. And if any die he is caried vpon a great frame made like a tower, with a couering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or ſixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other inſtruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men: and they giue to the tallipoies or prieſts many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the houſe and there make a feaſt for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wiues & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they ſit a certaine time add cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left vnburned and bury them, and then returne to their houſes and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do ſhaue their heads, which they do not vſe except it be for the death of a friend: for they much eſteeme of their haire.

They burne their dead.

Caplan is the place where the rubies and other precious ſtones are found.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles: it ſtandeth ſixe dayes iourney from Aua in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely thoſe which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Aua, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their priuy members: ſome of them weare two and ſome three. They cut the ſkin and ſo put them in, one into one ſide and another into the other ſide; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleaſure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be maried the huſband is for euery child which his wife hath, to put in one vntill he come to three and then no more: for they ſay the women doe deſire them. They were inuented becauſe they ſhould not abuſe the male ſexe. For in times paſt all thoſe countries were ſo giuen to that villany, that they were very ſcarſe of people. It was alſo ordained that the women ſhould not haue paſt three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are ſo ſtrait, that when they go in the ſtreets, they ſhew one ſide of the leg bare aboue the knee. The bunches aforeſayd be of diuers ſorts: the leaſt be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greateſt are as big as a litle hennes egge: ſome are of braſſe and ſome of ſiluer: but thoſe of ſiluer be for the king and his noble men. Theſe are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are ſome made of leade, which they call Selwy becauſe they ring but litle: and theſe be of leſſer price for the poorer ſort. The king ſometimes taketh his out, and giueth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and becauſe he hath vſed them, they eſteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale vp the place in ſeuen or eight dayes.

Anthony Galuano writeth of theſe bals.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) haue their legs or bellies, or ſome part of their body, as they thinke good themſelues, made black with certaine things which they haue: they vſe to pricke the ſkinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may haue it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

The people of Pegu weare no beards.

Theſe people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinſons made for that purpoſe. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haires grow together, ſome in one place of his face and ſome in another, and pulleth out all the reſt: for he carieth his pinſons alwayes with him to pull the haires out aſſoone as they appeare. If they ſee a man with a beard they wonder at him. They haue their teeth blacked both men and women, for they ſay a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they haue a ſute in the law which is ſo doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there ſit men to iudge, and they both do diue vnder the water, and he which remaineth longeſt vnder the water doth winne the ſute.

Malacca.

The 10 of Ianuary I went from Pegu to Malacca, paſſing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martauan, the Iland of Taui, from whence commeth great ſtore of tinne which ſerueth all India, the Ilands of Tanaſeri, Iunſalaon, and many others; and ſo came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals haue a caſtle which ſtandeth nere the ſea. And the countrey faſt without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ſhips from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands of the Iauas, which bring great ſtore of ſpices and drugs, and diamants and other iewels. The voyages into many of theſe Ilands belong vnto the captaine of Malacca: ſo that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great ſummes of money euery yeere. The Portugals heere haue often times warres with the king of Achem which ſtandeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great ſtore of pepper and other ſpices euery yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red ſea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Iapan, they carry much white ſilke, golde, muſke, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but ſiluer. They haue a great caracke which goeth thither euery yere, and ſhe bringeth from thence euery yere aboue ſixe hundred thouſand cruſadoes: and all this ſiluer of Iapan, and two hundred thouſand cruſadoes more in ſiluer which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great aduantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muſke, ſilke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very coſtly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they muſt remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they muſt enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they muſt put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but muſt lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are euill vſed and impriſoned. The Chinians are very ſuſpicious, and doe not truſt ſtrangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any ſtrangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people ſee their king very ſeldome or not at all, nor may not looke vp to that place where he ſitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried vpon a great chaire or ſerrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little houſe with a latiſe to looke out at: ſo that he may ſee them, but they may not looke vp at him: and all the time that he paſſeth by them, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not vp vntill he be paſſed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread ſhoes, and hats of ſtraw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her huſband three yeeres: the ſonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the houſe, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleaſure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Iaponians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine penſill made of dogs or cats haire.

The voyage to Iapan.

Eight hundred thouſand cruſadoes in ſiluer imployed yeerely by the Portugals in China.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban is an Iland among the Iauas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the riuers: for the king will not ſuffer them to digge the rocke.

Laban.
Diamants.

Iamba is an Iland among the Iauas alſo, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a maſſe of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a riuer: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This maſſe of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Iamba.

Golde.

Bima is another Iland among the Iauas, where the women trauell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe houſe and go where they will.

Bima.

The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martauan, and ſo to Pegu, where I remained the ſecond time vntill the 17 of September, and then I went to Coſmin, and there tooke ſhipping; and paſſing many dangers by reaſon of contrary windes, it pleaſed God that we arriued in Bengala in Nouember following: where I ſtayed for want of paſſage vntill the third of February 1589, and then I ſhipped my ſelfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of freſh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and paſſengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleaſed God that we arriued in Ceylon the ſixth of March, where we ſtayed fiue dayes to water, and to furniſh our ſelues with other neceſſary prouiſion. This Ceylon is a braue Iland, very fruitfull & faire; but by reaſon of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not ſuffer any thing to be brought to the caſtle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they haue great want of victuals. Their prouiſion of victuals commeth out of Bengala euery yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force; for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals haue their fort, with an hundred thouſand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he ſtandeth vpon one legge, and ſetteth the other foot vpon his knee with his ſword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to ſit but to ſtand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound vp with a little fine cloth about his head: all the reſt of his body is naked. His guard are a

He returneth from Malacca.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

thouſand men, which ſtand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the reſt come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they ſay are the beſt kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a ſpanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it ſmelleth very ſweet. There is great ſtore of rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles in this Iland: the beſt kinde of all be here; but the king will not ſuffer the inhabitants to digge for them, leſt his enemies ſhould know of them, and make warres againſt him, and ſo driue him out of his countrey for them. They haue no horſes in all the countrey. The elephants be not ſo great as thoſe of Pegu, which be monſtrous huge: but they ſay all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very ſmall. Their women haue a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the reſt is bare. All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houſes are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and couered with the leaues of the ſame tree.

Blacke people.

Cape de Comori.

The eleuenth of March we ſailed from Ceylon, and ſo doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fiſh for pearles. And there is fiſhed euery yere very much; which doth ſerue all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not ſo orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Perſia. From cape de Comori we paſſed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great ſtore of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus paſſing the coaſt we arriued in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but ſcarſity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greateſt part commeth from Bengala. They haue here very bad water, for the riuer is farre off. This bad water cauſeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them haue their legs ſwollen as bigge as a man in the waſte, & many of them are ſcant able to go. Theſe people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. Theſe haue their heads very full of haire, and bound vp with a ſtring: and there doth appeare a buſh without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and ſtrong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their beſt weapon: yet there be ſome caliuers among them, but they handle them badly.

Coulam,

Cochin.

People with ſwollen legges mentioned alſo by Ioh. Huygen.

How pepper groweth.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it ſpringeth vp by a tree or a pole, and is like our iuy berry, but ſomething longer like the wheat eare: and at the firſt the bunches are greene, and as they ware ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much leſſer then the iuy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here haue very little houſes couered with the leaues of the coco-trees. The men be of a reaſonable ſtature; the women litle; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes: all the reſt of their bodies be naked: they haue horrible great eares with many rings ſet with pearles and ſtones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place aboue fiue or ſixe dayes: he hath many houſes, but they be but litle: his guard is but ſmall: he remooueth from one houſe to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and courſe cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The beſt cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yoong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other neceſſary things, as I haue declared before.

Blacke people.

‖ Or Calicut, or Cananor.

The Naires which be vnder the king of ‖ Samorin, which be Malabars, haue alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the ſea to robbe & ſteale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three caſtles vnder him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he ſayth he doth not ſend them out: but he conſenteth that they go. They range all the coaſt from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or fiue parowes or boats together; and haue in euery one of them fifty or threeſcore men, and boord preſently. They do much harme on that coaſt, and take euery yere many foiſts and boats of the Portugals. Many of theſe people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelue leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere vnto Goa. I remained in Cochin vntill the ſecond of Nouember, which was eight moneths; for that there was no paſſage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes ſooner I had found a paſſage preſently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threeſcore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my prouiſion of things neceſſary for the ſhippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I ſtayed for a paſſage to Balſara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Goa,

Chaul.

Ormus,

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare ſome things which India and the countrey farther Eaſtward do bring forth.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, eſpecially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the buſhes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The ſhrubbe is like vnto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about ſome tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they firſt gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

The pepper tree.

The ginger groweth like vnto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

Ginger.

The cloues doe come from the Iſles of the Moluccoes, which be diuers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

Cloues.

The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Iſle of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but ſomewhat leſſer.

Nutmegs & maces.

The white ſandol is wood very ſweet & in great requeſt among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Iſle of Timor.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is ſolde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Chriſtendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the beſt, commeth from the great Iſle of Borneo.

Camphora.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

Lignum Aloes.

The beniamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Iangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

Long pepper.

The muſke commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to ſell; In Tartarie there is a little beaſt like vnto a yong roe, which they take in ſnares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the fleſh with the blood very ſmall, and fill the ſkin with it: and hereof commeth the muſke.

Muſke.

Of the amber they holde diuers opinions; but moſt men ſay it commeth out of the ſea, and that they finde it vpon the ſhores ſide.

Amber.

The rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles are found in Pegu.

Rubies, ſaphires and ſpinels.

The diamants are found in diuers places, as in Biſnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

Diamants.

The beſt pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Perſian ſea, the worſer from the Piſcaria neere the Iſle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermoſt coaſt of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Spodium.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balſara or Baſora, and from Baſora to Babylon: and we paſſed the moſt part of the way by the ſtrength of men by halling the boat vp the riuer with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Moſul, which ſtandeth nere to Niniue, which is all ruinated and deſtroyed; it ſtandeth faſt by the riuer of Tigris. From Moſul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine ful of fiſh; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they ſay he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & ſo paſſed the riuer of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I ſtayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding Engliſh ſhipping, I came with a proſperous voyage to London, where by Gods aſſiſtance I ſafely arriued the 29 of April 1591, hauing bene eight yeeres out of my natiue countrey.

Baſora.
Babylon.
Moſul.
Merdin.
Orfa.
Bir.
Aleppo.
Tripolis.

The report of *Iohn Huighen van Linſchoten* concerning M. *Newberies* and M. *Fitches* impriſonment, and of their eſcape, which happened while he was in *Goa*.

IN the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arriued in the towne and Iland of Ormus foure Engliſh men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, hauing ſailed out of England, & paſſed thorow the ſtraights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and hauen lying on the coaſt of Syria, where all the ſhips diſcharge their wares & marchandiſes, & from thence are caried by land vnto Aleppo, which is nine dayes iourny. In Aleppo there are reſident diuers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, Engliſh men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, euery man hauing his religion apart, paying tribute vnto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence euery yeere twiſe, there trauell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which trauell vnto India, Perſia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the ſame, and deale in all ſorts of mar-

John Newbery had beene in Ormus before. Anno.1581.

chandiſe, both to and from thoſe countreys, as I in another place haue already declared. Three of the ſayd Engliſh men aforeſayd, were ſent by the company of Engliſh men that are reſident in Aleppo, to ſee if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and ſo traffique in that place, like as alſo the Italians do, that is to ſay, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca haue their factours, and traffique there, aſwell for ſtones and pearles, as for other wares and ſpices of thoſe countreyes, which from thence are caried ouer land into Venice. One of theſe Engliſh men had bene once before in the ſayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and vpon his aduiſe and aduertiſement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great ſtore of marchandiſes with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glaſſes, and Haberdaſhers wares, as looking glaſſes, kniues, and ſuch like ſtuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of ſmall wares that may be deuiſed. And although thoſe wares amounted vnto great ſummes of money, notwithſtanding it was but onely a ſhadow or colour, thereby to giue no occaſion to be miſtruſted, or ſeene into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious ſtones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great ſumme of money and golde, and that very ſecretly, not to be deceiued or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the ſame. They being thus arriued in Ormus, hired a ſhoppe, and beganne to ſell their wares: which the Italians perceiuing, whoſe factours continue there (as I ſayd before) and fearing that thoſe Engliſh men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be reſident therein, and ſo dayly increaſe, which would be no ſmall loſſe and hinderance vnto them, did preſently inuent all the ſubtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went vnto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonſalo de Meneſes, telling him that there were certaine Engliſh men come into Ormus, that were ſent onely to ſpie the countrey; and ſayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they ſayd it was conuenient they ſhould not be ſuffered ſo to depart, without being examined, and puniſhed as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend vnto the Engliſh men, by reaſon that one of them which had bene there before, had giuen him certaine preſents, would not be perſwaded to trouble them, but ſhipped them with all their wares in a ſhippe that was to ſaile for Goa, and ſent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arriued, they were caſt into priſon, and firſt examined whether they were good Chriſtians or no: and becauſe they could ſpeake but badde Portugall, onely two of them ſpake good Dutch, as hauing bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Ieſuite born in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene reſident in the Indies for the ſpace of thirty yers, ſent vnto them, to vndermine and examine them: wherein they behaued themſelues ſo well, that they were holden and eſteemed for good and Catholicke Chriſtians: yet ſtill ſuſpected, becauſe they were ſtrangers, and ſpecially Engliſh men. The Ieſuites ſtill tolde them that they ſhould be ſent priſoners into Portugall, wiſhing them to leaue off their trade of marchandiſe, and to become Ieſuites, promiſing them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cauſe why they ſayd ſo, and perſwaded them in that earneſt maner, was, for that the Dutch Ieſuite had ſecretly bene aduertiſed of great ſummes of money which they had about them, and ſought to get the ſame into their fingers, for that the firſt vowe and promiſe they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their ſayd Order, by what meanes ſoeuer it be. But although the Engliſh men denied them, and refuſed the Order, ſaying, that they were vnfit for ſuch places, neuertheleſſe they proceeded ſo farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to ſee the countreys, and to ſeeke his fortune, and was not ſent thither by the Engliſh marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieue himſelfe, promiſed them to become a Ieſuite: and although they knew and well perceiued he was not any of thoſe that had the treaſure, yet becauſe he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwiſe would coſt them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the reſt of them with all their money into their felloſhip: ſo that to conclude, they made this Painter a Ieſuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giuing him good ſtore of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the fauour and friendſhip they could deuiſe, and all to winne the reſt, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued ſtill in priſon, being in great feare, becauſe they vnderſtood no man that came to them, nor any man almoſt knew what they ſayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbiſhops houſe, and counſell giuen them to ſend vnto them, whereat they much reioyced, and ſent to me and an other Dutch man, deſiring vs once to come and ſpeake with them, which we preſently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint vnto vs of their hard vſage, ſhewing vs from point to point (as it is ſayd before) why they were come into the countrey, withall deſiring vs for Gods cauſe, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be ſet at libertie vpon ſureties, being ready to endure what iuſtice ſhould ordaine for them, ſaying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then trauelling marchants, and ſought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be puniſhed. With that we departed from them, promiſing them to do our beſt: and in the end we obtained ſo much of the Archbiſhop, that he went vnto the Viceroy to deliuer our petition, and perſwaded him ſo well, that he was content to ſet them at libertie, and that their goods ſhould be deliuered vnto them againe, vpon condition they ſhould put in ſureties for two thouſand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order ſhould be taken with them. Thereupon they preſently found a Citizen of the towne that was their ſurety for two thouſand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thouſand and three hundred pardawes, and becauſe they ſayd they had no more ready money, he gaue them credit, ſeeing what ſtore of marchandiſe they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be ſatiſfied: and by that meanes they were deliuered out of priſon, and hired themſelues an houſe, and beganne to ſet open ſhoppe: ſo that they vttered much ware, and were preſently well knowen among all the marchants, becauſe they alwayes reſpected gentlemen, ſpecially ſuch as bought their wares, ſhewing great courteſie and honour vnto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloued of all men, ſo that euery man fauoured them, and was willing to doe them pleaſure. To vs they ſhewed great friendſhip, for whoſe ſake the Archbiſhop fauoured them much, and ſhewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increaſe, by offering him many preſents, although he would not receiue them, neither would euer take gift or preſent at any mans hands. Likewiſe they behaued themſelues ſo diſcreetly that no man caried an euill eye, no, nor an euill thought towards them. Which liked not the Ieſuites, becauſe it hindered them from that they hoped for, ſo that they ceaſed not ſtill by this Dutch Ieſuite to put them in feare, that they ſhould be ſent into Portugall to the King, counſelling them to yeeld themſelues Ieſuites into their Cloiſter, which if they did, he ſayd they would defend them from all troubles, ſaying further, that he counſelled them therin as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was ſo determined by the Viceroyes Priuy councell: which to effect he ſayd they ſtayed but for ſhipping that ſhould ſaile for Portugall, with diuers other perſwaſions, to put them in ſome feare, and ſo to effect their purpoſe. The Engliſh men to the contrary, durſt not ſay any thing to them, but anſwered, that as yet they would ſtay a while, and conſider thereof, thereby putting the Ieſuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called Iohn Newbery) complained vnto me often times, ſaying that he knew not what to ſay or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of thoſe troubles: but in the end they determined with themſelues to depart from thence; and ſecretly by meanes of other friendes they imployed their money in precious ſtones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Ieweller, and for the ſame purpoſe came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durſt not make knowen to any man, neither did they credite vs ſo much, as to ſhew vs their mindes therein, although they tolde vs all whatſoeuer they knew. But on a Whitſunday they went abroad to ſport themſelues about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the riuer in a countrey called Bardes, hauing with them good ſtore of meate and drinke. And becauſe they ſhould not be ſuſpected, they left their houſe and ſhoppe, with ſome wares therein vnſolde, in cuſtody of a Dutch boy, by vs prouided for them, that looked vnto it. This boy was in the houſe not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian poſtes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and becauſe that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little riuer, in a maner halfe drie, they paſſed ouer it on foot, and ſo trauelled by land, being neuer heard of againe: but it is thought they arriued in Aleppo, as ſome ſay, but they know not certainely. Their greateſt hope was that Iohn Newbery could ſpeake the Arabian tongue, which is vſed in all thoſe countreys, or at the leaſt vnderſtood; for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with vs. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great ſtirre and murmuring among the people, and we much wondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had giuen them counſell ſo to do; and preſently their ſurety ſeiſed vpon the goods remaining, which might amount vnto aboue two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had receiued of the Engliſh men, he went vnto the Viceroy, and deliuered it vnto him: which the Viceroy hauing receiued, forgaue him the reſt. This flight of the Engliſh men grieued the Ieſuites moſt, becauſe they had loſt ſuch a praye, which they made ſure account of: whereupon the Dutch Ieſuite came to vs to aske vs if we knew thereof, ſaying, that if he had ſuſpected ſo much, he would haue dealt otherwiſe, for that he ſayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thouſand veneſeanders (ech veneſeander

The Arabian tongue generall in the East.

being two pardawes) which was when they were in priſon. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accompliſh his deſire: vpon the which promiſe he gaue them their money againe, which otherwiſe they ſhould not ſo lightly haue come by, or peraduenture neuer, as he openly ſayd: and in the end he called them hereticks, and ſpies, with a thouſand other railing ſpeeches, which he vttered againſt them. The Engliſh man that was become a Ieſuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiuing that the Ieſuites ſhewed him not ſo great fauour, neither vſed him ſo well as they did at the firſt, repented himſelfe; and ſeeing he had not as then made any ſolemne promiſe, and being counſelled to leaue the houſe, and tolde that he could not want a liuing in the towne, as alſo that the Ieſuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to ſtay, ſo they could not accuſe him of any thing, he tolde them flatly that he had no deſire to ſtay within the Cloiſter. And although they vſed all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not ſtay, but hired an houſe without the Cloiſter, and opened ſhoppe, where he had good ſtore of worke: and in the end married a Meſtizos daughter of the towne, ſo that he made his account to ſtay there while he liued. By this Engliſh man I was inſtructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common cuſtomes which they vſually holde during their voyage ouer the land, as alſo of the places and townes where they paſſed. And ſince thoſe Engliſh mens departures from Goa, there neuer arriued any ſtrangers, either Engliſh or others, by land, in the ſayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique ouer land, and vſe continuall trade going and comming that way.

The voyage of M. *Iohn Eldred* to *Trypolis* in *Syria* by ſea, and from thence by land and riuer to *Babylon* and *Balſara*. 1583.

I Departed out of London in the ſhip called the Tiger, in the company of M. Iohn Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and ſixe or ſeuen other honeſt marchants vpon Shroue munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the firſt day of May next inſuing: at our landing we went on Maying vpon S. Georges Iland, a place where Chriſtians dying aboord the ſhips, are woont to be buried. In this city our Engliſh marchants haue a Conſull, and our nation abide together in one houſe with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of ſtone, ſquare, in maner like a Cloiſter, & euery man hath his ſeuerall chamber, as it is the vſe of all other Chriſtians of ſeuerall nations. This towne ſtandeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two Engliſh miles diſtant from the port: on the ſide of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, ſtand fiue blockehouſes or ſmall forts, wherein is ſome very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Ianiſaries. Right before this towne from the ſeaward is a banke of mouing ſand, which gathereth and increaſeth with the Weſterne winds, in ſuch ſort, that, according to an olde propheſie among them, this banke is like to ſwallow vp & ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yere it increaſeth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vſe all policy to diminiſh the ſame, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bigneſſe of Biſtow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe ſtrength of the place is in a Citadell, which ſtandeth on the South ſide within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is ſtrongly kept with two hundred Ianiſaries and good artillery. A riuer paſſeth thorow the midſt of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulberry trees, on which there grow abundance of ſilke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white ſilke, which is the chiefeſt naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Chriſtian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marſilians, Sicilians, Raguſes, and lately with Engliſh men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a carauan, paſſing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a city called Hammah, which ſtandeth on a goodly plaine repleniſhed with corne & cotton wooll. On theſe mountaines which we paſſed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are ſomewhat like our okes, but leſſer and more crooked: on the beſt tree a man ſhall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is ſcarſe one halfe of the wall ſtanding, which hath bene very ſtrong and faire: but becauſe it coſt many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue ouer the caſtle gate, which ſtandeth in the midſt of the towne, theſe words: Curſed be the father and the ſonne that ſhall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreſhing our ſelues one day here, we paſſed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Aleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greateſt place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all thoſe parts: for hither reſort Iewes, Tartarians, Perſians, Armenians,

The deſcription of Tripolis in Syria.

Store of white ſilke.

The city of Hammah.
Cotton wooll.
Gall trees.

Aleppo.

Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many ſorts of Chriſtians, and inioy freedome of their conſciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich marchandiſes. In the middeſt of this towne alſo ſtandeth a goodly caſtle raiſed on high, with a gariſon of foure or fiue hundred Ianiſaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere vnto the riuers ſide, which is but ſmall; the walles are about three Engliſh miles in compaſſe, but the ſuburbs are almoſt as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the laſt of May with M. Iohn Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a ſmall towne ſituated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it beginneth firſt to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which ſignifieth a thouſand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, whereof we all furniſhed our ſelues for a long iourney downe the aforeſayd riuer. And according to the maner of thoſe that trauell downe by water, we prepared a ſmall barke for the conueyance of our ſelues and of our goods. Theſe boats are flat bottomed, becauſe the riuer is ſhallow in many places: and when men trauell in the moneth of Iuly, Auguſt, and September, the water being then at the loweſt, they are conſtrained to cary with them a ſpare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to fall on the ſholds. We were eight and twenty dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we diſimbarked our ſelues and our goods. Euery night after the Sunne ſetteth, we tie our barke to a ſtake, go on land to gather ſticks, and ſet on our pot with rice or bruſed wheat, and hauing ſupped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the ſhores ſide as nere as they can vnto the ſame. In many places vpon the riuers ſide we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gaue them in barter, (for they care not for money) glaſſes, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for churned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they vſe to tanne their goats ſkinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to thoſe vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their noſtrels, of golde, ſiluer, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and ſmalles of their legs they haue hoops of golde, ſiluer or yron. All of them aſwel women and children as men, are very great ſwimmers, and often times ſwimming they brought vs milke to our barke in veſſels vpon their heads. Theſe people are very theeuiſh, which I proued to my coſt: for they ſtole a caſket of mine, with things of good value in the ſame, from vnder my mans head as he was aſleepe: and therefore trauellers keepe good watch as they paſſe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in ſome places narrower, in ſome broader: it runneth very ſwiftly, almoſt as faſt as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers ſorts of fiſh in it, but all are ſcaled, ſome as bigge as ſalmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of Iune, where we made our abode ſeuen dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is ſuch in thoſe parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village of ſome hundred houſes, and a place appointed for diſcharging of ſuch goods as come downe the riuer: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were conſtrained to vnlade our goods, and hired an hundred aſſes to cary our Engliſh marchandiſes onely to New Babylon ouer a ſhort deſert, in croſſing whereof we ſpent eighteene houres trauelling by night, and part of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

Birrah.

Euphrates ſhallow.

Eight & twenty dayes iourney by riuer.

Arabians vpon the riuer of Euphrates.

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their noſtrels.

Euphrates deſcribed.

Felugia.

In this place which we croſſed ouer, ſtood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are eaſily to be ſeene by day-light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld at my good leaſure, hauing made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this deſert. Here alſo are yet ſtanding the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being vpon a plaine ground ſeemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the leſſer and leſſer it appeareth: ſundry times I haue gone thither to ſee it, and found the remnants yet ſtanding aboue a quarter of a mile in compaſſe, and almoſt as high as the ſtone-worke of Pauls ſteeple in London, but it ſheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this moſt ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery courſe of bricks there lieth a courſe of mattes made of canes, which remaine ſound and not periſhed, as though they had beene layed within one yeere. The city of New Babylon ioyneth vpon the aforſayd ſmall deſert where the Olde city was, and the riuer of Tigris runneth cloſe vnder the wall, and they may if they will open a ſluce, and let the water of the ſame runne round about the towne. It is aboue two Engliſh miles in compaſſe, and the inhabitants generally ſpeake three languages, to wit, the Perſian, Arabian and Turkiſh tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the griſtles of their noſes a ring like a

The ruines of olde Babylon.

New Babylon.

The riuer Tigris.

wedding ring, but ſomewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkiſh ſtone ſet therein: and this they do be they neuer ſo poore.

Rafts borne vpon bladders of goats ſkins.

Seldome rain.

Eight & twenty dayes iourney downe by riuer, from Babylon to Balſara.

Curna caſtle.

Balſara.

Ships made without yron in the Perſian gulfe.

Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balſara to Aleppo.

Their prouiſion of victuals.

A Carauan of foure thouſand Camels.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furniſhed with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tigris from Moſul which was called Niniue in olde time. They bring theſe victuals and diuers ſorts of marchandiſes vpon rafts borne vpon goats ſkins blowen vp ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue diſcharged their goods, they ſel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats ſkins, and cary them home againe vpon their aſſes by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is moſt of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no ſtone is to be found: their houſes are all flat-roofed and low. They haue no raine for eight moneths together, nor almoſt any clouds in the ſkie, night nor day. Their Winter is in Nouember, December, Ianuary and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, becauſe my abode at ſeuerall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the leaſt the ſpace of two yeres. As we come to the city, we paſſe ouer the riuer of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more ſtrong & greater then thoſe of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes alſo in paſſing downe this riuer to Balſara, but we might haue done it in eighteene or leſſe, if the water had bene higher. Vpon the waters ſide ſtand by the way diuers townes reſembling much the names of the olde prophets: the firſt towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balſara by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there ſtandeth a caſtle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a ſmall cuſtome. Here the two riuers ioyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here alſo it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulſe, and dates. The towne of Balſara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, caſtle and wals are made of bricke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here fiue hundred Ianiſaries, beſides other ſouldiers continually in gariſon and pay, but his chiefe ſtrength is of gallies which are about fiue and twenty or thirty very faire and furniſhed with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balſara come monethly diuers ſhips from Ormuz, laden with all ſorts of Indian marchandiſe, as ſpices, drugs, Indico, and Calecut cloth. Theſe ſhips are vſually from forty to threeſcore tunnes, hauing their planks ſowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in ſtead of Occam they vſe the ſhiuerings of the barke of the ſayd trees, and of the ſame they alſo make their tackling. They haue no kinde of yron worke belonging to theſe veſſels, ſaue only their ankers. From this place ſix dayes ſayling downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus; there they fiſh for pearles foure moneths in the yere, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, Auguſt, and September. My abode in Balſara was iuſt ſixe moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from M. Iohn Newbery from Ormus, who as he paſſed that way with her Maieſties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & vnto the mighty emperour of China, was traiterouſly there arreſted, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward ſent priſoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell impriſonment he and his companions were deliuered vpon ſureties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the ſute of one father Thomas Steuens an Engliſh religious man, which they found there: but ſhortly after three of them eſcaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is ſince come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called Iohn Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderſtood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing diſpatched our buſineſſe at Balſara, imbarked our ſelues in company of ſeuenty barks all laden with marchandiſe, hauing euery barke 14 men to draw them, like our Weſterne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming vp againſt the ſtreame to Babylon, where arriuing and paying our cuſtome, we with all other ſorts of marchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and driue them, furniſhed our ſelues with rice, butter, biſket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and euery marchant bought a proportion of liue muttons, and hired certaine ſhepheards to driue them with vs: we alſo bought vs tents to lie in, and to put our goods vnder: and in this our carauan were foure thouſand camels laden with ſpices and other rich marchandiſes. Theſe camels will liue very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thiſtles, wormewood, magdalene, and other ſtrong weeds which they finde vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and duties to be payed, the whole carauan committeth to one ſpeciall rich marchant of the company, of whoſe honeſty they conceiue beſt. In paſſing from Babylon to Aleppo, we ſpent forty dayes, trauelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, reſting our ſelues cōmonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntill three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne called Heit, as we croſſe the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many ſprings throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke ſubſtance like vnto tarre, which ſerueth all the countrey to make ſtanch their barkes and boates: euery one of theſe ſprings maketh a noiſe like vnto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaſeth night nor day, and the noiſe may be heard a mile off continually. This vale ſwalloweth vp all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey cal it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to ſay, Hell doore. As we paſſed through theſe deſerts, we ſaw certaine wild beaſts, as wild aſſes all white, Roebucks, wolues, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chaſed and killed many. Aboriſe the king of the wandring Arabians in theſe deſerts, hath a dutie of 40. s. ſterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he ſendeth his officers to receiue of the Carauans, and in conſideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the ſayd Carauans if they need his helpe, and to defend them againſt certaine prowling thieues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Carauan the eleuenth of Iune, 1584. where we were ioyfully receiued 20. miles diſtant from the towne by M. William Barret our Conſull, accompanied with his people and Ianiſſaries, who fell ſicke immediatly and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Conſul of our Engliſh nation in his place, who laudably ſupplied the ſame roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more into Babylon, and returned by the way aforeſayd, ouer the deſerts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one deſirous to ſee other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence *60.* Engliſh miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboord a ſmall veſſell, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ieruſalem, Bethleem, to the riuer of Iordan, and the ſea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, & from thence by ſea to Tripolis, of which places becauſe many others haue publiſhed large diſcourſes, I ſurceaſe to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my ſelfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in ſafety here in the riuer of Thames with diuers Engliſh marchants, the 26. of March, 1588. in the Hercules of London, which was the richeſt ſhip of Engliſh marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret Conſul in Aleppo.
M. Wil. Barret.

Two voiages more made to Babylon.

The money and meaſures of *Babylon*, *Balſara*, and the *Indies*, with the cuſtomes, &c. written from *Aleppo* in *Syria*, *An.* 1584. by M. *Will. Barret.*

BABYLON:

The weight, meaſure, and money currant there, and the cuſtomes of merchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three ſeuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and ſo much is the ſayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by ſo much the mana, and in the ſayd place they bate the tare in all ſorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The meaſure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ẏ 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, ſo that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle leſſe.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines paſſe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the beſt ſort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are ſold by the 100 drams at priſe, according as they be in requeſt: but amongſt the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 ſingle roials of plate: but in the mint or caſtle, they take thē by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and thoſe of the mint giue 5 medines leſſe in each 100 drams then they are worth to be ſold among the marchants, and make paiment at the terme of 40 dayes in Saies.

The cuſtome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Corall and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, Engliſh cloth, Kerſies, Mockars, Chamblets, Silks, Veluets, Damasks, Sattins & ſuch like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reaſon as they luſt themſelues. The Coaſo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay preſently in ready mony, according to the cuſtome and vſe of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint ẏ ordinarie vſe is to giue 30 Saies in curteſie, otherwiſe he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, & for deſpight make ſuch ſearch in the barke, that he would turne all things topſie turuie.

BAL-

BALSARA:

The weight, meaſure, and money in the citie of Balſara.

A Mana of Balſara anſwereth 5 roues 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balſara, anſwereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces Engliſh, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balſara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8 ounces, and ſo much is the ſayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at ſo much the mana or wolſene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the ſort of ſpice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The meaſure of Balſara is called a pike, which is iuſt as the meaſure of Babylon, to ſay, 100 pikes of Balſara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt ſupra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balſara is as foloweth. There is a ſort of fluſſes of copper called Eſtiui, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the ſaid mamedine is of ſiluer, hauing the Moreſco ſtampe on both ſides, and two of theſe make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The ſaid danine is of ſiluer, hauing the Turkeſco ſtampe on both ſides, & 2 and a halfe of theſe make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The ſaid Saie is of the ſimilitude and ſtampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 eſtiues. Alſo one Say and 20 eſtiues make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The ſayd larine is a ſtrange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Chriſtianitie, but is a ſmall rod of ſiluer of the greatneſſe of the pen of a gooſe feather, wherewith we vſe to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wreſted, ſo that the two ends meet at the iuſt halfe part, and in the head thereof is a ſtampe Turkeſco, and theſe be the beſt currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of theſe larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is worth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, vt ſupra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they ſel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or caſtle, they ſel by the 100 drams, hauing there leſſe then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and haue their paiment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The cuſtome of the ſaid places, aſwell inward as outward, are alike of all ſorts of goods, to ſay 6 by the 100, and Toaſo, Boabo, & ſcriuan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to ſay, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who ſo leaueth his goods in the cuſtome houſe paieth nothing, where otherwiſe at the taking thereof away, he ſhould pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the ſaid goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to paſſe whē the cuſtomers eſteeme the goods too high. For in ſuch a caſe they may be driuen to take ſo much commoditie as the cuſtome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for ſuch is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the cuſtome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket ſealed and firmed with the cuſtomers hand, in confirmatiō of the diſpatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cauſe the ſayd cuſtomer to cauſe ſearch to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cauillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balſara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe ſottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, vt ſupra.

The fraight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balſara, I would ſay from Balſara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatneſſe thereof. To ſay, for cariage of 10 tares 180 larines, thoſe of 15 tares 270 larines, thoſe of 20 tares 360 larines, thoſe of 30 tares 540 larines. Note that a tare is 4 quintals of Balſara. They pay alſo to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one tare, and to all the reſt of the mariners amongſt them 3 tares fraight, which is in the whole 4 tares, and paying the aboueſayd priſes and fraights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requiſite that the ſame be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraight, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and beſides that to pay the fraight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord it behoueth to deale warilie, and in the preſence of the Ermin or ſome other honeſt man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worſt people in all Arabia. And this diligence muſt be put in executiō, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, becauſe they are to paſſe many ſands betwixt Balſara and Ormuz.

ORMVZ:

The weight, meaſure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

Spices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery ſort of goods the weight is different. To ſay, of ſome drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other ſome 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as litle, is 20 fraſoli, and euery fraſoll is 10 manas, and euery mana 23 chianſi, and euery chianſo 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euery quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rotiloes, & euery rotilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, ſo that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. engliſh weight. And contrarywiſe ÿ quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces engliſh) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

What a rotilo is.

Note that there are bars of diuers weights, vt ſupra, of which they bargaine ſimply, according to the ſort of commoditie, but if they bargaine of the great barre, the ſame is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargaine in marchandize at ſo many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Aſaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One aſarie is ſadines 10, and euery ſadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 ſadines and one fourth part, ſo that the ſadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balſara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines & a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balſara.

There is alſo ſtamped in Ormuz a ſeraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 ſadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 leſſe one ſadine, which is euery thouſand meticals, 382 aſures: but thoſe that will not ſel them, vſe to melt them, and make them ſo many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and ſomewhat more: and this they doe becauſe neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per aduiſe.

The meaſure of Ormuz is of 2 ſorts, the one called codo which increaſeth vpon the meaſure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Alſo theſe meaſures of Ormuz increaſe vpon thoſe of Balſara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable wares from Balſara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other meaſure is called a vare, which was ſent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they ſell things of ſmall value, which meaſure is of 5 palmes or ſpans, and is one code and two third parts, ſo that buying 100 codes of any meaſurable wares, and returning to meaſure it by the ſayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywiſe 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al ſuch ſhips as lade horſes in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horſes or vpwards, in what places ſoeuer the ſaid horſes be taken a ſhore in the India, the marchandize which is to be diſcharged out of that ſhip wherein the ſaid horſes come, are bound to pay no cuſtome at all, but if they lade one horſe leſſe then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole cuſtome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreſeene, whither all thoſe horſes laden be bound to pay the king his cuſtome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is ſome of them ſent to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, ſo that his horſes that come in the ſame ſhip, are not to anſwere cuſtome. As for example: If there were 4 horſes laden in one ſhip, all which were to pay cuſtome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any cuſtome, the ſame cauſeth all the marchandize of that ſhip to be ſubiect to pay cuſtome, per aduiſe. But if they lade ten horſes vpon purpoſe to pay the king his cuſtome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them ſhould die in that caſe, if they bring the taile of the dead horſe to the cuſtome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all cuſtome, becauſe they were laden in Ormuz to pay cuſtome in Goa. Moreouer, if the horſes ſhould die before the midſt of the voyage, they pay no cuſtome at all, and if they die in the midſt of the voyage, then they pay halfe cuſtome, but if any horſe die after the mid voiage, they pay cuſtome no leſſe then if they arriue ſafe. Notwithſtanding, the marchandize (whether the ſaid horſes die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all cuſtome.

The cuſtome of Ormuz is eleuen in the 100, to ſay, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foiſts: but for ſmall wares as glaſſes, and looking glaſſes of all ſorts, and ſuch like, made for apparell, pay no cuſtome. But cloth of Wooll, Karſies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all ſortes of

Silke, Saffron, and ſuch like, pay cuſtome, being eſteemed reaſonably.

There is alſo another cuſtome, which they call raida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpoſe to ſend ẏ ſame further into India, the ſame are boūd to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this cuſtome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.

Note ẏ in Ormuz they abate tare of all ſorts of commodities, by an order obſerued of cuſtome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as followeth: Mokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquarioſa 8 larines by ordinarie chiſt, raiſins 10 by chiſt, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glaſſes larines 8 per chiſt, of 4 foote and a halfe, glaſſes in great chiſts 14 & 15 larines by chiſt. Small wares larines 12 by chiſt of fiue foot. Tamari for Maſchat ſadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 ſadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Perſia pay according to the greatneſſe of the bales.

The fraight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ſhip the ſayd goods in ſhips where horſes goe: otherwiſe, not hauing horſes, they pay ſomewhat leſſe, becauſe of the cuſtom which they are to pay.

The vſe of the India ſhips is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any paſſenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ſhip, but that euery one at the beginning of the voyage doe furniſh to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great cuſtodie.

GOA.

The weight, meaſure, and money currant in Goa.

THe quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, ſo that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, ſo that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. ſotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. Engliſh, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, ſpices and drugs, are ſold by this quintal, except ſome drugs, as lignū de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at ſo much per candill, aduertiſing that there be two ſorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be iuſt 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz. Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is alſo another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice ſotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muſke, ambracan, ciuet, and other fine wares.

There is alſo another ſort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vſe not to abate any tare of any goods, except of ſacks or wraps, & therfore it requireth great aduiſement in buying of the goods, eſpecially in the muſke of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and ſo weigh it without any tare rebating. Muſke of Tartaria by ẏ way of China.

The meaſure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaſeth vpon the meaſure of Babylon & Balſara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, ſo that bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 coues from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 coues and one fourth part.

There is alſo the vare in Goa, which is iuſt as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they meaſure onely things that are of ſmall value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and ſtamped on the one ſide with the ſpheare or globe of the world, and on the other ſide two arrowes & 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Baſaruchi, and 15 of theſe make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of baſe money: ſo that the tanga of baſe mony is 60 baſaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 baſaruchies, & 5 tangas make a ſeraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would change them into baſaruchies, he may haue 5 tangas, and 16 baſaruchies, which ouerplus they cal cerafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they vſe not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for iewels and horſes, for all the reſt they take of ſeraphins of ſiluer, per aduiſo.

The roials of plate, I ſay, the roial of 8 are worth per cuſtome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and euery rey is one baſaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and 53 baſaruchies as their iuſt value, but for that the ſaid roials are excellent ſiluer and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, whē the ſhips are to depart at their due times (called Monſons) euery one to haue the ſaid roials pay more then they are worth, & the ouerplus, as is aboueſaid they call ſerafagio. And firſt they giue yͤ iuſt value of the 100 roials of 8, at 5 tangas 50 baſaruchies a piece, which done, they giue ſeraphins 5,6,7,8,9,10,12,15, vntill 22 by the 100, according as they are in requeſt.

The duckat of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not ſtable in price, for that when the ſhips depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the moſt that they are worth.

The larines are worth by iuſt value baſaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a ſeraphine of ſiluer, which is 5 tangas of good money, and theſe alſo haue ſerafagion of 6,7,8,10, vntill 16, by the 100, for when the ſhips depart for the North, to ſay, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Baſſaim, all cary of the ſame, becauſe it is money more currant then any other.

There is alſo a ſort of ſeraphins of gold of the ſtampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are worth fiue larines and ſomewhat more, according as they are in requeſt.

There is alſo another litle ſort of mony, round, hauing on the one ſide a croſſe, and on the other ſide a crowne, which is worth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the ſame ſtampe leſſe then that which they call Imitiuo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 baſaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behoueth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is vnderſtood to be baſe money of 60 baſaruches, which wanteth of the good money vt ſupra.

The cuſtome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are eſteemed iuſtly rather to the marchants aduantage then the kings. The cuſtome they pay in this order. Comming with a ſhip from Ormuz to Goa without horſes, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they ſell part or all, but if they would carie of the ſayd marchandiſe to any other place, they pay none other cuſtome, except others buy it and carie it foorth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one hauing paied the cuſtome ſhould ſell to another with compoſition to paſſe it forth as for his proper accounts to ſaue the cuſtome, this may not be, becauſe the ſeller is put to his oth, whether he ſend the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that haue bought the ſame, and being found to the contrary, they pay cuſtome as aboueſaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horſes, they are not ſubiect to pay any cuſtome inward, notwithſtanding if they ſend all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the cuſtome outward, although they could not ſell.

They vſe alſo in Goa amongſt the common ſort to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & ſuch like, at ſo many braganines, accounting 24 baſaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no ſuch mony ſtamped. The cuſtome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or ſtate ſoeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe ſet a ſeale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the ſaid licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, meaſure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandiſe which they ſell or buy within the ſayd citie, they bargaine for it at ſo many ſeraſines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of iuſt weight with yͤ quintall & rotilo of Goa and Ormuz: aduertiſing that there are diuers ſorts of bars according to the ſorts of commodities, and in trafiquing, they reaſon at ſo much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a vſed tare of all marchandize, according to the ſort of goods, and order taken for the ſame.

The meaſure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the ſame ſorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The cuſtome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all ſtrangers, is eight in the hundred, but thoſe that haue bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per aduiſo.

MALACCA.

The weight, meaſure, and money of Malacca.

FOr the marchandiſe bought and ſold in the citie they reckon at ſo much the barre, which barre is of diuers ſorts, great and ſmall, according to the ancient cuſtome of the ſaid citie, & diuerſitie of the goods. But for the cloues they bargaine at ſo much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 roues and 10 rotilos. As I haue aboueſaid, all kind of drugs haue their ſorts of barres limited. Note that euery quintal is 4 roues, and euery roue 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintall, the which anſwereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The meaſures of Malacca are as the meaſures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their diſtinction and agreement, for that there is no iuſt tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the leaſt money currant is of tinne ſtamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of theſe make a Chazza.

The Chazza is alſo of tinne with the ſaid armes, and 2 of theſe make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the ſaid armes, and 40 of theſe make a tanga of Goa good money, but not ſtamped in Malacca.

There is alſo a ſort of ſiluer money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is ſtamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one ſide, and the armes of Portugall on the other ſide.

There is alſo a kind of mony called cruzados ſtamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are euery 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and theſe larines be of thoſe which are ſtamped in Balſara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The cuſtome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as out ward, and thoſe which pay the cuſtome inwards, if in caſe they ſend the ſame goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no cuſtome for the ſame.

A note of charges from *Aleppo* to *Goa*, as foloweth.

*Or, by the Camels burden.

FOr camels from Aleppo to Birrha.	Medines 60 per * ſomme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med.45.per ſomme.
For cuſtome at Birrha,	med,10.per ſomme.,
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med,200.
For 4 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pounds ſope,	med.35.
For a preſent to the Ermine the ſumme of	med.400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 ſommes. Duc,60 is	med,2400.per barke.
For meat for the men the ſumme of	med.200.
For cuſtome at Racca the ſumme of	med.5.per ſomme.
For 3 platters of raiſins, and 15 pounds of ſope.	med.25.
For cuſtome to king Aboriſſei, Duc.20,is	med.800.
For cuſtome at Dea the ſumme of	med,230,per barke.
For 4 diſhes raiſins, and 20.pounds of ſope.	med.35.
For cuſtome at Boſara, the ſumme of	med.10.per barke.
For 2 diſhes raiſins, and 10 pound of ſope,	med.17.
For cuſtome in Anna, in 10 per ſumme,	med,10.per ſomme.
For 4 diſhes of raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med.35.
For cuſtome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med,10.per barke.
For 2 diſhes raiſins, and 10 pound of ſope,	med.17.
For cuſtome at Gweke,	med.10.per barke.
For 2 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med,17.
For cuſtome in Iſt,	med.10.per ſomme,
For 4 platters raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med.35.
Charges of preſents at Felugia,	med,30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med.30.per ſomme.
For cuſtome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth,	
For a barke from Babylon to Balſara,	med.900.
For cuſtome of ſmall wares, at Corno,	med.20.per ſomme,
For cuſtome of clothes at Corno, the ſumme of	med.per ſomme,
For 3 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med.26,

For fraight from Balſara to Ormus, according to the greatneſſe, as in this booke appeareth.
For cuſtome in Ormus, as is aboueſaid in this booke.
For fraight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke ſhewed.
For cuſtome in Goa, as is aboueſaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods ſubſcribed doe come.

CLoues, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina; by way of Iaua.
Nutmegs, from Banda.
Maces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacca.
Pepper Gawzie, from Cochin.
Pepper common, from Malabar.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.
Tinne, from Malacca.
Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domeſtick, from Malacca.
Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
Quickſiluer, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Iſtria & Syria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Ginger Mordaſſi, frõ Mordas within Cambaia.
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Mirabolans of all ſortes, from Cambaia.
White ſucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China
Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
Corall of Leuant, from Malabar.
Chomin, from Balſara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.
Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Coſto dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Aſa fetida, from Lahor.
Waxe, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Perſia.
Caſſia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to ſay, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tucia, from Perſia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Conſtantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.
Oppopanax, from Perſia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Perſia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum ſmall, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balſara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Par.
Saffran, from Balſara, and Perſia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Perſia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Perſia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balaguate.
Muſke from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Moſambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burnto, from Bonnia.
Caſtorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red ſea.
Maſticke, from Sio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Conſtantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Perſia.

MALACCA.

The weight, meaſure, and money of Malacca.

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For 4 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pounds ſope,	med.35.
For a preſent to the Ermine the ſumme of	med.400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 ſommes. Duc,60 is	med,2400,per barke.
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For cuſtome of clothes at Corno, the ſumme of	med.per ſomme,
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Coſto dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Aſa fetida, from Lahor.
Ware, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Perſia.
Caſſia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to ſay, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
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Tutia, from Perſia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Conſtantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.
Oppopanax, from Perſia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Perſia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum ſmall, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balſara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balſara, and Perſia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Perſia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Perſia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balaguate.
Muſke from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Moſambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Caſtorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red ſea.
Maſticke, from Sio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Conſtantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Perſia.

Lapis Zudaſſi, from Zaffetto.
Lapis Spongij is found in ſponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Perſia.
Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Piſtaches, from Doria.
Worme-ſeede, from Perſia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebeſten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum, from Perſia.
Dente d' Abolio, from Melinde, and Moſambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diaſprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Perſia.
Melleghete, from the Weſt parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenillo, from the Weſt India.
Rubarbe, from Perſia, and China.

The times or ſeaſonable windes called *Monſons*, wherein the ſhips depart from place to place in the Eaſt *Indies*.

NOte, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and ſo continueth till the firſt of Auguſt, ſo that during that ſpace, no ſhippe can paſſe ouer the barre of Goa, becauſe through the continuall ſhoures of raine all the ſandes ioyne together neere vnto a mountaine called Oghane, and all theſe ſandes being ioyned together, runne into the ſhoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other iſſue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is ſhut vp vntill the firſt of Auguſt, but at the 10 of Auguſt it openeth by reaſon of the raine which ceaſeth, and the ſea doeth then ſcoure the ſands away againe.

The monſon from Goa to the Northward, to ſay, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia,
Daman, Baſaim, and other places.

The ſhips depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of Auguſt, for the Northward places aboue ſayde, and to theſe places they may ſaile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times aboueſaid.

The monſon from the North parts, for Goa.

The ſhips depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Ianuarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The firſt monſon from Diu for the ſtraight of Mecca.

The ſhips depart from Diu about the 15 of Ianuarie, and returne from the ſtraights to Diu in the moneth of Auguſt.

The ſecond monſon from Diu for the ſtraight of Mecca.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 25 and firſt of September, and returne from the ſtraights to Diu [illegible] and 15 of May.

The monſon from Secutra for Ormus.

The ſhips depart about the tenth of Auguſt for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Iſland and hath but few ſhips, which depart as aboueſaid.

The monſon wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balaguate, Bezenegar, as alſo from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monſon wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of Nouember. Note that by going for the North is meant the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Baſaim, Ghaſſain, and other places vnto Zindi: and by the South is vnderſtood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coaſt vnto Cape Comori.

The firſt monſon from Goa for Ormus.

The ſhippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, paſſing with Eaſterly windes along the coaſt of Perſia.

The ſecond monſon from Goa to Ormus.

The ſhips depart about the 20 of Ianuarie paſſing by the like nauigation and windes as in the firſt monſon, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonſon.

The third monſon from Goa to Ormus.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, hauing Eaſterly windes, till they paſſe Secutra, and then they find Weſterly windes, and therfore they ſet their courſe ouer for the coaſt of Arabia, till they come to Cape Raſalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monſon is moſt troubleſome of all: for they make two nauigations in the heigth of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and ſomewhat lower.

The first monſon from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ſhips depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North; and Northeaſt windes.

The ſecond monſon from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ſecond monſon is betwixt the fiue and twentie and laſt of December, with like winds as the former monſon.

The third monſon from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa.

The third monſon the ſhips depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the firſt and 15 of April, and they ſaile with Southeaſt windes, Eaſt and Northeaſt windes, coaſting vpon the Arabia ſide from Cape Moſandon vnto Cape Raſalgate, and hauing loſt the ſight of Cape Raſalgate, they haue Weſterly windes, and ſo come for Chaul and Goa, and if the ſaid ſhips depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monſon, but to winter in Ormus becauſe of the winter.

The firſt monſon from Ormus for Zindi.

The ſhips depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of April.

The ſecond monſon from Ormus for Zindi.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monſon from Ormus for the red ſea.

The ſhips depart from Ormus betwixt the firſt and laſt of Januarie.

Hitherto I haue noted the monſons of the ſhips departing from *Goa* to the Northward: Now follow the monſons wherein the ſhips depart from *Goa* to the Southward.

¶ The monſon from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coaſt.

The ſhips depart from thoſe places betwixt the 1 and 15 of Auguſt, and there they find it nauigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforeſaid, from the 15 of May till the 10 of Auguſt. In like maner the ſhips come from theſe places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the beſt time is to come in Nouember, December and January. Note.

The firſt monſon from Goa, for Pegu.

The ſhips depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of Auguſt, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The ſecond monſon from Goa for Pegu.

The ſhips depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of Auguſt, going ſtraight for Pegu, and if they paſſe the 24 of Auguſt, they cannot paſſe that monſon, neither is there any more monſons till April as is aforeſaid. Note that the chiefeſt trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandiſe are not good for that place except ſome dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, ſiluer, and Rubies, there is ſufficient ſtore in Pegu. Marchandize good for Pegu.

The monſon from Pegu for the Indies.

The ſhips depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it paſſe the 10 of May before the ſayde ſhips be arriued in Goa, they cannot come thither that monſon, and if they haue not then ſeen the coaſt of India, they ſhall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The firſt monſon from Goa for Malacca.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 15 and laſt of September, and arriue in Malacca about the end of October.

The ſecond monſon from Goa to Malacca.

The ſhips depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arriue in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The firſt monſon from Malacca to Goa.

The ſhips depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The ſecond monſon from Malacca to Goa.

The ſhips depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of

March. But if the ſaid ſhips ſhould ſtay till the 10 of May, they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time alſo they ſhould not be arriued at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, becauſe the winter and contrary windes then come vpon them.

The monſon from Goa for China.

The ſhips depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monſon from China for Goa.

The ſhips depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arriued, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monſon from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ſhips depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being paſt, the ſhippes can not paſſe ouer the barre of Goa for the cauſe aboueſaid.

The monſon of the ſhips of the Moluccaes arriuall in Goa.

The ſhips which come from the Moluccaes arriue vpon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.

The monſons of the Portingall ſhips for the Indies.

Note.

The ſhips which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the ſtraight way during the moneth of Iuly to the coaſt of Melinde, and Moſambique, and from thence goe ſtraight for Goa, and if in the moneth of Iuly they ſhould not be at the coaſt of Melinde, they can in no wiſe that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Iſle of Saint Helena, and ſo are not able, that time being paſt, to fetch the coaſt of India, and to come ſtraight for Goa. Therefore (as is aboueſaid) they returne to the Iſland of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the ſaid Iſland, then they runne as loſt vpon the coaſt of Guinea: but if the ſaid ſhips be arriued in time vpon the coaſt of Melinde, they ſet forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they ſee they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Moſambique to winter there vpon the ſayd coaſt. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arriued the ſhip called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull ſore ſea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene ſeene before.

Note.

The monſon from India for Portugall.

The ſhippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and laſt of Ianuary, going on till they haue ſight of Capo de buona ſperanza, and the Iſle of Saint Helena, which Iſlande is about the midway, being in ſixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Iſland being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great ſtore of fruit: and this Iſland is a great ſuccour to the ſhipping which returne for Portugall. And not long ſince the ſaid Iſland was found by the Portugales, and was diſcouered by a ſhippe that came from the Indies in a great ſtorme, in which they found ſuch abundance of wilde beaſtes, and boares, and all ſort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ſhip which had beene foure moneths at ſea, refreſhed themſelues both with water and meate very well, and this Iſland they called S. Helena, becauſe it was diſcouered vpon S. Helens day. And vndoubtedly this Iſland is a great ſuccour, and ſo great an ayde to the ſhips of Portugall, that many would ſurely periſh if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall cauſed a Church to be made there for deuotion of S. Helena: where there are onely reſident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ſhips may be the more ſufficiently furniſhed with victuals, becauſe the ſhips which come frõ India come but ſlenderly victualled, becauſe there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ſhips which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the ſayd Iſland, becauſe they ſet out being ſufficiently furniſhed with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites aboueſaid, cannot inhabite this Iſland, except ſome ſicke man that may be ſet there a ſhore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recouery.

Note.

The monſon from Goa to Moſambique.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Ianuarie.

The monſon from Moſambique to Goa.

The ſhips depart betweene the 8 and laſt of Auguſt, and arriue in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of Nouember.

The monſon from Ormus to Bengala.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of Iune, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15 of Auguſt for Bengala.

The

The voyage paſſed by ſea into *Aegypt*, by *Iohn Eueſham* Gentleman. *Anno* 1586.

THe 5 of December 1586 we departed from Graueſend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Maſter vnder God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Iſle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, ſo that on the 27 day wee came in ſight of the rocke of Lisbone, and ſo ſayling along we came in ſight of the South Cape, the 29 of the ſame, and on the morrowe with a Weſterly winde we entred the ſtraights: and the ſecond of Ianuary being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier, And the 4 day we arriued at the port of Argier aforeſaid, where we ſtaied till the firſt of March. At which time we ſet ſaile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eaſtward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arriued the 8 of the ſame. This Tunis is a ſmall citie vp 12 miles from the ſea, and at the port or rode where ſhipping doe ride, is a caſtle or fort called Goletta, ſometimes in the handes of the Chriſtians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee ſet ſaile towardes Alexandria, and hauing ſometime faire windes, ſometime contrary, we paſſed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adioyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and ſo the 19 day we fell with the Iſle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arriued the 27 of April, and there continued till the 9 of October.

Tunis.

The deſcription of Alexandria.

The ſaid citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vauted vnderneath for prouiſion of freſh water, which water commeth thither but once euery yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradiſe (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eighteene foote vpright higher then his accuſtomed manner, and ſo the banke being cut, as it were a ſluce, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Roſſetto, it doth ſo come to the ſaide Citie, with ſuch aboundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the ſame water, which water doth fill all the vauts, ceſternes, and wels in the ſaid Citie, with very good water, and doth ſo continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Alſo they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, eſpecially in the moneths of Auguſt, September, and October. Alſo within the ſaide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, & it is foure ſquare, euery ſquare is twelue foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Alſo there is without the wals of the ſaid Citie, about twentie ſcore paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar ſtandeth vpon a great ſquare ſtone, euery ſquare is fifteene foote, and the ſame ſtone is fifteene foote high, and the compaſſe of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heigth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was poſſible to ſet the ſaid pillar vpon the ſaid ſquare ſtone. The port of the ſaid Citie is ſtrongly fortified with two ſtrong Caſtles, and one other Caſtle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eaſtward of this Citie, about three dayes iourney the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwiſe called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the regiſters bookes which we did ſee, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes iourney about the wals, which was iourneyed by one of our Marriners for triall thereof. Alſo neere to the ſaide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, ſeuen ſeuerall places of flint and marble ſtone, foure ſquare, the wals thereof are ſeuen yards thicke in thoſe places that we did ſee: the ſquarenes is in length about twentie ſcore euery ſquare, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and ſmall or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our iudgement, doth ſurmount twiſe the heigth of Paules ſteeple: within the ſaide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and ſo we went in there, hauing torch-light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the ſame, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a coſtly tombe, which tombe they ſay, was made for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red ſea: alſo there are certaine vauts or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe vnder thoſe Pyramides with faire ſtaires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reaſon that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red ſea is but three daies iourney from this place, and Ieruſalem about ſeuen dayes iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Caſtle wherein is the houſe that Pharaoes wiues were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof ſtande 55 marble pillars, in ſuch order, as our Exchange ſtandeth in London: the ſaid pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compaſſe 14

Cayro.

Carthage.

Argier.

foote: alſo in the ſaid Citie is the caſtle where Ioſeph was in priſon, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would haue any ſumme of money of them: there are ſeuen gates to the ſayd priſon, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: alſo, the water that ſerueth this caſtle, commeth out of the foreſaide riuer of Nilus, vpon a wall made with arches, fiue miles long, and it is twelue foote thicke. Alſo there are in old Cayro two Monaſteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the houſe of king Pharao. In this Citie is great ſtore of marchandize, eſpecially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the Eaſt India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, eſpecially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eaſtwards of Cayro, there is a Well, fiue miles off, called Matria, and as they ſay, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to ſuſtaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angell came from heauen, and ſtrake the ground with his wings, where preſently iſſued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Iſraelites did hide themſelues, which fountaine or well is walled foure ſquare till this day. Alſo we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and deſtroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee ſeene, one ſtreete three mile long, to which Citie freſh water was brought vpon arches (as afore) aboue 25 miles, of which arches ſome are ſtanding to this day. Alſo we were at diuers other places on the coaſt, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we ſaw but few. The towne of Argier which was our firſt and laſt port, within the ſtreights ſtandeth vpon the ſide of an hill, cloſe vpon the ſea ſhore: it is very ſtrong both by ſea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fiſh good ſtore, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and ſo are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Chriſtian captiues, whereof there are of Engliſhmen onely fifteene, from which port we ſet ſayle towardes England, the ſeuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the ſayd moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth on the coaſt of England.

The ſecond voyage of M. *Laurence Alderſey*, to the Cities of *Alexandria*, and *Cayro* in *Aegypt*. *Anno 1586.*

I Embarked my ſelfe at Briſtoll, in the Hercules, a good ſhip of London, and ſet ſaile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry winde: but the 23 day, there aroſe a very great ſtorme, and in the mids of it we deſcried a ſmall boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Maſter made towardes them, and tooke them into our ſhip, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepſtow, to runne a drift. The ſame night about midnight aroſe another great ſtorme, but the winde was large with vs, vntill the 27 of the ſame moneth, which then grew ſomewhat contrary: yet notwithſtanding we held on our courſe, and the tenth day of March, we deſcried a ſaile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this ſide the ſtreight of Gibraltare, but we ſpake not with her. The next day we deſcried twelue ſayle more, with whom we thought to haue ſpoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very faſt away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thurſday the 16 of March, we had ſight of the ſtreights, and of the coaſt of Barbary. The 18 day we paſſed them, and ſailed towards Patras. Vpon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we ſent letters to England, and the foure men alſo which we tooke in, vpon the coaſt of England, before mentioned.

Goleta.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a ſmall Iland, and had ſight of two ſhippes, which we iudged to be of England.

Malta.

Zante.

Patras.

Tueſday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maiſter cauſed the two ſhip boates to be had out, and they towed the ſhip, till we were out of ſight of the Caſtle of Malta. The 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, ſeruant to Maſter Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord vs, with whom our Maſter and twelue more of our company, thought to haue gone on ſhoare, but they could not be permitted: ſo we all came aboord againe, and went to Patras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainement at the Engliſh houſe, where was the Conſull Maſter Grimes, Ralph Aſhley, and Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and ſhewed vs the pleaſures of the towne.

They brought vs to the houſe of the Cady, who was made then to vnderſtand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboord, which were to goe to Conſtantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by ſir Francis Drake in the Weſt Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Maieſtie ſent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought before him, that he might ſee them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderſtood howe ſtrangely they were deliuered, hee marueiled much, and admired the Queenes Maieſtie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithſtanding of ſuch power and renowne amongſt all the princes of Chriſtendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Maieſtie. So he tooke the names of thoſe 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foreſaid countreymen brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew, where his tombe or ſepulchre is, and the boord vpon which hee was beheaded, which boord is now ſo rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought ſome of it away with me.

Vpon Tueſday in Eaſter weeke, wee ſet out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on ſhoare; and I was caried to the Engliſh houſe in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and oyle: the ſituation of the Towne is vnder a very great hill, vpon which ſtandeth a very ſtrong Caſtle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. ſouldiers, with other paſſengers. Wee departed from Zante vpon Tueſday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a ſmall Iſland, called Striualia, which is deſolate of people, ſauing a fewe religious men, who entertained vs well, without taking any money: but of courteſie we beſtowed ſomewhat vpon them for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane ſheepe, which we caried aboord. The laſt day of Aprill, wee arriued at Candie, at a Caſtle, called Sowday, where wee ſet the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners aſhoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

Striualia.

Candie.

The ſecond day of May wee ſet ſaile againe, and the fourth day came to the Iſlands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in ſuch neceſſaries as we wanted. The Iſlands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compaſſe of a hundred miles.

May.
The Iſlands of Milo, in olde time called Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greateſt man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water ſide, which they ſaide one of our ſhippe had done, and imputed it to mee, becauſe I was ſeene goe into it three dayes before, came to vs, and made much a doe; ſo that we were faine to come out of our ſhippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our ſhippe. This day wee alſo ſet ſaile, and the next day paſſed by the Caſtle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and ſtandeth vnder a hils ſide.

The 13. day, we paſſed by the Iſland of Paris, and the Iſland of the bankes of Helicon, and the Iſland called Ditter, where are many hoares, and the women bee witches. The ſame day alſo wee paſſed by the Caſtle of Tino, ſtanding vpon a very high mountaine, and neere vnto it is the Iſland of Diana.

The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I ſtayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuil: and while we were here, there came in ſixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores priſoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to preſent him to the Turke. The towne ſtandeth in a valley, and a long the water ſide pleaſantly. There are about 26. winde-mils about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, maſtike, and ſome other drugs.

Sio.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuerſie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Viue el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe ſtones, and ſo a broile beganne, and ſome of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houſes, and manacled together with irons, and threatned to the Gallies: about fourtie of them were ſent to the priſon, and what became of them, when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of Iune.

The 20. day wee paſſed by the Iſland of Singonina, an Iſland riſen by the caſting of ſtones in that place: the ſubſtance of the ground there is brimſtone, and burneth ſometimes ſo much, that it bloweth vp the rockes.

Singonina.

The 24. of Iune wee came to Cyprus, and had ſight in the way of the aforeſaide ſixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a preſent for himſelfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietneſſe ſake gaue them.

The 27. of Iune, wee came to Tripolie, where I ſtayed till the fift of Iuly, and then tooke paſſage in a ſmal barke called a Caramuſalin, which was a paſſage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this ſide Alexandria, which boate was fraighted with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes.

The 20. day of Iuly, this barke which I paſſed in ranne vpon a rocke, and was in very great danger, ſo that we all began ſome to be ready to ſwimme, ſome to leape into the ſhippe boate, but it pleaſed God to ſet vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

Bichieri.

The 28. of Iuly I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Iewe which was the Cuſtomer there, giuing me Muſkadine, and drinking water himſelfe: hauing broken my faſt with him, he prouided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride vpon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to ſee mee ſafe in the Engliſh houſe, whither I came, but found no Engliſhmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboord a ſhip of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well receiued of the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip, whoſe name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The Engliſh houſe in Alexandria.

The ſaid Maſter hauing made me good cheere, and made me alſo to drinke of the water of Nilus, hauing the keyes of the Engliſh houſe, went thither with me himſelfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to prouide me all things that I needed, and euery day came himſelfe to me, and caried me into the City, and ſhewed me the monuments thereof, which be theſe.

The monuments of Alexandria.

He brought mee firſt to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one ſtone, in height by eſtimation aboue 52. yards, and the compaſſe about ſixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the third of Roſſetto.

He brought me to a ſtone in the ſtreete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, hauing there hid herſelfe, becauſe ſhe would not marry: alſo to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I ſaw there alſo Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almoſt equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compaſſe fiue fadome, and a halfe, and all of one ſtone.

I was brought alſo to a moſt braue and daintie Bath, where we waſhed our ſelues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanſhip.

The Citie ſtandeth vpon great arches, or vawtes, like vnto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receiue the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vſe of the Citie. It hath three Caſtles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is deſtroyed of it, is ſixe times more then that part which ſtandeth.

Roſſetto.

The laſt day of Iuly, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a paſſage boate, wherein firſt I went to Roſſetto, ſtanding by the riuer ſide, hauing 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of ſtone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with vs.

From Roſſetto wee paſſed along the riuer of Nilus, which is ſo famous in the world, twiſe as broad as the Thames at London: on both ſides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, inſomuch that a man cannot traueile without a Ianizary to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent.

The time that I ſtayed in Ægypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they haue three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drink in the day time, but all the night they do nothing elſe.

Betwixt Roſſetto and Cayro there are along the water ſide three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not aboue three hundred miles.

Cayro.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of Auguſt, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæſar, who intertained me in very good ſort. M. Cæſar brought mee to ſee the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it ſelfe is almoſt in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. ſquare, and euery of the ſquares is as long as a man may ſhoote a rouing arrowe, and as high as a Church. I ſawe alſo the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by thoſe Pyramides.

The houſe of Ioſeph is yet ſtanding in Cayro, which is a ſumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I ſaw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of Auguſt the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy and triumph.

The 12. of Auguſt I ſet from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of Auguſt. The 26. day there was kept a great feaſt of the Turkes and Moores, which laſted two dayes, and for a day they neuer ceaſed ſhooting off of great Ordinance.

The Engliſh Conſul at Argier.

From Alexandria I ſailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Conſull of the Engliſh nation, who vſed me moſt kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the preſence of the King, to ſee him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a King, but the greateſt gouernment is in the hands of the ſouldiers.

The king of Potanca is priſoner in Argier, who comming to Conſtantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a ſpy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of ſeuen Gallies that were at that time caſt away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Chriſtians.

We found here alſo 13. Engliſhmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill vſed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redreſſe and remedy for the iniurie. They were all belonging to the ſhippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Maſter Birde is owner. The Maſter was Stephen Haſelwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinneſſe called the Mooneſhine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coaſt of Spaine, laden with ſugar, hides, and ginger: the pinneſſe alſo belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made ſale both of ſhippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the ſeuenth day of Ianuarie: and the firſt day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the ſeuenth day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my ſafe arriuall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from *Turkie*, by fiue Ships of *London*, againſt 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at *Pantalarea* within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by *Philip Iones.*

The Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turky trade, hauing receiued intelligences, and aduertiſements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the proſperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arreſted al Engliſh ſhips, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but alſo maligning the quiet trafique which they vſed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Leuant, to hinder the paſſage of all Engliſh ſhips, and to endeuour by their beſt meanes, to intercept, take, and ſpoile them, their perſons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their beſt courſe to ſet out their fleete for Turkie, in ſuch ſtrength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpoſe of their Spaniſh enemie might the better be preuented, and the voyage acompliſhed with greater ſecuritie to the men and ſhippes. For which cauſe, fiue tall, and ſtoute ſhippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furniſhed with all things belonging to the Seas; The names whereof were theſe:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very braue and good ſhippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Suſan.

Theſe fiue departing from the coaſt of England, in the moneth of Nouember 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Iſle of Sicile, within the Leuant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each ſhippe began to take leaue of the reſt, and to ſeparate himſelfe, ſetting his courſe for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Conſtantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, ſituated vpon the coaſt of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the reſt to thoſe places, whereunto they were priuatly appointed. But before they deuided themſelues, they altogether conſulted, of and about a certaine and ſpeciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their ſeuerall portes. And in concluſion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Iſland neere to the maine continent of the Weſt part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fitteſt place of their Rendeuous. Concerning which meeting, it was alſo couenanted on eche ſide, and promiſed, that whatſoeuer ſhip of theſe 5. should firſt arriue at Zante, ſhould there ſtay and expect the comming of the reſt of the fleete, for the ſpace of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his beſt haſt according as winde and wether woulde ſerue him to fulfill his courſe, and to diſpatch his buſineſſe; and no neede was there to admoniſh or incourage any man, ſeeing no time was ill ſpent, nor opportunitie omitted on any ſide, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

Ieſen

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Conſtantinople had made ſuch good ſpeede, and gotten ſuch good weather, that ſhe firſt of al the reſt came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former concluſion, did there caſt ancre, attending the arriuall of the reſt of the fleete, which accordingly (their buſines firſt performed) failed not to keepe promiſe. The firſt next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and Iohn came from Tripolie in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compaſſe of the foreſaide time limitted. Theſe ſhips in token of the ioy on all parts conceiued for their happy meeting, ſpared not the diſcharging of their Ordinance, the ſounding of drums & trumpets, the ſpreading of Enſignes with other warlike and ioyfull behauiours, expreſſing by theſe outward ſignes, the inward gladneſſe of their mindes, being all as ready to ioyne together in mutuall conſent to reſiſt the cruel enemie, as now in ſporting maner they made myrth and paſtime among themſelues. Theſe three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture alſo, together with the Suſan her conſort, were come from Venice with their lading, the ſight of whom increaſed the ioy of the reſt, and they no leſſe glad of the preſence of the others, ſaluted them in moſt friendly and kinde ſort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas ſome of theſe ſhips ſtoode at that inſtant in ſome want of victuals, they were all content to ſtay in the port, till the neceſſities of ech ſhippe were ſupplied, and nothing wanted to ſet out for their returne.

In this port of Zante the newes was freſh and currant, of two ſeuerall armies and fleetes prouided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one conſiſting of 30. ſtrong Gallies, ſo well appointed in all reſpects for the warre, that no neceſſary thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof ſome were of Sicilie, and ſome of the Iſland of Malta, vnder the charge and gouernment of Iohn Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name ſeruing the king of Spaine. Theſe two diuers and ſtrong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the Engliſh ſhippes, and no doubt made their accompt and ſure reckoning that not a ſhippe ſhould eſcape their furie. And the opinion alſo of the inhabitants of the Iſle of Zante was, that in reſpect of the number of Gallies in both theſe armies, hauing receiued ſuch ſtreight commandement from the king, our ſhips and men being but few, and little in compariſon of them, it was a thing in humane reaſon impoſſible, that wee ſhould paſſe either without ſpoiling, if we reſiſted, or without compoſition at the leaſt, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spaniſh king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of theſe armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing elſe, that could daunt or diſmay the courages of our men, who grounding themſelues vpon the goodneſſe of their cauſe, and the promiſe of God, to bee deliuered from ſuch as without reaſon ſought their deſtruction, caried reſolute mindes, notwithſtanding all impediments to aduenture through the Seas, and to finiſh their Nauigation, maugre the beards of the Spaniſh ſouldiers. But leaſt they ſhould ſeeme too careleſſe, and too ſecure of their eſtate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their ſafetie vpon Gods prouidence, ſhould fooliſhly preſume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counſell among themſelues, and to deliberate aduiſedly for their beſt defence. And in the end with generall conſent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whoſe orders the reſt promiſed to be directed, and ech ſhippe vowed not to breake from another, whatſoeuer extremitie ſhould fall out, but to ſtand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the fruſtrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Caſtle of Græcia, and committed themſelues againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their courſe and voyage in quietnes, without ſight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Iſland ſo called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coaſt of Affricke: into ſight whereof they came the 13. day of Iuly 1586. And the ſame day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they deſcried 13. ſailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpoſe for them, in and about that place. As ſoone as the Engliſh ſhips had ſpied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themſelues ready for a fight, layed out their Ordinance, ſcoured, charged, and primed them, diſplayed their enſignes, and left nothing vndone to arme themſelues throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ſhips, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Iſles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the ſeruice and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies ſent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our Engliſh ſhips, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat firſt hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were: They anſwered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the ſaide frigat expoſtulated with them, and aſked why they delayed to ſende or come with their Captaines and purſers to Don Pedro de Leiua their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spaniſh king, Lord of thoſe ſeas? Our men replied, and ſaid, that they owed no ſuch duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that anſwere, and not to ſtay longer a brabling, vpon her perill. With that away ſhe went, and vp comes toward them the other frigat of Malta, and ſhee in like ſort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Engliſhmen in the Admirall, not diſdaining an anſwere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this caſe, they alſo demaunded of the frigat whence ſhe and the reſt of the Gallies were: the meſſenger anſwered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cauallero. Theſe Gallies are in ſeruice and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this preſent force and armie, of purpoſe to intercept you. You ſhall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him, to know his pleaſure, he is a noble man of good behauiour and courteſie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the Engliſh Admiral, whoſe name was M. Edward Wilkinſon, replied and ſaid. We purpoſe not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courteſie, whereof we are ſuſpitious and doubtful, and not without good cauſe: vſing withall good words to the meſſenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promiſing ſecuritie and good vſage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom hee intertained in friendly ſort, and cauſed a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reuerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, ſpeaking very honourably of her Maieſtie, and giuing good ſpeeches of the courteous vſage and intertainement that he himſelfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alenſon, brother to the late French king was laſt in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, ſpeaking well of the ſufficiencie and goodneſſe of our ſhippes, and eſpecially of the Marchant Royal, which he confeſſed to haue ſeene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no ſooner come to Don Pedro de Leiua the Spaniſh general, but he was ſent off againe, and returned to the Engliſh Admirall, ſaying that the pleaſure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Maſters and Purſers ſhould come to him with ſpeed, or elſe hee would ſet vpon them, and either take them or ſinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinſon aforeſaid, that not a man ſhould come to him: and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spaniſh brauado that ſhould make them yeeld a iot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make reſiſtance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the meſſenger left bragging, and began to perſwade them in quiet ſort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpoſe, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, ſo his perſwaſion did nothing mooue them to doe that which hee required. At the laſt he intreated to haue the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a meſſenger to the Generall, that ſo he might be ſatiſfied, and aſſured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinſon would agree to no ſuch thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himſelfe ſeemed willing to bee imployed in that meſſage, and laboured by reaſonable perſwaſions to induce M. Wilkinſon to graunt it, as hoping to be an occaſion by his preſence and diſcreet anſweres to ſatiſfie the Generall, and thereby to ſaue the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, if it ſhould grow to a battel. And he ſeemed ſo much the more willing to be ſent, by how much deeper the othes and proteſtations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a ſouldier) deliuer him backe againe in ſafetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinſon, which by his long experience had receiued ſufficient triall of Spaniſh inconſtancie and periurie, wiſhed him in no caſe to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at laſt, vpon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good ſpeeches and anſweres of reaſon would haue contented him, whereas otherwiſe refuſall to do ſo, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more diſcontentment.

M. Rowit therefore paſſing to the Spaniſh Generall, the reſt of the Gallies hauing eſpied him, thought in deed that the Engliſh were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue theſe Engliſh men yeelded? the frigat anſwered, Not ſo, they neither haue, nor purpoſe to yeeld, onely they haue ſent a man of their company to ſpeake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he ſhewed himſelfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of ſouldiers attending vpon him in armour alſo, and began to ſpeake very proudly in this ſort: Thou Engliſhman, from whence is your fleete, why ſtand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whoſe perſon I here repreſent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, paſports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in theſe ſeas to be in vaine, or my perſon to no purpoſe? Let al theſe things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further diſpleaſure and the ſpoyle of you all? These wordes of the Spaniſh Generall were not ſo outragiouſly pronounced, as they were mildly anſwered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Marchantmen, vſing trafique in honeſt ſort, and ſeeking to paſſe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reaſon. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his ſoueraigne the Queene of England, ſo that neither he nor his officers ſhould goe about to offer any ſuch iniurie to Engliſh Marchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, ſo they would be loath to take an abuſe at the handes of any, or ſit downe to their loſſe, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforeſaide, for the acknowledging of dutie, in ſuch particular ſort, he told him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none ſhould be performed, aſſuring him that their whole company and ſhippes in generall, ſtood reſolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any ſuch vnreaſonable demaund, ioyned with ſuch imperious and abſolute maner of commanding. Why then, ſaid he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor ſhew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either ſinke them or bring them to harbor, and ſo tell them from me. With that the frigat came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboord the Engliſh Admiral againe according to promiſe: who was no ſooner entred in, but by and by defiance was ſounded on both ſides: the Spaniards hewed off the noſes of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the ſhot, and the Engliſh on the other ſide couragiouſly prepared themſelues to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was diſcharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onſet of the fight, was preſently anſwered by the Engliſh Admiral with a Culuering: ſo the ſkirmiſh began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor ſhot ſpared: ech Engliſh ſhip matched it ſelfe in good order againſt two Spaniſh Gallies, beſides the inequalitie of the frigats on the Spaniards ſide: and although our men performed their parts with ſingular valure, according to their ſtrength, inſomuch that the enemie as amaſed therewith would oftentimes pauſe and ſtay, and conſult what was beſt to be done, yet they ceaſed not in the midſt of their buſineſſe to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of al euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would pleaſe him to aſſiſt them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themſelues againſt ſo proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion, which the inſolent enemie ſought ſo much to ouerthrowe. Contrariwiſe, the fooliſh Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) ſaying, O Lady helpe, O bleſſed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honor thereof ſhalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both ſides the fight continued furious and ſharpe, and doubtful a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the laſt the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde vp her ſide for feare of ſinking, and after her went alſo two others in like caſe, whom al the ſort of them incloſed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them aboue water, being ready by the force of Engliſh ſhot which they had receiued, to periſh in the ſeas: & what ſlaughter was done among the Spaniards themſelues, the Engliſh were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant afar off, they ſuppoſed their loſſe was ſo great, that they wanted men to continue A fight of fiue houres. the charging of their pieces: whereupon with ſhame and diſhonor, after 5. houres ſpent in the battel, they withdrew themſelues: and the Engliſh contented in reſpect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chaſe, ceaſed from further blowes, with the loſſe onely of two men ſlaine amongſt them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinſon with his good words and friendly promiſes did ſo comfort, that he nothing eſteemed the ſmart of his wound in reſpect of the honour of the victory, and the ſhamefull repulſe of the enemy.

Thus with duetiful thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious aſſiſtance in that danger, the Engliſh ſhips proceeded in their Nauigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne vpon the coaſt of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpoſe to refreſh themſelues after their wearineſſe, and to take in ſuch ſupply of freſh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no ſooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof ſent a meſſenger to the ſhips to knowe what they were, with which meſſenger the chiefe maſter of ech ſhippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the ſtate of their ſhips, in reſpect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had paſſed with the Spaniſh Gallies, reporting euery particular circumſtance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the ſaid king ſhewed himſelfe maruellous glad, interteining them in the beſt ſort, and promiſing abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree or ſtate ſoeuer he were, ſhould preſume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of iniury in body or goods. By vertue whereof they diſpatched al things in excellent good ſort, with al fauor & peaceableneſſe: only ſuch priſoners and captiues of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, ſeeing the good vſage which they receiued, and hearing alſo what ſeruice they had performed againſt the foreſaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly againſt them, and ſought as much as they could to practiſe ſome miſchiefe againſt them: and one amongſt the reſt ſeeing an Engliſhman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came vpon him ſudденly, and with his knife thruſt him in the ſide, yet made no ſuch great wound, but that it was eaſily recouered. The Engliſh company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly ſent both for the party that had receiued the wound, and the offender alſo, and cauſed an executioner in the preſence of himſelfe and the Engliſh, to chaſtiſe the ſlaue euen to death, which was performed to the ende that no man ſhould preſume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The Engliſh hauing receiued this good iuſtice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furniſhing of their ſhippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the reſt of their friendes, that were reſident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the ſecond army of the Spaniſh king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of neceſſitie to paſſe. But comming neere to the ſaid Streight, it pleaſed God to raiſe at that inſtant a very darke and miſtie fogge, ſo that one ſhip coulde not diſcerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Eaſterne winds that then blewe moſt fit for their courſe, they paſſed with great ſpeed through the Streight, and might haue paſſed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withſtand them, and the aire neuer ſo cleare for euery ſhip to be ſeene. But yet the Spaniſh Gallies had a ſight of them when they were come within 3. Engliſh miles of the towne, and made after them in all poſſible haſte, and although they ſaw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and fooliſh pride, they ſhot off their Ordinance, and made a ſtirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midſt of them, which vanitie of theirs miniſtred to our men notable matter of pleaſure and mirth, ſeeing men to fight with ſhadowes, and to take ſo great paines to ſo ſmall purpoſe.

The ſecond Spaniſh fleete lying in waite for the Engliſh.

But thus it pleaſed God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spaniſh king, which he had prouided of purpoſe to diſtreſſe the Engliſh, who notwithſtanding paſſed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the iuſt commendation of ech mans ſeruice performed in that voyage.

The returne of Maſter *VVilliam Harborne* from *Conſtantinople* ouer land to *London*, 1588.

I Departed from Conſtantinople with 30. perſons of my ſuit and family the 3. of Auguſt. Paſſing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldauia, where ariuing the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteouſly interteined by Peter his poſitiue prince, a Greeke by profeſſion, with whom was concluded that her Maieſties ſubiects there traffiquing ſhould pay but three vpon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subiects as all other nations anſwere: whoſe letters to her Maieſtie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler ſent for mee the 27. of the ſame moneth. And after moſt honorable intertainment imparted with me in ſecret maner the late paſſed and preſent occurrents of that kingdome, & alſo he writ to her Maieſtie.

The letters of the Prince of Moldauia to the Queene.

Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queene.

Thence I haſted vnto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was moſt friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be faithfully deuoted to her Maieſties ſeruice, whoſe letters likewiſe vnto the ſame were preſented me. No leſſe at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I was courteouſly receiued by one of the Buroughmaſters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Ciuil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I reſted one day at Stetin, where, for that ẏ duke was abſent, nothing enſued. At Roſtoke I paſſed through the Citie without any ſtay, and at Wiſmar receiued like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not viſited. At Hamburg the 19. of Nouember, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was ſaluted by a Boroughmaſter and the Secretarie, and in all theſe places they preſented mee ſundry ſorts of their beſt wine and freſh fiſh, euery of them with a long diſcourſe, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Maieſties victory ouer the Spaniard, and my ſafe returne, concluding with offer of their ready ſeruice to her future diſpoſing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure thence cauſed the Marchants to pay cuſtome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Chriſtians on ẏ way euer demanded. And notwithſtanding the premiſſes, I was moſt certainly informed of ſundry of our nation there reſident that moſt of the Hanſe-towns vpon the ſea coaſts, eſpecially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough haue laden and were ſhipping for Spaine, great prouiſion of corne, cables, ropes, powder, ſaltpeter, hargubuſſes, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition ſeruing for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courteſie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection vnto her Maieſties ſeruice, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of duetie for their commoditie I eſteemed well affected.

The priuilege of *Peter* the Prince of *Moldauia* graunted to the Engliſh Marchants.

PEtrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiæ & Moldauiæ; ſignificamus præſentibus, vniuerſis & ſingulis quorum intereſt ac intererit, quòd cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Sereniſsimæ ac potentiſsimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Sereniſsimum ac potentiſsimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc conſtitutionem fecerimus: Nimirùm vt dehinc ſuę Serenitatis ſubditis, omnibuſqúe mercatoribus integrum ſit hìc in prouincia noſtra commorandi, conuerſandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendíque, imo omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ ſocietas vſuſqúe requirit, ſine vlla alicuius contradictione, aut inhibitione: ſaluo ac integro tamen iure Telonij noſtri; hoc eſt, vt a ſingulis rebus centum ducatorum pretij, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum conſtitutione noſtra haberi volumus. In cuius rei firmius teſtimonium, ſigillum noſtrum appreſſum eſt. Actum in caſtris noſtris die 27. menſis Auguſti, anno Domini 1588.

The ſame in Engliſh.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldauia; we ſignifie by theſe preſents to all and ſinguler perſons, whom it doth or ſhall concerne, that we haue made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambaſſador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the moſt puiſſant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from henceforth it ſhalbe lawfull for her highneſſe ſubiects and all her Marchants, to remaine, conuerſe, buy, ſel, bargaine and exerciſe all ſuch things, as the trade of marchandiſe, and humane ſocietie and vſe requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Cuſtome alwayes reſerued; That is, that they pay three ducats vpon all ſuch things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be ſurely and firmely obſerued; For the more aſſured teſtimony whereof, our ſeale is hereunto annexed. Giuen in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of Auguſt in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract ſpecifying the certaine dayly paiments, anſwered quarterly in time of peace, by the *Grand Signior*, out of his Treaſurie, to the Officers of his *Seraglio* or Court, ſucceſsiuely in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall ſumme, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet euery day, one thouſand and one aſpers, according to a former cuſtome receiued from his anceſtors: notwithſtanding that otherwiſe his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which ſumme maketh ſterling money by the yere, two thouſand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three ſhillings, eight pence.

The fiue and fourtie thouſand Ianizaries diſperſed in ſundry places of his dominions, at ſixe aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere to fiue hundreth, foureſcore and eleuen thouſand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre ſurmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Chriſtians, from whom betweene the yeeres of ſixe and twelue, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I ſuppoſe thoſe in ſeruice may be equall in number with the Ianizaries abouesaid, at three aſpers a day, one with another, which is two hundred, fourescore and fifteene thouſand, ſixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Baſſas, whereof the Viceroy is ſupreme, at one thouſand aſpers the day, beſides their yerely reuenues, amounteth ſterling by the yeere to ten thouſand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Beglerbegs, chiefe preſidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclauonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Aſia, at one thouſande aſpers the day: as alſo to eighteene other gouernours of Prouinces, at fiue hundred aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thouſand ſixe hundred, and threeſcore pounds.

The Baſſa, Admirall of the Sea, one thouſand aſpers the day, two thouſand, one hundred, foure ſcore and ten thouſand pounds.

The Aga of the Ianizaries, generall of the footemen, fiue hundred aſpers the day, and maketh by the yeere in ſterling money, one thouſand, foureſcore and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Baſſa, Maſter of his horſe, one hundred and fiftie aſpers the day, is ſterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Eſquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aſpers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horſemen, ſixe, at one hundred and fiftie aſpers to either of them, maketh ſterling, one thouſand, nine hundred, three ſcore and eleuen pounds.

The Capagi Baſſas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aſpers to ech, and maketh out in ſterling money by the yeere, one thouſand, three hundred, and fourteene pounds.

The Siſinghir Baſſa, Controller of the houſholde, one hundred and twentie aſpers the day, and maketh out in ſterling money by the yeere, two hundred, threeſcore and two poundes, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Chaus Baſſa, Captaine of the Penſioners, one hundred and twentie aſpers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere in ſterling money, two hundred, threeſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Capigilar Caiaſi, Captaine of his Barge, one hundreth and twentie aſpers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in ſterling money, two hundred, three ſcore and two poundes, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Solach Baſſi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Giebrigi Baſſi, maſter of the armoury, one hundred and twenty aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Topagi Baſſi, Maſter of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Echim Baſſi, Phiſition to his perſon, one hundred and twentie aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

To fourtie Phiſitions vnder him, to ech fourtie aſpers, is three thouſand, eight hundred, three ſcore and ſixe pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Muſtafaracas ſpearemen, attending on his perſon, in number fiue hundred, to either three ſcore aſpers, and maketh ſterling, threeſcore and fiue thouſand, and ſeuen hundred pounds.

The Ciſingeri, gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aſpers ech of them, and amounteth to ſterling by the yeere, three thouſand, fiue hundred and foure pounds.

The Chauſi Penſioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aſpers, twenty eight thouſand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aſpers, and maketh ſterling money by the yeere, ſeuen thouſand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundreth and twenty, at nine aſpers, and commeth vnto in Engliſh money, the ſumme of ſixe thouſand, three hundred and ſixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thouſand, at twenty fiue aſpers, and maketh of Engliſh money, fiue hundred, forty and ſeuen thouſand, and fiue hundred pounds.

The Ianizaires ſixteene thouſand, at ſix aſpers, is two hundred and ten thouſand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbuſhers of armor, one thouſand, fiue hundred, at ſixe aſpers, and amounteth to ſterling money, nineteene thouſand, ſeuen hundred, and foureſcore pounds.

The Seieſir, ſeruitors in his Equier or ſtable, fiue hundred, at two aſpers, and maketh ſterling money, two thouſand, one hundred, foureſcore and ten pounds.

The Saeſi, Sadlers and bit makers, fiue hundred, at ſeuen aſpers, ſeuen thouſand, ſix hundred, threeſcore and fiue pounds.

The Catergi, Carriers vpon Mules, two hundred, at fiue aſpers, two thouſand, one hundred, foureſcore and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers vpon Camels, one thouſand, fiue hundred, at eight aſpers, and amounteth in ſterling money, to twenty ſixe thouſand, two hundred, and foureſcore pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aſpers, and amounteth in Engliſh money by the yeere, the ſumme of ſixe thouſand, fiue hundred, threeſcore and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Maſters of the ſaid Gallies, three hundred, at ſeuen aſpers, foure thouſand, fiue hundred, foureſcore and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boateſwaines thereof, three hundred, at ſixe aſpers, is three thouſande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Baſsi, Purſers, three hundred, at fiue aſpers, maketh three thouſand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi ſouldiers two thouſand ſixe hundred at foure Aſpers, whereof the ſix hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thouſand, ſeuen hundred fourſcore and ſix pounds.

The Mariers Baſsi maſters ouer the ſhipwrights and kalkers of the nauie, nine, at 20. Aſpers the piece, amounteth to three thouſand foureſcore and foure pound, foure ſhillings.

The Maſter Daſsi ſhipwrighes & kalkers, one thouſand at fourteene aſpers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thouſand, ſixe hundred threeſcore pound.

Summa totalis of dayly paimenes amounteth by the yeere ſterling, one million, nine hundred threeſcore eight thouſand, ſeuen hundred thirty fiue pounds, nineteene ſhillings eight pence, anſwered quarterly without default, with the ſumme of foure hundred foureſcore twelue thouſand, one hundred foureſcore and foure pounds foure ſhillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day fiue thouſand three hundred foureſcore and thirteene pounds, fifteene ſhillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improoued, fiue times more in value then their ſummes mentioned, giuen by the ſaide *Grand Signior*, as followeth.

To the Viceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thouſand golde ducats.
To the ſecond Baſſa for his annuitie 50. thouſand ducats.
To the third Baſſa for his annuitie 40. thouſand ducats.
To the fourth Baſſa for his annuitie 30. thouſand ducats.
To the fifth Baſſa for his annuitie 20. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of the Ianizaries 20. thouſand ducats.
To the Ieu Merhorbaſsi maſter of his horſe 15. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of the penſioners 10. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of his guard 5. thouſand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thouſand li. ſterling.

Beſide theſe aboue ſpecified, be ſundry other annuities giuen to diuers others of his aforeſaid officers, as alſo to certaine called Sahims, diminiſhing from three thouſand to two hundreth ducats, eſteemed treble to ſurmount the annuitie abouesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

The Viceroy is high Treaſurer, notwithſtanding that vnder him be three ſubtreaſurers called Teſtadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of Europe, Aſia and Africa, ſaue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Niſſangi Baſſa, who ſealeth with a certaine proper character ſuch licences, ſafe conducts, paſſeports, eſpeciall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithſtanding all letters to forreine princes ſo firmed be after incloſed in a bagge, and ſealed by the Grand Signior, with a ſignet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wiſe.

The Admirall giueth his voyce in the election of all Begs, Captaines of Iſlandes, to whom hee giueth their charge, as alſo appointeth the Subbaſſas, Bayliffes or Conſtables ouer Cities and Townes vpon the Sea coaſtes about Conſtantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbaſsi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thouſande ducats, and ſo likewiſe either of the others according as they are placed.

The Reſsiſtop ſerueth in office to the Viceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and ſo likewiſe doeth the Cogie Maſter of the Rolls, before which two, paſſe all writings preſented to, or granted by the ſaid Viceroy and Chancellor, offices of eſpeciall credite and like profite, moreouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are alſo two chiefe Iudges named Cadi Leſker, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Aſia and Africa, which in Court doe ſit on the Bench at the left hand of the Baſſas. Theſe ſell all offices to the vnder Iudges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery Citie or towne, before whom all matters in controuerſie are by iudgement decided, as alſo penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed vpon the offenders by the Subbaſſi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the *Beglerbegs* the gouernours of Prouinces and *Saniacks*, and their petie Captaines mainteined of theſe Prouinces.

The *Beglerbegs* Of
- Græcia, fourtie thouſand
- Buda, fifteene thouſand
- Sclauonia, fifteene thouſand
- Natolia, fifteene thouſand
- Caramania, fifteene thouſand
- Armenia, eighteene thouſand
- Perſia, twentie thouſand
- Vſdrum, fifteene thouſand
- Chirulta, fifteene thouſand
- Caraemiti, thirtie thouſand
- Gierſul, two and thirtie thouſand

persons.

The *Beglerbegs* Of
- Bagdar, fiue and twentie thouſand
- Balſara, two and twenty thouſand
- Laſſaija, ſeuenteene thouſand
- Alepo, fiue and twentie thouſand
- Damaſco, ſeuenteene thouſand
- Cayro, twelue thouſand
- Abes, twelue thouſand
- Mecca, eight thouſand
- Cyprus, eighteene thouſand
- Tunis in Barbary, eight thouſand
- Tripolis in Syria, eight thouſand
- Alger, fourtie thouſand

perſons.

Whoſe Sangiacks and petie Captaines be three hundred ſixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from fiue hundreth, to two hundreth Souldiers, may be one with another at the leaſt, three hundreth thouſand perſons.

Chiefe officers in his *Seraglio* about his perſon

Be theſe
- Capiaga, High porter.
- Alnader Baſsi, Treaſurer.
- Oda Baſsi, Chamberlaine.
- Killergi Baſsi, Steward.
- Saraiaga, Comptroller.
- Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
- Edoſtoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
- Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
- Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloake.
- Ebietaraga, Groome of the ſtoole.

There be many other maner Officers, which I eſteeme ſuperfluous to write.

The *Turkes* yeerely reuenue.

The Grand Signiors annual reuenue is ſaid to be fourteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is ſterling fiue millions, eight ſcore thouſand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Chriſtians his Subiects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not ſo litle as one Million of golden ducats, which is ſterling three hundred threeſcore thouſand pounds.

Moreouer, in time of warre he exacteth manifolde ſummes for maintenance of his Armie and Nauie of the ſaid Chriſtians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threeſcore thouſand dollers, which is ſterling thirteene thouſand pound, beſides preſents to the Viceroy and Baſſas, which are ſaid to ſurmount to twentie thouſand dollers.

Ambaſſadors allowances.

THe Ambaſſadour of the Emperor is allowed one thouſand Aſpers the day.

The Ambaſſadour of the French king heretofore enioyed the like: but of late yeeres by meanes of diſpleaſure conceiued by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to ſixe crownes the day, beſide the prouiſion of his Eſquier of his ſtable.

The Ambaſſadours of Poland, and for the ſtate of Venice are not Ligiers as theſe two aboueſaid. The ſaid Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very ſeldome do the ſtate of Venice ſend any Ambaſſador otherwiſe, then enforced of vrgent neceſſity: but in ſtead thereof keepe there their Agent, preſident ouer other Marchants, of them termed a bailife, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & ſtate is in maner as magnifical as the other aforeſaid ambaſſadors. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador was equall with others in Ianizaries: but for ſo much as he would not according to cuſtome folow the liſt of other ambaſſadors in making preſents to ẏ Grand Signior, he had none alowance. His abode there was 3. yeres, at the end wherof, hauing cōcluded a truce for 6. yeres, taking place frō his firſt comming in Nouember laſt paſt 1580, he was not admitted to the preſence of the Grand Signior.

The letters of *Sinan Baſſa* chiefe counſellour to *Sultan Murad Can* the *Grand Signior*, to the ſacred Maieſtie of *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, ſhewing that vpon her requeſt, and for her ſake eſpecially, hee graunted peace vnto the King and kingdome of *Poland*.

GLorioſiſſima & ſplendore fulgidiſſima fœminarum, ſelectiſſima Princeps magnanimorum IESVM ſectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Sereniſſima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & familiæ Nazarenorum ſapientiſſima; Origo ſplendoris & gloriæ dulciſſima; nubes pluuiarum gratiſſima, hęres & domina beatitudinis & gloriæ regni inclyti Anglię; ad quam omnes ſupplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum & actionum Serenitatis veſtræ beatiſſimum, exituſque fœliciſſimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque & perpetua familiaritate noſtra digna vota & laudes ſempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. veſtræ amiciſsimè; Quia ſunt anni aliquot, à quibus annis potentiſsima Cęſarea celſitudo bella ineffabilia cū Caſul-bas, Principe nempe Perſarum geſsit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellū mouere noluit, ob eamque cauſam in partibus Polonię latrones quidam Coſaci nuncupati, & alij facinoroſi in partibus illis exiſtentes, ſubditos Cęſaris potentiſsimi turbare & infeſtare non deſierunt. Nunc autem partibus Perſicis compoſitis & abſolutis, in partibus Polonię & alijs partibus exurgentes facinoroſos punire conſtituens, Beglerbego Gręciæ exercitu aliquo adiuncto, & Principi Tartarorum mandato Cęſaris miſſo, anno proximè pręterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infeſtata, turbata & deuaſtata fuit, & Coſaci alijq; facinoroſi iuxta merita ſua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Polonię viſo duos legatos ad Cęſareā celſitudinē mittens, quòd facinoroſos exquirere, & pœna perfecta punire, & ab annis multis ad portam Cęſarcę celſitudinis miſſum munus augere vellet, ſignificauit. Cęſarea autem celſitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam ſuppeditauit potentiam, & quæ omnes ſupplices exaudire dignata eſt) ſupplicatione Regis Polonię non accepta, iterùm in regem Polonię exercitum ſuum mittere, & Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum eius ſubuertere conſtituerat. Verum Legato Serenitatis veſtrę in porta beata & fulgida Cæſareæ celſitudinis reſidente ſeſe interponente, Et quòd Serenitati veſtrę ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, puluis, arbores nauiū, tormenta, & alia neceſſaria ſuppeditarentur ſignificante, & pacem pro regno & rege Poloniæ petente, neuè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæſareæ celſitudinis turbaretur vel infeſtaretur intercedente, Serenitatiſque veſtræ hanc ſingularem eſſe voluntatem exponente, Legati ſerenitatis veſtræ ſignificatio & interceſsio cùm Cæſarcę celſitudini ſignificata fuiſſet, In fauorem ſerenitatis veſtræ, cui omnis honos & gratia debetur, iuxta modum pręedictum, vt Coſaci facinoroſi exquirantur & pœna perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta cōdonentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cęſareæ celſitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ ſunt datæ. Si autem ex parte Serenitatis veſtrę fœdus & pax ſollicitata non fuiſſet, nulla ratione Cæſarea celſitudo fœdus cum regno Polonię inijſſet. In fauorem autem Serenitatis veſtræ regno & Regi Poloniæ ſingularem gratiam Cæſarea celſitudo exhibuit. Quod tàm Serenitas veſtra, quàm etiam Rex & regnum Polonię ſibi certò perſuadere debent. Serenitatem veſtram benè fœliciſsiméque valere cupimus. Datum Conſtantinopoli in fine menſis Sabaum nuncupati, Anno prophetæ noſtri ſacrati Mahumedij nongenteſimo, nonageſimo, octauo, IESV vero Anno milleſimo quingenteſimo nonageſimo, die duodecimo menſis Iunij.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MOſt glorious, and the moſt reſplendent of women, moſt ſelect Princeſſe, moſt gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Ieſus in the famous kingdom of England, moſt wiſe gouerneſſe of all the affaires and buſineſſes of the people and family of the Nazarens, moſt ſweet fountaine of brightneſſe and glory, moſt acceptable cloud of raine, inheritreſſe & Ladie of the bleſſedneſſe and glory of the renowmed kingdome of England, to whom in humble wiſe all men offer their petitions: wiſhing of the almightie Creator moſt happie increaſe and proſperous ſucceſſe vnto all your Maieſties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall & perpetuall vowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayſes: In moſt friendly manner we ſignifie vnto your princely Highneſſe, that certaine yeeres paſt the moſt mightie Ceſarlike maieſtie of the Grand Signor waged vnſpeakeable warres with Caſul-bas the Prince of the Perſians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell againſt any other places; and for that cauſe certaine theeues in the partes of Polonia called Coſacks, and other notorious perſons liuing in the ſame partes ceaſed not to trouble and moleſt the ſubiects of our moſt mightie Emperour. But now hauing finiſhed and brought to ſome good iſſue his affaires in Perſia, determining to puniſh the ſaide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpoſe committing an army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere laſt paſt, ſending his imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath forraged, moleſted, and layed waſte ſome part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Coſacks and other notorious offenders haue receiued condigne puniſhment. Which the king of Poland perceiuing ſent two Embaſſadours to his imperiall Highneſſe ſignifying, that he would hunt out the ſaid malefactors, and inflict moſt ſeuere puniſhments vpon them, and alſo that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily ſent vnto the porch of his imperiall Highneſſe. Howbeit his imperiall maieſtie (vpon whom the almightie creator hath beſtowed ſo great power, and who vouchſafeth to giue eare vnto all humble ſuppliants) reiecting the ſupplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to ſend his armie againſt the ſaid king, and by the helpe of the Almightie creator, vtterly to ſubuert and ouerthrowe his kingdome. But your Maieſties Embaſſadour reſident in the bleſſed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highneſſe interpoſing himſelfe as a mediatour, ſignifying that from the partes of Poland you were furniſhed with corne, gun-powder, maſtes of ſhips, guns, and other neceſſaries, and crauing peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making interceſſion, that the ſaid king might not be moleſted nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Maieſties moſt earneſt deſire; ſo ſoone as the report and interceſſion of your Maieſties Embaſſadour was ſignified vnto the Grand Signor, for your ſake, vnto whom all honour and fauourable regard is due, vpon the condition aforeſaid, namely, that the wicked Coſacks might be ſought out and grieuouſly puniſhed, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of ſome ſmall gift, vpon this condition (I ſay) the letters of his imperiall Highneſſe were ſent vnto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this concluſion of league and amitie beene ſollicited on the behalfe of your Maieſtie, his imperiall Highneſſe would neuer haue vouchſafed the ſame vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maieſties ſake his imperiall Highneſſe hath exhibited this ſo ſingular a fauour vnto the ſaid king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Maieſtie and the king of Poland ought certainely to be perſwaded. We wiſh your Maieſtie moſt happily and well to fare. Giuen at Conſtantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabaũ, in the yeare of our ſacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Ieſus 1590, the 12 of Iune.

The ſecond letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Maieſtie to the Right worſhipfull companie of the Engliſh Marchants for the Leuant, the ſeuenth of Ianuarie 1592.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, miniſters and ſubiects, and to all other people aſwell within this our Realme of England, as elſe where vnder our obeyſance and iuriſdiction or otherwiſe vnto whom theſe our letters ſhalbe ſeene, ſhewed, or read, greeting.

Where our welbeloued ſubiects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Eſquire, and Richard Staper of our ſaide citie Marchant, haue by great aduenture and induſtrie with their great coſt and charges by the ſpace of ſundry late yeeres trauelled, and cauſed trauell to be taken aſwell by ſecrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes and paſſages both by lande and ſea to finde out and ſet open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memorie of any man now liuing knowen to be commonly vſed and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other ſubiectes of vs or our progenitors: And alſo haue by their like good meanes and induſtrie and great charges procured of the ſayde Grand Signor in our name, amitie, ſafetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be vſed and continued by our ſubiects within his ſayd dominions, whereby we perceiue and finde that both many good actions haue beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Chriſtendome: Namely by the reliefe and diſcharge of many Chriſtians which haue beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage vnder the ſayde Grand Signor and his vaſſals or ſubiects. And alſo good and profitable vent and vtterance of the commodities of our Realme, and ſundrie other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Nauie, the encreaſe of our cuſtomes, and the reuenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the ſayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, Iohn Harte knights, and other marchants of our ſayd Citie of London haue by the ſpace of eight or nine yeeres paſt ioyned themſelues in companie, trade and traffike with them the ſayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the ſayde dominions of the ſayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen vnto vs, that within fewe yeeres now paſt our louing and good ſubiects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and ſundry other marchants of our ſaid Citie of London, haue likewiſe at their great coſtes and charges, builded and furniſhed diuerſe good and ſeruiceable ſhippes and therewith to their like coſts and charges haue traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by ſea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby haue made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine diuers good ſhippes with mariners ſkilfull and fitte and neceſſarie for our ſeruice: and doe vent out of our Realme into thoſe partes diuerſe commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our ſayde Realme many good and neceſſarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward vntill it hath beene otherwiſe brought to paſſe by the ſayde endeuours, coſts, and charges of our ſayde ſubiects, was in effect by our ſubiectes wholy diſcontinued.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our louing ſubiects in their good enterpriſes for the aduancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, haue of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heyres, and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt vnto our ſayd truſtie and welbeloued ſubiectes Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Harte knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Maſſam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Salconſtall, Nicholas Moſley Aldermen of our ſayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Eſquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderſon, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackſon, Edmund Anſell, Ralph Aſhley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darſall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and euery of them by the name of Gouernour and company of Marchants of the Leuant ſhall from hence foorth for the terme of twelue yeeres next enſuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowſhippe and companie of themſelues both in deede and in name: And them by the name of Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſentes, and that the ſame fellowſhippe and companie from hence foorth ſhall and may haue one Gouernour. And in conſideration that the ſayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the

The marchāts aboue named be made a felowſhip and companie for 12 yeeres by the name of the Gouernor and companie of the marchants of the Leuant.

the chiefe ſetters foorth and actors in the opening and putting in practiſe of the ſayde trade to the dominions of the ſayde Gand Signor: Wee doe therefore ſpecially make, ordaine, and conſtitute the ſayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Gouernour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee ſo long ſhall liue: And after the expiration of the ſayde yeere, or deceaſe of the ſayde Edward Osborne the choyſe of the next Gouernour, and ſo of euery Gouernour from time to time during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres to be at the election of the ſayde fellowſhippe or companie of marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them yeerely to be choſen, and that they the ſayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the reſidue of the ſayde fellowſhippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant and euerie of them, and all the ſonnes of them and of euery of them, and all ſuch their apprentiſes and ſeruants of them and of euery of them, which haue beene or hereafter ſhall be imployed in the ſayde trade by the ſpace of foure yeeres or vpwardes by themſelues, their ſeruantes, factors or deputies, ſhall and may by the ſpace of twelue yeeres from the day of the date of theſe our letters Patents freely traffike, and vſe the trade of Marchandize as well by ſea as by lande into and from the dominions of the ſayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and alſo by lande through the Countries of the ſayde Grand Signor into and from the Eaſt India, lately diſcouered by Iohn Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and Iames Storie, ſent with our letters to that purpoſe at the proper coſts and charge of the ſayde Marchants or ſome of them: and into and from euerie of them in ſuch order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purpoſes as ſhall be betweene them of the ſayde fellowſhippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwiſe, without any moleſtation, impeachment, or diſturbance; any lawe, ſtatute, vſage, or diuerſitie of Religion or faith, or any other cauſe or matter whatſoeuer to the contrarie notwithſtanding.

Sir Edward Osborne appointed the firſt Gouernour.

A priuiledge for the Eaſt Indies.

And that the ſayde Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them for the better gouernement of the ſayde fellowſhippe and companie, ſhall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date heereof, and ſo from thence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, aſſemble themſelues in ſome conuenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being ſo aſſembled, ſhall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelue diſcreete and honeſt perſons of the ſayde companie to be aſſiſtants to the ſayde Gouernour, and to continue in the ſayde office of aſſiſtants, vntill they ſhall die or bee remooued by the ſayde Gouernour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the ſayde aſſiſtantes or any of them to die, or be remooued from their ſayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and ſo often it ſhall and may bee lawfull to and for the ſayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuſe one or more other perſons of the ſayd companie into the place or places of euery ſuch perſon or perſons ſo dying or happening to be remooued, as is aforeſayde. And wee will and ordaine that the ſame perſon or perſons ſo as is aforeſayde to be elected ſhall be of the ſayd number of aſſiſtants of the ſayde companie. And this to be done ſo often as the caſe ſhall ſo require. And that it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Hart knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Maſſam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonſtall, Nicholas Moſley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderſon, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackſon, Edmund Anſell, Ralph Aſhley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darſall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforeſayde, or any of them to aſſemble themſelues for or about any the matters, cauſes or affaires or buſineſſes of the ſayde trade in any place or places for the ſame conuenient from time to time during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres within our dominions or elſe where. And that alſo it ſhall and may bee lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and conſtitute reaſonable lawes and orders for the good gouernement of the ſayde companie, and for the better aduauncement and continuance of the ſayde trade and traffike: the ſame lawes and ordinances not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, ſtatutes or cuſtomes of our Realme: And the ſame lawes and ordinances ſo made to put in vre, and execute accordingly, and at their pleaſures to reuoke and alter the ſame lawes and ordinances or any of them as occaſion ſhall require.

And we doe alſo for vs, our heyres and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that when and as often at any time during the ſayde terme and ſpace of twelue yeeres as any cuſtome, pondage, ſubſidie or other duetie ſhall be due and payable vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors for any goods or marchandize whatſoeuer, to be carried or tranſported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforeſayde, or out of or from any the ſayde dominions vnto our ſayde port of London, that our Cuſtomers, and all other our Officers for receites of cuſtome, pondage, ſubſidie or other duetie vnto whom it ſhall appertaine, ſhall vpon the requeſt of the ſayde Gouernour for the time being, giue vnto the ſayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their ſayde cuſtome, pondage, or other ſubſidie or duetie for the ſame, receiuing good and ſufficient bonde and ſecuritie to our vſe for the payment of the ſame accordingly. And vpon receipt of the ſayde bonde to giue them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receiue in the ſame their goods by vertue hereof without any diſturbance. And that alſo as often as at any time during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the ſayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforeſayde ſhall happen to miſcarie before their ſafe diſcharge in the partes for and to the which they be ſent: That then and ſo often ſo much cuſtome, pondage, and other ſubſidie as they anſwered vs for the ſame, ſhall after due proofe made before the Treaſurour of England for the time being of the ſayde loſſe, and the iuſt quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed vnto them, by warrant of the ſayde Treaſurour to the ſayde Cuſtomers in the next marchandize that they ſhall or may ſhippe for thoſe partes, according to the true rates of the cuſtomes, pondage, or ſubſidies heretofore payde for the goods ſo loſt or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the ſayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforeſaide, then here can be ſpent for the neceſſarie vſe of the ſame, which of neceſſitie muſt be tranſported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the ſayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the ſpace of thirteene moneths next after the diſcharge of any the ſayde goods ſo brought in, and the ſubſidies, pondage, cuſtomes and other duties for the ſame being before hande payde or compounded for as aforeſayd, it ſhall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer being naturall ſubiects of the Realme which may or ſhall buy the ſame of them or any of them to tranſport the ſame in Engliſh bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further cuſtome, pondage, or other ſubſidie to vs, our heires or ſucceſſors for the ſame, whereof the ſayde ſubſidies, pondage, or cuſtomes or other duties ſhall be ſo formerly payde and compounded for, as aforeſayd, and ſo proued. And the ſayd cuſtomer by vertue hereof ſhall vpon due and ſufficient proofe thereof made in the cuſtome houſe giue them ſufficient cocket or certificate for the ſafe paſſing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceipt be vſed herein to vs our heires, and ſucceſſors, certificate ſhall be brought from our collector of cuſtome inwardes to our cuſtomer outwardes that the ſayd marchandizes haue within the time limited aunſwered their due cuſtome, ſubſidie, pondage and other duties for the ſame inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and aboundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge haue graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs our heyres and ſucceſſours doe graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that they and ſuch onely as be and ſhall be of that companie, ſhall for the ſayd terme of twelue yeeres haue, vſe, and enioy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, vſe, and priuiledge of trading and trafficking, and vſing feate of marchandiſe by and through the Leuant ſeas otherwiſe called the Mediterran ſeas into and from the ſayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the ſtate of Venice; and by and through the ſayd Grand Signiors dominions to and from ſuch other places in the Eaſt Indies diſcouered as aforeſayd. And that they the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant and euery particular and ſeuerall perſon of that companie their and euery one of their ſeruants, factors, and deputies ſhall haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the ſayd Leuant ſeas into and from all and euery the ſayd dominions of the ſayde Grand Signor, and the dominions of the ſtate of Venice, and the ſayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occaſion of the ſayd trade they ſhall happen to arriue or come, whither they be Chriſtians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the ſayd Leuant ſeas into and from all other ſeas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coaſtes and places with their ſhips, barkes, pinaſes and other veſſels, and with ſuch mariners and men as they will leade or haue with them, or ſende for the ſayde trade as they ſhall thinke good at their owne proper coſtes and expenſes.

And for that the ſhippes ſayling into the ſayde Countreyes muſt take their due and proper times to proceede in theſe voyages, which otherwiſe as wee well perceiue can not be performed in the reſt of the yeere following: Therefore we of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for vs our heyres and ſucceſſors doe graunt to and with the ſayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, that foure good ſhippes well furniſhed with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred marriners Engliſh men to guide and ſayle in the ſame foure ſhippes at all times during the ſayde twelue yeeres ſhall quietly bee permitted and ſuffered to depart and goe in the ſayde voyages, according to the purport of theſe preſents, without any ſtay or contradiction by vs our heyres and ſucceſſors, or by the Lorde high Admirall or any other officer or ſubiect of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours in any wiſe: Any reſtraint, lawe, ſtatute, vſage or matter whatſoeuer to the contrarie notwithſtanding.

Prouided neuertheleſſe, that if wee ſhall at any time within the ſayde twelue yeeres haue iuſt cauſe to arme our Nauie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it ſhall be founde needefull and conuenient for vs to ioyne to our Nauie the ſhippes of our ſubiects to be alſo armed for warres to ſuch number as cannot bee ſupplied if the ſayd foure ſhippes ſhould be permitted to depart as aboue is mentioned; then vpon knowledge giuen by vs or our Admirall to the ſayde Gouernour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the ſaide companie ſhall beginne to make readie the ſame foure ſhippes that we may not ſpare the ſayd foure ſhips and the marriners requiſite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Nauie ſhall be vpon the ſeas, that then the ſayde companie ſhall forbeare to ſend ſuch foure ſhippes for their trade of marchandiſe vntill that we ſhall retake our ſayd Nauie from the ſayd ſeruice.

And further our will and pleaſure is, and wee doe by theſe preſentes graunt that it ſhall be lawfull to and for the ſayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant to haue and vſe in and about the affaires of the ſayde companie a common ſeale for matters concerning the ſayde companie and trade. And that alſo it ſhall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which ſhall be vſed and imployed in the ſayde trade and voyage to ſet and place in the toppes of their ſhips or other veſſels the Armes of England with the redde-croſſe in white ouer the ſame as heretofore they haue vſed.

And we of our further Royall fauour and of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue graunted and by theſe preſents for vs our heyres and ſucceſſors doe graunt to the ſayd Gouernour and companie of Marchants of the Leuant, that the ſayde landes, territories, and dominions of the ſayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the ſayde Leuant or Mediterran ſeas ſhall not be viſited, frequented, or haunted by the ſayde Leuant ſea by way of marchandize by any other our ſubiects during the ſaide terme of twelue yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of theſe preſences. And by vertue of our prerogatiue Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued or brought in queſtion, wee ſtraightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for vs our heyres and ſucceſſours all our ſubiects of what degree or qualitie ſoeuer they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe viſite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or aduenture by way of marchandiſe into or from any of the ſayd dominions of the ſayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the ſaide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the ſayde Leuant ſea other then the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and ſuch particular perſons as be or ſhall be of that companie, their factors, agents, ſeruants and aſſignes. And further for that wee plainely vnderſtande that the States and Gouernours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice haue of late time ſet and rayſed a newe impoſt and charge ouer and beſides their auncient impoſt, cuſtome, and charge of and vpon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and alſo of and vpon all marchandiſe caried or laden from their ſayd Countrey or dominions by our ſubiects or in the ſhips or bottoms of any of our ſubiectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our ſayd ſubiects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redreſſe thereof, doe alſo by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors further ſtraightly prohibite and forbid not onely the ſubiects of the ſayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but alſo of all other Nations or Countries whatſoeuer other then the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and ſuch onely as be or ſhall be of that companie, their factors, agents, ſeruantes, and aſſignes: That they or any of them during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres, ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of ſmall fruites called corrants, being the rayſins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, vnleſſe it be by and with the licence, conſent, and agreement of the ſayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their ſayd common ſeale firſt had and obteyned vpon paine vnto euery ſuch perſon and perſons that ſhall trade and traffike into any the ſayde dominions of the State and Segnio[illegible] of Venice by ſea, or that ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our ſaide Realme any of the ſaid corrants being the rayſins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the ſayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfaiture and loſſe aſwell of the ſhippe and ſhips with the furniture thereof, as alſo of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatſoeuer they be of thoſe which ſhall attempt or preſume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforeſayd. The one halfe of all the ſaide forfeitures to be to vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, and the other halfe of all and euery the ſayde forfeitures we doe by theſe preſents, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant.

And further all and euery the ſayde offendours for their ſayde contempt to ſuffer impriſonment during our pleaſures, and ſuch other puniſhment as to vs for ſo high a contempt ſhall ſeeme meete and conuenient, and not to be in any wiſe deliuered vntill they and euery of them ſhall be come bounde vnto the ſayd Gouernour for the time being in the ſumme of one thouſand poundes or leſſe at no time, then after to ſayle or traffike by ſea into any the dominions aforeſaide, or to bring or cauſe to be brought from any the places aforeſayde any corrants, rayſins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expreſſe commaundement in that behalfe herein ſet downe and publiſhed.

Prouided alwayes, and our expreſſe will is notwithſtanding the premiſſes that if our ſayde ſubiectes ſhall at any time hereafter be recompenſed of and for all ſuch newe impoſtes and charges as they and euery of them ſhall pay, and likewiſe be freely diſcharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe impoſte or taxe for any of their marchandiſe which they hereafter ſhall bring into or from any the dominions of the ſayde State or Segniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other aſſurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after ſuch recompence and diſcharge made as aforeſayde our ſayde prohibition and reſtraint in theſe preſentes mentioned, ſhall not be of any ſtrength or force againſt the ſayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the ſubiects thereof, but for and during ſuch time onely and in ſuch caſe when hereafter the ſayde State of Venice ſhall againe beginne to taxe or leuie any manner of newe impoſte within the ſayde dominions vpon any the goods or marchandizes of our ſayde ſubiectes heereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the ſaid State or Segniorie of Venice. Any thing in theſe our letters Patents contayned to the contrarie thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And further wee ſtraightly charge and commaunde, and by theſe preſentes prohibite all and ſingular Cuſtomers and Collectors of our Cuſtomes, pondage, and ſubſidies, and all other Officers within our Porte and Citie of London and elſe where, to whom it ſhall appertaine and euery of them, That they or any of them by themſelues, their clarkes, or ſubſtitutes ſhall not receiue or take, or ſuffer to be receiued or taken for vs or in our name, or to our vſe, or in the name, or vnto the vſe of our heires or ſucceſſors of any perſon or perſons, any ſumme or ſummes of money, or other conſideration during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres for any cuſtome, pondage, taxe or ſubſidie of any corrants, rayſins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforeſayd ſaue onely of and in the name of the ſayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or of ſome of that companie without the conſent of the ſayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their ſayd common ſeale, firſt had and obteyned, and vnto them ſhewed for the teſtifying their ſayd conſent. And for the better and more ſure obſeruation thereof wee will and graunt for vs, our heires or ſucceſſors by theſe preſentes, that our Treaſurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of theſe preſentes, and the inrollment thereof in the ſayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and euery time and times during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres, at and vpon the requeſt of the ſayde Gouernour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or aſſignes, ſhall and may make and direct vnder the ſeale of the ſayde Court one or more ſufficient writte or writtes cloſe or patent, vnto euery or any of the ſayd Cuſtomers or other Officers to whom it ſhall appertaine, commaunding them and euery of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the ſayd ſpace of twelue yeeres ſhall take entrie of any corants , raiſins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any cuſtome, pondage, or other ſubſidie for any of the ſayd corants, raiſins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, other then with, or in the name and by the priuitie of the ſayd gouernour and company or ſome of the ſame company.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condeſcended and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs our heires and ſucceſſours doe condeſcend and graunt to the ſayd Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant, that wee our heires and ſucceſſours, during the ſayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer contrary to the tenour of theſe our letters patents, to ſaile, paſſe, trade, or traffique by the ſayde Leuant Sea, into, or from the ſayde dominions of the ſayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of theſe preſents, without the conſent of the ſayd Gouernour and Companie or the moſt part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet haue not yet aſſented to bee incorporated into the ſayd ſocietie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, neuertheleſſe ſithence, as we be informed, they haue bene traders that way heretofore ; our will and pleaſure is, and we doe hereby expreſſely command and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the ſayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to ſubmit themſelues to be of the ſayd companie, and doe giue ſuch aſſurance as the ſayd Gouernour and companie, or the more part of them ſhall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe ſuch orders, conſtitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the ſayd company ſhall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then euery of the ſayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet ſo doing and ſubmitting himſelfe, ſhall vpon his or their requeſt vnto the ſayd Gouernour bee admitted into the ſayd companie and corporation of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant , and haue and enioy the ſame , and as great liberties, priuileges, and preheminences, as the reſt of the ſayde corporation or companie may, or ought to haue by vertue of this our graunt . Any thing in theſe preſents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And our will and pleaſure is, and hereby wee doe alſo ordaine that it ſhall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the ſayde Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the ſayd companie, any ſuch as haue bene or ſhall bee employed as ſeruants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandiſe by the ſayd Leuant ſeas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the ſayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the moſt part of them ſhall thinke requiſite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steuen Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the ſaide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Danſey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirſte , Cæſar Doſſie, Martine Bonde , Oliuer Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and ſufficiencies haue bene thought fit to be alſo of the ſayd Company of the ſaide gouernour and Company of Marchants of Leuant: Our will and pleaſure and expreſſe commaundement is, and wee doe hereby eſtabliſh and ordeine , that euery ſuch of the ſame Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Danſey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirſt, Cæſar Doſſie , Martine Bonde, Oliuer Style, and Nicolas Style, as ſhall pay vnto the ſaide Gouernour and company of Marchants of Leuante the ſumme of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull Engliſh money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the ſame Company haue already bene at in and about the eſtabliſhing of the ſayde trades ſhall from thenceforth bee of the ſame company of Marchants of Leuant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that ſocietie or Company.

Prouided alſo, that wee our heires and ſucceſſours at any time during the ſayd twelue yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other perſons exerciſing the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the ſayd companie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, ſo that the ſayd perſons to bee nominated or authorized, ſhall aide, doe, beare, and paie ſuch paymentes and charges touching and concerning the ſame trade and Companie of marchants of Leuant, ratablie as other of the ſayd Companie of marchants of Leuant ſhall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe alſo performe and obſerue the orders of the ſayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the ſame doe or ought to doe. And that ſuch two perſons ſo to bee appoynted by vs our heires or ſucceſſours, ſhall and may with the ſayd Company vſe the trade and feate of marchandiſe aforeſayd, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of theſe our letters patents, any thing in theſe our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that if any of the marchants before by theſe preſents named or incorporated, to bee of the ſayd fellowſhip of Gouernour and companie of the merchants of Leuant, ſhall not bee willing to continue or bee of the ſame Companie, and doe giue notice thereof, or make the ſame knowen to the ſayd Gouernour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then ſuch perſon ſo giuing notice, ſhall no further or any longer be of that companie, or haue trade into thoſe parties, nor be at any time after that of the ſame corporation or companie, or vſe trade into any the territories or countries aforeſayd.

Prouided alwayes neuertheleſſe, that euery ſuch perſon ſo giuing notice and hauing at this preſent any goods or marchandiſes in any the Territories or countreys of the ſayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the ſpace of eighteene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to returne the ſame or the value thereof into this Realme, without vſing any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, anſwering, and performing all ſuch charges, duties and ſummes of money ratably as other of the ſame corporation or company doe or ſhall pay, beare, anſwere, or performe for the like.

Prouided alſo, that if any of the perſons before by theſe preſents named or incorporated to bee of the ſayd fellowſhip of Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant, or which hereafter ſhall bee admitted to bee of the ſayde Corporation or Companie, ſhall at any time or times hereafter refuſe to bee of the ſayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay ſuch ratable charges and allowances, or to obſerue or performe ſuch ordinances to bee made as is aforeſayd, as other of the ſame company are, or ſhall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it ſhall and may bee lawfull for the reſt of the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, preſently to expell, remooue, and diſplace euery ſuch perſon ſo refuſing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the ſayd Corporation and companie, and from all priuilege, libertie, and preheminence which any ſuch perſon ſhould, or might claime, or haue by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exerciſing the lawfull trade of marchandiſe to bee of the ſayd Companie. And that euery ſuch perſon ſo expelled, remooued, or diſplaced by conſent of the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, or the more part of them, ſhall bee from thenceforth vtterly diſabled to take any benefite by vertue of this priuilege, or any time after to bee admitted or receiued againe into the ſame, any thing in theſe preſents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes, that if it ſhall hereafter appeare to vs our heires and ſucceſſours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, ſhall not bee profitable to vs our heires and ſucceſſours, or to this our realme, that then and from thenceforth, vpon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee giuen to the ſayd companie by vs our heires and ſucceſſours, this preſent graunt ſhall ceaſe, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee haue condeſcended and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, doe condeſcend and graunt to the ſayde Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, that if at the ende of the ſayd terme of twelue yeeres it ſhall ſeeme meete and conuenient to the ſayde Gouernour and Companie, or any the parties aforeſayd, that this preſent graunt ſhall bee continued: And if that alſo it ſhall appeare vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, that the continuance thereof ſhall not bee preiudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee ſhall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for vs our heires and ſucceſſours and for our realme with ſuch conditions as are herein mentioned, or with ſome alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee our heires and ſucceſſours at the inſtance and humble petition of the ſayde Gouernour and Companie, or any of them ſo ſuing for the ſame, and ſuch other perſon and perſons our ſubiectes as they ſhall nominate and appoint, or ſhall bee by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelue, new letters patents vnder the great ſeale of

England in due forme of lawe with like couenants, graunts, clauſes, and articles, as in theſe preſents are contained, or with addition of other neceſſarie articles or changing of theſe in ſome partes, for, and during the full terme of twelue yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and ſtraightly commaunding and charging all and ſingular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Juſtices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailiffes, and all and ſingular other our Officers, Miniſters, Liege men and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping, and aſſiſting vnto the ſayd Companie and their ſucceſſours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, ſeruaunts, aſſignes and miniſters, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premiſſes as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you ſhal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Prouiſo, Proclamation or reſtraint heretofore had, made, ſet foorth, ordained or prouided, or any other matter, cauſe or thing whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe not withſtanding.

Although expreſſe mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premiſſes, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs, or any of our progenitours to the ſayde Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant before this time made, in theſe preſents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, prouiſion, proclamation or reſtraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or prouided, or any other matter, thing or cauſe whatſoeuer, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the ſeuenth day of Januarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.

Bailie.

To the Worſhipfull and his very louing Vncle M. Rowland Hewiſh *Eſquier*, at Sand *in* Deuonſhire.

Sir, conſidering the goodneſſe of your Nature which is woont kindely to accept from a friend, euen of meane things being giuen with a good heart, I haue preſumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude diſcourſe of my trauailes into Turkie, and of the deliuerie of the preſent with ſuch other occurrents as there happened woorthie the obſeruation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witneſſe, it pleaſing the Ambaſſadour to take mee in with him to the *Grand Signior*. If for lacke of time to put it in order I haue not performed it ſo well as it ought, I craue pardon, aſſuring you that to my knowledge I haue not miſſed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske mee what in my trauels I haue learned, I anſwere as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, *Hoc vnum didici, mundi contemptum:* and ſo concluding with the wiſe man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is neceſſarie, I take my leaue and commit you to the Almightie. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your louing Nephew
Richard Wrag.

A deſcription of a Voiage to *Conſtantinople* and *Syria*, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of Auguſt, 1595. wherein is ſhewed the order of deliuering the ſecond Preſent by Maſter *Edward Barton* her maieſties Ambaſſador, which was ſent from her Maieſtie to *Sultan Murad Can*, Emperour of Turkie.

Wee ſet ſaile in the Aſcenſion of London, a new ſhippe very well appointed, of two hundred and three ſcore tunnes (whereof was maſter one William Broadbanke, a prouident and ſkilfull man in his facultie) from Graueſend the one and twentie of March 1593. And vpon the eight of Aprill following wee paſſed the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and with a ſmall Weſterne gale, the 24. of the ſame, we arriued at Zante an Iland vnder the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arriued at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane ſea, a roade ſome 25. miles diſtant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee ſent for Aleppo.

Candie.

The Aſcenſion arriued at the 7 towers.

The ſhip ſaluteth the grand Signior.

From thence wee ſet ſaile the fift of Iune, and by contrary windes were driuen vpon the coaſt of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a caſtle ſtandeth, called Caſtle Roſſo, ſome thirtie leagues to the Eaſtwards of the Rhodes, where after long ſearch for freſh water, we could finde none, vntil certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought vs to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the ſea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke caracter, by antiquity neere worne out and paſt reading; which to the beholders ſeemed a monument of the greatneſſe of the Grecian monarchy. From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driuen into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is vnder the Venetians, who haue there 600 ſouldiers, beſide certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we ſtayed ſix weeks, and in the end, hauing the winde proſperous, we ſailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with ſight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arriued at the two caſtles in Helleſpont the 24 of Auguſt. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli ſome thirty miles from this place, where foure of vs tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two water men, which rowed vs along the Thracian ſhore to Conſtantinople, which ſometime ſailing and ſometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The firſt of September we arriued at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a litle welcome to M. Edward Barton vntill then her Maieſties Agent, who (with many other great perſons) had for many dayes expected the preſent. Fiue or ſixe dayes after the ſhippe arriued neere the Seuen towers, which is a very ſtrong hold, and ſo called of ſo many turrets, which it hath, ſtanding neere the ſea ſide, being the firſt part of the city that we came vnto. Heere the Agent appointed the maſter of the Aſcenſion to ſtay with the ſhippe vntill a fitte winde and opportunity ſerued to bring her about the Seraglio to ſalute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you ſhall vnderſtand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adioyning to the Sea ſide; whereunto twiſe or thriſe a weeke hee reſorteth to performe ſuch religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our ſhippe ſet out in their beſt maner with flagges, ſtreamers and pendants of diuers coloured ſilke, with all the mariners, together with moſt of the Ambaſſadours men, hauing the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great content beholding the ſhippe in ſuch brauery) they diſcharged firſt two volies of ſmall ſhot, and then all the great ordinance twiſe ouer, there being ſeuen and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ſhip. Which performed, he appointed the Buſtangi-Baſſa or captaine of the great and ſpacious garden or parke, to giue our men thankes, with requeſt that ſome other day they would ſhew him the like ſporte when hee would haue the Sultana or Empreſſe a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the ſhippes going to the Cuſtome-houſe they performed.

The cauſe of ſtaying the Preſent.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

The grand Signiors ſalutation thus ended, the maſter brought the ſhip to an anker at Rapamat neere the ambaſſadors houſe, where hee likewiſe ſaluted him with all his great ordinance once ouer, and where he landed the Preſent, the deliuerie whereof for a time was ſtaied: the cauſe of which ſtaie it ſhall neither be diſhonorable for our nation, or that worthie man the ambaſſador to ſhew you. At the departure of Sinan Baſſa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambaſſadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Baſſa appointed in his place, a churliſh and harſh natured man, who vpon occaſion of certaine Genouezes, eſcaping out of the caſtles ſtanding toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the blacke Sea, there impriſoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Engliſhmen called Iohn Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to haue brought a letter to one of them: vpon the ſolliciting of whoſe libertie there fell a iarre betweene the Baſſa (being nowe chiefe Vizir) and our ambaſſador, and in choler he gaue her maieſties ambaſſador ſuch words, as without ſuſtaining ſome great indignitie hee could not put vp. Whereupon after the arriuall of the Preſent, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior againſt him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the ſea ſide, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their vſuall whirries) they approch within ſome two or three ſcore yards, where the plaintife ſtandeth vp, and holdeth his petition ouer his forehead in ſight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea ſide) the reſt ſitting ſtill in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receiue them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfe, one of the Ambaſſadors fauorites, ſo ſoone as he was diſcerned, beckned him to the ſhore ſide, tooke his Arz, and with ſpeed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highneſſe would redreſſe this ſo great an indignitie, which the Vizir his ſlaue had offered him and her maieſtie in his perſon, he was purpoſed to detaine the Preſent vntill ſuch time as he might by letters ouer-land from her maieſtie bee certified, whither ſhe would put vp ſo great an iniurie as it was. Whereupon he preſently returned anſwere, requeſting the ambaſſador within an houre after to goe to the Douan of the Vizir, vnto whom himſelfe of his charge would ſend a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it vpon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in ſigne of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambaſſador returning home, tooke his horſe, accompanied with his mē, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors commaund, he with all ſhew of kindneſſe embraced the ambaſſador, and with curteous ſpeeches reconciled himſelfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold vpon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no ſmall admiration of all Chriſtians that heard of it, eſpecially of the French and Venetian ambaſſadors, who neuer in the like caſe againſt the ſecond perſon of the Turkiſh Empire durſt haue attempted ſo bold an enterpriſe with hope of ſo friendly audience, and with ſo ſpeedie redreſſe. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambaſſador prepared himſelfe for the deliuerie of the Preſent, which vpon the 7 of October 1593, in this maner he performed.

The great hall of Iuſtice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

The Aſcenſion with her flags and ſtreamers, as aforeſaid, repaired nigh vnto the place where the ambaſſador ſhould land to go vp to the Seraglio: for you muſt vnderſtand that all Chriſtian ambaſſadors haue their dwelling in Pera where moſt Chriſtians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Conſtantinople, whereas by Sea it is little broder then the Thames. Our Ambaſſador likewiſe apparelled in a ſute of cloth of ſiluer, with an vpper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in coſtly ſutes of Sattin, with 30 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liuerie of ſad French ruſſet cloth gownes, at his houſe tooke boate: at whoſe landing the ſhip diſcharged all her ordinance, where likewiſe attended 2 Baſſas, with 40 or 50 Chauſes to accompany þ ambaſſador to the court, & alſo horſes for the ambaſſador & his gentlemen, very richly furniſhed, with Turkiſh ſeruants attendāt to take the horſes whē they ſhould light. The ambaſſador thus honorably accompanied, the Chauſes foremoſt, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himſelfe laſt with his Chauſe and Drugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Ianiſaries, which he doeth vſually entertaine in his houſe to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an Engliſh mile from the water ſide, where firſt hee paſſed a great gate into a large court (much like the ſpace before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horſes. From hence they paſſed into an other ſtately court, being about 6 ſcore in breadth, and ſome 10 ſcore yards long, with many trees in it; where all the court was with great pompe ſet in order to entertaine our ambaſſador. Vpon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched ouer, and borne vp with ſtone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where ſtood *moſt of his guard in rankes from the one end to the other in coſtly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt ouer, with a great plume of fethers ſomewhat like a long bruſh ſtanding vp before. On the left hand ſtood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauſes. All theſe courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well geſſe) moſt of them apparelled in cloth of gold, ſiluer, veluet, ſattin and ſcarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands vpon their breſts in curteous maner of ſalutation, entertain the Ambaſſador: who likewiſe paſſing between them, & turning himſelfe ſomtime to the right hand and ſometime to the left, anſwered them with the like. As he thus paſſed along, certaine Chauſes conducted him to the Douan, which is the ſeat of Iuſtice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-leſker or lord chiefe Iuſtice, & the Mufti or high prieſt do ſit to determine vpon ſuch cauſes as be brought before them, which place is vpon the left ſide of this great court, whither the ambaſſador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforeſaid, who with great ſhew of kindnes receiued him: and after receit of her maieſties letters, & conference had of the Preſent, of her maieſties health, of the ſtate of England, and ſuch other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in thoſe parts: dinner being prepared was by many of þ Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adioining, which conſiſted of an hundred diſhes or thereabouts, moſt boiled & roſted, where the ambaſſador accompanied with the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewiſe with the reſt of his men hauing a dinner with the like varietie prepared vpon þ ſame ſide of the court, by thēſelues ſate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauſes ſtanding at the vpper end attending vpon the gentlemē to ſee them ſerued in good order: their drinke was water mingled with roſe water & ſugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates ſkinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and vnder his arme letteth it run out at a ſpout into cups as men wil call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great ſobrietie and ſilence performed, was not ſo orderly taken vp: for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her maieſties blacke guard) came in diſordered maner and tooke away the diſhes, and he whoſe hungry eie one diſh could not ſatiſfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a ſudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambaſſador

The ambaſſador goeth to the court with the preſent.

The Ambaſſ. came to the Seraglio.

*All theſe are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.

The ambaſſador receiued by the Vizir with all kindneſſe.

Dinner brought in.

Dinner taken away.

after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the vpper ende vpon the left ſide of the court, nere vnto a great gate which gaue entrance to a third court being but litle, paued with ſtone. In the midſt whereof was a litle houſe built of marble, as I take it, within which ſate the grand Signor, according to whoſe commandement giuen there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put vpon the ambaſſador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambaſſador himſelfe hauing 2, one of gold, and the other of crimoſin veluet, all the reſt one apiece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Preſent, which was in trunks there ready, deliuered them by the ambaſſadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine Engliſh cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of ſattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and ſo 2 and 2 going round that all might ſee it, to the greater glory of the preſent, and of him to whom it was giuen: they went into the innermoſt court paſſing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior ſate, who, as it went by to be laid vp in certaine roomes adioining, tooke view of all. Preſently after the preſent followed the ambaſſador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court ſtoode 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumbe men, being moſt of them youths. At the doore of his roome ſtood the Buſtangi-baſſa, with another Baſſa to lead the ambaſſador and his folowers to the grand Signior who ſate in a chaire of eſtate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of ſiluer. The floore vnder his feete, which part was a foote higher then the reſt, was couered with a carpet of green ſattin embrodered moſt richly with ſiluer, orient perles & great Turkeſes; ỹ other part of the houſe was couered with a carpet of Carnation ſattin imbrodered with gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Baſſa who ſtood next the wall ouer againſt him hanging down his head, & looking ſubmiſſely vpon the ground as all his ſubiects doe in his preſence. The ambaſſador thus betwixt two which ſtood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kiſſed his hand, and ſo backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he ſtood vntill they had likewiſe done ſo with all the reſt of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambaſſador, according as it is the cuſtome when any preſent is deliuered, made his three demaunds, ſuch as he thought moſt expedient for her maieſties honor, & the peaceable traffique of our natiõ into his dominions: whereunto he anſwered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkiſh as much as, it ſhal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkiſh emperor familiarly to conferre with any Chriſtian ambaſſador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his perſon to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking; as to our ambaſſador he granted all his demands, & gaue order that his daily allowance for his houſe of mony, fleſh, wood, & haie, ſhould be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambaſſador taking his leaue, departed with his gentlemen the ſame way he came, the whole court ſaluting him as they did at his comming in; & comming to the ſecond court to take our horſes, after we were mounted, we ſtaied halfe an houre, vntill the captain of the guard with 2000 horſmen at the leaſt paſſed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauſes next before the ambaſſador to accompany him to his houſe. And as before at his landing, ſo now at his taking boat, the ſhip diſcharged all her great ordinance, where arriuing, he likewiſe had a great banquet prepared to entertaine thoſe which came to bring him home. The pompe & ſolemnitie of the Preſent, with the day thus ended, he ſhortly after preſented the Sultana or empreſſe who (by reaſon that ſhe is mother to him which was heire to the crowne Imperial) is had in far greater reuerence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Preſent ſent her in her maieſties name was a iewel of her maieſties picture, ſet with ſome rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine caſe of glaſſe bottles ſiluer & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which ſo gratefully ſhe accepted, as that ſhe ſent to know of the ambaſſador what preſent he thought ſhe might returne ỹ would moſt delight her maieſtie: who ſent word that a ſute of princely attire being after the Turkiſh faſhion would for the rareneſſe thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon ſhe ſent an vpper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an vnder gowne of cloth of ſiluer, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rareneſſe of the ſtile, becauſe you may be acquainted with it, I haue at the ende of this diſcourſe hereunto annexed, which letter and preſent, with one from the grand Signior, was ſent by M. Edward Buſhell, and M. William Aldridge ouer-land the 20 of March, who paſſed through Valachia and Moldauia, & ſo through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voiuoda prince of Moldauia receiuing letters from the ambaſſador, entertained thẽ with al curteſie, through whoſe meanes by the great fauour which his lordſhip had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene aduanced to their princely dignities. He likewiſe preſented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abraim Baſſa, who married the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with diuers pieces of plate, fine Engliſh cloth & other coſtly things: the particulars whereof

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambaſſador and his gentlemen.

The Preſent.

The Preſent viewed.

The ambaſſador kiſſeth the grand Signiors hand.

The ambaſſadors demands granted.

The Sultanas preſent.

The Sultanas preſent to the Queene.

Letters ſent for England.

The other Vizirs preſented.

whereof, to auoid tediouſneſſe, I omit. All the preſents thus ended, the ſhip ſhooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a laſt farewell, departed on her iourney for England the firſt of Nouember, my ſelfe continuing in Conſtantinople vntill the laſt of Iuly after. This yere in the ſpring there was great preparation for the Hungarian warres; and the great Turke threatened to goe himſelfe in perſon: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more ſeruiceable to Venus then to Mars, he ſtayed at home. Yet a great army was diſpatched this yere; who, as they came out of Aſia to goe for Hungary, did ſo peſter the ſtreets of Conſtantinople for the ſpace of two moneths in the ſpring time, as ſcarſe either Chriſtian or Iew could without danger of loſing his money paſſe vp and downe the city. What inſolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely vpon Chriſtians but alſo vpon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may neuer be ſeene: and yet I could wiſh, that ſuch amongſt vs as haue inioyed the Goſpel with ſuch great and admirable peace and proſperity vnder her Maieſties gouernment this forty yeeres, and haue not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulneſſe to her Maieſty, were there but a ſhort time to beholde the miſerable condition both of Chriſtians and others liuing vnder ſuch an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in moſt palpable & groſſe ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the ſight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would ſtirre them vp to more thankefulneſſe to God, that euer they were borne in ſo happy a time, and vnder ſo wiſe and godly a prince profeſſing the true religion of Chriſt.

The Aſcenſion departeth.

Great preparation for the Hungarian warres.

The number of ſouldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yere were 470000, as by the particulars giuen by the Admirall to the Ambaſſadour hereunder do appeare. Although all theſe were appointed and ſuppoſed to goe, yet the victories which the Chriſtians in the ſpring had againſt the Turks ſtrooke ſuch a terrour in many of the Turkiſh ſouldiours, as by report diuers vpon the way thither left their Captaines and ſtole away.

The number of Turkiſh ſouldiers which were appointed to goe into *Hungary* againſt the Chriſtian Emperour. May 1594.

Sinan Baſſa generall, with the Saniacke maſould, that is, out of office, with the other Saniacks in office or of degree, 40000.

Achmigi, that is, Aduenturers, 30000.

The Agha or Captaine with his Ianiſaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.

The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Saniacks, 40000.

The company of Spaheis or horſemen, 10000.

The company of Silitari, 6000.

The company of Sagbulue and of Solbulue both together, 8000.

The Baſſa of Belgrad,
The Baſſa of Temiſwar.
The Baſſa of Boſna.
The Baſſa of Buda.
The Saniack of Gerſech.
} 80000.

Out of *Aſia*.

The Baſſa of Caramania.
The Baſſa of Laras.
The Baſſa of Damaſco.
The Baſſa of Suas.
The Baſſa of Van or Nan.
The Baſſa of Vſdrum.
} 120000.

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may ſee that the great Turke maketh warre with no ſmall numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himſelfe went in perſon into Hungary, if a man may beleeue report, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Conſtantinople you ſhall vnderſtand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, aswell in bigneſſe as for the pleaſant ſituation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of neceſſary prouiſion of victuals, and whatſoeuer els mans life for the ſuſtentation thereof ſhall require, being ſeated vpon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus vpon the Northeaſt, and to Propontis on the Southweſt, by which two ſeas by ſhipping is brought great ſtore of all maner of victuals. The city it ſelfe in forme repreſenteth a triangular figure, the ſea waſhing the walles vpon two ſides thereof, the other ſide faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors ſeraglio ſtandeth vpon that point which looketh into the ſea, being cut off from the city by a wall; ſo that yͤ wall of his pallace conteineth in circuit about two Engliſh miles: the ſeuen towers ſpoken of before ſtand at another corner, & Conſtantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermoſt very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten Engliſh miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remoued out of the Weſt into the Eaſt, it was inriched with many ſpoiles of olde Rome by Veſpaſian and other emperours, hauing many monuments and pillars in it worthy the obſeruation; amongſt the reſt in the midſt of Conſtantinople ſtandeth one of white marble called Veſpaſians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the baſe to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horſebacke: it is likewiſe adorned with diuers goodly buildings & ſtately Meſquitas, whereof the biggeſt is Sultan Solimans a great warriour, which liued in the time of Charles the fifth; but the faireſt is Santa Sophia, which in the time of the Chriſtian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is ſtill in greateſt account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekiſh churches, the pauements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of diuers coloured marble of admirable heigth and bigneſſe, which ſtand vpon great round feet of braſſe, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heigth, ſome ten yards diſtant from the wall: from which vnto theſe pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and vpon the outſide of the gallery ſtand *66* marble pillars which beare vp the round roofe being the top of the church: it hath three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewiſe vpon one ſide in the top is the picture of Chriſt with the 12 Apoſtles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Chriſtians: to the Weſt ſticketh an arrow in the toppe of the church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet ſhot when he firſt tooke the city. Neere adioyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried moſt of the emperours with their children & ſultanas. The *16* of July, accompanied with ſome other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke ſea, being *16* miles diſtant frõ Conſtantinople, the ſea al the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both ſides of the ſhore are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Boſphorus lieth a rocke ſome foureſcore yards from the maine land, whereupon ſtandeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the ſhadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: ouer againſt it is a turret of ſtone vpon the maine land 120 ſteps high, hauing a great glaſſe-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diameter and three in heigth, with a great copper pan in the midſt to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it ſerueth to giue paſſage into this ſtraight in the night to ſuch ſhips as come from all parts of thoſe ſeas to Conſtantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to yͤ end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus hauing ſpent eleuen moneths in Conſtantinople, accompanied with a chauſe, & carying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Baſſa of Aleppo for the kinde vſage of our nation in thoſe parts, the 30 of July I tooke paſſage in a Turkiſh carmoſale or ſhippe bound for Sidon; and paſſing thorow Propõtis, hauing Salimbria with Heraclia moſt pleaſantly ſituated on the right hand, and Proconeſus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and ſo by Helleſpont, betweene the two caſtles before named called Seſtos and Abydos, famous for the paſſages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Aſia, and ſo by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Ianitzary, at the mouth of Helleſpont vpon Aſia ſide, where Troy ſtood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be ſeene, with two hils riſing in a piramidall forme, not vnlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Aiax. From thence we ſailed along, hauing Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Troian field on the left: at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueſes, but now vnder the Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleaſant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum maſticke. From thence ſailing alongſt the gulfe of Epheſus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. Iohn wrote the Reuelation. The Iland is but ſmall, not aboue ſixe miles in compaſſe: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corne: it hath a port for ſhipping, wherein is an ancient abbey of Greekiſh Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: & paſſing many other Ilands and rocks, we arriued at Rhodes, one of the ſtrongeſt and faireſt cities of the Eaſt: here we ſtayed three or foure dayes: and by reaſon of a By which went in the ſhip to Paphos in Cyprus, who vſed me with all kindneſſe, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is ſtill with all the houſes and walles thereof maintained in the ſame order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Ouer the doores of many of the houſes, which be ſtrongly built of ſtone, do re-

Santa Sophia.

Pompeys pillar.

Gallipoly.

Troy.

Zia.

Patmos.

Cos.

Rhodes.

maine vndefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Chriſtian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the taking of all Chriſtendome, whoſe armes there they beholde. From thence we ſailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne ſtanding vpon the Weſterne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts conuerted the gouernor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turks called Saytoſa, within tenne or twelue miles of the place where Tirus ſtood, which now being eaten in by the ſea, is, as Ezekiel prophecied, a place for the ſpreading out of a net. Sidon is ſituated in a ſmall bay at the foot of mount Libanus, vpon the ſide of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a caſtle nigh to the ſea, and one toward the land which is ruinated, but the walle thereof ſtandeth. Some halfe mile vp toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the caſtle: and in a ſmall barke we ſailed from hence along the ſhore to Tripoli, & ſo to Alexandretta, where the 24 of Auguſt we arriued. From thence with a Venetian carauan we went by land to Aleppo, paſſing by Antioch, which is ſeated vpon the ſide of an hill, whoſe walles ſtill ſtand with 360 turrets vpon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thorow which runneth the riuer Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I ſtayed vntill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Aſia with the people of Europe, hauing continuall traffike and interchangeable courſe of marchandiſe one with another: the ſtate and trade of which place, becauſe it is ſo well knowen to moſt of our nation, I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my ſelfe at Alexandretta in a great ſhip of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ſhip ſtaying many dayes to lade cotton wooll and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the maſter of the ſhip a Greeke, and others, we tooke occaſion to ſee Nicoſia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was ſome twenty miles frõ this place, which is ſituated at the foot of an hill: to the Eaſt is a great plaine, extending it ſelfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no ſuch ſtrength as Famaguſta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea ſide) whoſe walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many ſumptuous and goodly buildings of ſtone, but vninhabited; the cauſe whereof doth giue me iuſt occaſion to ſhew you of a rare iudgement of God vpon the owners ſometime of theſe houſes, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in ſubiection to the Turks, while it was vnder the Venetians, there were many barons and noblemen of the Cipriots, who partly by vſurping more ſuperiority ouer the common people then they ought, and partly through their great reuenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew ſo inſolent and proud, and withall ſo impiouſly wicked, as that they would at their pleaſure command both the wiues and children of their poore tenants to ſerue their vncleane luſts, & holding them in ſuch ſlauery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them againſt a grayhound or ſpaniell, and he who woon the wager ſhould euer after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he liſted, being Chriſtians aſwell as themſelues, if they may deſerue ſo good a name. As they behaued themſelues moſt vnchriſtianly toward their brethren, ſo and much more vngodly (which I ſhould haue put in the firſt place) did they towards God; for as though they were too great, ſtanding on foot or kneeling to ſerue God, they would come riding on horſebacke into the church to heare their maſſe: which church now is made a publike baſiſtane or market place for the Turkes to ſell commodities in: but beholde the iudgement of the righteous God, who payeth the ſinner meaſure for meaſure. The Turkes the yeere before the ouerthrowe giuen them at Lepanto by Don Iohn tooke Cyprus. Theſe mighty Nimrods fled ſome into holes & ſome into mountaines to hide themſelues; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themſelues, they would reſtore them to their former reuenues and dignities: who not miſtruſting the miſchieuous pretenſe of the Turkes, aſſembled together to make themſelues knowen; whom after the Turkes had in poſſeſſion, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wiues and children all to the ſword, pretending thereby to cut off all future rebellion, ſo that at this day is not one of the noble race knowen aliue in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres eſcaped. After we had ſtayed in this Iland ſome thirty dayes, we ſet ſaile in the foreſayd ſhippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, hauing in her paſſingers of diuers nations, as Tartars, Perſians, Iewes, and ſundry Chriſtians. Amongſt all which I had often conference with a Iew, who by reaſon of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Iudea neere Ieruſalem, where they ſtudy the Rabbines with ſome other arts as they thinke good, as alſo for his trauels into Perſia and Ormus, he ſeemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related vnto me ſuch conference as he had

Sidon.

Ezek. 26. 5.

Antioch.

Aleppo.

Nicoſia.

A great iudgement of God vpon the noble men of Cyprus.

with

Indians ſkilfull in Aſtronomy.

with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had ſkill in Aſtronomie, as many of that nation haue, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipſes both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by iudgement in Aſtrologie gaue anſwere to any queſtion demanded. Being aſked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God: he made anſwere, that they held no other god but the ſun, (to which planet they pray both at the riſing and ſetting) as I haue ſeene ſundry doe in Aleppo: his reaſon was drawen from the effects which it worketh in giuing light to the moone & other ſtarres, and cauſing all things to grow and encreaſe vpon the earth: anſwere was made, that it did mooue with the reſt, as the wheeles of a clocke, and therefore of force muſt haue a moouer. Likewiſe in the Eclipſe being darkened it is manifeſtly prooued that it is not god, for God is altogether goodneſſe and brigheneſſe, which can neither be darkened nor receiue detriment or hurt: but the Sun receiueth both in the Eclipſe, as it is apparant: to which hee could not anſwere; but ſo they had receiued from their anceſtors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewiſe ſayd, that there were other Gentiles in yͤ Indies which worſhip the moone as chiefe, and their reaſon is. The moone when ſhe riſeth goeth with thouſands of ſtarres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not ſo great. Againſt whom the Banianes reaſon, that it is not true, becauſe the Moone and ſtarres receiue their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchſafe them his company but when he liſt, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but onely ſeuen preceſts which they ſay were giuen them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. Firſt, to honor father and mother; ſecondly, not to ſteale; thirdly, not to commit adultery; fourthly, not to kill any thing liuing; fiftly, not to eate any thing liuing; ſixtly, not to cut their haire; ſeuenthly, to go barefoot in their churches. Theſe they hold moſt ſtrictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that breaketh one is puniſhed with twenty ſtripes: but for the greateſt fault they will kill none, neither by a ſhort death nor a long, onely he is kept ſome time in priſon with very little meat, and hath at the moſt not aboue twenty or fiue & twenty ſtripes. In the yere they haue 16 feaſts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we vſe to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not hauing any thing els in it. At their feaſt they ſpot their faces in diuers parts with ſaffron all yellow, and ſo walke vp and downe the ſtreets; and this they doe as a cuſtome. They hold, there ſhalbe a reſurrection, and all ſhall come to iudgement, but the account ſhalbe moſt ſtreight, inſomuch that but one of 10000 ſhalbe receiued to fauor, and thoſe ſhall liue againe in this world in great happineſſe: the reſt ſhalbe tormented. And becauſe they will eſcape this iudgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together euen to aſhes, and then they are throwen into a riuer, and ſo diſperſed as though they had neuer bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead huſband, ſhee is holden euer after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to eſcape the iudgement to come. As for the ſoule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body ſhould not be made againe, they reaſon vd the phyloſophers, ſaying, that of nothing nothing can be made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the courſe of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the ſeed of a man is made another, and by corne caſt into the ground there commeth vp new corne: ſo, ſay they, man cannot be made except ſome part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they ſay there is a ſmall bone in the necke which would neuer be conſumed: or if he were eaten by a beaſt, that bone would not conſume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the ſoule being reſtored againe, he ſhould come into iudgement, whereas now, the body being deſtroyed, the ſoule ſhall not be iudged: for their opinion is, that both body and ſoule muſt be vnited together, as they haue ſinned together, to receiue iudgement; and therfore the ſoule alone cannot. Their ſeuen precepts which they keepe ſo ſtrictly are not for any hope of reward they haue after this life, but onely that they may be bleſſed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them ſhall haue ill ſucceſſe in all his buſineſſe.

The ſeuen precepts of Banianes.

They ſay, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Chriſtians, Iewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the trueſt of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all theſe three ſhall be iudged, and but few of them which be of the true ſhall be ſaued, the examination ſhall be ſo ſtraight: and therefore, as I haue ſayd before, to preuent this iudgement, they burne their bodies to aſhes. They ſay, theſe three religions haue too many precepts to keepe them all wel, & therfore wonderful hard it wil be to make account, becauſe ſo few doe obſerue all their religion aright. And thus paſſing the time for the ſpace of three moneths in

this ſea voyage, we arriued at Venice the tenth of Iune: and after I had ſeene Padua, with other Engliſh men, I came the ordinary way ouer the Alpes, by Auguſta, Noremberg, and ſo for England; where to the praiſe of God I ſafely arriued the ninth of Auguſt 1595.

A letter written by the moſt high and mighty Empreſſe the wife of the Grand Signior *Sultan Murad Can* to the Queenes Maieſty of *England*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1594.

IL principio del ragionamento noſtro ſia ſcrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non haueuano anima ni perſona, & di quello che fa girar gli noue cieli, & che la terra ſette volte vna ſopra l'altra fa firmar; Signor & Re ſenza vicere, & che non ha comparacion alla ſua creatione ne opera, & vno ſenza precio, adorato incomparabilmente, l'altiſſimo Dio creatore; che non ha ſimilitudine, ſi come e deſcrito dalli propheti: a la cui grandeſſa non ſi arriua, & alla perfettione ſua compiuta non ſi oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandeſſa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiſo, ragi dal ſole, amato del altiſſimo Dio è Mahomet Muſtaffa, al qual & ſuoi adherenti & imitatori ſia perpetua pace: alla cui ſepultura odorifera ſi fa ogni honore. Quello che è imperator de ſette climati, & delle quatro parti del mondo, inuincibile Re di Gracia, Agiamia, Vngeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Roſſia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abeſſis, Giouaſir, Siruan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrado, &c. ſempre feliciſſimo, & de dodeci Auoli poſſeſſor della corona, & della ſtirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo del' Imperatore, conſeruato de la diuina prouidenza, Re di ogni dignita & honore, Sultan Murat; che Il Signor Dio ſempre augmenti le ſue forze, & padre di quello a cui aſpetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypreſſo mirabile, degno della ſedia regale, & vero herede del cōmando imperiale, digniſſimo Mehemet Can, filiol de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compiſca li ſuoi diſſegni, & alonga li ſuoi giorni feliſi: Dalla parte della madre del qual ſi ſcriue la preſente alla ſereniſſima & glorioſiſſima fra le prudentiſſime Donne, & eletta fra li triomfanti ſotto il ſtandardo di Ieſu Chriſto, potentiſſima & ricchiſſima regitrice, & al mondo ſingulariſſima fra il feminil ſeſſo, la ſereniſſima Regina d'Ingilterra, che ſegue le veſtigie de Maria virgine, il fine della quale ſia con bene & perfettione, ſecondo il ſuo deſiderio. Le mando vna ſalutacion di pace, coſi honorata, che non baſta tutta la copia di roſignoli con le loro muſiche ariuare, non che con queſta carta: l'amore ſingulare che e conciputo fra noi, e ſimile a vn horto di Vccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di ſaluacione, & il fine ſuo ſia tale, che in queſto mondo & nel' futuro ſia con pace. Doppo comparſi li ſuoi honorati preſenti da la ſedia de la Serenita voſtra, ſapera che ſono capitati in vna hora che ogni punto e ſtato vna conſolation di longo tempo, per occaſione del Ambaſſadore di voſtra ſerenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, cintanto noſtro contento, quanto ſi poſſo deſiderare, & con quello vna lettera di voſtra ſerenetà, che ci e ſtata preſentata dalli noſtri Eunuchi con gran honore; la carta de la quale odoraua di camfora & ambracano, & l'inchioſtro di muſco perfetto, & quella peruenuta in noſtro mano tutta la continenza di eſſa a parte a parte ho aſcoltato intentamente. Quello che hora ſi conuiene e, che correſpondente alla noſtra affecione, in tutto quello che ſi aſpetta alle coſe attenente alli paeſi che ſono ſotto il commando di voſtra ſerenità, lei non manchi di ſempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io poſſi compiacerla; de quello che fra le noſtre ſerenità e conueniente, accioche quelle coſe che ſi interprenderano, habino il deſiderato buon fine; perche Io ſaro ſempre ricordeuole al altiſſimo Imperatore delle occorenze di voſtra ſerenita, perche ſia in ogni occaſione compiacinta. La pace ſia con voſtra ſerenita, & con quelli che ſeguitano diretamente la via di Dio. Scritta all primi dell luna di Rabie Liuol, anno del profeta 1002, & di Ieſu 1594.

The ſame in Engliſh.

LEt the beginning of our diſcourſe be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created ſuch infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither ſoule nor body, and of him which mooueth the nine heauens, and ſtabliſheth the earth ſeuen times one aboue another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no compariſon to his creation and worke, and is one ineſtimable, worſhipped without all compariſon, the moſt high God, the creator, which hath nothing like vnto him, according as he is deſcribed by the Prophets, to whoſe power no man can attaine, and whoſe abſolute perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, to whoſe Maieſty all the Prophets ſub-

mit themſelues, among whom the greateſt, and which hath obtained greateſt fauour, the garden of Paradiſe, the beame of the Sunne, the beloued of the moſt high God is Mahomet Muſtaffa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whoſe fragrant ſepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the ſeuen climats and of the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Roſſia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abeſſis, Giouaſir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes moſt happy, and poſſeſſour of the crowne from twelue of his anceſtours; and of the ſeed of Adam, at this preſent emperour, the ſonne of an emperour, preſerued by the diuine prouidence, a king worthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whoſe forces the Lord God alwayes increaſe, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to deſcend, the paradiſe and woonderfull tall cypreſſe, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, moſt worthy Mehemet Can, the ſonne of Sultan Murad Can, whoſe enterpriſes God vouchſafe to accompliſh, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whoſe mother this preſent letter is written to the moſt gracious and moſt glorious, the wiſeſt among women, and choſen among thoſe which triumph vnder the ſtandard of Ieſus Chriſt, the moſt mighty and moſt rich gouernour, and moſt rare among womankinde in the world, the moſt gracious Queene of England, which follow the ſteps of the virgine Mary, whoſe end be proſperous and perfect, according to your hearts deſire. I ſend your Maieſty ſo honorable and ſweet a ſalutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ye like, much leſſe this ſimple letter of mine. The ſingular loue which we haue conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleaſant birds: and the Lord God vouchſafe to ſaue and keepe you, and ſend your Maieſty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arriuall of your honourable preſents from the Court of your Maieſty, your Highneſſe ſhall vnderſtand that they came in ſuch a ſeaſon that euery minute miniſtred occaſion of long cõſolation by reaſon of the comming of your Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our ſo great contentment as we could poſſibly wiſh, who brought a letter from your Maieſty, which with great honour was preſented vnto vs by our eunuks, the paper whereof did ſmell moſt fragrantly of camfor and ambergriele, and the incke of perfect muſke; the contents whereof we haue heard very attentiuely from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatſoeuer may concerne the countreys which are ſubiect to your Maieſty, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen vnto me, in whatſoeuer occaſion ſhall be miniſtred, to gratifie your Maieſty to my power in any reaſonable and conuenient matter, that all your ſubiects buſineſſes and affaires may haue a wiſhed and happy end. For I will alwayes be a ſollicitour to the moſt mighty Emperour for your Maieſties aſſires, that your Maieſty at all times may be fully ſatiſfied. Peace be to your Maieſty, and to all ſuch as follow rightly the way of God. Written the firſt day of the Moone of Rabie Liuol in the yere of the Prophet, 1002.

This Sultana is mother to Mehemet which now reigneth as Emperor.

Ann. Dom. 1594.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS Second volume containing the principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the South and Southeaſt quarters of the world without the Straights of *Gibraltar*, namely to the Ilands of *Madera*, and of the *Canaries*, to the kingdome of *Barbarie*, to the Iles of *Capo Verde*, to the riuer of *Senega*, to the coaſt of *Ghinea* and *Benin*, about the cape of *Buona Eſperanſa*, and ſo to *Goa* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and likewiſe beyond cape *Comori* to the Iles of *Nicubar*, to *Sumatra*, to the chanell of *Sincapura* ouer againſt the city of *Malacca*, and to diuers other places.

The voyage of *Macham* an Engliſh man, wherein he firſt of any man diſcouered the Iland of *Madera*, recorded *verbatim* in the Portugall hiſtory, written by *Antonio Galuano*.

IN the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, ſtanding in 32 degrees, was diſcouered by an Engliſh man, which was named Macham, who ſailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had ſtollen, arriued by tempeſt in that Iland, and did caſt anker in that hauen or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And becauſe his louer was ſea-ſicke, he went on land with ſome of his company, and the ſhippe with a good winde made ſaile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Ieſus, and cauſed his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the ſtone of her tombe, and the occaſion of their arriuall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compaſſe about) and went to ſea in it, with thoſe men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coaſt of Afrike, without ſaile or oare. And the Moores which ſaw it tooke it to be a maruellous thing, and preſented him vnto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king alſo ſent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the king of Caſtile.

Madera firſt diſcouered by one Macham an Engliſhman.

Macham made there a chapel, naming it Ieſus chapell.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Caſtile, the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and alſo the ſhip of his company, mooued many of France and Caſtile to go and diſcouer it, and alſo the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King Iohn the ſecond reigning in Caſtile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monſieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conqueſt of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinſman of his named Monſieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Queene had giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuil with a good army. And they affirme alſo, that the principall cauſe which moued him to this, was to diſcouer the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galuano.

This note following, concerning the ayde and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Marchants, giuen to King *Iohn* the firſt of *Portugall*, for the winning of *Ceuta* in *Barbarie*, which was the firſt occaſion of all the Portugall diſcoueries, is taken out of *Thomas Walſingham* his Latine Chronicle. *Anno 1415.*

HOc anno Ioannes primus Rex Portugalliæ fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris deſtinatis: cepitque ciuitatem eorum quàm ampliſſimam ſupra mare ſitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This yere Iohn the firſt king of Portugall, being principally aſſiſted by the helpe of the Engliſh Marchants, and Almaines, ouercame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thouſands of them to the ſword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, ſeated vpon the ſea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem *Angliæ Eduardum* quartum, & *Ioannem* ſecundum Regem *Portugalliæ*, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8 Februarij, & apud *Weſtmonaſterium* 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis *Eduardi* quarti, lingua Luſitanica ex opere ſequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de *Garcia* de *Reſende*, que tracta da vida è feitos del *Rey dom* Ioham *ſecundo.*

Embaixada que el Rey mandou à el Rey d' *Inglaterra*, cap. 33.

EDa qui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Souſa peſſoa principal è de muyto bon ſaber è credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua, è ho doutor Ioam d' Eluas, è Fernam de Pina por ſecretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condiſan dellus ho nouo Rey de hum reyno è do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: è zambien pera moſtrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no ſenhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de viſto el rey d' Inglaterra defendeſſe em todos ſeus reynos, que ninguen armaſſe nem podeſſe mandar à Guinee: è aſſi mandaſſe desfazer huna armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam è hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingreſes. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d' Inglaterra moſtrou receber grande contentamento, è foy delle com muyta honra recebida, è em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeran ‖ autenticas eſcrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: è aſſi as promiſones das aprouaſones que eran neceſſarias: è com tudo muyto ben acabado, è ha vontade del rey ſe vieram.

‖ These writings are in the Tower.

The Ambaſſage which king *Iohn* the ſecond, king of *Portugall*, ſent to *Edward* the fourth king of *England*, which in part was to ſtay one *Iohn Tintam*, and one *William Fabian* Engliſh men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for *Guinea*, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of *Gracias* de *Reſende*, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don *Iohn* the ſecond, king of *Portugall*. Chap. 33.

AND afterwards the king ſent as Ambaſſadours from the towne of Monte maior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Souſa, a principall perſon, and a man of great wiſedome and eſtimation, and in whom the king repoſed great truſt, with doctor Iohn d'Eluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as ſecretarie. And they made their voyage by ſea very honourably, being very well accompanied. Theſe men were ſent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, ſhould be bound to ſend to confirme the olde leagues. And likewiſe they had order to ſhew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the ſegneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had ſeene the ſame, he ſhould giue charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man ſhould arme or ſet foorth ships to Ginnee: and alſo to requeſt him, that it would pleaſe him to giue commandement to diſſolue a certaine fleet, which one Iohn Tintam and one William Fabian, Engliſh men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforeſayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambaſſage the king of England ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condeſcended vnto all that the ambaſſadours required of him, at whoſe hands they receiued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and alſo prouiſoes of thoſe confirmations which were neceſſary. And hauing diſpatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

The firſt cauſe of this ambaſſage.

The ſecond cauſe.

The third cauſe.

A

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the Engliſh Marchants to the *Canarie-ilands*, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. *Nicolas Thorne* the elder a worſhipfull marchant of the city of *Briſtoll.*

IT appeareth euidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the cuſtody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Briſtoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall and his owne ſeruant William Ballard at that time reſident at S. Lucar in Andeluzia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumſtances and probabilities long before) certaine Engliſh marchants, and among the reſt himſelfe with one Thomas Spacheford exerciſed vſuall and ordinary trade of marchandiſe vnto the Canarie Ilands. For by the ſayd letter notice was giuen to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforeſayd, that a certaine ſhip called The Chriſtopher of Cadiz bound for the Weſt Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both courſe and fine, broad and narrow of diuers ſorts and colours, ſome arouas of packthreed, ſixe cerons or bagges of ſope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be deliuered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the ſeuen Canary-ilands. All which commodities the ſayd Thomas and William were authoriſed by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter & ſell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of ſuch mony as ſhould ariſe of the ſale of thoſe goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good ſtore of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of moſſe growing vpon high rocks, in thoſe dayes much vſed to die withall) ſome quantity of ſugar, and certaine hundreds of kid-ſkinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the beſt and firſt hand the ſayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the aboueſayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

The Engliſh had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

And here alſo I thought good to ſignifie, that in the ſayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tiſon an Engliſh man, who before the foreſayd yere 1526 had found the way to the Weſt Indies, and was there reſident, vnto whom the ſayd M. Nicolas Thorne ſent certaine armour and other commodities ſpecified in the letter aforeſayd.

A deſcription of the fortunate Ilands, otherwiſe called the Ilands of *Canaria*, with their ſtrange fruits and commodities: compoſed by *Thomas Nicols* Engliſh man, who remained there the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres together.

MIne intent is particularly to ſpeake of the Canaria Ilands, which are ſeuen in number, wherein I dwelt the ſpace of ſeuen yeres and more, becauſe I finde ſuch variety in ſundry writers, and eſpecially great vntruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, ſet out by a French man called Andrew Theuet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great ſeale of France.

It appeareth by the ſayd books that he had read the works of ſundry Phyloſophers, Aſtronomers, and Coſmographers, whoſe opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne trauell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the iudgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of theſe Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of *Canaria.*

THe Iland of Canaria is almoſt equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the reſidue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they diſcouered the ſame in their nauigation toward America, but the Portugals ſay, that their nation firſt found the ſayd Ilands in their nauigation toward Aethiopia and the Eaſt Indies.

But truth it is that the Spanyards firſt conquered theſe Ilands, with diuers Engliſh gentlemen in their company, whoſe poſterity this preſent day inioyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Theuet ſayth, that one Iuba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I neuer learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I haue talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but ſuch as are in all the Northweſt lands, and ſome part of the Weſt India, which ſerued the people in ſtead of ſheepe for victuall. But of ſome of the conquerors of thoſe Ilands I haue heard ſay that the reaſon why they were called the Canaria Ilands is, becauſe there grow generally in them all fouresquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will caſt out a liquour as white

English men at the firſt conqueſt of the Canaries.

as milke, which liquor is ranke poiſon, and at the firſt entry into theſe Ilands ſome of the diſcouerers were therewith poiſoned: for many yeeres after that conqueſt the inhabitants began to plant both wine and ſugar, ſo that Canaria was not ſo called by ſugar canes.

The people which firſt inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat ſkinnes made like vnto a looſe caſſocke, they dwelt in caues in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly loue. They ſpake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they vſe at this day, and thereof I haue eaten diuers times, for it is accounted exceeding holeſome.

Touching the originall of theſe people ſome holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aſwell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blaſphemy againſt the Romane gods. But howſoeuer it were, their language was ſpeciall, and not mixed with Romane ſpeech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principalleſt of all the reſt, not in fertility, but by reaſon it is the ſeat of iuſtice and gouernment of all the reſidue. This Iland hath a ſpeciall Gouernour for the Iland onely, yet notwithſtanding there are three Iudges called Auditours, who are ſuperiour Iudges, and all in one ioyntly proceed as the Lord Chanceller of any realme.

Ciuitas Palmarum.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all ſuch by appeale, as haue ſuſtained any wrong, and theſe good Iudges do remedy the ſame. The city is called Ciuitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are ſundry Aldermen of great authority, who haue a councell houſe by themſelues. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Veluet ſlippers, becauſe the ground is ſandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as ſnow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the ſecond Galder, and the third Guia. It hath alſo twelue ſugar houſes called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good ſugar.

The planting and growth of ſugar canes.

The maner of the growth of ſugar is in this ſort, a good ground giueth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to ſay, the firſt is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, ſo that the water of a ſluce may come ouer euery roote being couered with earth: this root bringeth foorth ſundry canes, and ſo conſequently all the reſt. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not ſixe moneths, as Andrew Theuet the French man writeth.

The making of ſugar.

Then are they cut euen with the ground, and the tops & leaues called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and ſo are caried to the ſugar houſe called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the iuyce thereof conueyed by a conduct to a great veſſell made for the purpoſe, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the molde of a ſugar loafe, and then is it carried to another houſe, called a purging houſe where it is placed to purge the blackneſſe with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a ſecond ſort called Eſcumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white ſugar is made a third ſort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuſe of all the purging is called Remiel or Malaſſes: and thereof is made another ſort called Refinado.

When this firſt fruit is in this ſort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned ouer with ſugar ſtraw to the ſtumps of the firſt canes, and being huſbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the ſecond fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and ſo orderly the reſt, til age cauſeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

Wine.

Plantano.

This Iland hath ſingular good wine, eſpecially in the towne of Telde, and ſundry ſorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of diuers ſorts, and many other fruits; but eſpecially the Plantano which groweth neere brooke ſides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly vpward with the body, hauing maruelous thicke leaues, and euery leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almoſt halfe a yard broad. The tree neuer yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whoſe place ſpringeth another, and ſo ſtill continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and euery tree yeeldeth two or three of thoſe branches, which beare ſome more and ſome leſſe, as ſome forty and ſome thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conſerue.

This Iland is ſufficiently prouided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that moſt wanteth: and becauſe I haue particularly to intreat of the other ſixe Ilands, I leaue further inlarging of Canaria, which ſtandeth in 27 degrees diſtant from the Equator.

The Ile of *Tenerif.*

The Iland of Tenerif ſtandeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is diſtant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland conteineth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of ſowen land in ſome part of England, and in the midſt of the ſayd place ſtandeth a round hill called Pico Dereithe, ſituated in this ſort. The top of this pike conteineth of heigth directly vpward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 Engliſh miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimſtone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compaſſe: the ſayd top is in forme or likeneſſe of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but aſhes & pumiſh ſtones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region couered all the yere with ſnow, and ſomwhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heauy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thouſand yeeres therein. Alſo there is a wood called Barbuſano, of like vertue, with many Sauine trees and Pine trees. And beneath theſe ſorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleaſant thing to trauell thorow, among the which are great numbers of ſmall birds, which ſing exceeding ſweet, but eſpecially one ſort that are very litle, and of colour in all reſpects like a Swallow, ſauing that he hath a litle blacke ſpot on his breaſt as broad as a peny. He ſingeth more ſweetly then all the reſt, but if he be taken and impriſoned in a cage, he liueth but a ſmall while. This Iland bringeth foorth all ſorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and alſo all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth ſhrubs or buſhes, out of the which iſſueth a iuice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the buſh is called Taybayba. This Iland alſo bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by inciſion at the foot of the tree iſſueth out a liquor like blood, which is a commō drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly eſteemed, becauſe if any ſword or dagger hit thereon, they ſticke ſo faſt that it is hard plucking them out.

Lime.

This is the moſt fruitfull Iland of all the reſt for corne, and in that reſpect is a mother or nurſe to all the others in time of need. There groweth alſo a certaine moſſe vpon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 ſugar houſes called Ingenios, which make great quantity of ſugar. There is alſo one league of ground which ſtandeth betweene two townes, the one called Larotaua, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reaſon is, that this one league of ground produceth ſweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all ſortes, fruites of all ſortes, and excellent good ſilke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great ſtore of ſugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the Weſt India, and other countreys. The beſt groweth on a hill ſide called the Ramble.

Orchel good for dying.

There is in that Iland a faire city, ſtanding three leagues from the ſea, nere vnto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire pariſh churches, there dwelleth the gouernour who ruleth all that Iland with iuſtice. There are alſo aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the moſt of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and huſband men,

There are other foure townes called Santa Cruz, Larotaua, Rialeio, and Garachico.

Santa Cruz.

In this Iland before the conqueſt dwelt ſeuen kings, who with all their people dwelt in caues, and were clothed in goat ſkinnes, as the Canaria people were, and vſed ſuch like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great caue, where he was propped vp againſt the wall ſtanding on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a ſtaffe in his hand, and a veſſell of milke ſtanding by him. I haue ſeene caues of 300 of theſe corpſes together, the fleſh being dried vp, the body remained as light as parchment. Theſe people were called Guanches, naturally they ſpake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and ſo conſequently euery Iland ſpake a ſeuerall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, vnto whom they pay fifty thouſand duckats yeerely for cuſtome and other profits. All theſe Ilands ioyntly are one biſhopricke, which pay to the biſhop twelue thouſand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which ſtandeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I haue before declared.

Gomera.

The Iland of Gomera ſtandeth Weſtward from Tenerif, in diſtance ſixe leagues: this is but a ſmall Iland conteining eight leagues in length. It is an Earledome, & the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in caſe of any controuerſie the vaſſals may appeale to the kings ſuperior Iudges which reſide in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ſhips, where often times the Indian fleet take refreſhing for their voyage.

There is alſo ſufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themſelues.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-houſe, with great plenty of wine and other ſorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it ſtandeth in 27 degrees diſtant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of *Palma*.

The Ile of Palma ſtandeth twelue leagues diſtant from the Ile of Gomera Northweſtward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and ſugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the Weſt India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a gouernour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute iuſtice. It hath alſo another pretty towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath alſo foure Ingenios which make excellent ſugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Taſſacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof prouided from Tenerif and other places.

Their beſt wines grow in a ſoile called the Brenia, where yerely is gathered twelue thouſand buts of wine like vnto Malmſies. This Iland ſtandeth round, and containeth in circuit neere fiue and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all ſorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif haue, it ſtandeth in twenty ſeuen degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called *Hierro*.

This Iland ſtandeth ten leagues diſtant from the Iland of Palma Weſtward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth ſixe leagues in circuit, and hath but ſmall extenſion. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefeſt commodity of this Iland is goats fleſh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an Engliſh man of Taunton in the Weſt countrey planted among rocks, his name was Iohn Hill.

The only vineyard in Hierro planted by Ioh. Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of freſh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaues like an Oliue tree, which hath a great ciſterne at the foot of the ſayd tree. This tree continually is couered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaues of the ſayd tree continually drop water, very ſweet, into the ſayd ciſterne, which commeth to the ſayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water ſufficeth the Iland for all neceſſities, aſwell for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It ſtandeth in 27 degrees.

The Iland of *Lanzarota*.

The Iland of Lanzarota ſtandeth eighteene leagues diſtant from grand Canaria Southeaſtward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats fleſh and orchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Auguſtine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortauentura and Lanzarota. But the vaſſals of theſe earledomes may in any cauſe of wrong appeale to the Kings Iudges, which reſide in Canaria, as I haue ſayd before: becauſe although the king hath reſerued to himſelfe but onely the three fruitfull Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he alſo reſerued the rod of iuſtice to himſelfe, becauſe otherwiſe the vaſſals might be euill intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly reſort to Canaria, Tenerif, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats fleſh, called Tuſsinetta, which ſerueth in ſtead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland ſtandeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelue leagues.

The Ile of *Forteuentura*.

The Ile of Forteuentura ſtandeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues diſtant from Canaria Eaſtward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reaſonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and alſo of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fifteene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North ſide it hath a little Iland about one league diſtant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is nauigable for any ſhips, and is called Gracioſa.

Both Forteuentura and Lanzarota haue very little wine of the growth of thoſe Ilands. It ſtandeth in 27 degrees.

Thus much haue I written of theſe ſeuen Ilands by experience, becauſe I was a dweller there, as I haue ſayd before, the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres in the affaires of maſter Thomas Locke, maſter Anthonie Hickman, and maſter Edward Caſtelin, who in thoſe dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A deſcription of the Iland of *Madera*.

THe Iland of Madera ſtandeth in 32 degrees diſtant from the equinoctiall line, and ſeuentie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif Northeaſtward and Southweſt from Hercules pillars. This Iland was firſt diſcouered by one Macham an Engliſhman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was firſt called the Iland of Madera, by reaſon of the great wilderneſſe of ſundry ſortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and diuers others, and therefore the ſayd Iland continueth ſtill with the ſame name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the ſayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet diſcouered, which is the true Iland Madera called ſaint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great ſumme of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for ſhippes, and a ſtrong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a biſhop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is alſo iuſtice and gouernment according to the Portugall vſe. But cauſes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings ſuperior iudges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewiſe a good road for ſhips, which towne and road were ſo called after the name of Macham the Engliſhman, who firſt diſcouered the ſame. There are alſo ſixteene ſugar houſes called Ingenios, which make excellent good ſugar.

There is beſides the goodly timber before declared, great ſtore of diuers ſortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of diuers ſortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, ſuch as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of ſingular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North ſide of this land three leagues diſtant from the maine Iland ſtandeth another litle Iland called Porto ſanto: the people thereof liueth by huſbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof prouided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the Eaſt ſide of the Ile of Madera ſixe leagues diſtant ſtandeth another litle Iland called the Deſert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nouriſheth a great number of Goates, for the prouiſion of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heigth where the foreſayd trees growe. It is woonder to ſee the conueyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera ſtandeth a litle ſolitarie Iland called the Saluages, which may bee about one league in compaſſe, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

The orginall of the firſt voyage for traffique into the kingdom of *Marocco* in *Barbarie*, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ſhip called the *Lion* of *London*, whereof went as captaine Maſter *Thomas Windam*, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of *Iames Aldaie*, to the worſhipfull maſter *Michael Locke*, which *Aldaie* profeſſeth himſelfe to haue bene the firſt inuenter of this trade.

WOrſhipfull Sir, hauing lately bene acquainted with your intent to proſecute the olde intermitted diſcouerie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, trauell or induſtrie I may doe you ſeruice, I am readie to doe it, and therein to aduenture my life to the vttermoſt point. Trueth it is, that I haue bene by ſome men (not my friends) euill ſpoken of at London, ſaying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation and Coſmographie, and that I haue bene the inuenter of ſome voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet ſay they maliciouſly and without iuſt cauſe, that I haue not bene willing at any ſeaſon to proceed in thoſe voyages that I haue taken in hand, taking example eſpecially of two voyages. The one was when I was maſter in the great Barke Aucher for the Leuant, in which voyage I went not, but the cauſes they did not know of my let from the ſame, nor of the other. But firſt the very trueth is, that I was from the ſame voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Maſter Sebaſtian Gabota had obtained for that purpoſe, to my great griefe. And as touching the ſecond voyage which I inuented for the trade of Barbarie, the liuing God knoweth that I ſay moſt true, that when the great ſweate was, (whereon the chiefe of thoſe with whom I ioyned in that voyage died, that is to ſay, Sir Iohn Lutterell, Iohn Fletcher, Henry Oſtrich and others) I my ſelfe was alſo taken with the ſame ſweate in London, and after it, whether with euill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was caſt into ſuch an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the ſhippe being at Porteſmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to ſtand vpon my legges, by whom I loſt at that inſtant fourеſcore pound. Beſides I was appointed by them that died (if they had liued) to haue had the whole gouernment both of ſhippe and goods, becauſe I was to them the ſole inuenter of that trade.

In the firſt voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings bloud, conuayed by the ſaid Maſter Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,
Iames Alday.

The ſecond voyage to *Barbary* in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worſhipfull Sir *Iohn Yorke*, Sir *William Gerard*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Maſter *Frances Lambert*, Maſter *Cole*, and others; Written by the relation of Maſter *Iames Thomas* then Page to Maſter *Thomas Windham* chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

The ſhippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the Riuer of Thames, That is to ſay, the Lyon of London, whereof Maſter Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourеſcore tunnes, and a Portugall Carauel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of ſumme ſixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Maſter of the Lyon was one Iohn Kerry of Mynhed in Somerſetſhire, his Mate was Dauid Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this ſmall Fleete was Maſter Thomas Windham a Norffolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marſhfield-parke in Somerſet ſhire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Briſtoll about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next enſuing in the euening came to an ancker at their firſt port in the roade of Zafia, or Aſafi on the coaſt of Barbarie, ſtanding in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandiſe to be conueied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and hauing refreſhed our ſelues with victuals and water, we went to the ſecond port called Santa Cruz, where we diſcharged the reſt of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Iet, and diuers other things well accepted of the Moores. In which road we found a French ſhip, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drew her ſelfe as neere vnder the towne wals as ſhe could poſſible, crauing aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed ſeeing vs draw neere, ſhot at vs a piece from the wals, which came ouer the Lion our Admirall, betweene the maine maſte & her foremaſt. Whereupon we comming to an anker, preſently came a pinnes aboord vs to know what we were, who vnderſtanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leaue of their king in marchant wiſe, were fully ſatiſfied, and gaue vs good leaue to bring our goods peaceably on ſhore, where the Viceroy, whoſe name was Sibill Manache, within ſhort time after came to viſite vs, and vſed vs with all curteſie. But by diuers occaſions we ſpent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malaſſos or ſugar Syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company periſhed by ſickneſſe. Our ſhips being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Weſterne wind for England. But being at ſea, a great leake fell vpon the Lion, ſo that we were driuen to Lancerota, and Forteuentura, where, betweene the two Ilands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our ſayd ſhip 70. cheſtes of Sugar vpon Lancerota, with ſome dozen or ſixteene of our company, where the inhabitants ſuppoſing we had made a wrongfull prize of our carauell, ſuddenly came with force vpon our people, among whom I my ſelfe was one, tooke vs priſoners, and ſpoiled the ſugars: which thing being perceiued from our ſhips, they manned out three boates, thinking

Aſafi.

Santa Cruz.

The Engliſh were at Santa Cruz the yeere before being 1551.

to reſcue vs, and draue the Spaniards to flight, whereof they ſlew eighteene, and tooke their gouernour of the Iland priſoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But chaſing the enemie ſo farre, for our recouerie, as pouder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiuing this, returned, and in our mens retire they ſlew ſixe of them. Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the priſoners ſhould be by them reſtored, and they receiue their olde gouernour, giuing vs a teſtimonie vnder his and their hands, what damages wee had there receiued, the which damages were here reſtored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants vpon our returne into England. After wee had ſearched and mended our leake, being returned aboord, we came vnder ſaile, and as wee were going to the ſea on the one ſide of the Iland, the Cacafuego and other ſhips of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and ſhot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee vnderſtood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as alſo in this they gaue out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke vs in thoſe partes, they would vſe vs as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good prouidence wee eſcaped their handes. From this Iland ſhaping our courſe for England, we were ſeuen or eight weekes before we could reach the coaſt of England. The firſt port wee entered into was the hauen of Plimmouth, from whence within ſhort time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandiſe at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of *England* vnto *Guinea* and *Benin* in *Affrike*, at the charges of certaine marchants Aduenturers of of the Citie of *London*, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.

I Was deſired by certaine of my friends to make ſome mention of this Voiage, that ſome memorie thereof might remaine to our poſteritie, if either iniquitie of time conſuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarouſneſſe and contempt of knowledge ſhould hereafter bury in obliuion ſo worthie attempts, ſo much the greatlier to bee eſteemed, as before neuer enterpriſed by Engliſhmen, or at the leaſt ſo frequented, as at this preſent they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the ſame be not hindered by the ambition of ſuch, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortreſſes, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, enuying that other ſhould enioy the commodities, which they themſelues cannot wholy poſſeſſe. And although ſuch as haue bene at charges in the diſcouering and conquering of ſuch landes ought by good reaſon to haue certaine priuileges, preheminences, and tributes for the ſame, yet (to ſpeake vnder correction) it may ſeeme ſomewhat rigorous, and agaynſt good reaſon and conſcience, or rather agaynſt the charitie that ought to be among Chriſtian men, that ſuch as inuade the dominions of other ſhould not permit other friendly to vſe the trade of marchandiſe in places neerer, or ſeldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in ſuch places, where they themſelues haue at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this preſent it is not my intent to accuſe or defend, approoue or improoue, I will ceaſe to ſpeake any further hereof, and proceed to the deſcription of the firſt voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was aduertiſed of the ſame, by the information of ſuch credible perſons, as made diligent inquiſition to know the trueth thereof, as much as ſhall be requiſite, omitting to ſpeake of many particular things, not greatly neceſſarie to be knowen: which neuertheleſſe, with alſo the exact courſe of the nauigation, ſhall be more fully declared in the ſecond voiage. And if herein fauour or friendſhip ſhall perhaps cauſe ſome to thinke that ſome haue bene ſharply touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendſhip, and giue place to trueth, that honeſt men may receiue prayſe for well doing, and lewd perſons reproch, as the iuſt ſtipend of their euill deſertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honeſt attempts.

But that theſe voyages may be more plainly vnderſtood of all men, I haue thought good for this purpoſe, before I intreat hereof, to make a briefe deſcription of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whoſe Weſt ſide beginneth the coaſt of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this ſide the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the meaſuring line, ſo running from the North to the South, and by Eaſt in ſome places, within 5,4, and 3 degrees and a halfe vnto the Equinoctiall, and ſo forth in maner directly Eaſt and by North, for the ſpace of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the Weſt to the Eaſt, as ſhall more plainly appeare in the deſcription of the ſecond voyage.

A briefe deſcription of *Afrike* gathered by *Richard Eden*.

Tunis.
Bugia.
Tripoli.
Numidia.
Ilands of Tunis.
Malta.
The deſerts of Lybia.
Barbarie.

IN Africa the leſſe are theſe kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Conſtantina, which is at this day vnder Tunis, and alſo the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reaſon of the great deſerts, as the deſerts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdome of Tunis are theſe: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Conſtantina and Bona, with diuers other. Vnder this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoſo, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this preſent is the great maſter of the Rhodes. Vnder the South of this kingdom are the great deſerts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the leſſe are of the ſect of Mahomet, and a ruſticall people, liuing ſcattred in villages. The beſt of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coaſt of the ſea Mediterraneum.

Mauritania.
The kingdom of Fes & Marocco.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæſarienſis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Feſſa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Tremiſen.
Oram.
Merſalquiber.
Sala.

Mauritania Cæſarienſis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremiſen, with alſo the citie called Tremiſen or Telenſin. This region is full of deſerts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Merſalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean Sea, from the Weſt to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the ſayd kingdom is called Sala.

Azamor.
The Ilands of Canaria.
Guinea.
Aethiopians.

The kingdom of Marocco is alſo extended aboue the Ocean Sea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are vpon the Ocean Sea, toward the Weſt of the ſayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to ſay, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Ialofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Negro called in old time Niger. In the ſayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plaſtered with chalke, and couered with ſtrawe. In theſe regions are alſo very great deſerts.

Marocco.
Fes.
Tremiſen.
Guinea.

The kingdom of Marocco hath vnder it theſe ſeuen kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temeſne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremiſen hath theſe regions: Tremiſen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometiſts. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profeſſion of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa yͤ great.
Africa the leſſe.
Carthage.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and ſeuered from Aſia, on the Eaſt by the riuer Nilus, on the Weſt from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. Afrike the leſſe is in this wiſe bounded. On the Weſt it hath Numidia: On the Eaſt Cyrenaica: On the North, the ſea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of Carthage.

Preſter Iohn.
Cape de Bona Speranza.
Alcair.

In the Eaſt ſide of Afrike beneath the red ſea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Chriſtian king Preſter Iohn, well knowen to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery ſide: and hath vnder him many other Kings both chriſtian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall ſendeth him yeerely eight ſhips laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other ſide with the ſea of ſand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous ſea lying betweene yͤ great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of Aethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable

habitable deſerts, continuing for the ſpace of fiue dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the ſayd Chriſtian Emperor were not hindered by thoſe deſerts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & eſpecially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is reſident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whoſe inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are alſo many other cities, as the city of Saua vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accuſtomed to remaine in the Sommer ſeaſon. There is likewiſe a great city named Barbaregaf, and Aſcon, from whence it is ſaid that the Queene of Saba came to Hieruſalem to heare the wiſedom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In this prouince are many exceeding high mountains, vpon the which is ſaid to be the earthly paradiſe: and ſome ſay that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can paſſe thither by reaſon of great deſerts of an hundred daies iourney. Alſo beyond theſe mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue ſaid thus much of Afrike it may ſuffice.

Amacaiz.

From whence the Queene of Saba came.

The earthly Paradiſe.

The trees of the Sunne and the Moone.

The firſt voiage to *Guinea* and *Benin*.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of Auguſt, ſailed from Portſmouth two goodly ſhips, the Primeroſe and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furniſhed aſwell with men of the luſtieſt ſort, to the number of ſeuen ſcore, as alſo with ordinance and victuals requiſite to ſuch a voiage: hauing alſo two captaines, the one a ſtranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wiſe, diſcreet, and ſober man, who for his cunning in ſailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politike captaine, was ſometime in great fauour with the king of Portugall, and to whom the coaſts of Braſile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in thoſe parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his maſters houſe. But as fortune in maner neuer fauoureth but flattereth, neuer promiſeth but deceiueth, neuer raiſeth but caſteth downe againe: and as great wealth & fauour haue alwaies companions, emulation and enuie, he was after many aduerſities & quarels made againſt him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euil matched with an vnequal companion, and vnlike match of moſt ſundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed theſe noble ſhips vnder ſaile on their voyage: But firſt captaine Windam putting forth of his ſhip at Portſmouth a kinſman of one of the head marchants, and ſhewing herein a muſter of the tragicall partes hee had conceiued in his braine, and with ſuch ſmall beginnings nouriſhed ſo monſtrous a birth, that more happy, yea and bleſſed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as ſome do wiſh he had done the like by theirs. Thus ſailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the ſtore of their ſhips, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At theſe Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet ſuch as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withſtand or reſiſt our ſhips, for the which cauſe it was ſet foorth, not onely to let and interrupt theſe our ſhippes of their purpoſed voiage, but al other that ſhould attempt the like: yet chiefly to fruſtrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was ſiniſterly informed, that our ſhips were armed to his caſtle of Mina in thoſe parties, whereas nothing leſſe was ment.

Pinteado.

Braſile.
Guinea.

The Ilands of Madera.

The caſtle of Mina.

After that our ſhips departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados ſorow, as a man tormented with the cōpany of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, & made him a faire countenance and ſhew of loue. Then did he take vpō him to command all alone, ſetting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the reſt of the marchants factors, ſometimes with opprobrious words, and ſomtimes with threatnings moſt ſhamfully abuſing them, taking from Pinteado the ſeruice of the boies and certain mariners that were aſſigned him by the order and direction of the worſhipful merchants, and leauing him as a commō mariner, which is the greateſt deſpite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminiſhed of their honor, which they eſteem aboue all riches. Thus ſailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their courſe frō thence vntil they arriued at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled thēſelues with freſh meat, of the fleſh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their courſe and tarying here & there at the deſert Ilands in the way, becauſe they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying ſomwhat too long (for what can be well miniſtred in a commō wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the firſt land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great riuer of Seſto, where they

The Ilands of Canarie.

The Iland of S. Nicholas.

The riuer of Seſto.

Graines.

The thirſt of gold.

The caſtle of Mina.

The quantitie of gold.

Furie admitteth no counſel

The Roſſia.

Rotting heat.

Benin.

Franciſco.

Nich. Lambart.

The king of Benin his court

might foꝛ their marchandizes haue laden their ſhips with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like vnto a fig as it groweth on the tree. Foꝛ as the figs are full of ſmall ſeeds, ſo is the ſaid fruit full of graines, which are looſe within the cod, hauing in the mids thereof a hole on euery ſide. This kind of ſpice is much vſed in cold countries, & may there be ſold foꝛ great aduantage, foꝛ exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perſwaſion oꝛ rather infoꝛcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and ſetting light by that commoditie, in compariſon of ẏ fine gold they thirſted, ſailed an hundꝛed leagues further, vntil they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the caſtle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the riuer of Mina, they made ſale of their ware only on this ſide & beyond it, foꝛ the gold of that cōtry, to the quantitie of an hundꝛed and fiftie pounds weight, there being in caſe that they might haue diſpatched all their ware foꝛ gold, if the vntame bꝛaine of Windam had, oꝛ could haue giuen eare to the counſell and experience of Pinteado. Foꝛ when that Windam not ſatiſfied with the gold which he had, and moꝛe might haue had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the ſaid Pinteado (foꝛ ſo he tooke vpon him) to lead the ſhips to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctial line, and an hundꝛed and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ſhips laden with pepper: and being counſelled of the ſaid Pinteado, conſidering the late time of the yeere, foꝛ that time to go no further, but to make ſale of their wares ſuch as they had foꝛ gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Windam not aſſenting hereunto, fell into a ſudden rage, reuiling the ſayd Pinteado, calling him Iew, with other oppꝛobꝛious woꝛds, ſaying, This whoꝛeſon Iew hath pꝛomiſed to bꝛing vs to ſuch places as are not, oꝛ as he cannot bꝛing vs vnto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maſte. Pinteado gaue the foꝛeſaid counſell to go no further foꝛ the ſafegard of the men and their liues, which they ſhould put in danger if they came too late, foꝛ the Roſſia which is their Winter, not foꝛ cold, but foꝛ ſmothering heate, with cloſe and cloudie aire and ſtoꝛming weather, of ſuch putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs: oꝛ els foꝛ comming to ſoone foꝛ the ſcoꝛching heat of the ſunne, which cauſed them to linger in the way. But of foꝛce and not of will bꝛought he the ſhips befoꝛe the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they ſent their pinnas vp into the riuer 50 oꝛ 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Franciſco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the riuer ſide, whither when they came, they were bꝛought with a great company to the pꝛeſence of the king, who being a blacke Mooꝛe (although not ſo blacke as the reſt) ſate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boꝛds, open in ſundꝛy places, like vnto louers to let in the aire.

Reuerence toward the king.

And here to ſpeake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is ſuch, that if we would giue as much to our Sauioꝛ Chꝛiſt, we ſhould remooue from our heads many plagues which we daily deſerue foꝛ our contempt and impietie.

So it is therfoꝛe, that when his noble men are in his pꝛeſence, they neuer looke him in the face, but ſit cowꝛing, as we vpon our knees, ſo they vpon their buttocks, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands befoꝛe their faces, not looking vp vntil the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do ſee him, they do ſhew ſuch reuerence, ſitting on the ground with their faces couered as befoꝛe. Likewiſe when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

The communication betweene the king of Benin and our men.

Pepper.

The kings gentlenes towards our men.

And now to ſpeake ſomewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you ſhall firſt vnderſtand that he himſelfe could ſpeake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefoꝛe after he had commanded our men to ſtand vp, and demanded of them the cauſe of their comming into that countrey, they anſwered by Pinteado, that they were marchants trauelling into thoſe parties foꝛ the commodities of his countrey, foꝛ exchange of wares which they had bꝛought from their countries, being ſuch as ſhould be no leſſe commodious foꝛ him and his people. The king thē hauing of old lying in a certaine ſtoꝛe-houſe 30 oꝛ 40 kintals of Pepper (euery kintall being an hundꝛed weight) willed them to looke vpon the ſame, and againe to bꝛing him a ſight of ſuch merchandizes as they had bꝛought with them. And thereupon ſent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters ſide, with other to bꝛing the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares ſeen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to pꝛouide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ſhips with pepper. And in caſe their merchandizes would not extend to the value of ſo much pepper, he pꝛomiſed to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon ſent the country round about to gather pepper, cauſing the ſame to be bꝛought to the court: So that within the ſpace of 30 dayes they had gathered foureſcoꝛe tunne of pepper.

In the meane ſeaſon our men partly hauing no rule of themſelues, but eating without meaſure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the ſame, and in ſuch extreme heate running continually into the water, not vſed before to ſuch ſudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into ſwellings and agues: inſomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, cauſed them to die ſometimes three & ſometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiuing the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying ſo faſt, ſent to the court in poſt to Captaine Pinteado, & the reſt to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the reſt, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had already gathered & looked daily for much more: deſiring him furthermore to remẽber the great praiſe and name they ſhould win, if they came home proſperouſly, and what ſhame of the contrary. With which anſwere Windam not ſatiſfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behinde. When Pinteado heard this anſwere, thinking to perſwade him with reaſon, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ſhips, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane ſeaſon Windam all raging, brake vp Pinteados Cabin, brake open his cheſtes, ſpoiled ſuch prouiſion of cold ſtilled waters and ſuckets as he had prouided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his inſtruments to ſaile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling ſicke, himſelfe died alſo. Whoſe death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deereſt friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did ſpit in his face, ſome calling him Iewe, ſaying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and ſome drawing their ſwords at him, making a ſhew to ſlay him. Then he perceiuing that they would needs away, deſired them to tary that he might fetch the reſt of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this requeſt. Then deſired he them to giue him the ſhipboate, with as much of an old ſaile as might ſerue for the ſame, promiſing them therwith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the reſt into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promiſing them if God would lend him life to returne with all haſte to fetch thẽ. And thus was Pinteado kept aſhipboord againſt his will, thruſt among the boyes of the ſhip, not vſed like a man, nor yet like an honeſt boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leauing one of their ſhips behind them, which they ſunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes ſayling, dyed alſo Pinteado for very penſiueneſſe & thought that ſtroke him to the heart. A man worthy to ſerue any prince, and moſt vilely vſed. And of ſeuenſcore men came home to Plimmouth ſcarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man ſhould ſuſpect theſe words which I haue ſaide in commendation of Pinteado, to be ſpoken vpon fauour otherwiſe then trueth, I haue thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him, at ſuch time as vpon the king his maſters diſpleaſure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the ſaid letters) he was only for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he firſt perſwaded our marchants to attempt the ſaid voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had ſo puniſhed Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of ſuch as enuied the mans good fortune: euen ſo may it hereby appeare that in ſome caſes euen Lions themſelues may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore miſe, according vnto the fable of Eſope.

The death of Windam. Pinteado euill vſed of the mariners.

This Lambert was a Londiner borne, whoſe father had bin Lord Maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado firſt perſwaded our men to the voyage of Guinea.

The copie of *Anthonie Anes Pinteado* his letters patents, whereby the king of *Portugall* made him knight of his houſe, after all his troubles and impriſonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had ſuſteined of long time, being at the laſt deliuered, his cauſe knowen and manifeſted to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confeſſor.

I The king doe giue you to vnderſtand lord Francis Deſſeaſo, one of my counſell and ouerſeer of my houſe, that in cõſideration of the good ſeruice which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the ſonne of Iohn Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleaſure is, to make him knight of my houſe, allowing to him in penſion ſeuen hundred reis monethly, and euery day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horſe, & to be paid according to the ordinãce of my houſe. Prouiding alwaies that he ſhall receiue but one marriage gift. And this alſo in ſuch cõdition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding ſuch men to marry for getting ſuch children as might ſucceede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, ſhalbe firſt expired before he do marry. I therfore command you to cauſe this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our houſhold, vnder the title of knights. And when it is ſo entred, let

Seuen hundred reis are ten ſhillings. Alcayre is halfe a buſhell.

let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie therof, write on the backſide of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing vnto the ſaid Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this beneuolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the fiue and twentie day of Iuly this preſent yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written vnder the kings grant.

YOur Maieſtie hath vouchſafed, in reſpect and conſideration of the good ſeruice of Athony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and ſonne of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your houſe, with ordinarie allowance, of ſeuen hundred reis penſion by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horſe: and to be paide according to the ordinance of your houſe, with condition that hee ſhall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the ſpace of ſixe yeres after the making of theſe letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Franciſco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of *Don Lewes* the infant, and brother to the king of *Portugall*, ſent into *England* to *Anthonie Anes Pinteado.*

ANthony Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Gonſalues is gone to ſeeke you, deſiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpoſe he hath with him a ſafe cõduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and ſtormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maieſtie hath giuen you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the ſame to paſſe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But foraſmuch as Peter Gonſalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I ſay no more at this preſent. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

ALl theſe foreſaid writings I ſaw vnder ſeale, in the houſe of my friend Nicholas Lieſe, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithſtanding all theſe friendly letters and faire promiſes, Pinteado durſt not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the preſence of other: foraſmuch as he had ſecrete admonitions that they intended to ſlay him, if time and place might haue ſerued their wicked intent.

The ſecond voyage to *Guinea* ſet out by Sir *George Barne*, Sir *Iohn Yorke*, *Thomas Lok*, *Anthonie Hickman* and *Edward Caſtelin*, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. *Iohn Lok.*

AS in the firſt voiage I haue declared rather the order of the hiſtory, then the courſe of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: ſo in the deſcription of this ſecond voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to ſhew the courſe of the ſame, according to the obſeruation and ordinarie cuſtome of the mariners, and as I receiued it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who alſo with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the ſame, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of ſayling, and inſtruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore aſſuming to my ſelfe the commendations due vnto other, neither ſo bold as in any part to change or otherwiſe diſpoſe the order of this voyage ſo well obſerued by art and experience, I haue thought good to ſet forth the ſame, in ſuch ſort and phraſe of ſpeech as is commonly vſed among them, and as I receiued it of the ſaid Pilot, as I haue ſaid. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames with three goodly ſhips, the one called the Trinitie, a ſhip of the burden of ſeuenſcore tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ſhip of the burden of ninetie, the third was the Iohn Euangeliſt, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunne. With the ſayd ſhips and two pinneſſes (whereof the one was drowned on the coaſt of England) we went forward on our voyage, and ſtayed at Douer fourteene dayes. We ſtaied alſo at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreouer laſt of all we touched at Dartmouth.

Robert Gainſh was maſter of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

The firſt day of Nouember at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coaſt of England, we ſet off the Start, bearing Southweſt all that night in the ſea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntill the third day of the ſaid moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threeſcore leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had ſight of the Ile of Madera, which doth riſe to him that commeth in the Northnortheaſt part vpright land in the weſt part of it, and very high: and to the Southſoutheaſt a low long land, and a long point, with a ſaddle thorow the middeſt of it, ſtanding in two and thirtie degrees: and in the Weſt part, many ſprings of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like vnto corne fields, & ſome white houſes to the Southeaſt part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine ſheweth very ragged, if you may ſee it; and in the Northeaſt part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Alſo in the ſaid part, there is a rocke a little diſtance from the ſhoare, and ouer the ſayd bight you ſhall ſee a great gappe in the mountaine.

The Ile of Madera.

The 19 day at twelue of the clocke we had ſight of the iſle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riſeth round, & lieth Southeaſt and Northweſt, and the Northweſt part is loweſt. In the South is a round hill ouer the head land, and another round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the Southeaſt part of the Ile of Madera & the Northweſt part of the Ile of Palme ſeuen and fiftie leagues. This Iſle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our courſe from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by Weſt, ſo that we had ſight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeaſt part of the Ile of the Palme, & the Northnortheaſt of Teneriffa lie Southeaſt and Northweſt, and betweene them are 20 leagues. Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the Weſt part of Forteuentura ſtande in ſeuen and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Iſland but very ragged, & lieth Weſt-ſouthweſt off Teneriffa. And whoſoeuer wil come betwene them two Iſlands muſt come South and by Eaſt, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the ſaid part of the Iland: and it ſtandeth in ſeuen and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a ſugar loafe, and vpon the ſaid pike is ſnow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reaſon of that pike it may be knowen aboue all other Iſlands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of Nouember, from ſixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The Ile of Palmes.
Teneriffa.
The Canaries.

From Madera to the Iſle of Palmas.

Gran Canaria.
Forteuentura.
The Iland of Gomera.

Teneriffa.
Snow.

The two and twentieth day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe Weſt and by South. Vpon the coaſt of Barbarie fiue and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good ſhelly ground, and ſande among and no ſtreames, and two ſmall Iſlands ſtanding in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

The coaſt of Barbarie.
Cape Blanke.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our courſe was South and by Eaſt. The ſaid Cape ſtandeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coaſt is flatte, ſixteene or ſeuenteene fadome deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there vſe many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fiſhing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coaſt is very low lands. Alſo we went from Cape de las Barbas Southſouthweſt, and Southweſt and by South, till we brought our ſelues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our ſelues ſeuen leagues off: and there were the leaſt ſholes of Cape Blanke.

The riuer del Oro.

Then we went South vntill we brought our ſelues in 13 degrees, reckoning our ſelues fiue and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Croſſiers, and we might haue reared them ſooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a croſſe in the moneth of Nouember, by reaſon that the nights are ſhort there. Neuertheleſſe we had the ſight of them the 29 day of the ſaid moneth at night.

The croſſiers or croſſe ſtars.

The firſt of December, being in 13 degrees we ſet our courſe South and by Eaſt, vntill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the ſame day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our ſelues 30 leagues off the ſholes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being Weſtſouthweſt off them, the which ſholes be 30 leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of December we beganne to ſet our courſe Southeaſt, we being in ſixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we ſet our courſe Eaſtſoutheaſt: the fourteenth day of the ſayde moneth we ſet our courſe Eaſt, we being in fiue degrees and a halfe, reckoning our ſelues thirty and ſixe leagues from the coaſt of Guinea.

Cape Mēſurado.
The riuer of Seſto.

The nineteenth of the ſaid moneth we ſet our courſe Eaſt and by North, reckoning our ſelues ſeuenteene leagues diſtant from Cape Menſurado, the ſaid Cape being Eaſtnortheaſt of vs, and the riuer of Seſto being Eaſt.

The one and twentith day of the ſaid moneth, we fell with Cape Menſurado to the Southeaſt, about two leagues off. This Cape may be eaſily knowen, by reaſon yͭ the riſing of it is like a Porpoſe-head. Alſo toward the Southeaſt there are three trees, whereof the Eaſtermoſt tree is the higheſt, and the middlemoſt is like a hie ſtacke, & the Southermoſt like vnto a gibet: and vpon the maine are foure or fiue high hilles riſing one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeaſt of the three trees, brandiernwiſe: and all the coaſt along is white ſand. The ſaid Cape ſtandeth within a litle in ſixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the riuer of Seſto, & remained there vntill the nine and twentieth day of the ſaid moneth. Here we thought it beſt to ſend before vs the pinneſſe to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the comming of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

The riuer of Seſto.
Rio Dulce.
Cape de Monte.
Cape de las Palmas.

At the riuer of Seſto we had a tunne of graines. This riuer ſtandeth in ſixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Seſto to Rio Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce ſtandeth in fiue degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Seſto is eaſie to be knowen, by reaſon there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeaſt part of the Rode. And at the entring into the hauen are fiue or ſixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narow at yͤ entrance into the riuer. There is alſo a rocke in the hauens mouth right as you enter. And all that coaſt betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeaſt & by Eaſt, Northweſt & by Weſt, being three leagues off the ſhore. And you ſhal haue in ſome places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the riuer of Seſto and cape de las Palmas.

The land of Cakeado.
Shauo.
Croke.
S. Vincents harborow.
The riuer Dulce.

Betweene the riuer of Seſto and the riuer Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues: & the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Seſto. And to the Southeaſtwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get freſh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeaſtward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeaſtward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right ouer againſt S. Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues & a halfe off the ſhore. To the Southeaſtward of that rocke you ſhal ſee an iſland about three or foure leagues off: this iſland is not paſt a league off the ſhore. To the Eaſtſoutheaſt of the iſland, is a rocke that lieth aboue the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you ſhall know by the ſaid riuer and rocke. The Northweſt ſide of the hauen is flat ſand, and the Southeaſt ſide therof is like an Iſland, and a bare plot without any trees, and ſo is it not in any other place.

In the Rode you ſhall ride in thirteene or fourteene fadomes, good oaze and ſand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the Iſland and the Northeaſt land together, and here we ankered the laſt of December.

The third day of Ianuarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Cape de las Palmas.
The coaſt of Guinea.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but ſome low places thereof by the water ſide looke like red cliffes with white ſtrakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the Eaſt part of the cape. This cape is the Southermoſt land in all the coaſt of Guinea, and ſtandeth in foure degrees and a terce.

The coaſt from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

The caſtle of Arra.

Twentie and fiue leaues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riſeth ſtill higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepointes. Alſo before you come to the ſaid Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northweſt part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a caſtle called Arra, pertaining to the king of Portugall. You ſhall know it by the ſaid rockes that lie off it: for there is none ſuch from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coaſt lieth Eaſt and by North, Weſt and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the ſaid caſtle is foureſcore and fifteene leagues. And the coaſt lieth from the ſaid caſtle to the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes, Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by North. Alſo the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the ſea: and vpon the innermoſt necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arriued the eleuenth day of January.

The 12 day of January we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eaſtnortheaſt. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samua is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the ſea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs haue a pledge a ſhore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him ſtill, and would traffike no more, but ſhot off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The towne of Samma.

The pledge was ſir Iohn Yorke his Nephew.

The ſixteenth day of the ſaid month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whoſe men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eaſtwarde of the caſtle of Mina, otherwiſe called La mina, or Caſtello de mina, where we arriued the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made ſale of all our cloth, ſauing two or three packes.

Cape Corea.

The caſtle of Mina perteining to the king of Portugall.

The 26 day of the ſame moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was ſeuen leagues Eaſtward of vs, where ſhe ſolde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed vs to go Eaſtward of that eight or nine leagues, to ſell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eaſtermoſt place of both theſe, which you ſhal know by a great round hill neere vnto it, named Mōte Rodondo, lying Weſtward from it, and by the water ſide are many high palme trees. From hence did we ſet forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied vp alongſt till we came within ſeuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did caſt about to ſeaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you ſore. Whoſoeuer ſhall come from the coaſt of Mina homeward, let him be ſure to make his way good Weſt, vntill he reckon himſelfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant ſetteth alwayes to the Eaſtward. And within twentie leagues Eaſtward of Cape de las Palmas is a riuer called De los Potos, where you may haue freſh water and balaſt enough, and plenty of iuory or Elephants teeth. This riuer ſtandeth in foure degrees, and almoſt two terces. And when you reckon your ſelfe as farre ſhot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go Weſt, and Weſt by North, vntill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Weſtnorthweſt, and Northweſt and by Weſt, vntill you come in fiue degrees, and then Northweſt. And in ſixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnorthweſt. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape verde, go great currants which deceiue many men.

Perecow.
Perecow grand.
Monte Rodondo.

The currants.

From Mina homeward.

Rio de los Potos.
Iuory.
Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces: and ſo we ran to the Northweſt, hauing the winde at Northeaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, and ſometimes at Eaſt, vntill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And ſo from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at Eaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, and ſometimes at Eaſtſoutheaſt: and then we reckoned the Iſlands of Cape verde Eaſtſoutheaſt of vs, we iudging our ſelues to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Eaſterly to the Southward then before. And ſo we ran to the Northweſt and Northnorthweſt, and ſometimes North and by Weſt and North, vntill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our ſelues a hundred and fourescore leagues Southweſt and by South of the Iſland de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southſoutheaſt, and ſet our courſe Northeaſt.

The Iſle de Flores.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southweſt, and then we ſet our courſe Northnortheaſt, and ſo we ran to 40 degrees, and then we ſet our courſe Northeaſt, the winde being at the Southweſt, and hauing the Iſle de Flores Eaſt of vs, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeaſt, and ſo we ran Northweſtward, then we met with the winde Weſtnorthweſt, and at the Weſt within 6 leagues, running toward the Northweſt, and then we caſt about, and lay Northeaſt, vntill we came in 42 degrees, where we ſet our courſe Eaſtnortheaſt, iudging the Iſle of Coruo South and by Weſt of vs, and ſixe and thirtie leagues diſtant from vs.

The Iſle of Coruo.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with Iohn Raſe, and he thought it beſt to goe Northeaſt, and iudged himſelfe 25 leagues Eaſtward to the Iſle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we loſt the ſight of the North ſtarre.

Where they loſt the ſight of the North ſtarre.

Note alſo, that in 45 degrees, the compaſſe is varied 8 degrees to the Weſt.

Item, in 40 degrees the compaſſe did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compaſſe is varied 5 degrees to the Weſt.

How the compaſſe doeth varie.

Be it alſo in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinneſſe went alongſt the ſhore, thinking to ſell ſome of our wares, and ſo we came to anker three or foure leagues Weſt and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

The Primroſe.

Then our pinneſſe came aboord with all our men, the pinneſſe alſo tooke in more wares. They told me moreouer that they would goe to a place where the Primroſe was, and had receiued much gold at the firſt voyage to theſe parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then vpon the coaſt, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode againſt that towne foure dayes: ſo that Martine by his owne deſire, and aſſent of ſome of the Commiſſioners that were in the pinneſſe, went a ſhoare to the towne, and there Iohn Berin went to traffique from vs, being three miles off traffiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two firſt townes, where we did traffique for gold, to the Northeaſt of Cape de 3 puntas.

The towne of Samma.
Golde.

Hitherto continueth the courſe of the voyage, as it was deſcribed by the ſayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the countrey and people, and of ſuch things as are brought from thence.

Gold foure hundreth weight.
Graines.
Elephants teeth.

They brought from thence at the laſt voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in fineneſſe: alſo ſixe and thirtie buts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of theſe I ſaw & meaſured ſome of nine ſpans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh aboue the knee, and weyed about foureſcore and ten pound weight a peece. They ſay that ſome one hath bin ſeene of an hundred and fiue & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calues, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof ſome were a foot and a halfe, ſome two foot, and ſome 3 or more, according to yͤ age of the beaſt. Theſe great teeth or tuſks grow in the vpper iaw downeward, and not in the nether iaw vpward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceiued. At this laſt voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of ſuch huge bigneſſe, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beſide the nether iaw & great tuſks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: inſomuch that conſidering alſo herewith the weight of two ſuch great teeth, the nether iaw with the leſſe teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long ſnout or troonke, with all the fleſh, braines, and ſkinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my iudgement it could weigh litle leſſe then fiue hundred weight. This head diuers haue ſeene in the houſe of the worthy marchant ſir Andrew Iudde, where alſo I ſaw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and ſpirit, conſidering by the worke, the cunning and wiſedome of the workemaiſter: without which conſideration, the ſight of ſuch ſtrange and wonderfull things may rather ſeeme curioſities, then profitable contemplations.

The head of an Elephant.

Sir Andrew Iudde.
The contemplations of Gods works.

The deſcription and properties of the Elephant.

The Elephant (which ſome call an Oliphant) is the biggeſt of all foure footed beaſts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and fiue toes on his feete vndiuided, his ſnout or tronke is ſo long, and in ſuch forme, that it is to him in the ſtead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth vp his Maſter or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beſide his two great tuſks, he hath on euery ſide of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of theſe teeth are almoſt a ſpan in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almoſt as much in thickneſſe. The tuſkes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and ſo farre in his mouth, that it cannot be ſeene: of all beaſtes they are moſt gentle and tractable, for by many ſundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderſtand: inſomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke ſenſe and ſharpeneſſe of wit. When the male hath once ſeaſoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundreth yeeres, or at the leaſt one hundred and twentie: the female almoſt as long, but the floure of their age is but threeſcore yeeres, as ſome write. They cannot ſuffer winter or cold: they loue riuers, and will often go into them vp to the ſnout, wherewith they blow and ſnuffe, and play in the water: but ſwimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vſe none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wilderneſſe being out of the way, gently they wil go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Ioyned in battel, they haue no ſmall reſpect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuiſe of barley. They haue continual warre againſt Dragons, which deſire their blood, becauſe it is very cold: and therefore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant paſſeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & ſo ſtaying him, thruſteth his head into his tronke and exhauſteth his breath, or elſe biteth him in the eare, whereunto he cannot reach with his tronke,

Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.

and when the Elephant wareth faint, he falleth downe on the ſerpent, being now full of blood, and with the poiſe of his body breaketh him: ſo that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that ſubſtance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwiſe called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters vſe in certaine colours.

Sanguis Draconis.
Cinnabaris.

Three kinds of Elephants.

They are alſo of three kinds, as of the Marſhes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no leſſe differing in conditions, Philoſtratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes paſſeth the horſe of Nyſea, ſo much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, ſome haue bene ſeene of the height of nine cubits: the other do ſo greatly feare theſe, that they dare not abide the ſight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males haue tuſkes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tuſked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a meaſure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of yͤ colour of a mouſe, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or ſkinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or briſtles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men ſaw one drinking at a riuer in Guinea, as they ſailed into the land.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their maruellous docilitie, of their fight and vſe in the warres, of their generation and chaſtitie, when they were firſt ſeene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they caſt their tuſks, with the vſe of the ſame in medicine, who ſo deſireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall hiſtory. He alſo writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of iuory or Elephants teeth: as tables, treſſels, poſtes of houſes, railes, latteſſes for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuory, both coloured and vncoloured, and intermixt with ſundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had ſuch plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Ioſephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hieruſalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuory gate. The whiteneſſe thereof was ſo much eſteemed, that it was thought to repreſent the natural faireneſſe of mans ſkinne: inſomuch that ſuch as went about to ſet forth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproued by this prouerbe, Ebur atramento candefacere; that is, To make iuory white with inke. The Poets alſo deſcribing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuory necks. And to haue ſaid thus much of Elephants and Iuory, it may ſuffice.

Workes of Iuorie.

The people of Africa.

Now therefore I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of liuing, with an other briefe deſcription of Africa alſo. It is to be vnderſtood, that the people which now inhabite the reigons of the coaſt of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great & large regions about the ſame, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beaſtly liuing, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and ſo ſcorched and vexed with the heat of the ſunne, that in many places they curſe it when it riſeth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phryſius writeth thus.

Libya interior.

Libya interior is very large and deſolate, in the which are many horrible wilderneſſes & mountaines, repleniſhed with diuers kinds of wilde and monſtrous beaſtes and ſerpents. Firſt from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and ſauage region, whoſe inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After theſe follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharuſij, which wander in the wilderneſſe, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the Weſt Ocean. Southward alſo they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whoſe nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus, foraſmuch as it is increaſed and diminiſhed at the ſame time, and bringeth forth the like beaſts as the Crocodile. By reaſon whereof, I thinke this to be the ſame riuer which the Portugals call Senega: For this riuer is alſo of the ſame nature. It is furthermore maruellous and very ſtrange that is ſaid of this riuer: And this is, that on the one ſide thereof, the inhabitants are of high ſtature and black, and on the other ſide, of browne or tawnie colour, and low ſtature, which thing alſo our men confirme to be true.

Getulia.

Æthiopes. Nigritæ.

The riuer Nigritis or Senega.

A ſtrange thing.

There are alſo other people of Libya called Garamantes, whoſe women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither haue reſpect to chaſtitie. After theſe are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. Theſe haue the ſame ſituation in Ptolome that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Chriſtians vnder the dominion

Garamantes.

People of Libya.

of

Preſter Iohn. Regnum Orguene. Gambra. Guinea. Cabo Verde. The Portugals Nauigation to Braſile. Aethiopia. The Iſland of Meroe. The Queene of Saba. Preſter Iohn Emperour of Aethiopia. People of the Eaſtſide of Africa. People without heads. Myrrh. Azania. Regnum Melinde.

of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Preſter Iohn. From theſe toward the Weſt is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whoſe region (as farre as may be gathered by coniecture) is the ſame that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining vpon the Eaſt parts of Guinea. From hence Weſtward, and ſomewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the riuer of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the ſea coaſt, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Weſtſide of theſe regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals firſt direct their courſe when they ſaile to America, or the land of Braſile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the Weſt and the South. But to ſpeake ſomewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people ſo named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia vnder Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this perteineth the Iſland Meroe, imbraced round about with the ſtremes of the riuer Nilus. In this Iſland women reigned in old time. Ioſephus writeth, that it was ſometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Ieruſalem, to heare the wiſedom of Salomon. Frō hence toward the Eaſt reigneth the ſaid Chriſtian Emperor Preſter Iohn, whom ſome cal Papa Iohannes, & other ſay that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great Iohn, whoſe Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coaſts of the Red ſea & Indian ſea. The middle of the region is almoſt in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Riſophagi, Babylonij, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After theſe is the region called Troglodytica, whoſe inhabitants dwel in caues and dennes: for theſe are their houſes, & the fleſh of ſerpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no ſpeach, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are alſo people without heads, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breaſt. Likewiſe Strucophagi, and naked Ganphaſantes: Satyrs alſo, which haue nothing of men but onely ſhape. Moreouer Oripei, great hunters. Mennones alſo, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth foorth myrrhe. After theſe is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now aſcribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whoſe inhabitants are accuſtomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is ioyned in friendſhip with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Preſter Iohn.

Aethiopia interior. White Elephants. Habaſia. Ichthiophagi. Anthropophagi. Montes Lunæ. Gazatia. Cap. bonæ Spei.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatneſſe thereof, but onely by the ſea coaſtes: yet is it deſcribed in this maner. Firſt from the Aequinoctiall toward ỷ South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beaſtes called Rhinocerotes. Alſo a region that bringeth foorth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Alſo the kingdome of Habech or Habaſia, a region of Chriſtian men, lying both on this ſide and beyond Nilus. Here are alſo the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) ſuch as liue onely by fiſh, and were ſometimes ſubdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapſij, & Anthropophagi, ỷ are accuſtomed to eat mans fleſh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they paſſe that ſaile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, foraſmuch as the ſame are in euery globe and card, it were here ſuperfluous to rehearſe them.

Africa without colde. The winter of Africa. Flames of fire and noiſe in the aire. The middle region of the aire is cold.

Some write that Africa was ſo named by the Grecians, becauſe it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A ſignifieth priuation, voyd, or without: and Phrice ſignifieth colde. For in deed although in the ſtead of Winter they haue a cloudy and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, yet is it not colde, but rather ſmoothering hote, with hote ſhowres of raine alſo, and ſomewhere ſuch ſcorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they ſeeme at certaine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phriſius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night ſeaſon is ſeene ſhining, with many ſtrange fires and flames riſing in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are ſometime heard as it were the ſound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noiſes may perhaps be cauſed by the vehement and ſundry motions of ſuch firie exhalations in the aire, as we ſee the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollowneſſe alſo, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great cauſes hereof, beſide the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the ſaid fiery exhalations, aſcending thither, are ſuddenly ſtricken backe with great force: for euen common and dayly experience teacheth vs, by the whiſſing of a burning torch, what noiſe fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it ſtriueth when it is incloſed

The ſtrife of Elements. Winde.

cloſed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is ſeene in onely aire incloſed, as in Organ pipes, and ſuch other inſtruments that go by winde. For winde (as ſay the Philoſophers) is none other then aire vehemently moued, as we ſee in a paire of bellowes, and ſuch other.

The heate of the Moone.

The nature of the ſtarres.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this laſt voiage to Guinea, affirme earneſtly that in the night ſeaſon they felt a ſenſible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be ſtrange and inſenſible to vs that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it ſtand with good reaſon that it may ſo be, foraſmuch as the nature of ſtarres and planets (as writeth Plinie) conſiſteth of fire, and conteineth in it a ſpirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

And, that the Moone giueth heate vpon the earth the Prophet Dauid ſeemeth to confirme in his 121. Pſalme, where ſpeaking of ſuch men as are defended from euils by Gods protection, hee ſaith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to ſay, In the day the Sunne ſhall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.

Cataracts of heauen.

Vehement motions in the Sea.

A ſtrange thing.

The power of nature.

They raſe their ſkinnes.

Fine iewels.

A bracelet.

Shackles.

Rings.

They ſay farthermore, that in certaine places of the ſea they ſaw certaine ſtreames of water, which they call ſpouts, falling out of the aire into the ſea, & that ſome of theſe are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: inſomuch that ſometimes they fall into ſhippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that theſe ſhould be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be ſuch fluxions and eruptions as Ariſtotle in his booke de Mundo ſaith, to chance in the ſea. For ſpeaking of ſuch ſtrange things as are ſeene often times in the ſea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes alſo euen in the ſea are ſeene euaporations of fire, and ſuch eruptions and breaking foorth of ſprings, that the mouthes of riuers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are cauſed of ſuch other vehement motions, not only in the middeſt of the ſea, but alſo in creeks & ſtreights. At certaine times alſo, a great quantity of water is ſuddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Ariſtotle it doth appeare that ſuch waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and ſuddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chanceller told me that he heard Sebaſtian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coaſts of Braſile or Rio de Plata, his ſhippe or pinneſſe was ſuddenly lifted from the ſea, and caſt vpon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and ſuch other like wonderfull and ſtrange workes of nature while I conſider, and call to remembrance the narrowneſſe of mans vnderſtanding and knowledge, in compariſon of her mightie power, I can but ceaſe to maruell and confeſſe with Plinie, that nothing is to her impoſſible, the leaſt part of whoſe power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men ſaw and conſidered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I haue thought good to put ſome in memory, that the reader may aſwell take pleaſure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the hiſtorie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may ſeeme ſtrange, that their princes & noble men vſe to pounce and raſe their ſkinnes with pretie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaſke, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & eſpecialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or iuory. I my ſelfe haue one of their braſlets of Iuory, weighing two pound and ſixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggeſt part of the tooth, turned and ſomewhat carued, with a hole in the midſt, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue on euery arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith ſome of them are ſo galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare alſo on their legges great ſhackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no leſſe comely. They weare alſo collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew ſtones like beads. Likewiſe ſome of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foreſleeues made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers alſo they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a ruſh. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs-chaines and collers.

Dogs chaines of golde.

A muſke cat.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not loſe one ſparke of golde of any value. They vſe weights and meaſures, and are very circumſpect in occupying the ſame. They that ſhall haue to doe with them, muſt vſe them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be euill vſed. At the firſt voyage that our men had into theſe parties, it ſo chanced, that at their departure from the firſt place where they did trafick, one of them either ſtole a muſke Cat, or tooke her away by force, not miſtruſting that that ſhould haue hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haſte they coulde make with full ſailes, the fame of their miſuſage ſo preuented them, that the people of that place alſo, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: inſomuch that they were inforced either to reſtore the Cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could traffique there.

Their houſes.

Their houſes are made of foure poſtes or trees, and couered with boughes.

Their feeding.

Their common feeding is of roots, & ſuch fiſhes as they take, whereof they haue great plenty.

Flying fiſhes.

A ſtrange thing.

There are alſo ſuch flying fiſhes as are ſeene in the ſea of the Weſt Indies. Our men ſalted of their fiſhes, hoping to prouide ſtore thereof: but they would take no ſalt, and muſt therfore be eaten forthwith as ſome ſay. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be ſalted immediatly after they be taken, they will laſt vncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more ſtrange, that part of ſuch fleſh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became ſweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

Their bread.

They vſe alſo a ſtrange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two ſtones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may ſuffice their family, and when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they ſticke vpon ſome poſt of their houſes, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: ſo that when the maſter of the houſe or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

Their wheat.

The Sunne.

Their drinke.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulruſh, and almoſt foure inches about where it is biggeſt. The ſtemme or ſtraw ſeemeth to be almoſt as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle leſſe. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peaſon, round alſo, and very white, and ſomewhat ſhining, like pearles that haue loſt their colour. Almoſt all the ſubſtance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threeſcore graines. The eare is incloſed in three blades longer then it ſelfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne ſeemeth partly to recompence ſuch griefes and moleſtations as they otherwiſe receiue by the feruent heate thereof. It is doubtleſſe a worthy cōtemplation to conſider the contrary effects of the ſunne: or rather the contrary paſſions of ſuch things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the iuiſe that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the ſaid branches euery euening, and let them ſo hang all night, or elſe they ſet them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They ſay that this kinde of drinke is in taſte much like vnto whey, but ſomewhat ſweeter, and more pleaſant. They cut the branches euery euening, becauſe they are ſeared vp in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue alſo great beanes as bigge as cheſtnuts, and very hard, with a ſhell in the ſtead of a huſke.

Many things more might be ſaide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monſtrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaide thus much of ſuch things as our men partly ſawe, and partly brought with them.

Graines.

And whereas before ſpeaking of the fruit of graines, I deſcribed the ſame to haue holes by the ſide (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that thoſe holes were made to put ſtringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them vp to dry at the Sunne. They grow not paſt a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themſelues are called of the Phiſicions Grana Paradiſi.

Shels that cleaue to ſhips.

Barnacles.

Bromas.

At their comming home the keeles of their ſhippes were marueilouſly ouergrowne with certaine ſhelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could ſtand, and of ſuch bigneſſe that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in theſe there groweth a certaine ſlimie ſubſtance, which at the length ſlipping out of the ſhell and falling in the ſea, becommeth thoſe foules which we call Barnacles. The like ſhelles haue bene ſeene in ſhips returning frō Iſeland, but theſe ſhels were not paſt halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I ſawe the Primeroſe lying in the docke, and in maner couered with the ſaid ſhels, which in my iudgement ſhould greatly hinder her ſayling. Their ſhips were alſo in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Biſſas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. Theſe creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.

A ſecret.

The death of our men.

Fiue blacke Moores brought into England.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that whereas they ſailed thither in ſeuen weekes, they could returne in no leſſe ſpace then twentie weekes. The cauſe whereof they ſay to be this: That about the coaſt of Cabo Verde the winde is euer at the Eaſt, by reaſon whereof they were enforced to ſaile farre out of their courſe into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the Weſt to bring them home. There died of our men at this laſt voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Iſlands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke ſlaues, whereof ſome were tall and ſtrong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes.

The

Colde may be better abiden then heate.

The colde and moyſt aire doth ſomewhat offend them. Yet doubtleſſe men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, foraſmuch as vehement heate reſolueth the radicall moyſture of mens bodies, as colde conſtraineth and preſerueth the ſame.

This is alſo to be conſidered as a ſecret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, vnder the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the ſame on both ſides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily ſuch regions of the Weſt Indies as are vnder the ſame line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and ſhort wooll on their heads, as they of Africke haue, but of the colour of an Oliue, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cauſe of which variety is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is alſo worthy to be noted that ſome of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they ouertooke the courſe of the Sunne, ſo that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to haue ſaid thus much of theſe voyages, it may ſuffice.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter *VVilliam Towrſon* Marchant of *London*, to the coaſt of *Guinea*, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

September.

VPon Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Iſle of Wight, out of the hauen of Neuport with two good ſhippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Maſters of them were Iohn Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made vnto the Riuer de Seſtos in Guinea, and to other hauens thereabout.

October.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade ſixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the hauen, and ſet ſaile, directing our courſe towards the Southweſt, and the next morning we were runne by eſtimation thirty leagues.

Nouember.

The firſt of Nouember we found our ſelues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Maſter. This day we ranne about 40. leagues alſo.

The ſecond day we ranne 36. leagues.

Porto Santo.

The third day we had ſight of Porto Santo, which is a ſmall Iſland lying in the ſea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is poſſeſſed by Portugals. It riſeth as we came from the Northnorthweſt like two ſmall hilles neere together. The Eaſt end of the ſame Iſland is a high land like a ſaddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The Weſt ende of it is lower with certaine ſmall round hillocks. This Iſland lyeth in thirty and three degrees. The ſame day at 11. of the clocke we rayſed the Iſle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southweſt: that Iſland is a faire Iſland and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riſeth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we ſet our courſe Southweſt, to leaue the Iſle of Madera to the Eaſtward, as we did Porto Santo. Theſe two Iſlands were the firſt land that we ſaw ſince wee left the coaſt of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the Weſt ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We ſuppoſe we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Madera.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed vnder the Iſle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the Eaſt, wee went our courſe, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

Tenerif.

The 6. day in the morning we rayſed the Iſle of Tenerif, otherwiſe called the Pike, becauſe it is a very high Iſland, with a pike vpon the top like a loafe of ſuger. The ſame night we raiſed the Iſle of Palma, which is a high land alſo, and to the Weſtward of the Iſle of Tenerif.

Palma.

Gomera.

The 7. day we perceiued the Iſle of Gomera, which is an Iſland ſtanding betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eaſtward from Palma, and 8. leagues Weſtward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Iſle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eaſtward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that theſe Iſlands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Iſlands more to the Weſtward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Iſlands we came not in ſight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

Ferro.

This day alſo we had ſight of the Iſle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Iſlands, and is poſſeſſed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reaſon of the winde we could not double the point of the Iſle of Ferro, except we would haue gone to the Weſtward of it, which had bene much out of our courſe: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe fiue houres Eaſtnortheaſt to the ende we might double it vpon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeaſt, which hath not bene often ſeene vpon that coaſt by any trauailers: for the winde continueth there for the moſt part Northeaſt, & Eaſt Northeaſt: ſo vpon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Iſland, and had roome ynough to double the ſame.

The 8. day we kept our courſe as neere the winde as wee could, becauſe that our due courſe to fetch the coaſt of Barbary was Southeaſt and by Eaſt, but by the ſcant winde wee could not goe our due courſe, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10, 25. leagues, the 12, 24.

The 12. day we ſawe a ſaile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fiſherman, ſo that wee went roome to haue ſpoken with him, but within one houre there fell ſuch a fogge, that wee could not ſee the ſhippe nor one of vs the other: we ſhot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but ſhe heard them not: at after noone ſhe ſhot off a piece which wee heard, and made her anſwere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the ſhoare vpon the coaſt of Barbary, and wee ſounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke alſo came roome with vs and there ankered by reaſon of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not iudge iuſtly what part of the land it was, becauſe the moſt part of that coaſt is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the forepart of the ſhoare, which is white like chalke or ſand, and very deepe vnto the hard ſhoare: there immediatly we began to fiſh, and found great ſtore of a kinde of fiſh which the Portugals commonly fiſh for vpon that coaſt, which they cal Pergoſſes, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men ſalt-water breames. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the ſhippe which we followed ſhaped vs ſuch a courſe that we could ſee her no more, by reaſon of our ſhooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coaſt of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eaſtwards of the riuer del Oro.

Riuer del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee ſpyed a ſaile comming towards vs, which wee iudged to be the ſaile that wee ſawe the day before, and as ſoone as we ſpied him, wee cauſed the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like caſe to lay him aboorde, or to diſcerne what hee was, and wee our ſelues within halfe an houre after waped alſo: but after the ſaile had eſpied vs, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and ſhortly after there fell ſuch another fogge, that wee coulde not ſee him: which fogges continued all that night, ſo that we were conſtrained to leaue the chaſe. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our courſe Southweſt and by Weſt, to goe cleare off the coaſt, wee ranne that night ſixteene leagues.

A Caruell taken.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelue a clocke wee eſpied a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fiſhing, and we ſent our Skiffe to him with fiue men, and all without any weapon ſauing their Oares. The Caruell for haſte let ſlippe her ancre, and ſet ſaile; and they ſeeing that, fearing that they ſhould not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Caruell, and made her to ſtrike ſaile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboord, & euery man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to reſiſt our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for wee had caſt ancre becauſe the winde was not good: I cauſed then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to ſee that no harme ſhould bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might ſpare vs for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two ſmall pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogſheads of ſaltfiſh which they had taken vpon the coaſt, and certaine freſh fiſh which they did not eſteeme, becauſe there is ſuch ſtore vpon that coaſt, that in an houre and ſometime leſſe, a man may take as much fiſh as will ſerue twentie men a day. For theſe things, and for ſome wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they ſent aboord of our ſhippes, I payed them twentie and ſeuen Piſtolets, which was twiſe as much as they willingly would haue taken: and ſo let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let ſlippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee ſet ſaile, but the winde cauſed vs to ancre againe about twelue leagues off the riuer del Oro, as the Portugals tolde vs. There were fiue Caruels more in this place, but when they ſawe vs, they made all away for feare of vs.

Great ſtore of fiſh vpon the coaſt of Barbary.

The 15. day we ridde ſtill becauſe of the winde.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 16. day we ſet ſaile and ranne our courſe 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within ſight for the moſt part of the coaſt of Barbary.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelue of the clocke by the reckoning of our

Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

Cape Blanke.

The 22.day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart Cape Verde.

Cape Verde.

The 12.day of December we had ſight of land of Guinea, which as ſoone as we ſaw we halled into the land Northeaſt, and about 12.of the clocke at night we were neere the ſhoare within leſſe then 2.leagues: and then we kept about and ſounded, and found 18.fadom water. Afterwards we ſaw a light towards the ſhoare, which we thought to haue bene a ſhip, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Seſtos, which light as ſoone as we eſpied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, becauſe we doubted that it might be ſome Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we ſaw no man, only we eſpied 4.rockes about 2.Engliſh miles from vs, one great rocke, and the 3.other ſmal ones, which when we ſawe, we ſuppoſed that the light came from the ſhore, and ſo wayed and ſet ſaile Eaſt Southeaſt along the ſhoare, becauſe the Maſter did not well know the place, but thought that we were not ſo farre to the Eaſt as the riuer de Seſtos.

The coaſt of Guinea.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the ſhoare, ſo that it is not poſſible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In theſe 24.houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder ſaile, and had withall ſtore of thunder and lightnings.

The 13.day for the moſt part we ran Eaſt Southeaſt all along the ſhoare, within two leagues alwayes of the ſame, and found the land all as at the firſt, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboord the ſhoare, and the billow beating ſo ſore, that the ſeas brake vpon the ſhoare as white as ſnow, and the water mounted ſo high that a man might eaſily diſcerne it 4.leagues off, in ſuch wiſe that no boats could land there. Thus we ran vntil 12.of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after iudged themſelues to be 24.leagues paſt the riuer de Seſtos to the Eaſtwards, by reaſon whereof we halled into the ſhoare within two Engliſh miles, and there ankered and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the ſhoare the ſea ſo ſmooth, that we might wel haue rid by an Hawſer. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a ſaile, to the ende that ſhe might go along by the ſhore to ſeeke ſome place to water in: for wee could not goe backe againe to the riuer de Seſtos, becauſe the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eaſtwards, which was alſo againſt vs.

The Currant ſetting Eaſtward.

The 14.day we ſet ſaile & went back againe along the coaſt, and ſent our boats hard aboord the ſhoare to ſeeke a watering place, which they found about 12.of the clock, and we being farre into the ſea, met with diuers boats of the Countrey, ſmall, long and narrow, & in euery boate one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to vs with freſh water: and this night we ankered againſt a Riuer.

The 15.day we wayed and ſet ſaile to goe neere the ſhoare, and with our leade wee ſounded all the way, and found ſometimes rockes, and ſometimes faire ground, and at the ſhalloweſt found 7.fadoms alwayes at the leaſt. So in fine we found 7.fadom and a halfe within an Engliſh mile of the ſhoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then wee ſent our boats into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lieth by eſtimation 8.leagues beyond the Riuer de Seſtos, and is called in the Carde Riuer S. Vincent, but it is ſo hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it ſhall not be able to diſcerne that it is a Riuer: by reaſon that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, ſo that a boate muſt runne in along the ſhoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the ſhoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers other Riuers fall into it: The going into it is ſomewhat ill, becauſe that at the entring the ſeas do goe ſomewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the Sea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except ſome thing before their priuie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will ſpin ſmall after the maner of linnen. Some of them alſo weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers colours, but the moſt part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and ſhorne of diuers ſorts, and the moſt part of them haue their ſkin of their bodies raced with diuers workes, in maner of a leather Ierkin. The men and women goe ſo alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breaſtes, which in the moſt part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the vdder of a goate.

Cloth made of the barke of trees.

The Negroes race their ſkinnes.

The ſame morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and caried certaine baſons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogſ-head and 100.li.waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reaſonable good reckoning. Wee ſolde them both baſons, and Manellios, and

Graines of Guinea

Elephants teeth.

Margarits, but they deſired moſt to haue baſons: For the moſt part of our baſons wee had by eſtimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gaue them 6.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke ſome of euery ſort of our marchandize with vs, and ſhewed it to the Negroes, but they eſteemed it not, but made light of it, and alſo of the baſons, Manellios and Margarits, which yeſterday they did buy: howbeit for the baſons they would haue giuen vs ſome graines, but to no purpoſe, ſo that this day wee tooke not by eſtimation aboue one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would ſuffer no man to ſell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was ſo ſubtile, that for a baſon hee would not giue 15. pound waight of Graines, and ſometimes would offer vs ſmall diſhfuls, whereas before wee had baſkets full, and when he ſaw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and cauſed all the reſt of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne aſkings. But after that wee perceiued their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a ſmall Towne to ſee the faſhions of the Countrey, and there came a threeſcore of them about vs, and at the firſt they were afraid of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hand and be familiar with vs, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie ſmall houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the ſides open, and a ſcaffolde vnder the houſe about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye alſo. In ſome of their houſes they worke yron and make faire dartes, and diuers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there diuers of the women to ſhew vs pleaſure danced and ſung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their ſong was thus:

The deſcription of their Townes and houſes.

Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho. Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho.

And with theſe words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beaſtes we could ſee none that they had, but two goates, ſmall dogges, and ſmall hennes: other beaſtes we ſaw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ſhips: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, ſent two of his ſeruants in a boat with a baſket of Graines, and made vs ſignes that if when we had ſlept wee would come againe into their riuer, wee ſhould haue ſtore of Graines, and ſo ſhewed vs his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning becauſe we thought that the Negroes would haue done ſomething becauſe the Captaine ſent for vs, I required the Maſter to goe on ſhoare, and ſent the reſt of our Marchants with him, and taried aboord my ſelfe by reaſon that the laſt day he eſteemed our things ſo litle: ſo when the Maſter and the reſt came into the riuer, the captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he ſaw that I was not there, he made ſignes to know where I was, and they made ſignes to him againe that I was in the ſhips: and then hee made ſignes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for ſo they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the maſter of the ſhip: then he began to ſhew his Graines, but he held them ſo vnreaſonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Maſter perceiuing, and ſeeing that they had no ſtore of Graines, came away, and tooke not aboue 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a ſhoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made ſignes to them to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bow and two or three ſwords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and aſſoone as they were come aboord we wayed and ſet ſaile, but the winde was off the Sea, ſo that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, ſtanding in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there euery 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the moſt: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

The latitude of S. Vincent riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al ſtrange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many ſorts, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

Leaues of exceeding length.

There are certaine peaſon by the Sea ſide, which grow vpon great and very long ſtalkes, one of the ſtalkes I meaſured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow vpon the ſand like to trees, and that ſo neere the Sea, that ſometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceiue by the water markes.

Long peaſe ſtalkes.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Diuers of the women haue ſuch exceeding long breaſts, that ſome of them wil lay the ſame vpon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not ſuch breaſts.

Long womens breaſts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ ſometimes, which our Maſter marueiled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came vp at the Eaſt, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northweſt off the ſhoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ſhip, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be ſo wilde and idle, that they giue themſelues to ſeeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great ſtore of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I obſerued ſome of their words of ſpeach, which I thought good here to ſet downe.

The language about the Riuer of S. Vincent.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their ſalutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,	Haue you ynough?
Begge ſacke,	Giue me a knife.
Begge come,	Giue me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and ſome call him Dabo.

These and other wordes they ſpeake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the laſt time longer then at the two firſt.

The 18. day towards night, as we were ſailing along the coaſt, we met with certaine boats in the ſea, & the men ſhewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were Graines to be ſold, but we thought it not good to tary there, leaſt the other ſhips ſhould get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. ſmall rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the reſt: we halled this night along the coaſt 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coaſted the ſhoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, & brought ſome with them for a ſhew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coaſt, & ancred by the ſhore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongſt rockes, and foule ground, loſt a ſmall anker. At noone, as we paſſed along the coaſt, there came forth a Negro to vs, making ſignes, that if we would goe a ſhoare, wee ſhould haue Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought Graines, and ſhewed vs them, and made ſignes that wee ſhould tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell vs where we ſhould land, and ſo they did in diuers other places vpon the coaſt, where they ſaw vs to anker.

The tides and nature of the ſhoare.

In al the places where we haue ankred, ſince we came from our watring place, we haue found the tide alwayes running to the Weſtwards, and all along the coaſt many rockes hard aboord the ſhoare, and many of them a league off the ſhoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came ſo ſore out of the coaſt, that we were not able to runne aboue ſixe leagues: and this day there came ſome Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The point of Palmas.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne ſixteene leagues.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Weſtermoſt part of it, we ſaw a great ledge of rocks, which lie Weſt from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more frō the land. Shortly after we had ſight of the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Weſtermoſt part, and vpon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were cloſes, and to the Weſtwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby ſo may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the ſea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, leaſt in the night wee ſhould ouerrunne a riuer, where the * laſt yeere they had all their Elephants teeth.

*That was the yere 1554.

This Cape Das palmas lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the ſaid Cape, and the riuer de Seſtos is the greateſt ſtore of Graines to be had, and being paſt the ſaid Cape, there is no great ſtore elſe where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Weſt-

The tides running Eaſtward.

ward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eaſtward: this day we ranne ſome 16. leagues.

The 24. day running our courſe, about eight of the clock there came forth to vs certaine boats, which brought with them ſmall egges, which were ſoft without ſhels, and they made vs ſignes, that there was within the land freſh water, and Goates: and the Maſter thinking that it was the riuer which we ſought, caſt ancker and ſent the boate on ſhoare, with one that knew the riuer, and comming neere the ſhoare, hee perceiued that it was not the riuer, and ſo came backe againe, and went along the ſhoare, with their oares and ſaile, and wee weyed and ranne along the ſhoare alſo: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Maſter perceiued a place which he iudged to be the riuer, when wee were in deede two miles ſhot paſt it: yet the boate came from the ſhoare, and they that were in her ſaide, that there was no riuer: notwithſtanding wee came to an ancker, and the Maſter and I tooke fiue men with vs in the boat, and when hee came neere the ſhoare, hee perceiued that it was the ſame riuer which hee did ſeeke: ſo we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reaſon that the ſea goeth ſo high: and being entred, diuers boates came to vs, and ſhewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one of about eight pound, & a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer ſide, making ſignes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would ſell vs them: ſo we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and ſo we departed, and came aboord, and ſent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the ſea, made vs ſignes that there was freſh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them freſh water, and ſhewed them an Elephants tooth, making ſignes that the next day they would ſel them teeth, and ſo they came aboord.

A Towne.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Weſtwards of the ſame a rocke about a league in the ſea, and the riuer it ſelfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow fiue trees, which may well bee diſcerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Weſtward, but the riuer cannot bee perceiued vntill ſuch time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle Towne on ech ſide the riuer, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The riuer is but ſmall, but the water is good and freſh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a cloſe, and not aboue ſixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coaſt may well be knowen: for along all the coaſt that we haue hitherto ſailed by, I haue not ſeene ſo much bare land.

Many Palme trees.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Weſtward of it, al along the ſhoare, there grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may eaſily be knowen almoſt two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and ſtreight, and be biggeſt in the midſt: they haue no boughes, but onely a round buſh in the top of them: and at the top of the ſame trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the iuyce of the tree runneth out of the ſaid hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres puntas.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpoſe to make ſales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the riuer De Seſtos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceiue, differeth not much frō the language of thoſe which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their deſire in this place was moſt of all to haue Manillios and Margarites: as for the reſt of our things, they did litle eſteeme them.

Their maner of ſwearing by the water of the Sea.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to vs foorth, from both of the places aforeſaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had cauſed me to ſweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ſhip three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all ſuch things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our ſelues. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of thoſe 14. there were 10. ſmall: afterwards they departed, making vs ſignes that the next day we ſhould come to their Townes.

Two townes.

The 26. day becauſe we would not trifle long at this place I required the Maſter to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my ſelfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, becauſe theſe two townes ſtand three miles aſunder. To theſe places we caried ſomewhat of euery kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but ſmall, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were alſo not bigge, and we left aboord with the Maſter certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12.teeth aboord the ſhip, in our abſence: and hauing bought theſe of them, wee perceiued that they had no more teeth: ſo in that place where I was one brought to me a ſmall goat, which I bought, and to the Maſter at the other place they brought fiue ſmall hennes, which he bought alſo, and after that we ſaw there was nothing elſe to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboord, and then wayed, and went Eaſt our courſe 18.leagues ſtill within ſight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the ſea, and the winde comming againe off the ſea, wee fell with the land againe, and the firſt of the land which we raiſed ſhewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eaſtward of that another ſmaller red cliffe, and right aboue that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in theſe 24.houres, not aboue foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the ſhoare, we perceiued the red cliffe aforeſaide to haue right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Weſtwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could ſee, and all along the ſhoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as otherwiſe, full of wood: within a mile of the ſaid great cliffe there is a riuer to the Eaſtwards, and no cliffes that we could ſee, except one ſmall cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12.leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of thoſe that haue bene there, haue not bene vſuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the ſea, and moſt commonly Northweſt, and Southweſt.

The 31.day we went our courſe by the ſhoare Northwards: this land is al along a low ſhoare, and full of wood, as all the coaſt is for the moſt part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fiſhing, which bee greater boates then thoſe which we ſawe before, ſo that in ſome of them there ſate 5.men, but the faſhion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had ſight of a Towne by the ſea ſide, which our Pilots iudged to be 25. leagues to the Weſtwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

Cape Tres puntas.

The third of Ianuary in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night paſſed, as our Pilots ſaide, by one of the Portugals caſtles, which is 8.leagues to the Weſtwards of the Cape: vpon the firſt ſight of the Cape wee diſcerned it a very high land, and all growen ouer with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceiued two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Weſtward, and the vttermoſt of them is the Eaſterne Cape, there we perceiued the middle Cape, and the Eaſtermoſt Cape: the middle Cape ſtandeth not aboue a league from the Weſt Cape, although the Card ſheweth them to be 3.leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a ſmall rocke ſo neere to it, that it cannot be diſcerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the ſhoare, and vpon the ſame Cape ſtandeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the ſame Cape to the Eaſtward, there riſeth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboord the ſhoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8.leagues off them, wee had the land Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, and being paſt the Capes, the land runneth in againe Eaſt Northeaſt.

About two leagues beyond the fartheſt Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riſeth high againe, and diuers head-lands riſe one beyond another, and diuers rockes lie at the point of the firſt head-land. The middeſt of theſe Capes is the neereſt to the Southwards, I meane, further into the ſea then any of the other, ſo that being to the Eaſtward of it, it may be diſcerned farre off, and being ſo to the Eaſtward it riſeth with two ſmall rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouerſhooting a towne called S.Iohns. Wee ran this day not aboue 8.leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the ſhoare, with fiue men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to diſcerne our flagges, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, ſailing by the coaſt, we eſpied a ledge of rockes by the ſhoare, and to the Weſtwards of them two great greene hils ioyning together, ſo that betweene them it was hollow like a ſaddle: and within the ſaid rockes the Maſter thought the aforenamed Towne had ſtoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed aſhoare, but going along by the coaſt, we ſawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboord againe.

From theſe two hils aforeſaid, about two leagues to the Eaſtward, lie out into the Sea almoſt two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northweſtward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeaſt along the ſhoare: but the vttermoſt point of land in that place that we could ſee, lay Northeaſt, and by Eaſt from vs.

After that we were with a ſmall gale of winde runne paſt that vttermoſt head-land, we ſawe a great red cliffe, which the Maſter againe iudged to be the towne of S.Iohns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and ſo wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great ſort of them, and waued vs to come in, with a peece of cloth, and ſo we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eaſtward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne ſtandeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good ſpace, they ſent a boate aboord of vs, to ſhewe vs that they had golde, and they ſhewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our meaſure, & our weight, that they might ſhewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a meaſure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to ſhew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on ſhoare, and ſhewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a meaſure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Cruſado-weight of gold, making vs ſignes that ſo much they would giue for the like meaſure, and leſſe they would not haue. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we ſawe that they would doe no otherwiſe, and withall vnderſtood, that all the beſt places were before vs, wee departed to our ſhippes and wayed, and ranne along the ſhoare, and went before with our boate, and hauing ſailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before ſpoken of, and being paſt that people, the Maſter ſpied a place which hee ſaide plainely was the towne of Don Iohn: and the night was come vpon vs, ſo that we could not well diſcerne it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of Don Iohn.

The fift day in the morning we perceiued it to be the ſame towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and becauſe that the laſt yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after ſhot at them with great baſes, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almoſt a baſe ſhot off the ſhoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to vs. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eaſtward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly freſh riuer, and afterwards they came and waued to vs alſo to come in, becauſe they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to vs, and made vs ſignes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could wee perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, ſo that we iudged that the Portugals had ſpoiled their boates, becauſe we ſaw halfe of their towne deſtroyed.

Wee hauing ſtayed there a good ſpace, and ſeeing that they would not come to vs, thruſt our boates heads a ſhoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe, being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and ſixe tall men after him, euery one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and ſharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines ſtoole: wee ſaluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our ſelues, and hee like one that thought well of himſelfe, did not mooue his cap, nor ſcant bowed his body, and ſate him downe very ſolemnly vpon his ſtoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and bowed downe themſelues.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made faſt about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey alſo, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare aboue the loynes, except his head.

His ſeruants, ſome of them had cloth about their loines, and ſome nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made faſt before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, ſome like a baſket, and ſome like a great wide purſe of beaſts ſkinnes.

Their weapons.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fiſhing lines, and all ſuch like things which they haue, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all ſuch things as they doe occupy, as darts, fiſhhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, ſome of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both ſides exceeding ſharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the moſt part of them haue hanging at their left ſide one of thoſe great daggers.

Their targets bee made of ſuch pils as their cloth is made of, and very cloſely wrought, and they bee in forme foure ſquare, and very great, and ſomewhat longer then they bee broad, ſo that kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be ſhort, and of a pretie ſtrength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the ſtring is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet ſeene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp cloſe, and becauſe I was buſie I could not ſtand about it, to haue them open them. Their golde alſo they worke very well.

When the Captaine was ſet, I ſent him two elles of cloth, and two baſons, and gaue them vnto him, and hee ſent againe for a waight of the ſame meaſure, and I ſent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, nether would hee ſuffer the towne to buy any thing, but the baſons of braſſe: ſo that wee ſolde that day 74. baſons vnto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white baſons, which we ſolde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We ſhewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not eſteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to preſent mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I receiued, and after made me ſignes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great ſtore of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to vs, euery man ſticked downe his dart vpon the ſhoare, and the Captaines had ſtooles brought them, and they ſate downe, and ſent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a meaſure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one ſixteenth part, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he eſteemed nothing, but ſtill ſtucke at his foure meaſures aforeſaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him ſignes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight aboueſaid, and otherwiſe he would not deale, and ſo we departed. This day we tooke for baſons ſixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The ſixt day in the morning we manned our boates and the ſkiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the laſt yeere had taken away a man from the other ſhips, and went on ſhoare, and landed, becauſe they had no boates to come to vs, and ſo the young man which was with vs the night before was ſent aboord, who ſeemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could ſpeake a litle Portuguiſe, and was perfect in weights and meaſures: at his comming he offered vs, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made ſignes, that if we would not take that, we ſhould depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of ſome rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making ſignes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that meaſure, although the cloth was ill, ſeeing we were ſo neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for ſale. Then we went aboord our ſhips, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the ſhoare for ſand and balaſte: and then the Captaine perceiuing that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and ſand, and ſeeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making ſignes againe to know whether we would not giue the foure elles, and they made ſignes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they ſawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came vnto them and gaue them the weight of our Angell and twelue graines, which we required before and made ſignes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the ſpeedier diſpatch I and Iohn Sauill went in one boat, and the Maſter Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on ſhoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and meaſure, and ſo being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The ſeuenth day we went a ſhoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, ſo that we diſpatched almoſt all the cloth that we caried with vs before noone, and then many of the people were departed & thoſe that remained had litle golde, yet they made vs ſignes to fetch them ſome latten baſons, which I would not becauſe I purpoſed not to trifle out yͤ time, but goe thence with ſpeede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth were deſirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, conſented, but went not my ſelfe: ſo they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, ſeeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the ſhoare, there came a young fellow which could ſpeake a little Portuguiſe, with three more with him, and to him I ſolde 39 baſons and two ſmall white ſawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the beſt reckoning that we did make of any baſons: and in the forenoone when I was at the ſhoare, the Maſter ſolde fiue baſons vnto the ſame fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Caſtle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde vs that the Portugales were bad men, and that they

made

60. Portugales in the caſtle of Mina.

made them ſlaues if they could take them, and would put yrons vpon their legges, and beſides he told vs, that as many Frenchmen or Engliſhmen, as they could take (for he could name theſe two very well) they would hang them: he told vs further, that there were 60 men in the caſtle, and that euery yeere there came thither two ſhippes, one great, and one ſmall caruell, and further, that Don Iohn had warres with the Portugals, which gaue mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Caſtle, wherehence our men were beaten the laſt yeere.

The Engliſh in anno 1554 tooke away 5 Negroes.

This fellowe came aboord our ſhippe without feare, and aſſoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the laſt yeere we tooke away, and could tell vs that there were fiue taken away by Engliſhmen: we made him anſwere, that they were in England well vſed, and were there kept till they could ſpeake the language, and then they ſhould be brought againe to be a helpe to Engliſhmen in this Countrey: and then he ſpake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboord, we wayed and ſet ſayle and a litle after ſpied a great fire vpon the ſhoare, and by the light of the fire we might diſcerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Caſtle, and for feare of ouerſhooting the towne of Don Iohn we there ankered two leagues off the ſhoare, for it is hard to fetch vp a towne here, if a ſhip ouerſhoot it. This day we tooke ſeuen pound, and fiue ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place deſired moſt to haue baſons and cloth. They would buy ſome of them alſo many trifles, as kniues, horſetailes, hornes: and ſome of our men going a ſhoare, ſold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They ſhewed vs a certain courſe cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was courſe wooll, and a ſmall threed, and as thicke as woſted, and ſtriped with ſtripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glaſſe of diuerſe colours. Here alſo I learned ſome of their language, as followeth:

This language ſeemeth partly to be corrupt.

Mattea, mattea,	Is their ſalutation.
Daſſee, daſſee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Kniues.
Baſſina,	Baſons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great ſtore.

Sight of the caſtle of Mina.

The eight day in the morning we had ſight of the Caſtle, but by reaſon of a miſte that then fell we could not haue the perfect ſight of it, till we were almoſt at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleared vp, and we ſaw it and a white houſe, as it were a Chappell, vpon the hill about it: then we halled into the ſhoare, within two Engliſh miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in ſeuen fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceiued that the currant went with the winde.

The land here is in ſome places low and in ſome high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Iohns towne deſcribed.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houſes, and the moſt part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or ſedge, or ſome ſuch thing. Here we ſtaied two or three houres after we had ankered, to ſee if any man would come vnto vs: and ſeeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the ſhoare: then they ſent out a man to vs who made vs ſignes that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himſelfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the moſt part of them will doe which come firſt aboord, and I gaue him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the ſhoare, and there came foorth a boate to vs, who made ſignes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place alſo came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Deuis, and brought with him gold to ſhew vs, making ſignes that we ſhould come thither. I then left in this place Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to ſhore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs and brought a meaſure of foure yards long & a halfe, and ſhewed vs a weight of an angell and twelue graines, which they would giue for ſo much, and not otherwiſe: ſo I ſtaied and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and did nothing, hauing anſwere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the ſhoare, and there came out a boat with good ſtore of gold, and hauing driuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the meaſure to a nayle leſſe then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and ſolde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me ſignes to tary, till they had parted their cloth vpon the ſhoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and ſo they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad vpon the ſande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and ſpake vnto them, and foorthwith euery man made as much haſte as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we miſtruſted ſome knauery, and being waued by them to come a ſhoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30 men which we iudged to be Portugals: and they went vp to the toppe of the hill and there muſtered and ſhewed themſelues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being deſirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they ſhot off two pieces of ordinance which I marueiled at: I made as much haſte as I could to her, and met her boate and ſkiffe comming from the ſhoare in all haſte, and we met aboord together. They ſhewed me that they had beene a ſhoare all that day, and had giuen to the two ſonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three baſons betwixt them, and had deliuered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his anſwere, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill vpon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and bad them to go away but they perceiued it not. The ſonne of Don Iohn conſpired with the Portugales againſt them, ſo that they were almoſt vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and ſet off from the ſhoare, and the Portugales ſhot their calicuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the ſhip perceiuing it, ſhot off the two peeces aforeſayde among them. Hereupon we layde baſes in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a ſhoare againe, but becauſe of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the ſea about ten ſcore and ſhot at them, but the hill ſuccoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles ſhotte at vs with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for loue ſtoode by them to helpe them, and when we ſaw that the Negroes were in ſuch ſubiection vnto them that they durſt not ſell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboord, and that night the winde kept at the Eaſt, ſo that we could not with our ſhip fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to ſee what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like caſe layde with Portugales, ſo we wayed and went along the coaſt. This towne of Iohn de Viſo ſtandeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath beene burned, ſo that there are not paſſing ſixe houſes in it: the moſt part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durſt for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good ſtore: but they dare not ſell any thing, their ſubiection is ſo great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the ſhoare we had ſight of a litle towne foure leagues from the laſt towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne vpon a hill, and halfe a league from that alſo of another great towne vpon the ſhoare: whither we went to ſee what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, becauſe we thought that the Portugales would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Along from the caſtle vnto this place are very high hilles which may be ſeene aboue all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the ſea ſide. The boates of theſe places are ſomewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelue men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coaſt. There are about theſe townes few riuers: their language differeth not from the language vſed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can ſpeake three or foure words of Portuguiſe, which they vſed altogether to vs.

The Portugales of the caſtle of Mina inuaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viſo.

We ſawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the ſhoare to the Weſtward, whereupon we ſuſpected ſome knauery intended againſt vs. The 12 day therefore we ſet ſayle and went further along the coaſt, and deſcried more townes wherein were greater houſes then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could ſee no boates. Two mile beyond the Eaſtermoſt towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the vttermoſt cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eaſtnortheaſt, and a ſandy ſhoare againe: vpon theſe blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waued vs with a white flagge, but we perceiuing the principall place to be neere, would not ſtay, but bare ſtill along the ſhoare: and as ſoone as we had opened the point of the land, we rayſed another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it

Foure men taken away by the Engliſh.

into the ſea, and that they thought to be the place which we ſought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ſhip being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in fiue fadome water and faire ground. We went on ſhoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we ſaw many boates lying vpon the ſhoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come neere vs, being as we iudged afraid of vs: becauſe that foure men were taken perforce the laſt yeere from this place, ſo that no man came to vs, whereupon we went aboord againe, and thought here to haue made no ſale: yet towardes night a great ſort came downe to the water ſide, and waued vs on ſhoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and ſate him downe by the ſhore vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, I tooke things with me to giue him: at laſt he ſent a boat to call to vs, which would not come neere vs, but made vs ſignes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten baſon, one white baſon, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and ſixe biſket cakes, which they receiued making vs ſignes to come againe the next day, ſaying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by thoſe that attended vpon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

A great towne.

This towne is very great and ſtands vpon a hill among trees, ſo that it cannot well be ſeene except a man be neere it: to the Eaſtward of it vpon the hill hard by the towne ſtand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the ſea beates: and that end next the ſea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another ſmall towne.

The like they doe in the countrey of Prete Ianni.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to ſhoare, and ſtayed till ten a clocke and no man came to vs: we went about therefore to returne aboord, and when the Negroes ſaw that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, ſo we ankered againe, and then one ſhewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we ſaw a ſaile in the meane time paſſe by vs but it was ſmall, and we regarded it not. Being on ſhore wee made a tilt with our oares and ſayle, and then there came a boate to vs with fiue men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making ſignes by the ſunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had: ſo I gaue them ſixe Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made ſignes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to doe ſo, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, ſo we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and ſhortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who ſaluted vs friendly, and one of the chiefeſt of them went and ſate downe vnder a tree, where the laſt yere the Captaine was wont to ſit: and at laſt we perceiued a great many of them to ſtand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a baſe, who ſuddenly ſhotte at vs but ouerſhot vs, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they ſhot at vs againe before we could ſhip our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and diſcharged calieuers at vs, and againe the Portugales ſhot off their baſe twiſe more, and then our ſhip ſhot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

Maſter Robert Gainſhes voyage to Guinea in anno 1554.

The Engliſh were offered to build a towne in Guine.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, ſeeing the Negroes bent againſt vs, becauſe that the laſt yeere M. Gainſh did take away the Captaines ſonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cauſe that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the laſt yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the ſhippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Caſtle in, and there they had good ſales.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to ſeeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and ſo we turned both backe to the Eaſtwardes to ſee what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did ſell her eight friſes the laſt yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we eſpied certaine boates vpon the ſand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuſſs of cloth, euery fuſſe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the fuſſe, and then they made me ſignes that the next day I ſhould haue golde enough: ſo the Maſter tooke the Hinde with Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth, and went to ſeeke the place aforeſaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to ſee what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ſhip to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & ſo ſent forth 2 boats to vs with 4 men in them, requiring vs to tary & to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them ſhould tary with vs for him, ſo Edward M. Morleis ſeruant ſeeing theſe men ſo earneſt therein offered himſelfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and ſcales, and a chaine of golde about his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of ſuch things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the ſhoare thwart of vs, and about one of the clocke we heard and ſaw the light of a baſe which ſhot off twiſe at the ſaid light, and by and by diſcharged two caliuers, which in the end we perceiued to be the Portugals brigandine which followed vs from place to place, to giue warning to the people of the countrey, that they ſhould not deale with vs.

A Portugale Brigandine.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wiues alſo, becauſe their towne was 8 miles vp in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the ſea ſide till they had bought what they would. When he was come he ſent our man aboord, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himſelfe would come aboord, and I ſent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and ſo came aboord vs, he and his wife with diuers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gaue him againe a latten baſon, a white baſon, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmeſie, and to his wife a ſmall caſket. After this we began to make our meaſure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a meaſure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and meaſure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and ſince the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the firſt night, he ſaid he ſaw her caſt anker aboue fiue leagues from this place. The 17 day I ſold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine deſired to haue ſome of our wine, and offered halfe a bucket of gold for a bottell: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke beſides. And this day alſo I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we ſold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. ſixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while vpon the ſhoare, went away with all the reſt of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waued a ſhoare by other Negroes, and ſold them cloth, caſkets, kniues, and a doſen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewiſe we ſold bels, ſheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we ſold 7 doſen of ſmal bels and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we wayed and ſet ſayle & went to leeward to ſeeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had ſight of her, and bare with her, and vnderſtood that ſhee had made ſome ſales. The 26 day wee receiued out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the requeſt of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to ſhoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they ſent a man aboord vs, which lay with vs all night, becauſe we might knowe that they would alſo come to vs the next day. The 27 day in both our ſhippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made ſales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two caliuers ſhot off vpon the ſhore, which we iudged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our ſelues and went to ſhoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more ſales for the companie and for the Maſters.

The 31 we ſent our boate to ſhoare to take in ſand for balaſt, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made ſale the day before a fiſhing which did helpe them to fill ſand, and hauing no gold, ſold fiſh to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

Februarie.

The 1. day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more ſales: but hauing viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time vpon the coaſt, becauſe the moſt part of our drinke was ſpent, & that which remained grew ſowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made ſome ſales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the ſhoare, we ſet ſaile and ranne along the ſhoare to the Weſtwards: vpon this coaſt we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the ſhoare at Northnortheaſt, and ſo continueth vntill eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the reſt of the day and night it comes out of the Southweſt: and as for the tide or currant vpon this ſhore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued ſayling and thought to haue met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, but found none.

They returne for England.

The firſt day we went our courſe Southweſt to fetch vnder the line, and ranne by eſtimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our ſelues by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

Cape de Monte. The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Weſtward of the Riuer de Seſtos, about 30 leagues.

March. The firſt day of March in a Ternado we loſt the Hinde, whereupon we ſet vp a light and ſhot off a piece but could not heare of her, ſo that then we ſtrooke our ſaile and taried for her, and in the morning had ſight of her againe three leagues a ſterne off vs.

Cape Verde in latitude 14 degrees & a halfe. Vpon the 22 day we found our ſelues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which ſtands in 14. degrees and a halfe.

From this day till the 29 day we continued our courſe, and then we found our ſelues to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long ſicke, died in his ſleepe, his apparell was diſtributed to thoſe that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be deliuered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our ſelues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our courſe, and made way 18 leagues.

Aprill. From the firſt day of Aprill to the 20 we went our courſe, and then found our ſelues to bee in the height of the Aſores.

May. The ſeuenth day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on ſhoare with our boate had freſh drinke, and two ſheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further ſuch other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would ſerue vs till we arriued in England.

Their arriuall at Briſtoll. The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Briſtoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in ſafetie and gaue thankes to God for our ſafe arriuall.

The ſecond voyage made by Maiſter *VVilliam Towrſon* to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and the Caſtle of *Mina*, in the yeere 1556. with the *Tiger* of *London*, a ſhip of 120 tunnes, the *Hart* of *London* of 60 tunnes, and a Pinneſſe of ſixteene tunnes.

The fourteenth day of September, the yeere aboueſayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our courſe for the Iſle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinneſſe, which were rigged and victualed at Briſtoll, but arriuing there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not eſpying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinneſſe came to vs, ſo that the 15 of

November. November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had ſight of the Iſle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

December. The third day of December we fell with the Iſle of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Carauels fiſhing for Pargoes.

Sierra Leona. The 19 we found our ſelues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did ſet to the West Southweſtward ſo faſt as if it had bene the ouerfall of a ſand, making a great noyſe like vnto a ſtreame or tide-gate when the water is ſhoale: and to prooue whither we could finde ground in this place, we ſounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and ſo departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, and had firſt ſight of it about 4 leagues off. The beſt marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeaſt and by Eaſt from vs: betwixt the Northermoſt two hilles there are two high and great trees ſtanding in ſight as it were a ſailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northweſtwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing ſayled ſomewhat into the ſhoare wee tooke our ſelues to be ſhorte ſomewhat paſt the riuer de Seſtos, ſo that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had ſight of three ſayles of ſhippes and two pinneſſes which were in the weather of vs, and hauing ſight of them we made our ſelues readie to meete them, and halled off our ſhips to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and hauing ſayled about an houre or two, they alſo went about, and went as we went to make themſelues readie, and when we had them in chaſe, they went away from vs: but when they had made themſelues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs verie finely appointed with their ſtreamers, and pendants and enſignes, and noyſe of trumpets very brauely: ſo when we met, they had the weather of vs, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waued them to come vnder our Lee, which they denied ſtoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they ſayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of vs what Portugals wee had ſeene, we anſwered, none but Fiſhermen: then they told vs that there were certaine Portugall ſhips gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the riuer de Seſtos, which was a ſhip of two hundred which they had burned, and had ſaued none but the maſter and two or three Negros, and certaine others which were ſore burned which they left a ſhore there. Then they deſired to come aboord of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboord very friendly, deſiring vs to keepe them company becauſe of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coaſt, and they ſhewed vs that we were fiftie leagues paſt the riuer de Seſtos: notwithſtanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boats becauſe they would haue our companie. And told vs further, that they had bene ſixe weekes vpon the coaſt, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongſt them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portogals were there and did take them, they would vnderſtand that we were behind, and ſo would waite for vs. And further we made account that if we went with them we ſhould doe as well as they, if the coaſt were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were aſſured to be the ſtronger. Therefore hauing conſidered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they deſired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the maſters of our ſhips with me, and ſuch marchants as I thought good, promiſing to giue vs water out of their owne ſhips if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs and helpe vs to water with their own boats and pinnaſſes.

The riuer of Seſtos.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall ſent his boat aboord for me, and I tooke our maſters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, deſiring vs ſtill to keepe his company, promiſing that what victuals were in his ſhips, or other things that might doe vs pleaſure vntill the end, we ſhould haue the one halfe of it, offering vs if we would to furle his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to ſend our boat on ſhore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnaſſes, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to ſeeke water, as for our pinnaſſe ſhe came to an anker to ſeaward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this night the boats continued on ſhore.

The firſt day of January our boats came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we weighed and ſet ſaile, and ankred againe at another riuer.

The 2 day we went into the riuer and bargained, and tooke 5 ſmall Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fifteene ſmall teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with vs and went to ſeeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebuſſes, pikes, long bowes, croſſebowes, partizans, long ſwordes, and ſwordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee ſtroke diuers times with harquebuſſes and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The fift day we ſet ſaile and ranne along the coaſt.

An aſſault vpon elephants.

The 6 day we fell with the riuer de S. Andre, at which place the land is ſomewhat high to the Weſtward of the riuer, and a faire Baie alſo to the Weſtward of it: but to the Eaſtward of it it is lowe land.

Rio de S. Andre.

Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 7 day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accuſtomed to trade. It is a very great riuer and 7 fadome water in ſome places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after ſet ſaile.

The 8 day we ſailed along the ſhore and came to the Redcliffes, and went forward in ſailing the 9 day alſo.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ſhips, Ierom Baudet his vice admiral, and Iohn de Orleans maſter of a ſhip of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God ſhould ſend vs to any place where wee might make ſale, that we ſhould be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the reſt, and then one boate to make ſale for euery ſhippe. This night our boats going to the ſhore met with certaine Negros, who ſaid that they had gold, and therefore we here caſt anker.

Allow.

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negros called this place Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coaſt and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our courſe.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the ſhore, and paſſed by diuers ſmall townes, and was waued to come on ſhore at 3 places, but the ſea went ſo high vpon the ſhore, that it was not poſſible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boats, as I could ſee none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the Land-waſh went ſo ſore that it ouerthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried ſo ſore, that we might eaſily heare them, and they got his body out of the ſea, and caried it amongſt them to their towne.

Dondon a great towne.

The 14 day we came within Saker-ſhot of the caſtle, & ſtraightway they ſet forth and Almade to deſcry vs, and when they perceiued that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Caſtle which is called by the Negros Dondou. Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the caſtle ſtandeth vpon a point which ſheweth almoſt like an Iland. Before we came at this caſtle, we found the land for fiue or ſix leagues to be high land, and about ſeuen leagues before we came to the caſtle, lowe land, vntil we came at the caſtle, and then wee found the land high againe. This caſtle ſtandeth about fiue leagues to the Eaſt of Cape de Trespuntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne alongſt the ſhore till I came to the Cape and found two ſmall townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At theſe places our Negros did vnderſtand them well, and one of them went a ſhore at all the places and was well receiued of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The caſtle of Mina.
Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the ſhore, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a ſmal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the ſame towne, but the Negros in a long time would not come to vs, but at the laſt by the perſwaſion of our owne Negros, one boat came to vs, and with him we ſent George our Negro a ſhore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gaue to their captaine a baſon, and two ſtrings of Margarites, and they ſhewed vs about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required ſo much for it that wee would not take it, becauſe the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then euery man to ſell in his owne boat, and no man to giue more thē the price which ſhould be ſet by vs al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and ſhewed them all the friendſhip they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by vs.

Bulle.

The Negros here ſhewed vs that a moneth ſince there were 3 ſhips that fought together, & the two ſhippes put the other to flight: and before that at the caſtle of Mina there were 4 ſhips of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman cauſed them all to flee, which ſhippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnaſſe alſo. And further, that after her went a ſhippe of twelue ſcore named the Shauuet all alone, and after her a ſhip of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others alſo which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Seſtos, beſides theſe 3 which all this time be in our company, whoſe names be theſe:

The Eſpoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whoſe captaine is Denis Blundell.
The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whoſe maſter is Ierome Bauder.
The other is of Hunfleur whoſe maſter is called Iohn de Orleans.

Hanta.

The ſixteenth day I went along the ſhore with two pinnaſſes of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a freſh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy when they ſaw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and ſhould bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboord with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was ſo ſmall that wee could not giue them the halfe of that which they demanded for it.

The Negros here told vs that there were fiue Portugall ſhippes at the Caſtle and one pinnaſſe, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they liued in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a ſhore and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negros were ſo vnreaſonable, we ſold 80 Manellios for one ounce of gold.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer with fiue boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noiſes of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to haue found ſome Portugals but there were none: ſo wee ſent our Negros on ſhore, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negros, ſpecially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and ſo did all the reſt of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee ſhould not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we cauſed our boats to ſhoote off their baſes and harquebuſſes, and cauſed our men to come on ſhore with their long bowes, and they ſhot before the captaine, which he, with all the reſt of the people, wondred much at, ſpecially to ſee them ſhoot ſo farre as they did, and aſſaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ſhips, for we looked euery houre for the Portugals. *And here the Negros ſhewed vs that there was an Engliſh ſhip at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynſh tooke away.

Shamma.

The Negros brought home by our men.

*Note.

Robert Gaynſh.

The 18 day we went into the riuer with no leſſe ſtrength then before, and concluded with the Negros to giue them for euery Fuſſe two yards and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: ſo that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a ſhore euery man for himſelfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Hartes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros ſhewed vs that the next day the Portugals would be with vs by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebuſſes ſhoote off in the woods by vs which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durſt come no neerer to vs, but ſhot off in the woods to ſee if they could feare vs and ſo make vs to leaue our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our fiue boats, and alſo a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corſlets, and the reſt all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with ſtreamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the riuer to waft vs, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told vs that there were certain ſhips come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Weſtward of this place.

Hanta.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Weſtwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and ſold at the ſame rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a ſhore againe and traffiqued in like ſort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and ſix ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to vs and told vs that the king of Portugals ſhips were departed from the Caſtle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heed to our ſelues: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to aſſure them that we were glad of it, wee ſounded our trumpets, and ſhot off certaine baſes whereof the Negros were very glad; and requeſted vs that if the Portugals ſought to hinder our traffique, to ſhew them all the extremitie that we could, promiſing vs that if they came by land, they would aduertiſe vs thereof.

The 24 we went a ſhore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

The 25 day we being a ſhore, our ſhips had deſcried fiue ſailes of the king of Portugals, & our ſhips ſhot off ordinance to call vs away, and we threw euery man his caſke a ſhore for water, and went to our ſhips, and by that time we had weighed and giuen order one to another what to do, it was night, ſo ẏ that night nothing was done. We ſet ſaile and lay cloſe all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere ſome of them, and one ſhot off a piece which we iudged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cauſe the reſt to come and ſpeake with him: ſo all this night we made our ſelues ready for fight.

Fiue ſailes of Portingals deſcried.

The 26 we came in with the ſhore and had ſight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white ſcarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culuering ſhot of them.

The 27 day we weighed and ſo did the Portugals, and about eleuen of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the ſhore againe, and wee after them, and when they were ſo neere the ſhore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topſailes and taried for them: and the firſt that came vp was a ſmall barke which ſailed ſo well that ſhe cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordinance: and aſſoone as ſhe came vp, ſhe ſhot at vs, and ouerſhot vs, and then ſhe ſhot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and ſhot him through in two or three places, and went foorth a head of vs, becauſe we were in our fighting ſailes: then came vp another carauell vnder our Lee in like caſe which ſhot at vs and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and ſhot him through the maine maſte. And after them came vp the Admirall vnder our Lee alſo, but he was not able to doe vs ſo much harme as the ſmall ſhippes, becauſe he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good ſhot at any of them, becauſe our ſhippe was ſo weake in the ſide, that ſhe laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ſhip aboord, and as ſoone as the French Admirall went roome with him, he fell a ſterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell a ſterne of two carauels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all: and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the ſhoreward, and left vs, and then we put out our topſailes and gaue them chaſe, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne ſhip was a ſterne ſo that ſhe could not come to vs: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the ſeaward, they kept about againe towards the ſhore, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, and to haue the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the ſhore, and we kept about with them, and kept ſtill the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would haue folowed vs as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was paſt by them, and euery one had ſhot at vs and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnaſſe left vs in the laps, and ran to ſeaward, and we ran ſtill along, and kept the wind of them to ſuccour the French Admirall, who was vnder all of their Lees, and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, and gaue him the broad ſide, and after they caſt about againe, and durſt not boord him, becauſe they ſawe vs in the weather of them or els without doubt they had taken or ſunke them, for three of them which were the ſmalleſt, went ſo faſt that it was not poſſible for a ſhip to boord them, and caried ſuch ordinance that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled 3 of the beſt ſhips that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notablie appointed.

The fight with the Portugals.

The French forſake our men.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them ſtill towardes the ſhore, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the reſt, and left vs all alone: and when the Portugals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chaſe, they kept about with vs and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne ſtill within baſe ſhot of them, but they ſhot not at vs, becauſe we had the weather of them, and ſawe that they could do vs no hurt: and thus we folowed one another vntil night, and in the night we loſt them, but as for all the reſt of our ſhips, they packed on all the ſailes that they could and ranne to ſea, and as they themſelues confeſſe, they praied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnaſſe, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ſhip of fourſcore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the ſight of the reſt of our ſhips, I tooke our ſkiffe and went to them to know why they loſt vs in ſuch a caſe, and Iohn Kire made me anſwere that his ſhip would neither reare nor ſteere, and as for the pinnaſſe, Iohn Dauis made me anſwere that ſhe would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, ſo that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himſelfe to be a man of good ſtomacke, but the one halfe of his men were ſicke and dead: and then I talked with the ſmaller Frenchman, and he made mee anſwere that he could doe nothing, ſaying, that his ſhip would beare no ſaile, and had 16 of his men dead and ſicke, ſo he made vs plaine anſwere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the French men durſt not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day the maſter of the pinnaſſe came to vs and ſayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and ſeeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her vp and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure baſes,one anker,and certaine fire wood, and ſet her on fire,and afterwards ran along the coaſt.

The thirtie day we went in to the ſhore, and ſpake with certaine Negros, who told vs that ſome French ſhippes had bene there,but wee could not bargaine with them they were ſo vnreaſonable.

The 31 day I went to ſhore but did not traffike.

Februarie.

The 1 day of Februarie we weighed,ſeeing we could not bring the Negros to any reaſon,and came to another place which ſtandeth vpon an hill.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from vs,and ſhot off two pieces,and the Captaine came to vs, and I ſent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and aſſoone as he came on ſhore the Captaine knew him and diuers of the Negros who then began to aſke for mee, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by cauſed two boates to be put to the Sea,and came to me himſelfe, and when he ſawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and ſeemed to be the gladdeſt man aliue, and ſo did all the companie that knew mee,and I gaue him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and cauſed the Frenchmen to giue another,promiſing the next day to giue him wine: and that night becauſe it was late,he would not talke of any price,but left me a pledge,and tooke another of me and ſo departed.

The 4 day going on ſhore,I found that the ſhips of France which had bin there,had done much hurt to our markets,but yet I tooke fiue ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I ſaw that the Negros perceiued the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better,and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, becauſe I perceiued that being there where his Cloth was ſold,I ſhould do no good, whereof hee was ſorie.

The 6 day there came an Almade & Negros aboord me, requeſting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and ſo I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, becauſe the marchants were not come downe: ſo he required a pledge which I let him haue,and tooke another of him.

George our Negro.

The 7 day George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the leaſt 30 leagues in a ſmall boat,and when he came,the Negros and we ſoone concluded of price. I tooke this day fiue pound and one ounce,and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who ſaid that he ſaw the fight being on ſhore,and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their riuer, and told them that the Engliſhmen had ſlaine two Portugals with a piece,which was in deed out of our ſhip, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not ſuffer them.

Two Portugals ſlaine by the Engliſh.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound ſix ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to vs Ierome Bawdet the Viceadmirall of the Frenchmen and his pinnaſſe, and he ſhewed vs that where we left them there was no good to be done, and ſayd he would goe to the Eaſtward, but wee told him hee ſhould not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refuſed to doe vntill wee had ſhot three or foure pieces at their pinnaſſe,and when the ſhip ſawe that, ſhe kept about, and ranne to Seaward,and durſt come no neerer to vs,ſo the pinnaſſe went after her. We tooke this day one pound fiue ounces.

The Frenchmen bridled by the Engliſh.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnaſſes to vs ladē with cloth,and would haue made ſale,but I would not ſuffer him, and therefore tooke him and ſent him aboord of our ſhip, and cauſed him to ride there all day. We tooke fiue pound ſix ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of ſome Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a ſhore and vnderſtood that 3 of the Portugall ſhips were at the Caſtle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to ſpeake with their king,and would returne ſhortly as they told me,and ſo he did, and brought me a weight and meaſure,and I ſent a man to ſee that principall towne,and their king. The Portugall ſhips rid ſo neere vs, that within 3 houres they might be with vs, yet were all contented to tary for ſales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings ſeruaunts came to vs, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 10 day we tooke fiue pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they ſayd, but ſeeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I prouided a gift, or preſent, and ſent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reaſon whereof we could not ſtay long: for in deed we ſearched our ſhip, and the moſt part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Abaan.

The offer of the king to the Engliſh to build a Fort.

The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told vs, that he had receiued thẽ very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promiſed, if we would tary, to ſend into all his countrey for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home to ſpeake to our king to ſend men and prouiſion into his countrey, to build a caſtle, and to bring Taylors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they ſhould be ſure to ſell them: but for that preſent the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

A towne in circuit as big as London.

A pretie deuiſe to deſcrie the enemie.

This towne ſtandeth about foure leagues vp in the land, and is, by the eſtimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the reſt of the countrey. They haue about this Towne great ſtore of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one ſide of the towne there were one thouſand rikes of Wheate, and another ſort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much vſed in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made faſt ouer their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bels vpon them, ſo that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houſes to ſee what they be: and if they be enemies, if they paſſe the cord, they haue prouiſion with certaine nets hanged ouer the wayes, where they muſt paſſe, to let fall vpon them, and ſo take them, and otherwiſe then by the wayes it is not poſſible to enter the towne, by reaſon of the thickets and buſhes which are about the ſame, and the towne is alſo walled round about with long cords, and bound together with ſedge and certaine barkes of trees.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

When our men came to the towne, it was about fiue of the clock in the morning, for there they trauell alwayes in the night by reaſon of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king ſent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be ſent for, and then they would haue caried their preſent with them: but the Negros told them, that they muſt bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that ſent for them againe three times, and laſt of all, they brought him their preſent, which he receiued thankfully, and then cauſed a pot of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they vſe certaine ceremonies.

Their ceremonies in drinking.

Firſt, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put ſome of the drinke into it, and they caſt the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before, and then they ſet the pot vpon the ſame, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the ſame drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees ſet in the groũd before them, and there they put in ſome drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the ſame Palme trees.

All theſe ceremonies firſt done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpõ the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the king licenſed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly ſitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and fiue ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then ſeeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

Mowre.

The firſt day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde vs that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagoua.

Lagoua.

The ſecond day we came thwart of the caſtle, and about two leagues off, and there ſaw all the fiue Portugall ſhips at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

They returne.

The third day we had ſight of one tall ſhip, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of vs, and within leſſe then two leagues of our ſhips, and then we ſaw two more a ſterne of her, the one a ſhip of fiue hundred or more, and the other a pinneſſe: and theſe were a new fleet at that preſent arriued out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made ſhift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-ſouthweſt, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of vs. Theſe Portugals gaue vs the chaſe from nine of the clocke in the morning, till fiue at night, but did no good againſt vs. At laſt, we perceiuing the Admirall to be farre a ſterne of his company, becauſe his maine top-maſt was ſpent, determined to caſt about with them againe, becauſe we were ſure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our beſt courſe: but the Hart was ſo farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would loſe her company, ſo that we tooke in ſome of our ſailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not ſpeake to vs: then we aſked of his company why he went ſo roome; and they made excuſe that they were able to beare no ſaile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmaſt ouer boord: but this was a ſimple excuſe.

Ships of Portugall.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to ſeethe our meat in ſalt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and ſo concluded to ſet our courſe thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my ſelfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Menſurado, about which place is very much high land.

Cape Menſurado.

The 18 day we loſt ſight of the Hart, and I thinke the wilfull Maſter ran in with the ſhore of purpoſe to loſe vs, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

The 27 day we fell in ſight of two ſmall Ilands, which lie by our reckoning ſixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in ſight of the ſame Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the leaſt off them. Therefore all they that ſaile this way are to regard the currents which ſet Northnorthweſt, or els they may be much deceiued.

Two ſmall Ilands by Sierra Leona.
Note.

The 14 of Aprill we met with two great ſhips of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heigth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The firſt day of May Henry Wilſon our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

The ſixt day we were in the heigth of S. Michael.

The 23 we had ſight of a ſhippe in the weather of vs, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with vs as ſtoutly and as deſperately as might be, and comming neere vs perceiued that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue layed vs aboord, & there ſtept vp ſome of his men in armour, and commanded vs to ſtrike ſaile: whereupon we ſent them ſome of our ſtuffe, croſſe barres, and chaineſhot, and arrowes, ſo thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their ſhippe flie about their eares, and we ſpoiled him with all his men, and toare his ſhippe miſerably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a ſterne of vs, and to packe on his ſailes, and get away: and we ſeeing that, gaue him foure or fiue good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this Frenchman, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboord vs a Frenchman a Trumpetter, who being ſicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithſtanding, and ſounded till he could ſound no more, and ſo died.

A French bragado.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Seuerne, and ſo to Briſtoll, but the ſame night we had ſight of the Lizard, and by reaſon of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arriued ſafely in Plimmouth, and praiſed God for our good arriuall.

The third and laſt voyage of M. *VVilliam Towrſon* to the coaſt of *Guinie*, and the Caſtle *de Mina*, in the yeere 1577.

The thirtieth day of January, the yeere aboueſayd, we departed out of the ſound of Plimmouth, with three ſhips, and a pinneſſe, whereof the names are theſe:

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
2 The Chriſtopher Viceadmirall.
3 The Tyger.
4 A pinneſſe called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coaſt of Guinie.

It is to be vnderſtood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

The next day, being the laſt of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Roſe, a ſhip of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Maſter of the Roſe was called Nicholas Maſſe, and the Maſter of the Vnicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the moſt part with wines. When we came to them, we cauſed them to hoiſe foorth their boats, and to come and ſpeake with vs, and we examined euery one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their ſhippes, and they ſayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the ſuſpicion which we gathered of their falſe chartar-parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore cauſed one of them to fetch vp his bils of lading, and becauſe he denied that he had any, we ſent certaine with him, who cauſed him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them ſtraightly, and firſt the Purſer of the Vnicorne, which was the ſmaller ſhippe, confeſſed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogſhead of a French mans. Then we examined the Maſter in like caſe, and he acknowledged the ſame to be true. Then we examined alſo the Maſter of the great ſhip, and he confeſſed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the ſame French mans, and more they would not confeſſe, but ſayd that all the reſt was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithſtanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confeſſed that they had thus much French mens goods within their ſhippes, we conferred together what was beſt to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it ſhould be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make ſale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Maſters, firſt by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no ſuch matter we ſhould in any caſe prolong the time, for feare of loſing the voyage, and conſidering that the time of the yeere was very farre ſpent, and the money that we ſhould make of the wines not very much, in reſpect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perſwaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Eaſterly as it was, might be an occaſion that we ſhould be locked in there with that winde, and ſo loſe our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, ſeeing they ſailed ſo ill, that hauing all their ſailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foreſailes, and without any toppe ſailes abroad, ſo that in euery two dayes ſailing they would haue hindered vs more then one; and beſides that (the winde being Eaſterly) we ſhould not be able to ſeaze the coaſt with them: beſides all this the loſſe of time when we came thither was to be conſidered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, conſidering what charge we had of our Maſters, to ſhift vs out of the way for feare of a ſtay by reaſon of the warres, I held it not in any wiſe conuenient.

The French mens goods ſeazed in the time of the warre vpon the loſſe of Cales.

But notwithſtanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith ſatiſfied went to our Maſter to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine anſwere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the beſt way nor the profit of their Maſters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they paſſed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All theſe things conſidered, we all pauſed, and determined at the laſt, that euery man ſhould take out of the hulks ſo much as he could well beſtow for neceſſaries, and the next morning to conclude what ſhould be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinneſſe.

More we tooke out one hogſhead of Aquauitæ.
Sixe cakes of rozzen.
A ſmall halſer for ties: and certeine cheſnuts.

The Chriſtopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogſhead.
A quantity of Aquauitæ,
Shall-lines,
Cheſnuts.

Sixe double baſes with their chambers. And their men broke vp the hulks cheſts, and tooke out their compaſſes, and running glaſſes, the ſounding leade and line, and candles: and caſt ſome of their beefe ouer boord, and ſpoiled them ſo much, that of very pity we gaue them a compaſſe, a running glaſſe, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ſhip, we gaue them againe, and ſome money alſo of that which William Crompton tooke for the ranſome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bordeux, they were not able to ſet him a ſhore againe, by reaſon of the foule weather.

The Tyger alſo tooke out of the ſmaller hulke ſixe or ſeuen tunnes of wine, one hogſhead of Aquauitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two baſes he tooke out of the great hulke.

The firſt day of Februarie in the morning we all came together againe ſauing W. Crompton who ſent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we ſhould take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not beſt to let the ſhips depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Maſter would agree vnto, becauſe we thought it not good to vnman our ſhips going outward, conſidering how dangerous the time was: ſo that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the reſt of the wine which they had in their ſhips of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquauitæ, cheſnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bill of their handes, that they confeſſed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our ſelues to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinneſſe brake her rudder, ſo that we were forced to towe her at the ſterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the reſt of our ſhips. About eleuen of the clocke this day we had ſight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceiued that it was the Iſle of Tenerif, & then in deed wee had ſight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eaſtwards of Tenerif: and becauſe the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinneſſe, hauing the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the ſame towne. And after we had ſhot off diuers pieces of ordinance to ſalute the towne and the caſtle, the gouernour and captaines of the Iland ſent to vs which were the captaines of the ſhips, requiring vs to come a ſhore. And when we came to them they receiued vs very frendly, offering vs their owne Iennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendſhip they could ſhew vs: and we went to the towne with two Engliſh Marchants which lay there, and remained in their houſe that day. The ſecond day following we came aboord to deliuer our marchandiſe, and to get our pinneſſe mended.

Two Engliſh Marchants Ligiers in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spaniſh fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene ſails, whereof ſixe were ſhips of foure hundred and fiue hundred a piece, the reſt were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they ſaluted vs with ordinance, and ſo we did them in like caſe. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) ſent his pinneſſe to deſire me to come to him; and when I came to him he receiued me friendly, and was deſirous to heare ſomewhat of the ſtate of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone vnto the boat, hee cauſed one of his gentlemen to deſire Franciſco the Portugall, which was mine interpreter, to require me to furle my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboord) Franciſco ſhewed me: and becauſe I refuſed to furle it, and kept it foorth ſtill, certaine of the ſouldiers in the ſhips ſhot diuers harquebuſh ſhot about the ſhip, and ouer the flagge: and at the ſame time there came certaine gentlemen aboord our ſhip to further it: to whom I ſayd, that if they would not cauſe thoſe their men to leaue ſhooting, I would ſhoot the beſt ordinance I had thorow their ſides. And when they perceiued that I was offended, they departed, and cauſed their men of warre and ſouldiers to ſhoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had puniſhed their men. That done, I ſhewed them the ſhip, and made them ſuch cheere as I could, which they receiued very thankfully: and the day following they ſent for mee to dine with them, and ſent me word that their Generall was very ſory that any man ſhould require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his conſent: and therefore

The Spaniſh Weſt Indian fleet of nineteene ſaile.

he requeſted me not to thinke any vngentleneſſe to be in him, promiſing that no man of his ſhould miſdemeane himſelfe.

The 17 day we ſet ſaile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

Rio del Oro.

The 20 in the morning we had ſight of the coaſt of Barbarie, and running along the ſhore we had ſight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almoſt vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found our ſelues to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had ſight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

Francis Caſtelin.

Cape verde.

Foure Ilands.

A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape verde.

The 26 I tooke Franciſco and Francis Caſtelin with me, and went into the pinneſſe, and ſo went to the Tyger which was neerer the ſhore then the other ſhips, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ſhips we ranne Weſt and by South, and Weſt-ſouthweſt, vntill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape; and then we ran in Southweſt, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and beſides that two or three Ilands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers ſorts of ſea-foule, and of pigeons, with other ſorts of land-foules, and ſo many, that the whole Iland was couered with the dung thereof, and ſeemed ſo white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within thoſe Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eighteene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the bay, and vnderſtanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were deſirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Chriſtopher ancred in like caſe: then we cauſed the pinneſſe to runne beyond another Cape of land, to ſee if there were any place to trade in there.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers ſkiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Chriſtopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I deſirous to ſpend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Maſter of the Chriſtopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Elephants teeth, muſke, and hides.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and Iohn Makeworth from the Chriſtopher, and then we agreed to take the pinneſſe, & to come along the ſhore, becauſe that where we rid no Negros came to vs, and the night before our pinneſſe brought vs word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it ſo, and withall a goodly bay, and we ſaw vpon the maine certaine Negros which waued vs on ſhore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinneſſe, and went a ſhore with our cocke, and they ſhewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muſke, & hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would ſend a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we asked them when any ſhip had bene there; and ſome of them ſayd not in eight moneths, others, in ſixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

Then we perceiuing the Chriſtopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & ſet ſaile with the pinneſſe and went aboord the Tyger.

Cabo de Monte.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, fiue leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape de Monte, beſide a riuer called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the ſhore, and found one man that could ſpeake ſome Portuguiſe, who tolde vs that there were three French ſhips paſſed by; one of them two moneths paſt, and the other one moneth paſt. At this place I receiued nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The riuer de Seſtos.

The 12 we ſet ſaile to go to the riuer de Seſtos.

The 13 at night we fell with the ſame riuer.

The 14 day we ſent in our boats to take water, and romaged our ſhippes, and deliuered ſuch wares to the Chriſtopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to ſend the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to ſee what ſhe could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandiſe with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Liſbone, left there by a ſhip of Portugal which was burned the laſt yere at this riuer in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told vs further, that two moneths paſt there were three Frenchmen at this place, and ſixe weekes paſt there were two French ſhips at the riuer, and fifteene dayes paſt there was one. All which ſhips were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but fewe graines.

The 19 day conſidering that the Frenchmen were gone before vs, and that by reaſon of the vnholeſome aires of this place fourteene of our men in the Minion were fallen ſicke, wee determined to depart, and with all ſpeed to go to the Mina.

The

Rio de Potos.

The 21 wee came to the riuer de Potos, where ſome of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 ſmall Elephants teeth.

The 23 day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we ſet ſaile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made ſale of certaine Manillios.

They deſcrie fiue ſaile of the Portugals.

The firſt Aprill we hat ſight of fiue ſaile of Portugals, whereupon we ſet ſaile and went off to ſea to get the winde of them, which wee ſhould haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary courſe, which is all the day at the Southweſt, and Weſt-ſouthweſt: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the Eaſt, and Eaſt-ſoutheaſt, ſo that the Portugals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs vntill night, and brought themſelues all ſaue one, which ſailed not ſo well as the reſt, within ſhot of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came vp to the Southweſt, howbeit it was neere night, and the Chriſtopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of vs. We tacked and raune into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we ſpake to him, but he would not anſwere. Then we caſt about and lay in the weather of him; and caſting about he ſhot at vs, and then wee ſhot at him, and ſhot him foure or fiue times thorow. They ſhot diuers times thorow our ſailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinneſſe, becauſe it was night, kept out their ſailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboord becauſe it was night, we left ſhooting one at the other, and kept ſtill the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinneſſe kept about and came to vs, and afterward being neere the ſhore, we three kept about and lay to the ſea, and ſhot off a piece to giue warning to the Chriſtopher.

The fight.

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Maſter of the Tyger aſleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ſhip fel aboord of vs, and with her ſheare-hooks cut our maine ſaile, and her boat being betwixt vs was broken and ſuncke, with certaine marchandiſe in her, and the ſhips wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the end we cleared her without any more hurt, but ſhe was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The ſecond day we had ſight of the Chriſtopher, and were neere vnto her, ſo that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they ſhewed me, that after the Portugals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night met him, and ſhot at him, and hee at them, and they ſhot him thorow the ſailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had vnderſtood that they had beene with him as well as with vs, we agreed altogether to ſeeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southweſtwards to ſeeke the Portugals, but could haue no ſight of them, and halled into the ſhore.

The fourth day, when we had ſight of land, we found that the currant had ſet vs thirty leagues to the Eaſtwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the firſt land we made was Lagua. Then I cauſed our boat to be manned, and the Chriſtophers alſo, and went to the ſhore and tooke our Negro with vs. And on ſhore we learned that there were foure French ſhips vpon the coaſt; one at Perinnen, which is ſix leagues to the Weſtward of Laguoa: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eſtward of Laguoa: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eaſtward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eaſtward of Perecow.

Lagua.

Perinnen.
Weamba.
Perecow.
Egrand.

When we had intelligence of theſe newes we agreed to go to the Eaſtwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and ſhot off two or three pieces in our boats to cauſe the ſhips to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder ſaile, we had ſight of one of the French men vnder ſaile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gaue chaſe, and agreed in the night for feare of ouerſhooting them, that the Minion ſhould firſt come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Chriſtopher to beare along all night.

The 5 day we found three of the French ſhips at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ſhip of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuſe or ſmall Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ſhip of 120 tunnes, and this ſhip belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboord, the Chriſtopher the Viceadmirall, and the Tyger the ſmalleſt: but when we came neere them they wayed, and the Chriſtopher being the headmoſt & the weathermoſt man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went ſo faſt that wee could not fetch her. The firſt that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ſhip was the richeſt except the Admirall:

The Engliſh boord the Frenchmen.

for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeberge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in conſort together, and had bene vpon the coaſt of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeberge had bene there before them with another ſhip of Diepe, and a carauel, which had beaten all the coaſt, and were departed one moneth before our arriuing there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

Aſſoone as we had layed the ſhip aboord, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we ſet ſaile and gaue chaſe to the other two ſhips, and chaſed them all day and night, and the next day vntill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therfore ſeeing that we brought our ſelues very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chaſe, and kept about againe to go with the ſhore.

Fifty pound of golde taken in the French priſe.

The 7 day I ſent for the captaine, marchants & maſters of the other ſhips, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and fiue ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of euery ſhip into the priſe to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, diſcharged all the marchants goods out of the priſe, and would haue ſold the ſhip with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but becauſe ſhe was leake they would not take her, but deſired vs to ſaue their liues in taking them into our owne ſhips: then we agreed to take out the victuals and ſinke the ſhip, and diuide the men among our ſhips.

The 15 at night we made an end of diſcharging the priſe, and diuided all the Frenchmen except foure which were ſicke and not able to helpe themſelues; which foure both the Chriſtopher and the Tyger refuſed to take, leauing them in their ſhip alone in the night, ſo that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ſhip.

Benin.

The 15 of April, mouing our company for the voyage to Benin, the moſt part of them all refuſed it.

The 16, ſeeing the vnwillingneſſe of the company to goe thither, we determined to ſpend as much time vpon the coaſt as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Chriſtopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weather ward of this place: and if any of them both ſhould haue ſight of more ſailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their fellowes; to wit, firſt the Chriſtopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

Our men die of ſickneſſe.

We remained in this place called Egrand, vntill the laſt day of April, in which time many of our men fell ſicke; and ſixe of them died. And here we could haue no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the reſt of the weeke they would not come at vs.

The 3 of May not hauing the pinneſſe ſent vs with cloth from the other ſhips, as they promiſed, we ſolde French cloth, and gaue but three yards thereof to euery fuſſe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had diuers of our men ſicke.

Sickneſſe.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being ſold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the ſale of the cloth taken in the priſe at this place or no: they anſwered, that in reſpect of the death of ſome of their men, and the preſent ſickneſſe of twenty more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ſhips, of whom they had heard nothing ſince the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinneſſe with them, onely to cary newes from one to another.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to ſee what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don Iohn.

The 10 day in the morning we ſet ſaile to ſeeke the Chriſtopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the captaine of the Chriſtopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde ſmall doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our ſmall pinneſſe went to the Tyger and the Chriſtopher at Perenine.

The 13 we ſent away the Tyger to Egrand, becauſe we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinneſſe came to vs, and preſently we put cloth into her, and ſent her backe to Weamba, where ſhe had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a ſhore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre.

The 19 day hauing ſet ſaile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Iohns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to ſhore, but the Negros would not come at vs; then the Captaine of the Chriſtopher and I tooke a ſkiffe and eight men with vs, and went and talked with the Negros, and they ſayd that they would ſend a man to the great towne, where Don Iohn himſelfe lay, to aduertiſe him of our comming.

The great towne of Don Iohn.

The 23 we went a ſhore againe, and the Negros tolde vs that this day the marchants of Don Iohn would come downe: ſo we tarried there vntill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negros made vs ſignes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Chriſtopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he iudged came from the caſtle, and cauſed all the Negros to depart from him: and when he ſaw they would come no more to him, he went a ſhore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros caſt ſtones at them, & would not ſuffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they ſaw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the ſea, and afterwards departed. The ſame morning I went a ſhore at Don Iohns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which cauſed vs to iudge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to vs well manned, and I ſent one man vp to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not ſpeake with him. Then I ſent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no caſe would come to vs. When we ſaw that, we tooke twelue goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinneſſe come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & fiue ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ſhip, and the Chriſtopher went to Mowre.

Cormatin.

The 25 day the Maſter of the Chriſtopher ſent his boat to the ſhore for balaſt, and the Negros would haue beaten the company from the ſhore, whereupon the company reſiſted them, and ſlew and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

A fight with the Negros.

The 26 day our pinneſſe came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleuen ounces of golde: and Iohn Shiriſe tolde vs that the Negros of that place were very deſirous to haue a ſhip come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Chriſtopher came to vs from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The ſecond day of Iune the Tyger came to vs from Egrand, and the pinneſſe from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde ſince they departed from vs.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie vp to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer vpon the coaſt for lacke of victuals, and ſpecially of drinke.

The 7 day we had ſight of fiue of the king of Portugals ſhips, which came to an ancre beſides the caſtle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our ſmall pinneſſe, and the Captaine of the Chriſtopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the caſtle to view the Portugals ſhips, and there we found one ſhip of about 300 tunne, and foure carauels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ſhips which we found ſeuen leagues at ſea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our ſelues wel ſhot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with vs, but the Minion & the pinneſſe had not wayed that night, ſo that we were out of ſight of them: and hauing brought our ſelues in the weather of the Portugals ſhips, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinneſſe came vp to vs, but could not fetch ſo farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The caſtle, and we waied in the Chriſtopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with vs, and ſhe and the Chriſtopher finding themſelues to ſtand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portugals ſhips to haue fetched ſome of them forth: but our maſter and company would in no caſe conſent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ſhips being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuſe them, durſt not go to them.

After this, by reaſon of the want of victuals in the pinneſſe, which could receiue no victuals from the other ſhippes, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelue Frenchmen into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arriued at Shamma, and the Chriſtopher within two

Note.

leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reaſon of the ſcantneſſe of the winde, which hath bene ſo ſcant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the windewards but twelue leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinneſſe, and went to the towne of Shamma to ſpeake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor ſo much as a hen to be bought, and all by reaſon of the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I ſeeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put ſuch things as we had into our ſmall pinneſſe, and tooke one marchant of our ſhip, and another of the Tyger, and ſent her to Hanta, to attempt, if ſhe could doe any thing there. That night they could do nothing but were promiſed to haue golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we ſent our pinneſſe to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durſt traffike with vs, but intiſed vs from place to place, and all to no purpoſe.

They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinneſſe.

This day we put away our pinneſſe, with fiue and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gaue them ſuch victuals as we could ſpare, putting fifteene of them to the ranſome of ſixe crownes a man.

The 23 of Iune our pinneſſe came to vs from Hanta, and tolde vs that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpoſe.

Shamma burnt by the Engliſh.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinneſſe, and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and becauſe the Captaine thereof was become ſubiect to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men ſeeking the ſpoile of ſuch trifles as were there found a Portugals cheſt, wherein was ſome of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter ſent to him from the caſtle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

Their returne homeward.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we ſet ſaile, and put into the ſea, for our returne to England.

The laſt day of this moneth we fell with the ſhore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we ſet off. When we came to make the land, we found our ſelues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we ſet off, which came to paſſe, by reaſon of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eaſtward: when we perceiued our ſelues ſo abuſed, we agreed to caſt about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

The currant.

S.Thome Iland

The ſeuenth of Iuly we had ſight of the Ile of S.Thome, and thought to haue ſought the road to haue ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our courſe.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S.Thome, and ſeeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the ſhore, but could haue no ground to ancre: ſo that we were forced to hoiſe out our pinneſſe, and the other ſhips their ſkifs to towe from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the end the winde put vs three leagues off the ſhore..

The tenth day the Chriſtopher and the Tyger caſt about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe ſeeke ſome ſhips in the road, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our ſelues into the ſame danger that we were in the night before: but we ſhot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they anſwered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our courſe, and thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not ſee them, ſo that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleuenth day we altered our opinion and courſe, and conſented to caſt about againe for the Iland, to ſeeke our ſhips; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S.Thome; and the ſame night we found our ſelues directly vnder the line.

The deſcription of the Ile of S.Thome.

This Iland is a very high Iland, and being vpon the Weſt ſide of it, you ſhall ſee a very high pike, which is very ſmall, and ſtreight, as it were the ſteeple of a church, which pike lieth directly vnder the line, and at the ſame South end of the Iland to the Weſtward thereof lieth a ſmall Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of Auguſt we departed frõ the Ile of S.Thome, & met the winde at the Southweſt.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The Iland of Salt.

The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scottiſh man that we tooke among the Frenchmen vpon the coaſt, that there were freſh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our ſkiffe, and went a ſhore, and found no houſes, but we ſaw foure men, which kept themſelues alwayes farre from vs, as for cattell we could finde none, but great ſtore of goats, and they were ſo wilde, that we could not take aboue three or foure of them: but there we had good ſtore of fiſh, and vpon a ſmall Iland which lay by the ſame we had great ſtore of ſea-birds.

At night the Chriſtopher brake her cable, and loſt an ancre, ſo that ſhe could tary no longer, ſo we all wayed, and ſet ſaile. Vpon the ſame Iland we left the Scottiſh man, which was the occaſion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we iudged, the people of the Iland found him ſleeping, and ſo caried him away: for at night I went my ſelfe to the Iland to ſeeke him, but could heare nothing of him.

The 24 day the Maſter of the Tyger came aboord vs, & tolde vs that his men were ſo weake, and the ſhippe ſo leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboue the water, and therefore requeſted vs to go backe againe to the Iland, that we might diſcharge her, and giue her vp: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to ſee if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both thoſe that were hole, and the ſicke alſo, and we found that in all the three ſhips, were not aboue thirty ſound men.

The great inconuenience by late ſtaying vpon the coaſt of Guinie.

The 25 we had ſight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure Iles lie the one from the other Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Iones, the Maſter of the Chriſtopher, came aboord vs, who had beene aboord the Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, becauſe ſhe was leake, and the Maſter very weake, and ſayd further, he had agreed with the Maſter and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we ſhould runne to the leeward of it, and there diſcharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to ſee if we could diſcharge her.

The third day of September I went aboord the Tyger, with the Maſter and marchants with me, to view the ſhippe and men: and we found the ſhippe very leake, and onely ſix labouring men in her, whereof one was the Maſter gunner: ſo that we ſeeing that they were not able to keepe the ſhip, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could ſaue, and then to put the ſhip away.

The ſixt day we went to diſcharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp 25 degrees by North the line.

The Tyger giuen vp.

The 27 we had ſight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our ſelues to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The ſixt day the Chriſtopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape; for they alſo were ſo weake, that they were not able to keepe the ſea, and we being weake alſo, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many Engliſh men frequent.

The 10 day the Chriſtopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: beſides, not knowing the ſtate of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendſhip at their hands, conſidering the voyage that we had made, and we alſo being ſo weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting alſo that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke ſome way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble vs: and further, conſidering that if we did put in with any harbor, we ſhould not be able to come out againe, till we ſent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and loſſe of time, and meanes of many dangers. All theſe things pondred, we agreed to ſhoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Chriſtopher, and then we went our courſe for England: ſhe hearing our pieces followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not ſee her in the afternoone neither, ſo that we ſuſpected that either ſhe was gone with Spaine, or els that ſhe ſhould put foorth more ſailes then we in the night, and was ſhot a head of vs, ſo that then we put forth our top-ſailes, and went our courſe with England.

At the time when the Chriſtopher left vs, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues Northweſt and by Weſt from Cape Finiſter: and at the ſame time in our ſhips we had not aboue ſixe Mariners and ſixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for ſuch a ſhip to ſeeke a forren harbour.

The 16 day, about ſixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great ſtorme at the Weſt-ſouthweſt, & Weſt, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our ſailes, we loſt the ſame night our maine ſaile, foreſaile, and ſpreetſaile, & were forced to lie a hulling, vntill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde courſe of a foreſaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding

Extreame weakneſſe of our men.

our ſelues far ſhot into the ſleeue, we bare with our owne coaſt; but that foreſaile continued not aboue two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, vntill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good bleſſing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Ile of Wight, where we arriued the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are moſt deſired in *Guinie*,

betwixt *Sierra Liona* and the furtheſt place of the *Mine*.

Manils of braſſe, and ſome of leade.
Baſons of diuers ſorts, but the moſt lattin.
Pots of courſe tinne, of a quart and more.
Some wedges of yron.
Margarites, and certaine other ſleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some horſe tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Baſons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low price, and ſome kerſie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with braſen handles.
Some great braſſe baſons grauen, ſuch as in Flanders they ſet vpon their cupboords.
Some great baſons of pewter, and ewers grauen.
Some lauers, ſuch as be for water.
Great kniues of a low price.
Sleight Flanders-caſkets.
Cheſts of Roan of a lowe price, or any other cheſts.
Great pinnes.
Courſe French couerings.
Packing ſheets good ſtore.
Swords, daggers, friſe mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spaniſh blankets, axe heads, hammers, ſhort pieces of yron, ſleight belles, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles deliuered to M. *Iohn Lok*, by Sir *VVilliam Gerard* Knight, M. *William Winter*, M. *Beniamin Genſon*, M. *Anthony Hickman*, and M. *Edward Caſtelin* the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to *Guinea*.

A remembrance for you *M. Lok* at your comming to the coaſt of *Guinie*.

FIrſt, when God ſhal ſend you thither, to procure, as you paſſe alongſt the coaſt, to vnderſtand what riuers, hauens, or harboroughs there be; and to make to your ſelfe a plat thereof, ſetting thoſe places which you ſhall thinke materiall in your ſayd plat, with their true eleuations.

Alſo you ſhall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you ſhall touch, and what may be good for them.

The Engliſh marchants intend to fortiſie in Ghinea, in the king of Habaans countrey.

It is thought good, that hauing a fort vpon the coaſt of Mina in the king of Habaans countrey, it would ſerue to great purpoſe: wherfore you are eſpecially ſent to conſider where the fort might be beſt placed, and vpon what ground: wherein are to be noted theſe things following.

1 That the ground ſo ſerue, that is ioyne to the ſea on the one part, ſo as ſhippes and boats may come to lade and vnlade.

2 What molde of earth the ground is of.

3 What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4 What prouiſion of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will beſt ſerue to continue.

5 The place muſt be naturally ſtrong, or ſuch as may be made ſtrong with a ſmall charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.

6 How water may be prouided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort ſhall ſtand, or neere to it.

7 What helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

To mooue the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but vſe your communication ſo, that although there might fall out good cauſe for the doing of it, yet he do not vnderſtand your meaning.

The king of Haban.

Search the countrey ſo farre as you may, both alongſt the coaſt, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which ſhall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of theſe affaires to your good diſcretion.

Alſo we pray you as occaſion ſhall ſerue that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counſell and otherwiſe; and thus God ſend you ſafely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Beniamin Gonſon,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Caſtelin.

A letter of M. *Iohn Lok* to the worſhipfull company of Marchants aduenturers for *Guinie*, written 1561, ſhewing reaſons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foreſayd countrey.

WOrſhipfull ſirs; ſince the arriuall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monioy (as I vnderſtand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion ſhall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes ſhe may be repaired of thoſe hurts ſhe hath receiued by the laſt ſtorme: or in the moneth of Ianuary alſo, if the wind wil ſerue therfore. Wherefore for that your worſhips ſhall not be ignorant of my determined purpoſe in the ſame, with the reaſons that haue perſwaded me thereunto; I haue thought good to aduertiſe you thereof, truſting that your worſhips will weigh them, as I vprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or diſcouragement that I haue of my ſelfe by the raging of the ſtormes of the ſea, for that (I thanke the Lord) theſe haue not beene the firſt that I haue abiden, neither truſt I they ſhalbe the laſt. Firſt the ſtate of the ſhip, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do more for her ſtrengthening then I can conceiue, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her ſo ſtanch that any cabin in her ſhalbe ſtanch for men to lie drie in: the which ſore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can haue a ſhift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to reſt in, I referre to your diſcretion. For though that at Harwich ſhe was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that ſhe left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being ſtreſſed, to open thoſe ſeames, and become in the ſtate ſhe was before; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithſtanding her new worke. And my iudgement, with that little experience I haue had, leadeth me to thinke that the ſhip whoſe water works and footings be ſpent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the vnſeaſonable time of the yere which is now preſent. And how onely by meanes of the vnſeaſonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby haue decayed, to the great miſery and calamity of the reſt, and alſo to the great ſlander of the voyage (which I much reſpect) the laſt and other voyages haue declared. And what it is to make the voyage in vnſeaſonable time, that hath the ſecond voyage alſo declared. Wherefore weying and foreſeeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and vneuitable danger of men, and that by men ſhe muſt be brought home againe (except that God will ſhew an extraordinary miracle) I purpoſe not nor dare I venture with a ſafe conſcience to tempt God herein. Againe, forſomuch as ſhe is alone, and hath ſo little helpe of boat or pinneſſe in her trade, & alſo for her watering, where a long time of force muſt be ſpent, my going, to the accompliſhment of your expectations, will be to ſmall effect for this time, becauſe I ſhall want both veſſell and men to accompliſh it. And I would not gladly ſo ſpend my time and trauell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to loſe both pot and water, as the prouerbe is. As for the Primroſe, if ſhe be there, her trade will be ended or euer we come there, ſo that ſhe of force, by want of prouiſion, muſt returne: yea, though we ſhould carry with vs a ſupply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reaſon is they ſhould: howbeit my opinion of her is that ſhe is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worſhips might vnderſtand the whole cauſe why I doe not proceed, I haue troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Iudge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we ſhall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a ſhippe which was in Lisbon, whoſe men ſay that there are in a readineſſe (onely to meet vs) foure great ſhips, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinneſſes: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the ſeas (whoſe rage God is aboue to rule) but onely for the premiſſes: the ſequell whereof muſt by reaſon turne to a great miſery to the men; the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be ſo tormented, as the ſight thereof would be a corſiue to my heart, and the more, becauſe foreſeeing the ſame, I ſhould be ſo lewd, as yeelding, to haue runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I haue abſolutely determined with my ſelfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a ſeaſonable time of the yeere I had but one ſhip ſufficient, though much leſſe by the halfe, I would not refuſe (as triall being made thereof ſhould appeare) or if I had ability of my ſelfe to venture ſo much, it ſhould well be ſeene. And this I ſpeake to giue you to vnderſtand that I refuſe not this for feare: If you purpoſe to proceed heerein, ſend ſome one whom you pleaſe; to whom I will not onely deliuer the articles which I haue receiued, but alſo will giue ſome particular notes which I haue noted in the affaires which you haue committed vnto mee, with the beſt helpe and counſell I can. Thus the liuing God keepe your worſhips all. Briſtoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worſhips to comand to his power
Iohn Lok.

The relation of one *VVilliam Rutter* to *M. Antony Hickman* his maſter touching a voyage ſet out to *Guinea* in the yeere 1562, by Sir *William Gerard*, Sir *William Cheſter*, M. *Thomas Lodge*, the ſayd *Antony Hickman*, and *Edward Caſtelin*: which voyage is alſo written in verſe by *Robert Baker*.

WOrſhipfull ſir, my duty remembred, this ſhalbe to declare vnto you the diſcourſe of this our voyage, ſince our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gaue you to vnderſtand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then hauing a proſperous winde we departed from thence, and ſailed on our voyage vntill we arriued at Cauo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but ſailed along the coaſt to our firſt appointed port Rio de ſeſtos, at which port we arriued the third of Aprill in the morning, hauing the ſight of a Frenchman, who aſſoone as he perceiued vs, ſet ſaile and made to the ſea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had eſpied our flag, perceiuing vs to be Engliſhmen, he bare with the ſhore, & hailed our ſhips with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ſhips were in the riuer in traffike, and had vnderſtanding of the Negros that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: ſo we concluded together, that if he ſent his pinneſſe to traffike, we would not ſuffer him, vntill we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the afternoone the pinneſſe came into the riuer, whoſe men we willed to make no traffike vntill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboord our admirall; which was done. At which ſayd time M. Burton and Iohn Munt went aboord the Minion where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they ſhould tary by vs eight dayes, and ſuffer vs quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleaſed. Whereupon the next morning they departed from vs, ſailing alongſt the coaſt to the Eaſtward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion & we concluded (foraſmuch as at that preſent we vnderſtood that there were no ſailes paſt alongſt) that we ſhould go before, to the end we might not be hindred of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the Weſt of Potis, by whom we paſſed, & arriued at Rio de Potis the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike vntill the 15 of the ſayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coaſt toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the Minion: and the 17 at night we came to the riuer of S. Andre; in which very day the Minion came vnto vs, telling vs that they met at cauo das Palmas a great ſhip and a caruell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gaue chaſe vnto them, and ſhot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praiſed the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to haſten towards cauo de tres puntas to haue put them from the caſtle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene paſt, the Minion went neere the ſhore, and ſent her merchants to a place called Anta, where before time we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the ſayd moneth, we againe had ſight of the ſhip and the carauell a good way to ſea-boord of vs. Then we preſently ſet ſaile, and bare with the formoſt of them, hoping to haue got betweene the caſtle and them, but we came ſhort of our purpoſe, which was no ſmall griefe vnto vs all; and when they had gotten the caſtle to friend, they ſhot at vs freely, and we at them, and the caſtle at vs; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we ſet ſaile & came to the towne of Don Iuan called Equi, where the 22 in the morning we went a ſhore to traffike, but the Negros would not vntill they had newes from Don Luis, for

Capo verde.

Rio de Seſtos.

The Minion.

Rio de Potis,

Rio de S.Andre.

Cauo das palmas.

Cauo de tres puntas,

Anta,

Equi,

at that time Don Iuan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his ſonne and Pacheco minding to traffike with vs, at which ſaid day came two galies rowing along the ſhore from the caſtle, minding to keepe vs from our traffike. The 24 we ſet ſaile and chaſed the galies to the caſtle againe. The Negros being glad of that required vs to goe to Mowre, which is ſome 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they ſtood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his ſonne, and Pacheco were aboord the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the caſtle againe vnto vs, the weather being very calme, they ſhot at vs and hit vs 3 times, and ſhortly after the wind came from the ſhore, at which inſtant we diſcried the ſhip, & the carauell comming towards vs, then we weighed and ſet ſaile, and bare as neere vnto them as we could: but it was night or euer wee met with them, and the night being very darke we loſt them. The next day plying to the ſhore, at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle diſtant from the great ſhip and the 2 galies, hauing no wind at all, and the carauell hard aboord the ſhore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the ſterne of the Minion, and fought with her the moſt part of the forenoone: and in the fight a miſchance hapned in the Minions ſteward-roome by means of a barrell of pouder that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the maſter gunner, the ſteward, and moſt part of the gunners; which the galies perceiuing, began to be more fierce vpon them, and with one ſhot cut halfe her foremaſt in twaine, that without preſent remedie ſhee was not able to beare ſaile, and preſently vpon this the great ſhip ſent her boat to the galies, who ſuddenly departed from vs. And after their departure we went aboord the Minion to counſell what were beſt to be done, at which time they were ſore diſcomfited. Whereupon we deuiſed what was beſt to be done: and becauſe wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durſt traffike ſo long as the galies were on the coaſt; it was therefore agreed that we ſhould prepare our ſelues to depart to Rio de Seſtos, and ſo we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and ſent our boates on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eaſtward of ſant Andre, and there remained in getting of water vntill the 21, where we loſt the day before 5 of our men by meanes of ouerthrowing our blacke pinnaſſe. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Seſto, where we arriued the 2 of Iune, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Seſto, and arriued (God bee thanked) the 6 of Auguſt within ſight of the Stert in the Weſt part of England, our men being very ſicke and weake. We haue not at this preſent aboue 20 ſound men that are able to labour, and we haue of our men 21 dead, and many more very ſore hurt and ſicke. Maſter Burton hath bene ſicke this 6 weekes, and at this preſent (God ſtrengthen him) is ſo weake that I feare he will hardly eſcape. Herein incloſed your worſhip ſhall receiue a briefe of all the goods ſold by vs, & alſo what commodities we haue receiued for the ſame. Thus I leaue to trouble your worſhip, reſeruing all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboord the Primeroſe the 6 of Auguſt 1563.

Two galies.

Mowre.

Cormantin.

Much hurt done in the Minion with firing a barrel of gunpowder.

They returne.

Rio de Barbos.

The blacke pinnaſſe.

Rio de Seſto.

Your obedient ſeruant

William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 buts full.

A meeting at Sir *VVilliam Gerards* houſe the 11 of Iuly 1564. for the ſetting foorth of a voyage to *Guinea*, with the *Minion* of the Queens, the *Iohn Baptiſt* of *London*, and the *Merline* of M. *Gonſon*.

AT this meeting were theſe chiefe aduenturers, Sir William Gerard, ſir William Cheſter, ſir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Caſtelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Aſhbie ſhould be ſent to Depeford to M. Gonſon for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion vpon the Queenes maieſties charges, and ſo the ſaid Francis to repaire with the ſame letters to Gillingham with money to ſupplie our charge there.

Alſo that euery one of the fiue partners ſhall foorthwith call vpon their partners to ſupply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10 s. 6 d. for euery 100 li. value.

Alſo that euery one of the fiue partners ſhall foorthwith bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premiſſes.

Likewiſe it is agreed that if M. Gonſon giue his conſent that the Merline ſhall be brought about from Briſtoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawen whereunto his hand ſhall be, before order be giuen for the ſame.

The ſucceſſe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the ſecond voyage of Sir *Iohn Hawkins* to the Weſt Indies, made in the ſayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to ſet downe for want of further inſtructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I haue vſed all poſſible indeuour for the obtaining of the ſame: Take them therefore in the meane ſeaſon as foloweth.

MAſter Iohn Hawkins, with the Ieſus of Lubeck a ſhip of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ſhip of 7 ſcore, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swalow of 30 tunnes, being all well furniſhed with men to the number of one hundred threeſcore and ten, as alſo with ordinance and victuall requiſite for ſuch a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a proſperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foreſaile, a maruellous miſfortune happened to one of the officers in the ſhip, who by the pullie of the ſheat was ſlaine out of hand being a ſorowfull beginning to them all. And after their ſetting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the ſame day with the Minion a ſhip of the Queens Maieſties, whereof was captaine Dauid Carlet, & alſo her conſort the Iohn Baptiſt of London being bound to Guinea likewiſe, who hailed one the other after the cuſtome of the ſea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to ſeeke her other conſort the Merline of London, which was aſterne out of ſight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptiſt her other conſort.

The Minion of the Queene.

Thus ſailing forwards on their way with a proſperous wind vntil the 21 of the ſame moneth, at that time a great ſtorme aroſe, the wind being at Northeaſt about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued ſo 23 houres together, in which ſtorme M. Hawkins loſt the company of the Iohn Baptiſt aforeſaid, and of his pinnaſſe called the Swallow, the other 3 ſhips being ſore beaten with the ſtorme. The 23 day the Swalow, to his no ſmall reioiſing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finiſter, hauing put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there roſe a contrary wind at Southweſt. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the maſters of his ſhips an order for the keeping of good company.

The 26 day the Minion came in alſo where he was, for the reioycing whereof he gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curteſie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth becauſe of their conſort the Merline, whō at their departure from M. Hawkins vpon the coaſt of England, they went to ſeeke, and hauing met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at laſt by miſfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the pouder in the gunners roome was ſet on fire, which with the firſt blaſt ſtroke out her poope, and therewithall loſt 3 men, beſides many ſore burned. (which eſcaped by the Brigandine being at her ſterne) and immediatly to the great loſſe of the owners, and moſt horrible ſight of the beholders, ſhe ſunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his conſorts and company of the Minion hauing now both the Brigandines at her ſterne, weighed anker, and ſet ſaile on their voiage hauing a proſperous wind thereunto. The 4 of Nouember they had ſight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to haue bene the Canarie, in that they ſuppoſed themſelues to haue bene to the Eaſtward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of vs kept on her courſe to Teneriffa, hauing better ſight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The firing and ſinking of the Merline bound for Guinea.

The aforeſaid Sir Iohn Hawkins paſſing on his voiage by Cauo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward croſſing ouer the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata vpon the coaſt of Terra firma in the Weſt Indies, had further information of the euill ſucceſſe of this Guinean voyage, as in the ſame hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ſhip called the green Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who ſaluted vs after the maner of the ſea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we reſaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make ſale of ſuch wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned vnto the Minion: alſo, that captaine Dauid Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their firſt arriuall thither, remaining priſoners with the Portugals, beſides other miſaduentures of the loſſe of their men hapned through the great lacke of freſh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ſhips: which was moſt ſorowfull for vs to vnderſtand.

The voyage of M. *George Fenner* to *Guinie*, and the Iſlands of *Cape Verde*, in the yeere 1566. with three ſhips, to wit, the Admirall called The *Caſtle of Comfort*, the *May Flower*, and the *George*, and a Pinnaſſe alſo:

Written by *Walter Wren*.

The 10 day of December, in the yeere aboueſayd, we departed from Plimmouth; and the 12 day we were thwart of Vſhant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had ſight of Cape Finiſter, and the ſame night we loſt the company of our Admirall, wherefore we ſayled along the coaſt of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before vs.

The 18 day we met with a French ſhip of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: ſo we followed our courſe to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a ſmall Iland called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres we had ſight of another Iland called Madera, which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The ſaid 25 day being the day of the Natiuitie, we hoiſed out our boat, and fet maſter Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboord vs, being in the George, with the maſter whoſe name was Robert Cortiſe and others of the ſayd ſhippe, and feaſted them with ſuch cheere as God had ſent vs.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the ſaid Iland, and on the Eaſt ſide thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a baſe ſhot of the ſhore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 ſmall houſes: which Baie and houſes were diſtant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the ſaid Baie, we might ſee an Iland called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from vs.

The 29 day the May Flower for that ſhe could not fet into yͤ road where we were at an anker, by reaſon the wind was off the ſhore, & becauſe ſhe bare more roomer frõ the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road againſt the towne, and before ſhe came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they ſhot at her foure pieces, which cauſed her to come roome with vs, and came at laſt to an anker by vs. And about one of the clocke in the after noone, the forenamed captaine of the May Flower wrote a letter a ſhore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to vnderſtand the pretenſe of the ſhooting off the ſaid ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtiſe maſter of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliuer the ſame a land at 3 or 4 houſes to bee conueied to the foreſayd towne, and ſo went with ſix men in the boate, and rowed to the ſhore as neere as they might, for ſetting the boat on ground, for the ſea went cruelly at the ſhore.

The people ſtood in number 30 perſons with ſuch armour as they had: the foreſayd Wren called to them in Spaniſh, declaring to thẽ that they had a letter which they would very gladly haue conueied vnto the towne, ſhewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, deſiring their helpe for the conueiance of the ſame letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, and we ſhould be welcome, but doubting the worſt, the ſaid Walter anſwered them that they would not come on land, vntil they had anſwere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vnraied himſelfe, and lept into the water, and ſwam to the boat, whom we receiued. And he ſaluted vs, and demaunded what our requeſt was: we made him anſwere, that by misfortune we loſt the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things neceſſary for vs, do here mind to ſtay vntill he come.

Concerning our letter he made vs anſwere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and ſo the ſaid Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it vnto him, and alſo gaue him foure roials of Spaniſh money for his paines: and promiſing that we ſhould haue anſwere of it, he tooke his leaue and ſwamme againe on ſhore, where the people ſtood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and vnderſtood our meaning, ſome of them threw vp their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very curteous ſignes, alwaies deſiring that the boat would come a land, but we reſaluting them rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30 day the Gouernours brother of Santa Cruz came aboord the May Flower with ſixe or ſeuen Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a ſhore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no ſufficient pledge of theirs for our aſſurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and beſtowed vpon them two cheeſes with other things.

The ſayd Gouernours brother promiſed our Captaine that hee ſhould haue ſufficient pledges the morrow folowing, which was not done, whereupon wee grew ſuſpicious, and went not that day a ſhore.

The firſt day of Ianuary our captaine ſent Nicholas Day and Iohn Sumpter a ſhore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the ſaid Iland is a marueilous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and ſomewhat ſmall at the top, it hath not bene knowen that euer any man could goe vp to the top thereof. And although it ſtand in 28 degrees which is as hote in Ianuary, as it is in England at Midſommer, yet is the top of the ſaid hil Winter and Sommer ſeldome without ſnow.

In this Iland about two leagues from the ſaid Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Weſterne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynſt the houſe of one Petro de Souſes, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon wee ſet ſaile preſently to ſeeke him.

They meet their Admirall againe.

The 6 day we came to an anker againſt the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very ioyfull of our comming, and we alſo of his ſight.

In the ſayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ſhip, and a ſhippe of the Copperſmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherouſly ſurpriſed in the Baie of Santa Cruz, vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, which ſhip we left there all ſpoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the ſaid towne for our prouiſion, 14 buts of wine, which coſt 15 duckats a but, which were offred vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there tooke in freſh water: & ſo the 10 day we ſet ſaile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coaſt of Guinea.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eaſtward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke. But hauing no knowledge of that coaſt, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we ſounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the ſhore. The land is very lowe and white ſand. Upon the fall of the ſayd coaſt beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 caſts of the lead you may be on ground.

A good caueat.

The 17 day we ſet ſaile from Cape Blanke, directing our courſe South and by Eaſt, & South among, and ſo fell into a Baie to the Eaſtward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about ſixe leagues from the ſhore. The ſayd land ſeemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of ſhippes vnder ſaile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, ſome high ſome lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the ſaid land till we were within 3 leagues of the ſhore, and then we ſounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oaſe. This day we ſaw much fiſh in ſundry ſculs ſwimming with their noſes with the brim of the water.

Cape Verde.

Paſſing along this coaſt we might ſee two ſmall round hils, ſeeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great ſtore of trees, and in all our dayes ſailing we ſaw no land ſo high as the ſaid two hils.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade faſt by the Weſtermoſt ſide of two hils in 10 fadome of water, where you may ride in fiue or ſixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you ſhall haue the winde off the ſhore. And as ſoone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the maſter of the Admirall, whoſe name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Uiceadmirall, whoſe name was maſter Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtiſe the maſter, and dined aboord of vs being in the George, wherein was Captaine Iohn Heiwood, and Iohn Smith of Hampton maſter, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counſell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and diuers of the companie went without armour: for he ſayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: ſo that hee would needs giue the venter without the conſent of the reſt to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to ſhore, where, we being in the ſhippe might ſee a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the ſea ſide where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too ſoone, and landed to their loſſe as it fell out afterwards.

The fooliſh raſhnes of Wil. Bats perſwading the company to land vnarmed.

There went a ſhore the Admirals ſkiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 perſons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Fdward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, Iohn Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, Iohn Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, Iohn Tomſon and others.

At their comming to the ſhore there were 100 Negros or vpward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the vſe of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliuer 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were theſe, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomſon, & Iohn Curtiſe: theſe were deliuered them, and we receiued 3 Negros into our Admirals ſkiffe.

Ciuet, muſke, gold & graines, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our men being a ſhore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheeſe & other things. The Negros anſwered againe, they had ciuet, muſke, gold and graines, which pleaſed our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros deſired to haue a ſight of ſome of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith ſent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandiſe, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ſhip, our fiue men were walking on the ſhore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants ſtaied in the other boat by the ſea ſide, hauing the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandize, with bread, wine, and cheeſe which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themſelues ſicke, deſiring to goe a ſhore, promiſing to ſend other two for them. Captaine Haiward perceiuing that our men had let the Negros come a ſhore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worſt began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to ſtay him, and he made ſignes vnto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithſtanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would haue ſtaied him, but hee ſprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as ſoone as hee was in, one of the Negros a ſhore beganne to blow a pipe, and preſently the other Negro that was in our boate ſitting on the boates ſide, and maſter Wormes ſword by him, ſuddenly drew the ſword out of the ſcabberd, and caſt himſelfe into the Sea and ſwamme a ſhore, and preſently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on ſhore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them ſhot ſo thicke at our men in our boates, that they could ſcarſe ſet hand to any Oare to rowe from the ſhore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poyſoned arrowes: and the poiſon is vncurable, if the arrow enter within the ſkin and drawe blood, and except the poiſon bee preſently ſuckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, whereſoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it ſtriketh vp to the heart, and taketh away the ſtomacke, and cauſeth the partie maruellouſly to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros trecherie.

The Negros hauing vſed our men with ſuch crueltie, whoſe names were Nicholas Day, William Bats, and Iohn Tomſon, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water ſide, or thereabout.

The 20 day we ſent to land a boate or ſkiffe wherein were eight perſons, and one of them was the foreſayd Iohn Tomſon and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which ſpake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebuſſes, two targets and a mantell.

A French interpreter for Cape Verde.

The cauſe of ſending them was to learne what ranſome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the ſhore and told the Negros what they deſired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them looſe among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a ſtones caſt of the ſea ſide, William Bats brake from them, and ran as faſt as he could into the ſea towards the boat, and he was not ſo ſoone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the ſand being ſoft: ſo that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, ſo that ſome of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the reſt ſhot at vs with their poiſoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the ſmal of the leg, who being come aboord, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would haue died.

The danger of poiſoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithſtanding all this villanie) ſent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they deſired for the raunſome of our men, but they would not deliuer them: giuing vs this anſwere: That there was in the foreſayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an Engliſh ſhippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill wee did bring or ſend them againe, wee ſhould not haue our men although wee would giue our three ſhippes with their furniture.

The anſwere of the Negros.

The 21 day a French ſhippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and ſeeing that theſe Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wiſhed them to ſee whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promiſed the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to ſaue his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was laſt of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himſelfe: onely two recouered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of thoſe that we loſt, and ſet ſaile.

The 26 day betweene Cape Verde and Bona viſta we ſawe many flying fiſhes of the bigneſſe of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our ſterne.

Bona viſta.

The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona viſta, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northſide of the ſayde Iland is full of white ſandie hils and dales, and ſomewhat high land.

The ſayd day wee came to an anker within the Weſtermoſt point, about a league within the point, and found in our ſounding faire ſand in ten fadome water, but you may goe neere till you be in fiue or ſix fadome, for the ground is faire.

As ſoone as we were at an anker, our Generall ſent his pinnaſſe a land, and found fiue or ſixe ſmall houſes, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he ſent a ſhore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboord with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore & ſimple, and gaue each of them a paire of ſhoes, and ſo ſet them a ſhore againe.

The 30 day we weighed & ſailed into a Bay within a ſmal Iland about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers ſortes of fiſhe. The foreſayd Iland lieth in ſixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the ſaid Bay, you may borow in foure or fiue fadome of the Southermoſt point of the ſayd Iland, which you may ſee when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water ouer them.

A good admonition.

The laſt day of Januarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a ſhore in the Baie to the houſes, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not aboue 30 perſons, which were baniſhed men for a time, ſome for more yeeres, ſome for leſſe, and amongſt them there was one ſimple man which was their captaine.

Baniſhed Portugals.

They liue vpon goats fleſh, cocks, hennes, and freſh water: other victuals they haue none, ſauing fiſh, which they eſteeme not, neither haue they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was giuen by the king of Portagall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats ſkinnes. For by their ſpeaches there hath bene ſent foorth of the ſayd Iland into Portugall 40000 ſkins in one yeere.

Great ſtore of goates.

We were to theſe men marueilouſly welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gaue vs the fleſh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and tooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains vpon their aſſes.

They haue there great ſtore of the oyle of Tortoiſes, which Tortoiſe is a fiſh which ſwimmeth in the Sea, with a ſhell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midſt of July to the midſt of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reaſon of the heate and drought they haue died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the ſame day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midſt of the way between theſe two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be ſeene.

The Ile of Maiyo.

We ankred in the Northweſt ſide of the ſayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire ſand, but here we ſtaied not, but the fourth day weighed and ſailed to another Iland called S. Iago, which lieth off the ſaid Iland of Maiyo Eaſt and by South, and about fiue leagues one from the other. Being come within the Weſtermoſt point, we ſaw a faire road, and a ſmall towne by the water ſide, and alſo a fort or platforme by it: there we purpoſed to come to anker, and our marchants to make ſome ſale. But before we came within their ſhot, they let flie at vs two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and ſailed along the ſhore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a ſmall Baie and two or three ſmall houſes, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

S. Iago.

Within an houre after we had ankered we might ſee diuers horſemen and footmen on the land right againſt vs riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horſemen and footemen appeared on the ſhoare ſide, vnto whom our Generall ſent to vnderſtande whether they would quietly trafike with them: And they ſent him worde againe, deſiring that they might ſpeake with him, promiſing that if he came to trafike as a marchant he ſhould be welcome, and alſo that he ſhould haue any thing that he or the marchants would with reaſon demaund.

When this anſwere was brought vnto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and preſently (with as much ſpeede as he could) he cauſed his boates to be made readie, but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double baſe in the head of his pinneſſe, and two ſingle baſes in the head of the Skiffe, and ſo ſent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like ſort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the reſt rowed to the ſhoare where were threeſcore horſemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receiue them. Our Generall marueiled that they came in ſo great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce ſent to them to knowe their pleaſure: and they anſwered him with many faire promiſes and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring alſo that their Captaine was comming to ſpeake with him, and therefore deſired our Generall to come and ſpeake with him himſelfe.

With this anſwere the boate returned, and then our Generall cauſed his pinneſſe to rowe to them, and as he came neere the ſhoare they came in a great companie with much obeyſance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themſelues with their bonnets off, with as much humble ſalutations outwardly as they might: earneſtly deſiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without ſufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promiſed to ſende two gages to our Generals contentment, promiſing freſh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were ſuch as they liked; and therefore deſired our Generall and Marchants to ſende them a ſhoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their anſwere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the ſhoare, he cauſed his baſes, curriers, and harquebuſſes to be ſhot off, and our ſhips in like caſe ſhot off fiue or ſixe pieces of great ordinance, and ſo came aboord to prepare the note. The Portugales moſt of them departed, ſauing thoſe that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or fiue a clocke in the afternoone was ſent, and it was receiued. But all the purpoſes of the Portugals were villainouſly to betray vs (as ſhal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honeſtie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treaſon of the Portugals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Weſtwards of vs and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point faſt by the ſea ſide, where they had certaine Carauels or ſhippes and alſo two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the ſpeede that they might) made readie foure Carauels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furniſhed them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as ſoone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes vs: ſo that the land being high and the weather ſomewhat cloudie or myſtie, and they comming all the way cloſe vnder the ſhoare we could not ſee them till they were right againſt one of our ſhips called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a baſe ſhotte, ſo that they made a ſure account either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of ſuch villanous treacheries after ſo many faire wordes) were ſinging and playing one with the other, and made ſuch a noyſe, that (being but a ſmall gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare vs from the ſhoare: ſo that we ſuppoſed that they made account that we had eſpyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readineſſe.

They came ſo neere vs that they were within gunſhot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to ſee a light, & then looking out ſpied the 4 ſhips, and ſuddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they ſhot at vs all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebuſſes, and curriers, and ſo lighted certaine troukes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the ſhoare as they in the ſhippes) gaue a great ſhoute, and ſo continued hallowing with great noyſes, ſtill approching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. We (with all the ſpeede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and ſhotte at them, which cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtay, ſo they charged their ordinance and ſhot at vs freſhly againe, and while they ſhotte this ſecond time at vs, we had made readie three pieces which we ſhot at them, but they approched ſtill ſo neere, that at laſt we might haue ſhot a ſheafe arrow to them. Whereupon we hauing a gale of winde off the ſhoare hoyſed our foreſayle, and cut our cable at the hawſe, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and ſhooting at vs, and ſometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall ſhotte one ſuch piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus ſuddenly ſhot all their ſhot at vs, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Iſle of Fuego.

But ſeeing the villanie of theſe men we thought it beſt to ſtay there no longer, but immediatly ſet ſayle towards an Iſland called Fuego, 12 leagues from the ſaid Iſland of S. Iago. At which Iſland of Fuego we came to an anker the 12 day of this moneth, againſt a white chappell in the Weſt end of the ſayd Iſland, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the vttermoſt point of the ſaid Iſland.

In this Iſland is a marueilleſous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres paſt the whole Iſland was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mill.

About a league from the ſaid chappel to the Weſtward is a goodly ſpring of freſh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine ſeede that they call Mill, and certaine peaſon like Guinie peaſon, which Mill maketh good breade, but they haue here good ſtore of rother beaſts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there.

Cotton in Fuego.

The inhabitants are Portugals which haue cõmandement from the king to traffike neither with Engliſhmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced ſo to doe.

The Iſle of Braua.

There lieth off this Iſland another called Ilha Braua, which is not paſſing two leagues ouer, it hath good ſtore of goates and many trees, but there are not paſſing three or foure perſons dwelling in it.

They returne.
March.

The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Iſlands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had ſight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might ſee another Iſland to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cueruo ouer againſt a village of about twelue ſimple houſes: but in the night by a gale of winde, which cauſed vs to drawe our anker after vs, we hoyſed ſayle and went to the aforeſayd Iſland of Flores, where we ſawe ſtrange ſtreames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reaſon of the great abundance of raine that had ſuddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cueruo and caſt anker, but a ſtorme aroſe and continued ſeuen or eight houres together, ſo that we let ſlip a cable and anker, and after the ſtorme was alayed we came againe thinking to haue recouered the ſame, but the Portugals had either taken it, or ſpoiled it: the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our ſelues much beholding to the honeſt Portugales.

Aprill.

The 18 day of Aprill we tooke in water at the Iſland of Flores, and hauing ankered, our cable was fretted in ſunder with a rocke and ſo burſt, where wee loſt that cable and anker alſo, and ſo departed to our coaſt.

Then wee ſet ſayle to an Iſlande named Faial, about the which lie three other Iſlands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Gracioſa, which we had ſight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southweſt ſide of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water againſt a litle towne where we had both freſh water and freſh victuall. In this Iſland by the report of the inhabitants there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their ſpeeches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera.

Woad.
May.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ſhip, and being deſtitute of a cable and anker, our Generall cauſed vs to keepe her companie, to ſee if ſhe could conueniently ſpare vs any. The next morning we might ſee bearing with vs a great ſhippe and two Carauels, which we iudged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and ſo they were, whereupon we prepared our ſelues for our defence. The ſaid ſhip was one of the kings Galliaſſes, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the ſhippe being well appointed with braſſe pieces both great and ſmall, and ſome of them ſo bigge that their ſhot was as great as a mans head, the other two Carauels were alſo very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portugall Galiaſſe of 400 tunnes.

As ſoone as they were within ſhotte of vs, they waued vs amaine with their ſwords, we keeping our courſe, the greateſt ſhippe ſhot at vs freely and the carauell alſo, and we prepared our ſelues, and made all things cleare for our ſafegard as neere as we could. Then the great ſhippe ſhot at vs all her broad ſide, and her foure greateſt pieces that lay in her ſterne, and therewith hurt ſome of our men, and we did the beſt we could with our ſhot to requite it. At laſt two other Carauels came off the ſhoare, and two other pinneſſes full of men, and deliuered them aboord the great ſhippe, and ſo went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ſhip and the Carauell gaue vs the firſt day three fights, and when the night was come they left off ſhooting, yet notwithſtanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to ſtrengthen our bulwarkes, putting our truſt in God, and reſoluing our ſelues rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by ſuch wretches.

A fight betweene one English ſhip and 7 Portugals

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the ſaid Portugals foure great Armadas or Carauels more which made ſeuen, of which 4 three of them were at the leaſt 100 tunnes a piece, the other not ſo bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All theſe together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Carauels came to lay vs aboorde (as we iudged) for they had prepared their falſe nettings, and all things for that purpoſe, ſo that the Gallias came vp in our larboord ſide, and the Carauell in our ſtarboord ſide.

Our Captaine and Maſter perceiuing their pretence, cauſed our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with croſſebarres, chaineſhotte and haileſhot: ſo the ſhip and Carauell came vp; and as ſoone as they were right in our ſides, they ſhotte at vs as much ordinance as they could, thinking to haue layde vs preſently aboord: whereupon we gaue them ſuch a heate with both our ſides, that they were both glad to fall afterne of vs, & ſo pauſed the ſpace of two or three houres being a very ſmall gale of winde.

Then came vp the other fiue and ſhot all at vs, and ſo fell all afterne of vs, & then went to counſell together.

Then our ſmall barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great ſpace. And as the Portugall ſhippes and Carauels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall afterne of vs and ſo to come vp againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reaſon of the litle winde, it was ſo long before ſhe could fill her ſailes againe, that both the ſhippe and Carauels were come vp to vs, and ſhe falling in among them made reaſonable ſhift with them, but they got a head of her, ſo that ſhe could not fetch vs: then 5 of the Carauels followed her, but we ſaw ſhe defended her ſelfe againſt them all.

Then came the great ſhippe and the Carauell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other conſort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day cloſe by the winde, but could not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In theſe many fights it could not otherwiſe be but needes ſome of our men muſt be ſlaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much ſpoyled: yet for all this we did our beſt indeuour to repaire all things, and to ſtand to it to the death with our aſſured truſt in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came vs to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and ſpoyles, and wiſhed them if they could ſpare halfe a doſen freſh men to hoyſe out their boate and ſende them to him, but they could not ſpare any, and ſo bare away againe. Which when our enemies ſawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came vp to vs again and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to ſinke vs: but although our companie was but ſmall, yet leaſt they ſhould ſee vs any whit diſmayed, when they hallowed we hallowed alſo as faſt as they, and waued to them to come and boorde vs if they durſt, but that they would not, ſeeing vs ſtill ſo couragious: and hauing giuen vs that day foure fights, at night they forſooke vs with ſhame, as they came to vs at the firſt with pride.

The 7 Portugals depart with ſhame from one English ſhip.

They had made in our ſhip ſome leakes with their ſhot which we againe ſtopped with al ſpeed, and that being done, we tooke ſome reſt after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to vs, and brought vs ſixe men in her boate which did vs much pleaſure, and we ſent to them ſome of our hurt men.

Then we directed our courſe for our owne countrey, and by the ſecond day of Iune we were neere to our owne coaſt and ſounded being thwart the Lyzard.

Iune.

The third day we had ſight of a ſhippe which was a Portugall, who bare with vs, and at his comming to vs (the weather being calme) our Captaine cauſed him to hoyſe forth his boate to come aboord to ſpeake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made anſwere that their lading was ſugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants ſhewed them fiue Negroes that we had, and aſked them whether they would buy them, which they were very deſirous to doe, and agreed to giue for them 40 cheſts of ſugar, which cheſts were ſmall hauing not aboue 26 loaues in a piece: ſo they with their boate did fetch fiue of the cheſtes and deliuered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might ſee bearing with vs a great ſhip and a ſmall, which our Captaine ſuppoſed to be men of warre or Rouers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their ſugar to their ſhip againe, purpoſing to make our ſelues readie for our defence. But the Portugales earneſtly intreated our Captaine not ſo to forſake them, and promiſed him (if he would ſafegard them) to giue him aboue the bargaine ten cheſts of ſugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of ſayle, we ſpared our topſayles for her; ſo at laſt the foreſaid ſhip bare with vs, and (ſeeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and ſeeing vs not about to flie a iot from them forſooke vs alſo.

A Portugall ſhip (notwithſtanding all their vilanies) defended by our men from Rouers.

The 5 day of Iune we had ſight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and ſo ſounded and had 35 fadom water.

The ſixt day we came in at the Needles and ſo came to an anker vnder the Iſle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence ſayled to Southhampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambaſſage of M. *Edmund Hogan*, one of the ſworne Eſquires of her Maieſties perſon, from her Highneſſe to *Mully Abdelmelech* Emperour of *Marocco*, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himſelfe.

I Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambaſſadour from the Queenes Maieſtie to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and ſeruants from London the two and twentie day of April 1577, being imbarked in the good ſhip called the Gallion of London, and arriued in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I ſent Leonell Edgerton a ſhoare with my letters directed to Iohn Williams and Iohn Bampton, who diſpatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleaſure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thurſday night.

M. Hogan his arriual at Azafi in Barbarie. May.

They with all ſpeede gaue the king vnderſtanding of it, who being glad thereof ſpeeded the next day certaine Captaines with ſouldiers and tents, with other prouiſion to Azafi: ſo that vpon Whitſunday at night the ſaid Captaines with Iohn Bampton, Robert Waſhborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained aboord, and cauſed ſome of the goods to be diſcharged for lightning of the ſhippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleaſure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-ſpeede arriued in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitſunday, came aboord the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderſtande how much the King reioyced of my ſafe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maieſtie, and how that for my ſafe conduct to the Court he had ſent foure Captaines and an hundred ſouldiers well appointed, with a horſe furniſhed which he vſed himſelfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wiſhed mee alſo to come on lande in the beſt order I could, as well for my ſelfe as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ſhips being foure appointed themſelues in the beſt order they could for the beſt ſhew, and ſhot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a ſhoare, I found all the ſouldiers well appointed on horſebacke, the Captaines and the Gouernour of the towne ſtanding as neere the water ſide as they could, with a Iennet of the kings, and receiued mee from the boate declaring how glad his Maieſtie was of my ſafe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maieſtie my Miſtreſſe, and that hee had ſent them to attend vpon me, it being his pleaſure that I ſhould tarie there on ſhoare fiue or ſixe dayes for my refreſhing.

So being mounted vpon the Iennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde vpon the Sea-ſide where was a tent prouided for mee, and all the ground ſpread with Turkie carpets, and the Caſtle diſcharged a peale of ordinance, and all things neceſſarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other conuenient tents for my ſeruants.

The ſouldiers enuironed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I ſought my ſpeedier diſpatch.

On the Wedneſday towards night, I tooke my horſe and trauelled ten miles to the firſt place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and ſo trauelled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and ſo trauelled as long as day light would ſuffer about 26 miles that day.

In Barbary they haue no Innes but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

The next day being Friday I trauelled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the moſt, and by a Riuer being about ſixe miles within ſight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our Engliſh marchants, and the French on horſebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, & diuers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my ſupper, declaring vnto me how glad the king ſhewed himſelfe to heare of the Queenes Maieſtie, and that his pleaſure was I ſhould be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Chriſtian the like: and deſired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, becauſe he would that all the Chriſtians as alſo his nobilitie ſhould meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The ſingular humanitie of the king to our Ambaſſadour.

About ſeuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and Engliſh marchants, and a great number of ſouldiers, I paſſed towards the citie, and by that time I had trauelled 2 miles, there met me all the Chriſtians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themſelues: for ſome of them although they ſpeake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and eſpecially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portugales were cōmanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the Engliſh Ambaſſadour.

So I paſſed on till I came within two Engliſh miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, ſhewing me that the king was ſo glad of my comming, that hee could not deuiſe to doe too much, to ſhewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Maieſtie, and her Realme.

His counſellers met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both ſides of my horſe, and ſo brought me to the kings palace.

The king ſate in his chaire with his Counſell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order giuen vnto me before, I there declared my meſſage in Spaniſh, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Maieſties letters, and all that I ſpake at that preſent in Spaniſh, hee cauſed one of his Elchies to declare the ſame to the Moores preſent, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he anſwered me againe in Spaniſh, yeelding to the Queenes Maieſtie great thankes, and offering himſelfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counſellers to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The houſe was faire after the faſhion of that countrey, being daily well furniſhed with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The ſame night he ſent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the ſpace of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Maieſtie, finding him conformable, willing to pleaſure and not to vrge her Maieſtie with any demaundes, more then conueniently ſhee might willingly conſent vnto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better ſerued with lackes, then hee in compariſon from vs.

Further he gaue me to vnderſtand, that the king of Spaine had ſent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambaſſadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes maieſty of England ſent any vnto him, that he would not giue him any credit or intertainment, albeit (ſaid he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being ſo gouerned by the Inquiſition that he can doe nothing of himſelfe.

The king of Spaine ſought to diſgrace the Queene & her Ambaſſour.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he ſhall well ſee how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes maieſtie of England.

He ſhall not come to my preſence as you haue done, and ſhall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my houſe, whereas he ſhall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his meſſage.

After the end of this ſpeech I deliuered Sir Thomas Greſhams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there ſitting himſelfe in a chaire, he commanded me to ſit downe in another, and there called for ſuch ſimple Muſicians as he had.

The king of Barbarie ſent into England for Muſicians.

Then I preſented him with a great baſe Lute, which he moſt thankfully accepted, and then he was deſirous to heare of the Muſicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to prouide them, and that I did not doubt but vpon my returne they ſhould come with the firſt ſhip. He is willing to giue them good intertainment with prouiſion of victuall, and to let them liue according to their law and conſcience wherein he vrgeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exerciſed in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Teſtament as alſo in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others becauſe of our religion, which forbiddeth worſhip of Idols, and the Moores called him the Chriſtian king.

A rich gift beſtowed vpon our Ambaſſadour.

The ſame night being the firſt of Iune, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he ſeemed to haue ſo good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a ſhort dagger being ſet with 200 ſtones, rubies and turkies, and did beſtow it vpon me, and ſo I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day becauſe he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabboth day he did let me reſt. But on the munday in the afternoone he ſent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and muſicke.

Likewiſe on the tueſday by three of the clocke he ſent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a ſilke bed complayning of a ſore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, whereas hauing a faire banketting-houſe and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie and tooke me with him, and paſſed the ſpace of two or three houres, ſhewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he ſaid) he had exerciſed himſelfe eighteene yeres in his youth.

After ſupper he ſhewed me his horſes and other commodities that he had about his houſe, and ſince that night I haue not ſeene him, for that he hath kept in with his ſore legge, but he hath ſent to me daily.

Iune.

The 13 of Iune at ſixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commiſſion as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in theſe parts, ſaying, he would do much more for the Queenes maieſty and the Realme, offering that all Engliſh ſhips with her ſubiects may with good ſecuritie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marcandize, as for victuall & water, as alſo in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in priſes and to make ſales as occaſion ſhould ſerue, or elſe to depart againe with them at their pleaſure.

The offers of the king to our Engliſh merchants.

Likewiſe for all Engliſh ſhips that ſhall paſſe along his coaſt of Barbarie, & thorow the ſtraites into the Leuant ſeas, that he would graunt ſafe conduct that the ſaid ſhips and marchants with their goods might paſſe into the Leuant ſeas, and ſo to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vſing of our ſhips and goods.

Alſo that hereafter no Engliſhmen that by any meanes may be taken captiues, ſhall be ſolde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maieſty accepting of theſe his offers was pleaſed to confirme the intercourſe & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as alſo to pleaſure him with ſuch commodities as he ſhould haue need of, to furniſh the neceſſities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, ſo as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Chriſtian princes her neighbours.

A good prouiſo.

The ſame night I preſented the king with the caſe of combes, and deſired his maieſtie to haue ſpecial regard that the ſhips might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle ſtore of ſalt-peter in readineſſe in Iohn Bamptons hands. He anſwered me that I ſhould haue all the aſſiſtance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue ſome ſtore in his houſe there, as alſo that the Mountayners had made much in a readineſſe: I requeſted that he would ſend downe, which he promiſed to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and ſo continued there till night, and he ſhewed me his houſe with paſtime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his Engliſh dogges.

At this time I mooued him againe for the ſending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king ſent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to ſee a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promiſed me audience the next day being Tueſday, but he put it off till Thurſday: and the Thurſday at night I was ſent for to the king after ſupper, and then he ſent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I deſired to be brought to the King for my diſpatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of Iohn Bamptons which he had made for prouiſion of Salt-peter: alſo two bils for the quiet traffique of our Engliſh Marchants, and bils for ſugars to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debts paſt, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Alſo I mooued him againe for the Salt-peter, and other diſpatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell ſicke, ſo on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was ſent for to conferre vpon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Upon Tueſday I wrote a letter to the King for my diſpatch, and the ſame afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thurſday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals groſſe of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto mee to my lodging, ſhewing mee that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers cauſes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of Iuly, I got the King to forgiue all to Iohn Bampton, and the King promiſed me to ſpeake againe with me vpon Munday.

Upon Tueſday I wrote to him againe for my diſpatch, and then hee ſent Fray Lewes to mee, and ſaid that he had order to write.

Upon Wedneſday I wrote againe, and he ſent me word that vpon Thurſday I ſhould come and be diſpatched, ſo that I ſhould depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of Iuly.

So the friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewiſe the priuileges which were on the behalfe of our Engliſh marchants requeſted, were with great fauour and readineſſe yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iewes there reſident were to our men in certaine round ſummes indebted, the Emperors pleaſure and commandement was, that they ſhould without further excuſe or delay, pay and diſcharge the ſame. And thus at length I was diſmiſſed with great honour and ſpeciall countenance, ſuch as hath not ordinarily bene ſhewed to other Ambaſſadors of the Chriſtians.

The Emperor of Maroco his priuileges to the Engliſh.

And touching the priuate affaires intreated vpon betwixt her Maieſtie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to ſatiſfie her highneſſe therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my firſt landing, I embarked my ſelfe with my foreſaid company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her Maieſties court, & ended my Ambaſſage to her highneſſe good liking, with relation of my ſeruice performed.

The voyage of *Thomas Stukeley*, wrongfully called Marques of *Ireland*, into *Barbary* 1578. Written by *Iohannes Thomas Freigius in Hiſtoria de cæde Sebaſtiani Regis Luſitaniæ.*

VEnerant autem ad regem etiam ſexcenti Itali, quos Papa ſubminiſtrarat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vliſſiponem tribus inſtructis nauibus appuliſſet Regi operam ſuam condixit, eumque in bellum ſequi promiſit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum diuiſit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eoſque ducebat Aluarus Pereſius de Tauara: ſiniſtram aciem ſeu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ. &c. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc pręlio ceciderunt, fuerunt, pręter regem Sebaſtianum, dux de Auero, Epiſcopi Conimbricenſis & Portuenſis, Commiſſarius generalis à Papa miſſus Marchio Irlandiæ, Chriſtophorus de Tauora, & plures alij. Cap. 13.

The ſame in Engliſh.

There came alſo to Don Sebaſtian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope ſent vnder the conduct of the *Marques of Irland: who being arriued at Liſbone with three tall ſhips,

Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title.

ſhips, proffered his ſeruice to the king, and promiſed to attend vpon him in the warres, &c.

He diuided the whole Armie into 4. ſquadrons: vpon the right wing ſtood the firſt ſquadron, conſiſting of men lightly armed or ſkirmiſhers and of the ſouldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Aluaro Perez de Tauara: the left or midle ſquadron conſiſted of Germanes and Italians, vnder the command of the Marques of Irland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were ſlaine in this battell (beſides Don Sebaſtian the king) the duke de Auero, the two biſhops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Irland ſent by the Pope as his Commiſſary generall, Chriſtopher de Tauara, and many others. cap. 13.

IT is further alſo to be remembred, that diuers other Engliſh gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the moſt part were ſlaine; and among others M. Chriſtopher Lyſter was taken captiue, and was there long detained in miſerable ſeruitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily eſcaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South ſea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he ſhewed ſingular reſolution and courage) and appointed afterward in diuers places of ſpeciall command and credite, was laſt of all miſerably drowned in a great and rich Spaniſh prize vpon the coaſt of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the prouince of *China* learned through the *Portugals* there impriſoned, and chiefly by the relation of *Galeotto Perera*, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay priſoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of *Italian* into Engliſh by *Richard Willes*.

Fuquien. THis land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which ſometimes were ech one a kingdome by it ſelfe, but theſe many yeeres they haue bene all ſubiect vnto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the firſt Shire, becauſe there their troubles began, & they had occaſion thereby to know the reſt. In this ſhire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquico, the other ſeuen are reaſonably great, the beſt knowen whereof vnto the Portugals is Cinceo, in reſpect of a certaine hauen ioyning thereunto, whither in time paſt they were wont for marchandiſe to reſort. Cinceo.

Cantan. Cantan is the ſecond ſhire, not ſo great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and alſo by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer vnto Malacca then any other part of China, and was firſt diſcried by the Portugals before any other ſhire in that prouince: this ſhire hath in it ſeuen Cities.

Chequeam. Chequeam is the third ſhire, the chiefeſt Citie therein is Donchion, therein alſo ſtandeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey townes therin are too too many to be ſpoken of.

Xuciamſu. The fourth ſhire is called Xuciamſu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes reſident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I wil ſay nothing.

Chelim. The fift ſhire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of ancient time the royall ſeat of the Chiniſh kings. From this ſhire, & from the aforeſaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, vntil the whole region became one kingdome.

Quianci. or, Quinzi. The 6. ſhire beareth the name Quianci, as alſo the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make veſſels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be ſolde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the firſt that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceiued that the ſtanding of Quinzi more neere vnto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cauſe of ſo much fine clay at Liampo: within the compaſſe of Quinci ſhire be other 12. cities.

The 7. ſhire is Quicin, the 8. Quanſi, the 9. Conſu, the 10. Vrnan, the 11. Sichiua. In the firſt hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. haue, wee are ignorant as yet, as alſo of the proper names of the 12. and 13. ſhires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally ſaid hereof, that the greater ſhires in China-prouince may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of theſe ſhires bee ſet Ponchiaſſini and Anchiaſſini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is alſo placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would ſay, a gouernour, and a Chian, that is a viſiter, as it were: whoſe office is to goe in circuit, and to ſee iuſtice exactly done. By theſe meanes ſo vprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the beſt gouerned prouinces in all the world.

Pachin. The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to ſay in our language, as by the name thereof I am aduertiſed, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is ſo large, that vnder fiue monethes you are not able to trauaile from the Townes by the Sea ſide to the Court, and backe againe, no not vnder three monethes in poſte at your vrgent buſineſſe. The poſt-horſes in this Countrey are litle of body, but ſwift of foote. Many doe trauelle the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Riuers commodious for paſſage from one Citie to another.

Their monethes.

The King, notwithſtanding the hugeneſſe of his kingdome, hath ſuch a care thereof, that euery Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) he is aduertiſed fully of whatſoeuer thing happeneth therein, by theſe meanes following.

The whole prouince being diuided into ſhires, and ech ſhire hauing in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawen in euery chiefe Citie aforeſaid intelligences of ſuch things as doe monethly fall out, and be ſent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth euery Poſt be not able to goe ſo long a way, yet doeth there notwithſtanding once euery moneth arriue one Poſte out of the ſhire. Who ſo cōmeth before the new moone ſtayeth for the deliuery of his letters vntil the moone be changed. Then likewiſe are diſpatched other Poſts backe into all the 13. ſhires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee haue to paſſe through many places, and ſome of great importance. For this Countrey is ſo well inhabited neere the Sea ſide, that you cannot goe one mile but you ſhal ſee ſome Towne, borough or hoſtry, the which are ſo aboundatly prouided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they liue ciuily. Neuertheleſſe ſuch as dwel abroade are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where is ſo great, that out of a tree you ſhall ſee many times ſwarme a number of children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From theſe places in number infinite, you ſhall come vnto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not poſſibly to be diſcerned which is the greater of them. Theſe cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there ſtandeth ſo great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer ſeene in Portugal nor elſe where. I heard one of my fellowes ſay, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occaſion wherefore theſe bridges are made ſo great is, for that the Countrey is toward the ſea very plaine and low, and ouerflowed euer as the ſea water encreaſeth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in ſuch wiſe that you may ſee directly from the one ende to the other: the ſides are wonderfully well engrauen after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did moſt marueile at was therewithall the hugeneſſe of the ſtones, the like whereof, as we came in to the Citie, we did ſee many ſet vp in places diſ-habited by the way, to no ſmall charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpoſe, whereas no body ſeeth them but ſuch as doe come by. The arches are not made after our faſhion, vauted with ſundry ſtones ſet together: but paued, as it were, whole ſtones reaching from one piller to an other, in ſuch wiſe that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly ſerue alſo for the high way. I haue bene aſtonied to beholde the hugeneſſe of the aforeſaid ſtones: ſome of them are xii. paſes long and vpward, the leaſt 11. good paſes long, and an halfe.

The wayes ech where are galantly paued with foureſquare ſtone, except it be where for want of ſtone they vſe to lay bricke: in this voyage wee trauailed ouer certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worſe paued then in the plaine ground. This cauſeth vs to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is ſo well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left vntilled: ſmall ſtore of cattell haue we ſeene this day, we ſaw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countreymen do plow their ground. One oxe draweth the plough alone, not onely in this ſhire, but in other places alſo, wherein is greater ſtore of cattell. Theſe countreymen by arte do that in tillage, which we are conſtrained to doe by force. Here be ſolde the voydings of cloſe ſtooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beaſtes: and the excrements of man are good marchandiſe throughout all China. The dungfermers ſeek in euery ſtreete by exchange to buy this durtie ware for herbs and wood. The cuſtome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great aboundance of hennes, geeſe, duckes, ſwine, and goates, wethers haue they none: the hennes are ſolde by weight, and ſo are all other things. Two pound of hennes fleſh, geeſe, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, v. ob. ſterling. Swines fleſh is ſold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the ſame price, for the ſcarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo and farther off from the ſea-coaſt, there is beefe more plentie and ſolde better cheape. We haue had in all the Cities we paſſed through, great abundance of all theſe victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like vnto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they would be ſold here for nothing. But it ſo falling out, that the Chineans are the greateſt eaters in all the world, they do feed vpon all things, ſpecially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is vnto them the leſſe lothſome. The higheſt price of theſe things aforeſaid I haue ſet downe, better cheape ſhal you ſometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are ſolde at the ſame price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongſt them, as alſo dogs, cats, rats, ſnakes, and all other vncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, ſpecially neere vnto the gates, the which are marueilouſly great, and couered with iron. The gatehouſes are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & ſtone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls vpward the building is of timber, and many ſtories in it one aboue the other. The ſtrength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie haue they none.

The ſtreetes in Cinceo, and in all the reſt of the Cities we haue ſeene are very faire, ſo large and ſo ſtraight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houſes are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with ſtone: in ech ſide of the ſtreetes are pentiſes or continuall porches for the marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the ſtreets is neuertheleſſe ſuch, that in them 15. men may ride commodiouſly ſide by ſide. As they ride they muſt needs paſſe vnder many high arches of triumph that croſſe ouer the ſtreetes made of timber, and carued diuerſly, couered with tiles of fine clay: vnder theſe arches the Mercers do vtter their ſmaller wares, & ſuch as liſt to ſtand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen haue theſe arches at their doores: although ſome of them be not ſo mightily built as the reſt.

Louteas. I ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil firſt therefore expound what this word ſignifieth. Loutea is as much to ſay in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he anſwereth Sir: and as we do ſay, that the king hath made ſome gentleman, ſo ſay they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongſt them the degrees are diuers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of ſome principals, being not able to aduertiſe you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giuing of a broad girdle, not like to the reſt, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall & common vnto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby ſignified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe ſerue their prince in weightie matters for iuſtice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which ſerue in ſmaller affaires, as Captaines, conſtables, ſergeants by land and ſea, receiuers and ſuch like, whereof there be in euery citie, as alſo in this, very many, are made for fauour: the chiefe Louteas are ſerued kneeling.

The whole prouince of China is diuided, as I haue ſaid, into 13. ſhires, in euery ſhire at the leaſt is one gouernour called there Tutan, in ſome ſhires there be two.

Chian, or, Chaen. Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commiſſioners as you would ſay, or viſiters, with full authoritie in ſuch wiſe, that they doe call vnto an accompt the Tutans themſelues, but their authoritie laſteth not in any ſhire longer then one yere. Neuertheleſſe in euery ſhire being at the leaſt 7. cities, yea, in ſome of them 15. or 16. beſide other boroughes and townes not well to be numbred, theſe viſiters where they come are ſo honoured and feared, as though they were ſome great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come vnto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the ſhire, to do iuſtice there: finally buſying themſelues in the ſearching out of ſuch as are to receiue the order of Louteas, whereof more ſhalbe ſaid in another place.

Ponchiaſſi. Ouer and beſides theſe officers, in the cheife City of ech one of theſe aforeſaid 13. prouinces, is reſident one Ponchiaſſi, Captaine thereof, and treaſurer of all the kings reuenues. This Magiſtrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greateſt houſes that be in all theſe head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treaſourer of the reuenues in that prouince, & to ſend theſe reuenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithſtanding by his office alſo to meddle with matters appertaining vnto iuſtice.

Anchiaſſi, or, Henſi. In the ſecond great houſe dwelleth an other Magiſtrate called Anchiaſſi, a great officer alſo, for he hath dealings in all matters of iuſtice. Who although he be ſomewhat inferior in dignitie vnto the Ponchiaſſi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of iuſtice, whoſoeuer ſeeth the affaires of the one houſe and the other might iudge this Anchiaſſi to be the greater.

Tuzi, Tuzi, an other officer ſo called, lieth in the thirde houſe, a magiſtrate of importance, ſpecially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

Taiſſu, There is reſident in the 4. houſe a fourth officer, bearing name Taiſſu. In this houſe is the principall priſon of all the Citie. Ech one of theſe Magiſtrates aforeſaide may both lay euill doers in priſon, & deliuer them out againe, except ẏ fact be heinous & of importance: in ſuch a caſe they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deſerueth death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourſe made vnto the Chian whereſoeuer hee be, or to the Tutan: and eftſoones it falleth out, that the caſe is referred vnto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech ſhire, but in the reſt alſo, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do ſtudy at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they reſort vnto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earſt ſaide, as well to giue theſe degrees, as to ſit in iudgement ouer the priſoners.

The Chians go in circuit euery yere, but ſuch as are to be choſen to the greateſt offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are aſked them, whereunto if they doe anſwere accordingly, and be found ſufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, ſuch as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all ceremonies, vſe to banquet and feaſt many dayes together (as the Chineans faſhion is to ende all their pleaſures with eating and drinking) and ſo remaine choſen to do the king ſeruice in matters of learning. The other examinates founde inſufficient to proceed are ſent backe to their ſtudie againe. Whoſe ignorance is perceiued to come of negligence and default, ſuch a one is whipped, and ſometimes ſent to priſon, where lying that yeere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus puniſhed, and demaunding the cauſe thereof, they ſaide it was for that they knew not how to anſwere vnto certaine things aſked them. It is a world to ſee how theſe Louteas are ſerued and feared, in ſuch wiſe, that in publike aſſemblies at one ſhrike they giue, all the ſeruitors belonging vnto iuſtice tremble thereat. At their being in theſe places, when they liſt to mooue, be it but euen to the gate, theſe ſeruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in ſeates of beaten gold. After this ſort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne buſineſſe abroade, or to ſee ech other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meaneſt of them all that goeth in theſe ſeates is vſhered by two men at the leaſt, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reuerence the common people haue vnto them. They haue alſo in their company certaine Sergeants with their Maces either ſiluered or altogether ſiluer, ſome two, ſome foure, other ſixe, other eight, conueniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas haue going orderly before theſe Sergeants, many other with ſtaues, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indiſh canes dragged on the ground, ſo that the ſtreets being paued, you may heare afarre off as well the noyſe of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. Theſe fellowes ſerue alſo to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare liuery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde theſe Louteas come ſuch as doe beare certaine tables hanged at ſtaues endes, wherein is written in ſiluer letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they haue borne after them hattes agreeable vnto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealowe: but if he be of the better ſort, then may he haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may haue all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Loutea for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithſtanding haue yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, haue beſides all this before them ledde three or foure horſes with their guard in armour.

Licentiates.

Doctors.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate ſitting on ſtooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanely, although they vſe neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatſoeuer is ſet downe vpon the boord is firſt carued before that it be brought in: they feede with two ſticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, euen as we do with forkes: for the which reſpect they leſſe do neede any table clothes. Ne is the nation only ciuill at meate, but alſo in conuerſation, and in courteſie they ſeeme to exceede all other. Likewiſe in their dealings after their maner they are ſo ready, that they farre paſſe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater ſtates are ſo vaine, that they line their clothes with the beſt ſilke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exerciſes and paſtimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the ſouldiers ſhoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating paſſeth: they will ſtand eating euen when the other do draw to ſhoot. The pricke is a great blanket ſpread on certaine long poles, he that ſtriketh it, hath of the beſt man there ſtanding a piece of crimſon Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this ſort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worſhip the heauens: and, as wee are wont to ſay, God knoweth it: ſo ſay they at euery word, *Tien Tautee*, that is to ſay, The heauens doe know it. Some doe worſhip the Sonne, and ſome the Moone, as they thinke good, for

We, that is the Italians and Spaniards.

none

After the Dutch faſhion.

Pythagorean like.

none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they haue a great altar in the ſame place as we haue, true it is that one may goe round about it. There ſet they vp the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand ſtandeth the diuel much more vgly painted then we doe vſe to ſet him out, whereunto great homage is done by ſuch as come into the temple to aſke counſell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to do euil. If you aſke them what they do thinke of the ſoules departed, they will anſwere that they be immortall, and that as ſoone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a diuel if hee haue liued well in this world, if otherwiſe, that the ſame diuel changeth him into a buffe, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this diuel they doe much honour, to him doe they ſacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himſelfe, and not like other beaſtes. They haue moreouer another ſort of temples, wherein both vpon the altars and alſo on the walls do ſtand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed: theſe beare name Omithoſon, accompted of them ſpirits, but ſuch as in heauen do neither good nor euill, thought to be ſuch men and women as haue chaſtly liued in this world in abſtinence from fiſh and fleſh, fed onely with riſe and ſalates. Of that diuel they make ſome accompt: for theſe ſpirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall bleſſings, but if he doe euil, then ſhall he haue infirmities, diſeaſes, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet becauſe they be reaſonable creatures, all ſeemed good vnto them we ſpeake in our language, though it were not very ſufficient: our maner of praying eſpecially pleaſed them, and truely they are well ynough diſpoſed to receiue the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things ſo to be diſpoſed, that it may ſometime be brought to paſſe, that ſo great a nation as this is periſh not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying ſo well liked them, that in priſon importunately they beſought vs to write for them ſomewhat as cõcerning heauen, the which we did to their contentation wt ſuch reaſons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themſelues. If at any time this countrey might be ioyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in ſuch wiſe that free acceſſe were had to deale with the people there, they might all be ſoone conuerted. The greateſt fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner ſort, and nothing ſtrange amongſt the beſt. This ſinne were it left of them, in all other things ſo well diſpoſed they be, that a good interpreter in a ſhort ſpace might do there great good: If, as I ſaid, the countrey were ioyned in league with vs.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to ſolemnize the dayes of the new and full Moones in viſiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earſt ſaid, do tend all their paſtimes, and ſpending their dayes in pleaſure. They are wont alſo to ſolemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do reſort of cuſtome, with preſents of iewels or money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feaſt with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their moſt principall and greateſt feaſt of all, and beſt cheare, is the firſt day of their new yeere, namely the firſt day of the new Moone of February, ſo that their firſt moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, reſpect being had vnto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made ſuch a day of ſuch a moone, and ſuch a yeere of the reigne of ſuch a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I ſpeake of the maner which the Chineans doe obſerue in doing of iuſtice, that it may be knowen how farre theſe Gentiles do herein exceed many Chriſtians, that be more bounden then they to deale iuſtly and in trueth. Becauſe the Chiniſh king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome ſo great, & the ſhires ſo many, as tofore it hath bene ſaid: in it therefore the gouernours and rulers, much like vnto our Shiriffes, be appointed ſo ſuddenly and ſpeedily diſcharged againe, that they haue no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the ſtate in more ſecuritie, the Louteas that gouerne one ſhire are choſen out of ſome other ſhire diſtant farre off, where they muſt leaue their wiues, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themſelues. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readineſſe all things neceſſary, their houſe, furniture, ſeruants, and all other things in ſuch perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well ſerued without all feare of treaſon.

In the principall Cities of the ſhires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other Louteas haue the managing of iuſtice, and receiuing of rents, bound to yeelde an accompt thereof vnto the greater officers. Other do ſee that there be no euil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoueth him.

Generally all theſe doe impriſon malefactours, cauſe them to be whipped and racked, hoyſing them vp and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vſuall there, and accompted no ſhame. Theſe Louteas do vſe great diligence in the apprehending of theeues, ſo that it is a wonder to ſee a theefe eſcape away in any City, towne or village. Vpon the ſea neere vnto the ſhoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, ſo be they firſt whipped, and afterward layde in priſon, where ſhortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in priſon, there died of them aboue threeſcore and ten. If happely any one, hauing the meanes to get food, do eſcape, he is ſet with the condemned perſons, and prouided for as they be by the King, in ſuch wiſe as hereafter it ſhalbe ſaid.

The Italians call it the ſtrapado.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in ſuch ſort that they ſeeme rather plaine then ſharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth grouelong on the ground: vpon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with theſe canes, that the ſtanders by tremble at their crueltie. Ten ſtripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. ſpoile the fleſh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas obſerue moreouer this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aſke him openly in the hearing of as many as be preſent, be the offence neuer ſo great. Thus did they alſo behaue themſelues with vs: For this cauſe amongſt them can there be no falſe witneſſe, as dayly amongſt vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the euidence, and beare witneſſe, the proceſſe cannot be falſified, as it happeneth ſometimes with vs. The Moores, Gentiles, and Iewes haue all their ſundry othes, the Moores do ſweare by their Moſſafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the reſt likewiſe by the things they do worſhip. The Chineans though they be wont to ſweare by heauen, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in iudgement neuertheleſſe they ſweare not at all. If for ſome offence an othe be vſed of any one, by and by with the leaſt euidence he is tormented, ſo be the witneſſes he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point diſagree, except they be men of worſhip and credit, who are beleeued without any further matter: the reſt are made to confeſſe the trueth by force of torments and whips. Beſides this order obſerued of them in examinations, they do feare ſo much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them ſo lowe, that that they dare not once ſtirre. Againe, theſe Louteas as great as they be, notwithſtanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not truſting any others, do write all great proceſſes and matters of importance themſelues. Moreouer one vertue they haue worthy of great praiſe, and that is, being men ſo wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient aboue meaſure in giuing audience. We poore ſtrangers brought before them might ſay what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we ſtand before them with the vſuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs ſo patiently, that they cauſed vs to wonder, knowing ſpecially how litle any aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For whereſoeuer in any Towne of Chriſtendome ſhould be accuſed vnknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cauſe would haue: but we in a heathen Countrey, hauing our great enemies two of the chiefeſt men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end ſee our great aduerſaries caſt into priſon for our ſake, and depriued of their Offices and honour for not doing iuſtice, yea not to eſcape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they ſhalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be ſaid of the lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and firſt, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in priſon, and the fact once proued, are condemned to die, the womans husband muſt accuſe them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeues and murderers are impriſoned as I haue ſaid, where they ſhortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely eſcape by bribing the Gailer to giue him meate, his proceſſe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being giuen, the priſoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they incloſe vp therein, nailing the boord faſt together; one handfull of the boord ſtandeth vp behinde in the necke: The ſentence and cauſe wherefore the fellon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that ſtandeth before.

A pillory boord.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great priſon in the company of ſome other condemned perſons, the which are found by the king as long as they do liue. The boord aforeſaid ſo made tormenteth the priſoners very much, keeping them both from reſt, & eke letting them to eat cõmodiouſly, their hands being manacled in irons vnder that boord, ſo that in fine there is no remedy but death.

In the chiefe Cities of euery ſhire, as we haue erſt ſaid, there be foure principall houſes, in ech of them a priſon: but in one of them, where the Taiſſu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principal priſon then in any of the reſt: and although in euery City there be many, neuertheleſſe in three of them remaine onely ſuch as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we haue ſeene in this priſon. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commiſſioner or Lord chiefe Iuſtice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the cauſes of ſuch as be condemned. Many times he deliuereth ſome of them, declaring yͤ boord to haue bene wronfully put about their necks: the viſitation ended, he choſeth out ſeuen or eight, not many more or leſſe of the greateſt malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meete together, and after many ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, as the vſe of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who ſo eſcapeth that day, may be ſure that he ſhall not be put to death all that yeere following, and ſo remaineth at the kings charges in the greater priſon. In that priſon where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of theſe condemned perſons, beſides them that lay in other priſons.

Theſe priſons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are ſo ſtrong, that it hath not bene heard, that any priſoner in all China hath eſcaped out of priſon, for in deed it is a thing impoſſible. The priſons are thus builded. Firſt all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very ſtrong and high, the gate of no leſſe force: within it three other gates, before you come where the priſoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be ſeene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, ſuch as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paued, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a priſon, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept ſuch priſoners as haue committed enormious offences. This priſon is ſo great, that in it are ſtreetes and Market places wherein all things neceſſary are ſold. Yea ſome priſoners liue by that kinde of trade, buying and ſelling, and letting out beds to hire: ſome are dayly ſent to priſon, ſome dayly deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other priſon of condemned perſons ſhall you go at three yron gates, the court paued and vauted round about, and open aboue as it were a cloiſter. In this cloiſter be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein euery night the priſoners do lie at length, their feet in the ſtocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from ſitting, ſo that they lye as it were in a cage, ſleepe if they can: in the morning they are loſed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of this priſon, it is kept with a garriſon of men, part whereof watch within the houſe, part of them in the court, ſome keepe about the priſon with lanterns and watch-bels anſwering one another fiue times euery night, and giuing warning ſo lowd, that the Loutea reſting in a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In theſe priſons of condemned perſons remaine ſome 15, other 20. yeres impriſoned, not executed, for the loue of their honorable friends that ſeeke to prolong their liues. Many of theſe priſoners be ſhoomakers, and haue from the king a certaine allowance of riſe: ſome of them worke for the keeper, who ſuffreth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liueries, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of theſe priſoners dieth, he is to be ſeene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate ſo narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The priſoner being brought forth, one of the aforeſaid Parthions ſtriketh him thriſe on the head with an yron ſledge, that done he is deliuered vnto his friends, if he haue any, otherwiſe the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeues are vſed. Such as be impriſoned for debt once knowen, lie there vntil it be paied. The Taiſſu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who vnderſtanding the cauſe wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compaſſe whereof if they diſcharge not their debts being debters in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall impriſonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paied before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him firſt of whom they laſt borrowed, and ſo ordinarily the reſt, in ſuch ſort that the firſt lender be the laſt receiuer. The ſame order is kept in paying legacies: the laſt named receiueth his portion firſt. They accompt it nothing to ſhew fauour to ſuch a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that haue litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore pay they the laſt before the firſt, for that their intent ſeemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

Of like the firſt lenders be the more wealthie.

When I ſaid, that ſuch as be committed to priſon for theft and murther were iudged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the Tutan, who out of hand giueth ſentence. Other not taken ſo openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in priſon, looking for their day. Theeues being taken are caried to priſon from one place to another in a cheſt vpon mens ſhoulders, hired therfore by the king, the cheſt is 6. handfuls high, the priſoner ſitteth therein vpon a bench, the couer of the cheſt is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the priſoners necke, there ſitteth he with his head without the cheſt, and the reſt of his body within, not able to mooue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the neceſſities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of the cheſt, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole iourney: if happily his porters ſtumble, or the cheſt do iogge or be ſet downe careleſly, it turneth to his great paines that ſitteth therein, al ſuch motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried frō Cinceo, 7. daies iourney, neuer taking any reſt as afterward they told vs, & their greateſt griefe was to ſtay by the way: as ſoone as they came, being taken out of the cheſts, they were not able to ſtand on their feet, and two of them died ſhortly after. When we lay in priſon at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, & were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be ſeene of them & their wiues, for that they had neuer ſeene any Portugale before. Many things they aſked vs of our Country, and our faſhions, & did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties aboue meaſure. The gentlemen ſhew great courteſie vnto ſtrangers, and ſo did we finde at their hands, and becauſe that many times we were brought abroad into the City, ſomewhat wil I ſay of ſuch things as I did ſee therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. ſhires aforeſaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, & mightily walled with ſquare ſtone both within and without, and, as it may ſeeme by the breadth therof, filled vp in the middle with earth, layd ouer with brick & couered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The ſtaires they vſe are ſo eaſily made, that one may go them vp and downe a horſ-backe, as eftſoones they do: the ſtreets are paued, as already it hath bin ſaid: there be a great number of Marchants, euery one hath written in a great table at his doore ſuch things as he hath to ſel. In like maner euery artiſane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be ſold. The city ſtandeth vpō water, many ſtreames run through it, the banks pitched, & ſo broad that they ſerue for ſtreets to the cities vſe. Ouer the ſtreams are ſundry bridges both of timber & ſtone, which being made leuel with the ſtreets, hinder not the paſſage of the barges too and fro, the chanels are ſo deepe. Where the ſtreames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they haue, & that in the day time only: at night theſe arches are cloſed vp with gates, ſo do they ſhut vp al the gates of the City. Theſe ſtreames and barges do ennobliſh very much the City, and make it as it were to ſeeme another Venice. The buildings are euen, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be ſome wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to ſee how great theſe cities are, and the cauſe is, for that the houſes are built euen, as I haue ſaid, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we ſaw in this city that made vs al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, ouer a porch at the comming in to one of the aforeſaid 4. houſes, which the king hath in euery ſhire for his gouernors, as I haue erſt ſaid, ſtandeth a tower built vpon 40. pillers, echone whereof is but one ſtone, echone 40. handfuls or ſpans long: in bredth or compaſſe 12, as many of vs did meaſure them. Beſides this, their greatneſſe is ſuch in one piece, that it might ſeeme impoſſible to worke them: they be moreouer cornered, and in colour, length and breadth ſo like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made vs all to wonder very much.

Fuquieo.

Heretofore:

Parai.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were priſoners, not hearing amongſt them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called, and aſked ſometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderſtood vs not when we called them Chineans, I anſwered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occaſiō they are ſo called, whether peraduenture any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes anſwered me, ẏ they haue no ſuch name, nor euer had. Then did I aſke them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would anſwere being aſked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though preſently it were al vnder one, ech kingdom neuertheles enioyed that name it firſt had, theſe kingdomes are the prouinces I ſpake of before. In concluſion they ſaid, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, ſo that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in ẏ country. I thinke that the neerneſſe of another prouince therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants therof Cochineſſes, firſt diſcouered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did giue occaſion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as alſo the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforeſaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I haue heard moreouer that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that reſidence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table ſtandeth in a great pallace, couered alwayes, except it be on ſome of their feſtiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be ſeene, couered neuertheleſſe as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other ſhires in the pallaces of the Ponchiaſſini, wherein theſe aforeſaid tables doe ſtand with the kings name written in them, although no reuerence be done thereunto but in ſolemne feaſtes.

Pochin, or, Pachin.

I haue likewiſe vnderſtood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is ſo great, that to go from one ſide to the other, beſides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it ſelfe, it requireth one whole day a horſeback, going hackney paſe. In the ſuburbs be many wealthy marchants of all ſorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great ſtore of fiſh, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

Their enemies.

Mariage of the kings children.

It was alſo told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, beſides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neuertheleſſe their friendſhip was not ſo great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they ſaid, that in olde time the Chiniſh kings when they would marry their daughters, accuſtomed to make a ſolemne feaſt, whereunto came all ſorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, ſtood in a place where ſhe might ſee them all, and looke whom ſhe liked beſt, him did ſhe chuſe to husband, and if happely he were of a baſe condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this cuſtome hath bene left long ſince. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleaſure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he obſerueth in the marriage of his ſonnes.

He ſpeaketh not here of all China, but of the Cities, for in other places there be beggers, as you haue ſeene already, ſwarming out of trees.

They haue moreouer one thing very good, and that which made vs all to maruelle at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hoſpitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we neuer ſaw any poore body begge. We therefore asked the cauſe of this: anſwered it was, that in euery City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houſes for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to trauaile for age, nor hauing any other meanes to liue. Theſe folke haue in the aforeſaid houſes euer plentie of rice during their liues, but nothing elſe. Such as be receiued into theſe houſes, come in after this maner. When one is ſicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a ſupplication to the Ponchiaſſi, and prouing that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforeſaid great lodging as long as he liueth: beſides this they keepe in theſe places ſwine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieued without going a begging.

I ſaid before that China was full of riuers, but now I minde to confirme the ſame anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were ſo farre off from the ſea, that where we came no ſea fiſh had bene ſeene, and ſalt was there very deare, of freſh water fiſh yet was there great abundance, and that fiſh very good: they keep it good after this maner. Where the riuers do meete, and ſo paſſe into the ſea, there lieth great ſtore of boats, ſpecially where no ſalt-water commeth, and that in March and April. Theſe boates are ſo many that it ſeemeth wonderfull, ne ſerue they for other then to take ſmall fiſh. By the riuers ſides they make leyres of fine and ſtrong nettes, that lye three handfuls vnder water, and one aboue to keepe and nouriſh their fiſh in, vntill ſuch time as other fiſhers do come with boates, bringing for that purpoſe certaine great cheſts lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fiſh vp and downe the riuer, euery day renuing the cheſt with freſh water, and ſelling their fiſh in euery City, towne and village where they paſſe, vnto the people as they neede it: moſt of them haue net leyres to keepe fiſh in alwayes for their prouiſion. Where the greater boates cannot paſſe any further forward, they take leſſer, and becauſe the whole Countrey is very well watered, there is ſo great plenty of diuers ſorts of fiſh, that it is wonderfull to ſee: aſſuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their prouiſion. Their fiſh is chiefly nouriſhed with the dung of Buffes and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I ſaid their fiſhing to be in March and April at what time we ſaw them do it, neuertheleſſe they told vs that they fiſhed at all times, for that vſually they do feed on fiſh, wherefore it behoueth them to make their prouiſion continually.

Meanes to fat fiſh.

He ſpeaketh of Fuquien ſhire.

When we had paſſed Fuquien, we went into Quicin ſhire, where the fine clay veſſell is made, as I ſaid before: and we came to a City, the one ſide whereof is built vpon the foote of a hill, whereby paſſeth a riuer nauigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech ſide of the riuer we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we ſaw great ſtore of marchandize, but ſpecially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other neceſſaries. Going downe this riuer Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre diſtant: this Countrey we paſſed through in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the ſtreame. Before that I doe ſay any thing of that ſhire we came into, I will firſt ſpeake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a gouernour, as you haue ſeene, though ſome Tutans do gouerne two or three ſhires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cauſe, of whom I ſpake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he gouerned Foquien ſhire: nothing it auailed him to be ſo great an officer. This Countrey is ſo great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citie Quanche whither we came, the riuer was ſo great that it ſeemed a Sea, though it were ſo litle where we tooke water, that we needed ſmall boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the ſtreame, we came at noone to a bridge made of many barges, ouerlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There ſtayed we vntill it was late, but we ſaw not one go either vp thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and ſet them downe there, the one on one ſide, the other on the other ſide. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and ſmall to the number of ſixe hundred began to paſſe: thoſe that went vp the ſtreame at one place, ſuch as came downe at an other. When all had thus ſhot the bridge, then was it ſhut vp againe. We heare ſay that euery day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Cuſtome vnto the king, ſpecially for ſalt, whereof the greateſt reuenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The paſſages of the bridge where it is opened, be ſo neere the ſhoare, that nothing can paſſe without touching the ſame. To ſtay the barges at their pleaſure, that they goe no further forward, are vſed certaine iron inſtruments. The bridge conſiſteth of 112. barges, there ſtayed we vntill the euening that they were opened, lothſomely oppreſſed by the multitude of people that came to ſee vs, ſo many in number, that we were enforced to go aſide from the banke vntill ſuch time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were neuertheleſſe thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came ſo importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our ſelues: yet were we here much more moleſted for the number of people; & this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place ſo wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had ſhot the bridge, we kept along the Citie vntil it was night, and then met we with an other riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed vp that by the walls vntill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but leſſer a great deale then that other bridge ouer the greater ſtreame: here ſtayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the preaſſe of the people. Theſe riuers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were ſo many barges great and ſmall, that we all thought them at the leaſt to be aboue three thouſand: the greater number thereof was in the leſſer riuer, where we were. Amongſt the reſt here lay certaine greater veſſels, called in their language Parai, that ſerue for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I haue erſt ſaid, all this Countrey is full of riuers. Deſirous to ſee thoſe Parai we got into ſome of them, where we found ſome chambers ſet foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furniſhed with tables and ſeats, and all other things ſo neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Alias Cenchi.

The Kings reuenuse.

Parai.

Quiacim ſhire, as farre as I can perceiue, lieth vpon the South. On that ſide we kept at our firſt entry thereinto, trauayling not farre from the high mountaines we ſaw there. Aſking what people dwelleth beyond thoſe mountaines, it was told me that they be theeues & men of a ſtrange language. And becauſe that vnto ſundry places neere this riuer the mountaines doe approch, whence the people iſſuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim ſhire. To guard this riuer whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & ſmall fraught with ſalt, fiſh poudred with peper, and other neceſſaries for that countrey, they do lay in diuers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherin watch and ward is kept day and night on both ſides of the riuer, for the ſafety of the paſſage, & ſecuritie of ſuch Parai as do remaine there, though the trauailers neuer go but many in company. In euery rode there be at the leaſt thirtie, in ſome two hundred men, as the paſſage requireth. This guard is kept vſually vntill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this ſhire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City vpward, where the riuer wareth more narrow, and the paſſage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other veſſels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This ſeemed to me one of the ſtrangeſt things I did ſee in this Countrey.

Fiſh poudered with peper.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did ſee certaine Moores, who knew ſo litle of their ſecte, that they could ſay nothing elſe but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with ſome other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abſtinence from ſwines fleſh, they liue vntill the diuel take them all. This when I ſaw, & being ſure that in many Chiniſh

Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as ſoone as we came to the City where theſe fellowes be, I enfourmed my ſelfe of them, and learned the trueth.

☞ Great ſhips comming from the North.

Theſe Moores, as they tolde me, in times paſt came in great ſhips fraught with marchandiſe from Pachin ward, to a port granted vnto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arriued at a litle Towne ſtanding in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto their ſect the greateſt Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Mooriſh, the reſt began likewiſe to doe the ſame. In this part of China the people be at libertie, euery one to worſhip and folow what him liketh beſt. Wherefore no body tooke heed thereto, vntill ſuch time as the Moores perceiuing that many followed them in ſuperſtition, and that the Loutea fauoured them, they began to forbid wholy the eating of ſwines fleſh. But all theſe countreymen and women choſing rather to forſake father and mother, then to leaue off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For beſides the great deſire they all haue to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the Magiſtrates, accuſing the Moores of a conſpiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea againſt their king. In this countrey, as no ſuſpition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, ſo was the king ſpeedily aduertiſed thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforeſaid Loutea ſhould be put to death, and with him the Moores of moſt importance: the other to be layde firſt in priſon, and afterward to be ſent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall ſlaues vnto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threeſcore and odde, who at this day are brought to fiue men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres ſince this happened. Their offſpring paſſeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the reſt in other Cities whither they were ſent, haue their *Moſcheas, whereunto they all reſort euery Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue that came from thence, for their poſteritie is ſo confuſed, that they haue nothing of a Moore in them but abſtinence from ſwines fleſh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof priuily. They tell mee that their natiue Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indiſh countrey well knowen vnto them. It may ſo be: for as ſoone as they did ſee our ſeruants (our ſeruants were Preuzaretes) they iudged them to be Indians: many of their wordes ſounded vpon the Perſian tongue, but none of vs coulde vnderſtand them. I aſked them whether they conuerted any of the Chiniſh nation vnto their ſecte: they anſwered mee, that with much a doe they conuerted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cauſe thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating ſwines fleſh and drinking of wine. I am perſwaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with vs, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an eaſie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their ſuperſtition, whereat they themſelues do laugh when they do their idolatry.

* That is their temples.

It ſhould ſeeme by their voyage to be Cardandan in Ortelius.

☞ A Northerne Sea.

It ſeemeth they came vp the riuer from the Caſpian ſea. At Cacan.

Riuers ouerfroſen in China.

* I haue learned moreouer that the Sea, whereby theſe Moores that came to China were wont to trauaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Perſia, leauing on the other ſide all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is euen ſo, becauſe that theſe Moores, the which we haue ſeene, be rather browne then white, whereby they ſhewe themſelues to come from ſome warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the riuers are froſen in the Winter for colde, and many of them ſo vehemently, that carts may paſſe ouer them.

Ali. Auoins Tartars.

Mount Vſont.

Mogores,

Blewes of great price in China.

We did ſee in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horſemen and archers, confining with China on that ſide where Pachin ſtandeth, ſeparated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt theſe kingdomes. Ouer them be certaine wayes to paſſe, and for both ſides, Caſtles continually kept with Souldiers: in time paſt the Tartars were wont alwayes to haue warres with the Chineans, but theſe foureſcore yeeres paſt they were quiet, vntill the ſecond yeere of our impriſonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are aduertiſed that of one ſide they border vpon theſe Tartars, and confine with the Perſian Tartars on the other ſide, whereof wee ſawe in them ſome tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be ſold at Ormus. So that this is the true ſituation of that Countrey, not in the Northparts, as many times I haue heard ſay, confining with Germanie.

Brames.

As for the Brames we haue ſeene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongſt whom there was one that came not long ſince, hauing as yet her haire tied vp after the Pegues faſhion: this woman, and other mo with whom a black Moore damſel in our company had conference, and did vnderſtand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we

were

ment to make our abode in that citie, bid vs to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not diſtant from thence aboue fiue dayes iourney, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being aſked the way, ſhe anſwered that the firſt three daies the way lieth ouer certaine great mountaines & wilderneſſe, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney more to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, ſeparated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie ſaid, that lie out towards the South. In the reſidue of theſe mountaines ſtandeth the prouince of Sian, the Laoyos countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

Southward from Chenchi to the ſea.

Auoins.

Chenchi.

This citie, chiefe of other ſixteene, is ſituated in a pleaſant plaine abounding in all things neceſſarie, ſea-fiſh onely excepted, for it ſtandeth farre from the ſea: of freſh fiſh ſo much ſtore, that the market places are neuer emptie. The walles of this citie are very ſtrong and high: one day did I ſee the Louteas thereof go vpon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their ſeates which I ſpake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horſemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might haue gone three & three. We haue ſeene moreouer, that within this aforeſayde Citie the king hath moe then a thouſande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in diuerſe partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houſes, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. Theſe Gentlemen, according to their neereneſſe in blood vnto the king, as ſoone as they be married receiue their place in honour: this place neither increaſeth nor diminiſheth in any reſpect as long as the king liueth, the king appointeth them their wiues and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things neceſſarie abundantly, as he doth to his gouernours of ſhires and Cities, howbeit, not one of theſe hath as long as he liueth any charge or gouernement at all. They giue themſelues to eating and drinking, and be for the moſt part burly men of bodie, inſomuch that eſpying any one of them whom we had not ſeene before, we might knowe him to be the King his coſin. They be neuertheleſſe very pleaſant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, ſo much honour and good intertainement any where as at their hands. They bid vs to their houſes to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our ſeruants and ſlaues, cauſing them to ſit downe with the firſt. Notwithſtanding the good lodging theſe Gentlemen haue, ſo commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cauſe, as I did vnderſtand, wherefore the king ſo vſeth his coſins is, that none of them at any time may rebell againſt him: and thus he ſhutteth them vp in three or foure other cities. Moſt of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of paſtime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe liue be forbidden that inſtrument, the Curtiſans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be muſicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater ſecuritie of his Realme and the auoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great eſtates and gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be ſo many times diſplaced and other placed a new, that they haue not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well prouided for, as afterward alſo lodged at the kings charges, and in penſion as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpoſe. The king then is a Lord onely, not one beſides him as you haue ſeene, except it be ſuch as be of his blood. A Nephew likewiſe of the king, the kings ſiſters ſonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a ſtrong pallace built Caſtlewiſe, euen as his other couſins do, remayning alwayes within doores, ſerued by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters. On their feſtiuall dayes, new moones, & full moones the magiſtrates make great bankets, and ſo do ſuch as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high but foure-ſquare, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outſide is painted red, in euery ſquare a gate, and ouer each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high ſtreete no Loutea, be he neuer ſo great, may paſſe on horſebacke, or carried in his ſeat. Amidſt this quadrangle ſtandeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtleſſe worth the ſight, although we came not in to ſee it. By report the roofes of the towers and houſe are glaſed greene, & the greater part of the quadrangle ſet with ſauage trees, as Okes, Cheſnuts, Cypreſſe, Pineapples, Cedars, and other ſuch like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beaſts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad as I haue ſayd. One preheminence this citie hath aboue the reſt where we haue bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that beſides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be ſold through

Goa is a city of the Portugals in the Eaſt Indies.

euery ſtreete continually are cryed all things neceſſary, as fleſh of all ſortes, freſh fiſh, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, riſe: in ſumma, all things ſo plentifully, that many houſes neede no ſeruants, euery thing being brought to their doores. Moſt part of the marchants remaine in the ſuburbes, for that the cities are ſhut vp euery night, as I haue ſayd. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their buſineſſe, do chuſe rather to make their abode without in the ſuburbes then within the citie. I haue ſeene in this riuer a pretie kinde of fiſhing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will ſet it downe. The king hath in many riuers good ſtore of barges full of ſea-crowes that breede, are fedde, and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethly a certaine prouiſion of riſe. Theſe barges the king beſtoweth vpon his greateſt magiſtrates, giuing to ſome two, to ſome three of them as he thinketh good, to fiſh therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to fiſh, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the riuer is ſhalow, and the crowes tyed together vnder the wings are let leape downe into the water, ſome vnder, ſome aboue, woorth the looking vpon: each one, as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fiſh againe. Thus hauing taken good ſtore of fiſh, they ſet the crowes at libertie, and do ſuffer them to fiſh for their owne pleaſure. There were in that citie where I was, twentie barges at the leaſt of theſe aforeſayd crowes. I went almoſt euery day to ſee them, yet could I neuer be throughly ſatiſfied to ſee ſo ſtrange a kind of fiſhing.

Odericus writeth of the like.

Of the Iland *Iapan*, and other litle Iles in the Eaſt Ocean.

By *R. Willes.*

The extreame part of the knowen world vnto vs is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwiſe Iapon and Iapan. This Iland ſtandeth in the Eaſt Ocean, beyond all Aſia, betwixt Cathayo and the Weſt Indies ſixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the ſame clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, diſtant from thence by ſea ſixe thouſand leagues: the trauaile thither, both for ciuill diſcord, great pyracie, and often ſhipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and peſtered with ſnow, wherefore it is neither ſo warme as Portugall, nor yet ſo wealthy, as far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheeſe, milke, egges, ſugar, honny, vineger, ſaffron, cynamom and pepper. Barley-branne the Ilanders doe vſe in ſtead of ſalt: medicinable things holſome for the bodie haue they none at all. Neuertheleſſe in that Iland ſundry fruites doe growe, not much vnlike the fruites of Spaine: and great ſtore of Siluer mynes are therein to be ſeene. The people are tractable, ciuill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honeſt conuerſation exceeding all other nations lately diſcouered, but ſo much ſtanding vpon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof cauſeth among them much diſcord and debate, manſlaughter and murther: euen for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promiſes, abſteine from adulterie and robberies, puniſhing by death the leaſt robbery done, holding for a principle, that whoſoeuer ſtealeth a trifle, will, if he ſee occaſion, ſteale a greater thing. It may be theft is ſo ſeuerely puniſhed of them, for that the nation is oppreſſed with ſcarcitie of all things neceſſary, and ſo poore, that euen for miſerie they ſtrangle their owne children, preferring death before want. Theſe fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They liue chiefely by fiſh, hearbes, and fruites, ſo healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great ſtore. No man is aſhamed there of his pouertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore leſſe honoured of the meaner people, neither will the pooreſt gentleman there match his childe with the baſer ſort for any gaine, ſo much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greateſt delight they haue is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or otherwiſe, hath his ſword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in compariſon of their manhood and proweſſe, putting not vp one iniurie be it neuer ſo ſmall in worde or deede, among themſelues. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The vſe of vines they knowe not, their drinke they make of Rice, vtterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to giue himſelfe vnto thoſe things that make vs greedy and deſirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do ſweare, for that ſeldome they are wont to doe, they ſweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may ſo much the ſooner be brought vnto Chriſtianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all deſirous to learne, & naturally inclined vnto honeſty & courteſie: godly talke they liſten vnto willingly, eſpecially whē they vnderſtand it throughly. Their gouernmēt cōſiſteth of 3 eſtates. The firſt place is due vnto the high Prieſt, by whoſe lawes & decrees all publike and priuate

Great ſtore of ſiluer mynes.

priuate matters appertayning to religion are decided. The ſects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no eſtimation or authoritie except the high Prieſt by letters patent doe confirme the ſame: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Biſhops, although in many places they are nominated by ſundry Princes. Theſe Tundi are greatly honoured of all ſorts: they doe giue benefices vnto inferiour miniſters, and do grant licences for many things as to eate fleſh vpon thoſe dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with ſuch like priuileges. Finally, this high Prieſt wont to be choſen in China for his wiſedome and learning, made in Iapan for his gentry and birth, hath ſo large a Dominion and reuenues ſo great, that eftſoones he beardeth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Their ſecond principal Magiſtrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by ſucceſſion and birth, honoured as a God. This Gentleman neuer toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he neuer goeth abroad out of his houſe, nor is at all times to be ſeene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in woodden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he ſitteth in his chaire with a ſword in one ſide, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all ſhadowed ouer with Cypreſſe, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like vnto a Biſhops Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen diſhes. This Herehaught determineth in all Iapan the diuerſe titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly knowen by his badge, commonly ſeene in ſealing vp their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo euery Nobleman hath his Soliciter, for the nation is ſo deſirous of praiſe and honour, that they ſtriue among themſelues who may bribe him beſt. By theſe meanes the Herehaught groweth ſo rich, that although hee haue neither land nor any reuenues otherwiſe, yet may he be accounted the wealthieſt man in all Iapan. For three cauſes this great Magiſtrate may looſe his office: firſt, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene alreadie ſaid: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemie vnto peace and quietneſſe, howbeit neither of theſe aforeſaid cauſes is ſufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Iudge, his office is to take vp and to end matters in controuerſie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to puniſh rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men to aſſiſt him vpon paine of forfeiting their goods: neuertheleſſe at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controuerſies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it ſeemeth good vnto the Princes, or in the Spirituall conſiſtorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, eſpecially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giueth ſentence againſt any one, the ſame day the partie, whereſoeuer he be, is aduertiſed thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned perſon aſketh of the meſſenger whether it may bee lawfull for him to kill himſelfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his beſt apparell and launcing his body a croſſe from the breaſt downe all the belly, murthereth himſelfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime ſo puniſhed, looſe their goods. But if the king reſerue them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his ſeruants, and friends home to his houſe, to preſerue his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out vnto his chiefe Iudge, who firſt ſetteth vpon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and ſwords, vntill the rebell and all his family be ſlaine to their perpetuall ignominie and ſhame.

The Indie-writers make mention of ſundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a hauen towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco diſtant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall ſeat of the king and moſt wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the beſt Iaponiſh. In Meaco are ſayd to be ninetie thouſande houſes inhabited and vpward, a famous Vniuerſitie, and in it fiue principall Colleges, beſides cloſes & cloyſters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Prieſts, Monks and Nunnes. Other fiue notable Vniuerſities there be in Iapan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The firſt foure haue in them at the leaſt three thouſand & fiue hundred ſchollers: in the fift are many mo. For Bandu prouince is very great and poſſeſſed with ſixe princes, fiue whereof are vaſſals vnto the ſixt, yet he himſelfe ſubiect vnto the Iaponiſh king, vſually called the great king of Meaco: leſſer ſcholes there be many in diuers places of this Ilande. And thus much ſpecially concerning this glorious Iland, among ſo many barbarous nations and rude regions, haue I gathered together in one ſumme, out of ſundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no leſſe faithfull reporters than famous trauellers. For confirmation whereof, as alſo

for

Petrus Maffeius de rebus Iaponicis.

for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premiſſes, the curious readers may peruſe theſe 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiouſly made latine, by Petrus Maffeius my olde acquainted friend, entituling the ſame, De rebus Iaponicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, ſpecially intreating of that countrey, I haue done into Engliſh word for word in ſuch wiſe as followeth.

Aloiſius Froes to his companions in Ieſus Chriſt that remaine in *China* and *India*.

THe laſt yeere, deare brethren, I wrote vnto you from Firando, how Coſmus Turrianus had appointed me to trauaile to Meaco to helpe Gaſpar Vilela, for that there the harueſt was great, the labourers few, and that I ſhould haue for my companion in that iourney Aloiſius Almeida. It ſeemeth now my part, hauing by the helpe of God ended ſo long a voiage, to ſignifie vnto you by letter ſuch things ſpecially as I might thinke you would moſt delight to know. And becauſe at the beginning Almeida and I ſo parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt vs, that he ſhould ſpeake of our voyage, and ſuch things as happened therein, I ſhould make relation of the Meachians eſtate, & write what I could well learne of the Iapans maners and conditions: ſetting aſide all diſcourſes of our voyage, that which ſtandeth me vpon I will diſcharge in this Epiſtle, that you conſidering how artificially, how cunningly, vnder the pretext of religion, that craftie aduerſary of mankind leadeth and draweth vnto perdition the Iapaniſh mindes, blinded with many ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiters of Iapan, as men that neuer had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography diuided the whole world into three parts, Iapan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Iapans receiued out of Sian and China their ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, yet do they neuertheleſſe contemne all other nations in compariſon of themſelues, and ſtanding in their owne conceite doe far preferre themſelues before all other ſorts of people in wiſedome and policie.

Touching the ſituation of the countrey and nature of the ſoyle, vnto the things eſtſoones erſt written, this one thing I wil adde: in theſe Ilands, the ſommer to be moſt hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth ſo much ſnow, that the houſes being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, hauing no way to come foorth except they breake vp the tiles. Whirle windes moſt vehement, earthquakes ſo common, that the Iapans dread ſuch kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of ſiluer mines otherwiſe barren, not ſo much by fault of nature, as through the ſlouthfulneſſe of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage ſake onely. The ayre is holeſome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldneſſe with ſorrow and teares, eſtſoones rooting vp with pinſars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Euen from their childhood they weare daggers and ſwords, the which they vſe to lay vnder their pillowes when they goe to bed: in ſhew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight moſt in warlike affaires, and their greateſt ſtudie is armes. Mens apparell diuerſely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made hanſomely like vnto a ſtolle, is ſomewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eſchue. The marchant, although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they neuer ſo poore, retaine their place: moſt preciſely they ſtande vpon their honour and worthineſſe, ceremoniouſly ſtriuing among themſelues in courteſies and faire ſpeeches. Wherein if any one happily be leſſe carefull than he ſhould be, euen for a trifle many times he getteth euill will. Want, though it trouble moſt of them, ſo much they doe deteſt, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, eſpecially girles, do many times with their owne feete ſtrangle them. Noble men, and other likewiſe of meaner calling generally haue but one wife a peece, by whom although they haue iſſue, yet for a trifle they diuorſe themſelues from their wiues, and the wiues alſo ſometimes from their huſbands, to marry with others. After the ſecond degree couſins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much vſed among them. In great townes moſt men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth ſparingly, their vſuall meat is rice and ſalets, and neere the ſea ſide fiſh. They feaſt one another many times, wherein they vſe great diligence, eſpecially in drinking one to another, inſomuch that the better ſort, leaſt they might rudely commit ſome fault therein, doe vſe to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning vnto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudeneſſe to touch it with their fingers: winter & ſommer they drinke water as hot as they may poſſibly abide it. Their houſes are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all ouer with ſtrawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both ſit in ſtead of ſtooles, and lie in their clothes with billets vnder their heads. For feare of defiling theſe pallets, they goe either barefoote within doores, or weare ſtrawe pantofles on their buſkins when they come abroad, the which they lay aſide at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the moſt part do paſſe the night in banketting, muſicke, & vaine diſcourſes, they ſleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good ſtore of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared vnto our pues.

In bringing vp their children they vſe words only to rebuke them, admoniſhing as diligently and aduiſedly boyes of ſixe or ſeuen yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are giuen very much to intertaine ſtrangers, of whom moſt curiouſly they loue to aſke euen in trifles what forraine nations doe, and their faſhions. Such arguments and reaſons as be manifeſt, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly perſwade them. They deteſt all kinde of theft, whoſoeuer is taken in that fault may be ſlaine freely of any bodie. No publike priſons, no common gayles, no ordinary Iuſticers: priuately each houſholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne houſe, and the puniſhing of greater crimes that deſerue death without delay. Thus vſually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres paſt (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Iapan was ſubiect vnto one Emperour whoſe royall ſeat was Meaco, in the Iaponiſh language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling againſt him, by litle and litle haue taken away the greateſt part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth and the reſidue in ſome reſpect doe make great account of him ſtill, acknowledging him for their ſuperior. Thus the Empire of Iapan, in times paſt but one alone, is now diuided into ſixtie ſixe kingdomes, the onely cauſe of ciuill warres continually in that Iland, to no ſmall hinderance of the Goſpell, whileſt the kings that dwell neare together inuade one another, each one coueting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Prieſt, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his houſe 366 Idoles, one whereof by courſe is euery night ſet by his ſide for a watchman. He is thought of the common people ſo holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe vpon the earth: if happily he doe ſet one foote to the ground, he looſeth his office. He is not ſerued very ſumptuouſly he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his miniſters are ſhauen, they haue name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Iapan. The Cubucama vſeth them for Embaſſadors to decide controuerſies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres ſince or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent fauouring the king of Bungo his cauſe more then the other, brought to paſſe that the foreſayd king of Bungo ſhould keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo aboue 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

But his almes are very good.

I come now to other ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, that you may ſee, deare brethren, that which I ſaid in the beginning, how ſubtilly the deuill hath deceiued the Iaponiſh nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worſhip him. And firſt, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Chriſt our Redeemer, but alſo of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguiſhed and vtterly aboliſhed out of the Iapans hearts. Moreouer their ſuperſtitious ſects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him beſt: but the principall ſects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey ſhall you ſee many monaſteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but alſo of Bonziæ women diuerſly attired, for ſome doe weare white vnder, and blacke vpper garments, other goe apparelled in aſh colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from theſe the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the moſt part dwell in ſumptuous houſes, and haue great reuenues. Theſe fellowes are chaſte by commaundement, marry they may not vpon paine of death. In the midſt of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon ſtandeth a wooden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle vpward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, ſitting on a wooden roſe goodly to behold. They haue great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and ſup together, and bels wherwith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the euening the Superintendent giueth each one a theame for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do ſay Mattens as it were out of Xaca his laſt booke, one quier one verſe, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giueth himſelfe to meditation one houre: they ſhaue their heads and beards. Their cloyſters be very large, and within the precinct thereof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name ſome of the Iapaniſh Saints are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Moſt of theſe Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Iapaniſh nobility charged with many children, vſe to make moſt of them Bonzii, not being able to leaue for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii moſt couetouſly bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They ſell vnto the people many ſcrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it ſelfe warranted from all power of the deuils. They borrow likewiſe money to be repayed with great vſury in an other worlde, giuing by obligation vnto the lender an aſſurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

Inambuxu. There is another great company of ſuch as are called Inambuxu, with curled and ſtaring haire. They make profeſſion to finde out againe things either loſt or ſtolen, after this ſort. They ſet before them a child whom the deuill inuadeth, called vp thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aſke that which they are deſirous to know.

Theſe mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to preuaile, inſomuch that both their bleſſings and their curſes they ſell vnto the people. The nouices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thouſand in a company, vp a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threeſcore dayes voluntarily puniſhing themſelues. In this time the deuill ſheweth himſelfe vnto them in ſundry ſhapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into ſome certaine companie, are ſet foorth with white taſſels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that ſcarcely couer any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroade in all Iapan, to ſet out themſelues and their cunning to ſale, each one beating his baſon which he carieth alwayes about with him, to giue notice of their comming in al townes where they paſſe.

Genguis. There is alſo an other ſort called Genguis, that make profeſſion to ſhewe by ſoothſaying where ſtollen things are, and who were the theeues. Theſe dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the ſunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beaſts. They climbe vp moſt high rockes and hilles, and go ouer very great riuers by the onely arte of the deuill, who to bring thoſe wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe vp a certaine high mountaine, where they ſtande miſerably gazing and earneſtly looking for him as long as the deuill appointeth them. At the length at noonetide or in the euening commeth that deuil, whom they call Amida among them to ſhew himſelfe vnto them: this ſhew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men ſuch a kinde of ſuperſtition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The deuill was wont alſo in another mountaine to ſhew himſelfe vnto the Iapaniſh Nation. Who ſo was more deſirous than other to go to heauen and to enioy Paradiſe, thither went he to ſee that ſight, and hauing ſeene the deuill followed him (ſo by the deuill perſwaded) into a denne vntill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the deuill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worſhipper whom he there murdred. This deceit was thus perceiued. An old man blinded with this ſuperſtition, was by his ſonne diſſwaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his ſonne followed him priuily into that denne with his bow ⁊ arrows, where the deuill gallantly appeared vnto him in the ſhape of a man. Whileſt the old man falleth downe to worſhippe the deuill, his ſonne ſpeedily ſhooting an arrow at the ſpirit ſo appearing, ſtrooke a Foxe in ſtead of a man, ſo ſuddenly was that ſhape altered. This olde man his ſonne tracking the Foxe ſo running away, came to that pit whereof I ſpake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceiued by the deuill after that ſort in time paſt. Thus deliuered he his father from preſent death, and all other from ſo peſtilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for yͤ multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii haue therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a ſuttle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holineſſe by cunning ſpeech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether deuilliſh: he is ſaid to haue found out the Iapaniſh letters vſed at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim ſuttle buried himſelfe in a foureſquare graue, foure cubites deepe, ſeuerely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but reſted his bodie wearied with continuall buſineſſe, vntill many thouſand thouſands of yeeres were paſſed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu ſhould come into Iapan, and then would he riſe vp out of his graue againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, ſent thither out of diuerſe prouinces, for that the people are perſwaded that whoſoeuer is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument, ſhall not onely increaſe in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be ſafe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as giue themſelues to worſhip him, liue in thoſe Monaſteries or Abbyes with ſhauen heads, as though they had forſaken all ſecular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all ſortes of wickedneſſe and luſt. In theſe houſes, the which are many (as I ſayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout beſides the multitude of lay men, women be reſtrained from thence vpon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Faconochaici. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks & ſleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, thoſe do they inſtruct in al the petigrues of princes, and faſhions of the nobilitie, in chiualrie and eloquence, and ſo ſend them abroad into other prouinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that faining themſelues to be nobly borne, they may with great ſummes of money borowed vnder the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is ſo infamous in all Iapan, that if any ſcholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neuertheleſſe theſe couſiners leaue not daily to vſe their woonted wickedneſſe and knauerie.

A warrelike people 300 leagues to the North of Meaco.

North from Iapan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of ſauage men clothed in beaſts ſkinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monſtrous muchaches, the which they hold vp with litle forkes as they drinke. Theſe people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Iapans: being hurt in fight, they waſh their wounds with ſalt water, other Surgerie haue they none. In their breaſts they are ſayd to cary looking glaſſes: their ſwordes they tie to their heads, in ſuch wiſe, that the handle doe reſt vpon their ſhoulders. Seruice and ceremonies haue they none at all, onely they are woont to worſhip heauen. To Aquita a great towne in that Iaponiſh kingdom, which we call Geuano, they much reſort for marchandiſe, and the Aquitanes likewiſe doe trauell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are ſlaine by the inhabiters.

The Iapaniſh funerals.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to auoyd tediouſneſſe I will come to ſpeake of the Iapans madneſſe againe, who moſt deſirous of vaine glory doe thinke then ſpecially to get immortall fame, when they procure themſelues to be moſt ſumptuouſly and ſolemnly buried: their burials and obſequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their beſt aray goe before vnto the fire, with them goe their kinſwomen and ſuch as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her alſo, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed vp in white mockado: the better ſort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dreſſed. In the ſecond place marcheth a great company of footemen ſumptuouſly apparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of theſe Bonzii maſter of the ceremonies for that ſuperſtition, brauely clad in ſilkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke vpper garments. Then attired in aſhe colour (for this colour alſo is mourning) with a long torch of Pineaple, he ſheweth the dead body the way vnto the fire, leſt it either ſtumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him ſinging the name of that deuill the which the partie deceaſſed chiefly did worſhip in his life time, and therewithall a very great baſon is beaten euen to the place of fire in ſtead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baſkets hanged open at ſtaues endes full of paper roſes diuerſly coloured, ſuch as beare them doe march but ſlowly, ſhaking euer now and then their ſtaues, that the aforeſayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This ſhower ſay they is an argument that the ſoule of the dead man is gone to paradiſe. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long ſpeares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name alſo of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inſcription, ouercaſt with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Beſides this, two yoong men clothed in aſhe colour beare pineaple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches ſerue to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the ſame colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threeſquare, blacke lethren caps tied faſt vnder their chinnes (for that is honorable amongſt them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the deuill I ſpake of, is written. And to make it the more ſolemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, couered with a very fine white vaile, in both ſides whereof is written in golden letters the aforeſayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps ſitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the reſt of his apparell may you adde an vpper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is ſayd to haue made, when he liued in the world, by whoſe helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be ſaued. The dead man his children come next after him moſt gallantly ſet foorth, the yongeſt whereof carieth likewiſe a pineaple torch to kindle the fire. Laſt of all foloweth a great number of people in ſuch caps as I erſt ſpake of.

They burne their dead.

When they are al come to ẏ place appointed for the obſequie, al the Bonzii wᵗ the whole multitude for the ſpace of one houre, beating pannes and baſons with great clamours, call vpon the name of that deuill, the which being ended, the Obſequie is done in this maner. In the midſt of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with courſe linnen, and agreeably vnto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good ſtore of wood, whereon is raiſed gallantly a waued roofe: before that ſtand two tables furniſhed with diuers kindes of meates, eſpecially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good ſtore, but neither Fiſh nor Fleſh: vpon one of them ſtandeth alſo a chafer with coales, and in it ſweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are preſent ſtriue to take the rope in their handes, vſing their aforeſayd clamours, which done, they goe in proceſſion as it were round about the quadrangle thriſe. Then ſetting the litter on the wood built vp ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is maſter of the ceremonies, ſaieth a verſe that no bodie there vnderſtandeth, whirling thriſe about ouer his head a torch lighted, to ſignifie thereby that the ſoule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne ſhall haue at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it vp againe, and ſtanding one at the Eaſt ſide of the litter, the other at the Weſt, doe for honour and reuerence reach it to each other thriſe ouer the dead corps, and ſo caſt it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, ſweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they haue plentie, and ſo with a great flame bring the corpes to aſhes: his children in the meane while putting ſweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe ſolemnly and religiouſly worſhip their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The maſter of the ceremonies hath for his part fiue duckats, ſometimes tenne, ſometimes twentie, the reſt haue tenne Iulies a piece, or els a certaine number of other preſents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as ſoone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for ſuch as ſerued at the obſequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obſequie the dead man his children, his kinred and friends, who gathering vp his aſhes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and ſo carie them home, to bee ſet vp in the ſame pot couered with cloth, in the middeſt of their houſes. Many Bonzii returne likewiſe to theſe priuate funerals, and ſo doe they againe the ſeuenth day: then cary they out the aſhes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a foureſquare ſtone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the ſtone, the name of that deuil the which the dead man worſhipped in his life time. Euery day afterward his children reſort vnto the graue with roſes and warme water that the dead corps thirſt not. Nor the ſeuenth day onely, but the ſeuenth moneth and yeere, within their owne houſes they renue this obſequie, to no ſmall commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe ſpend in theſe their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner ſort two or three hundred. Such as for pouertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darkelong without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They haue another kinde of buriall, eſpecially neere the Sea ſide, for them that bee not yet dead. Theſe fellowes are ſuch, as hauing religiouſly with much deuotion worſhipped Amida, now deſirous to ſee him, doe ſlay themſelues. And firſt they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thruſt into their ſleeues, then preach they in publique a ſermon vnto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all ſuch as doe heare them: for euery body wondreth at ſuch a kinde of holineſſe. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heauen, and ſo embarke themſelues in a new veſſell, tying great ſtones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the maine Sea be either drowned there, their ſhippe bouged for that purpoſe, or els doe caſt themſelues ouer-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand ſet a fire for honours ſake by their friends that folow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blaſphemie that any mortall creature ſhould afterward once touch the barke that had bene ſo religiouſly halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, ſixe men and two women ſo died. To all ſuch as die ſo the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineaple for a perpetuall monument, hanging vp many ſhreds of paper in ſtickes all the roofe ouer, with many verſes ſet downe in the walles in commendation of that bleſſed company. Wherefore vnto this place both day and night many come very ſuperſtitiouſly in pilgrimage. It happened euen then as Aloiſius Almeida and I went to chriſten a childe wee traueiled that way at what time foure or fiue olde women came foorth out of the aforeſayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point alſo the deuill coun-

terfeiteth

terfaiteth Chriſtianitie) who partly ſcorned at vs for follie, partly frowned and taunted at our ſmall deuotion, for paſſing by that holy monument without any reuerence or worſhip done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now we ſpeake two or three wordes of thoſe Sermons the Bonzii are woont to make, not ſo many as ours in number, but aſſuredly very well prouided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a ſilke Canopie ouer it, therein ſtandeth a coſtly ſeate, before the ſeate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each ſect of the Iapans reſorteth to their owne doctors in diuers Temples. Up goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being ſet downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, ſignifieth ſilence with his bell, and ſo readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we ſpake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. Theſe preachers be for the moſt part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their ſpeach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie(ſuch is their greedineſſe) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought vnder the colour of godlineſſe to enrich their monaſteries, promiſing to each one ſo much the more happineſſe in the life to come, how much the greater coſtes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obſequies: notwithſtanding this multitude of ſuperſtitious Sects and companies, and the diuerſities thereof amongſt themſelues: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe trauell ſo to perſwade their Nouices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els ſure to come by euerlaſting ſaluation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other ſubtleties, as in going grauitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward ſhew, comelineſſe. Whereby the Iapans mindes are ſo nouſled in wicked opinions, & doe conceiue thereby ſuch truſt and hope of euerlaſting ſaluation, that not onely at home, but alſo abroad in euery corner of the towne continually almoſt they run ouer their beades, humbly aſking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and euerlaſting ioyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Goſpell into this countrey, or receiuing it brought vnto them, doe forſake idolatrie and ioine themſelues with Chriſt, being aſſaulted by ſo many ſnares of the deuill, troubled with the daily diſſuaſions of their Bonzii, and finally, ſo iniuriouſly, ſo hardly, ſo ſharpely vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the ſacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe vs, it cannot be choſen but that the faith and conſtancie of many, if not of all, in theſe firſt beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in ieopardie. So much the more it ſtandeth you vpon that ſo earneſtly long for the health of ſoules, to commend ſpecially theſe Iapaniſh flocks vnto our Lord.

We came to Sacaio the eight and twentie day of Ianuary: Aloiſius Almeida firſt for buſineſſe, but afterward let by ſickneſſe, ſtaied there ſome while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the laſt of Ianuarie. Of my comming all the Chriſtians tooke great comfort, but ſpecially Gaſpar Vilela who in 6 yeres had ſeen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his gray haires ſhew him to be ſeuentie, ſo vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee ſpeaketh Iapaniſh ſo ſkilfully after the phraſe of Meaco (the which for the renowme of this people and royal ſeat of the king is beſt accounted of) that hee doeth both confeſſe and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes alſo he hath done into that ſpeach, not omitting to tranſlate other as laiſure ſuffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodneſſe vouchſafe to preſerue vs all continually, and to giue vs ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the ſame. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other ſuch like matter is handled both in other his letters, and alſo in the Epiſtles written by his companions to be ſeene at large in the aforeſaid volume. Amongſt the reſt this ſeemed in my iudgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke vpon me to do it into Engliſh.

Of the Iles beyond *Iapan* in the way from *China* to the *Moluccas*.

AMongſt other Iles in the Aſian ſea betwixt Cantan a Chiniſh hauen in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much ſpoken of in the Indian hiſtories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan ſtandeth 19 degrees on this ſide of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chiniſh nation haue their prouiſion for ſhipping and other neceſſaries requiſite for their Nauie. There ſtaied Balthaſar Gagus a great traueller 5 moneths, who deſcribeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey ful of Indian fruits & all kind of victuals, beſides great ſtore of iewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of ſtone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in diuers coloured rugs, with two ore hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of ſharpe cyzers at their foreheads.

Ainan.

De reb. Iap. li. 4

The cauſe wherefore they go in ſuch attire I could not vnderſtand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the deuil in the forme of a brute beaſt, offring themſelues vp to him.

Santianum.

Santianum is an Ile neere vnto the hauen Cantan in the confines likewiſe of China, famous for the death of that worthy traueiler and godly profeſſour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xauier, who after great labours, many iniuries, and calamities infinite ſuffred with much patience, ſingular ioy and gladneſſe of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and ruſhes vpon a deſert mountaine, no leſſe voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all ſpirituall bleſſings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thouſand of theſe Eaſterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Chriſt. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and ſpecially trauell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not ſo litle, but they may right wel be written of at laiſure) all the latter hiſtories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatiſe of the kingdome of *China*, and of the eſtate and gouernment thereof: Printed in Latine at *Macao* a citie of the *Portugals* in *China*, *An. Dom.* 1590. and written Dialogue-wiſe. The ſpeakers are *Linus*, *Leo*, and *Michael*.

Linus.

Concerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we haue heard and daily do heare ſo many reports, that we are to requeſt at your hands rather a true then a large diſcourſe and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge beſides that which by continual rumours is waxen ſtale among vs, we will right gladly giue diligent eare vnto it.

The ſituation and limites of China.

Chinian Coſmographers.

The rich reuenues of the king of China.

Fifteene great prouinces in China.

The ſeats roiall of the king of China.

Michael. Becauſe the report of this moſt famous kingdome is growen ſo common among vs, reducing diuers and manifold particulars into order, I will eſpecially aime at the trueth of things receiued from the fathers of the ſocietie, which euen now at this preſent are conuerſant in China. Firſt of all therefore it is not vnknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is ſituate moſt Eaſterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our natiue Iapon, & the Ile of Manilia ſtand more Eaſterly then China it ſelfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the firſt towards ẏ Weſt to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which ſtandeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adioining vnto this Ile trendeth towardes the Eaſt, and that eſpecially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it ſelfe. Howbeit, from thet place declining Northward, it ſtretcheth foorth an huge length, inſomuch that the fartheſt Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at leaſt 50 degrees, and perhaps more alſo: whereupon a man may eaſilie coniecture (that I may ſpeake like an Aſtronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extenſion towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from Eaſt to Weſt, it is not ſo exactly found out, that it may be diſtinguiſhed into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China deſcribe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ẏ longitude. This kingdom therfore is, without all peraduenture, of all earthly kingdoms the moſt large and ſpacious: for albeit diuers other kings vnder their iuriſdiction containing in dimenſions more length & breadth then all China, do poſſeſſe very many kingdoms & far diſtant aſunder: yet none of thē all enioieth any one kingdom ſo large and ſo ample, as the moſt puiſſant king of China doeth. Now, if we ſhall make enquirie into his reuenues and tributes, true it is, that this king, of all others, is endued with the greateſt and the richeſt, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatnes of his dominions, & alſo by reaſon of the ſeuere collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are impoſed vpon his ſubiects, not onely for lands, houſes, and impoſt of marchandiſe, but alſo for euery perſon in each family. It is likewiſe to be vnderſtood, that almoſt no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to leuie vnto himſelfe any peculiar reuenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his ſeigniories, al ſuch power belonging onely vnto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is moſt commonly ſeen, as we haue before ſignified. In this moſt large kingdom are conteined 15 prouinces, euery one of which were in it ſelfe ſufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of theſe prouinces do border vpon the ſea, namely (ẏ I may vſe the names of the Chinians thēſelues) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land prouinces, namely, Quianſi, Huquam, Honan, Xienſi, Xanſi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Iūnan, Coanſi. Amongſt all the foreſayd prouinces, two are allotted for the kings court and ſeat roial, that is to ſay, Paquin for his court in the North, and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be reſident altogether at the South court: but afterward, by reaſon of the manifold and cruell warres mooued by the Tartars, they were conſtrained to deſire their princely ſeate and habitation in that extreme prouince of the North. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that thoſe Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortreſſes, martiall engines, and garriſons of ſouldiers.

The warlike munitions of China, & a marueilous wall.

Leo. I haue heard, amongſt thoſe munitions, a certaine ſtrange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe repreſſe and driue backe the Tartars attempting to inuade their territories. *Michael*. Certes that wall which you haue heard tell of is moſt woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongſt the borders of three Northerlie prouinces, Xienſi, Xanſi, and Paquin, and is ſayd to containe almoſt three hundred leagues in length, and in ſuch ſort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courſes and ſtreames of any riuers, their chanels being ouerthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not vnlikely, that the ſayd wall is built in ſuch ſort, that onely lowe and eaſie paſſages bee therewith ſtopped and enuironed; but the mountaines running betweene thoſe lowe paſſages are, by their owne naturall ſtrength, and inacceſſible heigth, a ſufficient fortification agaynſt the enemie. *Linus*. Tell vs (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be ſo frequented with inhabitants, as wee haue often bene informed, or no? *Michael*. It is (Linus) in very deed a moſt populous kingdom, as I haue bene certified from the fathers of the ſocietie: who hauing ſeene ſundry prouinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithſtanding greatly admire the infinite ſwarmes of people in China. Howbeit theſe multitudes are not pel-mel and confuſiuely diſperſed ouer the land, but moſt conueniently and orderly diſtributed in their townes and famous cities: of which aſſemblies there are diuers kindes among the Chinians. For they haue certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind alſo named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not priuileged with the dignities and prerogatiues of cities. To theſe may be added two other kindes of leſſer townes, which are partly villages, and partly garriſons of ſouldiers. Of the firſt and principall kind is that moſt noble citie ſtanding neere vnto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the prouince, thē a word of their proper impoſition. Vnto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher vnto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Anſam, but by the Chinians Hianſanhien. Al the foreſayd prouinces therefore haue their greater cities named Fu, & their leſſer cities called Cheu, vnto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreouer, in euery prouince there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magiſtrates haue their place of reſidence, as the principal citie by me laſt mentioned, which is the head of the whole prouince called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the ſame or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes not endued with the priuileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garriſons can ſcarce be numbred: ouer & beſides the which conuents it is incredible what a number of coūtrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not eaſie to find any place deſert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the ſea, in riuers, & in barks there are ſuch abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that euen the Europæans themſelues doe greatly wonder thereat: inſomuch that ſome (albeit beyond meaſure) haue bene perſwaded that there are as many people dwelling vpon the water as vpon the land. Neither were they induced ſo to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfuſed with commodious riuers, & in many places conſiſteth of waters, barges & boats being euery-where very common, it might eaſily bee ſuppoſed, that the number of water-men was equal vnto the land-inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be vnderſtood by amplification, whereas the cities do ſwarme ſo ful with citizens & the countrie with peaſants. *Leo*. The abundance of people which you tell vs of ſeemeth very ſtrange: whereupon I coniecture the ſoile to be fertile, the aire to be holeſome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace. *Michael*. You haue (friend Leo) ful iudicially coniectured thoſe three: for they do all ſo excel, ẏ which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not eaſie to diſcerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene riſe among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was neuer viſited with thoſe three moſt heauy & ſharpe ſcourges of mankind, warre, famine, & peſtilence. But that opinion is more common then true: ſithens there haue bene moſt terrible inteſtine and ciuile warres, as in many and moſt autenticall hiſtories it is recorded: ſithens alſo that ſome prouinces of the ſayd kingdom, euen in theſe our dayes, haue bene afflicted with peſtilence and contagious diſeaſes, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foreſaid three benefits do mightily flouriſh and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may firſt ſpeake of the ſalubritie of the aire) the fathers of the ſocietie themſelues are witneſſes,

Abundance of inhabitants in China.

Cities and townes.

The Chinian riuers greatly inhabited.

Holeſome aire, plenty & peace in China.

Chinian ſtories.

that ſcarcely in any other realme there are ſo many found that liue vnto decrepite and extreme old age: ſo great a multitude is there of ancient and graue perſonages: neither doe they vſe ſo many confections and medicines, nor ſo manifold and ſundry wayes of curing diſeaſes, as wee ſaw accuſtomed in Europe. For amongſt them they haue no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours alſo in Iapon, are atchieued by faſting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let euery nation pleaſe themſelues with their owne cuſtomes. Now, in fruitfulnes of ſoile this kingdom certes doth excel, far ſurpaſſing all other kingdoms of the Eaſt: yet is it nothing comparable vnto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I haue declared at large in the former treatiſes. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, ſo highly extolled, becauſe there is not any region in the Eaſt partes that aboundeth ſo with marchandiſe, and from whence ſo much traffique is ſent abroad.

The city of Coancheſu, *aliàs* Cantam,

For whereas this kingdome is moſt large & full of nauigable riuers, ſo that commodities may eaſilie be conueyed out of one prouince into antother: the Portugals doe find ſuch abundance of wares within one and the ſame Citie, (which perhaps is the greateſt Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perſwaded, that the ſame region, of all others, moſt aboundeth with marchandiſe: which notwithſtanding is to be vnderſtood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are ſome kindes of marchandiſe, wherewith the land of China is better ſtored then any other kingdom.

Great abundance of gold in China.

This region affordeth eſpecially ſundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof ſo many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Iapon, that I heard ſay, that in one and the ſame ſhip, this preſent yeere, 2000 ſuch pieces conſiſting of maſſie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaues, were brought vnto vs for marchandiſe: and one of theſe loaues is worth almoſt 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China ſo many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried vpon their ſeruaunts backes. Neither are theſe golden loaues onely bought by the Portugals, but alſo great plentie of gold-twine and leaues of gold; for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaues.

Great ſtore of ſiluer.

There is alſo great ſtore of ſiluer, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no ſmall demonſtration, that euery yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the leaſt 400 Seſtertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conuieed out of the Chinian kingdom: becauſe the people of China abounding with all neceſſaries, are not greatly inquiſitiue or deſirous of any marchandiſe from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Siluer mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumſpection vſed in digging the ſiluer thereout: for the king ſtandeth much in feare leaſt it may bee an occaſion to ſtirre vp the couetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their ſiluer which they put to vſes is for the moſt part paſſing fine, and purified from all droſſe, and therefore in trying it they vſe great diligence. What ſhould I ſpeake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and alſo of their quick-ſiluer? Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are tranſported into diuers countreys.

Pearles.

Hereunto may bee added the wonderfull ſtore of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in ſhell-fiſhes taken very cunningly by certaine Diuers, and doe much enlarge the kings reuenues.

Great ſtore of ſilke in China.

But now let vs proceed vnto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: ſo that euen as the huſbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in ſowing of Rice; ſo likewiſe the women doe employ a great part of their time in preſeruing of ſilke-wormes, and in keeming and weauing of Silke. Hence it is that euery yeere the King and Queene with great ſolemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaues whereof Silke-wormes are nouriſhed: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women vnto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwiſe, all the whole yeere throughout, no man beſides the principall magiſtrates, may once attaine to the ſight of the king.

Silke brought into Iapon.

Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is ſuch abundance, that three ſhippes for the moſt part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the leaſt one euery yeere comming vnto vs, are laden eſpecially with this fraight, and it is vſed not onely in India, but caried euen vnto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it ſelfe onely tranſported thence, but alſo diuers & ſundry ſtuffes wouen thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weauing, and do very much reſemble our weauers of Europe.

Spices, Camphire, & muſke.

Moreouer the kingdom of China aboundeth with moſt coſtlie ſpices & odours, and eſpecially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire alſo & muſke, which is very principal & good. Muſke deriueth his name frō a beaſt of the ſame name (which beaſt reſembleth a Beuer) frō the parts whereof bruſed & putrified proceedeth a moſt delicate & fragrant ſmel which the Portugals highly eſteem, cōmonly calling thoſe parts of the foreſaid beaſts (becauſe they are like vnto the gorges of foules) Papos, & conuey great plenty of them into India, & to vs of Iapon. But who would beleeue, that there were ſo much goſſipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof ſuch variety of clothes are made like vnto linnen; which we our ſelues do ſo often vſe, & which alſo is conueied by ſea into ſo many regions? Let vs now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, & is to be eſteemed the beſt ſtuffe of that kind in the whole world: whereof veſſels of all kinds are very curiouſly framed. I ſay, it is the beſt earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleanneſſe, the beauty, & the ſtrength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more coſtly, but none ſo free from vncleannes, and ſo durable: this I adde, in regard of glaſſe, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may eaſily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene prouinces called Quianſi, wherein continually very many artificers are imployed about the ſame matter: neither doe they onely frame thereof ſmaller veſſels, as diſhes, platters, ſalt-ſellers, ewers, and ſuch like, but alſo certaine huge tunnes, and veſſels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reaſon of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not tranſported out of the realme, but are vſed onely within it, and eſpecially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours vpon it, while it is yet new, golde alſo being added thereunto, which maketh the foreſayd veſſels to appeare moſt beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do eſteeme thereof, ſeeing they do, with great difficulty, tranſport the ſame, not onely to vs of Iapon and into India, but alſo into ſundry prouinces of Europe. Vnto the marchandize aboue-mentioned may be added diuers and ſundry plants, the rootes whereof be right holeſome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought vnto our Iles of Iapon, and vnto many other Ilands, amongſt the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a ſynechdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies thoſe humours, which would breed contagious diſeaſes. To theſe you may adde ſugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great ſtore of excellent ſugar) which is conueyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and alſo into India. My ſpeeches vttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itſelfe alone, but moſt profitable to many other nations alſo. As for thoſe fruits which pertaine to yerely ſuſtenance and common food, they can ſcarſe be numbred: albeit, of thoſe three commodities which they of Europe ſo greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and oliues the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not ſo much as the name of an Oliue tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expreſſed) neither yet the name of a vine. The prouince of Paquin is not altogether deſtitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to ſay: although it aboundeth with many other, and thoſe not vnpleaſant liquours, which may ſerue in the ſtead of wine it ſelfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat ſowen in all the prouinces, howbeit riſe is in farre more vſe and requeſt then it: and ſo in regard of theſe two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Iapon may be compared together.

Cotton-wooll whereof Calicut-cloth is made.

Three qualities of porcellan.

Plants.

Sugar.

China in a maner deſtitute of corne, wine, & oile.

Leo. You haue diſcourſed (Michael) of the fruitfulneſſe of China, whereof I haue often heard, that it is no leſſe pleaſant then fruitful, and I haue bene eſpecially induced ſo to thinke, at the ſight of the Chinian maps. *Michael*. The thing it ſelfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that haue ſeene the mediterran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a moſt amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and graſſe, and with woonderfull variety of riuers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; diuers of which riuers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and induſtry are deriued into ſundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I haue ſpoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very conſtant in their owne cuſtomes, they lightly regard the cuſtomes or faſhions of other people. They vſe one and the ſame kinde of veſture, yet ſo, that there is ſome diſtinction betweene the apparell of the magiſtrate & of the common ſubiect. They all of them do weare long haire vpon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiouſly keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, hauing twined and bound them vp, they couer them with calles, wearing ſundry caps thereupon, according to their age and condition. It ſeemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the prouinces: notwithſtanding, by reaſon of variety of pronunciation, it is very much altered, and is diuided into ſundry idiomes or proprieties of ſpeech, according to the diuers prouinces: howbeit, among the magiſtrates, and in publike aſſemblies of iudgement, there is one and the very ſame kinde of language vſed thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I haue ſayd) the ſpeech of ech prouince differeth not a little. Moreouer this people is moſt loyall and obedient vnto the king

Chinian maps.

The diſpoſitions & maners of the Chinians.

Their language.

Their loyaltie vnto their ſuperiours.

king and his magiſtrates, which is the principall cauſe of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common ſort doe apply themſelues vnto the diſcretion and becke of inferiour magiſtrates, and the inferiour magiſtrates of the ſuperiour, and the ſuperiour magiſtrates of the king himſelfe, framing and compoſing all their actions and affaires vnto that leuell: a world it is to ſee, in what equability and indifferency of iuſtice all of them do leade their liues, and how orderly the publike lawes are adminiſtred. Which thing notwithſtanding ſhall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the gouernment. *Linus.* Tell vs now (Michael) of the induſtry of that people, whereof we haue heard great reports. *Michael.* Their induſtry is eſpecially to be diſcerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do ſurpaſſe moſt of theſe Eaſterly nations. For there are ſuch a number of artificers ingeniouſly and cunningly framing ſundry deuices out of golde, ſiluer, and other mettals, as likewiſe of ſtone, wood, and other matters conuenient for mans vſe, that the ſtreets of cities being repleniſhed with their ſhops and fine workemanſhip, are very woonderfull to beholde. Beſides whom alſo there are very many Painters, vſing either the penſill or the needle (of which the laſt ſort are called Embrotherers) and others alſo that curiouſly worke golde-twine vpon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whoſe operations of all kinds are diligently conueyed by the Portugals into India. Their induſtry doth no leſſe appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To theſe may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and moſt difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in braſſe, and with maruellous facilitie they dayly publiſh huge multitudes of books. Vnto theſe mechanicall & illiberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to ſay, nauigation and diſcipline of warre; both of which haue bene in ancient times moſt diligently practiſed by the inhabitants of China: for (as we haue before ſignified in the third dialogue) the Chinians ſailing euen as farre as India, ſubdued ſome part therof vnto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, leaſt they ſhould diminiſh the forces of their realme by diſperſing them into many prouinces, altering their counſell, they determined to containe themſelues within their owne limits: within which limits (as I haue ſayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themſelues, and alſo againſt the Tartarian king, who inuaded their kingdome, and by himſelfe and his ſucceſſours, for a long ſeaſon, vſurped the gouernment thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and their ſtocke and family being vtterly aboliſhed, the Chinians began to lift vp their heads, and to aduance themſelues, inioying for theſe 200 yeeres laſt paſt exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the poſterity of the ſame king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall ſcepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (eſpecially they that inhabit Southerly from the prouince of Paquin) are, for the moſt part, by reaſon of continuall eaſe and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithſtanding they would prooue notable and braue ſouldiers, if they ioyned vſe and exerciſe vnto their naturall fortitude. As a man may eaſily obſerue in them, that maintaine continuall warres againſt the moſt barbarous and cruel Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is ſo great regard of military diſcipline, that no city nor towne there is deſtitute of a gariſon, the captaines and gouernours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in euery prouince, are ſubiect vnto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himſelfe is ſubiect vnto the Tutan or viceroy. Let vs now come vnto that arte, which the Chinians do moſt of all profeſſe, and which we may, not vnfitly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall ſciences, and eſpecially naturall and morall phyloſophy are ſtudied in China, and that they haue Vniuerſities there, wherein ſuch ingenuous artes are deliuered and taught, yet, for the moſt part, this opinion is to be eſteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, vpon what occaſion this conceit firſt grew. The people of China doe, aboue all things, profeſſe the arte of literature; and learning it moſt diligently, they imploy themſelues a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cauſe, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages alſo, there are certaine ſchole-maſters hired for ſtipends to inſtruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Iapon is alſo) in maner infinite, their children are put to ſchole euen from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithſtanding ſuch are taken away, as are iudged to be vnfit for the ſame purpoſe, and are trained vp to marchandiſe or to manuary ſciences: but the reſidue do ſo dedicate themſelues to the ſtudy of learning, that (a ſtrange thing it is to conſider) being conuerſant in the principall books, they will eaſily tel you, if they be aſked the queſtion, how many letters be conteined in euery page, and where ech letter is placed. Now, for the greater progreſſe and increaſe of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble ſciences; that is to ſay, the loweſt, the middle degree, and the higheſt. Graduates of the firſt degree are called Siuſai, of the ſecond

Their laborious induſtry.

Painting.

Gunnes.

Printing.

Nauigation.

The Tartars tyrãnized ouer China.

Military diſcipline.

The literature of China.

Three degrees in learning.

Quingin, and of the the third Chinzu. And in ech city or walled towne there is a publique houſe called the Schoole, and vnto that all they doe reſort from all priuate and pety-ſchooles that are minded to obtaine the firſt degree; where they do amplifie a ſentence or theame propounded vnto them by ſome magiſtrate: and they, whoſe ſtile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the firſt degree. Of ſuch as aſpire vnto the ſecond degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the prouince, whereunto, they of the firſt degree, euery third yere, haue recourſe, and, in one publike houſe or place of aſſembly, doe, the ſecond time, make an oration of another ſentence obſcurer then the former, and doe vndergo a more ſeuere examination. Now, there is commonly ſuch an huge multitude of people, that this laſt yere, in the foreſayd famous city of Cantam, by reaſon of the incredible aſſembly of perſons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the firſt entrance of the doores, there were many troden vnder foot, and quelled to death, as we haue bene moſt certainly informed. Moreouer they that ſue for the higheſt degree are ſubiect vnto a moſt ſeuere and exact cenſure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that alſo euery third yere next inſuing the ſayd yere wherein graduates of the ſecond degree are elected in ech prouince, and, a certaine number being preſcribed vnto euery particular prouince, they do aſcend vnto that higheſt pitch of dignity, which is in ſo great regard with the king himſelfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours ſake, drinke off a cup filled euen with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other ſolemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magiſtrates are choſen: for after that they haue attained vnto this third degree, being a while trained vp in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of vrbanity, they are admitted vnto diuers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether deſtitute of other artes. For, as touching morall philoſophy, all thoſe books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their inſtructions ſake, are alwayes conuerſant in the hands of the foreſayd ſtudents, wherein ſuch graue and pithy ſentences are ſet downe, that, in men void of the light of the Goſpell, more can not be deſired. They haue books alſo that intreat of things and cauſes naturall, but herein it is to be ſuppoſed, that aſwell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that diſcourſe of herbs and medicines, and others of chiualry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of aſtronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to euery moneth are truely diſpoſed and digeſted, and are committed to writing and publiſhed: beſides, they doe moſt infallibly foretell the eclipſes of the Sun and Moone: and whatſoeuer knowledge in this arte we of Iapon haue, it is deriued from them. *Leo.* We doe freely confeſſe that (Michael) ſithens our books intreating of the ſame arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, inſtruct you vs as touching their maner of gouernment, wherein the Chinians are ſayd greatly to excell. *Michael.* That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and vnto that all their learning and exerciſe of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule ouer ſo many prouinces, it is ſtrange what a number of Magiſtrates are by him created to adminiſter publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City haue iuriſdiction ouer the townſmen and citizens) there are three principall Magiſtrates in euery prouince. The firſt is he that hath to deale in caſes criminall, and is called Ganchaſu: the ſecond is the Kings Foſterer, and is called Puchinſu: the third is the Lieu-tenant generall for the warres, named, as we ſayd before, Chumpin. Theſe three therefore haue their place of reſidence in the chiefe City of the prouince: and the two former haue certaine aſſociates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in diuers Cities and Townes, vnto whom, according to the variety of cauſes, the Gouernours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magiſtrates are in ſubiection vnto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech prouince. And all theſe Magiſtrates beare office for the ſpace of three yeeres together; yet ſo, that for the gouerning of ech prouince, not any of the ſame prouince, but ſtrangers, that is, men of another prouince, are ſelected: whereof it commeth to paſſe, that the Iudges may giue ſentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinſefolke and allies. Ouer and beſides all theſe, there is an annuall or yeerely Magiſtrate, which is called Chaien, whoſe duety it is to make inquiſition of all crimes, and eſpecially the crimes of Magiſtrates, and alſo to puniſh common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magiſtrates to admoniſh the king himſelfe. Of this order, euery yere, are ſent out of the Kings Court, for ech prouince, one; and going ouer all the Cities and Townes thereof, they do moſt diligently ranſacke and ſerch out all crimes, and vpon them which are impriſoned they inflict due puniſhment, or, being found not guilty, they diſmiſſe them vnpuniſhed. Hence it is, that all Magiſtrates greatly fearing to be called in queſtion by the Chaien are well kept

within

The firſt degree.

The ſecond degree.

The third and higheſt degree.

Note the extraordinary honor vouchſafed by the great King of China vpon his learned graduates.

Morall philoſophy.

Naturall philoſophy.

Excellent aſtronomers in China.

The politike gouernment of China.

Three principall magiſtrates in ech prouince.

Two Senates or Counſels continually holden in China.

The cauſes of peace in China.

Learning the only ſtep to honour in China.

The ſtately & formidable proceſſion of the Chinian magiſtrates.

The houſes of the Chinian magiſtrates.

The magiſtrates barges.

within the limits of their callings. Beſides all theſe Magiſtrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable aſſembly of graue counſellours, vnto the which, out of all prouinces, according to the neereneſſe and diſtance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority diuers Magiſtrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed vnto the Senate of Paquin. Moreouer there are euery yeere certaine Magiſtrates appointed in ech prouince, to goe vnto the king: and euery third yeere all the Gouernours of Cities and of Townes do viſit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aſpire vnto the third degree: vpon which occaſion there is at the ſame time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reaſon of this excellent order and harmony of Magiſtrates placed one vnder another, it can ſcarſe be imagined, what ſweet peace and tranquility flouriſheth thorowout the whole realme, eſpecially ſithens, after ſpeedy inquiſition, perſons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the puniſhment of the baſtonado: neither yet are ſuits or actions any long time delayed. Alſo it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magiſtracy, the way is open, without all reſpect of gentry or blood, vnto all men, if they be learned, and eſpecially if they haue attained vnto the third and higheſt degree aforeſayd. Neither can it be expreſſed how obedient and duetifull the common ſort are vnto their Magiſtrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the ſayd Magiſtrates come abroad: for the moſt part of them haue fiftie or threeſcore Sergeants attending vpon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: ſome of them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: ſome trailing iron chaines vpon the ground: others holding great roddes or ſtaues of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are puniſhed, in their hands: and two there are that carry, incloſed in a caſe, the Kings ſeale peculiar for ech office: and many others alſo, that ſhew ſundry ſpectacles vnto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and ſhowtes, which betweene whiles they vtter, to ſtrike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magiſtrates themſelues, being carried in a throne vpon the backs of foure men, ſixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houſes, they are very large and ſtately, being built and furniſhed with all neceſſary ſtuffe, at the Kings owne coſt, in the which, ſo long as their magiſtracy laſteth, they leade a braue and an honourable life. The ſayd houſes are without variety of ſtories one aboue another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Iapon alſo are not ordinarily vſed for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for ſolace and recreations ſake (for the which purpoſes, eight moſt lofty turrets of nine ſtories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes theſe buildings doe ſhew foorth no ſmall magnificence: for they haue their ciſternes for the receit of raine-water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, ſet in order, round about them: and they haue alſo their places deſigned for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and diuers other conuenient roomes to beſtow their wiues and families in. Within the doores of the foreſayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, hauing cabbins or little houſes allotted them on both ſides, doe alwayes giue their attendance; and ſo long as matters of iudgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magiſtrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments conſtraine them to tell the trueth. The ſayd Magiſtrates alſo haue their peculiar barges wherein to take the water; being in breadth and length not much vnlike to the galleys of Europe, but for ſwiftneſſe and multitude of oares, farre inferiour vnto them. The rowers, ſitting vpon galleries without the hatches or compaſſe of the barge, doe mooue it on forward with their oares: whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that the middle part of the barge affoordeth ſufficient roome for the Magiſtrates themſelues to abide in, containing chambers therein almoſt as conuenient and handſome, as in any of their foreſayd publique houſes, together with butteries and kitchins, and ſuch other places neceſſary for the prouiſion and ſtowage of victuals. *Leo.* All theſe things agree right well with the reports, which we haue heard of the ſtately and renowmed kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know ſomewhat concerning the order which is obſerued in the obtaining of magiſtracies.

The maner of electing magiſtrates in China.

Degrees vnto honour.

Michael. You haue enquired of a matter moſt worthy to be knowen, which I had almoſt omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe vſe a kinde of gradation in aduancing men vnto ſundry places of authority, which for the moſt part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For firſt they are made Iudges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth puniſhments in caſes criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings foſterers. And in both of theſe Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, ſo that from the inferiour place they muſt aſcend vnto the ſuperiour, vntill they haue attained vnto the higheſt dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice-royes. Howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accompliſhed in one and the ſame prouince, but in changing their offices they change places and prouinces alſo. Moreouer, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be choſen Senatours of Nanquin, and laſt of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is ſuch an order and methode obſerued in the aſcending vnto theſe dignities, that all men may eaſily coniecture, what office any one is to vndertake. And there is ſo great diligence and celerity vſed for the ſubſtitution of one into the roome of another, that, for the ſame purpoſe, meſſengers are diſpatched by land, vpon ſwift poſt-horſes, vnto diuers prouinces, almoſt twenty dayes iourney from the Kings Court. And, to be ſhort, there is ſuch diſtrict ſeuerity in degrading thoſe that vniuſtly or negligently demeane themſelues, from an honourable vnto an inferiour and baſe office, or altogether in depriuing them of the kings authority; that all Magiſtrates doe ſtand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The ſame order, almoſt, is obſerued among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offſpring is reſpected: for many there be, who deſcending by parentage from ſuch men as haue in times paſt atchieued braue exploits in warfare, ſo ſoone as they come to ſufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Gouernours, vntill at laſt they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of ſome whole prouince: who notwithſtanding (as I haue ſayd) are in all things ſubiect vnto the Vice-roy. All the foreſayd Magiſtrates both of warre and of peace haue a ſet number of attendants allotted vnto them, enioying a ſtipend, and carying certaine enſignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (beſides the ordinary watch, which ſouldiers appointed for the ſame purpoſe doe in the night ſeaſon, after the City gates be ſhut, keepe in their forts) whereſoeuer any Magiſtrate is, either at his houſe or in his barge, the ſayd attendants ſtriking vpon a cymball of braſſe, at certaine appointed times, do keepe moſt circumſpect and continuall watch and ward about his perſon. *Linus.* You haue (Michael) ſufficiently diſcourſed of the Magiſtrates: informe vs now of the king himſelfe, whoſe name is ſo renowmed and ſpread abroad. *Michael.* Concerning this matter I will ſay ſo much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge; for of matters appertaining vnto the kings Court we haue no eye-witneſſes, ſithens the fathers of the ſociety haue not as yet proceeded vnto Paquin, who ſo ſoone as (by Gods aſſiſtance) they ſhall there be arriued, will by their letters more fully aduertiſe vs. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reuerence and ſubmiſſion thorowout his whole Realme: and whenſoeuer any of his chiefe Magiſtrates ſpeaketh vnto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, ſignifying thereby that he wiſheth tenne thouſands of yeeres vnto him. The ſucceſſion of the kingdome dependeth vpon the bloud royall: for the eldeſt ſonne borne of the kings firſt and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers deceaſe: neither doe they depriue themſelues of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Iapon) but the cuſtome of Europe is there obſerued. Now, that the ſafety and life of the king may ſtand in more ſecurity, his yonger brethren, and the reſt borne of concubines are not permitted to liue in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himſelfe aſſigned vnto them in diuers prouinces farre diſtant aſunder, where they dwell moſt commodiouſly, being comparable vnto kings for their buildings and reuenues: howbeit they exerciſe no authority ouer the people, but all the gouernment of thoſe Cities wherein they dwell, concerneth the Magiſtrates, who notwithſtanding haue the ſayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe viſit them twiſe in a moneth, and ſalute them kneeling vpon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing vnto them as touching the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth. Theſe are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they deriue their houſes and reuenues vnto their poſterity, and ſo are theſe royall families continually preſerued. But to returne vnto the king himſelfe, hee is moſt chary in obſeruing the Chiniao lawes and cuſtomes, and diligently exerciſeth himſelfe in learning ſo much as concernes his eſtate, ſheweth himſelfe dayly vnto his chiefe Magiſtrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largeneſſe and capacity, out of the which he very ſeldome takes his progreſſe; and whenſoeuer he doeth ſo, there are twelue chariots brought foorth, all of them moſt like one to another both in workemanſhip and in value, that no man may diſcerne in which the king himſelfe is placed. He followeth in religion eſpecially the opinions of the Magiſtrates, attributing diuine power vnto heauen and earth as vnto the parents of all, and with great ſolemnity ſacrificing vnto them. He hath diuers moſt ſumptuous Temples dedicated vnto his anceſtours, whereunto likewiſe he aſcribeth diuine honour, and yet ceaſeth hee not to fauour Prieſts of other ſects, yea hee erecteth Temples vnto their Patrons, endowing them with moſt rich reuenues; and ſo often as any vrgent neceſſity

requireth,

Riding poſt.

Martiall dignities.

The king of China.

Van-Sui.

The ſucceſſion of the crowne.

The kings yonger brethren.

Twelue chariots.

The idolatrous religion of the king.

The ciuill gouernment of China moſt agreeable to the inſtinct of nature.

The fiue vertues principally eſteemed among the Chinians.

Vrbanity.

The Chinians great piety towards their parents.

A memorable ſtory.

The religion of China.

requireth, he enioynes continuall faſtings and prayers vnto them: and after this ſort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous ſects of his Realme, and ſhewing himſelfe ready to embrace any falſe religion whatſoeuer, he liueth in ſundry and manifolde kindes of ſuperſtition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may eaſily coniecture that the adminiſtration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the moſt part, agree with the inſtinct of nature, authority being committed, not vnto rude and vnſkilfull perſons, but vnto ſuch as haue beene conuerſant in the vſe and exerciſe of learning, yea, and in promoting learned men vnto magiſtracies, great conſideration is had of their wiſedome, iuſtice, and of other vertues eſteemed by the Chinians: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any reſpect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foreſayd dignities, it can not be but that this moſt mighty and famous kingdome muſt needes enioy exceeding peace and tranquillity. *Leo.* I would nowe (Michael) right gladly vnderſtand, what kinde of vrbanity or ciuill demeanour both the common people and the Magiſtrates doe vſe one towardes another: for it is not likely that where ſuch due adminiſtration of iuſtice is, common ciuility, which ſo well beſeemeth all men, ſhould be wanting. *Michael.* You haue hit euen the very naile on the head: for among the fiue vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, vrbanity or courteſy is one; the reſt are piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wiſedome in atchieuing of matters: with the praiſes and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their vrbanity, it is much vnlike vnto ours in Iapan, and vnto that of Europe: howbeit vnder two principall kindes the rule of their vrbanity or courteſie may be comprehended: whereof one is obſerued betweene equals, and the other betweene ſuperiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they ſtand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twiſe, or ſometimes thriſe. Now, when the inferiour meets with his ſuperiour, the ſayd inferiour, for the moſt part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and preſcriptions are ſet downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat alſo I will ſay as touching their piety, and eſpecially of the piety which they vſe towards their parents, which verily is ſo exceeding great, that for the ſpace of three whole yeres together, the ſonnes being cladde in mourning veſtures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common ſort, but euen by all the Magiſtrates themſelues, and that moſt curiouſly and diligently. And, that all men may wholly giue their attendance vnto this buſineſſe, it is prouided by a moſt inuiolable law among the Chinians, that Magiſtrates, vpon the death of their parents, muſt foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, muſt betake themſelues vnto a priuate kinde of liuing: which alſo is moſt duely put in practiſe by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and ſuch an one, as vpon whom the adminiſtration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet hauing heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himſelfe immediatly home to ſolemnize their funerals: inſomuch that if the king would retaine him ſtill in his office, he ſhould be eſteemed by the people, as a tranſgreſſour of the lawes and cuſtomes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out euen ſo. For whenas a certain king moſt familiarly vſed a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publique affaires, and vnderſtanding well how neceſſary the helpe of his foreſayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, haue retained him ſtill in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller vnto the Chinian lawes, could in no caſe abide it, but checking his Prince with ſharpe rebukes, obiected the tranſgreſſion of the law againſt him. The king waxing wroth menaced preſent death vnto the man: but when the party being no whit danted with the terrour of death, perſiſted ſtill in his ſayings, the king changing his determination diſmiſſed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he aduanced him vnto an higher dignity. *Linus.* I perceiue (Michael) that drawing to an end of theſe dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect breuity: yet let it not ſeeme troubleſome vnto you to ſpeake ſomewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing ſeemes to be wanting in this preſent dialogue. *Michael.* I confeſſe indeed that I endeuour to be briefe, not ſo much in regard of weariſomneſſe, as for feare leaſt I haue bene ouer tedious vnto you: howbeit I will not faile but accompliſh that which I haue vndertaken, and (according to your requeſt) adde ſomewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene deſtitute of true religion, and now the firſt beginnings thereof are included in moſt narrow bounds, that nation being otherwiſe a people moſt ingenious, and of an extraordinary and high capacity, hath alwayes liued in great errours and ignorance of the trueth, being diſtracted into ſundry opinions, and following manifolde ſects. And among theſe ſects there are three more famous then the reſt: the firſt is of them that profeſſe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philoſopher. This man (as it is reported in the hiſtory of his life) was one of moſt vpright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote ſundry treatiſes very pithily and largely, which aboue all other books, are ſeriouſly read and peruſed by the Chinians. The ſame doctrine do all Magiſtrates embrace, and others alſo that giue their mindes to the ſtudy of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is ſayd to haue inuented: and he is had in ſo great honour, that all his followers and clients, vpon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe aſſemble themſelues at the common Schoole, which I haue aboue mentioned, and before his image, which is worſhipped with burning of incenſe and with tapers, they doe thriſe bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common ſcholars, but the chiefe Magiſtrates do performe. The ſumme of the foreſayd doctrine is, that men ſhould follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they ſhould diligently endeuour to attaine vnto the vertues by me before mentioned: and laſtly, that they ſhould employ their labour about the orderly gouernment of their families and of the Common-wealth. All theſe things are in very deed praiſe-worthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not aſcribed ſo much vnto the heauens, and vnto fatall neceſſity, nor yet had ſo curiouſly intreated of worſhipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excuſed from the crime of idolatry: notwithſtanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approcheth ſo neere vnto the trueth as this doeth. The ſecond ſect is of them which follow the inſtructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whoſe opinions, becauſe they are well knowen amongſt vs, it were bootleſſe for me to repeat; eſpecially ſithens, in the Catechiſme compoſed by our graue viſitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with vs at Iapon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way giue you to vnderſtand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one ſillable onely, ſo that if there be any word that conſiſteth of more ſillables then one, it conſiſteth alſo of more wordes then one. Theſe ſectaries called Cen doe ſhaue their beards and their heads, and doe for the moſt part, together with diuers of their aſſociates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the ſame profeſſion haue in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearſe certaine prayers after their maner, either vpon books or beads, vſing other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. Theſe men haue ſome inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the puniſhments of the wicked: howbeit all their aſſertions are fraught with errours. The third ſect is of them which are called Tauzu: and thoſe doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holineſſe. Theſe alſo are Prieſts after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other obſeruations differ from the former. Nowe, becauſe the ſect of Confucius is the moſt famous of all the three, and the two other ſects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted vnto learning, their religion preuailing onely among the common ſort, the Prieſts of both the ſayd ſects doe leade a moſt baſe and ſeruile life amongſt the Chinians, inſomuch that they kneele downe before the Magiſtrates, and are not permitted to ſit beſide them, and ſometimes, if the Magiſtrate pleaſe, are abaſed vnto the puniſhment of the baſtonado: whereas in our Iles of Iapon it is farre otherwiſe, Prieſts, euen of falſe religion, being had in ſo great honour among vs. *Leo.* I heard alſo (Michael) that the Saracens ſuperſtition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can reſolue vs. *Michael.* That forren ſuperſtition was brought into China what time the Tartars inuaded the kingdome, and vſurped the gouernment thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally deſcended of the Tartars, who, becauſe they were an infinite number, could not vtterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining ſtill there, haue propagated their poſterity, though not their religion. Theſe therefore are ſouldiers for the greater part of them, and ſometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their ſuperſtition which is nowe become ſtale and almoſt worne out, they doe liue altogether after the Chinians faſhion, their predeceſſours being brought into the ſame kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe. *Linus.* Now (Michael) let vs heare you ſay ſomewhat of the Chriſtian religion, which as we hope hath ſet moſt happy footing in that kingdome. *Michael.* I could ſay much concerning thoſe moſt wiſhed and acceptable beginnings, were they not already publiſhed in Iapon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a briefe rehearſall of all things, that I may not ſeeme altogether to haue abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the ſociety arriued in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Chriſtian religion, they were in like ſort

Three principall ſects among the Chinians.

Confucius authour of the firſt ſect.

The ſumme of Confucius his doctrine.

Xequiam author of the ſecond ſect, whoſe followers are called Cen or Bonzi.

Note.

The third ſect.

The ſuperſtition of the Saracens.

Chriſtian religion planted in China.

An ancient cuſtome worthy ẏ obſeruation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

moſt carefull how they might inſinuate themſelues into the innermoſt parts of the kingdome of China. In the middeſt of this endeuour and trauell Francis Xauier, a moſt deuout man of the foreſayd ſociety, departed out of this preſent life at the Ile of Sancian (which ſome call Sangiam) leauing an example vnto the reſt of his aſſociates, how they ſhould likewiſe doe their beſt to plant the religion of Chriſt in that nation. This man was ſeconded by others, who vſed all meanes, and left no practiſe vnattempted, that they might bring theſe good beginnings vnto a proſperous iſſue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reaſon of an ancient cuſtome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumſpection admit any ſtrangers into their dominions, except thoſe which hauing a long time executed the office of ambaſſadours doe ordinarily euery third yeere preſent themſelues before the king: in the admiſſion of whom likewiſe there is maruellous care vſed, that they may not eaſily eſpie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Hereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemners of other nations, and moſt conſtant obſeruers of their owne lawes and cuſtomes: in all which reſpects it came to paſſe, that there was woonderfull labour and diligence employed aboue thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, vntill in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fourescore and three, two fathers of the foreſayd ſociety, that had pretty ſkill in the letters and language of China, vtterly deſpairing of mans helpe, and depending vpon the prouidence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an houſe and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reaſon of the commodiouſneſſe thereof is the ſeat of the Vice-roy himſelfe. This worke being begunne, the ſayd fathers of the ſociety, for the nouelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magiſtrates: inſomuch that two others out of India had free and eaſie acceſſe vnto them, one couple remaining ſtill in their foreſayd houſe at Xauquin, and the other two taking their iourney for the inner prouinces, to conuert more people vnto the faith: who notwithſtanding afterward, other Magiſtrates not approouing of their attempts, were conſtrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foreſayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then fiue yeeres) certaine of the common people were reſtrained from falſe ſuperſtition to Chriſtian religion, and ſeuenty perſons were baptized. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Chriſtian religion, ſuggeſted into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I ſayd, of their owne nature, a people eſtranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too ſuſpicious of ſtrangers) that they ſhould exhibite letters of ſupplication vnto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magiſtrates, to haue the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magiſtrates repairing vnto their foreſayd houſe and Church entered conſultation how they might banniſh them out of the ſayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they vſed great moderation, not any way offending or exaſperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely ſignifying that they had regard vnto the eſtate of their Common-wealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers vnto him, and (to let paſſe other accidents) vſing courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not conuenient, eſpecially ſithens ſo many Magiſtrates reſorted vnto that City, who would take great offence at the preſence of ſtrangers. For the which cauſe he perſwaded them to accept ſome part of the money which they had beſtowed in the building of their houſe, and ſo to returne either home into their owne countrey, or vnto the port of Macao. Howbeit, ſuch was the inſtant ſupplication of the fathers, and ſo woorthy of compaſſion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the prouince of Coantum, aſſigned vnto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them alſo to a certaine Magiſtrate, who was come from the ſame place to ſalute him. Thither therefore the ſayd fathers, not without great ſorrow and griefe of the Chriſtians, hied themſelues, and as we are informed by their laſt letters, they haue euen now layed the foundation of their firſt building, and haue alſo written that they are like to liue much more peaceably and conueniently for the propagating of Chriſtian religion. Theſe be the firſt beginnings of Chriſtianity in China, where, euen as in other places of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, the ſeed is to be ſowen with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladneſſe. *Leo.* It is euen as you haue ſayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleaſant and eloquent diſcourſe we do acknowledge our ſelues much bounden vnto you.

A Letter

A Letter written from *Goa*, the principall City of all the *Eaſt Indies*, by one *Thomas Steuens* an Engliſh man, and ſent to his father, M. *Thomas Steuens* : *Anno* 1579.

AFter moſt humble commendations : Theſe ſhall be to craue your dayly bleſſing, with like commendations vnto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, ſo that preſuming thereupon, I thinke I haue the leſſe need at this time to tell you the cauſe of my departing, which neuertheleſſe in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the ſhippes, ſo late that if they had not bene ſtayed about ſome weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming : inſomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings prouiſion and ours alſo might not be in vaine. Neuertheleſſe our ſudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill fiue ſhips departed for Goa, wherein beſides ſhipmen and ſouldiers, there were a great number of children which in the ſeas beare out better then men, and no maruell, when that many women alſo paſſe very well. The ſetting foorth from the port I need not to tell how ſolemne it is with trumpets, and ſhooting of ordinance, you may eaſily imagine it, conſidering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foreſayd moneth we came to the ſight of Porto Santo neere vnto Madera, where an Engliſh ſhippe ſet vpon ours (which was then alſo alone) with a few ſhots, which did no harme, but after that our ſhip had layed out her greateſt ordinance, they ſtraight departed as they came. The Engliſh ſhippe was very faire and great, which I was ſory to ſee ſo ill occupied, for ſhe went rouing about, ſo that we ſaw her againe at the Canarian Iles, vnto the which we came the thirteenth of the ſayd moneth, and good leiſure we had to wonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reaſon of contrary windes : and briefly, ſuch euill weather we had vntill the foureteenth of May, that they deſpaired to compaſſe the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neuertheleſſe, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without ſeeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coaſt of Guinie, which the Portugals ſo call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the ſixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they ſuffered ſo many inconueniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themſelues happy when they haue paſſed it : for ſometimes the ſhip ſtandeth there almoſt by the ſpace of many dayes, ſometime ſhe goeth, but in ſuch order that it were almoſt as good to ſtand ſtill. And the greateſt part of this coaſt not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine ſo vnwholeſome, that if the water ſtand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged vp, it maketh it ſtraight full of wormes. Along all that coaſt we often times ſaw a thing ſwimming vpon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ſhip of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe ſtandeth vpon a thing almoſt like the ſwimmer of a fiſh in colour and bigneſſe, and beareth vnderneath in the water, ſtrings, which ſaue it from turning ouer. This thing is ſo poiſonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coaſt, that is to ſay, from the ſixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we ſpent no leſſe then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we paſſed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our courſe aſwell as we could to paſſe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beſide, we found ſo often calmes, that the experteſt mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be moſt horrible tempeſts, we found moſt quiet calmes which was very troubleſome to thoſe ſhips which be the greateſt of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Inſomuch, that when it is tempeſt almoſt intollerable for other ſhips, and maketh them maine all their ſailes, theſe hoiſe vp, and ſaile excellent well, vnleſſe the waters be too too furious, which ſeldome happened in our nauigation. You ſhall vnderſtand, that being paſſed the line, they cannot ſtraightway go the next way to the promontory : but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themſelues in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their courſe towards the Eaſt, and ſo compaſſe the point. But the winde ſerued vs ſo, that at 33 degrees we did direct our courſe toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to ſaile from Eaſt to Weſt, or contrary, becauſe there is no fixed point in all the ſkie, whereby they may direct their courſe, wherefore I ſhall tell you what helps God prouided for theſe men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or ſigne in the aire, or in the ſea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what ſpace the ſhip was able to make with ſuch a winde, and

The variation of the compaſſe.

ſuch direction, and partly by the experience of others, whoſe books and nauigations they haue, they geſſe whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes ſure: but the greateſt and beſt induſtry of all is to marke the variation of the needle or compaſſe, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is iuſt North, and thence ſwarueth towards the Eaſt ſo much, that betwixt the Meridian aforeſayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in Engliſh the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place paſſed, it ſwarueth againe toward the Weſt, as it did before proportionally.

Signes about the Cape of Bona Speranſa.

As touching our firſt ſignes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more ſtrange kindes of fowles appeared, inſomuch that when we came within no leſſe then thirty leagues (almoſt an hundred miles) and ſixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thouſand fowles of ſundry kindes followed our ſhip: ſome of them ſo great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained ſeuen ſpannes, as the Mariners ſayd. A maruellous thing to ſee how God prouided, ſo that in ſo wide a ſea theſe fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals haue named them all according to ſome propriety which they haue: ſome they call Ruſhtailes, becauſe their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and ſmall like a ruſh, ſome forked tailes becauſe they be very broad and forked, ſome Veluet ſleeues, becauſe they haue wings of the colour of veluet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neereſt the Cape. I ſhould neuer make an end if I ſhould tell all particulars: but it ſhall ſuffice briefly to touch a few, which yet ſhall be ſufficient, if you marke them, to giue occaſion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and ſuch variety in his creatures.

Fiſhes on the ſea coaſt of Africa.

And to ſpeake ſome what of fiſhes in all places of calme, eſpecially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we neuer ſaw any) there waited on our ſhip fiſhes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat ſuch things as from the ſhippe fall into the ſea, not refuſing men themſelues if they light vpon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the ſea, they take it for theirs. Theſe haue waiting on them ſix or ſeuen ſmall fiſhes (wich neuer depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely ſeruing men: and they go two or three before him, and ſome on euery ſide. Moreouer, they haue other fiſhes which cleaue alwayes vnto their body, and ſeeme to take ſuch ſuperfluities as grow about them, and they are ſayd to enter into their bodies alſo to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time paſt haue eaten of them, but ſince they haue ſeene them eate men their ſtomacks abhorre them. Neuertheleſſe, they draw them vp with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fiſh as bigge almoſt as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. Theſe haue two enemies, the one in the ſea, the other in the aire. In the ſea the fiſh which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great ſwiftneſſe to take them. This poore fiſh not being able ſwim faſt, for he hath no finnes, but ſwimmeth with mouing of his taile, ſhutting his wings, lifteth himſelfe aboue the water, and flieth not very hie: the Albocore ſeeing that, although he haue no wings, yet he giueth a great leape out of the water, and ſometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himſelfe vnder the water going that way on as faſt as he flieth. And when the fiſh being weary of the aire, or thinking himſelfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but ſometimes his other enemy the ſea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth.

Note.

With theſe and like ſights, but alwayes making our ſupplications to God for good weather and ſaluation of the ſhip, we came at length vnto the point, ſo famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempeſt, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerſeene: for whereas commonly al other neuer come within ſight of land, but ſeeing ſignes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way ſure and ſafe, he thinking himſelfe to haue winde at will, ſhot ſo nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs ſo nere the land, that the ſhip ſtood in leſſe then 14 fadoms of water, no more then ſixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we ſtood as vtterly caſt away: for vnder vs were rocks of maine ſtone ſo ſharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ſhip, the ſhore ſo euill, that nothing could take land, and the land itſelfe ſo full of Tigers, and people that are ſauage, and killers of all ſtrangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conſcience. Notwithſtanding, after we had loſt ancres, hoiſing vp the ſailes for to get the ſhip a coaſt in ſome ſafer place, or when it ſhould pleaſe God, it pleaſed his mercy ſuddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our ſailes with wind from the land, & ſo we eſcaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fiſh, we alſo fell a fiſhing, and ſo many they tooke, that they ſerued all the ſhip for that day, and part of the next.

Corall.

And one of them pulled vp a corall of great bigneſſe and price. For there they ſay (as we ſaw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of ſtalks vpon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of Iuly. And you ſhall vnderſtand that, the Cape paſſed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, becauſe they refreſh themſelues at Moſambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they ſet forth ſo late, and come ſo late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foreſayd Moſambique, and then they goe heauily, becauſe in this way they take no port. And by reaſon of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into ſundry diſeaſes, their gummes waxe great, and ſwell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges ſwell, and all the body becommeth ſore, and ſo benummed, that they can not ſtirre hand nor foot, and ſo they die for weakeneſſe, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty ſicke, there died not paſt ſeuen and twenty; which loſſe they eſteemed not much in reſpect of other times. Though ſome of ours were diſeaſed in this ſort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God ſend me my health ſo well in the land, if it may be to his honour and ſeruice. This way is full of many rockes and quicke-ſands, ſo that ſometimes we durſt not ſaile by night, but by the prouidence of God we ſaw nothing, nor neuer found bottome vntill we came to the coaſt of India. When we had paſſed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or ſomewhat more, we ſaw crabs ſwimming on the water that were red as though they had bene ſodden: but this was no ſigne of land. After, about the eleuenth degree, the ſpace of many dayes, more then ten thouſand fiſhes by eſtimation followed round about our ſhip, whereof we caught ſo many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they ſerued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almoſt any thing els to eate, our nauigation growing ſo long that it drew neere to ſeuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fiue, I meane when they ſaile the inner way. But theſe fiſhes were not ſigne of land, but rather of deepe ſea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they ioyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the ſame latitude neere Zocotora, an Ile in the mouth of the Red ſea. But there God ſent vs great winds from the Northeaſt or Northnortheaſt, whereupon vnwillingly they bare vp toward the Eaſt, and thus we went tenne dayes without ſeeing ſigne of land, whereby they perceiued their errour: for they had directed their courſe before alwayes Northeaſt, coueting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and moſt of all the running ſeas, which at that time ran Northweſt, had drawen vs to this other danger, had not God ſent vs this winde, which at length waxed larger, and reſtored vs to our right courſe. Theſe running ſeas be ſo perillous that they deceiue the moſt part of the gouernours, and ſome be ſo little curious, contenting themſelues with ordinary experience, that they care not to ſeeke out any meanes to know when they ſwarue, neither by the compaſſe, nor by any other triall. The firſt ſigne of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the ſecond, boughes of palmes and ſedges: the third, ſnakes ſwimming on the water, and a ſubſtance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and ſtamped of nature, like vnto ſome coine. And theſe two laſt ſignes be ſo certaine, that the next day after, if the winde ſerue, they ſee land, which we did to our great ioy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in thoſe parts) and victuals began to faile vs. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being receiued with paſſing great charity. The people be tawny, but not diſfigured in their lips & noſes, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at leaſt the moſt part, goe naked, ſauing an apron of a ſpan long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a ſtring and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now ſpeake, for I ſhould make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not ſeene a tree here, whoſe like I haue ſeene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuertheleſſe here is to no purpoſe, ſo that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this ſhall ſuffice for this time. If God ſend me my health, I ſhall haue opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leaue: and thus I wiſh your moſt proſperous health. From Goa the tenth of Nouember, 1579.

Two wayes beyond ẏ cape of Good hope.

They cōmonly ſaile from Liſbon to Goa in 5 moneths.

Running ſeas very dangerous.

Certaine ſignes of land.

They arriued at Goa the 24 of October.

Your louing ſonne Thomas
Steuens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of *Pegu* beyond the *Eaſt India*, written by *Frey Peter* of *Lisbon*, to his couſin *Frey Diego* of *Lisbon*, from *Cochin*.

I Receiued your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a carauell of aduiſe that came from Malacca, which brought ſhot, powder, and other prouiſion for the furniſhing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coaſt for feare of great ſtore of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble vs very ſore. At that inſtant when I receiued your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning theſe countreys are: That this king of Pegu is the mightieſt king of men, & the richeſt that is in theſe parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, aboue a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and ſmall people, and are brought vnto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and ſiluer mines, and of all the pearles and precious ſtones: ſo that he hath the greateſt ſtore of treaſure that euer was heard of in theſe parts. The countrey people call him The God of trueth and of iuſtice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many queſtions as touching the law and faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gaue his conſent that our Order ſhould build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our peruerſe and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater reſort thither, and ſo their trade ſhould be impaired, if their great gaines ſhould be knowen vnto others then thoſe which found this countrey out firſt, therefore they were ſo vnwilling that the building of this Church ſhould goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are worſe people then the Gentiles. I preached diuers times among thoſe heathen people; but being obſtinate they ſay, that as their fathers beleeued ſo they will beleeue: for if their forefathers went to the diuell ſo they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monaſtery to certifie our father prouinciall of the eſtate of this New found countrey. It is the beſt and richeſt countrey in all this Eaſt India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

The coaſt of India greatly troubled with Moores.

Abundance of golde, ſiluer, pearles, & precious ſtones in Pegu.

The great gaine of the Portugals in Pegu.

Pegu the beſt & richeſt countrey in all the Eaſt India.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Maieſty hath with England will be the vtter vndoing and ſpoile of Spaine: for theſe countreys likewiſe are almoſt ſpoiled with ciuill warres, which the Moores haue againſt the Gentiles: for the kings here are vp in armes all the countrey ouer. Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath propheſied that there will a Dragon ariſe in a ſtrange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God doth know. And thus I reſt: from this monaſtery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

A propheſie of an Indian againſt Spaine.

Your good couſin and aſſured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ſhips, the *Penelope* Admirall, the *Marchant royall* Viceadmirall, and the *Edward Bonauenture* Rereadmirall, to the *Eaſt Indies*, by the Cape of *Buona Speranſa*, to *Quitangone* neere *Moſambique*, to the Iles of *Comoro* and *Zanzibar* on the backeſide of *Africa*, and beyond *Cape Comori* in *India*, to the Iles of *Nicubar* and of *Gomes Polo* within two leagues of *Sumatra*, to the Ilands of *Pulo Pinaom*, and thence to the maine land of *Malacca*, begunne by M. *George Raymond*, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. *Iames Lancaſter*, and written from the mouth of *Edmund Barker* of *Ipſwich*, his lieutenant in the ſayd voyage, by M. *Richard Hakluyt*.

OUr fleet of the three tall ſhips abouenamed departed from Plimmouth the 10 of April 1591, and arriued at the Canarie-ilands the 25 of the ſame, frō whence we departed the 29 of April. The ſecond of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we paſſed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeaſt, alwayes before the winde vntill the 13 of the ſame moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the ſea vntill the fift of Iune, on which day we paſſed the ſayd line. While we lay thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Carauel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Braſile, in which Carauel we had ſome 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarres of oyle, about 100 iarres of oliues, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peaſon, with diuers other neceſſaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, oliues and capers were better to vs then gold. We had two men died before wee paſſed the line, and diuers ſicke, which tooke their ſickneſſe in thoſe hote climates: for they be wonderful vnwholeſome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude vnto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with ſuch thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occaſion of the infection among them, and their eating of ſalt victuals, with lacke of clothes to ſhift them. After we paſſed the line, we had the wind ſtill at Eaſtſoutheaſt, which caried vs along the coaſt of Braſil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came vp to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona eſperanſa did beare off vs Eaſt and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Paſſing this gulfe from the coaſt of Braſil vnto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is vpon our coaſt, but for the moſt part ſo, that we might lie our courſe. The 28 of Iuly we had ſight of the foreſayd Cape of Buona eſperanſa: vntill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & ſo to haue gone ſeuentie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would haue ſought to haue put into any harbour. But our men being weake and ſicke in all our ſhippes, we thought good to ſeeke ſome place to refreſh them. With which conſent we bare vp with the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the ſhore, we eſpied a goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ſhips to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither ſide of the Cape. The firſt of Auguſt being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, ſending our mē on land, and there came vnto them certaine blacke Saluages very brutiſh which would not ſtay, but retired from them. For the ſpace of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geeſe: there was no fiſh but muſkles and other ſhelfiſh, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnaſſe vnto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great ſtore of Penguines & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twiſe after that we ſent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading vnto our ſhips. After we had bene here ſome time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with vs, making ſigns to bring vs ſome cattell; but at this time we could come to the ſight of none, ſo we let the Negro goe with ſome trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negros, brought vs downe ſome 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many ſheepe: at which time we bought but few of thē. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought ſome 24 oxen with as many ſheepe. We bought an oxe for two kniues, a ſticke for a knife, and a ſheepe for a knife, and ſome we bought for leſſe value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleſhed, but not fat. The ſheepe are very big and very good meat, they haue no wooll on their backs but haire, and haue great tailes like the ſheepe in Syria. There be diuers ſorts of wild beaſts, as the Antilope, (wherof M. Lancaſter killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other great beaſts vnknowen vnto vs. Here are alſo great ſtore of ouer-growen monkeis. As touching our proceeding vpon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ſhips wel manned, then with three euill manned: for here wee had of ſound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admiral 101, and in the Edward with the worſhipfull M. captaine Lancaſter 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recouered, of which ſhip was maſter and gouernour Abraham Kendal, which for many reaſons we thought good to ſend home. The diſeaſe that hath conſumed our men hath bene the ſkuruie. Our ſouldiers which haue not bene vſed to the Sea, haue beſt held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my iudgement) proceedeth of their euill diet at home.

Three occaſions of ſicknes neere the line.

Agoada de Saldanha.

Great ſtore of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oxe, and ſheepe, dog-cheape.

Sixe dayes after our ſending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. Iames Lancaſter in the Edward Bonauenture, ſet forward to double the Cape of Buona eſperanſa, which they did very ſpeedily. But being paſſed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of Septēber we were encountred with a mighty ſtorme and extreeme guſts of wind, wherein we loſt our Generals companie, and could neuer heare of him nor his ſhip any more, though we did our beſt endeuour to ſeeke him vp and downe a long while, and ſtaied for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to ſtay one for another. Foure dayes after this vncomfortable ſeperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which ſlew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in ſonder without ſpeaking any word, and of 94 men there was

Cape de Buona Speranſa doubled.

Cape dos Corrientes.

Here they are ſeuered from the Penelope.

Foure men ſlaine with a clap of thunder.

not one vntouched, whereof ſome were ſtriken blind, others were bruiſed in their legs & armes, and others in their breſts, ſo that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawen out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recouered ſauing onely the foure which were ſlaine out right. Alſo with the ſame thunder our maine maſte was torne very grieuouſly from the head to the decke, and ſome of the ſpikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate thereof. From thence wee ſhaped our courſe to the Northeaſt, and not long after we fell vpon the Northweſt end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men eſpied by Gods good bleſſing late in the euening by Moone light, who ſeeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, aſked them what it was: which eftſoones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea vpon the Shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we caſt about to auoyd the danger which we were like to haue incurred. Thus paſſing on forward, it was our lucke to ouer-ſhoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the prouiſion of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeaſt of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good ſtature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee deſired to ſtore our ſelues with water, whereof we ſtood in great need, and ſent ſixteene of our men well armed on ſhore in our boate: whom the people ſuffred quietly to land and water, and diuers of them with their king came aboord our ſhip in a gowne of crimoſine Sattin pinked after the Mooriſh faſhion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the beſt maner, and had ſome conference with him of the ſtate of the place and marchandiſes, vſing our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licenſed the king and his company to depart, and ſent our men againe for more water, who then alſo diſpatched their buſineſſe, & returned quietly: the third time likewiſe we ſent them for more, which alſo returned without any harme. And though we thought our ſelues furniſhed, yet our maſter William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we ſhould finde any good watering place, would needes goe himſelfe on ſhore with thirtie men, much againſt the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a waſhing ouer-againſt our ſhip, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our ſight for the moſt part ſlaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any ſuccour. From hence with heauie hearts we ſhaped our courſe for Zanzibar the 7 of Nouember, where ſhortly after wee arriued and made vs a new boat of ſuch boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road vntill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we ſawe diuers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with wodden pinnes, and ſowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the huſkes of Cocos ſhels beaten, whereof they make Occam. At length a Portugal Pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a ſmall Factorie, ſent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene chriſtened, who brought vs a letter wherein they deſired to know what wee were, and what we ſought. We ſent them word we were Engliſhmen come from Don Antonio vpon buſineſſe to his friends in the Indies: with which anſwere they returned, and would not any more come at vs. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a prieſt of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sheriſe: whom we vſed very curteouſly: which the king tooke in very good part, hauing his prieſts in great eſtimation, and for his deliuerance furniſhed vs with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with vs. Theſe Moores informed vs of the falſe and ſpitefull dealing of the Portugals towards vs, which made them beleeue that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loued their ſafetie in no caſe to come neere vs. Which they did onely to cut vs off from all knowledge of the ſtate and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of Nouember vntil the middle of February in this harborough, which is ſufficient for a ſhip of 500 tuns to ride in, we ſet vpon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but becauſe it was very litle, & our men not able co ſtirre in it, we were not able to take the ſayd Pangaia, which was armed with 10 good ſhot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodneſſe of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreſhing with fiſh, whereof we tooke great ſtore with our nets, and for ſundry ſorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought vs by the Moores, as alſo for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be ſought for by ſuch of our ſhips, as ſhall hereafter paſſe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coaſt from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time aduantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9

oares

The Shoulds of S. Laurence.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The Ile of Comoro.

16 of our men betraied at the Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Iland.

A Portugall Factorie in Zanzibar.

The treaſon of the Portugals towards the Engliſh.

An excellent place for refreſhing.

A gallie Frigate.

oares on a ſide. Of the ſtrength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were aduertiſed by an Arabian Moore which came from the king of Zanzibar diuers times vnto vs about the deliuerie of the prieſt aforeſayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for whereſoeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands ſome one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and ſtates of thoſe partes where we touched. Moreouer, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did ſhake our foremaſt very much, which wee fiſht and repaired with timber from the ſhore, whereof there is good ſtore thereabout of a kind of trees ſome fortie foote high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I ſuppoſe, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the maſter to ſeeke oxen, fell ſicke and ſhortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin ſetled. Before our departure we had in this place ſome thouſand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincenſe, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it ſelfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 iarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Braſil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter vnto our captaine in the way of friendſhip, as he pretended, requeſting a iarre of wine, and a iarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpouder, which letter hee ſent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we ſent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs becauſe we vnderſtood he had bene in the Eaſt Indies and knew ſomewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were aduertiſed of a ſmall Barke of ſome thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Iunco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and ſeruice of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our ſhippe as we lay in this road, in the end we ſet forward for the coaſt of the Eaſt India, the 15 of February aforeſayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for ſuch ſhips as ſhould haue paſſed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coaſt of China, and the Iſle of Iapan, which ſhips are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our courſe we were very much deceiued by the currents that ſet into the gulfe of the Red ſea along the coaſt of Melinde. And the windes ſhortening vpon vs to the Northeaſt and Eaſterly, kept vs that we could not get off, and ſo with the putting in of the currents from the Weſtward, ſet vs in further vnto the Northward within foureſcore leagues of the Iſle of Zocotora, farre from our determined courſe and expectation. But here we neuer wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fiſhes. Now while we found our ſelues thus farre to the Northward, and the time being ſo farre ſpent, we determined to goe for the Red ſea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refreſh our ſelues, and alſo for ſome purchaſe. But while wee were in this conſultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northweſt and caried vs directly toward Cape Comori. Before we ſhould haue doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had aduertiſement, that one had victuals, ſtanding in the Northerly latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obſtinacie of our maſter: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southweſt, and then ſhifting our courſe we miſſed it. So the wind increaſing Southerly, we feared we ſhould not haue bene able to haue doubled the Cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our caſting away vpon the coaſt of India, the Winter ſeaſon and Weſterne Monſons already being come in, which Monſons continue on that coaſt vntil Auguſt. Neuertheles it pleaſed God to bring the wind more Weſterly, & ſo in the moneth of May 1592. we happily doubled Cape Comori without ſight of the coaſt of India. From hence thus hauing doubled this Cape, we directed our courſe for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Weſterne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori vnto the aforeſayd Ilands we ranne in ſixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and guſtes of windes. Theſe Ilands were miſſed through our maſters default for want of due obſeruation of the South ſtarre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the ſight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard vpon the great Iland of Sumatra the firſt of Iune, and at the Northeaſt ſide of them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to haue had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming vpon vs with much contagious weather, we directed our courſe from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Polo in the Malaian tongue ſignifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arriued about the beginning of Iune, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very ſicke and many fallen. Here we determined to ſtay vntill the

Another thunder-clap.

Heat in the head deadly.

Letting of blood very neceſſary.

A Iunco laden with pepper and drugs.

The currents ſet to the Northward.

Zocotora.

The Iles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Iles of Nicubar.

The Iles of Gomes Polo.

Sumatra.

The Iles of Pulo Pinaou.

Winter

Trees fit for maſtes.

Malacca.

Three ſhips of Pegu laden with pepper. Martabam.

Pera.

Winter were ouerpaſt. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and ſome fiue leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued vntill the end of Auguſt. Our refreſhing in this place was very ſmal, onely of oiſters growing on rocks, great wilks, and ſome few fiſh which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our ſicke men on theſe vninhabited Ilands for their health, neuertheleſſe 26 of them died in his place, whereof Iohn Hall our maſter was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honeſtie and much diſcretion. In theſe Ilands are abundance of trees of white wood, ſo right and tall, that a man may make maſtes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter paſſed and hauing watered our ſhip and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not paſt 22 were ſound for labour and helpe, and of them not paſt a third part ſailers: thence we made ſaile to ſeeke ſome place of refreſhing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in ſix fadomes water ſome two leagues from the ſhore. Then maſter Iames Lancaſter our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on ſhore to ſee what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of ſome barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we ſawe their fire ſtill burning, but people we ſawe none, nor any other liuing creature, ſaue a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of theſe we killed ſome eight dozen with haile-ſhot being very tame, and ſpending the day in ſearch, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we eſpied a Canoa which came neere vnto vs, but would not come aboord vs, hauing in it ſome ſixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promiſe of victuals. The next day in the morning we eſpied three ſhips, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to ſtrike with our very boate: and vnderſtanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Ieſuites and a Biſcuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ſhip & did not force the other two, becauſe they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all the men except twelue, which we tooke into our ſhip, being moſt of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ſhip and goods with vs. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which ſhee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Beſides the aforeſaid three ſhips, we tooke another ſhip of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee diſmiſſed her without touching any thing.

Pulo Sambilam.

A ſhip of Negapatan taken.

A ſhip of S. Thome.

The galeon of Malacca of 700 taken.

Thus hauing ſtaied here 10 daies and diſcharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our ſicke men being ſomewhat refreſhed and luſtie, with ſuch reliefe as we had found in this ſhip, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the ſtreights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam, which are ſome fiue and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals muſt needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Iapan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for ſuch ſhipping as ſhould come that way. Thus hauing ſpent ſome fiue dayes, vpon a Sunday wee eſpied a ſaile which was a Portugall ſhip that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India ouer-againſt the Northeaſt part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: ſhe was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaſter commanded their captaine and maſter aboord our ſhippe, and ſent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and ſeuen more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the ſame, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the ſhore you ſhall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ſhip of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by vs. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her ſailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, vntil we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our ſhippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the ſhippe of Sant Thome, but our ſhip was ſo foule that ſhee eſcaped vs. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntill the ſixt of October, at which time we met with the ſhip of the captaine of Malacca of ſeuen hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we ſhot at her many ſhot, and at laſt ſhooting her maine-yard through, ſhe came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Maſter, Pilot and Purſer to come aboord vs. But the Captaine accompanied with one ſouldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuſe to fetch the Maſter and Purſer, which he ſayd would not come vnleſſe he went for them: but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, gote a ſhore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ſhip. At our comming aboord we found in her ſixteene pieces of braſſe, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raiſin wine which is alſo very ſtrong: as alſo all kind of Haberdaſher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spaniſh wooll, worſted ſtockings knit, ſhooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlets, and ſilkes, abundance of ſuckets, rice, Venice glaſſes, certaine papers full of falſe and counterfeit ſtones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatſoeuer became of the treaſure which vſually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had diſorderly pilled this rich ſhippe, the Captaine becauſe they would not follow his commandement to vnlade thoſe excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her driue at Sea, taking out of her the choiſeſt things that ſhe had. And doubting the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Iunſalaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to ſeeke for pitch to trimme our ſhip. Here we ſent our ſouldier, which the captaine of the aforeſaid galion had left behind him with vs, becauſe he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs ſome two or three quintals with promiſe of more, and certaine of the people came vnto vs. We ſent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-grieſe, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abath is a beaſt which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Vnicorne, and is highly eſteemed of all the Moores in thoſe parts as a moſt ſoueraigne remedie againſt poyſon. We had onely two or three of theſe hornes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and ſome reaſonable quantitie of Amber-grieſe. At laſt the king went about to betray our Portugall without marchandiſe: but he to get aboord vs, told him that we had gilt armour, ſhirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly deſire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and ſo he eſcaped the danger. Thus we left this coaſt and went backe againe in ſight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arriued and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboord vs in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs roials of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which roials they finde by diuing for them in the Sea, which were loſt not long before in two Portugall ſhips which were bound for China and were caſt away there. They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantane Piſon, a Hen Iam, a Fiſh Iccan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of Nouember to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arriued there about the third of December 1592. and ankered vpon the Southſide in ſixe fadomes water, where we loſt our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the Southweſt part of the ſayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to haue remained vntill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of ſeuen or eight ſhips, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three ſailes, and the Portugall ſhippes of Tanaſeri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ſhips, by diuers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to ſerue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middeſt of Ianuarie. The commodities of the ſhippes which come from Bengala bee fine pauillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twiſe in the yeere. Thoſe of Pegu bring the chiefeſt ſtones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe fraight is Rice and certaine cloth. Thoſe of Tanaſeri are chiefly fraighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very ſtrong, and in colour like vnto rocke water ſomewhat whitiſh, and very hote in taſte like vnto Aqua vitæ. Being ſhot vp to the place aforeſayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and loſt the ſame, and lay all that night a drift, becauſe we had nowe but two ankers left vs, which were vnſtocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occaſion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very ſicke more like to die then to liue. In the morning wee ſet our foreſaile determining to lie vp to the Northward and there to keepe our ſelues to and againe out of the current, which otherwiſe would haue ſet vs off to the Southward from all knowen land. Thus hauing ſet our foreſayle, and in hand to ſet all our other ſayles to accompliſh our aforeſayd determination, our men made anſwere that they would take their direct courſe for England and would ſtay there no longer. Nowe ſeeing they could not bee perſwaded by any meanes poſſible, the captaine was conſtrained to giue his conſent to returne, leauing all hope of ſo great poſſibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee ſet ſayle for the Cape of Buona Speranſa, paſſing by the Ilands of Maldiua, and leauing the

mightie

Wares fit to cary into the Eaſt India.

The kingdom of Iunſalaom.

Amber-greeſe. The hornes of Abath. The female Vnicorne.

Some ſmall quantitie hereof may be caried to pleaſure thoſe kings.

They arriue at the Iſle of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

They returne homeward. They arriue at Zeilan.

Tanaſeri in the kingdom of Siam.

Commodities of Bengala.

Commodities of Pegu. Commodities of Tanaſeri.

A great current to the Southward.

A notable reliefe of fiſhes taken.

Baia de Agoa.

They double the Cape of Buona Speranſa.

S. Helena.

Iohn Segar an Engliſhman left 18 moneths alone in the Ile of ſanta Helena.

A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme ioy.

The deſcription of the commodities of the Ile of ſanta Helena.

The gulfe of Paria, or Bocca del Dragone paſſed.

A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

The Ile of Sauona enuironed with flats.

mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the ſtarreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our paſſage ouer from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great ſtore of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fiſh: of which our captain, being now recouered of his ſickneſſe, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would ſerue fortie perſons a whole day. And this ſkole of fiſh continued with our ſhip for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforeſayd, which was no ſmall refreſhing to vs. In February 1593. we fell with the Eaſtermoſt land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa ſome 100 leagues to the Northeaſt of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we ſpent a moneth or fiue weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March folowing, wee directed our courſe for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arriued there the third day of Aprill, where wee ſtaied to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane ſpace ſome one man of vs tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fiſhe and ſome Bonitos. After our arriuall at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on ſhore with foure or fiue Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an houſe by the Chappell I found an Engliſhman one Iohn Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refreſh him on the Iland, being otherwiſe like to haue periſhed on ſhipboord: and at our comming wee found him as freſh in colour and in as good plight of body to our ſeeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceiued: for whether he were put in fright of vs, not knowing at firſt what we were, whether friends or foes, or of ſudden ioy when he vnderſtood we were his olde conſorts and countreymen, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes ſpace neither night nor day tooke any naturall reſt, and ſo at length died for lacke of ſleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diſeaſed with the ſkuruie, and the other had bene nine moneths ſicke of the fluxe, in ſhort time while they were on the Iland, recouered their perfect health. We found in this place great ſtore of very holeſome and excellent good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners ſomewhat diſcontented being now watered and hauing ſome prouiſion of fiſh, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would ſtraight home. The capitaine becauſe he was deſirous to goe for Phernambuc in Braſil, granted their requeſt. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our courſe for the place aforeſayd. The next day our capitaine calling vpon the ſailers to finiſh a foreſaile which they had in hand, ſome of them anſwered that vnleſſe they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was conſtrained to follow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our courſe for our countrey, which we kept vntill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we ſpent ſome ſixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and ſomtimes to the Eaſtward, & ſomtimes to the Weſtward: which loſſe of time and expenſe of our victuals, whereof we had very ſmal ſtore, made vs doubt to keepe our courſe: and ſome of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake vp other mens cheſts, to the ouerthrow of our victuals and all our ſelues, for euery man had his ſhare of his victuals before in his owne cuſtody, that they might be ſure what to truſt to, and husband it more thriftily. Our capitaine ſeeking to preuent this miſchiefe, being aduertiſed by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada in M. Chidleis voyage, that there we ſhould be ſure to haue refreſhing, hereupon directed his courſe to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put paſt it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of Iune, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually ſetting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out vntil the current had put vs ouer to the Weſterſide vnder the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and ſo keeping by the ſhore, the wind off the ſhore euery night did helpe vs out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or fiue dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankred and rode ſome eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gaue vs ſome refreſhing. And in the meane ſpace there arriued a French ſhip of Cane in which was capitaine one Monſieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought ſome two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our ſhippe, and ſtopped a great leake which broke on vs as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And hauing thus made ready our ſhip to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before wee departed, there aroſe a ſtorme the winde being Northerly, which put vs from an anker and forced vs to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of ſhipwracke vpon an Iland called Sauona, which is enuironed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleaſed God to cleare vs of them, & ſo we directed our courſe Weſtward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled

Cape de Tiberon.

The old chanel paſſed.

They returne backe to the Weſt Indies.

Fiue Engliſh men left on the Nueblas.

The ſhip loſt by driuing away.

Great famine,

Two ſhips of Diepe,

Cape Tiberon, and paſſed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ſhip of Caen, whoſe Captaine could ſpare vs no more victuals, as he ſaid, but only hides which he had taken by traffike vpon thoſe Iſlands, wherewith we were content and gaue him for them to his good ſatiſfaction. After this, paſſing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our courſe for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the Eaſt as the Iſle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increaſing continually more and more, it grewe to be a ſtorme and a great frete of wind: which continued with vs ſome 24 houres, with ſuch extremitie, as it caried not onely our ſayles away being furled, but alſo made much water in our ſhippe, ſo that wee had ſixe foote water in holde, and hauing freed our ſhip thereof with baling, the winde ſhifted to the Northweſt and became dullerd: but preſently vpon it the extremitie of the ſtorme was ſuch that with the labouring of our ſhip we loſt our foremaſte, and our ſhip grewe as full of water as before. The ſtorme once ceaſed, and the winde contrary to goe our courſe, we fell to conſultation which might be our beſt way to ſaue our liues. Our victuals now being vtterly ſpent, & hauing eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it beſt to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Iſlands adioyning, knowing that there we might haue ſome reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the ſaid Iſlands. But before we could get thither the winde ſcanted vpon vs, which did greatly endanger vs for lacke of freſh water and victuals: ſo that we were conſtrained to beare vp to the Weſtward to certaine other Ilandes called the Nueblas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Iuan de porto Rico, where at our arriuall we found land-crabs and freſh water, and tortoyſes, which come moſt on lande about the full of the moone. Here hauing refreſhed our ſelues ſome 17 or 18 dayes, and hauing gotten ſome ſmall ſtore of victuals into our ſhip, we reſolued to returne againe for Mona: vpon which our determination fiue of our men left vs, remaining ſtill on the Iles of Nueblas for all perſwaſions that we could vſe to the contrary, which afterward came home in an Engliſh ſhippe. From theſe Iles we departed and arriued at Mona about the twentieth of Nouember 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieuetenant with ſome few others went on land to the houſes of the olde Indian and his three ſonnes, thinking to haue gotten ſome foode, our victuals being all ſpent, and we not able to proceede any further vntill we had obteyned ſome new ſupply. We ſpent two or three daies in ſeeking prouiſion to cary aboord to relieue the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the ſea ſomewhat growne, they could not come on ſhore with the boate, which was a thing of ſmall ſuccour and not able to rowe in any rough ſea, whereupon we ſtayed vntill the next morning, thinking to haue had leſſe winde and ſafer paſſage. But in the night about twelue of the clocke our ſhip did driue away with fiue men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter ſecretly cut their owne cable, leauing nineteene of vs on land without boate or any thing, to our great diſcomfort. In the middeſt of theſe miſeries repoſing our truſt in the goodneſſe of God, which many times before had ſuccoured vs in our greateſt extremities, we contented our ſelues with our poore eſtate, and ſought meanes to preſerue our liues. And becauſe one place was not able to ſuſtaine vs, we tooke our leaues one of another, diuiding our ſelues into ſeuerall companies. The greateſt reliefe that we ſixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the ſpace of nine and twentie dayes was the ſtalkes of purcelaine boyled in water, and now and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who vpon this our ſecond arriuall with his three ſonnes ſtole from vs, and kept himſelfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we eſpied a French ſhippe, which afterwards we vnderſtood to be of Diepe, called the Luiſa, whoſe Captaine was one Mounſieur Felix, vnto whom wee made a fire, at ſight whereof he tooke in his topſayles, bare in with the land, and ſhewed vs his flagge, whereby we iudged him French: ſo comming along to the Weſterne ende of the Iſland there he ankered, we making downe with all ſpeede vnto him. At this time the Indian and his three ſonnes came downe to our Captaine Maſter Iames Lancaſter, and went along with him to the ſhippe. This night he went aboord the French man, who gaue him good entertainment, and the next day fetched eleuen more of vs aboord entreating vs all very courteouſly. This day came another French ſhippe of the ſame towne of Diepe, which remayned there vntill night expecting our other ſeuen mens comming downe: who, albeit we cauſed certaine pieces of ordinance to be ſhot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being deuided ſixe into one ſhip, and ſixe into another, and leauing this Iſland, departed for the Northſide of Saint Domingo, where we remained vntill Aprill following 1594, and ſpent ſome two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permiſſion for hides

The French traffike in S. Domingo.

and other marchandiſes of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a ſhippe of New-hauen to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our ſeuen men which wee left behinde vs at the Iſle of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes, other three were ſlaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge giuen by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-hauen had with him in his ſhippe, which eſcaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaſter and his Lieutenant Maſter Edmund Barker, ſhipped themſelues in another ſhippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one Iohn La Noe, which was readie firſt to come away, and leauing the reſt of their companie in other ſhips, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on ſunday the ſeuenth of Aprill 1594 they ſet homewarde, and diſbocking through the Caijcos from thence arriued ſafely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had ſtayed two dayes to refreſh our ſelues, and giuen humble thankes vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we tooke paſſage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, hauing ſpent in this voyage three yeeres, ſixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefely becauſe wee loſt our fit time and ſeaſon to ſet foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

M. Lancaſter returneth to Diepe, and ſo to England.

We vnderſtood in the Eaſt Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they haue lately diſcouered the coaſt of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the ſea ſtill open to the Northward: giuing great hope of the Northeaſt or Northweſt paſſage. Witneſſe Maſter Iames Lancaſter.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to *Braſill*, and the Riuer af *Plate*, by the *Edward Cotton*, a ſhip of 260 Tunnes of Maſter *Edward Cotton* of *Southhampton*, which periſhed through extreme negligence neare *Rio grande* in *Guinie*, the 17 of Iuly 1583.

ARticles of Couenants agreed vpon betweene Edward Cotton Eſquier, owner of the good ſhip called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the ſaid ſhip, Iohn Hooper his Lieutenant, Iohn Foſter Maſter, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheeſman marchant, on the other part.

1 TO obſerue and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ſhip, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the leaſt once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the firſt faire winde, to ſet ſaile and ſailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly conſtrained by weather, or other apparant and vrgent cauſe.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Iſles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of ſalt, to be imployed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the reſt of the ſalt, ſo much as ſhall be needed for victuall, and for ſauing of the hides to be kept aboord, & the ſame ſalt to be prouided either at the fiſhermens hands neere the ſaid Iſles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforeſaid Iſles, at the diſcretion of the abouenamed.

4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himſelfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any ſuch of the companie, as ſhall refuſe their ſhares before they depart from the coaſt of England, 20 markes a ſingle ſhare, for the dutie of the whole voiage, making not aboue 75. ſhares ſingle in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the ſaid ſhip aboue named, ſhall at all times be moſt ready to doe their painfull indeuour, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their ſhares and wages, the ſame to be diuided amongſt the company.

6 Item, that the ſhares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the ſeales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the ſalt that ſhall be vented and other commodities, at, or neere the coaſt of Braſill, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man ſhall practiſe by any deuiſe or deuiſes whatſoeuer, to alter the voiage from the true purpoſe and intent of the owner, viz. to make their firſt port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to reuictuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of Plate to make their

voyage by the traine, and hide of the ſeales, with ſuch other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the ſaid ſhip, are bound to her highneſſe by their deedes obligatorie in great ſummes, that all ſuch practiſers, vpon due proofe made, ſhall looſe their whole intertainement due by ſhares or otherwiſe for this ſayde voyage to be adiudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Maſter, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at the leaſt, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinneſſe be ready at al times to ſerue the marchants turne vpon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the ſhore, when, and as oft as neede ſhall be, and to giue due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being ſet downe for ſuch an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to ſea of the ſaid ſhippe, ſhall or may be diſplaced from his ſaid place or office, without great cauſe, and his miſdemeanor to be adiudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Maſter, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the conſent of three of them at the leaſt.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the ſhippe to the coaſt of England, the Maiſter and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Weſtward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or ſuch like vrgent cauſe.

William Huddie. John Foſter.
Iohn Hooper. William Cheeſman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ſhip, as eſpecially for *William Cheeſman* Marchant, for the voyage to the riuer of *Plate*.

The Iſle of S. Sebaſtian.

At your comming to the Iſle of Saint Sebaſtian, vpon the coaſt of Braſill, you ſhall according to your diſcretions, make ſale of ſuch commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewiſe to buy commodities without making longer ſtay there then your victuals be prouiding, but rather to beſpeake commodities againſt your returne from the riuer of Plate, eſpecially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and ſome quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Alſo for Parats and Munkies, and the beaſt called Serraboſa. Alſo you ſhall barrell vp of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to loſe no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preſerue vſe, in ſuch quantitie as conueniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preſeruing of the hides, I leaue it wholly to the order and the diſcretion of the chiefe of the companie. Alſo that in any road where the ſhip ſhall ride vpon the coaſt of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oiſters, and the ſame being taken, to be opened and ſearched for pearle in the preſence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Maſter, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the cuſtodie of the Captaine and marchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered alſo to the Maſter and Pilot of the ſaid pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the ſaid voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any ſuch thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to loſe his ſhare and dutie for the voyage that ſhall ſo conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Alſo to doe your beſt indeuour to try for the beſt Ore of golde, ſiluer, or other rich mettals whatſoeuer. Forget not alſo to bring the kernels and ſeeds of ſtrange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit incloſed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and ſtand allwayes vpon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ſhip of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all ſortes furniſhed, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to ſet ſaile from Hurſt Caſtle vpon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July enſuing fell with the coaſt of Guinie, to take in freſh water, where, through meere diſſolute negligence, ſhe periſhed vpon a ſand, with the moſt part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confeſſion of one that eſcaped, the ſubſtance and tenor whereof is this.

The confeſſion of *VVilliam Bends* Maſters Mate in the *Edward Cotton*, the 21 of October, *Ann.* 1584.

HE ſayth, that the 17 day of Iuly, Anno 1583. hauing ſome lacke of freſh water, they put roome vpon the coaſt of Guinie, where they were ſet vpon a ſand about 8 leagues from the ſhore, and this Examinate, with 29 more, got into the pinneſſe, who arriued in an Iſland, being deſolate of people, and fiue miles in compaſſe, where they reſted 18 dayes through force of weather, hauing nought to eate but graſſe. The reſt of the company the ſhip being ſplitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came alſo a ſhore into another Iſland neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he ſuppoſeth.

Rio grande.

The other 30 in the pinneſſe; at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Iſland, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on ſhore, they were taken of the Moores, & ſtripped naked, And they buried one Coxe an olde man aliue, notwithſtanding his pitifull lamentation and ſkrikings: the reſt hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This Examinate was at laſt ſold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the ſpace of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Carauel comming thither, his maſter laded the ſame with Negroes, and he obtained leaue of his maſter to goe in the ſame Carauell, & by that meanes arriued at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leauing behinde him of his companie aliue, Richard Hacker, Iohn Baker, Iohn Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he ſaith, were ſo ſicke and diſeaſed, that he iudgeth them to be long before this time dead.

One Coxe an old Engliſh man buried aliue by the Moores of Rio grãde in Guinea.

The eſcape of the *Primroſe* a tall ſhip of *London*, from before the towne of *Bilbao* in *Biſcay*: which ſhip the Corrigidor of the ſame Prouince, accompanied with 97 *Spaniards*, offered violently to arreſt, and was defeated of his purpoſe, and brought priſoner into *England*.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commiſſion for a generall imbargment or arreſt of all Engliſh, Netherlandiſh, and Eaſterlings ſhips, written in *Barcelona* the 19 of May 1585.

IT is not vnknowen vnto the world what danger our Engliſh ſhippes haue lately eſcaped, how ſharpely they haue beene intreated, and howe hardly they haue beene aſſaulted: ſo that the valiancie of thoſe that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in reſpect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterpriſe of the ſhip called the Primroſe of London, which hath obteined renowne, I haue taken in hande to publiſh the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips, that by the good example of this the reſt may in time of extremitie aduenture to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themſelues: The maner whereof was as followeth.

VPon Wedneſday being the ſixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the ſhippe called the Primroſe being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, hauing beene there two dayes, there came a Spaniſh pinneſſe to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and ſixe others with him: theſe came aboord the Primroſe, ſeeming to be Marchantes of Biſcay, or ſuch like, bringing Cherries with them, and ſpake very friendly to the Maiſter of the ſhip, whoſe name was Foſter, and he in courteous wiſe bad them welcome, making them the beſt cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and biſket, wherewith that ſhip was well furniſhed: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maiſter, foure of the ſeuen departed in the ſayd Pinneſſe, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three ſtayed, and were very pleaſant for the time. But Maſter Foſter miſdoubting ſome danger ſecretly gaue ſpeech that he was doubtfull of theſe men what their intent was; neuertheleſſe he ſayd nothing, nor ſeemed in any outward wiſe to miſtruſt them at all. Forthwith there came a ſhip-boate wherein were ſeuentie perſons being Marchants and ſuch like of Biſcay: and beſides this boate, there came alſo the Pinneſſe which before had brought the other three, in which Pinneſſe there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themſelues ſince confeſſed, Theſe made towards the Primroſe, and being come thither, there came aboord the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Maſter Foſter ſeeing this great multitude deſired that there might no more come aboord, but that the reſt ſhould ſtay in their boates, which was granted: neuertheleſſe they tooke ſmall heede of theſe wordes; for on a ſuddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the ſhippe, euery Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph ouer them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the ſhippe, plunging in fiercely vpon them, ſome planting themſelues vnder the decke, ſome entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor hauing an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, ſayd to the maſter of the ſhip: Yeeld your ſelfe, for you are the kings priſoner: whereat the Maiſter ſayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then ſome of them ſet daggers to his breaſt, and ſeemed in furious manner as though they would haue ſlaine him, meaning nothing leſſe then to doe any ſuch act, for all that they ſought was to bring him and his men ſafe aliue to ſhore. Whereat the Maiſter was amazed, and his men greatly diſcomfited to ſee themſelues readie to be conueyed euen to the ſlaughter: notwithſtanding ſome of them reſpecting the daunger of the Maiſter, and ſeeing how with themſelues there was no way but preſent death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they reſolued themſelues eyther to defend the Maiſter, and generally to ſhunne that daunger, or elſe to die and be buried in the middeſt of the ſea, rather then to ſuffer themſelues to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly ſort ſome tooke them to their iauelings, lances, bore-ſpeares, and ſhot, which they had ſet in readineſſe before, and hauing fiue Caliuers readie charged, which was all the ſmall ſhot they had, thoſe that were vnder the hatches or the grate did ſhoote vp at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which ſhot ſo amazed the Spaniards on the ſuddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to eſcape the daunger, fearing this their ſmall ſhot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike ſort dealt about among them, ſhewing themſelues of that courage with bore-ſpeares and lances, that they diſmayed at euery ſtroke two or three Spaniards. Then ſome of them deſired the Maiſter to commaund his men to ceaſe and holde their handes, but hee anſwered that ſuch was the courage of the Engliſh Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would ſlay them and him alſo: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ſhip in great quantitie, ſome of them being ſhot in betweene the legges, the bullets iſſuing foorth at their breaſts, ſome cut in the head, ſome thruſt into the bodie, and many of them very ſore wounded, ſo that they came not ſo faſt in on the one ſide, but now they tumbled as faſt ouer boord on both ſides with their weapons in their handes, ſome falling into the ſea, and ſome getting into their boates, making haſte towardes the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a ſmall companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were ſlaine or drowned, onely one Engliſh man was then ſlaine, whoſe name was Iohn Triſtram, and ſixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay ſwimming in the ſea, and were not able to ſaue their liues. Foure of them taking holde of the ſhippe were for pities ſake taken vp againe by Maiſter Foſter and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards boſomes were ſtuft with paper, to defend them from the ſhot, and theſe foure hauing ſome wounds were dreſt by the ſurgion of the ſhippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himſelfe, who is gouernour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his liuing by his office being better then ſixe hundred pound yeerely. This ſkirmiſh happened in the euening about ſixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the ſayd ſhip: which goods were deliuered by two of the ſame ſhip, whoſe names were Iohn Burrell, and Iohn Brodbanke, who being on ſhore were apprehended and ſtayed.

After this valiant enterpriſe of eight and twentie Engliſh men againſt 97 Spaniardes, they ſaw it was in vaine for them to ſtay and therefore ſet vp ſayles, and by Gods prouidence auoyded all danger, brought home the reſt of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arriued ſafely in England neere London on Wedneſday being the 8 day of Iune, 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered fiue hundred crownes to be ſet on ſhore in any place: which, ſeeing the Maiſter would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craued mercie at their hands. And after Maſter Foſter demaunded why they came in ſuch ſort to betray and deſtroy them, the Corrigidor anſwered, that it was not done onely of themſelues, but by the commandement of the king himſelfe; and calling for his hoſe which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings Commiſſion, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being tranſlated out of Spaniſh.

The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.

The Spaniſh kings commiſsion for the generall imbargment or arreſt of the Engliſh, &c.

Licentiat de Eſcober, my Corigidor of my Signorie of *Biskay*, I haue cauſed a great fleete to be put in readineſſe in the hauen of *Lisbone*, and the riuer of *Siuill.* There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee imployed in the ſame great ſtore of ſhipping of all ſortes againſt the time of ſeruice, and to the end there may be choiſe made of the beſt, vpon knowledge of their burden and goodneſſe; I doe therefore require you, that preſently vpon the arriuall of this carrier, and with as much diſſimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen vntill it be put in execution) you take order for the ſtaying and arreſting (with great foreſight) of all the ſhipping that may be found vpon the coaſt, and in the portes of the ſayd Signorie, excepting none of *Holand*, *Zeland*, *Eaſterland*, *Germanie*, *England*, and other Prouinces that are in rebellion againſt mee, ſauing thoſe of *France* which being litle, and of ſmall burden and weake, are thought vnfit to ſerue the turne. And the ſtay being thus made, you ſhall haue a ſpeciall care that ſuch marchandize as the ſayd ſhippes or hulkes haue brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, ſayles, and victuals may be ſafely beſtowed, as alſo that it may be well foreſeene, that none of the ſhippes or men may eſcape away. Which things being thus executed, you ſhall aduertiſe me by an expreſſe meſſenger, of your proceeding therein: And ſend me a plaine and diſtinct declaration of the number of ſhips that you ſhall haue ſo ſtayed in that coaſt and partes, whence euery one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in euery of them, and what quantitie they haue of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other neceſſaries, to the end that vpon ſight hereof, hauing made choiſe of ſuch as ſhall be fit for the ſeruice, we may further direct you what ye ſhall do. In the meane time you ſhall preſently ſee this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ſhips, you ſhall alſo cauſe them to be ſtayed and arreſted after the ſame order, vſing therein ſuch care and diligence, as may anſwere the truſt that I repoſe in you, wherein you ſhall doe me great ſeruice. Dated at *Barcelona* the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus haue you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maiſter, and the louing hearts of the ſeruants to ſaue their maſter from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the maſter had to ſaue ſo much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the ſame the greateſt is his owne loſſe in that he may neuer trauell to thoſe parts any more without the loſſe of his owne life, nor yet any of his ſeruantes: for if hereafter they ſhould, being knowen they are like to taſte of the ſharpe torments which are there accuſtomed in their Holy-houſe. And as for their terming Engliſh ſhippes to be in rebellion againſt them, it is ſufficiently knowen by themſelues, and their owne conſciences can not denie it, but that with loue, vnitie, and concord, our ſhippes haue euer beene fauourable vnto them, and as willing to pleaſure their King, as his ſubiectes any way willing to pleaſure Engliſh paſſengers.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maieſtie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of *London*, for a trade to *Barbarie*, in the yeere 1585.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treaſurer & Barons of our Eſchequer, and to al Maiors, ſhirifs, conſtables, cuſtomers, collectors of our cuſtomes and ſubſidies, controllers, ſearchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, ports and paſſages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the ſame, and to al our officers, miniſters and ſubiects, and to all other whoſoeuer to whom it ſhall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right truſtie and right welbeloued councellors, Ambroſe Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leiceſter, and alſo our louing and naturall ſubiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his ſonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter

Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Waſhborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Paiton, Iohn Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Daſſell, Auguſtine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, vnder the gouernment of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Marocco, and king of Feſſe and Sus, haue ſuſtained great and grieuous loſſes, and are like to ſuſtaine greater if it ſhould not be preuented: In tender cōſideration whereof, and for that diuers Marchandize of the ſame Countries are very neceſſary and conuenient for the vſe and defence of this our Realme of England, and for diuers other cauſes vs ſpecially mouing, minding the reliefe and benefite of our ſaid ſubiects, and the quiet trafique and good gouernment to be had, and vſed among them in their ſaid trade, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and grant vnto the ſaide Earles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Waſhborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Payton, Iohn Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Daſſell, Auguſtine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and euery of them by themſelues, or by their factors or ſeruants, and none others, ſhall and may, for, and during the ſpace of 12. yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedome and libertie in the ſaide trafique or trade, vnto or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and ſelling of all maner of wares and marchandizes whatſoeuer, that now or accuſtomably heretofore haue bene brought or tranſported, frō, or to the ſaid country of Barbary, or frō or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, hauens, harbors or creeks of the ſaid country of Barbary, any law, ſtatute, graunt, matter, cuſtomes or priuileges, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And for the better eſtabliſhing, ordering and gouerning of the ſaid Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, &c. abouesaid, their factors, ſeruants and aſſignes in the trade aforeſaid, we for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe by theſe preſents giue and graunt full licence to the ſaide Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the reſt aforeſaide, and to euery of them from time to time, during the ſaid terme of twelue yeres, at their pleaſures to aſſemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or elſewhere, to conſult of, and for the ſaid trade, and with the conſent of the ſaid Erle of Leiceſter, to make and eſtabliſh good and neceſſary orders and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame, and al ſuch orders and ordinances ſo made, to put in vre and execute, and them or any of them with the conſent of the ſaid Erle of Leiceſter, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the ſaide terme, they or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall finde conuenient.

Prouided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, ſtatutes or cuſtomes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the ſaid libertie of trafique is graunted by theſe our Letters patents, and none other our Subiects whatſoeuer, without their ſpecial conſent and licence before had, ſhould during the ſaid terme haue trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the ſaid countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our ſaid Realmes and dominions, wee doe by theſe preſents ſtraightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatſoeuer, other then only the ſaid Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, and the reſt abouesaid, and euery of them by themſelues, or by their Factors or ſeruants during the ſaide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the ſaide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the ſame, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the ſaide terme, ſhall trade or trafique to or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the ſame, contrary to this our priuilege and prohibition, vnleſſe it be by and with the expreſſe licence, conſent, and agreement of the ſaide Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his ſonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Straper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farington,

rington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Waſhborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expreſſe licence and conſent of the more part of them then liuing and trading, firſt had and obtained, ſo alwayes, that the ſayd Earle of Leiceſter be one, if hee bee liuing.

And we further for vs our heires and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the ſaid Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, and the reſt aboueſaid, and to euery of them, that nothing ſhall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the ſaid trade or trafique, or the exerciſe thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſaide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of theſe our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforeſaid.

And for that the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforeſaid ſhould not be preuented or interrupted in this their ſaid trade, we do by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſtraightly prohibite and forbid all maner of perſon or perſons, as well ſtrangers of what nation or countrey ſoeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as aforeſaid, that they nor any of them from henceforth during the ſaid terme of 12. yeeres, do or ſhall bring, or cauſe to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatſoeuer growing, or being made within the ſaid Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, vnleſſe it be by and with the licence, conſent and agreement of the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the conſent and licence of the more part of them then liuing, firſt had and obtained, ſo alwayes yͤ the ſayd Erle of Leiceſter (if hee be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that ſhall offend or doe againſt this our preſent prohibition here laſt aboue mentioned in theſe preſents, ſhall forfeite and loſe all and ſingular the ſaid marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, cõtrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and euery which ſaid forfaitures whatſoeuer mentioned or ſpecified in theſe our preſent Letters patents, ſhalbe to vs our heires & ſucceſſors: And the other moity of al and euery the ſaid forfaitures, we doe by theſe preſents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearely and wholy for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt vnto the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And theſe our Letters patents, vpon the onely ſight thereof, without any further warrant, ſhal bee ſufficient authoritie to our Treaſurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that ſhall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or aſſignes of the one moitie of all and ſingular the goods, marchandizes and things whatſoeuer mentioned in theſe our preſent Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the ſaid terme of twelue yeres: which ſaid allowance we doe ſtraightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the ſayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatſoeuer, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleaſure. And wee doe ſtraightly charge and commaund, and by theſe preſents prohibite all and ſingular Cuſtomers and Collectors of our cuſtomes & ſubſidies, and comptrollers of the ſame, of, and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cauſe, or ſuffer to be taken, receiued, or perceiued for vs & in our name, or to our vſe, or to yͤ vſes of our heires or ſucceſſors of any perſon or perſons, any ſum or ſummes of money, or other things whatſoeuer during the ſaid terme of 12. yeres, for, and in the name & liew or place of any cuſtome, ſubſidy & other thing or duties to vs, our heires or ſucceſſors due or to be due for the cuſtomes & ſubſidies of any marchandizes whatſoeuer growing, being made or cõming out of the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cauſe, nor ſuffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of cuſtoms & ſubſidies, nor make any agreement for the ſubſidies and cuſtoms, of, and for any the ſaid marchants, ſauing onely with, & in the name of the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the moſt part of them, as they and euery of them will anſwere at their vttermoſt perils to the contrary. And for the better and more ſure obſeruation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for vs our heires & ſucceſſors by theſe preſents, that the Treaſurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the ſaid court, at al & euery time & times during the ſaid terme of 12. yeres, at & vpon requeſt made vnto them by the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the atturneis, factors, deputies or aſſignes of them, or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall and may make & direct vnder the ſeale of the ſaid Exchequer, one or moe ſufficient writ or writs, cloſe or patents, vnto euery or any of our ſaid cuſtomers, collectors or cõtrollers of our heires and ſucceſſors in all and euery, or to any port or ports, creeke, hauen, or other places within this our realme of England, as the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the atturneis, factors, deputies or aſſignes of them or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading; ſhall at any time require, commaunding and ſtraightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the ſaid terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatſoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any cuſtome, ſubſidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the ſame, other then with or in the name of the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or aſſignes of them or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our ſaide will and pleaſure before in theſe preſents declared. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 5. day of Iuly in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambaſſage of Maſter *Henry Roberts*, one of the ſworne Eſquires of her Maieſties perſon, from her highneſſe to *Mully Hamet* Emperour of *Marocco* and the King of *Feſſe*, and *Sus*, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the ſpace of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himſelfe.

VPon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants reſident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Maieſties ſworne Eſquires of her perſon, was appointed her highneſſe meſſenger, and Agent vnto the aforeſaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Feſſe and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commiſſion, inſtructions, and her Maieſties letters, I departed from London the 14. of Auguſt in the yeere 1585. in a tall ſhip called the Aſcenſion, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arriued in ſafetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefeſt houſe of the towne, from whence I diſpatched a meſſenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to aduertiſe the Emperour of my arriuall: who immediatly gaue order, and ſent certaine ſouldiers for my guard and conduct, and horſes for my ſelfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Salcot, and other Engliſh Marchants reſident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the riuer of Tenſiſt, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water ſide I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I met with all the Engliſh Marchants by themſelues, and the French and Flemiſh, and diuers other Chriſtians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & ſpent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all ſet forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arriued the ſaid day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire houſe in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the faireſt place, and quieteſt lodging in all the Citie.

After I had repoſed my ſelfe 3. dayes, I had acceſſe to the kings preſence, deliuered my meſſage and her Maieſties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which ſpace I abode there in his Court, as her Maieſties Agent and Ligier: and whenſoeuer I had occaſion of buſineſſe I was admitted either to his Maieſtie himſelfe, or to his vice Roy, whoſe name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wiſe and diſcreet perſon, and the chiefeſt about his Maieſtie. The particulers of my ſeruice, for diuers good and reaſonable cauſes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obtained, and an honourable reward beſtowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of Auguſt 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promiſed mee I ſhould ſtay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon ſome occaſion I was ſtayed vntil the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. ſhot attending vpon me for my guard and ſafetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things neceſſary to the port of Santa Cruz, being ſixe dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our ſhippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the ſame moneth. In this port I ſtayed 43. dayes, and at length the ſecond of Nouember I embarqued my ſelfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour ſent with mee vpon an Ambaſſage to her Maieſtie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, yet New-yeres day I came on land at S. Iues in Cornwall, from whence paſſing by land both together vp towards London, we were met without the citie with the chiefeſt marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horſebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horſe, and ſo the Ambaſſadour and my ſelfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of Ianuary 1589.

Eſte es vn traſlado bien y fielmente ſacado da vna carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es eſte, que Segue.

Con el nombre de Dios piadoſo y miſericordioſo, &c. El ſieruo de Dios ſoberano, el conquiſtador per ſu cauſa, el ſucceſſor enſalçado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Iariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue ſu honra, y enſalçe ſu eſtado. Se pone eſte nueſtro real mandado en manos de los criados de nueſtras altas puertas los mercadores Yngleſes; para que por el ſepan todos los que la preſente vieren, come nueſtro alto Conſeio les anpara con el fauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaie, que fueren, ninguno les captiuarà en eſtos nueſtros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos perteneſcen: y que les cubre el anparo de nueſtro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun les impida con mano de enemiſtad, ni ſe darà cauſa, de que ſe agrauien en qualquiera manera con el fauor de Dios y de ſu amparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nueſtros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en eſtos nueſtros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que ſean offendidos en ninguna manera; y eſto ſerà neceſſariamente: Que es eſcrita en los medios dias de Rabel, ſegundo anno de nueue çientos, y nouenta y ſeys.

Concorda el dia d'eſta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y ſiete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per ſu Mageſtad iaquè, y romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el ſe contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho vt ſupra. *Abdel Rahman el Çatan.*

This is a copy well and truely tranſlated of an edict of *Muley Hamet* king of *Fez* and Emperour of *Marocco*, whoſe tenor is as followeth: to wit, That no Engliſhmen ſhould be moleſted or made ſlaues in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforeſaid *M. Henry Roberts.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The ſeruant of the ſupreme God, the conqueror in his cauſe, the ſucceſſor aduanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the ſonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Iariffe, the Haçeny, whoſe honour God long increaſe and aduance his eſtate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the Engliſh marchants, which remaine in the protection of our ſtately palaces: to the ende that all men which ſhall ſee this preſent writing, may vnderſtand that our princely counſaile wil defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what ſort ſoeuer they ſhalbe wronged: and that, which way ſoeuer they ſhall trauaile, no man ſhall take them captiues in theſe our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong vnto vs, which alſo may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any moleſtation whatſoeuer: and that no man ſhall hinder them by laying violent hand vpon them, and ſhall not giue occaſion that they may be grieued in any ſort by the fauour and aſſiſtance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our hauens and fortreſſes, and all ſuch as beare any authoritie in theſe our dominions, and likewiſe all the common people, that in no wiſe they do moleſt them, in ſuch ſort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement ſhall remaine inuiolable, being regiſtred in the middeſt of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I *Abdel Rahman el Catan*, interpretour for his Maieſtie, haue tranſlated and turned out of the *Arabian* into *Spaniſh* word for word as is conteined therein: and in witneſſe thereof haue ſubſcribed my name as aforeſaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoſo piadador.

Oràcion de Dios ſobre nueſtro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Muly Hamet to the Erle of Leiceſter.

El ſieruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y enſalſado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Myra Momanyn, el Iarif, el Hazeny, que Dios ſuſtenga ſus reynos, y enhalſe ſus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illuſtre, muy eſtimado, el Conde de Leyceſter, deſpues de dar las loores deuidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y ſaludes de-

nidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Seruirà eſta por os hazer ſaber que llegò a qui à nueſtrà real Corte vueſtra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella ſe contiene. Y vueſtrò Ambaxador, que aqui eſtà en nueſtra corte me dio à entender la cauſa de la tardança de los rehenes haſta agora: el qual deſcuento reçebimos, y nos damos por ſatisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos eſcriueys por cauſa de Iuan Herman, y lo meſmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador ſobre el, antes que llegaſſe vueſtra carta por la quexa del ambaxador, que ſe auia quexado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y aſſi queda aora preſo, y quedera, haſta que ſe le haga la iuſticia que mas ſe le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nueſtro Sennor os tenga en ſu guardia. Hecha en nueſtra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios ſoſtenga, el 28 dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The bleſſing of God light vpon our lord and prophet Mahumet, and thoſe that are obedient vnto him.

The ſeruant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the ſon of Myra Momanyn, the Iariff, the Hazeni, whoſe kingdoms God maintaine and aduance his authoritie: Vnto the right famous, right noble, & right highly eſteemed Erle of Leiceſter, after due praiſes giuen vnto God, & due bleſſings and ſalutations rendred vnto the prophet Mahumet. Theſe are to giue you to vnderſtand, that your letters arriued here in our royal Court, and we wel perceiue the contents thereof. And your Ambaſſador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cauſe of the ſlowneſſe of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our ſelues as ſatiſfied. And as touching the matter whereof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, and the ſelfe ſame complaint which your Ambaſſador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken vpon the complaint which your Ambaſſadour had made of him, whereupon he ſtil remaineth in hold, and ſhal ſo continue vntil further iuſtice be done vpon him according to his deſert. And ſo our Lord keepe you in his ſafegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno | *996.*

Which is with vs 1587.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

MVy alto, y muy poderoſo Sennor,

Auiendo entendido de parte de nueſtro Agente la mucha aficion, y voluntad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y fauor le hazeys por amor nueſtro, para dar nos tanto mayor teſtimonio de vueſtra amiſtad, hemos recebido de lo vno y de lo otro muy grande contento, y ſatisfacion: y aſſy no podemos dexar de agradeſceroſlo, como mereceys. Vueſtras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadomos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nueſtro Agente nos ha eſcripto ſobre ciertas coſas, que deſſeays ſer os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente cōplazer, como pidis, ha ſuccedido, que las guerras, en que ſtamos al preſente occupadas, no nos lo conſienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que ſe os ſatisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la neceſſitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declararà nueſtro Agente: eſperando, que lo reciberreys en buena parte y cōforme al animo, con que os lo cōcedemos. Y porque nos ha ſido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder cōtra vn Iuan Herman vaſſallo nueſtro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nueſtro dicho Agente de deziros mas particularmente lo que deſſeamos ſer hecho acerca deſte negocio, y rogandoos, que lo mandeys aſſi complir: y que ſeays ſeruido de fauoreſcer ſiempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como haſta agora aueys hecho, ſin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer acerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, yy dudar, que no compliamos muy por entero todo, lo que de nueſtra parte os prometiere. Nueſtro Sennor guarde voſtra muy alta y muy poderoſa perſona. Hecha en nueſtra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Iulio 1587.

The ſame in Engliſh.

RIght high and mightie Prince, Hauing vnderſtood from our Agent the great affection and good will which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you ſhew him for our ſake, to the end to giue vs more ample teſtimonie of your friendſhip, we haue receiued very great contentment & ſatiſfaction, aſwel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your deſert. We haue alſo receiued your letters, and do not a litle reioyce thereof, becauſe they come from a prince vnto whom we are ſo much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you deſire to bee ſent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wiſh that we could particularly ſatiſfie you, as you deſire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherein at this preſent we be buſied, wil not ſuffer vs fully to doe the ſame: neuertheleſſe, wee haue commaunded to ſatiſfie you in part, and according as the preſent neceſſitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you more particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the ſame. And becauſe it hath bene ſignified vnto vs that you haue promiſed to proceed in iuſtice againſt one Iohn Herman our ſubiect, which hath grieuouſly offended vs, in ſuch ſort as wee haue ſent word vnto you, wee haue giuen order to our ſaid Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we deſire to be done in this buſines, praying you alſo to command the ſame to be put in execution: and that it would pleaſe you alwayes to fauour our ſaid Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not ſuffering your ſelfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the falſe reports which they may raiſe againſt him, nor to doubt that wee will not accompliſh at large all that he ſhall promiſe you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preſerue your right high and mightie perſon. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of Iuly 1587.

Iohn Herman an Engliſh rebel.

A voyage to the *Azores* with two pinaſes, the one called the *Serpent*, and the other the *Mary Sparke* of *Plimouth*, both of them belonging to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, written by *Iohn Eueſham* Gentleman, wherein were taken the gouernour of the Iſle of *Saint Michael*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* gouernour of the Straits of *Magalanes*, in the yeere 1586.

The 10. of Iune 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinaſes, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to ſir Walter Ralegh knight; and directing our courſe towards the coaſt of Spaine, & from thence towards the Iſles of the Azores, we tooke a ſmall barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the gouernour of S. Michaels Iſland, being a Portugal, hauing other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we ſailed to the Iſland of Gracioſa, to the Weſtward of the Iſland of Terceera, where we deſcried a ſaile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the firſt not greatly reſpecting whō we tooke, ſo that we might haue enriched our ſelues, which was the cauſe of this our trauaile, and for that we would not bee knowen of what nation we were, wee diſplayed a white ſilke enſigne in our maine toppe, which they ſeeing, made accompt that we had bene ſome of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for Engliſh men of war: but when we came within ſhot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and ſpread abroad the Croſſe of S. George, which when they ſaw, it made them to flie as faſt as they might, but all their haſte was in vaine, for our ſhippes were ſwifter of ſaile then they, which they fearing, did preſently caſt their ordinance and ſmall ſhot with many letters, and the draft of the Sraights of Magelan into the Sea, and thereupon immediatly we tooke her, wherein wee alſo tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, gouernour of the Straights of Magelan, which ſaide Pedro we brought into England with vs, and preſented him to our ſoueraigne Lady the Queene.

The gouernor of S. Michael taken priſoner.

Pedro Sarmiento the gouernour of the Straights of Magelan taken priſoner.

After this, lying off and about the Iſlands, wee deſcried another ſaile, and bearing after her, we ſpent the maine maſte of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fiſh from Cape Blanke, the which ſhippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we deſcried two other ſailes, the one a ſhippe and the other a Carauel, to whom we gaue chaſe, which they ſeeing, with all ſpeede made in vnder the Iſle of Gracioſa, to a certaine Fort there for their ſuccour, where they came to an anker, and hauing the winde of vs we could not hurt them with our ſhips, but we hauing a ſmall boate, which we called a light horſeman, wherein my ſelfe was, being a Muſqueter, and foure more with Caliuers, and foure that rowed, came neere vnto the ſhore againſt the winde, which when they ſaw vs come towards them they caried a great part of their marchandiſe on land, whither alſo the men of both veſſels went and landed, and as ſoone as we came within Muſquet ſhot, they began to ſhoote at vs with great ordinance and ſmall ſhot, and we likewiſe at them, and in the ende we boorded one ſhippe wherein was no man left, ſo we cut her cables, hoyſed her ſailes, and ſent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of vs paſſed more neere vnto the ſhoare, and boorded the Carauel, which did ride within a ſtones caſt from the ſhoare, and ſo neere the land that the people did caſt ſtones at vs, but yet in deſpight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein, and cutting her cables in the hawſe we hoyſed her ſailes, and being becalmed vnder the land, we were conſtrained to towe her out with our boate, the Fort ſtill ſhooting at vs, and the people on land with Muſquets and Caliuers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we anſwered them with the ſmall force we had; In the time of which our ſhooting, the ſhot of my Muſquet being a croſſebarre-ſhot happened to ſtrike

A ſhip laden with fiſh taken and releaſed againe.

One of the ſhips taken, and ſent away with 2. perſons.

The Carauel is taken.

ſtrike the gunner of the fort to death, euen as he was giuing leuell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any loſſe or hurt on our ſide. And now, hauing taken theſe fiue ſailes of ſhippes, we did as before, turne away the ſhippe with the fiſh; without hurting them, and from one of the other ſhippes wee tooke her maine Maſte to ſerue our Admirals turne, and ſo ſent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (ſauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leauing them all within ſight of land, with bread and water ſufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

The priſes ſent home.

Thus ſetting our courſe for England, being off the Iſlands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe diſcried a ſaile, then 10. ſaile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to ſende home thoſe prizes we had, and ſo left in both our Pinaſſes not aboue 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete wee had diſcried, where wee found 24. ſaile of ſhippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the reſt were ſmall ſhippes and Carauels all laden with Treaſure, ſpices, and ſugars, with which 24. ſhippes we with two ſmall Pinaſſes did fight, and kept company the ſpace of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept ſtill betwixt the Fleete and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, ſo wanting powder, wee were forced to giue them ouer againſt our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of ſome of them, but neceſſitie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without loſſe of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at conſidering the inequalitie of number) at length we gaue them ouer. Thus we againe ſet our courſe for England, and ſo came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we ſent away 40. houres before vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant ioy, not onely with great Ordinance then ſhot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not ſparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and anſwere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where ſir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded vs with our ſhares.

Two Caracks, 10. Gallions, 12. ſmall ſhips.

The 2. pinaſſes returne for England.

Our prizes were laden with ſugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, braſill, and Cuſer, as by the teſtimonie of Iohn Eueſham himſelfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Beniamin Wood, William Cooper Maſter, William Corniſh Maſter, Thomas Drake Corporall, Iohn Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, Iohn Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, Iohn Row of Saltaſh, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable ſeruice performed by Sir *Francis Drake* vpon the *Spaniſh* Fleete prepared in the Road of *Cadiz*: and of his deſtroying of 100. ſaile of barks; Paſſing from thence all along the coaſt to *Cape Sacre*, where alſo hee tooke certaine Forts: and ſo to the mouth of the Riuer of *Liſbon*, and thence croſſing ouer to the Iſle of *Sant Michael*, ſupprized a mighty Carack called the *Sant Philip* comming out of the Eaſt India, which was the firſt of that kinde that euer was ſeene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

HEr Maieſtie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the inuaſion of England, by good aduiſe of her graue and prudent Counſell thought it expedient to preuent the ſame. Whereupon ſhe cauſed a Fleete of ſome 30. ſailes to be rigged and furniſhed with all things neceſſary. Ouer that Fleete ſhe appointed Generall ſir Francis Drake (of whoſe manifold former good ſeruices ſhe had ſufficient proofe) to whom ſhe cauſed 4. ſhips of her Nauie royall to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonauenture wherein himſelfe went as Generall; the Lion vnder the conduct of Maſter William Borough Controller of the Nauie; the Dread-nought vnder the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4. ſhips two of her pinaſſes were appointed as hand-maids. There were alſo added vnto this Fleet certaine tall ſhips of the Citie of London, of whoſe eſpeciall good ſeruice the Generall made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maieſtie. This Fleete ſet ſaile from the ſound of Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coaſt of Spaine.

The 16. of the ſaid moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ſhips of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we vnderſtood that there was great ſtore of warlike prouiſion at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our Generall with al ſpeed poſſible, bending himſelfe thither to cut off their ſaid forces and prouiſions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our firſt entring we were aſſailed ouer againſt the Towne by ſixe Gallies, which notwithſtanding in ſhort time retired vnder their fortreſſe.

There were in the Road 60.ſhips and diuers other ſmall veſſels vnder the fortreſſe: there fled about 20.French ſhips to Port Real, and ſome ſmall Spaniſh veſſels that might paſſe the ſholdes. At our firſt cōming in we ſunke with our ſhot a ſhip of Raguza of a 1000.tunnes, furniſhed with 40.pieces of braſſe and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S.Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which ſhot freely at vs, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30.of the ſaid ſhips, & became Maſters of the Road, in deſpight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them vnder the Fort: in the number of which ſhips there was one new ſhip of an extraordinary hugeneſſe in burthen aboue 1200.tunnes, belonging to the Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz being at that inſtant high Admiral of Spaine. Fiue of them were great ſhips of Biskay, whereof 4.we fired, as they were taking in the Kings prouiſion of victuals for the furniſhing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ſhip about 1000.tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-ſpikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horſe-ſhooes, and other like neceſſaries bound for the Weſt Indies we fired in like maner. Alſo we tooke a ſhip of 250.tunnes laden with wines for the Kings prouiſion, which wee caried out to the Sea with vs, and there diſcharged the ſaid wines for our owne ſtore, and afterward ſet her on fire. Moreouer we tooke 3.Flyboats of 300.tunnes a piece laden with biſcuit, whereof one was halfe vnladen by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewiſe there were fired by vs ten other ſhips which were laden with wine, raiſins, figs, oiles, wheat, & ſuch like. To conclude, the whole number of ſhips and barkes (as we ſuppoſe) then burnt, ſuncke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 30.at the leaſt, being (in our iudgement) about 10000.tunnes of ſhipping.

There were in ſight of vs at Porto Real about 40.ſhips, beſides thoſe that fled from Cadiz.

We found little eaſe during our aboad there, by reaſon of their continuall ſhooting from the Gallies, the fortreſſes, and from the ſhoare: where continually at places conuenient they planted new ordinance to offend vs with: beſides the inconuenience which wee ſuffered from their ſhips, which, when they could defend no longer, they ſet on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which neuertheleſſe was a pleaſant ſight for vs to beholde, becauſe we were thereby eaſed of a great labour, which lay vpon vs day and night, in diſcharging the victuals, and other prouiſions of the enemie. Thus by the aſſiſtance of the Almightie, and the inuincible courage and induſtrie of our Generall, this ſtrange and happy enterprize was atchieued in one day and two nights, to the great aſtoniſhment of the King of Spaine, which bread ſuch a corraſiue in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enioyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may iuſtly be ſuppoſed) died of extreame griefe and ſorrow.

Thus hauing performed this notable ſeruice, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21.of the ſaid moneth of April, with very ſmall loſſe not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in diſdaine of vs, to make ſome paſtime with their ordinance, at which time the wind ſkanted vpon vs, whereupon we caſt about againe, and ſtood in with the ſhoare, & came to an anker within a league of the towne; where the ſaid Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length ſuffred vs to ride quietly.

We now haue had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can aſſure you, that onely theſe 4.of her Maieſties ſhips will make no accompt of 20.Gallies, if they may be alone, and not buſied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their aduantage to fight with ſhips: but they were ſtill forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driuen to maintaine the ſame, vntill wee had diſcharged and fired the ſhippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the flood, at which time they might driue cleare off vs. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies coſt for diuers moneths (beſides the prouiſions that we brought from home) our Generall diſpatched Captaine Croſſe into England with his letters, giuing him further in charge to declare vnto her Maieſtie all the particularities of this our firſt enterprize.

After whoſe departure wee ſhaped our courſe toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at ſeuerall times of ſhips, barkes, and Carauels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-ſtaues, & other prouiſions of the king of Spaine, for the furniſhing of his forces intended againſt England, al which we burned, hauing delt fauorably with the men and ſent them on ſhoare. We alſo ſpoiled and cōſumed all the fiſher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance; and (as we ſuppoſe) to the vtter ouerthrow of the rich fiſhing of their Tunies for the ſame yere. At length we came to the aforeſaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the better to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleaſure, we aſſailed the ſame caſtle, and three other ſtrong holds, which we tooke ſome by force and ſome by ſurrender.

Thence we came before the hauen of Lisbon ankering nere vnto Caſcais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who ſeeing vs chaſe his ſhips a ſhoare, & take and cary away his barks and Carauels, was content to ſuffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewiſe to depart, and neuer charged vs with one Canon-ſhot. And when our Generall ſent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refuſed his chalenge, ſending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any ſuch Commiſſion from his King.

Our Generall thus refuſed by the Marques, and ſeeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it conuenient to ſpend no longer time vpon this coaſt: and therefore with conſent of the chiefe of his Company he ſhaped his courſe toward the Iſles of the Açores, and paſſing towards the Iſle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the ſame ſhippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great reſiſtance hee tooke, beſtowing the people thereof in certaine veſſels well furniſhed with victuals, and ſending them courteouſly home into their Countrey: and this was the firſt Carak that euer was taken comming foorth of the Eaſt Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euil ſigne, becauſe the ſhip bare the Kings owne name.

The Carack called the Sanct Philip taken.

The riches of this prize ſeemed ſo great vnto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they aſſured themſelues euery man to haue a ſufficient reward for his trauel: and thereupon they all reſolued to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the ſame Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: firſt, that it taught others, that Caracks were no ſuch bugs but that they might be taken (as ſince indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and ſinking of others) and ſecondly in acquainting the Engliſh Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the Eaſt Indies: whereby themſelues and their neighbours of Holland haue bene incouraged, being men as ſkilfull in Nauigation and of no leſſe courage then the Portugals to ſhare with them in the Eaſt Indies, where their ſtrength is nothing ſo great as heretofore hath bene ſuppoſed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of *Exeter*, and others of the Weſt parts, and of *London*, for a trade to the Riuer of *Senega* and *Gambra* in *Guinea*, 1588.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treaſurer and Admirall of England, our Treaſurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our Officers, miniſters and ſubiects whatſoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued ſubiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our county of Deuon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barneſtable in our ſaide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Anthonie Daſſell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, haue bene perſwaded and earneſtly moued by certaine Portugals reſident within our Dominions, to vndertake and ſet forward a voyage to certaine places on the coaſt of Guinea: Videlicet, from the Northermoſt part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along that coaſt vnto the Southermoſt part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderſtand that the further proſecuting of the ſame voyage, and the due and orderly eſtabliſhing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into thoſe Countreis, wil not only in time be very beneficial to theſe our Realmes and dominions, but alſo be a great ſuccour and reliefe vnto the preſent diſtreſſed eſtate of thoſe Portugals, who by our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And cōſidering that the aduenturing and enterpriſing of a newe trade cannot be a matter of ſmall charge and hazard to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our ſaid louing ſubiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their ſaide aduenture and trade in the ſaid Countreis, ſhal haue the ſole vſe and exerciſe thereof for a certaine time,

A former voyage to Gambra.

time. In conſideration whereof, and for other waightie reaſons and conſiderations vs ſpecially moouing, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors doe giue and graunt vnto the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Daſſell and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to ſuch other our Subiects as they or the moſt part of them ſhall thinke conuenient to receiue into their Company and ſociety, to be the traders with them into the ſaid Countreis, that they and euery of them by themſelues or by their ſeruants or Factors and none others, ſhall and may for and during the full ſpace and terme of tenne yeeres next enſuing the date of theſe preſents, haue and enioy the free and whole traſique, trade and feat of marchandiſe, to and from the ſaid Northermoſt part of the ſaid Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that Riuer all along the coaſt of Guinea, vnto the Southermoſt part of the ſaid Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Gambra, and within that Riuer alſo. And that they the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſel and Nicholas Turner, & euery of them, by themſelues or by their ſeruants or Factors, & ſuch as they or the moſt part of them ſhall receiue into their Company and ſocietie, to be traders with them into the ſayd Countreis (as is aforeſaid) and none others, ſhall and may, for, and during the ſaid ſpace and terme of 10. yeres, haue and enioy the ſole & whole traſique or trade of marchandize into and from the ſaid places afore limitted and deſcribed, for the buying & ſelling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatſoeuer, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places ſituated or being in the countries, parts & coaſtes of Guinea before limitted, any law, ſtatute, or graunt, matter, cuſtome or priuileges to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And for the better ordering, eſtabliſhing, & gouerning of the ſaid ſocietie and Company in the ſaid trade and traſique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exerciſe of the ſame, We for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, do by theſe preſents giue and graunt full licenſe and authoritie vnto the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Daſſell, and Nicholas Turper, and to ſuch others as they ſhall receiue into their ſaide ſocietie and company to be traders into the ſaid countreis, as is aforeſaid, and to euery of them, that they or the moſt part of them ſhall and may at all conuenient times at their pleaſures, aſſemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, aſwell within our citie of Exeter, as elſewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the ſaid terme of ten yeere, to conſult of, for, and concerning the ſaide trade and traſique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and ſtabliſh good, neceſſary, and reaſonable orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame trade. And al ſuch orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances ſo to be made, to put in vre and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the moſt part of them then trading, as is aforeſaide, ſhall be thought neceſſary and conuenient. Unto all and euery which ſaid orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances, they, and euery of them, and all other perſons which ſhall hereafter be receiued into the ſaide ſocietie and Company, ſhall ſubmit themſelues, and ſhall well and duely obſerue, performe, and obey the ſame, ſo long as they ſhall ſtand in force, or elſe ſhall pay and incurre ſuch forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in ſuch maner and forme, and to ſuch vſes & intents, as by the ſaide orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances ſhall be aſſeſſed, limitted and appointed. So alwayes, as the ſame orders, conſtitutions and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reaſonable forme of other penalties, aſſeſſed by the Company of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the ſaid power and libertie of traſique and trade of marchandize is graunted by theſe our letters patents aforeſaid, and none others whatſoeuer, without their ſpeciall conſent and licenſe before had, ſhall, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, vſe, or haue trade or traſique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the ſaide coaſtes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by theſe preſents, by our royall and ſupreme authoritie, ſtraightly charge and commaund, that no perſon, or perſons whatſoeuer, by themſelues, or by their factors, or ſeruants, during the ſaid terme of 10. yeres, ſhall in any wiſe trade or traſique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the ſaid coaſts and parts of Guinea afore limitted, other then the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch as from time to time, they, or the moſt part of them, ſhall receiue into their ſocietie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforeſaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and to loſe and forfeit the ſhip or ſhippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them ſhal, during the ſaid terme of 10. yeres, trade, or traffique to or from the ſaid Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation aboue mentioned, contrary to our expreſſe prohibition and reſtraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by theſe preſents giue and graunt ful power and authoritie to the ſaid William Braily, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and to ſuch other perſons, as they ſhal receiue into their ſocietie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforeſaid, and the moſt part of them, for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themſelues, their factors, deputies, or aſſignes, ſhall and may, from time to time, during the ſaid terme of 10. yeres, attach, arreſt, take, and ſeaſe all, and all maner of ſhip, and ſhips, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatſoeuer, which ſhall be brought from, or caried to the ſaid coaſts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleaſure, and the true meaning of the ſame, declared and expreſſed in theſe our letters patents. Of all and euery which ſaid forfaitures whatſoeuer, the one third part ſhall be vnto vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, and another thirde part thereof we giue and graunt by theſe preſents, for and towards the reliefe of the ſaide Portugals continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforeſaid. And the other third part of al the ſame forfaitures, we do by theſe preſents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and grant cleerely and wholy vnto the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſel, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receiue into their ſocietie, and company, as is aforeſaid. And theſe our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the ſame, without any further or other warrant, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid tenne yeeres, be a ſufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treaſurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and miniſters whatſoeuer, to whom it ſhall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one thirde part of all the ſaid forfeitures, to the vſe of the ſaid Portugals, and one other thirde part of the ſame forfeitures, to the ſaide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receiue into their ſocietie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforeſaide, to their owne proper vſe and behoofe: which ſaid allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleaſure is, and we do ſtraightly charge and command, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforeſaid, or any other our officers or miniſters whatſoeuer. And we do ſtraightly charge and command, and by theſe preſents prohibite all and ſingular our cuſtomers, collectors, and farmers of our Cuſtomes and ſubſidies, and controllers of the ſame, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and miniſters whatſoeuer, which haue or ſhall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our ſaid Cuſtomes and ſubſidies, that they, ne any of them by themſelues, their clearks, deputies, or ſubſtitutes, or any of them take or receiue, or in any wiſe cauſe or ſuffer to be taken or receiued for vs, or in our name, or to our vſe, or for, or in the names or to the vſes of our heires or ſucceſſors, of any perſon, or perſons, any ſumme or ſummes of money, or other things whatſoeuer, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Cuſtome, ſubſidie, or other thing or duetie, to vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, due, or to be due, for the Cuſtomes or ſubſidies of any ſuch goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be tranſported, caried, or brought to or from the priuileged places, before in theſe preſents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cauſe to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of ſubſidies or cuſtomes, nor make any agreement for the Cuſtomes or ſubſidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee ſent to, or returned from any the priuileged places, before in theſe preſents mentioned, ſauing onely with, and in the name, and by the conſent of the ſaide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Daſſel, and Nicholas Turner, or of ſome of them, or of ſuch as they or the moſt part of them ſhall receiue into their ſocietie and Company, as aforeſaid. Prouided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our ſelues, by our writing ſigned with our proper hand, or any ſixe or more of our priuie Counſell, for the time being, ſhall, by our direction, and by writing ſigned and ſubſcribed with their hands, ſignifie and notifie to the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the moſt part of them ſhal receiue into their Companie and ſociety, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to ſuch as ſhall haue intereſt in this ſpeciall priuilege, that our will and pleaſure is, that the ſaid trade and traffique ſhal ceaſe, and be no longer continued into the ſaide coaſts and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of ſixe moneths next inſuing, after ſuch ſignification & notification ſo to be giuen to any of the ſaid Company and ſocietie, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to ſuch as ſhall haue intereſt in this ſpeciall priuilege, theſe our preſent letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained ſhall be vtterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purpoſes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to *Benin* beyond the Countrey of *Guinea*, ſet foorth by Maſter *Bird* and Maſter *Newton* Marchants of *London*, with a ſhippe called the *Richard* of *Arundell*, and a Pineſſe; Written by *Iames Welſh*, who was chiefe Maſter of the ſaid voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

Vpon the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day ſayling from thence, by reaſon of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we ſtayed (to our great expenſe of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather vnto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the ſaid 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Rio del oro is in 22. degrees, and 47. min.

Thurſday the ſecond of January wee had ſight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

Cauo de las Barbas.

The thirde of January wee had ſight of Cauo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeaſt fiue leagues off.

Croſiers.

The 4. we had ſight of the Croſiers in the morning.

Cauo Verde, in 14 degr. 43. m.

Tueſday the 7. day we had ſight of Cauo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the ſhoare.

Cauo de Monte.

Cauo Menſurado.

Friday the 17. Cauo de Monte bare off vs North Northeaſt, we ſounded and had 50. fathom blacke oaſe, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North Northweſt 8. leagues off. And Cauo Menſurado bare of vs Eaſt and by South, and wee went Northeaſt with the maine: here the currant ſetteth to the Eaſt Southeaſt alongſt the ſhoare, and at midnight wee ſounded and had 26. fathome blacke oaſe.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cauo verde, and it is as I iudge 9. leagues from Cauo Menſurado; it is a hill ſadlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we ſaw a row of hils ſadlebacked alſo, and from Cauo Menſurado are many mountaines.

Rio de Seſtos.

Cauo dos Baixos.

Tabanoo.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Seſtos, and the 20. Cauo dos Baixos was North & by West 4. leagues off the ſhoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the ſhoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they ſay) called Tabanoo. And towards euening we were thwart of an Iſland, and a great many of ſmall Iſlands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Souther-boord: we ſounded and had 35. fathomes.

A French ſhip at Ratire.

Crua.

A currant to the South-eaſtward.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North Northeaſt off vs, and wee were from the ſhoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we ſpake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from vs to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current ſet vs to the Southward a good paſe alongſt the ſhoare South Southeaſt.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Weſtward of Capo de Tres puntas; the currant did ſet Eaſt Northeaſt.

The 28. we lay ſixe glaſſes a hull tarying for the pineſſe.

Cauo de tres puntas.

The laſt of January the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of vs three leagues at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pineſſe came to an anker: and wee prooued that the current ſetteth to the Eaſtward: and at ſixe at night the vttermoſt lande bare Eaſt and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southweſt, and Southweſt and by South.

Saturday the firſt of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eaſtermoſt part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the ſaid Round foreland was a great bay with an Iſland in the ſaid bay.

The Caſtle of Mina.

The ſecond of February wee were thwart of the Caſtle of Mina, and when the thirde glaſſe of our Looke-out was ſpent, we ſpied vnder our Larbord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, wee would haue had him to come aboord, but he would not. And ouer the caſtle vpon the hie rockes we did ſee as it might be two watch-houſes, and they did ſhew very white: and we went eaſtnortheaſt.

Two white watch-houſes.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and vp into the lande were more high ragged hilles, and thoſe I reckoned to be but little ſhort of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeaſt-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I ſawe two hilles within the land, theſe hils I take to be 7 leagues from the firſt hils. And to ſea-ward of theſe hilles is a bay, and at the eaſt end of the bay another hill, and from the hils the landes lie verie low. We went Eaſtnortheaſt, and Eaſt and by North 22 leagues, ann then Eaſt along the ſhore.

Monte Redondo.

The 6 we were ſhort of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Carauell;

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we ſet ſaile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and ſtayed all that night in ten fadom water.

The 9 we ſet ſaile, and all alongſt the ſhore were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoone we were thwart a riuer, & to the Eaſtward of the riuer a litle way off was a great high buſh-tree as though it had no leaues, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 10 we ſet ſayle and went Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South 14 leagues along the ſhoare, which was ſo full of thicke woods, that in my iudgement a man ſhould haue much to doe to paſſe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we ſayled Eaſt and by South, and three leagues from the ſhore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood vpon the land was as euen as if it had beene cut with a paire of gardeners ſheeres, and in running of two leagues we deſcerned a high tuft of trees vpon the brow of a land, which ſhewed like a Porpoſe head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we ſaw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very ſhallow water, then we lay South into the ſea, becauſe of the ſands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in fiue fadom thwart the riuer of Iaya, in the riuers mouth.

Very ſhallow water.

The 12 in the morning we road ſtill in the riuers mouth. This day we ſent the pinneſſe and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe vntill the next morning. The ſhalloweſt part of this riuer is toward the Weſt, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboord, and they alſo ſaid it was Rio de Iaya. Here the currant ſetteth Weſtward, and the Eaſtermoſt land is higher then the Weſtermoſt.

Rio de Iaya.

Thurſday the 13 we ſet ſaile, and lay South Southeaſt along the ſhore, where the trees are wonderfull euen, and the Eaſt ſhore is higher then the Weſt ſhore, and when wee had ſayled 18 leagues we had ſight of a great riuer, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Weſtward. This riuer is the riuer of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very ſhallowe.

Rio Benin.

The 15 we ſent the boat and pinneſſe into the riuer with the marchants, and after that we ſet ſaile, becauſe we road in ſhallow water, and went Southſoutheaſt, and the ſtarbord tacke aboord vntill we came to fiue fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Weſtward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinneſſe. The Weſt part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eaſtermoſt land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like ſtackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we ſawe but two of thoſe trees, by reaſon that we went more to the Eaſtward. And here we road ſtill from the 14 of Februarie vntill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southweſt.

A currant Weſtward.

The 16 of Februarie we rode ſtill in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne ſtill to the Weſtward, the winde at Southweſt, and the boat and pinneſſe came to vs againe out of the riuer, and told vs that there was but ten foote water vpon the barre. All that night was drowſie, and yet reaſonable temperate.

Ten foote water vpon the barre of Rio de Benin.

The 17 a cloſe day the winde at Southweſt. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinneſſe to goe into the riuer, and there came a great currant out of the riuer and ſet to the Weſtward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinneſſe into the riuer with their commodities. This day was cloſe and drowſie, with thunder, raine and lightening.

The 24 a cloſe morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to vs out of the riuer from our marchants.

Tweſday the 4 of March, a cloſe ſoultry hot morning, the currant went to the Weſtward, and much troubled water came out of the riuer.

The 16 our pinneſſe came aboord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & ſhe brought in her 94 bags

of

Sickneſſe among our men.

of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Maſter of her and all his company were ſicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southweſt.

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southweſt. This day the pinneſſe went into the riuer againe, and caried the Purſer and the Surgion.

The 25 of the ſaid moneth 1589 we ſent the boate into the riuer.

The death of the Captaine. Pepper & Elephants teeth.

The 30 our pinneſſe came from Benin, and brought ſorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemſted was dead and our Captaine alſo, and ſhe brought with her 159 Cerons or ſackes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

A good note.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the riuer of Benin, and in all the coaſt hereabout, it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southweſt. And when the winde is at Northeaſt and Northerly, then it raineth, with lighning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we ſet ſaile homewards in the name of Ieſus. In the morning we ſayled with the winde at Southweſt, and lay Weſt and by North, but it prooued calme all that night, and the currant Southeaſt.

The 14 the riuer of Benin was Northeaſt 7 leagues from the ſhore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minuts of latitude.

A deceitfull currant.

The 8 of May we had ſight of the ſhore, which was part of Cauo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene ſo farre, but it came ſo to paſſe by reaſon of the currant. In this place M. Towrſon was in like maner deceiued with the currant.

The 9 we had ſight of Cauo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowſie day, this was the firſt night that I tooke the North ſtarre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great ſea out of the Northweſt.

The 6 of Iune we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the ſunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter ſea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

Rockweed or Saragaſſo all along the ſea.

The 12 of Iuly in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great ſtore of rockweed, which did ſticke together like cluſters of grapes, and this continued with vs vntill the 17 of the ſaid moneth, and then we ſaw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees ſixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

The 25 at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, we had ſight of the Iſle of Pike, it bare North and by Eaſt from vs, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we ſpake with the poſte of London and ſhe told vs good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had ſight of the Iſland of Cueruo, and the 30 we ſaw the Iſland of Flores.

The 27 of Auguſt in 41 degrees of latitude we ſaw 9 ſaile of Britons, and three of them followed vs vntill noone, and then gaue vs ouer.

The 30 we had ſight of Cape Finiſterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth ſound, and road in Cauſon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there ſtayed vntill the 28 of September, by reaſon of want of men and ſickneſſe.

The nine and twentieth we ſet ſayle from Plimouth, and arriued at London the ſecond of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of ſundry ſorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glaſſe beades, and corall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiouſly wouen, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees.

Their money is pretie white ſhels, for golde and ſiluer we ſaw none. They haue alſo great ſtore of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well ſodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it, it is pleaſant in eating, and light of digeſtion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men vpon fiſh-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good ſtockfiſh. There are great ſtore of palme trees, out of the which they gather great ſtore of wine, which wine is white and very pleaſant, & we ſhould buy two gallons of it for 20 ſhels. They haue good ſtore of ſope, and it ſmelleth like beaten violets. Alſo many pretie fine mats and baſkets that they make, and ſpoones of Elephants teeth very curiouſly wrought with diuers proportions of foules and beaſts made vpon them. There is vpon the coaſt wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in ſo much as I neuer hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble vnder our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and louing, and they goe naked both men and women vntill they be married, and then they goe couered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 ſhelles. They would alſo bring great ſtore of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth vpon a tree, and is very like vnto a Cucumber but very pleaſant in eating. It hath pleaſed God of his merceifull goodneſſe to giue me the knowledge how to preſerue freſh water with little coſt, which did ſerue vs ſixe moneths at the ſea, & when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who ſaid that there was not ſweeter water in any ſpring in Plimouth. Thus doth God prouide for his creatures, vnto whom be praiſe now and for euermore, Amen.

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palm trees.

Abundance of hony.

This preſeruatiue is wrought by caſting into an hogſhead of water an handful of bay-ſalt, as the author told me.

The voiage ſet forth by M. *Iohn Newton*, and M. *Iohn Bird* marchants of *London* to the kindome and Citie of *Benin* in *Africa*, with a ſhip called the *Richard* of *Arundell*, and a pinneſſe, in the yere 1588. briefely ſet downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foreſaid Marchants at the time of the ſhips firſt arriuall at *Plimouth*.

VOrſhipful Sirs, the diſcourſe of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aſke more time and a perſon in better health then I am at this preſent, ſo that I truſt you will pardon me, till my comming vp to you: in the meane time let this ſuffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coaſt of England with your good ſhip the Richard of Arundell and the pinneſſe, we held on our direct courſe towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of Februarie following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ſhip ouer the barre, ſo that we left her without in the road, and with the pinneſſe & ſhip boat, into which we had put the chiefeſt of our marchãdiſe, we went vp the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20 of February, the foreſaid Goto being the neereſt place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we preſently ſent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cauſe of our comming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22 day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vp to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we deliuered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The ſixe & twenty day we went to the Court to haue ſpoken with the king, which (by reaſon of a ſolemne feaſt then kept amongſt them) we could not doe: but yet we ſpake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Chriſtians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who anſwered vs, that we ſhould haue all things to our deſire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

Goto in Benin.

The great citie of Benin.

The firſt of March, we were admitted to the kings preſence, and he made vs the like courteous anſwere for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foreſaid Veadore ſhewed vs one baſket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the ſtalkes: wee deſired to haue it plucked from the ſtalks and made cleane, who anſwered, that it would aſke time, but yet in ſhould be done: and that againſt another yeere it ſhould be in better readines, & the reaſon why we found it ſo vnprepared was, becauſe in this kings time no Chriſtians had euer reſorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were ſent vs 12 baſkets, and ſo a litle euery day vntill the 9 of March at which time we had made vpon 64 ſerons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this firſt time not ſo well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of vs into the diſeaſe of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine ſent me downe with thoſe goods which we alreadie had receiued, to the reſt of our men at Goto: where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinneſſe ſicke alſo, and by reaſon of their weaknes not able to conuey the pinneſſe and goods downe to the place where our ſhip road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ſhip, to ſee how all things ſtood with vs, ſo that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ſhip: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Maſter Benſon, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my ſelfe was alſo in ſuch a weake ſtate that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I ſent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your ſonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempſteede very weake, who alſo died within two dayes after their comming thither. This ſorrowfull accident cauſed them with ſuch pepper and teeth, as they could then find, ſpeedily to returne to the ſhip, as by the Cargaſon will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would ſtay any longer time, he would vſe all poſſible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common ſickneſſe ſo increaſed and continued amongſt vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had ſo many ſicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the ſame happe, and ſo thought to looſe both our ſhip, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at the laſt by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinneſſe behinde vs, we got to ſea, and ſet ſaile, which was vpon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather vp their crums and to recouer ſome better ſtrength: and ſo ſailing betwixt the Iſlands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Iſlands of the Azores vpon the 25 of Iuly, where our men beganne a freſh to grow ill, and diuers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained liuing were in a hard caſe: but in the midſt of our diſtreſſe, it fell ſo wel out, by Gods good prouidence, that we met with your ſhip the Barke Burre, on this ſide the North cape, which did not only keepe vs good cõpanie, but alſo ſent vs ſixe freſh men aboord, without whoſe helpe, we ſhould ſurely haue taſted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the laſt arriued in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund
Anthony Ingram.

The ſecond voyage to *Benin*, ſet foorth by Maſter *Iohn Newton*, and Maſter *Iohn Bird* Marchants of *London* in the yeere 1590 with a ſhip called the *Richard* of *Arundell* of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a ſmall pinneſſe, in which voyage Maſter *Iames Welſh* was chiefe Maiſter.

The third of September 1590 we ſet ſaile from Ratclife, and the 18 of the ſaid moneth we came into Plimouth ſound, and the two and twentieth we put to ſea againe, and at midnight we were off the Liſart, and ſo paſſed on our voyage vntill the 14 of October, on which day we had ſight of Forteuentura one of the Canarie Iſlands, which appeared very ragged as we ſailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow ſea, the like whereof I neuer ſaw on this coaſt, and this day there came to the ſhips ſide a monſtrous great fiſh (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put vp his head to the ſteepe tubs where yͤ cooke was in ſhifting the victuals, whō I thought the fiſh would haue caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a counterſea out of the North boord, and the laſt voyage in this very place we had the counterſea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is alſo.

The 24 we had ſight of Cauo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow ſea out of the North, which is a common ſigne that the winde will be Northerly, and ſo it prooued.

A token of a Northerly winde.

The 15 of Nouember we met with three currants out of the Weſt and Northweſt, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

Great currants.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southweſt, and the 20 we ſaw another current out of the Northeaſt, and the 24 we had a great current out of the Southſouthweſt, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the leaſt 2 leagues and a halfe euery watch, and it fell out that we ſailed but one league euery watch for the ſpace of 24 houres, by meanes of a great billow and current that came ſtill out of the South.

The 5 of December in ſetting the watch we caſt about and lay Eaſt Northeaſt, and Northeaſt, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinneſſe loſt vs wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we ſaw a great blacke ſpot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at riſing and ſetting we ſaw the like, which ſpot to our ſeeming was about the bigneſſe of a ſhilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and ſtill there came a great billow out of the ſouther-bord.

The 14 we ſounded and had 15 fadom water and groſſe red ſand, and 2 leagues from the ſhore the currant ſet Southeaſt along the ſhore with a billow ſtill out of the ſoutherbord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke ſomewhat like the Mewſtone in England, it was 2 leagues from vs, here we ſounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not aboue a mile from the ſhore, and a mile farther we ſaw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we ſounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke ſand, and we might ſee plaine that the rockes went not along the ſhore, but from the land to the ſeaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we ſawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

Two rocks.

The 16 we met with a French ſhip of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinneſſe, we ſent a letter by him, and this night we ſaw another ſpot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards euening we were thwart of a riuer, and right ouer the riuer was a high tuft of trees.

A French ſhip of Hunfleur.

The 17 we ankered in the riuers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betweene vs & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the ſea, and they bare to the Weſt of the Cape, we ſaw alſo an Iſland off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceiue no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a ſtreame as if it were in the riuer of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went Eaſt, and the lande a ſterne of vs Weſt, and it ſhewed low by the water ſide like Iſlands, this was the eaſt of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great ſound, and we went Eaſt all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the ſhore.

The 20 we were thwart of a riuer called Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the ſhore Eaſt, & 3 or 4 leagues to the Weſt of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be ſet deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to ſhewe high, and the firſt part of it full of Palme trees.

Rio de los Barbos.

The 24 ſtill going by the ſhore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water ſide, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the riuer called, Rio de Boilas. Here we ſent our boate a ſhore with the marchants, but they durſt not put into the riuer becauſe of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance vpon the barre.

Rio de Boilas.

The 28 we ſailed alongſt the ſhore, and ankered at night in ſeuen fadom becauſe a great current would haue put vs backe, which came from the Eaſt Southeaſt from Papuas.

Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Carauel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but ſhe had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to ſpeake with vs, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promiſed that we ſhould haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue vs one tooth and one bullocke preſently, and ſayd they would bring vs the reſt the next day.

Arda.

The firſt of Ianuarie our Captaine went on land to ſpeake with the Portugales, but when he ſaw they did diſſemble, he came aboord againe, and preſently we vnrigged the Carauell, and ſet her on fire before the towne. Then we ſet ſaile and went along the coaſt, where we ſaw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coaſt vpon the water ſide, alſo we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Ianuarie.

Villa longa.

The third we were as far ſhot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a ſhore and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in becauſe it was late. There is alſo to the Eaſtward of this riuer a Date tree higher then all the reſt of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coaſt, and euery night ankered, & al the ſhore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, ſo that we could not ſee the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared vp, & then we found our ſelues thwart of the riuer of Iaya, and when we found the ſhallow water, we bare into the ſea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in fiue fadom water. The next day we ſet ſaile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the riuer of Benin in foure fadom water.

The riuer of Iaya.

The riuer of Benin.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the ſhallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy euery day vntill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our ſummer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the weſt point of the road bare Eaſt northeaſt off vs, we riding in foure fadome water.

Goto.

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Haſſald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

The Carauell bringeth teeth aboord.

The 23 came the Carauell, and Samuell in her, and ſhe brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

298. ſacks of pepper.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or ſackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeaſt. And the 26 we put the reſt of our goods into the Carauell, and M. Haſſald went with her to Goto.

The 5 of March ỹ Carauel came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Carauell came aboord with water for our prouiſion for the ſea, and this day alſo we loſt our ſhallope.

Three ſpouts.

The 17 a drowſie rainie day, and in the afternoone we ſaw 3 great ſpoutes of raine, two on our larboord ſide, and one right with the ſhips head, but God be thanked, they came not at vs, and this day we tooke in the laſt of our water for the ſea, and the 26 we victualed our Carauell to go with vs to the ſea.

They returned homeward.

The 27 we ſet ſaile to goe homewarde with the winde at Southweſt, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the riuer of Benin was Northeaſt 8 leagues from vs.

The 3 of May we had ſuch a terrible guſt with raine, lightning & thunder, that it tore and ſplit our fore ſaile, and alſo the Carauels fore-ſayle and maine-ſayle, with the wind at Southeaſt.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our ſommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell guſt of raine, & the wind at northeaſt.

The 24 we were South from from Cauo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

Braua.

The firſt of Iuly we had ſight of the Iſland of Braua, and it bare Eaſt 7 leagues off, and this Iſland is one of the Iſlands of Cauo Verde.

The 13 of Auguſt we ſpake with the Queenes ſhips, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and ſir Richard Greeneuill Viceadmirall. They kept vs in their company vntill the 15 day at night, themſelues lying a hull, in waight for purchaſe 30 leagues to the Southweſt of the Iſland of Flores.

We departed in company of a prize.

The 15 we had leaue to depart with a fly-boat laden with ſugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ſhips, whereof my Lord Admirall gaue me great charge, not to leaue her vntill ſhe were harbored in England.

Coruo.

The three and twentieth the Northeaſt part of the Iſland of Coruo bare off vs Eaſt and by South ſixe leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ſhip of Plimouth that came out of the Weſt Indies, but ſhe could tell vs no newes. The next day we had ſight of another ſayle, this day alſo one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we ſpake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Maſter Iuie was Maiſter.

The ſecond of October we met with a ſhip of New-caſtle which came from Newfound-land, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fiſh.

The 6 we had ſight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries ſound, where we ſtaied all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we ſet ſaile againe, and comming out had three fadom vpon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeaſt, through Crow-ſand, and ſhortly after we had ſight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lyſart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we ſtayd vntill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at Weſt, and the 18 of December, God be praiſed, we ankered at Limehouſe in the Thames, where we diſcharged 589 ſacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this ſecond voyage were Broad cloth, Kerſies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron vnwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horſetailes, Hats, and ſuch like.

This voyage was more comfortable vnto vs then the firſt, becauſe we had good ſtore of freſh water, and that very ſweet: for as yet we haue very good water in the ſhippe which we brought out of the riuer of Benin the firſt day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of Iune 1592.) to be ſeen abord the ſhip as cleare and as ſweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

In this voiage we ſailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we rode. And vnder the line wee did kill great ſtore of ſmall Dolphines, and many other good fiſhes, and ſo did we all the way, which was a very great refreſhing vnto vs, and the fiſh neuer forſooke vs, vntill we were to the Northwards of the Ilands of Azores, and then we could ſee no more fiſh, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ſhips which were great comfort vnto vs, being fiue moneths before at Sea without any companie.

It is more temperate vnder the equinoctiall, then on the coaſt of Guinie & Benin.

By me *Iames Welſh* maſter of the *Richard* of *Arundell*, in
both theſe voyages to the riuer of *Benin*.

An Aduertiſement ſent to *Philip* the ſecond king of *Spaine* from *Angola* by one *Baltazar Almeida de Souſa*, touching the ſtate of the foreſayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.

The 26 of July I certified your maieſtie by Iohn Frere de Bendanha your maieſties pay-maſter and commiſſioner, with the gouernour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceaſed, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere laſt paſt 1590. Now I thought it conuenient to aduertiſe your maieſtie what hath fallen out ſince that time, which is as foloweth. The gouernour Luis Serrano encamped himſelfe eight leagues from Cabaſa, where the Negro king dwelleth, with 350 Portugal ſouldiers: & afterward being there encamped, it hapned that the king of Matamba ſent a ſtrong and mightie army, & in warlike maner, with ſtrange inuentions for the ſayd purpoſe. So the king of Angola gaue this other king battell, and the gouernour ſent 114 ſouldiers Portugals to helpe the ſaid king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was ouerthrowen and all ſlaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this ouerthrow it happened that this realme the ſecond time hath rebelled againſt your maieſtie. Hereupon the Gouernour aſſembling the reſt of his Portugall ſouldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amaſanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreouer, beſides the manifold loſſes which haue befallen the Portugals in this realme, your maieſtie hath ſuſtained other great miſfortunes both in your lands and goods. And becauſe I cannot perſonally come to certifie your maieſtie thereof, I thought it good to write ſome part of the ſame whereby your maieſtie may vnderſtand the eſtate of this countrey. This realme, for the moſt part thereof hath twiſe bene wonne, and twiſe loſt for want of good gouernment. For here haue bene many gouernours which haue pretended to do iuſtice, but haue pitifully neglected the ſame, and practiſed the cleane contrary, and this I know to be moſt true. But the onely way to recouer this realme, and to augment your maieſties lands, goods and treaſure, muſt be by ſending ſome noble and mightie man to rule here, which muſt bring authoritie frõ your maieſtie, and by taking ſtreight order that euery captaine which doeth conquere here may bee rewarded according to his deſerts. Likewiſe your maieſtie muſt ſend hither 2000 good ſouldiers, with munition and ſufficient ſtore of prouiſion for them. And by this meanes your highneſſe ſhall know what yeerely reuenue Angola will yeeld vnto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwiſe your maieſtie ſhall reape but litle benefit here. If with my preſence I may doe your maieſtie any ſeruice in giuing information of the ſtate of this realme, as one which haue had experience thereof, and haue ſeene the order of it, vpon the vnderſtanding of your maieſties pleaſure herein, I will doe my beſt indeuour. And the cauſe wherefore I haue not done this heretofore hath bene, by reaſon that the Gouernours of this realme would ſuffer none of the captaines which haue conquered this countrey to informe your maieſtie of that which is needfull for your ſeruice, and the augmenting of this conqueſt. Our lord preſerue your catholique perſon with increaſe of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of your crowne. Written in the conqueſt of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

Paulo Dias Gouernour of Angola.

The king of Matamba.

114 Portugals ſlain in Angola.

Amaſanguano the Portugals abode in Angola.

The onely way to reduce a rebellious kingdom vnto obedience.

An vſuall trick of lewd gouernours.

Your maieſties moſt loiall ſubiect,

Baltazar Almeida de Souſa.

A true diſcourſe written (as is thought) by Colonel *Antonie VVinkfield* emploied in the voiage to *Spaine* and *Portugall*, 1589. ſent to his particular friend, & by him publiſhed for the better ſatiſfaction of all ſuch as hauing bene ſeduced by particular report, haue entred into conceits tending to the diſcredite of the enterpriſe and Actors of the ſame.

ALthough the deſire of aduancing my reputation cauſed me to withſtand the many perſwaſions you vſed to hold me at home, & the purſute of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that aduiſe, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in reſpect of the many aſſurances you haue yeelded mee of your kindeſt friendſhip, I cannot ſuſpect that you will either loue or eſteeme me the leſſe, at this my returne: and therfore I wil not omit any occaſion which may make me appeare thankfull, or diſcharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true diſcourſe how theſe warres of Spaine and Portugall haue paſſed ſince our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the firſt of July. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further ſatiſfaction, as well make relation of thoſe reaſons which confirmed me in my purpoſe of going abroad, as of theſe accidents which haue happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perſwade you that no light fanſie did drawe me from the fruition of your deareſt friendſhip, but an earneſt deſire, by following the warres to make my ſelfe more worthy of the ſame.

Hauing therefore determinately purpoſed to put on this habite of a ſouldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in ẏ wars of the low Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her maieſtie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an aduenture of her and many honorable perſonages, in reuenge of vnſupportable wrongs offered vnto the eſtate of our countrey by the Caſtilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by ſo much is the iourney to be preferred before thoſe defenſiue wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honor which theſe late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue bene ſaid more of him, then of a Reſpondent (though neuer ſo valiant) in a priuate Duell? Euen, that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one towne or any ſmall defeat giueth more renoume to the Aſſailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withſtanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the ſame: whereof as well the particulars of our age, eſpecially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former hiſtories may aſſure vs, which haue ſtill laied the fame of all warres vpon the Inuader. And do not ours in theſe dayes liue obſcured in Flanders, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend thẽſelues when the enemie ſhall procure them? Whereas in this ſhort time of our Aduenture, we haue won a towne by eſcalade, battred & aſſaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 ſeueral places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the ſuburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and poſſeſſed two of his frontier Forts, as ſhall in diſcourſe thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Inuader, and in ſuch an action as euery day giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather cary me thither then into the wars of Flanders. Notwithſtanding the vehement perſwaſions you vſed with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof ſithence you receiued them from others, you muſt giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were led into by thẽ, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it ſtood more with the ſafetie of our eſtate to bend all our forces againſt the prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this iourney, will iudicially conuince themſelues of miſtaking the matter. For, may the conqueſt of theſe countries againſt the prince of Parma be thought more eaſie for vs alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monſieur of France? the aſſiſtance of the principal ſtates of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horſe, & almoſt 30000 foot, beat Don Iohn de Auſtria out of the countrey, who was poſſeſſed of a very few frontier townes? & ſhal it now be laid vpon her maieſties ſhoulders to remoue ſo mightie an enemie, who hath left vs but 3 whole parts of 17 vnconquered? It is not a iourny of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeeres that can dammifie the king of Spaine in thoſe places where we ſhall meet at euery 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will coſt more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thouſand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by riuers which haue no paſſage vnfortified, and where moſt of the beſt ſouldiers of Chriſtendom that

be

he on our aduerſe party be in penſion. But our armie, which hath not coſt her maieſtie much aboue the third part of one yeres expenſes in the Low countries, hath already ſpoiled a great part of the prouiſion he had made at the Groine of all ſorts, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ſhips, whereof one was yͤ ſecond in the laſt yeres expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado; taken frõ him aboue 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ſhips wel mãned fit and readie to ſerue him for men of war againſt vs, laden for his ſtore with corne, victuals, maſts, cables and other marchandizes; ſlaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Guſman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, ſhamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his beſt Commanders in Lisbon; and by theſe few aduentures diſcouered how eaſily her maieſtie may without any great aduenture in ſhort time pull the Tirant of the world vpon his knees, as wel by the diſquieting his vſurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by ſending an army ſo accompliſhed, as may not be ſubiect to thoſe extremities which we haue endured: except he draw, for thoſe defences, his forces out of the Low countries and diſfurniſh his gariſons of Naples & Milan, which with ſafetie of thoſe places he may not do. And yet by this meane he ſhall rather be inforced thereunto, thẽ by any force that can be vſed there againſt him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the moſt ſafe and neceſſary way to be held againſt him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the iourney (I know) bene much miſliked by ſome, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purpoſes againſt vs, or too vnworthily of them that vndertooke this iourney againſt him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needleſſe to proceed by inuaſion againſt him, a thing of too great moment for two ſubiects of their qualitie to vndertake: And therfore did not ſo aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good ſucceſſe therof.

The chances of wars be things moſt vncertaine: for what people ſoeuer vndertake them, they are in deed as chaſtiſements appointed by God for the one ſide or the other. For which purpoſe it hath pleaſed him to giue ſome victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres againſt ſome whom he had in purpoſe to ruine. But if we conſider what wars they be that haue made their name ſo terrible, we ſhal find them to haue bin none other then againſt the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the vnarmed Netherlanders, whoſe yeelding rather to the name thẽ act of the Spaniards, hath put them into ſuch a conceit of their mightines, as they haue conſiderately vndertaken the conqueſt of our monarchie, conſiſting of a people vnited & alwayes held ſufficiently warlike: againſt whom what ſucceſſe their inuincible army had the laſt yeere, as our very children can witnes, ſo I doubt not but this voiage hath ſufficiently made knowen what they are euen vpon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene ſet out in ſuch ſort as it was agreed vpon by their firſt demaund, it might haue made our nation the moſt glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promiſed vnto the Aduenture, loſt her maieſtie the poſſeſſion of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter ſhal appeare, whoſe defenſible rampires were greater then our batterie (ſuch as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted?

It was alſo reſolued to haue ſent 600 Engliſh horſes of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithſtanding the great charges expended in their tranſportation hither: and that may the army aſſembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we ſhould haue had frõ thence; foure of the 10 dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the ſea, from the Hollanders: which I may iuſtly ſay we wanted, in that we might haue had ſo many good ſouldiers, ſo many good ſhips, and ſo many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not vpõ the firſt thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the ſumme of 10000 li. who ſeeing it went forward in good earneſt, aduiſed themſelues better, and laid the want of ſo much money vpon the iourney?

Was there not moreouer a round ſumme of the aduenture ſpent in leuying, furniſhing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the ſeruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Oſtend were ſuppreſſed, a ſeruice of no ſmal moment?

What miſery the detracting of the time of our ſetting out, which ſhould haue bene the 1 of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the ende a more proſperous wind and ſhorter paſſage into Galitia then hath bene often ſeen, where our owne force & fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which croſſe windes, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thruſt to Sea in the ſame, wiſely chuſing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to loſe any part of the better, when it ſhould come by hauing their men on ſhore : in which two dayes 25 of our companies ſhipped in part of the fleet were ſcattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vſhant.

Theſe burdens layed vpon our Generals before their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour : for hauing done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horſe, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be coniectured they would haue done with their ful cōplement?

For the loſſe of our men at ſea, ſince we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be ſaid more, then that it is his pleaſure to turne all thoſe impediments to the honor of them againſt whom they were intended : and he will ſtill ſhew himſelfe the Lord of hoſts in doing great things by thē, whom many haue ſought to obſcure : who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in reſpect of thoſe defects, which were ſuch eſpecially for the ſeruice at land, as would haue made a mighty ſubiect ſtoope vnder thē, I do not ſee how any man could iuſtly haue layd any reproch vpon him who commanded the ſame, but rather haue lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries haue for their conduct in ſeruice worthily eſteemed of, ſhould not only in their owne countrey not be ſeconded in their honorable endeuors, but mightily hindred, euen to yͤ impairing of their owne eſtates, which moſt willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their countries: whoſe worth I wil not value by my report, leſt I ſhould ſeem guiltie of flattery (which my ſoule abhorreth) & yet come ſhort in the true meaſure of their praiſe. Onely for your inſtructiō againſt them who had almoſt ſeduced you from the true opinion you hold of ſuch men, you ſhal vnderſtand that General Norris frō his booke was trained vp in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men vnder the erle of Eſſex in Ireland : which with what commendations he then diſcharged, I leaue to the report of them who obſerued thoſe ſeruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all yͤ Engliſh forces there preſent, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres : he was then made Marſhall of the field vnder Conte Hohenlo : and after that, General of the army in Friſlād : at his cōming home in the time of Monſieurs gouernment in Flanders, he was made lord Preſident of Munſter in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere he was ſent for, & ſent Generall of the Engliſh forces which her maieſtie thē lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leiceſters going ouer. And he was made Marſhall of the field in England, the enemy being vpon our coaſt, and when it was expected the crowne of England ſhould haue bene tried by battel. Al which places of commaundement which neuer any Engliſhman ſucceſſiuely attained vnto in forren wars, and the high places her maieſtie hath thought him worthy of, may ſuffice to perſwade you, that he was not altogether vnlikely to diſcharge that which he vndertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his iourny about the world, by his aduentures to the weſt Indies, & the ſcourges he hath laid vpon the Spaniſh nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to ſpeake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of yͤ ſame, & beſeech you conſidering the waighty matters they haue in all the courſe of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil eſteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them inſufficient to paſſe through that which they vndertooke, eſpecially hauing gone thus far in the view of the world, through ſo many incombrances, & diſappointed of thoſe agreements which led them yͤ rather to vndertake the ſeruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, yͭ labouring thus earneſtly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not ſo much as touched any part of the miſorders, weaknes & wants that haue bene amongſt vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders : for we find in greateſt antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene receiued home with triumph for leſſe merite, & that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for aduentures vnequal to this: it might therfore in thoſe daies haue ſeemed ſuperfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to giue euery man his due. But I hold it moſt neceſſary in theſe daies, ſithence euery vertue findeth her direct oppoſite, & actions worthy of all memory are in danger to be enuiouſly obſcured, to denounce the prayſes of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with ſinceritie of trueth, & not without grieuing at the iniury of this time, wherein is enforced a neceſſitie of Apologies for thoſe men & matters, which all former times were accuſtomed to entertaine with the greateſt applauſe that might be. But to anſwere the reports which haue bene giuen out in reproch of the actors and action by ſuch as were in the ſame : let no man thinke otherwiſe, but that they, who fearing the caſuall accidents of war had any purpoſe of returning, did firſt aduiſe of ſome occaſion that ſhould moue them thereunto : and hauing found any whatſoeuer did thinke it ſufficiently iuſt, in reſpect of the earneſt deſire they had to ſeeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of theſe there were ſome, who hauing noted the late Flemiſh warres did finde that many yong men haue gone ouer and ſafely returned ſouldiers within fewe moneths, in hauing learned ſome wordes of Arte vſed in the warres, and thought after that good example to ſpend like time amongſt vs: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongſt vs.

The neglect of diſcipline in the Armie, for that men were ſuffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The ſcarſitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and ſicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to loſe their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

Theſe men haue either cõceiued wel of their owne wits (who by obſeruing the paſſages of the warre were become ſufficiẽt ſouldiers in theſe fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their diſcourſes might be wondred at) or miſſing of their Portegues and Milrayes which they dreamed on in Portogall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the iourney. For ſeeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one eſcaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him tomorow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but yͭ euery place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to ſee ſome of the poore ſouldiers fal ſicke, yͭ fearing to be infected by them they might iuſtly deſire to go home.

Anſwere to the firſt.

The ſickneſſe I confeſſe was great, becauſe any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongſt Engliſhmen at their firſt entrance into the warres, whitherſoeuer they goe to want the fulneſſe of their fleſh pots? Haue not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? haue they not abundantly periſhed in the Low countreys with cold, and rawneſſe of the aire, euen in their garriſons? Haue there not more died in London in ſixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the ſtrongeſt? And could the Spaniſh Armie the laſt yeere (who had all prouiſions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fitteſt ſeaſon in the yeere for our Climate) auoyd ſicknes amongſt their ſouldiers? May it then be thought that ours could eſcape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to diſtemper them withall?

But can it be, that wee haue loſt ſo many as the common ſort perſwade themſelues wee haue? It hath bene prooued by ſtrickt examinations of our muſters, that we were neuer in our fulneſſe before our going from Plimouth 11000. ſouldiers, nor aboue 2500. Marriners. It is alſo euident that there returned aboue 6000. of all ſorts, as appeareth by the ſeuerall paiments made to them ſince our comming home. And I haue truely ſhewed you that of theſe numbers very neere 3000. forſooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof ſome paſſed into France and the reſt returned home. So as we neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home aboue 6000. with vs, you may ſee how the world hath bene ſeduced, in beleeuing that we haue loſt 16000. men by ſicknes.

Anſwere to the ſecond.

To them that haue made queſtion of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto in that there were ſo many drunkards amongſt vs) I anſwere, that in their gouernment of ſhires and pariſhes, yea in their very houſholdes, themſelues can hardly bridle their vaſſals from that vice. For we ſee it is a thing almoſt impoſſible, at any your Faires or publique aſſemblies to finde any quarter thereof ſober, or in your Townes any Alepoles vnfrequented: And we obſerue that though any man hauing any diſordered perſons in their houſes, do locke vp their drinke and ſet Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes ſteale themſelues drunke from their Maſters tables, or runne abroad to ſeeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iuſtices, Maiors, Preachers, and Maſters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that thoſe baſe diſordered perſons whom themſelues ſent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purſes could neuer reach to in England, and hauing it there without mony euẽ in their houſes where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into theſe diſorders? Euen our neweſt men, our yongeſt men, and our ideleſt men, and for the moſt part our ſlouenly preſt men, whom the Iuſtices (who haue alwayes thought vnworthily of any warre) haue ſent out as the ſcumme and dregs of their countrey. And thoſe were they, who diſtempering themſelues with theſe hote wines, haue brought in that ſickneſſe, which hath infected honeſter men then themſelues. But I hope, as in other places the recouerie of their diſeaſes doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, ſo the remainder of theſe which haue either recouered, or paſt without ſickneſſe will prooue moſt fit for Martiall ſeruices.

Anſwere to the third.

If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the captaines (who are to prouide for their ſeuerall Companies) then vpon the Generals, whoſe care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery captaine, vpon whom moſt of the charges of raiſing their Companies was laid as an aduenture, could prouide themſelues of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purſe of the prince. But admit euery captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer-the leſſe: for our Engliſh Surgeons (for the moſt part) be vnexperienced in hurts that come by ſhot; becauſe England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whoſe ignorãce proceeded this diſcomfort, which I hope will warne thoſe yͭ hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of ſuch as may better preſerue mens liues by their ſkill.

Anſwere to the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may coniecture in yͭ we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of ſuch prouiſions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can aſſure you, that no mã of worth was left either hurt or ſicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & aſſes that were laden with any baggage to be vnburdened and taken to that vſe: and the earle of Eſſex and he for mony hired men to cary mẽ vpon pikes. And the earle (whoſe true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, ſo did it very much in this) threw down his own ſtuffe, I meane apparel & neceſſaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and ſicke men vpon them. Of whoſe honorable deſeruings I ſhall not need here to make any particular diſcourſe, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue me occaſion to obſerue the ſame.

Anſwere to the fift.

And the great complaint that theſe men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed vpon good biefes, muttons & goats, be to want, they haue endured great ſcarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in ſome quantitie) except it were ſuch as had vowed rather to ſtarue then to ſtir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had ſerued for it, might haue ſeen in many campes in the moſt plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in euery place afford the beſt water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although ſome haue moſt iniuriouſly exclaimed againſt the ſmal prouiſions of victuals for the ſea, rather grounding the ſame vpon an euil that might haue fallen, then any that did light vpõ vs: yet know you this, that there is no man ſo forgetfull, that will ſay they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whoſoeuer made not very large prouiſions for himſelfe & his company at the Groine, was very improuident, where was plentiful ſtore of wine, biefe and fiſh, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the ſame into their ſhips, wherewith ſome did ſo furniſh themſelues, as they did not onely in the iourney ſupplie the wants of ſuch as were leſſe prouident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Caſcais there came in ſuch ſtore of prouiſions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would haue vſed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportiõ thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentifull ſale thereof made out of the marchants ſhips after their comming into the Thames.

But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme vnto you too ſtudious in confuting idle opinions, or anſwering friuolous queſtions, I wil addreſſe me to the true report of thoſe actiõs that haue paſſed therein: wherein I proteſt, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned againſt vs, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the iuſt occaſions thereof lead me vnto: wherein it ſhall appeare that there hath bene nothing left vndone by the Generals which was before our going out vndertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the firſt required by Don Antonio, who ſhould haue reaped the fruit of our aduenture.

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April

After 6 daies ſailing from the coaſt of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the euening, we landed in a baie more then an Engliſh mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnaſſes without any impeachment: from whence we preſently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houſes & mils next adioining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the ſecond of the laſt yeeres Fleet agaynſt England) one hulke, two ſmaller ſhips and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they paſſed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the ſame defended on the land ſide (for it ſtandeth vpon the necke of an Iland) with a wall vpon a dry ditch: whereupon he reſolued to trie in two places what might bee done againſt it by eſcalade, and in the meane time aduiſed for the landing of ſome artillery to beat vpon the ſhips and gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the firſt piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and muſketers that were placed vpon the next ſhore, left her playing vpon vs. The reſt of the day was ſpent in preparing the companies, and other prouiſions ready for the ſurpriſe of the baſe towne, which was effected in this ſort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that ſide next fronting vs by water in long boats and pinneſſes, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat vpon the towne in their approch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water ſide, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampſon Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it paſſable, but if not, to betake them to the eſcalade, for they had alſo ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that ſide that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by eſcalade. All the companies which ſhould enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampſon betooke them to the eſcalde, for they had in commandement to charge all at one inſtant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they ſome men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made againſt them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his firſt entry, with ſome of his owne company whom he truſted well, betooke himſelfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and ſo ſtill ſcoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight againſt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampſon; who were twiſe beaten from their ladders, and found very good reſiſtance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the ſame. The reaſon why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the ſame affirmeth) that the enemy that day had reſolued in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the diſcouery of our boats, they of the high towne ſhould make a ſignall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the ſudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery ſide.

Then the towne being entred in three ſeueral places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with leſſe perill doe, for that ours being ſtrangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The reſt that were not put to the ſword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themſelues in chambers and ſellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongſt thoſe Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himſelfe in a houſe, did the the next morning yeeld himſelfe.

There was alſo taken that night a commiſſary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confeſſed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 ſouldiers being in ſeuen cōpanies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the ſmall numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:

Vnder Don Iuan de Luna.

- Don Diego Barran, a baſtard ſonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
- Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
- Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
- Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with ſome of the towne were in the fort.
- Don Gomez de Caramaſal then at Madrid.
- Captaine Manço Caucaſo de Socas.

Alſo there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Moſalle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Alſo he ſaith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biſcuit, ſome in Batanſas, ſome in Ribadeo, and the reſt there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ſhips.

That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 iarres of oile.

A great quantitie of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fiſh.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuzes.

Some others alſo found fauour to be taken priſoners, but the reſt falling into the hands of the common ſouldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I coniecture, firſt and laſt, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euery celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themſelues for the preſent ſenſeleſſe of the danger of the ſhot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the firſt ground of their ſickneſſe; for of ſuch was our firſt and chiefeſt mortality. There was alſo abundant ſtore of victuals, ſalt, and all kinde of prouiſion for ſhipping and the warre: which was confeſſed by the ſayd Commiſſary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magaſin of all ſorts of prouiſion for a new voyage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the ſpoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ſhips. And hauing ouercharged the artillery of ẏ gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible ſort two dayes together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being ſo great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not aboue ſixteene taken out whole; the reſt with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers ſhippes. The ſame day was the cloiſter on the South ſide of the towne entred by vs, which ioyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the ſame with our muſquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe ſome 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, euen to the gates of the towne, as reſolutely (ledde by what ſpirit I know not) as though they would haue entred the ſame: but at the firſt defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were ſlaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the ſame diſorder they made their approch, and with greater ſpeed then ours were able to follow: notwithſtanding we followed after them more then a mile. The ſecond day Colonell Huntley was ſent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great ſtore of kine and ſheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpoſe to take a long munition-houſe builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage againſt them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewiſe brought ſome artillery to that ſide of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily ſeene vnto, and the fury thereof preuented by pulling downe many houſes which were moſt in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouiſions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloiſter two demy-canons, and two coluerings againſt the towne, defended or gabbioned with a croſſe wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the firſt and ſecond tire whereof ſhooke all the wall downe, ſo as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reaſon whereof ſome of the Canoniers were ſhot and ſome ſlaine. The Lieutenant alſo of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was ſlaine faſt by Sir Edward Norris, Maſter thereof: whoſe valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that truſt committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to ceaſe the battery, which he preſently did, leauing a guard vpon the ſame for that day; and in the night following made ſo good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the aſſault ſhould be giuen to the towne, he ſhould make a proffer of an eſcalade on the other ſide, where he held his guard: but he (miſtaking the ſignall that ſhould haue bene giuen) attempted the ſame long before the aſſault, and was ſhot in the mouth. The ſame day the Generall hauing planted his ordinance ready to batter, cauſed the towne to be ſummoned; in which ſummons they of the towne ſhot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle deſired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderſtand, that the man hanged was he that ſhot at the Drum before: wherein alſo they intreated to haue faire warres, with promiſe of the ſame on their parts. The reſt of the parle was ſpent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and ſome other priſoners, and ſomewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they liſtened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his ſkilfull view of the towne (which is almoſt all ſeated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did preſently ſet workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the ſeuenth after we were entred the baſe towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Againſt which time the breach made by the canon being thought aſſaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the ſame, as that which was expected ſhould be blowen vp by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom alſo Captaine Yorke went, whoſe principall commandment was ouer the horſemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine John Sampſon, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Maſter of the Ordinance, with certaine ſelected out of diuers Regiments. All theſe companies being in armes, and the aſſault intended to be giuen in al places at an inſtant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reaſon the powder brake out backewards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was ſent with ſome choſen out of euery company into the countrey for prouiſions, whereof he brought in good ſtore, and returned without loſſe.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampſon was ſent out with ſome 500 to fetch in prouiſions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good ſpoile. The ſame night the Miners were ſet to worke againe, who by the ſecond day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Againſt which time the companies aforeſayd being in readineſſe for both places (Generall Drake on the other ſide, with two or three hundred men in pinneſſes, making proffer to attempt a ſtrong fort vpon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew vp halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The aſſailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine preſently to giue the aſſault, performed it accordingly; but too ſoone: for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the firſt force of the powder was onely ſhaken and made looſe, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This ſo amazed our men that ſtood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forſooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Enſignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were ſhot in the breach, but their colours were reſcued: the Generals by Captaine Sampſons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himſelfe. Amongſt them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully loſt; who hauing three or foure great ſtones vpon his lower parts, was held ſo faſt, as neither himſelfe could ſtirre, nor any reaſonable company recouer him. Notwithſtanding the next day being found to be aliue, there was ten or twelue loſt in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well aſſaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the puſh of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the looſe earth (which was indeed but the rubbiſh of the outſide of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon ſlipped outwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that culuerin or demy-canon can ſufficiently batter a defenſible rampire: ant of thoſe pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the ſecond ſhot brake in her carriages, ſo as the battery was of leſſe force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who ſerued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of ſuch as were of beſt iudgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtleſſe ſucceeded, the rather, becauſe the approch was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not ſo much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new reſolution: for finding that two dayes battery had ſo little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he firſt put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazzard ſo ſpeedily, and which in my conſcience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their liues by the diſpleaſure of their king in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or ſword in defending the ſame. For that day before the aſſault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloiſter within the towne, and many other houſes adioyning to the caſtle, to make it more defenſible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themſelues had of holding it againſt vs, had not God (who would not haue vs ſuddenly made proud) layed that miſfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promiſed to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maieſty miſtreſſe of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene ſuch as the earth would haue held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the firſt aſſault giuen: which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of

Parma hath in winning of all his townes endured, who neuer entred any place at the firſt aſſault, nor aboue three by aſſault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a priſoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had aſſembled an armie of eight thouſand at Puente de Burgos, ſixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thither vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpoſe to releeue the Groine, or to encampe themſelues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the ſame; for to that purpoſe had the marqueſſe of Seralba written to them both the firſt night of our landing, as the Commiſſarie taken then confeſſed, or at the leaſt to ſtop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incurſions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, ſpoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I ſay, hearing of this armie, had in purpoſe the next day following to viſite them, agaynſt whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vangard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloiſter and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the ſixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we diſcouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vangard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the ſhot of the ſame, who diuided them into three troups; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Muſquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himſelfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, ſo as he giuing the firſt charge vpon the enemy, was in the inſtant ſeconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and croſſe walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of ſtone vpon arches. On the foot of the further ſide whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very ſtrongly entrenched; who with our ſhot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without ſtay paſſed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleare ouer the ſame, but through an incredible volley of ſhot; for that the ſhot of their army flanked vpon both ſides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who ſhould haue guarded the ſame, ſeeing the proud approch we made, forſooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the firſt defendant with his pike, with very earneſtneſſe in ouerthruſting, fell, and was grieuouſly hurt at the ſword in the head, but was moſt honourably reſcued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and ſome other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder alſo hauing his Caſke ſhot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the ſword: and Captaine Fulford was ſhot into the left arme at the ſame encounter: yet were they ſo thorowly ſeconded by the Generall, who thruſt himſelfe ſo neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their braueſt men that defended that place being ouerthrowen, their whole army fell preſently into rout, of whom our men had the chaſe three miles in foure ſundry wayes, which they betooke themſelues vnto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thouſand men (for of ſo many conſiſted our vangard) might kill in purſuit of foure ſundry parties, ſo many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their ſtandes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they diſpatched. Alſo Colonell Medkerk was ſent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloiſter, which he burnt and ſpoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the ſword. There were ſlaine in this fight on our ſide onely Captaine Cooper, and one priuate ſouldier; Captaine Barton was alſo hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you ſeene the ſtrong baricades they had made on either ſide of the bridge, and how ſtrongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare reſolution of ours to giue ſo braue a charge vpon an army ſo ſtrongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall ſent the vangard one way, and the battell another, to burne and ſpoile; ſo as you might haue ſeene the countrey more then three miles compaſſe on fire. There was found very good ſtore of munition and victuals in the Campe, ſome plate and rich apparell, which the better ſort left behinde, they were ſo hotly purſued. Our ſailers alſo landed in an Iland next adioyning to our ſhips, where they burnt and ſpoiled all they found. Thus we returned

The notable ouerthrow giuē to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

to the Groine, bringing ſmall comfort to the enemy within the ſame, who ſhot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was ſpent in ſhipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the reſt taken at the Groine, which had it bene ſuch as might haue giuen vs any aſſurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpoſe of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue ſpent ſome more time in the ſiege of the place.

The two laſt nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houſes were builded vpon the wall by the water ſide; but they within ſuſpecting as much, made ſo good defence againſt vs, as they preuented the ſame. In our departure there was fire put into euery houſe of the low towne, inſomuch as I may iuſtly ſay, there was not one houſe left ſtanding in the baſe towne, or the cloiſter.

The next day, being the eight of May, we embarked our army without loſſe of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impoſſible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted ſomething againſt vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commiſſary aforeſayd, who confeſſed, that the firſt night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santiſſo, to bring all the forces againſt vs that they could poſſible raiſe, thinking no way ſo good to aſſure that place, as to bring an army thither, wherewithall they might either beſiege vs in their baſe towne, if we ſhould get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with vs vpon the aduantage; for they had aboue 15000 ſouldiers vnder their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde ſo contrary, as we could not vnder nine dayes recouer the Burlings: in which paſſage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Eſſex, and with him M. Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene moſt inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle hauing put himſelfe into the iourney againſt the opinion of the world, and as it ſeemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himſelfe towards all men doth make him highly eſteemed at home; ſo did his exceeding forwardneſſe in all ſeruices make him to be woondered at amongſt vs) who, I ſay, put off in the ſame winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, becauſe he would auoid the importunity of meſſengers that were dayly ſent for his returne, and ſome other cauſes more ſecret to himſelfe, not knowing (as it ſeemed) what place the Generals purpoſed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke ſome ſhips laden with corne, and brought them vnto the fleet. Alſo in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that ſide of the riuer which Cannas ſtandeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and thoſe Gentlemen that were with him went on ſhore, with ſome men out of the ſhip he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coaſt, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the ſhot of the caſtle, and aboue the waſte in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reaſon the winde was great, and the ſea went high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein fiue and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men periſhed. The enemy being fiue companies of Spaniards vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, ſallied out of the towne againſt vs, and in our landing made their approch cloſe by the water ſide. But the Earle of Eſſex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed ſufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water ſide, and led the other ouer the Sandhils; which the enemy ſeeing, drew theirs likewiſe further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their ſpeedy paſſage away: notwithſtanding, they did it in ſuch ſort, as being charged by ours which were ſent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Iackſon, they ſtood the ſame euen to the puſh of the pike: in which charge and at the puſh, Captaine Robert Piew was ſlaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reaſon to follow them, all our companies were drawen to the towne; which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by any man againſt vs. And therefore the Generall cauſed the caſtle to be ſummoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being poſſeſſed thereof, deſired but to be aſſured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the ſame; which he honeſtly performed. There was taken out of the caſtle ſome hundred ſhot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furniſhed his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: ſo as poſſeſſing both the towne and the caſtle, we reſted there one day; wherein ſome Friers and other poore men came vnto their new king, promiſing in the name of their countrey next adioyning, that

Peniche taken.

within two dayes he ſhould haue a good ſupply of horſe and foote for his aſſiſtance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horſes were vnſhipped.

The Generals there fully reſolued, that the Armie ſhould march ouer land to Lisbone vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake ſhould meete him in the riuer thereof with the Fleete; that there ſhould be one Company of foote left in garde of the Caſtle, and ſixe in the ſhips: alſo that the ſicke & hurt ſhould remaine there with prouiſions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the euent of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this ſort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Deuereux Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battell: Sir Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marſhalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to paſſe by Sea, yet to make knowen the honourable deſire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, ſtood vpon the aſcent of an hill, by the which our battalions muſt of neceſſity march, and with a pleaſing kindneſſe tooke his leaue ſeuerally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wiſhing vs all moſt happy ſucceſſe in our iourney ouer the land, with a conſtant promiſe that he would, if the iniury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the firſt day was ſuch, as they were enforced to cary their munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Criſpe the Prouoſt Marſhall cauſed one who (contrary to the Proclamation publiſhed at our arriuall in Portugall) had broken vp an houſe for pillage, to be hanged, with the cauſe of his death vpon his breaſt, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, cauſed the commandement to be more reſpectiuly regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of puniſhment doeth onely holde within compaſſe. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horſe and foot againſt vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the ſecond day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the caſtle to the poſſeſſion of Don Antonio.

There began the greateſt want we had of victuals, eſpecially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man ſhould ſpoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more reſpectiuely obſerued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongſt our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promiſe) wholly neglected the prouiſion of victuals for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great ſcarſity. Which mooued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduiſe for ſome better courſe for our people: who thought it beſt, firſt to aduertiſe the king what neceſſity we were in, before we ſhould of our ſelues alter the firſt inſtitution of abſtinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king; who after ſome expoſtulations vſed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieued.

The third day we lodged our army in three ſundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obiſpo, and the third in San Sebaſtian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horſe company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horſemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horſes thorow 40 of them, & himſelfe thorow more then 200 with ſome forty horſes: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would tary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promiſe to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageouſly; for we had a bridge to paſſe ouer in the ſame place: but before our comming he diſlodged, notwithſtanding it appeared vnto vs that he had in purpoſe to encampe there; for we found the ground ſtaked out where their trenches ſhould haue bene made: and their horſemen with ſome few ſhot ſhewed themſelues vpon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whoſe regiment had the point of the vantgard) thought to draw vnto ſome fight, and therefore marched without ſound of drumme, and ſomewhat faſter then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were diſcouered, for he was ſhadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themſelues into a village, more then one Engliſh mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing againſt vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occaſion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that regiment, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall ſalutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yoong Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were diſcharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whoſe Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them in ſo reſolute maner, as they preſently draue them to retire with loſſe: they killed of ours at their firſt entrance fourteene, and hurt ſixe or ſeuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our ſouldiers drinking in two places of ſtanding waters by the way were poiſoned, and thereon preſently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houſes plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poiſoned.

That night the Earle of Eſſex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuſcade neere the towne, and hauing layed the ſame very neere, ſent ſome to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refuſed to iſſue after them, ſo as the Earle returned aſſoone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpoſe, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the euening we came to the ſuburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty ſhot or thereabouts, and firſt ſcowred all the ſtreets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, and the houſes ſhut vp: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired ſome houſes by the water ſide, full of corne and other prouiſions of victuals, leaſt we ſhould be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houſes.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall cauſed to holde guard in the neereſt ſtreets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arreward ſtood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and ſo held the ſame till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houſes that ſtood vpon their wall either within or without, leaſt we poſſeſſing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and would haue bene a very euill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy hauing more eaſie entry into it then we, gained it before vs. The reſt of that morning was ſpent in quartering the battell and arreeward in the Suburbs called Bona Viſta, and in placing Muſquetiers in houſes, to front their ſhot vpon the wall, who from the ſame ſcowred the great ſtreets very dangerouſly.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our ſixe dayes march, and the laſt nights watch, were deſirous of reſt; whereof the enemy being aduertiſed, about one or two of the clocke ſallied out of the towne, and made their approch in three ſeuerall ſtreets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as moſt of the army was) being at reſt, with as much ſpeed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head againſt them ſo thorowly, as himſelfe was ſlaine in the place, Captaine Carſey ſhot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre ſlaine preſently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This reſiſtance made aſwell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a ſudden foule retreat; inſomuch, as the Earle of Eſſex had the chaſe of them euen to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their beſt Commanders: their troupe of horſemen alſo came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themſelues againe. Many of them alſo left the ſtreets, and betooke them to houſes which they found open: for the Sergeant maior Captaine Wilſon ſlew in one houſe with his owne hands three or foure, and cauſed them that were with him to kill many others. Their loſſe I can aſſure you did triple ours, aſwell in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Caſcais, and poſſeſſed the towne without any reſiſtance: many of the inhabitants at their diſcouery of our nauy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would poſſeſſe it, till Generall Drake ſent vnto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindneſſe, ſo farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and miniſter neceſſaries to the army he had brought; which offer they ioyfully imbraced, and preſently ſent two chiefe men of their towne, to ſignifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honeſt affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloiſter called San Domingo, but not without perill of the ſhot of the caſtle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held ſtill againſt him.

As our fleet were caſting ancre when they came firſt into that road, there was a ſmall ſhip of Braſil that came from thence, which bare with them, and ſeemed by ſtriking her ſailes, as though ſhe would alſo haue ancred: but taking her fitteſt occaſion hoiſed againe, and would haue paſſed vp the riuer, but the Generall preſently diſcerning her purpoſe, ſent out a pinneſſe or two after her, which forced her in ſuch ſort, as ſhe ran herſelfe vpon the Rocks: all the men eſcaped out of her, and the lading (being many cheſts of ſugar) was made nothing woorth, by the ſalt water. In his going thither alſo, he tooke ſhips of the port of Portugall, which were ſent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant maior of the ſame place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the reſt that eſcaped put into Setuuel.

The next day it pleaſed Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to aduiſe with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horſe and foot, whereof the King had made promiſe, and to march ſome conuenient number to Caſcais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ſhips, ſauing that which for the neceſſity of the ſeruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, ſome caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that moſt part of the towne ſtood for vs, held it beſt to make our abode there, and and to ſend ſome 3000 for our artillery: promiſing to themſelues, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more ſallies: ſome others (whoſe vnbeliefe was very ſtrong of any hope from the Portugall) perſwaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was ſo little appearance. The Generall not willing to leaue any occaſion of blotte to be layed vpon him for his ſpeedy going from thence, nor to loſe any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpoſe of their iourney, but an aduenture therein (which if it ſucceeded proſperouſly, might make them ſufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done ſo much already in triall thereof, as what end ſoeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings laſt promiſe, that he ſhould haue that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night diſlodge. And if they came, thereby to make him ſo ſtrong, that he might ſend the like number for his munition, he would reſolue to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by ſending any to Caſcais, and keeping a remainder behinde, ſithence he ſaw them the day before ſo boldly ſally vpon his whole army, and knew that they were ſtronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Caſcais, they expected more ſupplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Franciſco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his concluſion was, that if the 3000 promiſed came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of ſo great moment ſhould be ſo ſlenderly regarded, as that the Generall ſhould march with ſuch an army againſt ſuch an enemy, before he knew either the fulneſſe of his owne ſtrength, or certaine meanes how he ſhould abide the place when he ſhould come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique proteſtation the firſt day of our march, that our nauy ſhould meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon, in the which was the ſtore of all our prouiſions, and ſo the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very ſmall fight. We are alſo to conſider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertiſements he receiued from the Portugals, or willing by any promiſe to bring ſuch an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) aſſured the Generall, that vpon his firſt landing, there would be a reuolt of his ſubiects: whereof there was ſome hope giuen at our firſt entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it moſt conuenient ſpeedily to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the reſt of the Countrey. The Friers alſo and the poore people that came vnto him promiſed, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Prieſts, and ſome very few gentlemen on horſebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the courſe of things how they paſſed, might ſomewhat diſcouer the weakneſſe of that people. There they tooke two dayes more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with aſſurance, that ſo ſoone as our army ſhould be ſeene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promiſed a ſupply of 3000 foot, and ſome horſe: but all his appointments being expired, euen to the laſt of a night, all his horſe could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furniſh two enſignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and theſe were altogether ſuch as thought to inrich themſelues by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more diſorders in euery place where we came by ſpoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you ſee, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promiſes, euen to the breach of the laſt, he deſiſted not to perſwade him to ſtay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might haue engaged himſelfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed againſt vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the firſt ſhew of any great ſickeneſſe amongſt them. Whereby it ſeemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuſe him in perſwading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he ſaw no ſemblance: or he like a ſilly louer, who promiſeth himſelfe fauor by importuning a coy miſtreſſe, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with ſuch deuotion, I know not, but ſure I am, the Laity did reſpite their homage till they might ſee which way the victory would ſway; fearing to ſhew themſelues apparantly vnto him, leaſt the Spaniard ſhould after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet ſent they vnder hand meſſages to him of obedience, thereby to ſaue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to ſee the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who ſhould carry away the crowne. For they be of ſo baſe a mould, as they can very wel ſubiect themſelues to any gouernment, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durſt they haue put on any minds thorowly to reuolt, they had three woonderfull good occaſions offered them during our being there.

Themſelues did in generall confeſſe, that there were not aboue 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the laſt day of our march: during which time, how eaſily they might haue preuailed againſt the reſt, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themſelues in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the ſally was made vpon vs by their moſt reſolute Spaniards, how eaſily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Caſcais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came againſt vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you ſhal preſently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occaſion to ſhew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had ſhut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing fought them in Galicia vpon diſaduantage to beat them: and hauing taken ſo much paines to ſeeke them at their owne houſes, whereof we gaue ſufficient teſtimony in the ſame accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken ſo deepe impreſſion within them, as they durſt not attempt any thing againſt them vpon any hazzard.

For, what ciuill countrey hath euer ſuffered themſelues to be conquered by ſo few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long, but they? And what countrey, liuing in ſlauery vnder a ſtranger whom they naturally hate, hauing an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie ſtill with the yoke vpon their necks, attending if any ſtrangers would vnburthen them, without ſo much as rouſing themſelues vnder it, but they? They will promiſe much in ſpeeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reaſon to diſtruſt without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could haue had no proofe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath diſcouered their weakneſſe, and honorably performed more then could be in reaſon expected of him: which had he not done, would not theſe maligners, who ſeeke occaſions of ſlander, haue reported him to be ſuſpicious of a people, of whoſe infidelity he had no teſtimony: and to be fearefull without cauſe, if he had refuſed to giue credit to their promiſes without any aduenture: Let no friuolous queſtioniſt therefore further enquire why he marched ſo many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there ſo ſmall a while.

The next morning, ſeeing no performance of promiſe kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himſelfe, the Earle of Eſſex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the ſtand that was made in the high ſtreet, till the whole army was drawen into the field, and ſo marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the ſhot; thinking that the enemy (as it was moſt likely) would haue iſſued out vpon our riſing; but they were otherwiſe aduiſed. When we were come into the field, euery battalion fell into that order which by courſe appertained vnto them, and ſo marched that night vnto Caſcais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had beene well ſupplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richeſt army that euer went out of England: for beſides the particular wealth of euery houſe, there were many Warehouſes by the water ſide full of all ſorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had ſomewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were paſt S. Iulians, beſtowing many ſhot amongſt vs, but did no harme at all, ſauing that they ſtrocke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant maiors moile vnder him. The horſemen alſo followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many ſicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had cariage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Caſcais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching ſtrongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. Iulian: which newes was ſo welcome to the Earle of Eſſex and the Generals, as they offered euery one of them to giue the meſſenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall deſiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, diſpatched that night a meſſenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we diſlodged from Lisbon in diſorder and feare of them (which indeed was moſt falſe) for that it was fiue of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in ſuch ſort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Alſo he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durſt attend his comming, and there to try out the iuſtneſſe of their quarrel by battell: by whom alſo the Earle of Eſſex (who preferring the honor of the cauſe, which was his countreys, before his owne ſafety) ſent a particular cartel, offering himſelfe againſt any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; ſixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, ſhould meet ſo many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they ſhould haue aſſurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were diſlodged in the night in great diſorder, being taken with a ſudden feare that we had bene come vpon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: ſo as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other anſwere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring ſuch a meſſage. Howbeit the Generall had cauſed to be written vpon the backſide of their paſport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the meſſengers, he would hang the beſt priſoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduiſe better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without anſwere.

After our army came to Caſcais, and the caſtle ſummoned, the Caſtellan thereof granted, that vpon fiue or ſixe ſhot of the canon he would deliuer the ſame, but not without ſight thereof. The Generall thinking that his diſtreſſe within had bene ſuch for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, becauſe he ſaw it otherwiſe defenſible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that neceſſity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely ſet a guard vpon the ſame, leaſt any ſupply of thoſe things which he wanted ſhould be brought vnto them. But he ſtill ſtanding vpon thoſe conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery againſt it: vpon the firſt tire whereof he ſurrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armes: he had one canon, two culuerings, one baſiliſke, and three or foure other field pieces, threeſcore and fiue Souldiours, very good ſtore of munition, and victualles enough in the Caſtle; inſomuch as he might haue held the ſame longer then the Generall had in purpoſe to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked;

which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to ſet ſaile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen vp by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the ſecond of Iune, and ſo continued ſixe dayes after to fetch in ſome hulks to the number of threeſcore, of Danſik, Stetin, Roſtock, Lubeck & Hamburgh, laden with Spaniſh goods, and as it ſeemed for the kings prouiſion, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Maſts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongſt which were ſome of great burthen woonderful well builded for ſailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings prouiſion, to reinforce his decayed nauy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the greateſt of them which caried two miſnes, was knowen to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ſhips, committed himſelfe vnto his ſmall boat, wherein he recouered S. Sebaſtians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were ſhipped, and the flieboats ſent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they choſe rather to loſe their corne then the winde, and ſo departed. The Generall alſo ſent his horſes with them, and from thence ſhipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very ſicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had ſhewed themſelues very forward to all ſeruices, and in their departure very vnwilling to leaue vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The ſixt day the Earle of Eſſex, vpon receit of letters from her Maieſty, by them that brought in the victuals, preſently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very deſirous to go, but found the Generals very vnwilling he ſhould do ſo, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they ſhould miſcarry, was to command the army. And the ſame day there came vnto vs two ſmall barks that brought tidings of ſome other ſhippes come out of England with victuals, which were paſſed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the ſecond day after we ſet ſaile for that place, in purpoſe after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the ſecond day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whoſe prouiſion little anſwered our expectation. Notwithſtanding we reſolued to continue our courſe for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ſhips, ſent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were ſent ouerland, was departed before, not being able by reaſon of the enemies ſpeedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction thoſe letters gaue him; for he was no ſooner gone, then the enemy poſſeſſed the towne and caſtle, and ſhot at our ſhips as they came into the road.

At this time alſo was the Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencaſamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and deſert, was ſent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ouſley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were ſent not fiue dayes before out of Andaluzia for the ſtrengthening of the riuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durſt neuer make any attempt againſt vs) vpon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet; in the vttermoſt part whereof they aſſailed one ſtragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Maſter, and ſome of the Mariners abandoned the ſhip, and betooke them to the ſhip-boats, whereof one, in which the Maſter and the Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were alſo two hulks ſtragled farre from the ſtrength of the other ſhips, which were ſo calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ſhippes towed with their boats to haue releeued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minſhaw with his company, who fought with them to the laſt, yea after his ſhip was on fire, which whether it was fired by himſelfe or by them we could not wel diſcerne, but might eaſily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but ſuſtaine much loſſe: who ſetting alſo vpon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very ſicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had firſt beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And ſeeing alſo one other hulke a league off, a ſterne off vs, they made towards her, but finding that ſhe made ready to fight with them, they durſt not further attempt her: whereby it ſeemed, their loſſe being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we ſhould plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde preuailing carried vs to Bayon: part of our ſhips to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, hauing loſt the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpoſe (if the Admirals had not come in) with ſome 500 men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The reſt of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put vpon thoſe Ilands, caſt off againe to ſea for the Açores: but remembring how vnprouided he was for that iourney, and ſeeing that he had loſt company of his great ſhips, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the euening, where he paſſed vp the riuer more then a mile aboue Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had caſt many of our men ouerboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he ſent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of ſhot to enter one ſide of the ſame, who found vpon euery ſtreets end a ſtrong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for hauing entred the towne, he found but one man therein, but might ſee them making way before him to Bayon. On the other ſide of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whoſe approch on that ſide (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had ſo artificially made for defence: there were alſo certaine ſhippes ſent with the Vice-admirall to lie cloſe before the towne, to beat vpon the ſame with their artillery.

Vigo taken.

In the afternoone were ſent 300 vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borſis, and as much of the country as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a very pleaſant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houſes and corne, as did others on the other ſide of the towne, both that and the next day, ſo as the countrey was ſpoiled ſeuen or eight miles in length. There was found great ſtore of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the ſhippes that came firſt in, gaue them a reſpit to cary all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the abſence of the Generals that were on boord their ſhips, commanded that night on ſhore) cauſed all our companies to be drawen out of the towne, and ſent in two troups to put fire in euery houſe of the ſame: which done, we imbarked againe.

Vigo burned.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themſelues on ſhore, on the contrary ſide of the riuer from vs for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and puniſhed by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reaſons why we attempted nothing againſt Bayon were before ſhewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the ſmall number of our men: who ſhould haue gone againſt ſo ſtrong a place, manned with very good ſouldiers, as was ſhewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confeſſed that there were fiue hundred olde Souldiers in garriſon there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately alſo returned out of the iourney of England,

Under the leading of

- Capitan Puebla.
- Chriſtofero Vaſques de Viralta a ſouldier of Flanders.
- Don Pedro Camaſcho, del tercio de Napoles.
- Don Franciſco de Ceſpedes.
- Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
- Don Diego de Caſſaua.
- Cap. Sauban.

Alſo he ſayth there be 18 pieces of braſſe, and foure of yron, lately layed vpon the walles of the towne, beſides them that were there before.

The ſame day the Generals ſeeing what weake eſtate our army was drawen into by ſickneſſe, determined to man and victuall twenty of the beſt ſhips for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to ſee if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the reſt: And for the ſhifting of men and victualles accordingly, purpoſed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being vnder ſaile neuer ſtrooke at the Ilands, but put ſtraight to ſea; whom all the fleet followed ſauing three and thirty, which being in the riuer further then he, and at the entrance out of the ſame, finding the winde and tide too hard againſt them, were inforced to caſt ancre there for that night; amongſt whom, by good fortune, was the Foreſight, and in her ſir Edward Norris. And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driuen from the reſt of the Fleet by a great ſtorme, (for all that day was the greateſt ſtorme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to truſt to a Spaniſh Fiſher-man (who was taken two dayes before at ſea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpoſe he had concluded with ſir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courſes for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe ſuch with victuall, as were left in wonderfull diſtreſſe by hauing the victuals that came laſt, caried away the day before to ſea.

The next day he ſet ſaile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of Iuly came into Plimmouth, where he found ſir Francis Drake and all the Queens ſhips, with many of the others, but not all: for the Fleet was diſperſed into other harbors, ſome led by a deſire of returning frõ whence they came, and ſome being poſſeſſed of the hulks, ſought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

Preſently vpon their arriuall there, the Generals diſſolued all the armie ſauing 8 companies which are yet held together, giuing euery ſouldier fiue ſhillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in ſeruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at leſſe then halfe their pay, for ſuch is the allowance in her maieſties ſhips to her mariners, ſo as there remained but 10 ſhillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vſe, ſo as euery common ſouldier diſcharged, receiued more in money, victuals, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithſtanding, there be euen in the ſame place where thoſe things haue paſſed, that either do not or will not conceiue the ſouldiers eſtate, by comparing their pouertie and the ſhortneſſe of the time together, but lay ſome iniuries vpõ the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but eſpecially here in London, I find there haue bene ſome falſe prophets gone before vs, telling ſtrange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who deſirous of honour doe put themſelues into the actions thereof, ſo doeth it many more dull ſpirited, who though their thoughts reach not ſo high as others, yet doe they liſten how other mens acts doe paſſe, and either beleeuing what any man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to ſome greater mans faith, become ſecretaries againſt a noted trueth. The one ſort of theſe doe take their opinions from the high way ſide, or at the furtheſt goe no further thẽ Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage: where, if they meet with any, whoſe capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for ſpoile, complaining on the hardneſſe and miſery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credite to theſe honeſt men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they ſee any of thoſe maleconcents (as euery iourney yeeldeth ſome) doe runne vnto them like tempting ſpirits to confirme them in their humour, with aſſurance that they foreſaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euery report: for you ſee there haue bene many more beholders of theſe things that haue paſſed, then actors in the ſame; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dreſſed, to drinke ſometimes water, to watch much, or to ſee men die and be ſlaine, was a miſerable thing; and not hauing ſo giuen their mindes to the ſeruice, as they are any thing inſtructed thereby, doe for want of better matter diſcourſe ordinarily of theſe things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement ſeene into it, which their places required) hath giuen them far more honorable purpoſe and argument of diſcourſe.

Theſe mens diſcontentments and miſlikings before our comming home haue made mee labour thus much to inſtruct you in the certaintie of euery thing, becauſe I would not willingly haue you miſcaried in the iudgements of them, wherein you ſhall giue me leaue ſomewhat to dilate vpon a queſtion, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our eſtate to maintain an offenſiue war againſt the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer territories, ſeeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

A worthy queſtion dilated.

There is no good ſubiect that wil make queſtiõ, whether it be behoofeful for vs to hold friendſhip with theſe neighbours of ours or no, aſwell in reſpect of the infinite proportion of their ſhipping, which muſt ſtand either with vs or againſt vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, eſpecially that of Vliſhing, by the fauour whereof our Nauie may continually keepe the Narrow ſeas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete againſt vs, then the Spaniard ſhall neede to annoy vs withall, who being now diſtreſſed by our common enemie, I thinke it moſt expedient for our ſafetie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeeres loſt vnto him. The one without doubt her maieſtie may do without difficultie, and in ſo honorable ſort as he ſhal neuer be able to diſpoſſeſſe her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more ſpeedily or conueniently by keeping an armie there, then by ſending one againſt him into his owne countrey: let him foreſee of how many men and continuall ſupplies that armie muſt conſiſt, and what intollerable expenſes it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynſt him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie aſſembly againſt him, how this wiſe enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occaſions enough for our armie within fewe moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a ſpoyled field: where though our prouiſion may bee ſuch of our owne as we ſtarue not, yet is our weakneſſe in any ſtrange countrey ſuch, as with ſicknes and miſerie we ſhall be diſſolued. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repoſſeſſe thoſe countreys which haue bene lately loſt, will be a warre of longer continuance then we ſhall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what ſhould hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long ſince ſet downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholy to recouer thoſe Low countries, but by bringing the warre vpon England it ſelfe, which hath alwayes aſſiſted them againſt him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently vrged by the laſt yeeres loſſe he ſuſtained vpon our coaſts, and the great diſhonor this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we ſhall giue him reſpite to doe it, but he will mightily aduance his purpoſe, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull deſirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wiſh euen in true and honeſt zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perſwaded that there is no ſuch aſſured meanes for the ſafetie of our eſtate, as to buſy him with a well furniſhed armie in Spaine, which hath ſo many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as ſhall be needfull for ſuch an inuaſion. And hauing an armie of 20000 roially furniſhed there, we ſhall not need to take much care for their payment: for ſhal not Lisbon be thought able to make ſo few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found ſo abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what ſmall loſſe it may be won, is not here to ſhew; but why it was not won by vs, I haue herein ſhewed you. Or is not the ſpoyle of Siuil ſufficient to pay more then ſhall bee needfull to bee ſent againſt it, whoſe defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the preſent be raiſed, is not to be eſteemed, becauſe wee haue diſcouered what kind of men they be, euen ſuch as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withſtand any reſolute attempt of ours agaynſt them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot ſay that euer they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of leſſe difficultie to ſpoyle, able to ſatiſfie our forces?

But admit, that if vpon this alarme that we haue giuen him, he tendering his naturall and neereſt ſoile before his further remmooued off gouernments, do draw his forces of old ſouldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we ſhould haue kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not ſtirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Seas, and poſſeſſing his principall roades, are we not in poſſibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to preuent him of his prouiſions comming out of the Eaſt countreys; without the which, neither the ſubiect of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Nauie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe ſome yeeres find themſelues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the leaſt part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richeſt prince in Chriſtendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe maſtes, nor make powder out of his mettals, but is to be ſupplied of them all from thence. Of whom (ſome will hold opinion) it is no reaſon to make prize, becauſe they bee not our enemies: and that our diſagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and ſo impoueriſh our countrey. Of whoſe mind I can hardly be drawen to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his ſword, ſo as I thereby haue the aduantage againſt him; what ſhall I thinke of him that putteth a new ſword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for vs in theſe times to looſe our trades of Cloth, then by ſuffering theſe miſchiefes, to put in hazard whether we ſhall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receiue our cloth, the neceſſary vſe thereof in all places is ſuch, as they will find meanes to take it from vs with our ſufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impoſſible) that we damnifie him neither at ſea nor land (for vnleſſe it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he ſhall neuer be able to withſtand vs) yet ſhall we by holding him at his home, free our ſelues from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them conſider that beſt can iudge, and haue obſerued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the ſouldier, in that it doeth ſet before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himſelfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader caſteth vp his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad muſt fight to make himſelfe way, as not knowing what place or ſtrength to truſt vnto. I will not ſay what I obſerued in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to aſſaile vs here: but I wiſh that all England knew what terror we gaue to the ſame people that frighted vs, by viſiting them at their owne houſes.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great againſt the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirſted after the wealth of Perſia, and were bound to fight it out to the laſt man, becauſe the laſt man knew no ſafer way to ſaue himſelfe then by fighting? Whereas the Perſians either truſting to continue ſtil maſters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuader, began to practiſe againſt their owne king: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themſelues euen to the laſt, to ſee what courſe the Conquerour would take in his Conqueſt. And did not the aduiſe of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the firſt, prooue very ſound and honourable to his countrey? Who ſeeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neereneſſe of their enemies Forces, and the loſſes they daily ſuſtained by them, gaue counſell rather by way of diuerſion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to aſſaile, then by a defenſiue warre at home to remaine ſubiect to the common ſpoiles of an aſſailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the firſt were not ſo fortunate againſt them, as ours haue bene in this ſmal time againſt the Spaniard. The good ſucceſſe whereof may encourage vs to take armes reſolutely againſt him. And I beſeech God it may ſtirre vp all men that are particularly intereſted therein, to bethinke themſelues how ſmall a matter will aſſure them of their ſafetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Bate, ſo farre of: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

He taketh not armes againſt vs by any pretenſe of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious deſire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her maieſties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are beſtowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition ſoeuer are offered for ſpoyle vnto the common ſouldier. Let euery man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the ſmalleſt part of their ſtore for the aſſurance of the reſt. It were not much for euery Iuſtice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the propereſt and moſt ſeruiceable men at euery muſter from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of theſe idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riſeth by the diſſenſions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euery officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maieſties courts, who without checke doe ſuddenly grow to great wealth, honeſtly to bring foorth the myſticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke preciſely for the Tenths of euery mans increaſe, ſimply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulneſſe to her Maieſtie, (who hath continued for all our ſafeties a moſt chargeable warre both at land & ſea) beſtow the ſame for her honor & their owne aſſurance, vpon an army which may make this bloody enemy ſo to know himſelfe and her Maieſties power, as he ſhall bethinke him what it is to mooue a ſtirring people? Who, though they haue receiued ſome ſmall checke by the ſickneſſe of this laſt iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like voyage were to bee ſupported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouiſion) but there would of all ſortes moſt willingly put themſelues into the ſame: ſome caried with an honorable deſire to be in action, and ſome in loue of ſuch would affectionately folow their fortunes; ſome in thirſting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and ſome in hope of the plentifull ſpoyles to be found in thoſe countreys, hauing bene there already and returned poore, would deſire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the laſt: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their liues agaynſt them, whom euery good Engliſhman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England, thirſting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall ſlauerie.

Agaynſt

Againſt them is true honour to be gotten, for that we ſhall no ſooner ſet foot in their land, but that euery ſtep we tread will yeeld vs new occaſion of action, which I wiſh the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow thoſe ſoft vnprofitable pleaſures wherein they now conſume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magaſins of the fruits and profits of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, whereunto I wiſh our yong able men, who, (againſt the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themſelues Seruing men, rather to bend their deſires and affections, then to attend their double liuerie and 40 ſhillings by the yeere-wages, and the reuerſion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a diſh to their maſters table. But let me here reprehend my ſelfe and craue pardō for entring into a matter of ſuch ſtate and conſequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a moſt graue and honorable counſell, who wil in their wiſdoms foreſee the dangers that may be threatned agaynſt vs. And why do I labour to diſquiet the ſecuritie of theſe happy gentlemen, & the trade of thoſe honeſt ſeruing men, by perſwading them to the warres when I ſee the profeſſion thereof ſo ſlenderly eſteemed? For though all our hope of peace be fruſtrate, and our quarels determinable by the ſword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his penſionaries induſtry, cōfined the vnited Prouinces into a narow roume, & almoſt diſunited the ſame: if he be now in a good way to harbor himſelfe in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleaſure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can truſt to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common ſort are from reuerencing or regarding any perſons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the baſe and common ſouldier hath bene tollerated to ſpeake againſt the Captaine, and the ſouldier and Captaine againſt the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of baſe condicion doe dare to cenſure the doings of them, of whoſe acts they be not worthy to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raile neuer ſo much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worſhipped, whoſoeuer inueigh againſt him. But the ancient Engliſh honour is taken from our men of war, & their profeſſion in diſgrace, though neuer ſo neceſſary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone ſtil to fight for vs as he did the laſt yeere, or we be inchanted with ſome diueliſh opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminiſh the reputation of them, vpon whoſe ſhoulders the burden of our defence againſt the enemie muſt lie when occaſion ſhall be offred. For whenſoeuer he ſhall ſet foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remooue him out of poſſeſſion: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then muſt thoſe men ſtand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought vnworthie of any eſtimation.

May the burning of one towne (which coſt the king then being ſix times as much as this hath done her maieſtie, wherein were loſt ſeuen times as many men as in any one ſeruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders ſo highly reputed and ſounded out by the hiſtorie of the Realme; and can our voyage be ſo meanly eſteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the loſſe of fortie men in any ſuch attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward ſome with the greateſt titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell loſt, were neuer able to reenforce themſelues againſt him; and ſhall they in this time who haue ouerthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, beſieged the marqueſſe of Saralba 15 dayes together, that ſhould haue bene the Generall of the Armie againſt vs, brought away ſo much of his artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthily eſteemed of?

Is it poſſible that ſome in ſome times ſhould receiue their reward for looking vpon an enemie, and ours in this time not receiue ſo much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemie at handie ſtrokes?

But it is true that no man ſhall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aſide my Armes till that profeſſion ſhal haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either ſome more fortunate time to vſe them, or ſome other good occaſion to make me forget them.

But what? ſhall the blind opinion of this monſter, a beaſt of many heads, (for ſo hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cauſe me to neglect the profeſſion from whence I chalenge ſome reputation, or diminiſh my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nouriſhed me? No, it was for her ſake I firſt tooke armes, and for her ſake I will handle them ſo long as I ſhall bee able to vſe them: not regarding how ſome men in priuate conuenticles do meaſure mens eſtimations by their owne humors; nor how euery popular perſon doeth giue ſentence on euery mans actions by the worſt accidents. But attending the gracious aſpect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iuſtice of her moſt rare and graue aduiſors, who by their heedie looking into euery mans worth, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and aſſuring you that there ſhall neuer any thing happen more pleaſing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in ſome honorable iourney againſt the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will ceaſe my complaint: and with them that deſerue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduiſed cenſure of our malicious reprouers.

If I haue ſeemed in the beginning hereof troubleſome vnto you, in the diſcouering of thoſe impediments, and anſwering the ſlanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous ſort are laid as blemiſhes vpon the iourney, and reproches vpon the Generals (hauing indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the neceſſitie of conſeruing the reputation of the action in generall, & the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my ſufficient excuſe: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our country more dreaded & renowmed, then any act that euer England vndertooke before. Or if you haue thought my perſwaſible diſcourſe long in the latter end; let the affectionate deſire of my countreys good be therein anſwerable for me. And ſuch as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your ſelfe, and not to be deliuered to the publique view of the world, leaſt any man take offence thereat; which ſome particular men may ſeeme iuſtly to do, in that hauing deſerued very well, I ſhould not herein giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpoſe in this priuate diſcourſe hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of thoſe principall matters that haue paſſed, wherein I haue onely taken notes of thoſe men who either commaunded euery ſeruice, or were of chiefeſt marke: if therefore you ſhall impart the ſame to one, and he to another, and ſo it paſſe through my hands, I know not what conſtructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very neceſſary (I muſt confeſſe) that there ſhould be ſome true manifeſtation made of theſe things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very vnfit to deliuer my cenſure of any matter in publique, & moſt vnwilling to haue my weakneſſe diſcouered in priuate. And ſo I doe leaue you to the happy ſucceſſe of your accuſtomed good exerciſes, earneſtly wiſhing that there may be ſome better acceptance made of the fruits of your ſtudies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of Auguſt 1589.

The voiage of the right honorable *George* Erle of *Cumberland* to the *Azores, &c.* Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier maſter *Edward Wright.*

The right honorable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his ſmall Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ſhips royall; the Meg and Margaret ſmall ſhips, (one of which alſo he was forced ſoone after to ſend home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a ſmall Carauell, and hauing aſſembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſaylers, embarked himſelfe and them, and ſet ſaile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonſhire, the 18 day of Iune 1589. being accompanied with theſe captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Chriſtopher Liſter a man of great reſolution, captaine Edward Carleſſe, *alias* Wright, who in ſir Francis Drakes Weſt-Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagena, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boſwell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounſon captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now ſir William Mounſon, M. Pigeon captaine of the Carauell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ſhips, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and ſo finding them to be Leaguers & lawful Priſes, we tooke them and ſent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fiſh for the moſt part from New-found-land, ſauing that there was part thereof diſtributed amongſt our ſmall Fleet, as we could find ſtowage for the ſame: and in the third, all their men were ſent home into France. The ſame day & the day folowing we met with ſome other ſhips, whom (when after ſome conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we diſmiſſed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our Engliſh ſhips, returning from the Portugall voiage which my lord relieued with victuals. The 13 day of Iuly being Sonday in the morning, we eſpied 11 ſhips without ſight of yͤ coaſt of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee preſently prepared for, & prouided to meet them, hauing firſt ſet forth captaine Mounſon in the Meg, before vs, to deſcry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there paſſed ſome ſhot betwixt them, Againſt them is true honour to be gotten, for that we ſhall no ſooner ſet foot in their land, but that euery ſtep we tread will yeeld vs new occaſion of action, which I wiſh the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow thoſe ſoft vnprofitable pleaſures wherein they now conſume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magaſins of the fruits and profits of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, whereunto I wiſh our yong able men, who, (againſt the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themſelues Seruing men, rather to bend their deſires and affections, then to attend their double liuerie and 40 ſhillings by the yeere wages, and the reuerſion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a diſh to their maſters table. But let me here reprehend my ſelfe and craue pardõ for entring into a matter of ſuch ſtate and conſequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a moſt graue and honorable counſell, who wil in their wiſdoms foreſee the dangers that may be threatned agaynſt vs. And why do I labour to diſquiet the ſecuritie of theſe happy gentlemen, & the trade of thoſe honeſt ſeruing men, by perſwading them to the warres when I ſee the profeſſion thereof ſo ſlenderly eſteemed? For though all our hope of peace be fruſtrate, and our quarels determinable by the ſword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his penſionaries induſtry, cõfined the vnited Prouinces into a narow roume, & almoſt diſunited the ſame: if he be now in a good way to harbor himſelfe in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleaſure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can truſt to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common ſort are from reuerencing or regarding any perſons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the baſe and common ſouldier hath bene tollerated to ſpeake againſt the Captaine, and the ſouldier and Captaine againſt the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of baſe condicion doe dare to cenſure the doings of them, of whoſe acts they be not worthy to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raile neuer ſo much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worſhipped, whoſoeuer inueigh againſt him. But the ancient Engliſh honour is taken from our men of war, & their profeſſion in diſgrace, though neuer ſo neceſſary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone ſtil to fight for vs as he did the laſt yeere, or we be inchanted with ſome diueliſh opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminiſh the reputation of them, vpon whoſe ſhoulders the burden of our defence againſt the enemie muſt lie when occaſion ſhall be offred. For whenſoeuer he ſhall ſet foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remooue him out of poſſeſſion: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then muſt thoſe men ſtand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought vnworthie of any eſtimation.

May the burning of one towne (which coſt the king then being ſix times as much as this hath done her maieſtie, wherein were loſt ſeuen times as many men as in any one ſeruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders ſo highly reputed and ſounded out by the hiſtorie of the Realme; and can our voyage be ſo meanly eſteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the loſſe of fortie men in any ſuch attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward ſome with the greateſt titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell loſt, were neuer able to reenforce themſelues againſt him; and ſhall they in this time who haue ouerthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, beſieged the marqueſſe of Saralba 15 dayes together, that ſhould haue bene the Generall of the Armie againſt vs, brought away ſo much of his artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthily eſteemed of?

Is it poſſible that ſome in ſome times ſhould receiue their reward for looking vpon an enemie, and ours in this time not receiue ſo much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemie at handie ſtrokes?

But it is true that no man ſhall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aſide my Armes till that profeſſion ſhal haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either ſome more fortunate time to vſe them, or ſome other good occaſion to make me forget them.

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The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our Engliſh ſhips, returning from the Portugall voyage which my lord relieued with victuals. The 13 day of Iuly being Sonday in the morning, we eſpied 11 ſhips without ſight of yͤ coaſt of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee preſently prepared for, & prouided to meet them, hauing firſt ſet forth captaine Mounſon in the Meg, before vs, to deſcry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there paſſed ſome ſhot betwixt them, whereby, as alſo by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting foorth their flags, we perceiued that ſome fight was likely to follow. Hauing therefore fitted our ſelues for them, we made what haſt we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came vp to them with the Victory. But after ſome few ſhot & ſome litle fight paſſed betwixt vs, they yeelded themſelues, & the maſters of them all came aboord vs, ſhewing their ſeueral Paſports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Synamom, which they confeſſed to be the goods of a Iew in Lisbon, which ſhould haue bene caried by them into their country to his Factor there, and ſo finding it by their owne confeſſion to be lawful Priſe, the ſame was ſoone after taken and deuided amongſt our whole company, the value wherof was eſteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two ſhillings the pound.

The 17 day the foreſaid ſhips were diſmiſſed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for ſailers, we tooke to helpe vs, and ſo held on our courſe for the Azores.

The 1 of Auguſt being Friday in the morning, we had ſight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eaſtermoſt of the Azores toward which we ſailed all that day, and at night hauing put foorth a Spaniſh flag in our main-top, that ſo they might the leſſe ſuſpect vs, we approched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we eſpied 3 ſhips riding at anker and ſome other veſſels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, ſending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hauſers, and let them driue into the ſea. Our men comming to them, found yͭ one of thoſe greateſt ſhips was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottiſh Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other ſmal ſhips that lay neere vnder the caſtle there, our men let looſe and towed them away vnto vs, moſt of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-boord and ſwimming to ſhore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vprore, and anſwered with the like crying. The caſtle diſcharged ſome great ſhot at our boats, but ſhooting without marke by reaſon of the darkneſſe they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewiſe diſcharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and ſhortly after the Scottiſh maſter, & ſome other with him, came aboord to my lord doing their dutie, and offring their ſeruice, &c. Theſe 3 ſhips were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Siuil.

3 ſhips forcibly towed out of harbour.

The ſame day our Carauel chaſed a Spaniſh Carauel to ſhore at S. Michael, which caried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of Auguſt we had ſight of a litle ſhip which wee chaſed towards Tercera with our pinnaſſe (the weather being calme) and towards euening we ouertooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, ſilke, taffata, &c. The 14 of Auguſt we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in ſome freſh water and freſh victuals, ſuch as the Iland did afford. So we manned our boats with ſome 120 men and rowed towards the ſhore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were aſſembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we alſo did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderſtand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury thẽ, but that he ment onely to haue ſome freſh water and freſh victuals of them, by way of exchange for ſome prouiſion that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they preſently agreed willingly, & ſent ſome of their company for beeues and ſheepe, and we in the meane ſeaſon marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cauſe hereof, they anſwered, Feare; as their vſuall maner was when any ſhips came neere their coaſt.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, litle inhabited by reaſon that it is moleſted with ſhips of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine Engliſh ſhips of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At euening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fiſh purſued vs for the ſpace well nigh of two miles together, diſtant for the moſt part frõ the boats ſterne not a ſpeares length, and ſometimes ſo neere that the boat ſtroke vpon him, the tips of whoſe finnes about the gils (appearing oft times aboue the water) were by eſtimation 4 or 5 yards aſunder, and his iawes gaping a yard and an halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ouer-turning the pinnaſſe, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we eſcaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ſhip called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & ſped vs thitherward with all the ſpeed we could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the ſeuen and twentieth day of Auguſt, after ſunne ſet, where we eſpied certaine ſhippes ryding at anker, to whom we ſent in our Skiffe with Captaine Liſter and Captaine Monſon in her to diſcouer the roaders: and leaſt any daunger ſhould happen to our boate, we ſent in likewiſe the Sawſie-Iacke and the ſmall Carauell; but the wind being off the ſhoare, the ſhippes were not able to fet it ſo nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neuertheleſſe the boate did, and clapped a ſhippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteene caſt peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the ſpace of one houre vntill the comming vp of other boates to the reſkue of her, which were ſent from the ſhippes, and then a freſh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hauſe, wee entred her on the one ſide, and all the Spaniards lept ouerboord on the other, ſaue Iuan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became poſſeſſors of her. This ſhippe was mored to the Caſtle which ſhot at vs all this while: the onely hurt which we receiued of all this ſhot was this, that the maſter of our Carauell had the calfe of his legge ſhot away. This ſhippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed her cleare off the caſtle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out fiue ſmall ſhips more, one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates ſkins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fiſh, which two laſt we let driue in the ſea making none account of them. The other foure we ſent for England the 30 of Auguſt.

At the taking of theſe Prizes were conſorted with vs ſome other ſmall men of warre, as Maiſter Iohn Dauis, with his ſhippe, Pinneſſe, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ſhip, whoſe owner was Sir Walter Ralegh, the Barke of Lime, which was alſo conſorted with vs before.

The laſt of Auguſt in the morning we came in ſight of Tercera, being about ſome nine or ten leagues from ſhoare, where we eſpied comming towards vs, a ſmall boat vnder ſaile, which ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange vnto vs, being ſo farre from land, and no ſhippe in ſight, to which they might belong: but comming neere, they put vs out of doubt, ſhewing they were Engliſh men (eight in number) that had lately beene priſoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to eſcape at that time, with that ſmall boat committed themſelues to the ſea, vnder Gods prouidence, hauing no other yard for their maine ſaile, but two pipe ſtaues tyed together by the endes, and no more prouiſion of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and boſomes. Hauing taken them all into the Victorie, they gaue vs certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before.

An eſcape of 8. Engliſhmen from Tercera.

Thus beeing without any further hope of thoſe Caraks, we reſolued to returne for Fayall, with intent to ſurprize the towne, but vntill the ninth of September, we had either the winde ſo contrary, or the weather ſo calme, that in all that time, we made ſcarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring vp and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wedneſday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord ſent Captaine Liſter, with one of Gracioſa (whom Captaine Munſon had before taken) and ſome others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Liſter to my Lord, to whom hee gaue this choice: either to ſuffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without reſiſtance, where he and his companie would remaine a ſpace without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come vnto him and compound for the ranſome of the Towne: or elſe to ſtand to the hazard of warre.

With theſe words they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platforme anſwered, that it was againſt their oath and allegeance to king Philip to giue ouer without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of euery ſhip, to be preſently manned, and ſoone after landed his men on the ſandie ſhoare, vnder the ſide of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme: vpon the toppe of which hill certaine horſemen and footmen ſhewed themſelues, and other two companies alſo appeared, with enſignes diſplayed, the one before the towne vpon the ſhore by the ſea ſide, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter vs; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would haue come to helpe the Townesmen: during which time, they in the platforme alſo played vpon vs with great Ordinance. Notwithſtanding my L. (hauing ſet his men in order) marched along the ſea ſhore, vpon the ſands, betwixt the ſea & the towne towards the platforme for the ſpace of a mile or more, & then the ſhore growing rockie, & permitting no further progreſſe without much difficultie, he entred into the towne & paſſed through the ſtreet without reſiſtance, vnto the platforme; for thoſe companies before mentioned at my Lo. approching, were ſoone diſperſed, and ſuddenly vaniſhed.

The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.

Likewiſe they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to ſcale the walles, to enter and take poſſeſſion without reſiſtance.

In the meane time our ſhippes ceaſed not to batter the foreſaid Towne and Platforme with great ſhotte, till ſuch time as we ſaw the Red-Croſſe of England flouriſhing vpon the Forefront thereof.

A deſcription of the towne of Faial.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that is land, & is ſituate directly ouer againſt the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the Weſt Northweſt from that mountaine, being deuided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by eſtimation about ſome two or three leagues in bredth betweene the Iſles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned ſome three hundred houſholds, their houſes were faire and ſtrongly builded of lime and ſtone, and double couered with hollow tyles much like our roofe-tyles, but that they are leſſe at the one end then at the other.

Euery houſe almoſt had a ciſterne or well in a garden on the backe ſide: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe cluſters of grapes) making pleaſant ſhadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly knowen and vſed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddiſh, to make them ſeeme freſh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Orenges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Ceder I thinke) is there very common, euen for building and firing.

My Lord hauing poſſeſſed himſelfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefull of the preſeruation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or ſouldier ſhould enter into any houſe, to make any ſpoyle thereof. But eſpecially he was carefull that the Churches and houſes of religion there ſhould be kept inuiolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for thoſe places: but the reſt of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for deſire of ſpoyle & prey, was rifled, & ranſacked by the ſouldiers & mariners, who ſcarcely left any houſe vnſearched, out of which they tooke ſuch things as liked them, as cheſtes of ſweete wood, chaires, cloth, couerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where ſome of them alſo were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirtie Franciſcan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to ſpeake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the ſame order, about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixe. The tables in the hall had ſeates for the one ſide onely, and were alwayes couered, as readie at all times for dinner or ſupper.

From Wedneſday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, vntill the Inhabitans had agreed and payed for the ranſome of the towne, two thouſand duckats, moſt part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted vpon their carriages, betweene Barricados, vpon a platforme towardes the ſea-ſide, all which Ordinance wee tooke, and ſet the platforme on fire, and ſo departed: My Lord hauing inuited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, ſo many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (ſaue onely Diego Gomes the Gouernour, who came but once onely to parle about the ranſome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and ſolemnely diſmiſſed with ſound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter ſubſcribed with his owne hand, importing a requeſt to all other Engliſhmen to abſtaine from any further moleſting them, ſaue onely for freſh water, and victuals neceſſary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had beene priſoners there: Alſo at Fayal we ſet at libertie a priſoner tranſlated from S. Iago, who was couſin to a ſeruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: Theſe priſoners we deteyned with vs.

On Munday we ſent our boates a ſhore for freſh water, which (by reaſon of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwiſe haue beene hard to be gotten there. On Tueſday likewiſe hauing not yet ſufficiently ſerued our turnes, we ſent againe for freſh water, which was then not ſo eaſie to be gotten as the day before, by reaſon of a great winde: which in the afternoone increaſed alſo in ſuch ſort, that we thought it not ſafe to ride ſo neere the land; whereupon we weyed anker and ſo departed Northweſt and by weſt, alongſt the coaſt of Fayal Iland, Some of the Inhabitants comming aboord to vs this day, tolde vs that alwayes about that time of the yeere ſuch windes Weſt Southweſt blew on that coaſt.

This day, as we ſayled neere Saint Georges Iland, a huge fiſh lying ſtill a litle vnder water, or rather euen therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the ſea breaking vpon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in ſuch ſort as ſeeming at the firſt it had beene a rocke, and the ſhip ſtemming directly with him, we were put in a ſudden feare for the time: till ſoone after we ſaw him moue out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightned much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine, which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the ſame. The 23 of September we came againe into Faial road to weigh an anker which (for haſte and feare of foule weather) wee had left there before, where we went on ſhore to ſee the towne, the people (as we thought) hauing now ſetled themſelues there againe: but notwithſtanding many of them through too much diſtruſtfulneſſe, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the firſt ſight of vs: vntill ſuch time as they were aſſured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to iniury them, but eſpecially to haue freſh water, and ſome other things needefull for vs, contenting them for the ſame.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought ſuch things as we deſired for our money as if we had bene in England. And they helped to fill vs in freſh water, receiuing for their paines ſuch ſatiſfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had ſufficiently watered, by reaſon of a great tempeſt that ſuddenly aroſe in the night, in ſo much, that my Lord himſelfe ſoone after midnight rayſed our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himſelfe alſo together with them haling at the Capſten, and after chearing them vp with wine.

The next day we ſent our Carauell and the Sawſie-Iacke to the road of Saint Michael, to ſee what they could eſpie: we following after them vpon the 27 day, plying to and fro, came within ſight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driuen to leeward, and could not get neere the Iland.

The firſt of October wee ſayled alongſt Tercera, and euen againſt Braſill (a promontorie neere to Angra the ſtrongeſt Towne in that Iland) wee eſpied ſome boates comming to the Towne, and made out towardes them: but being neere to the lande they came to ſhoare and eſcaped vs.

In the afternoone we came neere to Gracioſa, whereupon my Lord forthwith ſent Captain Liſter to the Ilanders, to let them vnderſtand that his deſire was onely to haue water and wine of them, and ſome freſh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They anſwered they could giue no reſolute anſwere to this demaund, vntill the Gouernors of the Iland had conſulted thereupon, and therefore deſired him to ſend againe to them the next day.

Vpon the ſecond day of October early in the morning, we ſent forth our long boat and Pinneſſe, with emptie Caſke, and about ſome fiftie or ſixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Dauis his ſhippe: for we now wanted all the reſt of our conſorts. But when our men would haue landed, the Ilanders ſhot at them, and would not ſuffer them. And troupes of men appeared vpon land, with enſignes diſplayed to reſiſt vs: So our boates rowed alongſt the ſhoare, to finde ſome place where they might land, not with too much diſaduantage: our ſhippes and they ſtill ſhooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of looſing many of their liues, and ſo were conſtrayned to retire without receiuing any anſwere, as was promiſed the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whileſt our boates were together in conſulting what was beſt to be done: two of them were ſtroken with a great ſhot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one loſt his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was ſhot into his necke with a ſmall ſhot, without any great hurt.

With theſe newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre ſpent before we could come neere them with our ſhip: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to looſe many men: which might turne not only to the ouerthrow of our voiage, but alſo put the Queenes ſhip in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it beſt to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle maruell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had ſhewed towards his men, ſeeing they were ſent by him vnto them in peaceable manner, to receiue their anſwere which they had promiſed to giue the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his ſake, he could not put vp ſo great iniury at their hands, without iuſt reuengement vpon them: notwithſtanding for Don Antonio his ſake, whoſe friend he was, he was yet content to ſend to them once againe for their anſwere: At night Captaine Liſter returned with this anſwere from them. That their Gunner ſhot off one of their peeces, which was charged with powder onely, and was ſtopped; which our men thinking it had bin ſhot at them, ſhot againe, and ſo beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would ſend my

Lord a reſolute anſwere to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Gouernours minde herein. The next morning there came vnto vs a boate from the ſhoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Iland, who agreed with my Lord that hee ſhould haue of them ſixtie buttes of wine, and freſh victuals to refreſh himſelfe and his companie withall: but as for freſh water, they could not ſatiſfie our neede therein, hauing themſelues little or none, ſauing ſuch as they ſaued in veſſels or ciſternes when it rayned, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requeſted that our ſouldiers might not come on ſhoare, for they themſelues would bring all they had promiſed to the water-ſide, which requeſt was granted, we keeping one of them aboord with vs vntill their promiſe was performed, and the other we ſent to ſhoare with our emptie Caſke, and ſome of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with ſuch other prouiſion as was promiſed: ſo the Margaret, Captaine Dauis his ſhippe, and another of Weymouth ſtayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our prouiſion. This ſhippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth ſixteene thouſand pound, which brought vs newes that the Weſt-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very ſhortly. But we with the Victorie put off to ſea, and vpon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French ſhippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the vnholy league) loden with fiſh from New-found land: which had beene in ſo great a tempeſt, that ſhe was conſtrayned to cut her mayne maſt ouerboord for her ſafetie, and was now comming to Gracioſa, to repaire her ſelfe. But ſo hardly it befell her, that ſhe did not onely not repaire her former loſſes, but loſt all that remayned vnto vs. The chiefe of her men we tooke into our ſhip, and ſent ſome of our men, mariners, and ſouldiers into her to bring her into England.

Vpon the Sunday following at night, all our promiſed prouiſion was brought vnto vs from Gracioſa: and we friendly diſmiſſed the Ilanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Vpon Munday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, we plyed to and fro about thoſe Ilandes, being very rough weather. And vpon Thurſday at night, being driuen ſome three or foure leagues from Tercera, we ſaw fifteene ſaile of the Weſt-Indian Fleete comming into the Hauen at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was ſuch, that for the ſpace of foure dayes after, though wee lay as cloſe by the winde as was poſſible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we loſt our late French Prize, not being able to lie ſo neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where ſhee ſafely arriued. Vpon Munday we came very neere the Hauens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongſt them, and to haue fetched out ſome of them if it had beene poſſible: But in the end this enterpriſe was deemed too daungerous, conſidering the ſtrength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the firſt ſight of our approching, and lying vnder the protection of the Caſtle of Braſill, on the one ſide (hauing in it fiue and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other ſide wherein were 13 or 14 great braſſe pieces. Beſides, when we came neere land the winde prooued too ſcant for vs to attempt any ſuch enterpriſe.

Vpon Tueſday the fourteenth of October we ſent our boate to the roade to ſound the depth, to ſee if there were any ankoring place for vs, where we might lie without ſhot of the Caſtle and Fort, and within ſhot of ſome of thoſe ſhippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or ſinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out ſuch a place as we deſired, but the winde would not ſuffer vs to come neere it, and againe if we could haue ankored there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themſelues a ground to ſaue their liues and liberties, and ſome of their goods, then come foorth to looſe their liberties and goods to vs their enemies. So we ſhot at them to ſee if we could reach them, but it fell farre ſhort. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come foorth ſo long as we watched for them before the hauens mouth, or within ſight of them. For the ſpace of fiue dayes after we put off to ſea, and lay without ſight of them, and ſent a pinneſſe to lie out of ſight cloſe by the ſhore, to bring vs word if they ſhould come foorth. After a while the Pinneſſe returned and tolde vs that thoſe ſhips in the Hauen had taken downe their ſayles, and let downe their toppe maſtes: ſo that wee ſuppoſed they would neuer come foorth, till they perceiued vs to bee quite gone.

Wherefore vpon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottiſh ſhips at Saint Michael, we ſayled thither, and found there one Scottiſh roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eaſtwards: of whom we had for our reliefe ſome ſmall quantitie of wine (viz. ſome fiue or ſixe buttes of them all) and ſome freſh water, but nothing ſufficient to ſerue our turne.

Vpon Tueſday the one and twentieth of October, we ſent our long boate to ſhore for freſh water at a brooke a little to the Weſtwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants eſpying vs came downe with two Enſignes diſplayed, and about ſome hundred and fiftie men armed, to withſtand our landing. So our men hauing ſpent all their powder vpon them in attempting to land, and not being able to preuaile at ſo great oddes, returned fruſtrate.

From hence we departed towardes Saint Maries Iſland, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coaſt of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore vpon Friday following, my Lord ſent Captaine Liſter, and Captaine Amias Preſton now Sir Amias Preſton (who not long before came to vs out of his owne ſhippe, and ſhe looſing vs in the night, hee was forced to tarry ſtill with vs) with our long boate and Pinneſſe, and ſome ſixtie or ſeuentie ſhotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant vs leaue to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freſhly vntill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being ſomething weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the ſhore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they eſpied (to their refreſhing) two ſhips ryding at anker hard vnder the towne, whereupon hauing ſhifted ſome 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Dauis his boate, being too much peſtered in our owne, and retayning with vs ſome 20 ſhot in the pinneſſe, we made way towardes them with all the ſpeede we could.

By the way as we rowed we ſaw boates paſſing betwixt the roaders and the ſhore, and men in their ſhirtes ſwimming and wading to ſheare, who as we perceiued afterwardes, were labouring to ſet thoſe ſhippes faſt on ground, and the Inhabitants as buſily preparing themſelues for the defence of thoſe roaders, their Iland, and themſelues. When we came neere them, Captaine Liſter commaunded the Trumpets to be ſounded, but prohibited any ſhot to be diſcharged at them, vntill they had direction from him: But ſome of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he ſayd, immediatly vpon the ſound of the Trumpets diſcharged their pieces at the Ilanders, which for the moſt part lay in trenches and fortefied places vnſeene, to their owne beſt aduantage: who immediatly ſhot likewiſe at vs, both with ſmall and great ſhot, without danger to themſelues: Notwithſtanding Captaine Liſter earneſtly haſtened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beganne to ſhrinke at that ſhot, flying ſo faſt about their eares, and himſelfe firſt entring one of the ſhippes that lay a litle further from ſhoare then the other, we ſpedily followed after him into her, ſtill plying them with our ſhot. And hauing cut in ſunder her Cables and Hauſers, towed her away with our Pinneſſe. In the meane time Captaine Dauis his boate ouertooke vs and entred into the other ſhippe, which alſo (as the former) was forſaken by all her men: but they were conſtrayned to leaue her & to come againe into their boate (whileſt ſhot and ſtones from ſhoare flew faſt amongſt them) finding her to ſticke ſo faſt a grounde, that they could not ſtire her: which the Towneſmen alſo perceiuing, and ſeeing that they were but fewe in number, and vs (buſied about the other ſhip) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned vnto vs, and ſo together we came away towards the Victory, towing after vs the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Braſill, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men ſlaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had litle hurt, lying for the moſt part behind ſtone walles, which were builded one aboue another hard by the ſea ſide, vpon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne ſtoode betwixt two valleyes. Vpon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (ſuch as they had) wherewith they ſhot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes ſide, and lay ſtill in the ſhippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the ſame Iland, but not knowing before the inconuenience and diſaduantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned fruſtrate.

The ſame night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Iland for freſh water, whither we came on Munday following October 27, and hauing eſpied where a ſpout of water came running downe: the pinneſſe and long boate were preſently manned and ſent vnder the conduct of Captaine Preſton, and Captaine Munſon, by whom my Lord ſent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant vs leaue to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithſtanding our men comming on ſhoare found ſome of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of vs hid themſelues amongſt the rockes.

And on Wedneſday following our boats returned with freſh water, whereof they brought onely ſixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no more, thinking (as it was ſuppoſed) that my Lord hauing no more prouiſion of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coaſt of Spaine, but ſtraight for the coaſt of England, as many of our men greatly deſired: notwithſtanding my Lord was vnwilling ſo to doe, and was minded the next day to haue taken in more water: but through roughneſſe of the ſeas and winde, and vnwillingneſſe of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purpoſed not to returne with ſo much prouiſion vnſpent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in ſuch ſort as mought giue ſome reaſonable contentment or ſatiſfaction to himſelfe and others.

Therefore becauſe no more water could now conueniently be gotten, and being vncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our ſtaying aboord alſo vncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyſe of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might be more ſufficiently prouided of freſh water, or goe by the coaſt of Spaine for England, with halfe ſo much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that euery meaſe ſhould bee allowed at one meale but halfe ſo much drinke as they were accuſtomed (except them that were ſicke or wounded) and ſo to goe for England, taking the coaſt of Spaine in our way, to ſee if we could that way make vp our voyage.

Vpon Saturday Octob. 31 we ſent the Margaret (becauſe ſhe leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Braſile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them ſome of our hurt and wounded men or otherwiſe ſicke were ſent home as they deſired, for England: but Captaine Monſon was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our courſe for the coaſt of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we ſeldome had. And vpon Tweſday following being the 4 of Nouemb. we eſpied a ſaile right before vs, which we chaſed till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we ouertaking her, ſhe ſtroke ſayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence ſhe was, they anſwered, a Portugall, and from Pernanbucke in Braſile. She was a ſhip of ſome 110 tuns burden, fraighted with 410 cheſtes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Braſill-wood, euery Kintall contayning one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone weſtwards: Captaine Preſton was preſently ſent vnto her, who brought the principall of her men aboord the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and ſouldiers were ſent aboord her. The Portugals of this Prize told vs that they ſaw another ſhip before them that day about noone. Hauing therefore diſpatched all things about the Prize aforeſaid, and left our long boat with Captaine Dauis, taking his leſſer boat with vs, we made way after this other ſhip with all the ſayles we could beare, holding on our courſe due Eaſt, and giuing order to Captaine Dauis his ſhip and the Prize that they ſhould follow vs due Eaſt, and that if they had ſight of vs the morning following they ſhould follow vs ſtill: if not, they ſhould goe for England.

The next morning we eſpied not the ſayle which we chaſed, and Captaine Dauis his ſhip and the Prize were behinde vs out of ſight: but the next Thurſday the ſixt of Nouember (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about ſixtie leagues from Lisbone weſtwards) early in the morning Captaine Preſton deſcried a ſayle ſome two or three leagues a head of vs, after which we preſently haſtened our chaſe, and ouertooke her about eight or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, hauing beene before at Braſill loden with Sugar and Braſile. Hauing ſent our boat to them to bring ſome of the chiefe of their men aboord the Victorie, in the meane time whileſt they were in comming to vs one out of the maine toppe eſpied another ſaile a head ſome three or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, hauing ſent her backe againe with ſome of our men aboord the prize, we purſued ſpeedily this new chaſe, with all the ſayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone ouertooke her: ſhe had made prouiſion to fight with vs, hauing hanged the ſides of the ſhip ſo thicke with hides (wherewith eſpecially ſhe was loden) that muſket ſhot could not haue pearced them: but yet we had diſcharged two great pieces of our Ordinance at her, ſhe ſtroke ſayle, and approching neerer, we aſking of whence they were, they anſwered from the Weſt-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truely called Vlhua.) This ſhip was of ſome three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her ſeuen hundred hides worth tenne ſhillings a peece: ſixe cheſts of Cochinell, euery cheſt houlding one hundred pound weight, and euery pound worth ſixe and twentie ſhillings and eight pence, and certaine cheſts of Sugar and China diſhes, with ſome plate and ſiluer.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behauiour ſeemed to be a graue, wiſe, and ciuill man: he had put in aduenture in this ſhippe fiue and twentie thouſand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefeſt men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Liſter with ſo manie other of the chiefeſt of our Mariners, ſouldiers, and ſaylers as were thought ſufficient, to the number of 20. or there abouts, were ſent into her. In the meane time (we ſtaying) our other prizes which followed after, came vp to vs. And nowe wee had our hands full and with ioy ſhaped our courſe for England, for ſo it was thought meeteſt, hauing now ſo many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongſt vs, that if we ſhould haue taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to haue manned them without endangering our ſelues. So about 6. of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had ouertaken vs) wee ſet ſaile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without ſparing them many of our ſailes, which cauſed our ſhip to rowle and wallow, in ſuch ſort that it was not onely very troubleſome to vs, but, as it was thought, would alſo haue put the maine Maſte in danger of falling ouerboord: hauing acquainted them with theſe inconueniences, we gaue them direction to keepe their courſes together, folowing vs, and ſo to come to Portſmouth. We tooke this laſt prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Weſtwards from The Rocke.

She was one of thoſe 16. ſhips which we ſaw going into the hauen at Angra in Terçera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolde vs, that whileſt wee were plying vp and downe before that hauen, as before was ſhewed, expecting the comming foorth of thoſe ſhippes, three of the greateſt and beſt of them, at the appointment of the Gouernour of Terçera, were vnloden of their treaſure and marchandize. And in euery of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the Victory aboord in the night, and take her: but when this ſhould haue bene done the Victory was gone out of their ſight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the ſailes we could beare, inſomuch that in the ſpace of 24. houres, we ſailed neere 47. leagues, that is ſeuenſcore Engliſh miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithſtanding the ſhippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which cauſed ſome of our company to make accompt they would ſee what running at Tilt there ſhould bee at Whitehall vpon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Chriſtmas they would keepe in England with their ſhares of the prizes we had taken. But ſo it befell, that we kept a colde Chriſtmas with the Biſhop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the Weſtwards from Sylly, and the Weſterne parts of England:) For ſoone after the wind ſcanting came about to the Eaſtwards (the worſt part of the heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in ſuch ſort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon alſo our allowance of drinke, which was ſcant ynough before, was yet more more ſcanted, becauſe of the ſcarcitie thereof in the ſhippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and ſcarce ſweete. Notwithſtanding this was an happie eſtate in compariſon of that which followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that laſted not long neither, ſo that by reaſon of this great ſcarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the ſafelyer bring our ſhip into ſome conuenient harbour there) we were driuen ſo farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, ſo as with heauie hearts and ſad cheare, wee were conſtreined to returne backe againe, and expect till it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend vs a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed euery man three or foure ſpoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, ſauing onely at two or three meales, when we had in ſtead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reaſon of our great want of drinke, wee durſt eate but very litle) wee continued for the ſpace of a fourtnight or thereabouts: Sauing that now and then wee feaſted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-ſtones wee gathered vp and did eate them more pleaſantly then if they had bene the ſweeteſt Comfits in the world; The raine-drops were ſo carefully ſaued, that ſo neere as wee coulde, not one was loſt in all our ſhippe. Some hanged vp ſheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midſt that the water might runne downe thither, and ſo be receiued into ſome veſſell ſet or hanged vnderneth: Some that wanted ſheetes, hanged vp nakins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and ſucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and waſhed away the filth and ſoyling of the ſhippe, trod vnder foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it raineth, was not loſt I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea ſometimes with ſtrife and contention) at euery ſcupper-hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with diſhes, pots, cannes, and Iarres, whereof ſome drunke hearty draughts euen as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to clenſe or ſettle it: Others clenſed it firſt, but not often, for it was ſo thicke and went ſo ſlowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary ſo long, and were loth to looſe too much of ſuch precious ſtuffe: ſome licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder feete, the ſides, railes, and Maſts of the ſhippe: others that were more ingenious, faſtened girdles or ropes about the Maſtes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maſte (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in ſuch ſort, that thoſe ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one ſide then on the other, a ſpout of leather was faſtened to the loweſt part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Maſte, might meete together at that place, and there be receiued.

He that got a canne of water by theſe meanes was ſpoken of, ſued to, and enuied as a rich man, Quàm pulchrum digno monſtrari & dicier hic eſt? Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithſtanding had the ſame allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs, for the loue of God, but ſo much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithſtanding our great extremitie, to teache them ſome humanitie in ſtead of their accuſtomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations heretofore. They put alſo bullets of lead into their mouthes to ſlake their thirſt.

Now in euery corner of the ſhippe were heard the lamentable cries of ſicke and wounded men ſounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, ſo as by reaſon of this great extremitie we loſt many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene ſo well and ſufficiently prouided for, that we liued in maner as well and healthfully, and died as fewe as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day ſome were caſt ouerboord.

But the ſecond day of December 1589. was a feſtiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee ſaued ſome pretie ſtore of raine water (though wee were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our ſkins full beſides: notwithſtanding it were muddie and bitter with waſhing the ſhippe, but (with ſome ſugar which we had to ſweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wiſhed for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, ſpring, & ſtreame of cleare ſweete running water in England: And how miſerable wee had accompted ſome poore ſoules whom we had ſeene driuen for thirſt to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our ſelues if we might haue had our fills of the ſame: yet ſhould wee haue fared the better with this our poore feaſting, if we might haue had our meate and drinke (ſuch and ſo much as it was) ſtand quietly before vs: but beſide all the former extremities, wee were ſo toſſed and turmoiled with ſuch horrible ſtormie and tempeſtuous weather, that euery man had beſt holde faſt his Canne, cup, and diſh in his hands, yea and himſelfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or ſides of the ſhip or elſe he ſhould ſoone finde all vnder feete.

Herewith our maine ſaile was torne from the yarde and blowne ouerboord quite away into the ſea without recouery, and our other ſailes ſo rent and torne (from ſide to ſide ſome of them) that hardly any of them eſcaped hole. The raging waues and foming ſurges of the ſea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the waſte of the ſhippe like a migtie riuer running ouer it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote aboue the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Pſalme 107. verſ. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and deſcend to the deepe, ſo that their ſoule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and ſtagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ſhip was ſo toſſed and ſhaken, that by the craking noiſe it made, and by the leaking which was now much more then ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue ſhaken in ſunder, ſo that now alſo we had iuſt cauſe to pray a litle otherwiſe then the Poet, though marring the verſe, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris & Cœli, quid enim niſi vota ſuperſunt,
 Soluere quaſſatæ parcito membra ratis.

Notwithſtanding it pleaſed God of his great goodneſſe to deliuer vs out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine ſaile was made and faſtened to the yard, and the reſt repaired as time and place would ſuffer: which we had no ſooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, ſo that againe we were like to haue loſt our new maine ſaile, had not Maſter William Antony the Maſter of the ſhip himſelfe (when none elſe would or durſt) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe cloſe to the railes) to gather it vp out of the ſea, and to faſten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked ouer head and eares into the ſea.

Theſe ſtormes were ſo terrible, that there were ſome in our company, which confeſſed they had gone to ſeas for the ſpace of 20. yeeres, and had neuer ſeene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned ſafe home, they would neuer come to Sea againe.

The laſt of Nouember at night we met with an Engliſh ſhip, out of which (becauſe it was too late that night) it was agreed that we ſhould haue had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they ſaid, was al the prouiſion of drink they had, ſaue only a But or two, which they muſt néeds reſerue for their owne vſe: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were ſet on ground vpon the coaſt of Ireland, where it appeared that they might haue ſpared vs much more then they pretended they could, ſo as they might wel haue relieued our great neceſſities, and haue had ſufficient for themſelues beſides, to bring them into England.

The firſt of December at night we ſpake with another Engliſh ſhip, and had ſome beere out of her, but not ſufficient to carry vs into England, ſo that wee were conſtrained to put into Ireland, the winde ſo ſeruing.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes vnder the land & winde, where we were ſomewhat more quiet, but (that being no ſafe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but hauing ſome of our men hurt at the Capſten, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our courſe to Ventre hauen, where wee ſafely arriued the ſame day, that place being a very ſafe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might ſing as we had iuſt cauſe, They that goe downe to the Sea, &c.

So ſoone as we had ankered here my Lord went forthwith to ſhoare, and brought preſently freſh water and freſh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refreſh his company withall. Notwithſtanding himſelfe had lately bene very weake, and taſted of the ſame extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little freſh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried vp. Soone after the ſicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenacuſh, being about three miles diſtant from the foreſaide hauen, where our ſhippe roade, to the Eaſtwards, that there they might be the better refreſhed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreſhed our ſelues whileſt the Iriſh harpe ſounded ſweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) reſtored vnto vs againe.

This Dingenacuſh is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it conſiſteth but of one maine ſtreete, from whence ſome ſmaller doe proceede on either ſide. It hath had gates (as it ſeemeth) in times paſt at either ende to open and ſhut as a Towne of warre, and a Caſtle alſo. The houſes are very ſtrongly built with thicke ſtone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Caſtles: for as they confeſſed, in time of trouble, by reaſon of the wilde Iriſh or otherwiſe, they vſed their houſes for their defence as Caſtles. The caſtle and all the houſes in the Towne, ſaue foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Deſmond. Theſe foure houſes fortified themſelues againſt him, and withſtood him and all his power perforce, ſo as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke ſtone wall that paſſeth ouerthwart the midſt of the ſtreete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithſtanding whileſt they thus defended themſelues, as ſome of them yet aliue confeſſed, they were driuen to as great extremities as the Iewes, beſieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, inſomuch that they were conſtrained to eat dead mens carcaſes for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe ſomewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimneis in their houſes, excepting them of the better ſort, ſo that the ſmoake was very troubleſom to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or furres. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as alſo want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of ſtones there is ſtore ynough, ſo that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground ſeemeth to be nothing elſe within but rockes and ſtones: Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of graſſe, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there: inſomuch that we had good muttons (though ſomewhat leſſe then ours in England) for two ſhillings or fiue groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a piece.

The greateſt want is induſtrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common ſort, if they can prouide ſufficient to ſerue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it ſeemeth) there is very ſmall ſtore amongſt them, which perhaps was the cauſe that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of Allome, Tinne, braſſe, and yron. Stones wee ſawe there as cleare as Chriſtall, naturally ſquared like Diamonds.

Mines in Ireland.

That part of the Countrey is all ful of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleaſant ſtreames of ſweete freſh running water. The naturall hardneſſe of that Nation appeareth in this, that their ſmall children runne vſually in the middeſt of Winter vp and downe the ſtreetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) ſaue onely a mantell to couer their nakedneſſe.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the ſame office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were firſt intertained at the Soueraignes houſe, which was one of thoſe 4. that withſtood the Erle of Deſmond in his rebellion. They haue the ſame forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we haue here in England. Vpon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himſelfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they riſe and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Miniſter beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth ſomething from ours: part of the ſeruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in Iriſh. The Miniſter taketh the child in his hands, and firſt dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, ouer head and eares into the cold water in the midſt of Winter, whereby alſo may appeare their naturall hardneſſe, (as before was ſpecified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Pariſhioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them ſome 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a preſent purgation to them that tooke it, ſo that we choſe rather to drinke water then it.

The 20. of December we looſed frõ hence, hauing well prouided our ſelues of freſh water, and other things neceſſary, being accompanied with ſir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong ſonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going aſhoare to diſpatch away ſpeedily ſome freſh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that there were 60. Spaniſh prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it ſcanted ſo, that (as I ſaid before) we were faine to keepe a cold Chriſtmas with The Biſhop and his clearkes.

Captaine Liſter drowned.

After this we met with an Engliſh ſhip, that brought vs ioyful news of 91. Spaniſh prizes that were come to England: and ſorrowfull newes withall, that the laſt and beſt prize we tooke, had ſuffered ſhipwracke at a place vpon the coaſt of Cornwal which the Corniſh men cal Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Liſter and all the men in the ſhip were drowned, ſaue 5. or 6. the one halfe Engliſh, the other Spaniſh that ſaued themſelues with ſwimming: but notwithſtanding much of the goods were ſaued, and reſerued for vs, by ſir Francis Godolphin, and the worſhipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very ſorry for Captaine Liſters death, wiſhing that he had loſt his voyage to haue ſaued his life.

The 29. of December we met with another ſhippe, that tolde vs the ſame newes, and that ſir Martin Frobiſher, & Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we eſpied going to Terçera hauen. But the Admiral was ſunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer againſt Plimouth ſound, and the men were ſaued.

This ſhip alſo certified vs that Captaine Preſtons ſhip had taken a prize laden with ſiluer. My Lord entred preſently into this ſhip, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our courſe for Plimouth. At night wee came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Weſtwards from Plimouth ſound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, miſdoubting the ſcantneſſe of the winde. So we ſtood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too litle ſpare thereof, that partly for this cauſe, and partly through miſtaking of the land, wee were driuen ſo much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee ſtrucke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground ſoft, ſo as no hurt was done. Here with gladneſſe wee ſet foote againe vpon the Engliſh ground (long deſired) and refreſhed our ſelues with keeping part of Chriſtmas vpon our natiue ſoile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ſhips of *London*, againſt 12. *Spaniſh* gallies in the *Straights* of *Gibralter*, the 24. of April 1590.

IT is not long ſince ſundry valiant ſhips appertaining to the Marchants of London, were fraighted & rigged forth, ſome for Venice, ſome for Conſtantinople, & ſome to ſundry other places of trafique, among whom theſe enſuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their courſe homewards, hauing before eſcaped all other danger. The firſt whereof was the Salomon apperteining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich; which went foorth the firſt day of February laſt. The ſecond was the Margaret and Iohn belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Aſcenſion. The fifth was the Centurion of Maſter Cordal: The ſixt the Violet: the ſeuenth the Samuel: the eight the Creſſcent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield. All theſe ſhips being of notable and approued ſeruice, comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coaſt of Barbary, deſcried twelue tall Gallies brauely furniſhed and ſtrongly prouided with men and munition, ready to ſeaze vpon theſe Engliſh ſhips: which being perceiued by the Captaines and Maſters thereof, wee made ſpeedy preparation for the defence of our ſelues, ſtill waiting all the night long for the approching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590, according to our vſual cuſtomes, we ſaid Seruice and made our prayers vnto Almightie God, beſeeching him to ſaue vs from the hands of ſuch tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iuſtly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our moſt mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finiſhed our prayers, and ſet our ſelues in a readineſſe, we perceiued them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spaniſh Gallies that lay vnder the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Engliſhmen. So when they came ſomewhat neerer vnto vs, they waued vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waued them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleaſed Almightie God greatly to incourage vs all in ſuch ſort, as that the neerer they came the leſſe we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in thoſe Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in ech Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure firſt and talleſt ſhips ſhould be placed hindmoſt, and the weaker & ſmalleſt ſhips formoſt, and ſo it was performed, euery man being ready to take part of ſuch ſucceſſe as it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend.

February 1590.

At the firſt encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God ſo ſtrengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot ſhippe, and hauing ſundry caſt pieces in her, gaue the firſt ſhotte in ſuch a ſowre ſort, as that it ſhared away ſo many men as ſate on the one ſide of a Gallie, and pierced her through in ſuch maner, as that ſhe was ready to ſinke, which made them to aſſault vs the more fiercely. Whereupon the reſt of our ſhippes, eſpecially the foure chiefeſt, namely, the Margaret and Iohn, the Minion, and the Aſcenſion followed, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one againſt the other, and ſo continued for the ſpace of ſixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who ſeeing the force of the Gallies to be ſo great, the one of them preſently yeelded, ſtrooke his ſailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would haue offered themſelues to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to haue bene taken ſo cowardly as they were to their coſt. The other Fleming being alſo ready to performe the like piece of ſeruice began to vaile his ſailes, and intended to haue yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that ſhippe plucked foorth his faulchion and ſtepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not ſpeedily put off to the Engliſh Fleete, and ſo take part with them, he would preſently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and ſo by that meanes they were defended from preſent death, and from the tyrannie of thoſe Spaniards, which doubtleſſe they ſhould haue found at their handes.

A fight of ſixe houres long.

A faint-hearted Fleming.

Thus we continued in fight ſixe houres and ſomewhat more, wherein God gaue vs the vpper hand, and we eſcaped the hands of ſo many enemies, who were conſtrained to flie into harbour and ſhroude themſelues from vs, and with ſpeed to ſeeke for their owne ſafetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in ſuch ſort, as that there was not one man of vs ſlaine. And in all this fierce aſſault made vpon vs by the Spaniſh power, wee ſuſtained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the ſhrowds and backe-ſtay of the Salomon, who gaue the firſt and laſt ſhot, and galled the enemie ſhrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane ſtriken off.

The battel being ceaſed, we were conſtrained for want of wind to ſtay and waft vp and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is ſixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people ſhewed vs where to haue freſh water and al other neceſſaries for vs. And there we had ſuch good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, whom wee in reſpect of his great friendſhip preſented with giftes and ſuch commodities as we had in our cuſtodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we ſtayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceaſed, which was on Eaſter Tueſday, we ſtayed for want of winds before Gibraltar, vntill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and therefore looked euery houre when they would haue ſent foorth ſome freſh ſupply againſt vs, but they were farre vnable to doe it, for all their Gallies were ſo ſore battered, that they durſt not come foorth of the harbour, by reaſon of our hot reſiſtance which they ſo lately before had receiued. Yet were they greatly vrged thereunto by the Gouernour of the ſaid Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well diſcerne any thing at all by reaſon of the ſmoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almoſt ſpoiled thoſe twelue Gallies by ſhooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to ſinke, and that wee had ſlaine of their men ſuch great abundance, as that they were not able to furniſh foorth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we aſſayed to depart the Straight three ſeuerall times, but could not paſſe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came ſafely away, and ſo ſailed with a pleaſant winde vntill wee came vpon the coaſt of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of Iuly 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of *Gibraltar*, by the *Centurion* of *London*, againſt fiue *Spaniſh* Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

IN the moneth of Nouember 1590, there were ſundry ſhippes appertaining to ſeuerall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught foorth with marchandize, for ſundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together hauing winde and weather, which oft-time fell out very vncertaine, arriued ſafely in ſhort ſpace, at ſuch places as they deſired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall ſhippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this diſcourſe following.

This aforeſaid ſhippe called The Centurion ſafely arriued at Marſeils, where after they had deliuered their goods, they ſtayed about the ſpace of fiue weekes, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marſeils, there were ſundry other ſhippes of ſmaller burden which entreated the Maſter thereof, (whoſe name is Robert Bradſhaw, dwelling at Lime-houſe) to ſtay a day or two for them; vntill they were in a readineſſe to depart with them, thereby perſwading them, that it would be farre better for them to ſtay and goe together in reſpect of their aſſiſtance, then to depart of themſelues without company, and ſo happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spaniſh Gallies. Vpon which reaſonable perſwaſion, notwithſtanding that this ſhippe was of ſuch ſufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they ſtayed for thoſe litle ſhippes, according to their requeſt, who together did put to Sea from Marſeils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they ſhould happen to meete with any Spaniſh Gallies.

Theſe ſmall ſhippes, accompanied with the Centurion, ſayling along the coaſt of Spaine, were vpon Eaſter day in the Straight of Gibraltar ſuddenly becalmed, where immediatly they ſaw ſundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious ſort: the chiefe Leaders and ſouldiers in thoſe Gallies brauely apparelled in ſilke coates, with their ſiluer whiſtles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Caliuers ſhot at the Centurion ſo faſt as they might: ſo that by 10. of the clocke and ſomewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before their comming had prepared for them, and intended to giue them ſo ſoure a welcome as they might. And thereupon hauing prepared their cloſe fights, and all things in a readineſſe, they called vpon God, on whom onely they truſted: and hauing made their prayers, and cheered vp one another to fight ſo long as life endured, they beganne to diſcharge their great Ordinance vpon the Gallies, but the little ſhippes durſt not come forward, but lay aloofe, while fiue Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grapling irons made their Gallies faſt to the ſaid ſhippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner, two lay on one ſide, and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the ſterne, which galled and battered the Centurion ſo ſore, that her maine Maſte was greatly weakened, her ſailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and ſterne made almoſt vnſeruiceable.

During which time there was a ſore and deadly fight on both ſides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion ſounded foorth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully againſt their aduerſaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Muſicke in the Spaniſh

Gallies, but onely their whiſtles of ſiluer, which they ſounded forth to their owne contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hung vpon the ſide of the ſhippe, intending to haue entred into the ſame, but ſuch was the courage of the Engliſhmen, that ſo faſt as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gaue them ſuch entertainment, that ſome of them were glad to tumble aliue into the Sea, being remedileſſe for euer to get vp aliue. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought moſt valiantly, and ſo galled the enemie, that many a braue and luſtie Spaniard loſt his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired fiue ſeuerall times, with wilde fire and other prouiſion, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpoſe: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foreſight of the Maſter it did no harme at all.

In euery of the Gallies there were about 200. ſouldiers: who together with the ſhot, ſpoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very ſore, ſhot through her maine Maſte, and ſlew 4. of the men in the ſaid ſhippe, the one of them being the Maſters mate.

Ten other perſons were hurt, by meanes of ſplinters which the Spaniards ſhotte: yea, in the ende when their prouiſion was almoſt ſpent, they were conſtrained to ſhoote at them hammers, and the chaines from their ſlaues, and yet God bee thanked, they receiued no more domage: but by ſpoyling and ouerwearying of the Spaniards, the Engliſhmen conſtrained them to vngrapple themſelues, and get them going: and ſure if there had bene any other freſh ſhippe or ſuccour to haue relieued and aſſiſted the Centurion, they had ſlaine, ſuncke, or taken all thoſe Gallies and their Souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a looſe off and durſt not come neere, while the other two ſmall ſhippes fledde away, ſo that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and ſet vpon the Dolphin, which ſhippe immediatly was ſet on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and ſhippe periſhed: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowen vnto the Centurion, but ſure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide vnto the Centurion, it is to bee ſuppoſed that it had not periſhed.

Fiue houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themſelues, but when the Spaniards were gone, they neuer durſt returne to fight: yet the next day ſixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durſt not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God deliuered them from the handes of their enemies, and gaue them the victory: for which they heartily praiſed him, and not long after ſafely arriued in London.

☞ There were preſent at this fight Maſter *Iohn Hawes* Marchant, and ſundry other of good accompt.

A report of the trueth of the fight about the Iſles of *Açores*, the laſt of Auguſt 1591. betwixt the *Reuenge*, one of her Maieſties ſhippes, and an *Armada* of the king of *Spaine*; Penned by the honourable Sir *Water Ralegh* knight.

BEcauſe the rumours are diuerſly ſpred, as well in England as in the Lowe countreis and elſe where, of this late encounter betweene her Maieſties ſhips and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their vſuall maner, fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great apparance of victories, when on the contrary, themſelues are moſt commonly and ſhamefully beaten and diſhonoured; thereby hoping to poſſeſſe the ignorant multitude by anticipating & forerunning falſe reports: It is agreeable with all good reaſon, for manifeſtation of the truth, to ouercome falſhood and vntrueth; that the beginning, continuance and ſucceſſe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenuil, and other her Maieſties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; ſhould be truely ſet downe and publiſhed without partialitie or falſe imaginations. And it is no marueile that the Spaniard ſhould ſeeke by falſe and ſlanderous pamphlets, aduiſoes and Letters, to couer their owne loſſe, and to derogate from others their due honors, eſpecially in this fight being performed far off: ſeeing they were not aſhamed in the yeere 1588. when they purpoſed the inuaſion of this land, to publiſh in ſundry languages in print, great victories in wordes, which they pleaded to haue obteined againſt this Realme; and ſpred the ſame in a moſt falſe ſort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and elſe where. When ſhortly after it was happily manifeſted in very deed to al Nations, how their Nauy which they termed inuincible, conſiſting of 140. ſaile of ſhippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but ſtrengthened with the greateſt Argoſies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreis, were by 30. of her Maieſties owne ſhips of war, and a few of our owne Marchants, by the wiſe, valiant, and aduantagious conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and ſhuffled together; euen from the Lizard in Cornwall firſt to Portland, where they ſhamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mightie ſhip; from Portland to Cales, where they loſt Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallias of which he was Captaine, and from Cales, driuen with ſquibs from their anchors, were chaſed out of the ſight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the ſympathie of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a great part of them were cruſht againſt the rocks, and thoſe other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithſtanding broken, ſlaine, and taken, and ſo ſent from village to village coupled in halters, to be ſhipped into England. Where her Maieſtie of her Princely and inuincible diſpoſition, diſdaining to put them to death, and ſcorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all ſent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy achieuements of their inuincible and dreadfull Nauy: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their ſhippes, the commanders names of euery ſquadron, with all other their magaſines of prouiſions, were put in print, as an Army and Nauy vnreſiſtable, and diſdaining preuention. With all which ſo great and terrible an oſtentation, they did not in all their ſailing round about England, ſo much as ſinke or take one ſhippe, Barke, Pinneſſe, or Cockbote of ours: or euer burnt ſo much as one ſheepecote of this land. Whenas on the contrarie, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. ſouldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced Sant-Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir Iohn Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of ſouldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being aboue 40 Engliſh miles. Where the Earle of Eſſex himſelfe and other valiant Gentlemen braued the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promiſed partie, nor prouiſion to batter; they made retrait by land, in deſpight of all their Garriſons, both of horſe & foote. In this ſort I haue a little digreſſed from my firſt purpoſe, onely by the neceſſarie compariſon of theirs and our actions: the one couetous of honour without vaunt of oſtentation; the other ſo greedy to purchaſe the opinion of their owne affaires, and by falſe rumors to reſiſt the blaſts of their owne diſhonours, as they will not onely not bluſh to ſpread all manner of vntruthes: but euen for the leaſt aduantage, be it but for the taking of one poore aduenturer of the Engliſh, will celebrate the victory with bonefires in euery towne, alwayes ſpending more in faggots, then the purchaſe was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worth the conſumption of two billets, when we haue taken eight or ten of their Indian ſhippes at one time, and twentie of the Braſill fleete. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and oſtentation: and betweene honorable actions, and friuolous vaineglorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpoſe.

The L. Thomas Howard with ſixe of her Maieſties ſhippes, ſixe victualers of London, the Barke Ralegh, & two or three other Pinnaſes riding at anker neere vnto Flores, one of the Weſterly Ilands of the Azores, the laſt of Auguſt in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approch of the Spaniſh Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good ſailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpoſe, both to diſcouer their forces the more, as alſo to giue aduiſe to my L. Thomas of their approch. Hee had no ſooner deliuered the newes but the fleete was in ſight: many of our ſhippes companies were on ſhore in the Iland; ſome prouiding balaſt for their ſhips; others filling of water and refreſhing themſelues from the land with ſuch things as they could either for money, or by force recouer. By reaſon whereof our ſhips being all peſtered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of balaſt, and that which was moſt to our diſaduantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery ſhippe ſicke, and vtterly vnſeruiceable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diſeaſed: in the Bonauenture, not ſo many in health as could handle her maine ſaile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barke of ſir George Careys, his being commaunded to be ſunke, and thoſe appointed to her, ſhe had hardly euer recouered England. The reſt, for the moſt parte, were in little better ſtate. The names of her Maieſties ſhippes were theſe as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Reuenge Viceadmirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Captaine Croſſe, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foreſight by M. Thomas Vauaſour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foreſight & the Crane being but ſmal ſhips; only the other were of the middle ſize; the reſt, beſides the Barke Ralegh, commaunded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of ſmall force or none. The Spaniſh fleet hauing ſhrouded their approch by reaſon of the Iland; were now ſo ſoone at hand, as our ſhippes had ſcarce time to way their anchors, but ſome of them were driuen to let ſlippe their Cables and ſet ſaile. Sir Richard Grinuile was the laſt that wayed, to recouer the men that were vpon the Iland, which otherwiſe had bene loſt. The L. Thomas with the reſt very hardly recouered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to doe, was perſwaded by the Maſter and others to cut his maine ſayle, and caſt about, and to truſt to the ſayling of the ſhip: for the ſquadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard vtterly refuſed to turne from the enemie, alleaging that hee would rather chooſe to die, then to diſhonour himſelfe, his countrey, and her Maieſties ſhippe, perſwading his companie that hee would paſſe through the two ſquadrons, in deſpight of them, and enforce thoſe of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee performed vpon diuers of the formoſt, who, as the Mariners terme it, ſprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other courſe had bene the better, and might right well haue bene anſwered in ſo great an impoſſibility of preualing. Notwithſtanding out of the greatneſſe of his minde, he could not be perſwaded. In the meane while as hee attended thoſe which were neareſt him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his ſailes in ſuch ſort, as the ſhippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: ſo huge and high carged was the Spaniſh ſhip, being of a thouſand and fiue hundreth tuns. Who after layd the Reuenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his ſailes, the ſhips that were vnder his lee luffing vp, alſo layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biſcaines, a very mighty and puiſſant ſhippe commanded by Brittandona. The ſayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a ſide, and eleuen pieces in euery tire. She ſhot eight forth right out of her chaſe, beſides thoſe of her ſterne ports.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other boorded her; two on her larboord, and two on her ſtarboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower tire of the Reuenge, diſcharged with croſſebarſhot, ſhifted her ſelfe with all diligence from her ſides, vtterly miſliking her firſt entertainement. Some ſay that the ſhippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, vnleſſe we were aſſured. The Spaniſh ſhips were filled with companies of ſouldiers, in ſome two hundred beſides the mariners; in ſome fiue, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all beſide the mariners, but the ſeruants of the commanders and ſome few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordinance and ſmall ſhot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed ſoulders and Muſketters, but were ſtill repulſed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ſhips, or into the ſeas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of Londō hauing receiued ſome ſhot thorow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and aſked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victualers and of ſmall force: Sir Richard bid him ſaue himſelfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermiſſion, continued while the day laſted and ſome houres of the night, many of our men were ſlaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both ſunke, and in many other of the Spaniſh ſhippes great ſlaughter was made. Some write that ſir Richard was very dangerouſly hurt almoſt in the beginning of the fight, and lay ſpeechleſſe for a time ere hee recouered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ſhip of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by ſome of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer ſo wounded as that hee forſooke the vpper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being ſhot into the bodie with a Muſket as hee was a dreſſing, was againe ſhot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth alſo with an examination taken by ſir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the ſame ſhippe being returned, which examination, the ſaid ſir Francis ſent vnto maſter William Killegrue, of her Maieſties priuy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spaniſh ſhips which attempted to bord the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, ſo alwayes others came in their places, ſhe hauing neuer leſſe then two mighty Gallions by her ſides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene ſeuerall Armadas aſſayled her; and all ſo ill approued their entertainement, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a compoſition, then haſtily to make any more aſſaults or entries. But as the day encreaſed, ſo our men decreaſed: and as the light grew more and more, by ſo much more grewe our diſcomforts. For none appeared in ſight but enemies, ſauing one ſmall ſhip called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Iacob Whiddon, who houered all night to ſee the ſucceſſe: but in the morning bearing with the Reuenge, was hunted like a hare amongſt many rauenous houndes, but eſcaped.

All the powder of the Reuenge to the laſt barrell was now ſpent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her beſt men ſlaine, and the moſt part of the reſt hurt. In the beginning of the fight ſhee had but one hundreth free from ſicknes, and foureſcore & ten ſicke, laid in hold vpon the Ballaſt. A ſmall troup to man ſuch a ſhip, & a weake garriſon to reſiſt ſo mighty an army. By thoſe hundred al was ſuſteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ſhips of warre, beſides thoſe which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spaniſh were alwayes ſupplied with ſouldiers brought from euery ſquadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no ſupply either of ſhips, men, or weapons; the Maſtes all beaten ouer boord, all her tackle cut aſunder, her vpper worke altogether raſed, and in effect euened ſhee was with the water, but the very foundation or bottome of a ſhip, nothing being left ouer head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himſelfe in this diſtreſſe, and vnable any longer to make reſiſtance, hauing endured in this fifteene houres fight, the aſſault of fifteene ſeuerall Armadas, all by turnes aboord him, and by eſtimation eight hundred ſhotte of great Artillerie, beſides many aſſaults and entries; and that himſelfe and the ſhippe muſt needes be poſſeſſed by the enemy, who were now all caſt in a ring round about him (The Reuenge not able to mooue one way or other, but as ſhe was moued with the waues and billow of the ſea) commaunded the Maſter gunner, whom hee knew to be a moſt reſolute man, to ſplit and ſinke the ſhippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: ſeeing in ſo many houres fight, and with ſo great a Nauie they were not able to take her, hauing had fifteene houres time, aboue ten thouſand men, & fiftie and three ſaile of men of warre to performe it withall: and perſwaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to yeelde themſelues vnto God, and to the mercie of none elſe; but as they had, like valiant reſolute men, repulſed ſo many enemies, they ſhould not nowe ſhorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their owne liues for a few houres, or a fewe dayes. The Maſter gunner readily condeſcended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the Maſter were of another opinion, and beſought Sir Richard to haue care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a compoſition, as they were willing to offer the ſame: and that there being diuers ſufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whoſe wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable ſeruice hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards ſhould neuer glory to haue taken one ſhippe of her Maieſtie, ſeeing they had ſo long and ſo notably defended themſelues; they anſwered, that the ſhippe had ſixe foote water in holde, three ſhot vnder water, which were ſo weakely ſtopped, as with the firſt working of the ſea, ſhe muſt needs ſinke, and was beſides ſo cruſht and bruſed, as ſhee could neuer be remoued out of the place.

The Spaniſh 53. ſaile.

And as the matter was thus in diſpute, and Sir Ricard refuſing to hearken to any of thoſe reaſons; the Maſter of the Reuenge (while the Captaine wanne vnto him the greater party) was conuoyd aboord the Generall Don Alfonſo Baçan. Who (finding none ouer haſtie to enter the Reuenge againe, doubting leaſt Sir Richard would haue blowne them vp and himſelfe, and perceiuing by the report of the Maſter of the Reuenge his dangerous diſpoſition) yeelded that all their liues ſhould be ſaued, the company ſent for England, & the better ſort to pay ſuch reaſonable ranſome as their eſtate would beare, and in the meane ſeaſon to be free from Gally or impriſonment. To this he ſo much the rather condeſcended as wel, as I haue ſaid, for feare of further loſſe and miſchiefe to themſelues, as alſo for the deſire he had to recouer Sir Richard Greenuil; whom for his notable valure he ſeemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this anſwere was returned, and that ſafetie of life was promiſed, the common ſort being now at the ende of their perill, the moſt drew backe from Sir Richard and the Maſter gunner, being no hard matter to diſſwade men from death to life. The Maſter gunner finding himſelfe and Sir Richard thus preuented and maſtered by the greater number, would haue ſlaine himſelfe with a ſword, had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall ſent many boates aboord the Reuenge, and diuers of our men fearing Sir Richards diſpoſition, ſtole away aboord the Generall and other ſhippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was ſent vnto by Alfonſo Baçan to remooue out of the Reuenge, the ſhippe being maruellous vnſauorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a ſlaughter houſe. Sir Richard anſwered that hee might doe with his body what he liſt, for hee eſteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ſhippe hee ſwounded, and reuiuing againe deſired the company to pray for him. The Generall vſed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouerie, highly commending his valour and worthineſſe, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being vnto them a rare ſpectacle, and a reſolution ſildome approoued, to ſee one ſhippe turne toward ſo many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of ſo many huge Armadas, and to reſiſt and repell the aſſaults and entries of ſo many ſouldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spaniſh Captaine of the ſame Armada, and a preſent actor in the fight, who being ſeuered from the reſt in a ſtorme, was by the Lion of London a ſmall ſhip taken, and is now priſoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonſo Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biſcaine ſquadron, was Britandona. Of the ſquadron of Siuil,

the

Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were cōmanded by Luis Coutinho. There were ſlaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thouſand of the enemies, and two ſpeciall commanders Don Luis de ſant Iohn, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spaniſh captaine confeſſeth, beſides diuers others of ſpeciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Aſcenſion of Siuil were both ſunke by the ſide of the Reuenge; one other recouered the rode of Saint Michael, and ſunke alſo there; a fourth ranne her ſelfe with the ſhore to ſaue her men. Sir Richard died as it is ſayd, the ſecond or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the ſea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in reſpect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the ſame to his poſteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the reſt of her Maieſties ſhips that entred not ſo farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reaſons and cauſes were theſe. There were of them but ſixe in all, whereof two but ſmall ſhips; the Reuenge ingaged paſt recouery: The Iland of Flores was on the one ſide, 53 ſaile of the Spaniſh, diuided into ſquadrons on the other, all as full filled with ſouldiers as they could containe: Almoſt the one halfe of our men ſicke and not able to ſerue: the ſhips growne foule, vnroomaged, and ſcarcely able to beare any ſaile for want of balaſt, hauing bene ſixe moneths at the ſea before. If all the reſt had entred, all had bene loſt: for the very hugenes of the Spaniſh fleete, if no other violence had beene offered, would haue cruſht them betweene them into ſhiuers. Of which the diſhonour and loſſe to the Queene had bene farre greater then the ſpoyle or harme that the enemie could any way haue receiued. Notwithſtanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betweene the ſquadrons, but the reſt would not condeſcend; and the maſter of his owne ſhip offred to leape into the ſea, rather then to conduct that her Maieſties ſhip and the reſt to bee a pray to the enemie, where there was no hope nor poſſibilitie either of defence or victory. Which alſo in my opinion had ill ſorted or anſwered the diſcretion and truſt of a Generall, to commit himſelfe and his charge to an aſſured deſtruction, without hope or any likelyhood of preuailing: thereby to diminiſh the ſtrength of her Maieſties Nauy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemie. The Foreſight of the Queenes commaunded by M. Thomas Vauiſor performed a very great fight, and ſtayed two houres as neere the Reuenge as the weather would permit him, not forſaking the fight, till he was like to be encompaſſed by the ſquadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himſelfe. The reſt gaue diuers voleis of ſhot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne neceſſities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemie, vntill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the Engliſh priſoners diſperſed into the Spaniſh and Indie ſhips, there aroſe ſo great a ſtorme from the Weſt and Northweſt, that all the fleete was diſperſed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come vnto them, as the reſt of the Armada that attended their arriuall, of which 14. ſaile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were caſt away vpon the Iſle of S. Michael. So it pleaſed them to honor the buriall of that renowmed ſhip the Reuenge, not ſuffering her to periſh alone, for the great honour ſhe archieued in her life time. On the reſt of the Ilandes there were caſt away in this ſtorme, 15 or 16 more of the ſhips of warre: and of an hundred and odde ſaile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempeſt, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde conſumed and loſt, with thoſe taken by our ſhippes of London, beſides one very rich Indian ſhip, which ſet her ſelfe on fire, beeing boorded by the Pilgrim, and fiue other taken by maſter Wats his ſhips of London, between the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, ſaued out of the periſhed ſhips: & that by the Spaniards owne confeſſion, there are 10000 caſt away in this ſtorme, beſides thoſe that are periſhed betweene the Ilands and the maine. Thus it hath pleaſed God to fight for vs, and to defend the iuſtice of our cauſe, againſt the ambicious and bloody pretenſes of the Spaniard, who ſeeking to deuoure all nations, are themſelues deuoured. A manifeſt teſtimony how iniuſt and diſpleaſing, their attempts are in the ſight of God, who hath pleaſed to witnes by the ſucceſſe of their affaires, his miſlike of their bloody and iniurious deſignes, purpoſed and practiſed againſt all Chriſtian princes, ouer whom they ſeeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spaniſh fleete, when as ſome of our priſoners deſired to be ſet on ſhore vpon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence tranſported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promiſed: One Morice Fitz Iohn, ſonne of olde Iohn of Deſmond, a notable traytour, couſin german to the late Earle of Deſmond, was ſent to the Engliſh from ſhippe to ſhippe, to perſwade them to ſerue the King of Spaine, The arguments hee vſed to induce them were theſe. The increaſe of pay which he promiſed to be trebled: aduancement to the better ſort: and the exerciſe of the true Catholique Religion, and ſafetie of their ſoules to all. For the firſt, euen the beggerly and vnnaturall behauiour of thoſe Engliſh and Iriſh rebels, that ſerued the King in that preſent action, was ſufficient to anſwere that firſt argument of rich pay. For ſo poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they ſtripped their poore Countrey men priſoners out of their ragged garments, worne to nothing by ſixe months ſeruice, and ſpared not to deſpoyle them euen of their bloody ſhirtes, from their wounded bodies, and the very ſhooes from their feete; A notable teſtimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The ſecond reaſon was hope of aduancement if they ſerued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can bee ſo blockiſhly ignorant euer to expect place or honour from a forraine King, hauing no other argument or perſwaſion then his owne diſloyaltie; to be vnnaturall to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whoſe obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely aſſured to be imployed in all deſperate enterpriſes, to bee helde in ſcorne and diſdaine euer among thoſe whom they ſerue. And that euer traitour was either truſted or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man coulde haue leſſe becommed the place of an Orator for ſuch a purpoſe, then this Morice of Deſmond. For the Erle his coſen being one of the greateſt ſubiects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almoſt whole Countreis in his poſſeſſion; ſo many goodly Mannors, caſtles, and lordſhips; the Count Palatine of Kerry, fiue hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, beſides others (all which he poſſeſſed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in leſſe then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not ſo many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himſelfe taken and beheaded by a ſouldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Maieſtie, and poſſeſſed by the Engliſh: His other coſen Sir Iohn of Deſmond taken by Maſter Iohn Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his natiue Citie to be deuoured by rauens: the thirde brother Sir Iames hanged, drawne, and quartered in the ſame place. If hee had withall vaunted of his ſucceſſe of his owne houſe, no doubt the argument would haue mooued much, and wrought great effect; which becauſe hee for that preſent forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particuler volume, if I ſhould ſet downe how irreligiouſly they couer their greedy and ambicious pretenſes, with that veile of pietie. But ſure I am, that there is no kingdome or common-wealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion ſake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Caſtile were the naturall heires of all the world: and ſo betweene both, no kingdome is vnſought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they baſely entertaine the traitours and vacabonds of all Nations; ſeeking by thoſe and by their runnagate Ieſuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houſes and others in this lande, and haue extinguiſhed both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them atchieued, is yet vnheard of, or vnwritten. And if our Engliſh Papiſts doe but looke into Portugall, againſt which they haue no pretence of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, impriſoned, their rich men made a praye, and all ſorts of people captiued; they ſhall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is eaſie and a libertie, in reſpect of the ſlauerie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreis; who hath there bene ſpared for Religion at all? And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whoſe houſe being entred by a company of Spaniſh ſouldiers, when they firſt ſacked the Citie, hee beſought them to ſpare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards anſwered, that they knew him to be of a good conſcience for himſelfe, but his money, place, iewels, and goods, were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abuſed and tormented the fooliſh Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a ſufficient target againſt all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they proteſt inuaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elſewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Chriſtianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Iſland called Hiſpaniola, they haue waſted thirtie hundred thouſand of the naturall people, beſides many millions elſe in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmeleſſe people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almoſt as many as euer were perſwaded thereunto. The ſtorie whereof is at large written by a Biſhop of their owne nation called Bartholomew de las Caſas, and tranſlated into Engliſh and many other languages, intituled The Spaniſh cruelties. Who would therefore repoſe truſt in ſuch a nation of rauenous ſtrangers, and eſpecially in thoſe Spaniards which more greedily thirſt after

Engliſh blood, then after the liues of any other people of Europe, for the many ouerthrowes and diſhonours they haue receiued at our hands; whoſe weakeneſſe wee haue diſcouered to the world, and whoſe forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by ſea and land, wee haue euen with handfulles of men and ſhippes, ouerthrowen and diſhonoured. Let not therefore any Engliſh man, of what religion ſoeuer, haue other opnion of the Spaniards, but that thoſe whom hee ſeeketh to winne of our Nation, he eſteemeth baſe and trayterous, vnworthy perſons, or vnconſtant fooles: and that he vſeth his pretence of religion, for no other purpoſe but to bewitch vs from the obedience of our naturall Prince; thereby hoping in time to bring vs to ſlauery and ſubiection, and then none ſhall be vnto them ſo odious, and diſdayned as the traitours themſelues, who haue ſolde their Countrey to a ſtranger, and forſaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature & religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Chriſtians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who haue alwayes ſuſtayned what labour ſoeuer, and embraced euen death it ſelfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common-wealth. To conclude, it hath euer to this day pleaſed God to proſper and defend her Maieſtie, to breake the purpoſes of malicious enemies, of forſworne traytors, and of iniuſt practiſes and inuaſions. She hath euer beene honoured of the worthieſt kings, ſerued by faithfull ſubiects, and ſhall by the fauour of God, reſiſt, repell, and confound all whatſoeuer attempts againſt her ſacred perſon or kingdome. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their ſucceſſe, and wee her true and obedient vaſſals, guided by the ſhining light of her vertues, ſhall alwayes loue her, ſerue her, and obey her to the end of our liues.

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into *Spaine* this preſent yeere of 1591. with the number of ſhippes that are periſhed of the ſame: according to the examination of certaine *Spaniards* lately taken and brought into *England* by the ſhips of *London.*

The fleete of Noua Hiſpania, at their firſt gathering together and ſetting forth, were two and fiftie ſailes. The Admirall was of ſixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the ſame burthen. Foure or fiue of the ſhippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a peece, ſome fiue hundred, and ſome foure hundred and the leaſt of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19 were caſt away, and in them 2600 men by eſtimation, which was done along the coaſt of Noua Hiſpania, ſo that of the ſame fleet there came to the Hauana but 33 ſailes.

The fleete of Terra Firma were, at their firſt departure from Spaine, fiftie ſailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did diſcharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths ſake, vntill the time the treaſure was readie they ſhould take in, at the ſaid Nombre de Dios. But before this fleete departed, ſome were gone by one or two at a time, ſo that onely 23 ſayles of this fleete arriued in the Hauana,

At the Hauana there met
- 33 ſailes of Noua Hiſpania.
- 23 ſailes of Terra Firma.
- 12 ſailes of San Domingo.
- 9 ſailes of the Hunduras.

The whole 77 ſhippes, ioyned and ſet ſailes all together at the Hauana, the 17 of Iuly, according to our account, and kept together vntill they came into the height of thirtie fiue degrees, which was about the tenth of Auguſt, where they found the winde at Southweſt chaunged ſuddenly to the North, ſo that the ſea comming out of the Southweſt, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then firſt loſt the Generall of their fleete, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, an other ſtorme riſing, there were fiue or ſixe other of the biggeſt ſhippes caſt away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38, degrees, about the end of Auguſt, grew another great ſtorme, in which all the fleet ſauing 48. ſailes were caſt away: which 48, ſailes kept together, vntill they came in ſight of the Iſlands of Coruo and Flores, about the fift or ſixt of September, at which time a great ſtorme ſeparated them: of which number fifteene or ſixeteene were after ſeene by theſe Spanyards to ride at anchor vnder the Tercera; and twelue or fourteene more to beare with the Iſland of S. Michael; what became of them after that theſe Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opinion is, that very few of thee fleet are eſcaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is otherwaies of late certified, that of this whole fleete that ſhould haue come into

Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and three ſayle, there are arriued as yet but fiue and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniardes, that were brought into England by ſixe of the ſhips of London, which tooke ſeuen of the aboue named Indian Fleete, neere the Iſlands of Açores.

A report of Maſter *Robert Flicke* directed to Maſter *Thomas Bromley*, Maſter *Richard Staper*, and Maſter *Cordall* concerning the ſucceſſe of a part of the *London* ſupplies ſent to my Lord *Thomas Howard* to the Iſles of the *Azores*, 1591.

WOrſhipfull, my heartie commendations vnto you premiſed: By my laſt of the twelfth of Auguſt from this place I aduertiſed you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete vntill then. It remayneth now to relate our endeuours in accompliſhing the order receiued for the ioyning with my Lorde Thomas Howard, together with the ſucceſſe wee haue had. Our departure from hence was the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt, the winde not ſeruing before. The next day following I cauſed a Flagge of Counſell to be put foorth, whereupon the Captaines and Maſters of euery ſhippe came aboord, and I acquainted them with my Commiſſion, firmed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Maieſties Counſell, and with all the aduertiſements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threeſcore leagues to the Weſt of Fayal, ſpreading North and South betwixt thirtie ſeuen and a halfe or thirty eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heigth to repaire to the Iſles of Flores and Coruo, where a Pinneſſe of purpoſe ſhould ſtay our comming vntill the laſt of Auguſt, with intent after that day to repaire to yͤ coaſt of Spaine, about the heigth of The Rocke, ſome twentie or thirtie leagues off the ſhoare. The which being aduiſedly conſidered of, hauing regard vnto the ſhortneſſe of time, by reaſon of our long abode in this place, and the vncertainety of the weather to fauour vs, it was generally holden for the beſt and ſecureſt way to meete with my Lorde, to beare with the heigth of The Rocke, without making any ſtay vpon the coaſt, and ſo directly for the Iſlands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had ſight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde ſeruing vs, without any ſtay we directed our courſe Weſt for the Iſlands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Roſe, ſometime called the Golden Dragon, ſeparated from my Lorde of Cumberland in a ſtorme: who certified vs of 50 ſayles of the Spaniſh kings Armadas to be gone for the Iſlands, but could not informe vs any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwiſe then vpon preſumption to remaine about the Iſlandes, and ſo wee continued our courſe the winde ſtanding with vs.

The 4 of September we recouered Tercera, and ranged along all the Iſlands, both on the South and North ſides the ſpace of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any ſhipping, whereby either to vnderſtand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleete: hereupon we directed our courſe to the Weſt from Fayal, according to the inſtructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Weſtwards we deſcried a ſayle out of our maine toppe, and in the afternoone betweene two and three of the clocke hauing rayſed her hull, the weather became calme, ſo that the ſhip could not fetch her. I ſent off my Skiffe throughly manned, furniſhed with ſhot and ſwords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and Iohn doing the like. Vpon this the ſayle ſtood off againe, and the night approching, our boates loſt her and ſo returned. In this our purſute after the ſayle the Centurion being left a ſterne, the next morning wee miſſed her, and ſpent that day in plying vp and downe ſeeking her. And for as much as euery of the ſhips had receiued order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other miſchance they ſhould be ſeuered from our Fleete, they ſhould meete and ioyne at Flores, we, according to the inſtructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the heigth appointed and not able to holde the ſame by reaſon of extreme tempeſtes which forced vs to the Iſles of Flores and Coruo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there alſo ioyned againe with the Centurion, whoſe company before we had loſt: who declared vnto vs that the 12 day, being the ſame day they loſt vs, they met with fiue and fortie ſailes of the Indian Fleete. The ſame night vpon theſe newes we came to an anker betweene Flores and Coruo, and the morrow following at the breake of day, a flagge of Counſell being put out, the Captaines & Maſters came aboord me: where, for the deſire to vnderſtand ſome tidings of my Lord, as alſo the ſupplying of our want of water, it was thought good to ſend our boats furniſhed on ſhore, vnder the conduct of Captaine Brothus, and then it was alſo ordered after our departure thence to range along the

South

Southſides of the Iſlands to the end we might either vnderſtand of my Lord, or elſe light on the Indian fleete; and in the miſſing of our purpoſe to direct our courſe for Cape Sant Vincente.

The boates, according to the foreſayd determination, being ſent on ſhoare, it chaunced that The Coſtely ryding vttermoſt in the roade, did weigh to bring her ſelfe more neere among vs for the ſuccour of the boates ſent off, and in opening the land diſcouered two ſayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon ſhee gaue vs a warning piece, which cauſed vs to waue off our boates backe, and before they could recouer our ſhippes, the diſcryed ſhips appeared vnto vs, towardes the which we made with all haſte, and in a very happie houre, as it pleaſed God. In that wee had not ſo ſoone cleared the lande, and ſpoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Briſtoll, who had alſo ſought my Lorde in the heigths appointed and could not finde him, but a violent ſtorme aroſe, in ſuch manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had beene in daunger of periſhing: and the ſame extremely continued during the ſpace of threeſcore houres. In which ſtorme I was ſeparated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Coſtely, which kept company with mee. And ſo ſayling among the Ilands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roaders there, went directly for the Iſle Tercera.

A violent ſtorme.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming vnto ẏ ſame with intent to edge into the Road, a tempeſt aroſe and ſcanted the winde, that we could not ſeaze it: from the which being driuen we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the ſayde ſtorme diſperſed, and put them from the road: whereupon my ſelfe with the other two ſhips in companie gaue ſeuerall chaſes, and thereby loſt the company each of other.

In following our chaſe aboue noone we made her to ſtrike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, ſalſa-perilla and Anile. At this very inſtant we eſpied another, and taking our Prize with vs followed her, and ſomewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Franciſco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw ſilke. And for that the ſeas were ſo growen, as neither with boate nor ſhippe they were to bee boorded, we kept them till fit opportunitie. The ſame night a litle before day there happened another into our company, ſuppoſing vs by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we vntill the morning diſſembled.

A Portugall Prize taken.

A rich Weſt India Prize taken.

The 20 day in the morning, the ſayle being ſhot ſomewhat a head of vs, hauing a ſpeciall care for the ſafe keeping of the two former, we purpoſed to cauſe our Prizes to put out more ſayle thereby to keepe them neere in giuing chaſe to the other: vnto the which the Maſter would not hearken nor be perſwaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulneſſe by ſuch time as we had cauſed the other to yeelde, and ſent men aboord, the Conception, Franciſco Spinola Captaine being brought a ſterne, and hauing gotten the winde of vs, ſtood off with all her ſayles bearing, ſo as we were forced to make a new chaſe of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had loſt her. In the purſute before we recouered her and brought our ſelues againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was ſpent, and by this meanes we loſt the opportunitie of that day, the weather fitly ſeruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great diſtreſſe, and made requeſt to take them being readie to ſinke, and, as we well perceiued, they ceaſed not to pumpe day and night: the which ſhip to all our iudgements the ſame night periſhed in the ſea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Franciſco Spinola was Captaine, being alſo in a leake, and the ſame ſtill increaſing notwithſtanding the continuall pumping, in ſuch ſort as not to be kept long aboue water, I tooke and diſcharged out of her two and forty cheſtes of Cochonillio and ſilkes, and ſo left her with 11 foote water in holde, and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the ſeas.

The other Prize which we haue brought into the harborough is named Noſtra Sennora de los remedios, whereof Franciſco Aluarez is Captaine, laden with 16 cheſts of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw ſilke, and about 4000 hides. Vpon the diſcharge of the goods your worſhips ſhall be particularly aduertiſed thereof.

In the boording of the Prizes the diſorder of the company was ſuch, as that they letted not preſently beſides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the cheſts and to pillage ſuch money as was in them: notwithſtanding that it was ordered at conuenient leaſure to haue gone aboord my ſelfe, and there in the preſence of three or foure witneſſes to haue taken a iuſt account thereof, and the ſame to haue put in ſafe keeping, according to the effects of articles receiued in this behalfe.

And whereas there were alſo certaine ſummes of money taken from the company which they had thus purloyned and embeſeled, and the ſame with ſome other parcels brought aboord my ſhip, amounting vnto 2129 pezoes & a halfe, the company as pillage due vnto them demanded to haue the ſame ſhared, which I refuſed, & openly at the maine maſte read the articles firmed by my Lord Treaſurer and my lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to diſpoſe thereof vntill the ſame were finally determined at home. Hereupon they mutined and at laſt grew into ſuch furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were alſo readie to put in practiſe, whereby I was forced to yeeld, leaſt the Spaniards which we had aboord being many perceiuing the ſame, might haue had fit opportunitie to riſe againſt vs, which, after their brawles were appeaſed, they ſought to haue put in execution.

By the laſt aduiſe from Caſtile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to ſea hath receiued commaundement to ioyne his Fleete with thoſe of the Indies, and for to ſtay altogether at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treaſure will come by that time, or els they ſtay their comming from Hauana vntil Ianuary next, or the kings further pleaſure therein to be knowen. Theſe Pataches are ſaid to be of 300 tuns the piece, and to cary 30 pieces of braſſe, and alſo of ſaile reported to haue the aduantage of any ſhipping.

There periſhed of the Indies Fleete ſunke in the ſea before their comming to Flores 11 ſailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man ſaued. And it is by the Spaniards themſelues preſuppoſed that the ſtormes which we had at Flores & at Tercera haue deuoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witneſſes. And ſo what by the ſeas and our men of warre I preſume that of 75 ſailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arriue in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the ſound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Cattewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement ſtorme aroſe, and with ſuch fury increaſed, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine maſte: otherwiſe with the violence of the ſtorme, her ground tackle being bad, ſhe had driuen on ſhore: which was the moſt cauſe that moued me to put in here; intending now here to diſcharge the goods without further aduenture, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith alſo deſired to vnderſtande the direction of the Lords of the Counſell together with yours, inſomuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. How the reſt of our conſorts which were ſeparated from vs by weather haue ſped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reaſon of the ſcattering of the Weſt Indian Fleete, as yet we are able to ſay nothing. And thus expecting your anſwere, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October. 1591.

Your worſhips louing friend
Robert Flicke.

A large teſtimony of *Iohn Huighen van Linſchoten* Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, By Sir *Martine Frobiſher*, Sir *Richard Greenuile*, and diuers other Engliſh Captaines, about the Iſles of the *Açores*, and vpon the coaſts of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent diſcourſe of voiages to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, cap. *96*, *97*. and *99*.

The 22 of July 1589 about Euening, being by the Iſlands of Flores & Coruo, we perceiued 3 ſhips that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came cloſe by our Admirall, and ſhot diuers times at him, and at another ſhip of our companie, whereby we perceiued them to be Engliſhmen, for they bare an Engliſh flagge vpon their maine tops, but none of them ſhewed to be aboue 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Euening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their ſternes, although the Moone ſhined. The ſame night paſſing hard by the Iſland of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Iſland of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the ſmall Iſland called Graciosa on our left hand, we eſpied the 3 Engliſh ſhips ſtill following vs yͤ tooke counſell together, whereof one ſailed backwards, thinking that ſome other ſhip had come after vs without cõpany, & for a time was out of ſight, but it was not long before it came again to yͤ other two, wherwith they tooke coũſel & came all 3 together againſt our ſhip, becauſe we lay in the lee of al our ſhips, & had yͤ Iſland of S. George on the one ſide in ſtead of a ſconce, thinking to deale ſo with vs, that in yͤ end we ſhould be conſtrained to run vpon the ſhore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with their flagges openly diſplayed, came luſtily towardes vs, ſounding their Trumpets, and ſayled at the leaſt three times about vs, beating vs with Musket and Caliuer, and ſome great pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our ſhippe, but ſpoyled all our ſayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were ſo plagued by them, that no man durſt put foorth his head, and when wee ſhot off a peece, wee had at the leaſt an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby wee had ſo great a noiſe and crie in the ſhippe, as if we had all bene caſt away, whereat the English men themſelues beganne to mocke vs, and with a thouſand ieſting words called vnto vs. In the meane time the other ſhippes hoiſed all their ſayles, and did the beſt they could to ſaile to the Iſland of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they ſhould come too late thither, not caring for vs, but thinking themſelues to haue done ſufficiently ſo they ſaued their owne ſtakes, whereby it may eaſily be ſeene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the English men perceiuing ſmall aduantage againſt vs, (little knowing in what caſe and feare we were, as alſo becauſe wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which made vs not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our ſelues to bee riſen from death to life, although wee were not well aſſured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and vnder the ſafetie of the Portingales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the ſailes we could: on the other ſide we were in great doubt, becauſe we knew not what they did in the Iſland, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted ſo much the more, becauſe we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduiſe from Portingal, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduiſe, as in that countrey ordinarily they vſe to do: and becauſe the English men had bene ſo victorious in thoſe parts, it made vs ſuſpect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Iſland of Tercera were in no leſſe feare then we, for ſeeing our fleete, they thought vs to bee Engliſhmen, and that wee came to ouerrun the Iſland, becauſe the 3. Engliſhmen had bound vp their flags, and came in company with vs: for the which cauſe the Iſland ſent out two Caruels that lay there with aduiſe from the king, for the Indian ſhips that ſhould come thither. Thoſe Caruels came to view vs, and perceiuing what we were, made after vs, whereupon the English ſhips left vs, and made towardes them, becauſe the Caruels thought them to be friends, and ſhunned them not, as ſuppoſing them to bee of our company, but we ſhot foure or fiue times and made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould make towards the Iſland, which they preſently did. The Engliſhmen perceiuing that, did put forwards into the ſea, & ſo the Caruels borded vs telling vs that the men of the Iſland were all in armes, as hauing receiued aduiſe from Portugall, that Sir Francis Drake was in readineſſe, and woulde come vnto thoſe Iſlands. They likewiſe brought vs newes of the ouerthrow of the Spaniſh fleet before England, and that the English men had bene before the gates of Lisbon: whereupon the king gaue vs commandement that we ſhould put into the Iſland of Tercera, and there lie vnder the ſafety of the Caſtle vntil we receiued further aduiſe what we ſhould do, or whether we ſhould ſaile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Thoſe newes put our fleet in great feare, and made vs looke vpon eche other not knowing what to ſay, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, becauſe it lieth open to the ſea: ſo that the Indian ſhips, although they had expreſſe commandement from the king, yet they durſt not anker there, but onely vſed to come thither, and to lie to and fro, ſending their boates on land to fetch ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by neceſſitie compelled thereunto, as alſo by the kings commandement, and for that we vnderſtood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from thoſe Iſlands with certaine ſhips of warre, we made neceſſitie a vertue, and entring the road, ankered cloſe vnder the Caſtle, ſtaying for aduiſe and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of Iuly, and S. Iames day.

The day before the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ſhips of war, ſailed by the Iſland of Tercera, and to their great good fortune paſſed out of ſight, ſo that they diſpatched themſelues in all haſte, and for the more ſecuritie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards, of thoſe that lay in Garriſon in the Iſland, and with them they ſayled towards Lisbon, hauing a good wind: ſo that within 11 daies after they arriued in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes & triumph: for if they had ſtayed but one day longer before they had entred the riuer, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ſhips came before Caſcais, at the ſame time that the Indian ſhips caſt anker in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in freſh water, and ſome other victuals: but the inhabitants would not ſuffer him to haue it, but wounded both himſelfe & diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Iſle of Gracioſa, where himſelfe in perſon, with ſeuen or eight in his company went on land, aſking certaine beaſts, hens, and other victuals, with wine and freſh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courteſie, and keeping of his promiſe.

The ſame time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Iſland of Gracioſa, he came likewiſe to Fayall, where at the firſt time that he came, they beganne to reſiſt him, but by reaſon of ſome controuerſie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Caſtle to the ground, and ſunke all their Ordinance in the ſea, taking with him certaine Carauels and ſhips that lay in the road, with prouiſion of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to ſea. Whereupon the king cauſed the principall actors therein to be puniſhed, and ſent a company of ſouldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great ſhot, making the fortreſſe vp againe, the better to defend the Iſland, truſting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

The ninth of October 1589. there arriued in Tercera fourteene ſhips that came from the Spaniſh Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Golde, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fiftie in companie, when they departed out of the Hauen of Hauana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleuen ſunke in the ſame Channell by foule weather, the reſt by a ſtorme were ſcattered and ſeparated one from the other. The next day there came another ſhip of the ſame companie, that ſayled cloſe vnder the Iſland, ſo to get into the Roade: where ſhe met with an Engliſh ſhip that had not aboue three caſt peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Iſland might ſtand and behold: whereupon the Gouernour of Tercera ſent two boates of Muſketiers to helpe the ſhippe: but before they could come at her, the Engliſh ſhip had ſhot her vnder water, and we ſaw her ſinke into the Sea with all her ſayles vp, and not any thing ſeene of her aboue the water. The Engliſhmen with their boate ſaued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the ſhippe there was at the leaſt to the value of two hundred thouſand Duckats in Golde, Siluer, and Pearles, the reſt of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie perſons, among the which were ſome Fryers and women, which the Engliſhmen would not ſaue. Thoſe that they had ſaued they ſet on land: and then they ſayled away. The ſeuen and twentieth of the ſame moneth, the ſayd fourteene ſhips hauing refreſhed themſelues in the Iſland departed from Tercera toward Siuill, and comming vpon the coaſt of Spaine they were taken by the Engliſh ſhips that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which eſcaped away, and the reſt were wholly caried into England.

About the ſame time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ſhips, and fiue or ſixe more, kept about thoſe Iſlands and came oftentimes ſo cloſe vnder the Iſland, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might eaſily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knew ſuch as walked on the Hatches: they of the Iſland not once ſhooting at them, although they might eaſily haue done it, for they were within Muſket ſhot both of the towne and fort. In theſe places he continued for the ſpace of two moneths, and ſayled round about the Iſlands, and landed in Gracioſa and Fayal, as in the deſcription of thoſe Iſlands I haue alreadie declared. Here he tooke diuers ſhips and Carauels, which he ſent into England: ſo that thoſe of the Iſland durſt not once put foorth their heads. At the ſame time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of Cumberland had beene in the Iſland of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arriued in the ſaid Iſland of Fayal ſixe Indian ſhippes, whoſe Generall was one Iuan Doriues: and there they diſcharged in the Iland 4 millions of golde and ſiluer. And hauing with all ſpeede refreſhed their ſhips, fearing the comming of the Engliſhmen they ſet ſayle, and arriued ſafely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Engliſhmen: for that within leſſe then two dayes after the gold and ſiluer was laden againe into the Spaniſh ſhips, the Erle of Cumberland ſayled againe by that Iſland: ſo that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had ſight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themſelues confeſſed.

In the moneth of Nouember there arriued in Tercera two great ſhippes, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with ſiluer, who with ſtormie weather were ſeparated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and diſtreſſe, and readie to ſinke: for they were forced to vſe all their Pumps: ſo that they wiſhed a thouſand times to haue met with the Engliſhmen to whom they would willingly haue giuen their ſiluer and all that euer they brought with them, onely to ſaue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay ſtill about thoſe

Iſlands, yet they met not with him, ſo that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all ſpeede they vnladed and diſcharged aboue fiue millions of ſiluer, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: ſo that the whole Kay lay couered with plates and cheſts of ſiluer, full of Ryales of eight, moſt wonderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thouſand duckats,) beſides pearles, gold, and other ſtones, which were not regiſtred. The Admirall and chiefe commaunder of thoſe ſhips and Fleete called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was ſicke of the Neapolitan diſeaſe, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Siuillia. He brought with him the Kings broad ſeale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commaunder vpon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ſhips, and of all places and Iſlands, or lands whereſoeuer he came: whereupon the gouernour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiuing the weakneſſe of their ſhips, and the danger of the Engliſhmen, that they would ſend the ſhippes emptie with ſouldiers to conuey them, either to Siuill or Liſbon, where they could firſt arriue, with aduiſe vnto his Maieſtie of all that had paſt, and that he would giue order to fetch the ſiluer with good and ſafe conuoy. Whereupon the ſaid Aluaro Flores ſtayed there, vnder colour of keeping the ſiluer, but ſpecially becauſe of his diſeaſe, and for that they were affraide of the Engliſhmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part aboue 50000 Duckats in pearles, which he ſhewed vnto vs, & ſought to ſell them or barter them with vs for ſpices or bils of exchange. The ſaid two ſhips ſet ſayle with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well ſouldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at ſea had a ſtorme, wherewith the Admiral burſt and ſunke in the ſea, & not one man ſaued. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her maſt, and ranne the ſhip on ground hard by Setuual, where it burſt in pieces, ſome of the men ſauing themſelues by ſwimming, that brought the newes, but the reſt were drowned.

In the ſame moneth there came two great ſhips out of the Spaniſh Indies, and being within half a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an Engliſh ſhip, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an Engliſh ſhippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Iſland, there to lade woad, and being diſcouered was both ſhip and goods confiſcated to the kings vſe, and all the men kept priſoners: yet went they vp and downe the ſtreetes to get their liuings, by labouring like ſlaues, being in deede as ſafe in that Iſland, as if they had beene in priſon. But in the ende vpon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behinde the hils called Breſil: where they found a Fiſher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the ſea to the Erle of Cumberlands ſhippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iſland, and ankered with his ſhips about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two ſmall Iſlands, which lie about a baſes ſhot from the Iſland and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Iſland of Tercera. Thoſe Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates, and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and ſheepe as they had neede of: which thoſe of the towne and of the Iſland well ſaw and beheld, yet durſt not once goe foorth: ſo there remained no more on land but the Maſter and the Marchant of the ſaid Engliſh ſhip. This Maſter had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers impriſonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to ſet forth a ſhip, therewith to ſee if he could recouer his loſſes of the Spaniards by taking ſome of them, and ſo to redeeme his brother that lay priſoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spaniſh ſhips before the Towne, the Maſter of the ſhip aforeſaid ſtanding on the ſhore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ſhips being taken that were worth 300 thouſand duckats, he ſent al the men on land ſauing onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ranſome his brother: and ſent the Pilot of one of the Indian ſhips that were taken, with a letter to the Gouernor of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he ſhould deliuer him his brother, & he would ſend the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would ſaile with them into England, as indeed he did, becauſe the Gouernour would not doe it, ſaying that the Gentlemen might make that ſuite to the king of Spaine himſelfe. This Spaniſh Pilot we bid to ſupper with vs, and the Engliſhmen likewiſe, where he ſhewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Engliſhmens fighting, as alſo their courteous vſing of him: but in the end the Engliſh Pilot likewiſe ſtole away in a French ſhip, without paying any ranſome as yet.

In the moneth of Ianuarie 1590 there arriued one ſhip alone in Tercera, that came from the Spaniſh Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleete of a hundred ſhippes which put out from the Firme land of the Spaniſh Indies, and by a ſtorme were driuen vpon the coaſt called Florida, where they were all caſt away, ſhe hauing onely eſcaped, wherein there were great riches, & many men loſt, as it may well be thought: ſo that they made their account, that of 220 ſhips that for certaine were knowen to haue put out of Noua Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde, Braſilia, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589, to ſaile for Spaine & Portugall, there were not aboue 14 or 15 of them arriued there in ſafetie, all the reſt being either drowned, burſt or taken.

In the ſame moneth of January there arriued in Tercera 15 or 16 ſhips that came from Siuil, which were moſt Flieboats of the Low countries, and ſome Britons that were arreſted in Spaine: theſe came full of ſouldiers, and wel appointed with munition, to lade the ſiluer that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the kings cōmandement into Spaine. And becauſe that time of the yeere there are alwayes ſtormes about thoſe Ilands, therefore they durſt not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew ſo great a ſtorme that ſome of their ſhips that had ankred were forced to cut downe their maſtes, and were in danger to be loſt: and among the reſt a ſhip of Biſcaie ran againſt the land and was ſtriken in pieces, but all the men ſaued themſelues. The other ſhips were forced to keepe the ſea and ſeperate themſelues one from the other, where wind and weather would driue them vntill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miſerie, curſing both the ſiluer and the Iland. This ſtorme being paſt, they chanced to meet with a ſmall Engliſh ſhip of about 40 tunnes in bigneſſe, which by reaſon of the great wind could not beare all her ſailes: ſo they ſet vpon her and tooke her, and with the Engliſh flag in their Admirals ſterne, they came as proudly into the hauen as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the Engliſh flag vpon her ſterne was entring into the road, there came by chance two Engliſh ſhips by the Iland that paied her ſo well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Miſericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if ſhe had bene but a mile further in the ſea: but becauſe ſhe got vnder the Fortreſſe, which alſo began to ſhoot at the Engliſhmen, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the ſea, hauing ſlaine fiue or ſixe of the Spaniards. The Engliſhmen that were taken in the ſmall ſhippe were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene priſoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spaniſh Enſigne-bearer in the ſhip that had a brother ſlaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to reuenge his death, and withall to ſhew his manhood on the Engliſh captiues that were in the Engliſh ſhip, which they had taken, as is aforeſayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe vnder the hatches, where finding the poore Engliſhmen ſitting in boltes, with the ſame poiniard he ſtabbed ſixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, claſped each other about the middle, becauſe they would not be murthered by him, & threw themſelues into the ſea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much diſliked and very ill taken, ſo that they caried the Spaniard priſoner vnto Lisbon, where being arriued, the king of Spaine willed he ſhould be ſent into England, that the Queene of England might vſe him as ſhe thought good: which ſentence his friends by intreatie got to be reuerſed, notwithſtanding he commanded he ſhould without all fauour be beheaded: but vpon a good Friday the Cardinall going to maſſe, all the captaines and Commanders made ſo great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might vnderſtand the bloody & diſhoneſt minds of the Spaniards when they haue men vnder their ſubiection.

The ſame two Engliſh ſhips which folowed the Spaniſh Admirall till he had got the Fort of Tercera, as I ſayd before, put into the ſea, where they met with another Spaniſh ſhip being of the ſame Fleet, that had likewiſe bene ſcattred by the ſtorme and was onely miſſing, for the reſt lay in the road. This ſmall ſhip the Engliſhmen tooke, and ſent all the men on ſhore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done vnto the foreſayd Engliſh captiues, I beleeue they would ſoone haue reuenged themſelues, as afterward many an innocent ſoule paied for it. This ſhip thus taken by the Engliſhmen, was the ſame that was taken and confiſcated in the Iland of Tercera by the Engliſhmen that got out of the Iland in a fiſher boat (as I ſaid before) and was ſold vnto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they ſayled to S. Lucar, where it was alſo arreſted by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the ſiluer in Tercera, becauſe it was a ſhip that ſailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meaneſt of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they leaſt thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforeſayd ſhips being 19 in number, ſet ſaile, hauing laden the kings ſiluer, and receiued in Aluaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good prouiſion of neceſſaries, munition and ſouldiers that were fully reſolued (as they made ſhew) to fight valiantly to the laſt man before they would yeeld or loſe their riches: and although they ſet their courſe for S. Lucar, the wind draue them vnto Lisbon, which (as it ſeemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in ſafetie, although Aluaro de Flores, both againſt the wind and weather would perforce haue ſailed to Saint Lucar, but being conſtrained by the wind and importunitie of the ſailers that proteſted they would require their loſſes and damages of him, he was content to ſaile to Lisbon: from whence the ſiluer was by land caried vnto Siuil. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a Fleet of 20 Engliſh ſhips to watch for the Armada, ſo that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had fallē right into their hands, which if the wind had ſerued they had done. And therefore they may ſay that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Engliſhmen had met with them, they had ſurely bene in great danger, and poſſibly but few of them had eſcaped, by reaſon of the feare wherewith they were poſſeſſed, becauſe fortune or rather God was wholy againſt them: which is a ſufficiēt cauſe to make the Spaniards out of heart, & to the contrary to giue the Engliſhmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, ſtout and valiant: and ſeeing all their enterpriſes do take ſo good effect, that thereby they are become lords and maſters of the ſea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe diſcourſe.

The 7 of Auguſt 1590. a nauie of Engliſh ſhips was ſeen before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ſhips: their Generall was one Martin Frobiſher, as we after had intelligence. They came purpoſely to watch for the Fleet of the Spaniſh Indies, and for the Indian ſhips, and the ſhips of the countreys in the Weſt: which put the Ilanders in great feare, ſpecially thoſe of Fayal, for that the Engliſhmen ſent a trumpet to the Gouernour to aſke certaine wine, fleſh, and other victuals for their money and good friendſhip. They of Fayal did not onely refuſe to giue eare vnto them, but with a ſhot killed their meſſenger or trumpeter: which the Engliſhmen tooke in euill part, ſending them word that they were beſt to looke to themſelues and ſtand vpon their guard, for they ment to come and viſite them whether they would or no. The Gouernour made them anſwere, that he was there in the behalfe of his maieſtie of Spaine, and that he would doe his beſt to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no litle feare, ſending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with pouder and munition for warre, with ſome biſket and other neceſſary prouiſion.

The 30 of Auguſt we receiued very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ſhips put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and ſouldiours, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France againſt the king of Nauarre. At the ſame time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugall to Tercera being halfe the Seas ouer, met with 4 of the Queenes ſhips, their Generall being ſir Iohn Hawkins, that ſtaied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ſhips had 80 pieces of Ordinance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ſhips in the Engliſh chanell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewiſe that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other Engliſh ſhips, that if any ſhips eſcaped from the Ilands, they might take them. Theſe tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, leaſt if they failed of the Spaniſh fleete and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, becauſe they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held ſtreit watch, ſending aduiſe vnto the king what newes they heard.

The firſt of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ſhip out of the hauen of Phernambuck in Braſile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall Fleet that came from India, heuing miſſed the Iland of S. Helena, was of neceſſitie conſtrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expreſly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him ſo to doe, becauſe of the wormes that there doe ſpoile the ſhips. The ſame ſhippe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. ſailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ſhips in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, ſo that it was thought to be caſt away: the other foure returned ſafe againe into Portugall, though the Admiral was much ſpoiled, becauſe he met with two Engliſh ſhips that fought long with him, and ſlew many of his men, but yet he eſcaped from them.

The 5 of the ſame moneth there arriued in Tercera a carauel of the Iland of Coruo, & brought with her 50 men that had bin ſpoiled by the Engliſhmen who had ſet them on ſhore in the Iland of Coruo, being taken out of a ſhip that came from the Spaniſh Indies, they brought tidings that the Engliſhmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ſhips, & a carauel with the king of Spaines letters of aduiſe for the ſhips comming out of the Portugal Indies, & that with thoſe which they had takē, they were at the leaſt 40 Engliſh ſhips together, ſo ỹ not one bark eſcaped them, but fel into their hands, & that therefore the Portugall ſhips comming out of India durſt not put into the Ilands, but tooke their courſe vnder 40 & 42 degrees, and frō thence ſailed to Lisbon, ſhunning likewiſe the cape S. Vincent, otherwiſe they could not haue had a proſperous iourney of it, for that as then the ſea was ful of Engliſh ſhips. Whereupon the king aduiſed the fleet lying in Hauana in ỹ Spaniſh Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they ſhould ſtay there all that yeere till the next yeere, becauſe of the great danger they might fal into by ỹ Engliſhmen, which was no ſmal charge, & hinderance to the fleet, for that the ſhips that lie there do conſume themſelues, and in a maner eat vp one another, by reaſon of the great nūber of people, together with the ſcarcitie of al things, ſo that many ſhips choſe rather one by one to aduenture thẽſelues alone to get home, then to ſtay there: all which fell into the Engliſhmens hands, whereof diuers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could ſee nothing els, but ſpoiled men ſet on ſhore, ſome out of one ſhip, ſome out of another, that pitie it was to ſee all of them curſing the Engliſhmen & their owne fortunes, with thoſe that had bene the cauſes to prouoke the Engliſhmen to fight, and complaining of the ſmall remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

Great hauock of Spaniards.

The 19 of the ſame moneth there came to Tercera a Carauel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cauſe the goods that were ſaued out of the ſhip which came from Malacca (for ẏ which we ſtaied there) to be laden and ſent to Lisbon. And at the ſame time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonſo de Baçan, with 40 great ſhips of warre to come vnto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spaniſh & Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ſhip being laden, they were to conuoy thẽ all together into the riuer of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at ſea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Ilands, onely two of them that were ſcattred from the fleet, arriued at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they preſently returned to ſeeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, & cauſed the fleet to ſtay in India, as I ſaid before: and therefore hee ſent worde vnto Don Alonſo de Baſſan, that hee ſhould returne againe to the Groine, which he preſently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neer the Ilands, ſauing onely the two foreſayd ſhips, for he well knew that the Engliſhmen lay by the Iland of Coruo, but he would not viſit them: and ſo he returned to the hauen the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ſhip, and truſſed vp againe, and forced to ſtay a more fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arriued in Tercera a Carauel with aduiſe out of Portugall, that of 5 ſhips which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, & that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk ſailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought ouer-land, hauing bin at the leaſt 11 moneths at ſea & neuer ſaw land, and came in great miſery to Malacca. In this ſhip there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himſelfe made, and ſent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names & ſurnames of euery man, together with a deſcription of his voiage, & the miſery they had endured, which was onely done, becauſe he would not loſe the gouernment of India: and for that cauſe he had ſworne either to loſe his life, or to arriue in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, loſſe and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, & onely for want of prouiſion, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ſhips did, he ſhould haue bin caſſiered from his Indian regiment, becauſe the people began already to murmure at him for his proud & lofty mind. And amõg other things that ſhewed his pride the more, behind aboue the gallery of his ſhip, he cauſed Fortune to be painted, & his own picture wͭ a ſtaffe ſtanding by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this poſie, Quero que vencas, that is, I wil haue thee to ouercome: which being read by the Cardinal & other gentlemen (that to honor him brought him aboord his ſhip) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no ſtrange matter among the Portugals: for they aboue all others muſt of force let the foole peepe out of their ſleeues, ſpecially when they are in authoritie, for that I knew the ſaid Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a ſouldier and a captaine, where he was eſteemed and accounted for one of the beſt of them, & much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himſelfe curteouſly to euery man, whereby they all deſired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power & authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed ſo much from his former behauior, that by reaſon of his pride, they all began to feare and curſe him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often ſeene in many men that are aduanced vnto ſtate and dignitie.

The 20 of Ianuarie 1591, there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Engliſhmen had takẽ a ſhip that the king had ſent into the Portugal-Indies, wͭ aduiſe to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ſhips that ſhould haue gone to India, & becauſe the ſhips were come backe againe, that ſhip was ſtuffed and laden as full of goods as poſſible it might be, hauing likewiſe in ready money 500 thouſand duckets in roials of 8, beſides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the moneth of Nouember 1590, & met with the Engliſhmen, with whõ for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were ſet at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed priſoner; but he excuſed himſelfe and was releaſed, with whom I ſpake my ſelfe, & he made this report vnto me. At the ſame time alſo they tooke a ſhip that came from the Mine ladẽ with gold, & 2 ſhips laden with pepper & ſpices that were to ſaile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thouſand duckets: all theſe ſhips were caried into England, & made good priſe.

In the moneth of Iuly 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Iland of S.Michael, which continued frõ the 26 of Iuly, to the 12 of Auguſt, in which time no man durſt ſtay within his houſe but fled into the fields, faſting & praying with great ſorow, for that many of their houſes fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almoſt cleane razed to the ground, all the cloiſters & houſes ſhaken to the earth, and therein ſome people ſlaine. The land in ſome places roſe vp, and the cliffs remoued from one place to another, and ſome hils were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was ſo ſtrong, that the ſhips which lay in the road and on the ſea, ſhaked as if the world would haue turned round: there ſprang alſo a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the ſpace of 4 daies, there flowed a moſt cleare water, & after that it ceaſed. At the ſame time they heard ſuch thunder & noiſe vnder the earth, as if all the deuils in hell had bin aſſembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera ſhooke 4 times together, ſo that it ſeemed to turne about, but there hapned no miſfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in thoſe Ilands, for about 20 yeres paſt there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the ſame towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, & couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of Auguſt the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arriued in Tercera being in all 30 ſhips, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 dutch flieboats that were arreſted in Lisbon to ſerue the king, beſides other ſmall ſhips & pataros, that came to ſerue as meſſengers from place to place, and to diſcouer the ſeas. This nauie came to ſtay for, and conuoy the ſhips that ſhould come from the Spaniſh Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were ſaued in the loſt ſhip that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the ſaid Armada arriued at the Iland of Coruo, where the Engliſhmen with about 16 ſhips as then lay, ſtaying for the Spaniſh fleet, whereof ſome or the moſt part were come, and there the Engliſh were in good hope to haue taken them. But whẽ they perceiued the kings army to be ſtrong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal vpon them, nor any of them once to ſeparate their ſhips from him, vnleſſe he gaue commiſſion ſo to do: notwithſtanding the viceadmirall ſir Richard Greenuil being in the ſhip called the Reuenge, went into the Spaniſh fleet, and ſhot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the reſt of the company would haue folowed, which they did not, but left him there, & ſailed away: the cauſe why could not be knowẽ. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ſhips they boorded her, but ſhe withſtood them all, fighting with them at the leaſt 12 houres together and ſunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biſcain: but in the end by reaſon of the number that came vpon her, ſhe was taken, but to their great loſſe: for they had loſt in fighting and by drowning aboue 400 men, and of the Engliſh were ſlaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himſelfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ſhip called S.Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonſo de Baçan: there his wounds were dreſt by the Spaniſh ſurgeons, but Don Alonſo himſelfe would neither ſee him nor ſpeake with him: all the reſt of the captaines and gentlemen went to viſite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and ſtout heart, for ẏ he ſhewed not any ſigne of faintnes nor changing of colour; but feeling the houre of death to approch, he ſpake theſe words in Spaniſh, and ſaid: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a ioyful & quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true ſouldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my ſoule moſt ioyfull departeth out of this body, & ſhal alwayes leaue behind it an euerlaſting fame of a valiant & true ſouldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finiſhed theſe or ſuch other like words, he gaue vp the Ghoſt, with great & ſtout courage, & no man could perceiue any true ſigne of heauines in him.

This ſir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, & had great yeerely reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; inſomuch as of his owne priuate motion he offred his ſeruice to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in theſe Ilands, and knowen of euery man, but of nature very ſeuere, ſo that his owne people hated him for his fierceneſſe, & ſpake very hardly of him: for when they firſt entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great ſaile in a readineſſe, and might poſſibly enough haue ſailed away, for it was one of the beſt ſhips for ſaile in England, and the maſter perceiuing that the other ſhips had left them, & folowed not after, commanded the great ſaile to be cut that they might make away: but ſir Rich. Greenuil threatned both him & al the reſt that were in the ſhip, ẏ if any mã laid hand vpon it, he would cauſe him to be hanged, and ſo by that occaſion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken. He was of ſo hard a cõplexion, that as he continued among the Spaniſh captains while they were at dinner or ſupper with him, he would carouſe 3 or 4 glaſſes of wine, and in a brauerie take the glaſſes betweene his teeth and craſh them in pieces & ſwalow them downe, ſo that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: & this was told me by diuers credible perſons that many times ſtood and beheld him. The Engliſhmen that were left in the ſhip, as the captaine of the ſouldiers, the maſter and others were diſperſed into diuers of the Spaniſh ſhips that had taken them, where there had almoſt a new fight ariſen between the Biſcains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue firſt boorded her, ſo that there grew a great noiſe and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe enſigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and euery one held his owne. The ſhips that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Iſland of Tercera, there to repaire themſelues: where being arriued, I and my chamber-fellow, to heare ſome newes, went aboord one of the ſhips being a great Biſcain, and one of the 12 Apoſtles, whoſe captaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biſcains in the fleet that went for England. He ſeeing vs called vs vp into the gallery, where with great curteſie he receiued vs, being as then ſet at dinner with the Engliſh captaine that ſate by him, and had on a ſute of blacke veluet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could ſpeake no other language but Engliſh and Latine, which Bartandono alſo could a litle ſpeake. The Engliſh captaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his ſide, and was in our lodging with the Engliſhman that was kept priſoner in the Iland, being of that ſhip whereof the ſailers got away, as I ſaid before. The gouernour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and ſhewed him great curteſie. The maſter likewiſe with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the leaſt 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at ſea between Lisbon & the Ilands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight, and left it with the Engliſh marchant that lay in our lodging, to ſend it to the lord Admiral of England. This Engliſh captaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel receiued and not any hurt done vnto him, but with good conuoy ſent to Seuual, and from thence ſailed into England with all the reſt of the Engliſhmen that were taken priſoners.

The wracke of the Reuenge.

The Spaniſh armie ſtaied at the Iland of Coruo til the laſt of September, to aſſemble the reſt of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 ſailes of ſhips partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to ſaile to Tercera in good company, there ſuddenly roſe ſo hard & cruell a ſtorme, that thoſe of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was neuer any ſuch ſeen or heard off before: for it ſeemed the ſea would haue ſwalowed vp the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are ſo high that it amaſeth a man to behold them: but the ſea reached aboue them, and liuing fiſhes were throwen vpon the land. This ſtorme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compaſſe, at the leſt twiſe or thriſe during that time, and all alike, with a continuall ſtorme and tempeſt moſt terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on ſhore, much more then to ſuch as were at ſea: ſo that onely on the coaſts and cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were aboue 12 ſhips caſt away, and not onely vpon the one ſide, but round about it in euery corner, wherby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & telling, here is a ſhip broken in pieces againſt the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: ſo that for the ſpace of 20 dayes after the ſtorme, they did nothing els but fiſh for dead men that continually came driuing on the ſhore. Among the reſt was the Engliſh ſhip called the Reuenge, that was caſt away vpon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces & ſunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biſcains, and others, with ſome of the captiue Engliſhmen, whereof but one was ſaued that got vp vpon the cliffes aliue, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on ſhore brought vs the newes deſiring to be ſhriuen, & thereupon preſently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire braſſe pieces that were all ſunke in yͤ ſea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among theſe ſhips that were caſt away about Tercera, was likewiſe a *Flie-boat*, one of thoſe that had bin arreſted in Portugall to ſerue the king, called the white Doue, the maſter of her was one Cornelius Martenſon of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 ſouldiers, as in euery one of the reſt there were. He being ouer-ruled by the captaine that he could not be maſter of his owne, ſayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the ſtorme droue him, in the end came within the ſight of the Iland of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiuing thought all their ſafetie onely to conſiſt in putting into the road, compelling the Maſter and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the maſter refuſed to doe it, ſaying, that they were moſt ſure there to be caſt away and vtterly ſpoyled: but the captaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and ſtriking him with a ſtaffe, commaunded him to doe as hee would haue him. The Maſter ſeeing this and being compelled to doe it, ſayd: well then my Maſters, ſeeing it is the deſire of you all to bee caſt away,

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I can but loſe one life, and therewith deſperately he ſailed towards the ſhore, and was on that ſide of the Iland, where there was nothing els but hard ſtones and rocks, as high as mountaines, moſt terrible to beholde; where ſome of the inhabitants ſtood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them, and ſaue their liues: but few of them got ſo neere, moſt of them being caſt away, and ſmitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ſhip ſailing in this maner (as I ſayd before) towards the Iland, and approching to the ſhore, the maſter being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his ſonne that was in the ſhip with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their laſt farewell, the good olde father willed his ſonne not to take care for him, but ſeeke to ſaue himſelfe; for (ſayd he) ſonne thou art yong, & mayeſt haue ſome hope to ſaue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) what become of me, and therewith ech of theſe ſhedding many teares, as euery louing father and kinde childe may well conſider, the ſhip fell vpon the cliffes, and brake in pieces, the father on the one ſide, the ſonne on the other ſide falling into the ſea, ech laying holde vpon that which came next to hand, but to no purpoſe; for the ſea was ſo high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely fourteene or fifteene ſaued themſelues by ſwimming, with their legs and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt, among which was the Maſters ſonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the reſt of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Maſter, were drowned. Whoſe heart would not melt with teares to beholde ſo grieuous a ſight, ſpecially conſidering with himſelfe that the greateſt cauſe thereof was the beaſtlines and inſolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be ſeene: Whereby may be conſidered how the other ſhippes ſped, as we our ſelues did in part beholde, and by the men that were ſaued did heare more at large, as alſo ſome others of our countreymen that as then were in the like danger can well witneſſe.

On the other Ilands the loſſe was no leſſe then in Tercera: for on the Iland of Saint George there were two ſhips caſt away: on the Iland of Pico two ſhips: on the Iland of Gratioſa three ſhips: and beſides thoſe there came euery where round about diuers pieces of broken ſhips, and other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the ſea was all couered moſt pitifull to beholde. On the Iland of S. Michael there were foure ſhips caſt away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michael three more were ſunke, which were ſeene and heard to cry out; whereof not one man was ſaued. The reſt put into the ſea without maſts, all torne and rent: ſo that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ſhips in all, there were but 32 or 33 arriued in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and thoſe few with ſo great miſery, paine and labour, that not two of them arriued there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and ſo one after the other to the number aforeſayd. All the reſt were caſt away vpon the Ilands, and ouerwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be conſidered what great loſſe and hindrance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was eſteemed to be much more then was loſt by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought, and preſumed, that it was no other but a iuſt plague purpoſely ſent by God vpon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be ſayd, the taking of the Reuenge was iuſtly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as ſome of them openly ſayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they beleeued verily God would conſume them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretikes: ſaying further that ſo ſoone as they had throwen the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield ouer-boord, they verily thought that as he had a diuelliſh faith and religion, and therefore the diuels loued him, ſo he preſently ſunke into the bottome of the ſea, and downe into hell, where he raiſed vp all the diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought ſo great ſtormes and torments vpon the Spaniards, becauſe they onely maintained the Catholike & Romiſh religion. Such and the like blaſphemies againſt God, they ceaſed not openly to vtter, without being reprooued of any man therein, nor for their falſe opinions: but the moſt part of them rather ſayd and affirmed, that of trueth it muſt needs be ſo.

About 100 Spaniſh and Portugall ſhips drowned.

As one of thoſe Indian fleets put out of Noua Spagna, there were 35 of them by ſtorme and tempeſt caſt away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; ſo that but 15 eſcaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 caſt away, comming out of the chanell of Hauana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ſhips laden with golde and ſiluer, that were taken by the Engliſhmen: and before the Spaniſh army came to Coruo, the Engliſhmen at times had taken at the leaſt 20 ſhips, that came from S. Domingo, India, Braſilia, &c. and were all ſent into England.

A relation ſent by *Melchior Petoney* to *Nigil de Moura* at *Lisbon*, from the Iland and Caſtle of *Arguin*, ſtanding a little to the Southward of Cape *Blanco*, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and ſecret trade from the inland of *Africa* thither: *Anno* 1591.

Commodities fit for Arguin.

Wedges of golde giuen for ſmall trifles.

Scarlet & fine Purple cloth greatly accepted.

A good harbor before the Caſtle of Arguin.

Concerning this kingdome reade Leo Africanus a little after the beginning of his 6 booke.

AS concerning the trade to this Caſtle and Iland of Arguin, your worſhip is to vnderſtand, that if it would pleaſe the kings maieſty to ſend hither two or three carauels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spaniſh commodities, as Bracelets of glaſſe, Kniues, Belles, Linnen-cloth, Looking-glaſſes, with other kinds of ſmall wares, his highneſſe might do great good here. For 50 leagues vp into the land the Moores haue many exceeding rich golde mines; inſomuch that they bring downe their golde to this Caſtle to traffique with vs: and for a ſmall trifle they will giue vs a great wedge of golde. And becauſe here is no trade, the ſayd Moores cary their golde to Fez being 250 leagues diſtant from hence, and there doe exchange the ſame for the foreſayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes alſo his maieſty might ſtop that paſſage, and keepe the king of Fez from ſo huge a maſſe of golde. Scarlet-clothes, and fine Purples are greatly accepted of in theſe parts. It is a moſt fertile countrey within the land, and yeeldeth great ſtore of Wheat, fleſh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were poſſible, you ſhould do well to deale with his maieſty, either himſelfe to ſend a couple of carauels, or to giue your worſhip leaue to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ſhips may ride at ancre hard by the Caſtle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called The kingdome of Darba. In this kingdome are great ſtore of cities and townes; and in euery city and towne a Captaine with certaine ſouldiers; which Captaines are lords and owners of the ſayd townes. One city there is called Couton, another Xanigeton, as alſo the cities of Tubguer, Azegue, Amader, Quaherque, and the towne of Faroo. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, Barley, and Dates. And here is ſuch plenty of golde found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, that the ſayd Moores vſually carry the ſame Northward to Marocco, and Southward to the city of Tombuto in the land of Negros, which city ſtandeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of Darba; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Caſtle of Arguin. Wherefore I beſeech your worſhip to put his maieſty in remembrance hereof; for the ſayd cities and townes are but ten dayes iourney from hence. I heartily wiſh that his maieſty would ſend two or three marchants to ſee the ſtate of the Countrey, who might trauell to the aforeſayd cities, to vnderſtand of their rich trade. For any man may go ſafe and come ſafe from thoſe places. And thus without troubling of your worſhip any further, I humbly take my leaue. From the Iland and Caſtle of Arguin the 20 of January 1591.

Your worſhips ſeruant,
Melchior Petoney.

The voyage of *Richard Rainolds* and *Thomas Daſſel* to the riuers of *Senega* and *Gambra* adioyning vpon *Guinea*, 1591, with a diſcourſe of the treaſons of certain of *Don Antonio* his ſeruants and followers.

BY vertue of her Maieſties moſt gracious charter giuen in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her Highneſſe reigne, certaine Engliſh marchants are granted to trade, in and from the riuer of Senega to and in the riuer of Gambra, on the Weſterne coaſt of Africa. The chiefeſt places of traffique on that coaſt betweene theſe riuers, are theſe:

The names of the chiefe places of traffike betweene Senega & Gambra.

1 Senega riuer: The commodities be hides, gumme, elephants teeth, a few graines, ostrich feathers, amber-griece, and ſome golde.

2 Beſeguiache, a towne by Capo Verde * leagues from Senega riuer: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a fe[w] teeth.

3 Refiſca Vieio, a towne 4 leagues from Beſeguiache: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth now and then.

4 Palmerin, a towne 2 leagues from Refiſca: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few elephants teeth now and then.

5 Porto d'Ally, a towne 5 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be ſmall hides, teeth, amber-griece, and a little golde: and many Portugals are there.

6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d' Ally: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth now and then.

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Ioala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be hides, waxe, elephants teeth, rice, and ſome golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 Gambra riuer: The commodities are rice, waxe, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-hauen haue traded thither aboue thirty yeres: and commonly with foure or fiue ſhips a yere, whereof two ſmall barks go into the riuer of Senega. The other were woont (untill within theſe foure yeres, that our ſhips came thither) to ride with their ſhips in the road of Porto d' Ally and ſo ſent their ſmall ſhaloups of ſixe or eight tunnes to ſome of theſe places on the Sea coaſt before repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloued and as courteouſly entertained of the Negros, as if they had bene naturally borne in the countrey. And very often the Negros come into France and returne againe, which is a further increaſing of mutuall loue and amity. Since our comming to that coaſt the Frenchmen ride with their ſhippes at Refiſca Vieio, and ſuffer vs to ancre with our ſhippes at Porto d' Ally. The Frenchmen neuer vſe to go into the riuer of Gambra: which is a riuer of ſecret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long ſince one Frenchman entred the riuer with a ſmall barke which was betrayed, ſurpriſed, and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

Our trade hither beganne 1587.

Gambra a riuer of ſecret & rich trade concealed.

In our ſecond voyage and ſecond yeere there were by vile trecherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros conſent in Porto d' Ally and Ioala about forty Engliſhmen cruelly ſlaine and captiued, and moſt or all of their goods confiſcated: whereof there returned onely two, which were the marchants. And alſo by procurement of Pedro Gonſalues, one of Don Antonio the kings ſeruants, Thomas Daſſel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleaſed almighty God to reueale the ſame, whereby it was preuented.

The ſecond voyage. Forty Engliſhmen traiterouſly ſlaine and captiued.

From the South ſide of Senega riuer on the Sea coaſt vnto about Palmerin is all one kingdome of Negros. The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes iourney within the land from Refiſca.

The 12 of Nouember 1591, I Richard Rainolds & Thomas Daſſel factors in a ſhip called the Nightingale of London of 125 tunnes, and a pinneſſe called the Meſſenger of 40 tunnes arriued neere vnto Capo Verde at a litle Iland called The Iland of liberty. At this Iland we ſet vp a ſmall pinneſſe, with which we cary our marchandiſe on land when wee traffique. And in the meane time Thomas Daſſel went with the great pinneſſe to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d' Ally or Ioala. Ouer againſt the ſayd Iland on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Beſegueache. The alcaide or gouernor thereof with a great traine came aboord in their canoas to receiue the kings dueties for ankerage and permitting the quiet ſetting vp of our pinneſſe: who liked paſſing well that no Portugall came in the ſhippe, ſaying, we ſhould be better thought of by the king and people, if we neuer did bring Portugall, but come of our ſelues as the Frenchmen euer did and doe. And to purchaſe the more loue, I Richard Rainolds gaue him and all his company courteous entertainment. Alſo vpon his intreaty, hauing ſufficient pledge aboord, I and others went on land with him. At this inſtant there was great warre betweene this alcaide and another gouernor of the next prouince. Neuertheleſſe vpon our arriuall truce was taken for a ſpace; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the gouernors houſe in Beſegueache, and were gently and friendly feaſted after their maner, and with ſome preſents returned ſafe aboord againe. The next day the alcaide came aboord againe, to will me to ſend ſome yron and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and alſo requeſted me that I would go to Refiſca with the ſhip; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poiſoned arrowes, darts poiſoned, and ſwords, (becauſe that the enemies by reaſon of the truce taken were there alſo to view the ſhip) who for the moſt part approched to him kneeling downe and kiſſed the backe of his hand.

Cape Verde.

Beſegueache.

Beſegueache.

The 17 of Nouember we weyed anker; and by reaſon no French ſhip was yet come, I went to the road of Refiſca: where I ſent for the alcaides interpretors, who came thither aboord, and receiued of me the kings duties for to haue free traffike with the Negros, with whom dayly I exchanged my yron & other wares for hides and ſome elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our arriuall I went vp into the land about three miles to the towne of Refiſca, where I was friendly vſed and well entertained of the alcaide, and eſpecially of a yoong nobleman called Conde Amar Pattay, who preſented me with an oxe for my company, goats and ſome yoong kids, aſſuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the arriuall

Refiſca.

of a Chriſtians ſhip, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men: eſpecially of an Engliſh ſhip. And ſo dayly the yong Conde came with a ſmall company of horſemen to the ſea ſide, feaſting me very kindly and courteouſly. And the fift of December he with his traine came aboord to ſee the ſhip; which to them ſeemed woonderfull, as people that ſeldome had ſeene the like: who tolde me that his meſſenger from the king was returned; and the king reioyced much to heare that Engliſh men were come with a ſhip to trade in his ports; and being the firſt Engliſhman that euer came with a ſhip, I was the better welcome; promiſing that I or any Engliſhman hereafter ſhould be wel intreated & find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earneſtly requeſted, that before my departure off the coaſt I would returne againe to his road to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betweene them and Engliſhmen: which I agreed vnto. And ſo ſhewing him and his company the beſt friendſhip and courteſie I could, he went on ſhore, and ſhould haue had the honor of our ordinance but that he deſired the contrary, being amazed at the ſight of the ſhip and noiſe of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

Porto Dally.

The 13 of December at night we weighed anker, and arriued the 14 day at the road of Porto d' Ally, which is another kingdome: the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, & ſonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes iourney and an halfe from Porto d' Ally. When we had ankered, the kings kinſmen being gouernors, with all the officers of that towne came aboord to receiue all duties for the ſhip & licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally ſeemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ſhip out of England; ſaying it was the kings pleaſure we ſhould bring none hereafter; for that the king did eſteeme them as people of no truth; and complained of one Franciſco de Coſta ſeruant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the laſt yere alſo abuſed and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promiſing to bring him certaine things out of England, which he neuer performed, and deemed that to be the cauſe of his ſtaying behinde this voyage, and that neither Spaniard nor Portugall could abide vs, but reported very badly and gaue out hard ſpeeches tending to the defamation & great diſhonor of England: and alſo affirmed that at the arriuall of an Engliſh ſhip called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonſalues a Portugall that came in the ſayd ſhip from Don Antonio reported vnto them, that we were fled out of England and come away vpon intent to rob and do great ſpoile vpon this coaſt to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Daſſel had murdered Franciſco de Acoſta ſince our comming from England, who was comming to their king in our ſhip with great preſents from Don Antonio, and deſired that at our arriuall ſtay might be made of our goods and our ſelues in ſecret maner; which they denied, not giuing credit to his report, hauing bene often abuſed by ſuch friuolous and ſlanderous ſpeeches by that nation; telling me their king was ſory for the former murder and captiuity of our nation, and would neuer yeeld to the like, hauing the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred euer ſince, and conceiueth much better of our countrey and vs, then theſe our enemies report of. For which I yeelded them hearty thanks, aſſuring them they ſhould finde great difference betweene the loyalty of the one and diſloyalty of the other: and ſo payed their duties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I ſhewed them how I was reſolued to goe to their king with certaine preſents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the more honor and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward vs.

The Comand a ſhip of Richard Kelley.

The mõſtrous lies of a Portugall.

Port Dally the chiefe place of trade.

Ioala.

The Cherubin of Lime at Ioala.

All this while Thomas Daſſel was with our great pinneſſe at the towne of Ioala, being in the kingdome of king Iocoel Lamiocketic, traffiking with the Spaniards & Portugals there. And the forenamed Pedro Gonſalues, which came out of England, was there alſo with other Engliſh marchants about the buſines of Rich. Kelley; and as it ſhould ſeeme, for that he could not obtaine his miſchieuous pretended purpoſe againſt Thomas Daſſel and others at the towne of Porto d' Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with conſent of other Portugals which were made priuy to his intent to betray the ſayd Thomas Daſſel at this towne, & had with bribes ſeduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked & moſt villanous practiſe: which as God would, was reuealed to the ſayd Thomas Daſſel by Rich. Cape an Engliſhman and ſeruant to the forenamed Rich. Kelley; to whom this ſayd Pedro Gonſalues had diſcloſed his ſecret treachery, willing him with all expedition to ſtand vpon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Daſſel went aboord a ſmall Engliſh barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one Iohn Payua a Portugall and ſeruant of Don Antonio declared, that if he & one Garcia a Portugall of the ſayd towne would haue conſented with Pedro Gonſalues, the ſayd Thomas Daſſel had bene betrayed long before. And vpon this warning Thomas Daſſel the next day hauing gotten three Portugals aboord, aduiſed for our better ſecurities to ſend two on land, & detained one with him called Villa noua, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bring Pedro Gonſalues aboord to him, he would releaſe the ſayd Villa noua, which they did not. And Thomas Daſſel hauing intelligence that certaine Negros and Portugals were ridden poſt ouer-land to Porto d' Ally with intent to haue Richard Rainolds and his company ſtayd on land, being doubtfull what friendſhip ſoeuer the vnconſtant Negros profeſſed (by reaſon they be often wauering being ouercome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to preuent the dangerous wiles that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better ſtrength, the 24 of December he came with his pinneſſe & Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d' Ally, where our great ſhippe the Nightingall was: who was no ſooner arriued but he had newes alſo from the ſhore from Iohn Baily Anthony Daſſels ſeruant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that aboue 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Ioala by land, and Pedro Gonſalues in their company, to take order for the releaſing of Villa noua. So hauing had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negros, ſome Spaniards, and ſome Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negros ſeeing how vilely Pedro Gonſalues had delt, he being in their power, ſayd he ſhould ſuffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompenſe of his cruelty pitied him and ſhewed mercy, deſiring the Negros to intreat him well though vndeſerued: and thereupon the Commanders brought him aboord the pinneſſe to Thomas Daſſel to do with him what he would: where at his comming from the ſhore, for lauiſh ſpeeches which he vſed of Princes, he was well buffetted by a Spaniard, and might haue bene ſlaine, if for our ſakes he had not bene reſcued.

While I went on ſhore with Villa noua, the ſayd Pedro Gonſalues confeſſed vnto Thomas Daſſel that he did enquire of ſome Negros and Portugals if he might not ſtay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commiſſion from his king by his letters which he receiued from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we preſumed to come to Guinea to traffike without a ſeruant of his; and further, that he had power or procuration from Franciſco de Coſta the Portugall that ſtayed behinde in England to detaine the goods of Anthony Daſſel in Guinea.

Note.

By conſent of M. Francis Tucker, Iohn Browbeare, and the reſt of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonſalues came, for auoiding further miſchiefe that might be practiſed, we agreed that the ſay Pedro Gonſalues ſhould ſtay aboord our ſhippe, and not goe any more on land vntill they departed. So the ninth of Ianuary he was deliuered aboord to goe for England in the ſame ſhip wherein he came; who was all the time of his abode in our ſhippe both courteouſly and friendly vſed at my hands, much againſt the mariners willes, who could not abide ſuch a wicked creature and caitiue, that is nouriſhed and relieued in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes ſought the deſtruction of vs all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be diſſemblers and not to be truſted, when they perceiued how king Amar Melicks Negros befriended and fauored vs, and that it would be preiudiciall to their trade for diuers reſpects, if we ſhould any way be iniuried, renounced the ſayd practiſes, deteſting the author, and proteſted to defend vs in ſuch caſes with all faithfulneſſe; deſiring we would, as the king of Negros had commanded vs, neuer bring Portugal with vs more: vſing this phraſe in diſdaine of ſuch as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of yron: for in trueth in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by vs of late, they eſteeme more of one barre of yron then of twenty Portugals which we ſhould bring out of England: who at their comming thither very ſubtilly diſaduantage vs, and doe great hurt to euery party.

At the beginning of theſe broiles the king Amar Melick had ſent his chiefe ſecretary and three horſes for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reaſon of the hurley burley, though I might haue had Negros of account for pledges aboord: yet we ſent the preſents vnto the king; who ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood the cauſe why I came not to him, being ſory and offended thereat, commanded preſently by proclamation, that no iniury ſhould be offered vs in his dominions by his owne people, or ſuffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negros ioyning to his kingdome ſhould confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to moleſt or trouble vs; that his ſubiects the Negros ſhould be ready to ayde, ſuccor and defend vs. In which people appeared more confident loue and good will towards vs, then euer we ſhall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we ſhould relieue them of the greateſt miſery that can be imagined.

In the riuer of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall vſe to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the riuer, who was maried to a kings daughter.

In the townes of Porto d' Ally and Ioala, being townes of chiefeſt trade, and in the townes of Canton and Caſſan in the riuer of Gambra are many Spaniards and Portugals reſident by permiſſion of the Negros; who haue rich trades there along the coaſt, eſpecially to San Domingo

San Domingo.

and

Rio grande. Note this trade.

and Rio grande, not far diſtant from Gambra riuer; whither they tranſport the yron which they buy of Frenchmen and vs, and exchange it for Negros; which be caried continually to the Weſt Indies in ſuch ſhips as came from Spaine. Alſo by the gouernors order and Renters of Caſtel de Mina and other places, where golde is, vpon the coaſt of Guinea, they haue a place limited how farre they muſt go to trade within the riuer of Gambra; and further they may not go vpon paine of confiſcation of their goods, and loſſe of life: for that the Renters themſelues ſend at certaine times their owne barks within the riuer to ſuch places, where as they haue great ſtore of golde. And in all theſe places hereabouts, where we vſe to trade, they haue no Fort, Caſtle, or place of ſtrength, but onely trading by the Negros ſafeconduct and permiſſion. And the moſt part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be reſident in theſe places be baniſhed men or fugitiues, for committing moſt hainous crimes and inceſtuous acts, their life & conuerſation being agreeable; and they are of the baſeſt behauiour that we haue euer ſeene of theſe nations in any other countrey.

A rich trade for golde in Rio grande.

A briefe relation concerning the eſtate of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago* written in *Marocco* the firſt of Auguſt 1594, and ſent to M. *Anthony Daſſel* marchant of *London*.

My hearty commendations premiſed: your letter of late I receiued, and found that you would haue me diſcouer vnto you the eſtate & quality of the countreyes of Tombuto and Gago. And that you may not thinke me to ſlumber in this action, wherein you would be truely and perfectly reſolued, you ſhall vnderſtand, that not ten dayes paſt here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principall Moore, whom the king ſent thither at the firſt with Alcaide Hamode, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold. I ſaw the ſame come into the Alcaſaua with mine owne eies: and theſe men themſelues came not poore, but with ſuch wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement; and for that cauſe the king will pay them no wages for the time they haue beene there. On the other ſide they dare not aſke the king for any wages. And when Alcaide Hamode ſaw that the Cahaia of the Andoluzes would not ſtay in Gago with him, he thought good to ſend theſe thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king ſmelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cauſe of the kings diſpleaſure towards them. So now there remaineth in Gago Alcaide Hamode, and Alcaide Iawdara, and Alcaide Buckhare. And here are in a readineſſe to depart in the end of this next September Alcaide Monſor, Ben Abdrahaman Allies, Monſor Rico with fiue thouſand men, moſt of the fettilaſe, that is to ſay, of fier-mach, & muſkets. There is gone good ſtore of reds & yellowes: and this yere here was want of the ſame commodity; but I truſt the next yere wil be no want. But in fine the king doth proſper wel in thoſe parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and namely three of the kings ſonnes of Gago and the Iuſtice; I ſaw them come in with the treaſure. Now when Alcaide Monſor commeth to Gago, the which will be in Ianuary next, then returneth hither Alcaide Hamode with all the treaſure, and Alcaide Monſor is to keepe Gago vntill the king take further order. And thus much for Gago. Thus not hauing any other thing to write at this preſent, I commend you to the mercifull tuition of the almighty. From Marocco the firſt of Auguſt 1594.

Commodities for Gago.

Your aſſured friend Laurence Madoc.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conqueſt and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago*, written from *Marocco* the 30 Auguſt 1594, to M. *Anthony Daſſel* marchant of *London* aforeſayd.

Louing friend M. Daſſel, two of your letters I haue receiued, one by the ſhippe called The Amity, the other by The Concord: the chiefeſt matter therein was to be ſatiſfied of the king of Marocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore theſe are to let you vnderſtand that there went with Alcaide Hamode for thoſe parts ſeuenteene hundred men: who paſſing ouer the ſands, for want of water periſhed one third part of them: and at their comming to the city of Tombuto, the Negros made ſome reſiſtance; but to ſmall purpoſe, for that they had no defence but with their aſagaies or iauelings poiſoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negros were in number infinite, and meant to ſtand to the vttermoſt for their countrey: but the Moores ſlew them ſo faſt, that they were faine to yeeld, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent

Tombuto taken

Gago taken.

of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the yeere; the goodneſſe whereof you know. What rent Gago will yeeld, you ſhall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode commeth home, The rent of Tombuto is come by the caſelow or carouan, which is, as aboue is mentioned, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him ſuch an infinite treaſure as I neuer heard of: it doth appeare that they haue more golde then any other part of the world beſide. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting, and is going downe towards the ſea coaſt. This king of Marocco is like to be the greateſt prince in the world for money, if he keepe this countrey. But I make account aſſoone as the king of Spaine hath quietneſſe in Chriſtendome, he wil thruſt him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be ſtronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the ſpeech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardly 2000; for by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they haue no defence of importance againſt an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in Ianuary or thereabout: for he ſtayeth but for the comming of the viceroy. Mulley Balaſen the kings ſonne of Marocco was ſlaine in Guinea by his owne men, and they were preſently killed, becauſe they ſhould tell no tales. And thus leauing to trouble you, I commit you to God, who proſper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the firſt of Auguſt 1594.

Yours to command for euer Laurence Madoc.

Of theſe two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his ſeuenth booke of the deſcription of Africa, which worthy worke is to be annexed vnto the end of this ſecond volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. *Thomas Gregory* of *Tanton*, and others, for traffique betweene the riuer of *Nonnia* and the riuers of *Madrabumba* and *Sierra Leona* on the coaſt of *Guinea*, in the yeere 1592.

IN May the 34 yeere of our gracious ſoueraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of ſpeciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerſet, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other marchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northermoſt part of the riuer of Nonnia to the Southermoſt parts of the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, and to other parts aſwell to the Southeaſt as to the Northweſt, for a certaine number of leagues therein ſpecified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeres: as appeareth at large in the ſayd patent recorded in the Rolles in her Maieſties Chancery.

The maner of the taking of two Spaniſh ſhips laden with quickſiluer & the Popes bulles, bound for the *Weſt Indies*, by M. *Thomas White* in the *Amity* of London. 1592.

THe 26 of Iuly 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ſhip called the Amity of London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had ſight of two ſhippes, being diſtant from vs about three or foure leagues: by ſeuen of the clocke we fetched them vp, and were within gunſhot: whoſe boldneſſe, hauing the king of Spaines armes diſplayed, did make vs iudge them rather ſhips of warre, then laden with marchandiſe. And as it appeared by their owne ſpeeches, they made full account to haue taken vs: it being a queſtion among them, whether it were beſt to cary vs to S. Lucar, or to Lisbon. We waued ech other a maine. They hauing placed themſelues in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, ſo faſt as we were able to charge and diſcharge, the ſpace of fiue houres, being neuer a cables length diſtant either of vs from other. In which time we receiued diuers ſhot both in the hull of our ſhip, maſts, and ſailes, to the number of 32 great, beſides 500 muſket ſhot and harquebuzes a crocke at the leaſt, which we tolde after the fight. And becauſe we perceiued them to be ſtout, we thought good to boord the Biſcaine, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordinance and ſmall ſhot; in the end we ſtowed all his men. Now the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roome with vs, meaning to haue layed vs aboord, and ſo to haue incrapped vs betwixt them both: which we perceiuing, fitted our ordinance ſo for him, as we quitted our ſelues of him, and he boorded his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from vs. Then preſently we kept our looſe, hoiſed our top-ſailes, and weathered them, and came hard aboord the flieboat with our ordinance prepared, and gaue her our whole broad ſide, with the which we ſlew diuers of their men; ſo as we might ſee the blood run out at the ſcupper holes. After that we caſt about, and new charged all our ordinance, and came vpon them againe, willing them to yeeld, or els we would ſinke them: whereupon the one would haue yeelded, which was ſhot betweene winde and water; but the other called him traitor. Vnto whom we made anſwere, that if he would not yeeld preſently alſo, we would ſinke him firſt. And thereupon he vnderſtanding our determination, preſently put out a white flag, and yeelded, and yet refuſed to ſtrike their owne ſailes, for that they were ſworne neuer to ſtrike to any Engliſhman. We then commanded their captaines and maſters to come aboord vs; which they did. And after examination & ſtowing them, we ſent certaine of our owne men aboord them, and ſtrook their ſailes, and manned their ſhips: finding in them both 126 perſons liuing, & 8 dead, beſides thoſe which they themſelues had caſt ouerboord. So it pleaſed God to giue vs the victory being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good ſucceſſe we giue God the only praiſe. Theſe two rich prizes laden with 1400 cheſts of quickſiluer with the armes of Caſtile and Leon faſtened vpon them, and with a great quantity of bulles or indulgences, and guilded Miſſals or Seruice books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought ſhortly after into the riuer of Thames vp to Blacke-wall.

Marke this othe.

By the taking of this quickſiluer, about 1400 cheſts, the king of Spaine loſeth for euery quintall of the ſame a quintall of ſiluer, that ſhould haue beene deliuered him by the maſters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thouſand for liuing and dead perſons for the prouinces of Noua Hiſpania, Iucatan, Guatimala, the Honduras, and the Philippinas, taxed at two reals the piece. And more for eighteene thouſand bulles taxed at foure reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt miſſals and breuiaries ſent for the kings account.

So the hinderance that the king receiueth by the loſſe of his bulles and quickſiluer amounteth as is aboueſaid: beſides the lacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is diſappointed of a great part of their prouiſion.

A true report of the honourable ſeruice at Sea perfourmed by Sir *Iohn Burrough* Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir *Walter Ralegh* Knight, Lord warden of the *Stanneries* of *Cornwall* and *Deuon.* Wherin chiefly the *Santa Clara* of *Biſcay*, a ſhip of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the *Santa Cruz* and the *Madre de Dios* were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into *Dartmouth* the ſeuenth of September, 1592.

SIr Walter Ralegh vpon cõmiſſion receiued from her Maieſty for an expedition to be made to the Weſt Indies, ſlacked not his vttermoſt diligence to make full prouiſion of all things neceſſary, as both in his choiſe of good ſhips, and ſufficient men to performe the action euidently appeared. For his ſhippes which were in number 14 or 15, thoſe two of her Maieſties, the Garland & the Foreſight were the chiefeſt; the reſt either his owne or his good friends or aduenturers of London. For the gentlemen his conſorts and officers, to giue them their right, they were ſo well qualited in courage, experience, & diſcretion, as the greateſt prince might repute himſelfe happy to be ſerued with their like. The honor of Lieutenant generall was impoſed vpon ſir Iohn Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought euery way worthy of that commandement: with whom after ſir W.R. returned was ioyned in commiſſion ſir Martin Frobiſher, who for his ſpeciall ſkill & knowledge in marine cauſes had formerly caried imploiments of like or greater place. The reſt of the captaines, ſouldiers, and ſailers were men of notable reſolution, and for the moſt part ſuch as heretofore had giuen to the world ſufficient proofe of their valour in diuers ſeruices of the like nature. With theſe ſhips thus manned ſir Walter Ralegh departed towards the Weſt countrey, there to ſtore himſelfe with ſuch further neceſſaries as the ſtate of his voyage did needfully require: where the Weſterly windes blowing for a long time contrary to his courſe, bound and conſtrained him to keepe harborough ſo many weeks, that the fitteſt ſeaſon for his purpoſe was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals conſumed; and withall, her Maieſty vnderſtanding how croſly all this ſorted, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into queſtion: inſomuch that, whereas the firſt of May was firſt come before ſir Walter could put to ſea, the very next day ſir Martin Frobiſher in a pinneſſe of my lord Admirals called The Diſdaine, met him, and brought to him from her Maieſty letters of reuocation, with commandement to relinquiſh (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leaue the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of ſir Iohn Burrough and ſir Martin Frobiſher. But ſir Walter finding his honor ſo farre engaged in the vndertaking of this voyage, as without proceeding he ſaw no remedy either to ſalue his reputation, or to content thoſe his friends which had put in aduentures of great ſummes with him; and making conſtruction of the Queenes letters in ſuch ſort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to aduance forward or to retire, at his owne diſcretion; would in no caſe yeeld to leaue his fleet now vnder ſaile. Wherefore continuing his courſe into the ſea, he met within a day or two, with certaine ſailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ſhip appertaining to Monſieur Gourdon gouernor of Caleis, and found aboord her one M. Neuel Dauies an Engliſhman, who hauing indured a long and miſerable captiuity for the ſpace of twelue yeeres, partly in the inquiſition in Spaine, was now by good fortune eſcaped, and vpon returne to his countrey. This man, among other things, reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the Weſt India; conſidering that the king of Spaine had ſent expreſſe order to all the ports both of the Ilands and of Terra firma, that no ſhip ſhould ſtirre that yeere, nor any treaſure be layed aboord for Spaine. But neither this vnpleaſant relation nor ought els could ſtay his proceedings, vntill a tempeſt of ſtrange and vncouth violence ariſing vpon Thurſday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finiſter, had ſo ſcattered the greater part of the fleet, and ſunke his boats and pinneſſes, that as the reſt were driuen and ſeuered, ſome this way and ſome that, ſir Walter himſelfe being in the Garland of her Mateſty was in danger to be ſwallowed vp of the Sea. Whereupon ſir W. Ralegh finding that the ſeaſon of the yere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterpriſe which he had vpon Panama, hauing bene held on the Engliſh coaſt from February till May, and thereby ſpent three moneths victuals; and conſidering withall, that to lie vpon the Spaniſh coaſt or at the Ilands to attend the returne of the Eaſt or Weſt Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gaue directions to ſir Iohn Burgh and ſir M. Frobiſher to diuide the fleet in two parts; ſir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenuile and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spaniſh fleet, and to holde them on their owne coaſt; while ſir I. Burgh, capt. Robert Croſſe, capt. Tomſon, & others ſhould attend at the Ilands for the caraks or any other Spaniſh ſhips comming from Mexico or other parts of the Weſt Indies. Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiuing intelligence that the Engliſh fleet was come on the coaſt, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, & to keepe himſelfe as nere ſir Mart. Frobiſher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might vndertake; and thereby neglected the ſafeconduct of the caraks; with whom it fared as hereafter ſhall appeare. Before the fleet ſeuered themſelues they mette with a great Biſcain on the Spaniſh coaſt called Santa Clara a ſhip of 600 tunnes.

The Santa Clara a Biſcain ſhip of 600 tunnes taken.

The noiſe of the artillery on both ſides being heard, immediatly they drew to their fleet; where after a reaſonable hot fight, the ſhip was entred and maſtered, which they found fraighted with all ſorts of ſmall yron-worke, as horſe-ſhoes, nailes, plough-ſhares, yron barres, ſpikes, boults, locks, gimbols, & ſuch like, valued by vs at 6000 or 7000 li. but worth to them treble the value. This Biſcain was ſailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in ſome further prouiſion for the Weſt India. This ſhip being firſt roomaged, and after ſent for England, our fleet coaſted along towards the South cape of S. Vincent, and by the way, about the Rocke nere Lisbon, ſir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke ſpying a ſaile afarre off, gaue her preſent chaſe; which being a flieboat and of good ſaile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at laſt ſhe came vnder his lee and ſtrooke ſaile. The maſter of which flieboat comming aboord him, confeſſed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was currant) for the Weſt Indies. But in deed the Spaniſh king had prouided this fleet vpon this counſell. He receiued intelligence, that ſir Walter Ralegh was to put out ſtrong for the Weſt India: to impeach him, and to rancounter his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arriuall of his Eaſt Indian caraks, he firſt ordained thoſe ſhips to waft them from the Açores. But perſwading himſelfe, that if the fleet of ſir Walter Ralegh did go for the Weſt India, then the Ilands ſhould haue none to infeſt them but ſome ſmall men of warre, which the caraks of themſelues would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonſo de Baçan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and Generall of his armada, to purſue ſir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what courſe ſoeuer he held. And that this was true, our men in ſhort time by proofe vnderſtood: for ſir Iohn Burrough, not long after the taking of his laſt prize the flieboat, as he ſailed backe againe towards the reſt of his company, diſcouered the Spaniſh fleet to ſea-ward of him: which hauing likewiſe eſpied him betwixt them and the ſhore, made full account to bring him ſafe into Spaniſh harbour; and therefore ſpred themſelues in ſuch ſort before him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the ſea was brought into a narrow ſtraight, and the ſhore being enemy could

giue

Sir Iohn Burrough in great danger of the Spaniſh fleet.

The Ile of S. Michael.

Diuers ſmall ſhips taken.

Santa Cruz a village in the Ile of Flores.

Newes of the Eaſt Indian caraks.

A carak called The Santa Cruz ſet on fire.

An hundred of our men land.

giue him no comfort of reliefe : ſo that truſting to Gods helpe onely and his good ſaile, he thruſt out from among them in ſpight of all their force, and to the notable illuſion of all their cunning, which they ſhewed to the vttermoſt, in laying the way for his apprehenſion. But now ſir Iohn Burrough hauing happily eſcaped their clouches, finding the coaſt guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with ſir Martin Frobiſher (who vnderſtanding of this armada aſwell as himſelfe, would be ſure not to come that way) beganne to ſhape his courſe to the Açores according to ſir W. Raleghs direction, and came in ſight of S. Michael, running ſo neere by Villa Franca, that he might eaſily diſcerne the ſhippes lying there at anker. Diuers ſmall carauels both here and betweene S. Georges and the Pike in his courſe toward Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelligence for his affaires could be vnderſtood. Arriuing before Flores vpon Thurſday the 21 of Iune, towards euening, accompanied onely with captaine Caufield and the Maſter of his ſhippe, the reſt not being yet arriued, he made towards the ſhore with his boat, finding all the people of of Santa Cruz, a village of that Iland, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marſhalled to defend their towne from ſpoile. Sir Iohn contrariwiſe made ſignes of amity vnto them by aduancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was anſwered againe of them with the like : whereupon enſued intercourſes of good friendſhip; and pledges were taken on both ſides, the captaine of the towne for them, and captaine Caufield for ours : ſo that whatſoeuer our men wanted, which that place could ſupply either in freſh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitants : and good leaue had they to refreſh themſelues on ſhore as much and as oft as they would without reſtraint. At this Santa Cruz ſir Iohn Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the Weſt, but from the Eaſt, that no longer ſince then three dayes before his arriuall a carak was paſſed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks more behinde, of one conſort. Sir Iohn being very glad of this newes, ſtayed no longer on ſhore, but preſently imbarqued himſelfe, hauing onely in company a ſmall barke of threeſcore tunnes belonging to one M. Hopkins of Briſtoll. In the meane while that theſe things thus paſſed at Flores, part of the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, which ſir Iohn Burrough had left vpon the coaſt of Spaine, drew alſo towards the Açores : and whereas he quickly at ſea had diſcouered one of the caraks, the ſame euening he might deſcry two or three of the Earle of Cumberlands ſhips (whereof one M. Norton was captaine) which hauing in like ſort kenned the carak, purſued her by that courſe which they ſaw her to runne towards the Ilands. But on no ſide was there any way made by reaſon of a great calme which yeelded no breath to ſpread a ſaile. Inſomuch that fitly to diſcouer her what ſhe was, of what burthen, force, and countenance, ſir Iohn Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the ſpace of three miles, to make her exactly : and being returned, he conſulted with the better ſort of the company then preſent, vpon the boording her in the morning. But a very mighty ſtorme ariſing in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey ankers, yet their care was ſuch in wreſtling with the weather not to loſe the carak, that in the morning, the tempeſt being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the ſhore, they might perceiue the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confuſedly carrying on ſhore ſuch things as they could any maner of way conuey out of her; and ſeeing the haſte our men made to come vpon them, forſooke her : but firſt, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, ſet fire to that which they could not cary with them, intending by that meanes wholly to conſume her; that neither glory of victory nor benefit of ſhippe might remaine to ours. And leaſt the approch and induſtry of the Engliſh ſhould bring meanes to extinguiſh the flame, thereby to preſerue the reſidue of that which the fire had not deſtroyed; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themſelues on land ſo neere to the carak, that ſhe being by their forces protected, and our men kept alooſe off, the fire might continue to the conſumption of the whole. This being noted by ſir Iohn Burrough he ſoone prouided a preſent remedy for this miſchiefe. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did ſwim and wade more then breſt high to ſhore, and eaſily ſcattering thoſe that preſented themſelues to guard the coaſt, he no ſooner drew toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leauing as much as the fire had ſpared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Fonſeca a Portugall, Purſer of the carak, with two others, one an Almaine and the ſecond a Low-dutchman, canoniers : who refuſing to make any voluntary report of thoſe things which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened, the feare whereof at the laſt wreſted from them this intelligence, that within fifteene dayes three other greater caraks then that lately fired would arriue at the ſame Iland : and that being fiue caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Ieſus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S. Bernardo, the S. Chriſtophoro, and the S. Cruz, (whoſe fortune you haue already heard) they had receiued ſpeciall commandement from the king not to touch in any caſe at the Iland of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the Eaſt India were alwayes till now woont to arriue to refreſh themſelues with water and victuals. And the kings reaſon was; becauſe of the Engliſh men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their neceſſity of water ſhould driue them to ſeeke ſupply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to ſtay onely the taking in of water to auoid the inconuenience of infections, wherunto that hot latitude is dangerouſly ſubiect. The laſt rendeuous for them all was the Iland of Flores, where the king aſſured them not to miſſe of his armada thither ſent of purpoſe for their wafting to Lisbon. Upon this information ſir Iohn drew to counſel, meeting there captaine Norton, captaine Dounton, captaine Abraham Cocke, captaines of three ſhips of the Earle of Cumberland, M. Tomſon of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of ſir Iohn Haukins, one of ſir W. Raleghs fleet, and M. Chriſtopher Newport cap. of the Golden dragon newly returned from the Weſt India, and others. Theſe being aſſembled, he communicated with them what he had vnderſtood of the foreſaid examinates, and what great preſumptions of trueth their relation did cary: wiſhing that foraſmuch as God & good fortune had brought them together in ſo good a ſeaſon, they would ſhew the vttermoſt of their indeuors to bring theſe Eaſterlings vnder the lee of the Engliſh obedience. Hereupon a preſent accord on all ſides followed not to part company or leaue of thoſe ſeas till time ſhould preſent cauſe to put their conſultations in execution. The next day her Maieſties good ſhip the Foreſight commanded by ſir Rob. Croſſe came in to the reſt: and he likewiſe informed of the matter was ſoone drawen into this ſeruice. Thus ſir Iohn with al theſe ſhips departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the Weſt of Flores, they ſpread themſelues abroad from the North to the South, ech ſhip two leagues at the leaſt diſtant from another. By which order of extenſion they were able to diſcouer the ſpace of two whole degrees at ſea. In this ſort they lay from the 29 of Iune to the third of Auguſt, what time cap. Thomſon in the Dainty had firſt ſight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greateſt receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent ſaile got the ſtart of the reſt of our fleet, and began the conflict ſomewhat to her coſt, with the ſlaughter and hurt of diuers of her men. Within a while after, ſir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke of ſir W. Raleghs, was at hand to ſecond her, who ſaluted her with ſhot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within muſket ſhot aſſiſted by cap. Tomſon and cap. Newport till ſir R. Croſſe viceadmirall of the fleet came vp being to leeward, at whoſe arriual ſir I. Burgh demanded of him what was beſt to be done, who anſwered, that if the carak were not boorded ſhe would recouer the ſhore and fire herſelfe as the other had done. Whereupon ſir I. Burgh concluded to intangle her; and ſir R. Croſſe promiſed alſo to faſten himſelfe to her together at the inſtant; which was performed: but after a while ſir Iohn Burgh receiuing a ſhot with a canon perier vnder water, and ready to ſinke, deſired ſir R. C. to fall off, that he might alſo cleere himſelfe, and ſaue his ſhip from ſinking, which with difficulty he did: for both the Roebucke and the Foreſight were ſo intangled, as with much adoe could they cleere themſelues.

Angola a new watering place for the caraks.

The ſame euening ſir R. Croſſe finding the carak then ſure & drawing nere the Iland perſwaded his company to boord her againe, or els there was no hope to recouer her: who after many excuſes & feares, were by him incouraged, and ſo fell athwart her foreſhips all alone; and ſo hindered her ſailing that the reſt had time to come vp to his ſuccour, & to recouer the carak yer ſhe recouered the land: and ſo toward the euening after he had fought with her alone three houres ſingle, my lord of Cumberlands two ſhips came vp, & with very litle loſſe entred with ſir R. Croſſe, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the aſſault eaſie for the reſt.

The Madre de Dios taken.

The generall hauing diſarmed the Portugals, and ſtowed them for better ſecurity on all ſides, firſt had preſented to his eyes the true proportion of the vaſt body of this carak, which did then and may ſtill iuſtly prouoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with ſuch a ſight. But albeit this firſt apparance of the hugeneſſe thereof yeelded ſights enough to entertaine our mens eyes; yet the pitifull obiect of ſo many bodies ſlaine and diſmembred could not but draw ech mans eye to ſee, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe thoſe miſerable people, whoſe limnes were ſo torne with the violence of ſhot, and paine made grieuous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almoſt ſteppe but vpon a dead carkaſe or a bloody floore, but ſpecially about the helme, where very many of them fell ſuddenly from ſtirring to dying. For the greatneſſe of the ſtirrage requiring the labour of twelue or foureteene men at once, and ſome of our ſhippes beating her in at the ſterne with their ordinance often times with one ſhot ſlew foure or fiue labouring on either ſide of the helme; whoſe roomes being ſtill furniſhed with freſh ſupplies, and our artillery ſtill playing vpon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much bloud ſhould be ſhed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moued with ſingular commiſeration of their miſery, ſent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no poſſible helpe or reliefe that

Exceeding humanity ſhewed to the enemy.

he or any of his company could afford them. Among the reſt of thoſe, whoſe ſtate this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendoça Grand captaine and Commander of this Carake: who indeed was deſcended of the houſe of Mendoça in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, liued there as one of that nation; a gentleman well ſtricken in yeeres, well ſpoken, of comely perſonage, of good ſtature, but of hard fortune. In his ſeuerall ſeruices againſt the Moores he was twiſe taken priſoner, and both times ranſomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the Eaſt India he was driuen vpon the Baxos or ſands of Iuda nere the coaſt of Cephala; being then alſo captaine of a caracke which was there loſt, and himſelfe, though eſcaping the ſea-danger, yet fell into the hands of infidels on land; who kept him vnder long and grieuous ſeruitude. Once more the king carying a louing reſpect to the man, and deſirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Eaſterly nauigation, and committed vnto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon Generall of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Ieſus had not, by reaſon of his late office, bene preferred. Sir Iohn intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, mooued with pity and compaſſion of humane miſery, in the end reſolued freely to diſmiſſe this captaine & the moſt part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the ſame purpoſe beſtowed them in certaine veſſels furniſhed with all kindes of neceſſary prouiſion. This buſineſſe thus diſpatched, good leaſure had he to take ſuch view of the goods as conueniency might afford. And hauing very prudently (to cut off the vnprofitable ſpoile & pillage whereunto he ſaw the mindes of many inclined) ſeiſed vpon the whole to her Maieſties vſe, after a ſhort & ſlender romaging & ſearching of ſuch things as firſt came to hand, he perceiued that ẏ wealth would ariſe nothing diſanſwerable to expectation; but that the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be more then ſufficient to content both the aduenturers deſire & the ſouldiers trauell. And here I cannot but enter into the conſideration and acknowledgement of Gods great fauor towards our nation, who by putting this purchaſe into our hands hath manifeſtly diſcouered thoſe ſecret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay ſtrangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from vs; whereof there was among ſome few of vs ſome ſmall and vnperfect glimſe onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it ſhould ſeeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weakneſſe could apprehend it) to haue vs communicate with them in thoſe Eaſt Indian treaſures, & by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to aduance true religion and his holy ſeruice. The caracke being in burden by the eſtimation of the wiſe and experienced no leſſe then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of thoſe ſtowed with the groſſe bulke of marchandiſe, the reſt of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordinance which were 32 pieces of braſſe of all ſizes, partly to the paſſengers and the victuals, which could not be any ſmall quantity, conſidering the number of the perſons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the nauigation. To giue you a taſte (as it were) of the commodities, it ſhall ſuffice to deliuer you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. Where vpon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the iewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they neuer came to light) conſiſted of ſpices, drugges, ſilks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The ſpices were pepper, cloues, maces, nutmegs, cinamom, greene ginger: the drugs were beniamin, frankincenſe, galingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphire: the ſilks, damaſks, taffatas, ſarcenets, altobaſſos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, vnwrought China ſilke, ſleaued ſilke, white twiſted ſilke, curled cypreſſe. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-launes, broad white calicos, fine ſtarched calicos, courſe white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne courſe calicos. There were alſo canopies, and courſe diaper-towels, quilts of courſe ſarcenet and of calico, carpets like thoſe of Turky; whereunto are to be added the pearle, muſke, ciuet, and amber-griece. The reſt of the wares were many in number, but leſſe in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan veſſels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as iet, bedſteds of the ſame, cloth of the rindes of trees very ſtrange for the matter, and artificiall in workemanſhip. All which piles of commodities being by men of approued iudgement rated but in reaſonable ſort amounted to no leſſe then 150000 li. ſterling, which being diuided among the aduenturers (whereof her Maieſty was the chiefe) was ſufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods fraighted in tenne of our ſhips ſent for London, to the end that the bigneſſe, heigth, length, bredth, and other dimenſions of ſo huge a veſſell might by the exact rules of Geometricall obſeruations be truly taken, both for preſent knowledge, and deriuation alſo of the ſame vnto poſterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent ſkill, omitted nothing in the deſcription, which either his arte could demonſtrate, or any mans iudgement thinke worthy the memory. After an exquiſite ſuruey of the whole frame he found the length from the beak-head to the ſterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne) to containe 165

A briefe catalogue of ẏ ſundry rich commodities of ẏ Madre de Dios.

The capacity and dimenſions of the Madre de Dios.

foot

foote. The bredth in the ſecond cloſe decke whereof ſhe had three, this being the place where there was moſt extenſion of bredth, was 46 foote and 10 inches. She drew in water 31 foot at her departure from Cochin in India, but not aboue 26 at her arriuall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by diuers meanes, ſome 5 foote. She caried in height 7 ſeuerall ſtories, one maine Orlop, three cloſe decks, one fore-caſtle, and a ſpar-decke of two floores a piece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-maſt 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106 foote long. By which perfect commenſuration of the parts appeareth the hugeneſſe of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggeſt ſhipping vſed among vs either for warre or receit.

Don Alonſo de Baçan hauing a great Fleet and ſuffering theſe two caracks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was diſgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and ſinking of the ſtout and warrelike Carack called *Las Cinque Llaguas*, or, *The fiue Wounds*, by three tall Ships ſet foorth at the charges of the right honorable the Erle of *Cumberland* and his friends: Written by the diſcreet and valiant captaine M. *Nicholas Downton*.

IN the latter ende of the yeere 1593. the right honourable Erle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ſhips all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ſhips 420 men of al ſorts. The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein M. George Caue was captaine. The May-flower Uiceadmirall vnder the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampſon, the charge whereof it pleaſed his honour to commit vnto me Nicholas Dounton. Our directions were ſent vs to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at ſea.

Beſides theſe 3 ſhips there was a pinnas called the Violet, or the Why not I.

The ſixt of Aprill 1594 we ſet ſayle in the ſound of Plimmouth, directing our courſe toward the coaſt of Spaine.

The 24 of the ſayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee diuided our ſelues Eaſt and Weſt from ech other, being then in the heigth of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

The 27 day in the morning we deſcried the May-flower and the litle Pinnaſſe with a Prize that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Barke was of 28 tunnes, hauing ſome 17 perſons in the ſame. There were in her ſome 12 Buts of Galicia wine, whereof we tooke into euery ſhippe a like part, with ſome Ruske in cheſts and barrels, with 5 buts of blew courſe cloth, and certaine courſe linnen-cloth for Negros ſhirts, which goods were diuided among our fleet.

Commodities fit for Angola.

The 4 of May we had ſight of our Pinnaſſe, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Carauels, whereof they had ſent two away and kept the third.

The ſecond of Iune we had ſight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning wee ſent our ſmall pinnaſſe, which was of ſome 24 tunnes, with the ſmall Carauell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Ilands, to ſee if they could get any thing in the ſame: appointing them to meet vs W.S.W. 12 leagues from Faiall. Their going from vs was to no purpoſe. They miſſed comming to vs whē we appointed, as alſo we miſſed them, when we had great cauſe to haue vſed them.

The 13 of Iune we met with a mightie Carack of the Eaſt Indies, called Las cinque Llagas, or The fiue wounds. The May-flower was in fight with her before night. I, in the Sampſon, fetched her vp in the euening, and as I commanded to giue her the broad ſide, as we terme it, while I ſtood very heedfully prying to diſcouer her ſtrength: and where I might giue counſel to boord her in the night when the Admirall came vp to vs, and as I remember at the very firſt ſhot ſhe diſcharged at vs, I was ſhot in a litle aboue the belly, whereby I was made vnſeruiceable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honeſt truehearted man which I had with me, one captaine Grant, nothing was neglected: vntill midnight when the Admirall came vp, the May-flower, and the Sampſon neuer left by turnes to ply her with their great ordinance; but then captaine Caue wiſhed vs to ſtay till morning, at what time each one of vs ſhould giue her three bouts with our great ordinance, & ſo ſhould clap her a boord: but in deed it was long lingered in the morning vntill 10 of the clocke before wee attempted to boord her. The Admirall laid her a boord in the mid ſhip: the May-flower comming vp in the quarter, as it ſhould ſeeme, to lie at the ſterne of the Admirall on the larboord ſide. The captaine of the ſayd May-flower was ſlaine at the firſt comming vp: whereby the ſhip fell to the ſterne of the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) ſo wounded her foreſaile, that they ſayd they could come no more to fight, I am ſure they did not, but kept aloofe from vs. The Sampſon went aboord on the bow, but hauing not roome enough, our quarter lay on the Exchãges bow, and our bowe on the Caracks bowe. The Exchange alſo at the firſt comming had her captaine M. Caue ſhot into both the legs, the one whereof he neuer recouered, ſo he for that preſent was not able to doe his office, and in his abſence he had not any that would vndertake to lead out his company to enter vpon the enemie. My friend captaine Grant did lead my men on the Caracks ſide, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being ſmal, made the enemie bolder then he would haue bene, whereby I had ſixe men preſently ſlaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained vnhurt to returne aboord, and would neuer more giue the aſſault. I ſay not but ſome of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would haue done the like, if there had bene any principall man to haue put them forward, and to haue brought all the company to the fight, and not to haue run into corners themſelues. But I muſt needs ſay, that their ſhip was as well prouided for defence, as any that I haue ſeene. And the Portugals peraduenture encouraged by our ſlacke working, plaied the men and had Barricados made, where they might ſtand without any danger of our ſhot. They plied vs alſo very much with fire, ſo that moſt of our men were burnt in ſome place or other: & while our men were putting out of the fire, they would euer be plying them with ſmall ſhot or darts. This vnuſuall caſting of fire did much diſmay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we plied our great ordinance much at them as high vp as they might be mounted, for otherwiſe we did them litle harme, and by ſhooting a piece out of our forecaſtle being cloſe by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bowſprit, and from the mat vp to the wood of the bow-ſprit, and thence to the top-ſaile yard, which fire made the Portugals abaft in the ſhip to ſtagger, and to make ſhew of parle. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making ſhew, that it might eaſily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they ſtood ſtifly to their defence. Anone the fire grew ſo ſtrong, that I ſaw it beyond all helpe, although ſhe had bene already yeelded to vs. Then we deſired to be off from her, but had litle hope to obtaine our deſire; neuertheleſſe we plied water very much to keep our ſhip well. In deed I made litle other reckoning for the ſhip, my ſelfe, and diuers hurt men, then to haue ended there with the Carack, but moſt of our people might haue ſaued themſelues in boats. And when my care was moſt, by Gods prouidence onely, by the burning aſunder of our ſpritſaile-yard with ropes and ſaile, and the ropes about the ſpritſaile-yard of the Carack, whereby we were faſt intangled, we fell apart, with burning of ſome of our ſailes which we had then on boord. The Exchange alſo being farther from the fire, afterward was more eaſily cleared, and fell off from abaft. And as ſoone as God had put vs out of danger, the fire got into the fore-caſtle, where, I thinke, was ſtore of Beniamin, and ſuch other like combuſtible matter, for it flamed and ran ouer all the Carack at an inſtant in a maner. The Portugals lept ouer-boord in great numbers. Then ſent I captaine Grant with the boat, with leaue to vſe his owne diſcretion in ſauing of them. So he brought me aboord two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the firſt booke of the worthy hiſtory of Huighen de Linſchoten) was gouernour of Moçambique and Cefala, in the yeere 1582, and ſince that time had bene likewiſe a gouernour in a place of importance in the Eaſt Indies. And the ſhippe wherein he was comming home was caſt away a litle to the Eaſt of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he trauelled ouer-land to Moçambique, and came as a paſſenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captaine of a Carack which was caſt away neere Moçambique, and came likewiſe in this ſhip for a paſſenger. Alſo three men of the inferior ſort we ſaued in our boat, onely theſe two we clothed and brought into England. The reſt which were taken vp by the other ſhip boats, we ſet all on ſhore in the Ile of Flores, except ſome two or three Negros, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the Eaſt Indies. This fight was open off the Sound betweene Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we ſaued told vs that the cauſe why they would not yeeld, was, becauſe this Carack was for the king, and that ſhe had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captaine of her was in fauour with the king, and at his returne into the Indies ſhould haue bene Viceroy there. And withall this ſhip was nothing at all peſtered neither within boord nor without, and was more like a ſhip of warre then otherwiſe: moreouer, ſhe had the ordinance of a Carak that was caſt away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was caſt away a litle to the Eaſtwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet through ſickneſſe which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they ſay, they had not now aboue 150 white men, but Negros a great many. They likewiſe affirmed that they had three noblemen and three ladies in her, but we found them to differ in moſt of their talke. All this day and all the night ſhe burned, but the next morning her powder which was loweſt being 60 barrels blew her abroad, ſo that moſt of the ſhip did ſwim in parts aboue the water. Some of them ſay, that ſhe was bigger then the Madre de Dios, and ſome, that ſhe was leſſe: but ſhe was much vndermaſted, and vnderſailed, yet ſhe went well for a ſhip that was ſo foule. The ſhot which wee made at her in great Ordinance before we layde her aboord might be at ſeuen bouts which we had, and ſixe or 7 ſhot at a bout, one with another, ſome 49 ſhot: the time we lay aboord might be two houres. The ſhot which we diſcharged aboord the Carack might be ſome twentie Sacars. And thus much may ſuffice concerning our daungerous conflict with that vnfortunate Carack.

The laſt of Iune after long trauerſing of the ſeas we had ſight of another mightie Carack, which diuerſe of our company at the firſt tooke to be the great S. Philip the Admirall of Spaine, but the next day being the firſt of Iuly fetching her vp we perceiued her indeede to be a Carack, which after ſome few ſhot beſtowed vpon her we ſummoned to yeeld; but they ſtanding ſtoutly to their defence vtterly refuſed the ſame. Wherefore ſeeing no good could be done without boording her I conſulted what courſe we ſhould take in the boording. But by reaſon that wee which were the chiefe Captaines were partly ſlaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and becauſe of the murmuring of ſome diſordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and reſolute determinations were croſſed: and to conclude a long diſcourſe in few wordes, the Carack eſcaped our hands. After this attending about Coruo & Flores for ſome Weſt Indian purchaſe, and being diſappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing ſhort, we returned for England, where I arriued at Porteſmouth the 28 of Auguſt.

The caſting away of the *Tobie* neere Cape *Eſpartel* corruptly called Cape *Sprat* without the Straight of *Gibraltar* on the coaſt of *Barbarie*. 1593.

The Tobie of London a ſhip of 250 tunnes manned with fiftie men, the owner whereof was the worſhipfull M. Richard Staper, being bound for Liuorno, Zante and Patras in Morea, being laden with marchandize to the value of 11 or 12 thouſand pounds ſterling, ſet ſayle from Black-wall the 16 day of Auguſt 1593, and we went thence to Porteſmouth where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and ſet ſayle foorth of Stokes bay in the Iſle of Wight, the 6. day of October, the winde being faire: and the 16 of the ſame moneth we were in the heigth of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we deſcried a ſayle which lay in try right a head off vs, to which we gaue chaſe with very much winde, the ſayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine ſo good of ſayle that we were faine to leaue her and giue her ouer. Two dayes after this we had ſight of mount Chiego, which is the firſt high-land which we deſcrie on the Spaniſh coaſt at the entrance of the Straight of Gibraltar, where we had very foule weather and the winde ſcant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the ſea. The Maſter, whoſe name was George Goodlay, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge before for thoſe parts, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to diſcharge, neither would take any counſel of any of his company, but did as he thought beſt himſelfe, & in the end of the two dayes of foule weather caſt about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the ſtraights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land then he was, bare ſayle all that night, & an houre and an halfe before day had ranne our ſhippe vpon the ground on the coaſt of Barbarie without the ſtraight foure leagues to the South of Cape Eſpartel. Whereupon being all not a litle aſtonied, the Maſter ſaid vnto vs, I pray you forgiue me; for this is my fault and no mans elſe. The company aſked him whether they ſhould cut off the maine maſte: no ſayd the Maſter we will hoyſe out our boate. But one of our men comming ſpeedily vp, ſayd, Sirs, the ſhip is full of water, well ſayd the Maſter, then cut the mayne-maſt ouer boord: which thing we did with all ſpeede. But the after part ſuddenly ſplit a ſunder in ſuch ſort that no man was able to ſtand vpon it, but all fled vpon the foremaſt vp into the ſhrouds thereof, and hung there for a time: but ſeeing nothing but preſent death approch (being ſo ſuddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed our ſelues vnto the Lord and beganne with dolefull tune and heauy hearts to ſing the 12 Pſalme. Helpe Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit before we had finiſhed foure verſes the waues of the ſea had ſtopped the breaches of moſt of our men. For the foremaſt with the weight of our men & the force of the ſea fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods prouidence partly by ſwimming and other meanes of cheſts gote on ſhoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wracke of the ſhip. The maſter called George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both periſhed. M. Cæſar alſo being captaine and owner was likewiſe drowned: none of the officers were ſaued but the carpenter.

We twelue which the Lord had deliuered from extreme danger of the Sea, at our comming aſhore fell in a maner into as great diſtreſſe. At our firſt comming on ſhore we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord moſt humbly for his mercifull goodneſſe. Our prayers being done, we conſulted together what courſe to take, ſeeing we were fallen into a deſert place, & we trauelled all that day vntill night, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we ſaw where wilde beaſts had bene, and places where there had bene houſes, which after we perceiued to haue bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groues of oliue trees, we climed vp and ſate in them to auoid the danger of lions and other wilde beaſts, whereof we ſaw many the next morning. The next day we trauelled vntill three of the clocke in the afternoone without any food, but water and wilde date roots: then going ouer a mountaine, we had ſight of Cape Eſpartel; whereby we knew ſomewhat better which way to trauell, and then we went forward vntill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes; we ſpied and looked ouer it, and beheld a number of men aſwell horſemen as footmen, to the number of ſome fiue thouſand in ſkirmiſh together with ſmall ſhot and other weapons. And after conſultation what we were beſt to do, we concluded to yeeld our ſelues vnto them, being deſtitute of all meanes of reſiſtance. So riſing vp we marched toward them, who eſpying vs, foorthwith ſome hundred of them with their iauelings in their hands came running towards vs as though they would haue run vs thorow: howbeit they onely ſtrooke vs flatling with their weapons, and ſaid that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Engliſhmen; which they would not beleeue yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night approching, the captaine of the Moores, a man of ſome 56 yeres olde, came himſelfe vnto vs, and by his interpretor which ſpake Italian, aſked what we were, and from whence we came. One Thomas Henmer of our company which could ſpeake Italian, declared vnto him that we were marchants, and how by great miſfortune our ſhip, marchandiſe, & the greateſt part of our company were pitifully caſt away vpon their coaſt. But he void of humainity & all manhood, for all this, cauſed his men to ſtrip vs out of our apparell euen to our ſhirts to ſee what money and iewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of ſome 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gaue vs ſome of our apparel againe, and bread and water onely to comfort vs. The next morning they carried vs downe to the ſhore where our ſhippe was caſt away, which was ſome ſixteene miles from that place. In which iourney they vſed vs like their ſlaues, making vs (being extreame weake) to carry their ſtuffe, and offering to beat vs if we went not ſo faſt as they. We aſked them why they vſed vs ſo: and they replied, that we were their captiues: we ſayd we were their friends, and that there was neuer Engliſhman captiue to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ſhip, and lay there with them ſeuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongſt them. After the end of theſe ſeuen dayes the captaine appointed twenty of his men wel armed, to bring vs vp into yͤ countrey: and the firſt night we came to the ſide of a riuer called Alarach, where we lay on the graſſe all that night: ſo the next day we went ouer the riuer in a frigate of nine oares on a ſide, the riuer being in that place aboue a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirty houſes, called Totteon: there we lay foure dayes hauing nothing to feed on but bread and water; and then we went to a towne called Caſſuri, and there we were deliuered by thoſe twenty ſouldiers vnto the Alcaide, which examined vs what we were: and we tolde him. He gaue vs a good anſwere, and ſent vs to the Iewes houſe, where we lay ſeuen dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather caſt on land within the Straights about Cape de Gate, and ſo made captiues. Thus at the ſeuen dayes end we twelue Engliſhmen, the twelue French, and the twenty Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred ſouldiers horſemen and fotmen, and in two dayes iourney we came to the riuer of Fez, where we lodged all night, being prouided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we trauelled almoſt an hundred miles without finding any towne, but euery night we came to freſh water, which was partly running water and ſometime raine water. So we came at laſt within three miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did trauell in the countrey for the Engliſh marchants; and by him we ſent word vnto them of our eſtate: and they returned the next day vnto vs a Moore, which brought vs victuals, being at that inſtant very feeble and hungry; and withall ſent vs a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing vs to write vnto them what ſhip it was that was caſt away, and how many and what men there were aliue. Foꝛ ſaid they we would knowe with ſpeed, foꝛ to moꝛow is the kings court: and therefoꝛe we would know, foꝛ that you ſhould come into the citie like captiues. But foꝛ all that we were carried in as captiues and with ropes about our neckes as well Engliſh as the French and Spaniards. And ſo we were carried befoꝛe the king: and when we came befoꝛe him he did commit vs all to ward, where wee lay 15 dayes in cloſe pꝛiſon: and in the end we were cleared by the Engliſh Marchants to their great charges: foꝛ our deliuerance coſt them 700 ounces, euery ounce in that country contayning two ſhillings. And when we came out of pꝛiſon we went to the Alfandica, where we continued eight weekes with the Engliſh marchants. At the end of which time being well apparelled by the bountie of our marchants we were conueyed downe by the ſpace of eight dayes iourney to S. Cruz, where the Engliſh ſhips road: where we tooke ſhipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and fiue moꝛe of vs fiue dayes after in the Expedition of London, and two moꝛe in a Flemiſh flie-boat, and one in the Mary Edward alſo of London, other two of our number died in the countrey of the bloodie-fluxe: the one at our firſt impꝛiſonment at Marocco, whoſe name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whoſe name was Robert Swanton, whoſe death was haſtened by eating of rootes and other vnnaturall things to ſlake their raging hunger in our trauaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie perſons through the raſhneſſe of an vnſkilfull Maſter ten onely ſuruiued of vs, and after a thouſand miſeries returned home pooꝛe, ſicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Iohnſon.
William Williams Carpenter.
Iohn Durham.
Abraham Rouſe.
Iohn Matthewes.
Thomas Henmore.
Iohn Siluester.
Thomas Whiting.
William Church.
Iohn Fox.

The letters of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie ſent by one *Laurence Alderſey* vnto the Emperour of *Aethiopia*, 1597.

Inuictiſſimo potentiſsimóq; *Abaſſenorum* regi, magnóq; vtriuſq; *Aethiopiæ* imperatori &c.

ELizabetha dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ regina, fidei defenſor &c, ſummo ac potentiſſimo Æthiopiæ imperatori ſalutem. Quod ab omnibus qui vbiuis terrarum ac gentium ſunt regibus principibusq; præſtari par & æquum eſt, vt quanquàm maximo locorum interuallo diſſiti, & moribus ac legibus diſcrepantes, communem tamen generis humani ſocietatem tueri & conſeruare, mutuaq; , vt occaſio ferret, charitatis & beneuolentiæ officia velint exercere: in eo nos de veſtra fide atque humanitate ſpem certiſſimam concipientes, huic ſubito noſtro Laurentio Alderſeio in regnum veſtrum proficiſcenti, haſce literas noſtras, quibus & noſtra erga vos beneuolentia teſtata ſit, & illum hinc profectũ eſſe conſtet, potiſſimùm vobis indicandas dedimus, Qui cùm orbis terrarum perſcrutandi cognoſcendiq; ſtudio permotus, multis antehàc regionibus peragratis, iam tandem in eas regiones, quæ veſtræ ditionis ſunt, longum, periculoſumq; iter inſtituat: cùm ipſe exiſtimauit, tum nos etiam ſumus in eadem opinione, ad incolumitatem ſuam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi profuturum, ſi diplomate noſtro munitus, beneuolentiæ noſtræ & profectionis hinc ſuæ teſtimonium ad vos deferret. Nam cum ſummus ille mundi conditor rectorq; præpotens deus, regibus principibusq; qui ſuam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, ſuis cuique finibus pro rata portione deſignatis, regendum atque adminiſtrandum dederit; eoq; munere ius quoddam inter eos fraternæ neceſſitudinis, æternumq; fœdus ab illis colendum ſanxerit: non erit (vt arbitramur) ingratum vobis, cùm beneuolentiæ noſtræ ſignificationem, tàm immenſa maris ac terrarum ſpatia tranſgreſſam, ab vltima Britannia ad vos in Aethiopiam perferri intellexeritis. Nobiſq; rurſus erit iucundum, cùm ſubditorum noſtrorum prædicatione, ab ipſis Nili fontibus, & ab ijs regionibus quæ ſolis curſum definiunt, fama veſtri nominis ad nos recurret. Erit igitur humanitatis veſtræ huic ſubdito noſtro eam largiri gratiam, vt in ditionem veſtram ſub pręſidio ac tutela veſtri nominis intrare, ibique ſaluus & incolumis manere poſſit: quod ipſum etiam ab aliis principibus, per quorum regiones illi tranſeundum erit, magnoperè petimus, nobiſq; ipſis illud honoris cauſa tributum exiſtimabimus: neq; tamèn maiorem hac in re gratiam poſtulamus, quàm viciſsim omnium principum ſubditis, omniumq; gentium hominibus ad nos commeantibus liberrimè concedimus. Datum Londini quinto die Nouembris: anno regni noſtri tricesſimo nono: annoq; Dom. 1597.

The

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the moſt inuincible and puiſſant king of the *Abaſſens*, the mightie Emperour of *Aethiopia* the higher and the lower.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. To the moſt high and mightie Emperour of Aethiopia greeting. Whereas it is a matter requiſite and well beſeeming all kings and princes of what lands or nations ſoeuer, be they neuer ſo much diſſeuered in place or differing in cuſtomes and lawes, to maintaine and preſerue the common ſocietie of mankinde, and, as occaſion ſhall be offered, to performe mutuall duties of charitie and beneuolence: we for that cauſe conceiuing moſt vndoubted hope of your princely fidelitie and courteſie, haue giuen vnto this our ſubiect Laurence Alderſey intending to trauell into your dominions, theſe our letters to be deliuered without faile vnto your Highneſſe, to the end they may be a teſtimony of our good will towards you and of our ſaide ſubiect his departure from England. Who, after his trauels in many forren countreys, being as yet enflamed with a deſire more throughly to ſuruey and contemplate the world, and now at length to vndertake a long and daungerous iourney into your territories and regions: both the ſayd Laurence thought, and our ſelues alſo deemed, that it would very much auaile him, as well for his owne ſafetie as for the attayning of your fauour, if, being protected with our broad ſeale, hee might tranſport vnto your Highneſſe a teſtimony of our louing affection & of his departure from hence. For ſithence almightie God the higheſt Creatour and gouernour of the world hath allotted vnto kings and princes his vicegerents ouer the face of the whole earth, their deſigned portions and limits to be ruled and adminiſtred by them; and by this his gift hath eſtabliſhed among them a certaine law of brotherly kindneſſe, and an eternall league by them to be obſerued: it will not (we hope) ſeeme vnpleaſant vnto your highneſſe, when you ſhall haue intelligence of our louing letters ſent ſo huge a diſtance ouer ſea and land, euen from the fartheſt realme of England vnto you in Aethiopia. On the other ſide our ſelues ſhall take great ſolace and delight, when as by the relation of our owne ſubiects, the renowme of your name ſhall be brought vnto vs from the fountains of Nilus, and from thoſe regions which are ſituate vnder the Southerne Tropike. May it pleaſe you therefore of your princely clemencie to vouchſafe ſo much fauour on this our ſubiect, that he may, vnder the ſafeguard and protection of your name, enter into your highneſſe dominions, and there remaine ſafe and free from danger. Which fauour and courteſie wee doe likewiſe moſt earneſtly requeſt at the hands of other princes, through whoſe Seigniories our ſaid ſubiect is to paſſe; and we ſhall eſteeme it as done vnto our ſelfe and for our honours ſake. Neither do we require any greater fauour in this behalfe, then we are vpon the like occaſion moſt ready to graunt vnto the ſubiects of all princes and the people of all Nations, trauelling into our dominions. Giuen at London the fift day of Nouember, in the thirtie and ninth yeere of our reigne: and in the yeare of our Lorde 1597.

Pro Rogero Potts · 1652 · Johī Potts [illegible]

THE

THIRD AND LAST VOLVME OF THE VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAFfiques, and Diſcoueries of the *Engliſh Nation*, and in ſome few places, where they haue not been, of ſtrangers, performed within and before the time of theſe hundred yeeres, to all parts of the *Newfound* world of *America*, or the *Weſt Indies*, from 73. degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly latitude:

As namely to *Engronland*, *Meta Incognita*, *Eſtotiland*, *Tierra de Labrador*, *Newfoundland*, vp *The grand bay*, the gulfe of *S. Laurence*, and the Riuer of *Canada* to *Hochelaga* and *Saguenay*, along the coaſt of *Arambec*, to the ſhores and maines of *Virginia* and *Florida*, and on the Weſt or backſide of them both, to the rich and pleaſant countries of *Nueua Biſcaya*, *Cibola*, *Tiguex*, *Cicuic*, *Quiuira*, to the 15. prouinces of the kingdome of *New Mexico*, to the bottome of the gulfe of *California*, and vp the Riuer of *Buena Guia*:

And likewiſe to all the yles both ſmall and great lying before the cape of *Florida*, *The bay* of *Mexico*, and *Tierra firma*, to the coaſts and Inlands of *Newe Spaine*, *Tierra firma*, and *Guiana*, vp the mighty Riuers of *Orenoque*, *Deſſekebe*, and *Marannon*, to euery part of the coaſt of *Braſil*, to the Riuer of *Plate*, through the Streights of *Magellan* forward and backward, and to the South of the ſaid Streights as farre as 57. degrees:

And from thence on the backſide of *America*, along the coaſtes, harbours, and capes of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Nicaragua*, *Nueua Eſpanna*, *Nueua Galicia*, *Culiacan*, *California*, *Noua Albion*, and more Northerly as farre as 43. degrees:

Together with the two renowmed, and proſperous voyages of Sir *Francis Drake* and M. *Thomas Candiſh* round about the circumference of the whole earth, and diuers other voyages intended and ſet forth for that courſe.

Collected by RICHARD HAKLVYT *Preacher, and ſometimes* ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

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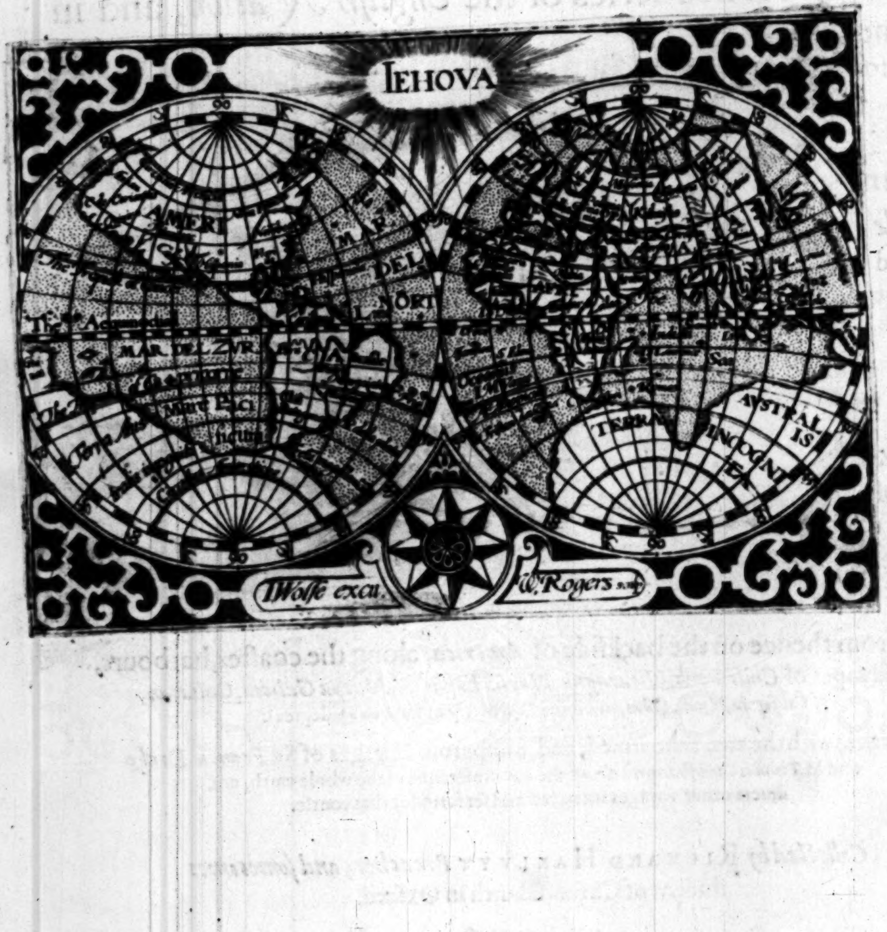
ANNO DOM. 1600.


IEHOVA
AMERICA
MAR DEL NORT
MAR DEL ZUR
TERRA AUSTRALIS INCOGNITA
I. Wolfe excu.
W. Rogers sculp.

To the right honourable ſir Robert Cecil knight, principall Secretary to her Maieſtie, maſter of the Court of Wards and Liueries, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Councel.

RIght honourable, your fauourable acceptance of my ſecond volume of *The Engliſh voyages* offred vnto you the laſt yere, your peruſing of the ſame at your conuenient leaſure, your good teſtimony of my ſelfe and of my trauailes therein, together with the infallible ſignes of your earneſt deſire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought leaſt thereof, brake forth into moſt bountiful and acceptable effects: theſe conſiderations haue throughly animated and encouraged me to preſent vnto your prudent cenſure this my third and laſt volume alſo. The ſubiect and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called *America*: but by the chiefeſt authors *The new world. New*, in regard of the new and late diſcouery thereof made by *Chriſtopher Colon*, aliàs *Columbus*, a *Genouois* by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And *world*, in reſpect of the huge extenſion thereof, which to this day is not throughly diſcouered, neither within the Inland nor on the coaſt, eſpecially toward the North and Northweſt, although on the hither ſide it be knowen vnto vs for the ſpace of fiue thouſand leagues at the leaſt, compting and conſidering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backeſide in the *South Sea* from the *Streight of Magellan* to *Cape Mendoçino* and *Noua Albion*. So that it ſeemeth very fitly to be called *A newe worlde*. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had ſome kinde of dimme glimſe, and vnperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of *Plato* in his two worthy dialogues of *Timæus* and *Critias* vnder the diſcourſe of that mighty large yland called by him *Atlantis*, lying in the Ocean ſea without the *Streight of Hercules*, now called the *Streight of Gibraltar*, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then *Africa* & *Aſia*: And by that of *Ariſtotle* in his booke *De admirandis auditionibus* of the long nauigation of certaine *Carthaginians*, who ſayling forth of the aforeſaid *Streight of Gibraltar* into the maine Ocean for the ſpace of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would haue inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe gouernours. Moreouer, aboue 300. yeeres after theſe wee haue the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7.* of the like mighty yland diſcouered in the Weſterne Ocean by the *Tyrrheni*, who were forbidden for certaine cauſes to inhabite the ſame by the foreſaid *Carthaginians*. And *Seneca* in his tragedie intituled *Medea* foretold aboue 1500. yeeres paſt, that in the later ages the Ocean would diſcouer new worlds, and that the yle of *Thule* would no more be the vttermoſt limite of the earth. For whereas *Virgile* had ſaid to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Tibi ſeruiat vltima Thule*, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the ſame, and ſaith, *Nec ſit terris vltima Thule*. Yea *Tertullian* one of our moſt ancient and learned diuines, in the beginning of his treatiſe *de Pallio* alludeth vnto *Plato* his Weſterne *Atlantis*, which there by another name he calleth *Aeon*, ſaying, *Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur*. And in his 40. chapter *de Apologetico* he reporteth the ſame to be bigger then all *Africa* and *Aſia*. Of this *New world* and euery ſpeciall part thereof in this my third volume I haue brought to light the beſt & moſt perfect relations of ſuch as were chiefe actours in the particular diſcoueries and ſerches of the ſame, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his owne credit. The order obſerued in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine vnto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of ſufficient ſtore, in diuers places to vſe the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occaſion are enforced vnto) being now more plentifully furniſhed with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore propoſing vnto my ſelfe the right ſituation of this *New world*, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe ſucceſſiuely in one ranke or *claſsis*, according to the order aforeſaide, all ſuch voyages as haue bene made to the ſaid part: which comming all together, and following orderly one vpon another, doe much more lighten the readers vnderſtanding, and confirme his iudgement, then if they had bene ſcattered in ſundry corners of the worke. Which methode I obſerue from the higheſt North to the loweſt South. Now where any country hath bene but ſeldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occurreth, if I finde one voyage well written by two ſeuerall perſons, ſometimes I make no difficultie to ſet downe both thoſe iournals, as finding diuers things of good moment obſerued in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a ſouldier obſerueth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, *Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus*. But this courſe I take very ſeldome and ſparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of *The Engliſh voyages*, aſwell in regard that the greateſt part are theirs, and that my trauaile was chiefly vndertaken for preſeruation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defectiue, there I haue bene careful to ſupply the ſame with the beſt and chiefeſt relations of ſtrangers. As in the diſcouery of the *Grand Bay*, of the mighty riuer of *S. Laurence*, of the countries of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, and *Saguenay*, of *Florida*, and the Inland of *Cibola*, *Tiguex*, *Cicuic*, and *Quiuira*, of *The gulfe of California*, & the Northweſterne ſea-coaſt to *Cabo Mendocino* and *Sierra Neuada*: as alſo of the late & rich diſcouery of 15. prouinces on the backſide of *Florida* and *Virginia*, the chiefeſt wherof is called the kingdome of *New Mexico*, for the wealth, ciuil gouernment, and populouſneſſe of the ſame. Moreouer, becauſe ſince our warres with *Spaine*, by the taking of their ſhips, and ſacking of their townes and cities, moſt of all their ſecrets of the *Weſt Indies*, and euery part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the moſt part vnknowen vnto vs,) I haue vſed the vttermoſt of my beſt endeuour, to get, and hauing gotten, to tranſlate out of Spaniſh, and here in this preſent volume to publiſh ſuch ſecrets of theirs, as may any way auaile vs or annoy them, if they driue and vrge vs by their ſullen inſolencies, to cõtinue our courſes of hoſtilitie againſt them, and ſhall ceaſe to ſeeke a good and Chriſtian peace vpon indifferent and equal conditions. What theſe things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may vnderſtand, if it pleaſe you to vouchſafe to reade the Catalogues cõteyning the 14. principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceiue that there is no chiefe riuer,no port,no towne, no citie,no prouince of any reckoning in the *Weſt Indies*,that hath not here ſome good deſcription thereof, aſwell for the inland as the ſeaſt.coaſt. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene *Noua Albion* on the Northweſt part of *America*,and the yle of *Iapan* lying ouer againſt the kingdomes of *Coray* and *China*, which vntil theſe foure yeeres was neuer reueiled vnto vs,being a point of exceeding great conſequence, I haue here inſerted the voyage of one *Francis Gualle* a Spaniard made from *Acapulco* an hauen on the *South ſea* on the coaſt of *New Spaine*, firſt to the *Philippinas*, and then to the citie of *Macao* in *China*,and homeward from *Macao* by the yles of *Iapan*, and thence to the back of the *Weſt Indies* in the Northerly latitude of 37 degrees ½. In which courſe betweene the ſaid ylands and the maine he found a wide and ſpacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene ſet out as a *Streight*, and called in moſt mappes *The Streight of Anian*. In which relation to the viceroy hee conſtantly affirmeth three ſeuerall times, that there is a paſſage that way vnto the North parts of *Aſia*. Moreouer, becauſe I perceiue by a letter directed by her Maieſtie to the Emperour of *China* (and ſent in the laſt Fleet intended for thoſe parts by *The South Sea* vnder the charge of *Beniamin Wood*,chiefly ſet out at the charges of ſir *Robert Duddeley*, a gentleman of excellent parts) that ſhe vſeth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in his dominions, for the better inſtruction of our people in the ſtate of thoſe countries, I haue brought to light certaine new aduertiſements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of *Iapan*,and of the new conqueſt of the kingdome of *Coray*, not long ſince tributarie to the king of *China*, by *Quabacondono* the monarch of all the yles and princedomes of *Iapan*; as alſo of the *Tartars* called *Iezi*, adioyning on the Eaſt & Northeaſt parts of *Coray*,where I thinke the beſt vtterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it pleaſe God hereafter to reueile vnto vs the paſſage thither by the Northweſt. The moſt exact and true information of the North parts of *China* I finde in an hiſtory of *Tamerlan*,which I haue in French,ſet out within theſe ſixe yeres by the abbat of *Mortimer*, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confeſſeth that it was long ſince written in the Arabian tongue by one *Alhacen* a wiſe and valiant Captaine, employed by the ſaid mighty prince in all his conqueſts of the foreſaid kingdome. Which hiſtory I would not haue failed to haue tranſlated into Engliſh, if I had not found it learnedly done vnto my hand.

And for an appendix vnto the ende of my worke,I haue thought it not impertinent,to exhibite to the graue and diſcreet iudgements of thoſe which haue the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine cauſes of *England*, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation houſe of *Siuil* in *Spaine*,touching their gouernment in ſea-matters; together with The ſtreight and ſeuere examination of Pilots and Maſters before they be admitted to take charge of ſhips, aſwell by the *Pilot mayor*, and brotherhood of ancient Maſters, as by the Kings reader of *The lecture of the art of Nauigation*,with the time that they be enioyned to bee his auditors,and ſome part of the queſtions that they are to anſwere vnto. Which if they finde good and beneficial for our ſeamen,I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out ſome fitter courſe of their owne, will ſeeke to bring ſuch as are of that calling vnto better gouernment and more perfection in that moſt laudable and needfull vocation. To leaue this point, I was once minded to haue added to the end of theſe my labours a ſhort treatiſe, which I haue lying by me in writing, touching *The curing of hot diſeaſes incident to trauellers in long and*

Southerne voyages, which treatiſe was written in Engliſh, no doubt of a very honeſt mind, by one *M. George Wateſon*, and dedicated vnto her ſacred Maieſtie. But being carefull to do nothing herein raſhly, I ſhewed it to my worſhipfull friend *M. doctour Gilbert*, a gentleman no leſſe excellent in the chiefeſt ſecrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare iewel lately ſet foorth by him in Latine doeth euidently declare) then in his owne profeſſion of phyſicke: who aſſured me, after hee had peruſed the ſaid treatiſe, that it was very defectiue and vnperfect, and that if hee might haue leaſure, which that argument would require, he would either write ſomething thereof more aduiſedly himſelfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Phyſicions, and ſet downe ſome order by common conſent for the preſeruation of her Maieſties ſubiects. Now as the foreſaid treatiſe touched the cure of diſeaſes growing in hot regions, ſo being requeſted thereunto by ſome in authoritie they may adde their iudgements for the cure of diſeaſes incident vnto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpoſe may ſerue our peoples turnes, if they chance to proſecute the intermitted diſcouery by the Northweſt, whereunto I finde diuers worſhipfull citizens at this preſent much inclined. Now becauſe long ſince I did foreſee, that my profeſſion of diuinitie, the care of my family, and other occaſions might call and diuert me from theſe kinde of endeuours, I haue for theſe 3. yeeres laſt paſt encouraged and furthered in theſe ſtudies of Coſmographie and forren hiſtories, my very honeſt, induſtrious, and learned friend M. IOHN PORY, one of ſpeciall ſkill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the ſame, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I haue portrayed out in rude lineaments my Weſterne *Atlantis* or *America*: aſſuring you, that if I had bene able, I would haue limned her and ſet her out with farre more liuely and exquiſite colours: yet, as ſhe is, I humbly deſire you to receiue her with your wonted and accuſtomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine moſt ready and deuoted to do your honour any poore ſeruice that I may; and in the meane ſeaſon will not faile vnfainedly to beſeech the Almighty to powre vpon you the beſt of his temporall bleſſings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his ioyes eternall. From *London* the firſt of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Your Honours moſt humble to
be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLVYT, *Preacher*.

¶ A general Catalogue diuided, according to the methode obſerued in this preſent volume, into 14. ſpecial branches, briefly conteyning all the Voyages, Nauigations, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, and (where they haue not bene, or not perfectly diſcouered) of ſtrangers, within the ſaid volume intreated of, which haue been performed to euery part of *America* hitherto knowen or diſcouered by any Chriſtian: whereunto are annexed in their due and proper places, all the Patents, diſcourſes, ruttiers, letters, aduertiſements, inſtructions, obſeruations, and other particulars incident or belonging to the foreſaid Voyages.

THe moſt ancient voyage and diſcouery of the *West Indies* performed by *Madoc* the ſonne of *Owen Guined* prince of *North Wales*, *Anno 1170*; taken out of the hiſtory of *Wales, &c.* Pag. 1.

The teſtimonies and relations immediatly enſuing vpon this voyage.

THe *verſes of* Meredith *the ſonne of* Rheſus *making mention of* Madoc *the ſonne of* Owen Guined, *and of his Nauigation vnto vnknowen lands.* pag. 1

The offer of the diſcouery of the Weſt Indies *by* Chriſtopher Columbus *to* K. Henry the 7. *February the 13. Anno 1488; with the Kings acceptance of the ſaid offer.* pag. 2

Another teſtimony concerning the foreſaid offer made by Bartholomew Columbus *to* K. Henry the ſeuenth, *on the behalfe of his brother* Chriſtopher Columbus, pag. 3. & 4.

A catalogue of the Engliſh voyages vndertaken for the finding of a *Northweſt paſſage*, to the North parts of *America*, to *Meta incognita*, and the backeſide of *Groenland*, as farre as 72. degrees, and 12. minutes.

THe voyage of *Sebaſtian Cabota* to the North part of *America*, for the diſcouery of a *Northweſt paſſage*, as farre as 58. degrees of latitude, and from thence back againe all along the coaſt, till he fell with ſome part of *Florida, anno 1497*; confirmed by 6. teſtimonies: The firſt taken out of the mappe of *Sebaſtian Cabota* cut by *Clement Adams*; the ſecond vſed by *Galeacius Butrigarius* the Popes legate, and reported by him; the third out of the preface of *Baptiſta Ramuſius* before his third volume of Nauigations; the 4. out of the thirde decade of *Peter Martyr ab Angleria*; the 5. out of the general hiſtory of *Lopez de Gomara*; and the 6. out of *Fabians* chronicle. pag. 6. 7. 8, and 9.

The firſt voyage of M. *Martin Frobiſher* to the Northweſt for the ſearch of a paſſage to *China, anno 1576.* pag. 29. & 57.

The ſecond voyage of M. *Martin Frobiſher* to the Weſt and Northweſt regions, in the yeere 1577. pag. 32. and 60.

The third and laſt voyage of M. *Martin Frobiſher* for the diſcouery of a Northweſt paſſage, in the yere 1578. Pag. 39. and 74.

The firſt voyage of M. *Iohn Dauis* for the diſcouery of a *Northweſt paſſage*, 1585. pag. 98.

The ſecond voyage of M. *Iohn Dauis* for the diſcouery of the *Northweſt paſſ. 1586.* pag. 103.

The voyage and courſe which the *Sunſhine* a barke of 50. tunnes, & the *Northſtarre* a ſmall pinneſſe, being 2. veſſels of the Fleete of M. *Iohn Dauis*, held, after hee had ſent them from him to diſcouer a paſſage betweene *Groenland* and *Iſeland*, 1587. pag. 111

The voyage of M. *Nicolas Zeno* and M. *Anthony* his brother, to the yles of *Friſland, Iſland, Engronland, Eſtotiland, Drogeo*, and *Icaria*, begun in the yeere 1380. pag. 121.

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THe *letters patents of* K.Henry the 7.*granted vnto* Iohn Cabot *and his 3.ſonnes,*Lewis,Sebaſtian,*and* Sancius,*for the diſcouery of new and vnknowen lands, Anno 1495.* pag.4

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A briefe extract concerning the diſcouery of Newfoundland. pag.10

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*Articles and orders preſcribed by M.*Martin Frobiſher *to the Captaines and company of euery ſhip, which accompanied him in his laſt Northweſtern voyage.* pag.75

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THe voyage of two ſhips, whereof the one was called *The Dominus vobiſcum*, ſet out the 20 of May 1527,for the diſcouery of the North parts. pag. 129

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The voyage and courſe which ſir *Francis Drake* held from the hauen of *Guatulco*, on the backſide of *Nueua Eſpanna*, to the Northweſt of *California*, as far as 43 degrees, & from thence backe againe to 38 degrees, where in a very good harbour he graued his ſhippe, entrenched himſelfe on land, called the countrey by the name of *Noua Albion*, and tooke poſſeſſion thereof on the behalfe of her Maieſtie. pag.440

The memorable voyage of *Francis Gualle* a Spaniſh captaine and pilot, vndertaken at the appointment of the *viceroy* of *New Spaine*, from the hauen of *Acapulco* in the ſayd prouince, to the iſlands of the *Luçones* or the *Philippinas*, vnto the hauen of *Manilla*, and from thence to

the

the hauen of *Macao* in *China*; and from *Macao* by the *Lequeos*, the iſles of *Iapan*, and other iſles to the Eaſt of *Iapan*, and likewiſe by the Northweſt part of America in 37 degrees and backe againe to *Acapulco*, begun the 10 of March 1582, & ended 1584. Out of which voyage, beſides great probabilities of a North, Northweſt, or Northeaſt paſſage, may euidently be gathered, that the ſea betweene *Iapan* and *America* is by many hundred leagues broader, and the land betweene *Cape Mendoçino* and *Cape California*, is many hundred leagues narrower, then we finde them to be in the ordinary maps and relations. pag.442

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THe voyage of ſir *Thomas Pert*, and *Sebaſtian Cabot* in the yere 1516, to *Braſil*, *Santo Domingo*, and *Sant Iuan de Puerto rico*. pag.498

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The ſecond voyage made by the R. W. ſir *Iohn Hawkins* knight with the *Ieſus of Lubec*, one of her Maieſties ſhips, and the *Salomon*, and two barks, to the coaſt of *Guinie*, & from thence to the iſle of *Dominica*, all along the coaſt of *Tierra firma*, & ſo homewards about the cape of *S. Anton* vpon the Weſt end of *Cuba*, & thorow the chanel of *Bahama*; Begun 1564. pag.501

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THE THIRD AND LAST Volume of the principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh Nation made to the Northweſt, Weſt, and Southweſt parts of the World, with the Letters, Priuileges, Diſcourſes, Obſeruations, and other neceſſary things concerning the ſame.

The moſt ancient Diſcouery of the *VVeſt Indies* by *Madoc* the ſonne of *Owen Guyneth* Prince of *North-wales*, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the hiſtory of *Wales*, lately publiſhed by *M. Dauid Powel* Doctor of Diuinity.

AFter the death of Owen Guyneth, his ſonnes fell at debate who ſhould inherit after him: for the eldeſt ſonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, becauſe of the maime vpon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a baſe ſonne, begotten vpon an Iriſh woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came againſt Howel, and fighting with him, ſlew him; and afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntill his brother Iorwerths ſonne came to age. *Madoc* another of *Owen Guyneth* his ſonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared certaine ſhips, with men and munition, and ſought aduentures by Seas, ſailing Weſt, and leauing the coaſt of *Ireland* ſo farre North, that he came vnto a land vnknowen, where he ſaw many ſtrange things.

Madoc the ſon of Owen Guyneth.

This land muſt needs be ſome part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themſelues to be the firſt finders ſince Hannos time. Whereupon it is manifeſt that that countrey was by Britaines diſcouered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

Hum. Lloyd.

Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe vſe in diſtance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminiſh: but ſure it is there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleaſant and fruitfull countreys that he had ſeene without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren & wild ground his brethren and nephewes did murther one another, he prepared a number of ſhips, and got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to liue in quietneſſe: and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his iourney thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be ſuppoſed that he and his people inhabited part of thoſe countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the croſſe. Wherby it may be gathered that Chriſtians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But becauſe this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came vnto, & vſed the language they found there.

The ſecond voyage of Madoc the ſonne of Owen Guyneth.

Gomara. lib. 2, cap. 16.

This Madoc arriuing in that Weſterne country, vnto the which he came in the yere 1170, left moſt of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance & friends to inhabit that faire & large countrey, went thither againe with ten ſailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was ſome part of the Weſt Indies.

M. Powels addition.

Gutyn Owen.

Carmina *Meredith* filij *Rheſi* mentionem facientia de *Madoco* filio *Oweni Guynedd*, & de ſua nauigatione in terras incognitas. *Vixit hic* Meredith *circiter annum Domini* 1477.

MAdoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, *Owyn Guynedd:*
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Madoc I am the ſonne of Owen Gwynedd
With ſtature large, and comely grace adorned:
No lands at home nor ſtore of wealth me pleaſe,
My minde was whole to ſearch the Ocean ſeas.

Theſe verſes I receiued of my learned friend M. William Camden.

The offer of the diſcouery of the *VVeſt Indies* by *Chriſtopher Columbus* to king *Henry* the ſeuenth in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, & the cauſe whereupon hee was depriued of the ſame: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the hiſtory of *Don Fernand Columbus* of the life and deeds of his father *Chriſtopher Columbus.*

Christophero Colon temendo, ſe parimente i Re di Caſtiglia non aſſentiſſero alla ſua impreſa, non gli biſognaſſe proporla di nuouo à qualche altro principe, & coſi in cio paſſaſſe lungo tempo; mandò in Inghilterra vn ſuo fratello, che haueua appreſſo di ſe, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non haueſſe lettere Latine, erà però huomo prattico, & giudicioſo nelle coſe del mare, & ſapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, & ſphere, & altri inſtrumenti di quella profeſſione, come dal ſuo fratello era inſtrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la ſua ſorte, che deſſe in man di corſali, i quali lo ſpogliarono inſieme con gli altri della ſua naue. Per la qual coſa, & per la ſua pouertà & infirmità, che in coſi diuerſe terre lo aſſalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la ſua ambaſciata, fin che, aquiſtata vn poco di faculta con le carte, ch' ei fabricaua, cominciò a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico ſettimo, padre di Enrico ottauo, che al preſente regna: a cui appreſentò vn mappamondo, nel quale erano ſcritti queſti verſi, che fra le ſue ſcriture Io trouai, & da me ſaranno qui poſti piu toſto per l' antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noſcere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Iſidorus: non vna tamen ſententia cuique.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper ſulcata carinis
Hiſpanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc eſt notiſſima multis.

Et piu di ſotto diceua.

Pro Authore ſiue Pictore.

Ianua cui patriæ eſt nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque inſuper anno
Octauo, decimáque die cùm tertia menſis
Februarij. Laudes Chriſto cantentur abundè.

Et, perciocbe auuertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico, che medeſimamente Io viddi alcune ſottoſcritioni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquiſtaſſe lo ſtato, ou' egli ſi ſotto ſcriueua, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d' Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, & cio che l' Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accettò la ſua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, perciocbe Dio l' haueua per Caſtiglia ſerbata, gia l' Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, & tornato con la vittoria della ſua impreſa, ſecondo che per ordine ſi racconterà. Laſciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornarò all' Ammiraglio, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Christopher Columbus fearing leaſt if the king of Caſtile in like maner (as the king of Portugall had done) ſhould not condeſcend vnto his enterpriſe, he ſhould be inforced to offer the ſame againe to ſome other prince, & ſo much time ſhould be ſpent therein, ſent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whoſe name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuertheleſſe was a man of experience and ſkilfull in Sea cauſes, and could very wel make ſea cards & globes, and other inſtruments belonging to that profeſſion, as he was inſtructed by his brother. Wherfore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which ſpoiled him with the reſt of them which were in the ſhip which he went in. Upon which occaſion, and by reaſon of his pouerty and ſickneſſe which cruelly aſſaulted him in a countrey ſo farre diſtant from his friends, he deferred his ambaſſage for a long while, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten ſomewhat handſome about him with making of Sea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the ſeuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this preſent: vnto whom he preſented a mappe of the world, wherein theſe verſes were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here ſet them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodneſſe.

The occaſion why the Weſt Indies were not diſcouered for England.

Thou which deſireſt eaſily the coaſts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the ſame to thee will ſhew:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Iſodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Here alſo is ſet downe the late diſcouered burning Zone
By Portingals, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowen,
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is blowen.

And a little vnder he added:

For the Authour or the Drawer.

He, whoſe deare natiue ſoile hight ſtately Genua,
Euen he whoſe name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
The yeere of Grace a thouſand and foure hundred and foureſcore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London publiſhed this worke. To Chriſt all laud therefore.

And becauſe ſome peraduenture may obſerue that he calleth himſelfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I ſay, that in like maner I haue ſeene ſome ſubſcriptions of my father Chriſtopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein he ſigned his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I ſay, that after he had ſeene the map, and that which my father Chriſtopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and ſent to call him into England. But becauſe God had reſerued the ſayd offer for Caſtile, Columbus was gone in the meane ſpace, and alſo returned with the performance of his enterpriſe, as hereafter in order ſhall be rehearſed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

King Henry the ſeuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.

Another teſtimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foreſayd hiſtory of *Ferdinando Columbus*, concerning the offer that *Bartholomew Columbus* made to king *Henry* the ſeuenth on the behalfe of his brother *Chriſtopher*.

TOrnato adunque l' Ammiraglio dallo ſcoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, trouò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon ſuo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d' Inghilterra ſopra lo ſcoprimento delle Indie, come di ſopra habiam detto. Queſto poi, ritornandoſene verſo Caſtiglia con capitoli conceduti, haueua inteſo a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l' Ammiraglio ſuo fratello hauer gia ſcoperte l' Indie: per che gli ſouenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento ſcudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal nuoua egli ſi foſſe molto affrettato, per arriuar l' Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunſe a Siuiglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per eſſeguir quanto ei gli haueua laſciato, di ſubito al principio dell' anno del 1494 ſen' ando a i Re Catholici, menando ſeco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, acciochè ſeruiſſimo di paggi al ſereniſſimo principe Don Giouanni, il qual viua in gloria, ſi come haueua commandato la Catholica Reina donna Iſabella, che alhora era in Vagliadolid. Toſto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, & mandaronlo alla Spagnuola con tre naui, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

CHriſtopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the diſcouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hiſpaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene ſent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the diſcouery of the Indies, as we haue ſayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Caſtile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderſtood at Paris by Charles the king of France, that the Admirall his brother had already performed that diſcouery: where upon the French king gaue vnto the ſayd Bartholomew an hundred French crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haſte vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies with ſeuenteene ſaile of ſhipps. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me alſo, which were to be preferred as Pages to the moſt excellent Prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholike Queene Lady Iſabell, which was then in Validolid. Aſſoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and ſent him to Hiſpaniola with three ſhips, &c.

THE ENGLISH VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, and Diſcoueries (intended for the finding of a Northweſt paſſage) to the North parts of *America*, to *Meta incognita*, and the backeſide of *Gronland*, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed firſt by *Sebaſtian Cabota*, and ſince by Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, and M. *Iohn Dauis*, with the Patents, Diſcourſes, and Aduertiſements thereto belonging.

The Letters patents of King *Henry* the ſeuenth granted vnto *Iohn Cabot* and his three ſonnes, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sancius* for the diſcouerie of new and vnknowen lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus, ad quos præſentes literæ noſtræ peruenerint, ſalutem.

Notum ſit & manifeſtum, quòd dedimus & conceſſimus, ac pet præſentes damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebaſtiano, & Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuſlibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem & poteſtatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & ſinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & ſeptentrionalis, ſub banneris, vexillis, & inſignijs noſtris, cum quinque nauibus ſiue nauigijs, cuiuſcúnque portituræ & qualitatis exiſtant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis nauibus ſecum ducere voluerint, ſuis & eorum proprijs ſumptibus & expenſis, ad inueniendum, diſcooperiendum, & inueſtigandum quaſcunque inſulas, patrias, regiones ſiue prouincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcúnque, in quacunque parte mundi poſitas, quæ Chriſtianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Conceſſimus etiam eiſdem & eorum cuilibet, eorúmque & cuiuſlibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras noſtras & inſignia in quacunque villa, oppido, caſtro, inſula ſeu terra firma à ſe nouiter inuentis. Et quòd prænominatus Ioannes, & filij eiuſdem, ſeu hæredes & eorum deputati, quaſcunque huiuſmodi villas, caſtra, oppida, & inſulas à ſe inuentas, quæ ſubiugari, occupari, poſſideri poſſint, ſubiugare, occupare, poſſidere valeant tanquam vaſalli noſtri, & gubernatores, locatenentes, & deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum & iuriſdictionem earundem villarum, caſtrorum, oppidorum, inſularum, ac terræ firmæ ſic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, & obuentionibus ex huiuſmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, & filij ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & ſint obligati nobis pro omni viagio ſuo, toties quoties ad portum noſtrum Briſtolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & ſint aſtricti) deductis omnibus ſumptibus & impenſis neceſſarijs per eoſdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, ſiue in mercibus, ſiue in pecunijs perſoluere: Dantes nos & concedentes eiſdem ſuiſque hæredibus & deputatis, vt ab omni ſolutione cuſtumarum omnium & ſingulorum bonorum & mercium, quas ſecum reportarint ab illis locis ſic nouiter inuentis, liberi ſint & immunes. Et inſuper dedimus & conceſſimus eiſdem ac ſuis hæredibus & deputatis, quòd terræ omnes firmæ, inſulæ, villæ, oppida, caſtra, & loca quæcunque a ſe inuenta,

quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non poſſint ab alijs quibuſuis noſtris ſubditis frequentari ſeu viſitari, abſque licentia prædictorum Ioannis & eius filiorum, ſuorúmque deputatorum, ſub pœna amiſſionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcunque ad ea loca ſic inuenta nauigare præſumentium. Volentes & ſtrictiſſimè mandantes omnibus & ſingulis noſtris ſubditis, tam in terra quàm in mari conſtitutis, vt præfato Ioanni, & eius filijs ac deputatis, bonam aſſiſtentiam faciant, & tam in armandis nauibus ſeu nauigijs, quàm in prouiſione commeatus & victualium pro ſua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum ſibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione ſumenda ſuos omnes fauores & auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium quinto die Martij anno regni noſtri vndecimo.

Ann. Dom. 1495.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

Be it knowen that we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our welbeloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sancius, ſonnes of the ſayd Iohn, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leaue, and power to ſaile to all parts, countreys, and ſeas of the Eaſt, of the Weſt, and of the North, vnder our banners and enſignes, with fiue ſhips of what burthen or quantity ſoeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the ſayd ſhips, vpon their owne proper coſts and charges, to ſeeke out, diſcouer, and finde whatſoeuer iſles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatſoeuer they be, and in what part of the world ſoeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknowen to all Chriſtians: we haue granted to them, and alſo to euery of them, the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to ſet vp our banners and enſignes in euery village, towne, caſtle, iſle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforeſayd Iohn and his ſonnes, or their heires and aſſignes may ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe all ſuch townes, cities, caſtles and iſles of them found, which they can ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe, as our vaſſals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iuriſdiction of the ſame villages, townes, caſtles, & firme land ſo found. Yet ſo that the aforeſayd Iohn, and his ſonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of ſuch nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they ſhall arriue at our port of Briſtoll (at the which port they ſhall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of neceſſary coſts and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine ſo gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they ſhall be free from all paying of cuſtomes of all and ſingular ſuch merchandize as they ſhall bring with them from thoſe places ſo newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, iſles, villages, townes, caſtles and places whatſoeuer they be that they ſhall chance to finde, may not of any other of our ſubiects be frequented or viſited without the licence of the foreſayd Iohn and his ſonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aſwell of their ſhippes as of all and ſinguler goods of all them that ſhall preſume to ſaile to thoſe places ſo found. Willing, and moſt ſtraightly commanding all and ſinguler our ſubiects aſwell on land as on ſea, to giue good aſſiſtance to the aforeſayd Iohn and his ſonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furniſhing their ſhips or veſſels, as in prouiſion of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided neceſſary for the ſayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed to be made theſe our Letters patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Briſtol thought yͤ meeteſt port for Weſterne diſcoueries.

Freedome frō cuſtome.

Billa ſignata anno 13 Henrici *ſeptimi.*

REx tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioanni Caboto, quod ipſe capere poſſit ſex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, ſiue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod ſint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel ſubtus, cum apparatu requiſito, & quod recipere poſſit in dictas naues omnes tales magiſtros, marinarios, & ſubditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

A record of the rolls touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot and Sebaſtian his ſonne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take ſixe Engliſh ſhips in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all neceſſary furniture, and to take alſo into the ſaid ſhips all ſuch maſters, mariners, and ſubiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, cut by *Clement Adams*, concerning his diſcouery of the *West Indies*, which is to be ſeene in her Maieſties priuie gallerie at *Weſtminſter*, and in many other ancient merchants houſes.

ANno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, & Sebaſtianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus priùs adire auſus fuit, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primùm viſam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quę ex aduerſo ſita eſt inſula, eam appellauit inſulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui eſt ſacer Diuo Ioanni Baptiſtæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuuiáſque ferarum pro indumentis habent, eáſque tanti faciunt, quanti nos veſtes precioſiſſimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, ſagittis, haſtis, ſpiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus ſterilis eſt, neque vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt vrſis albo colore, & ceruis inuſitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta ſit: piſcibus abundat, iiſque ſane magnis, quales ſunt lupi marini, & quos ſalmones vulgus appellat; ſoleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vlnæ menſuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna eſt copia eorum piſcium, quos vulgari ſermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea inſula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum ſimilitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem & aquilæ ſunt nigri coloris.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his ſonne Sebaſtian (with an Engliſh fleet ſet out from Briſtoll) diſcouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima viſta, that is to ſay, Firſt ſeene, becauſe as I ſuppoſe it was that part whereof they had the firſt ſight from ſea. That Iſland which lieth out before the land, he called the Iſland of S. Iohn vpon this occaſion, as I thinke, becauſe it was diſcouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptiſt. The inhabitants of this Iſland vſe to weare beaſts ſkinnes, and haue them in as great eſtimation as we haue our fineſt garments. In their warres they vſe bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and ſlings. The ſoile is barren in ſome places, & yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and ſtagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fiſh, and thoſe very great, as ſeales, and thoſe which commonly we call ſalmons: there are ſoles alſo aboue a yard in length: but eſpecially there is great abundance of that kinde of fiſh which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the ſame Iſland alſo there breed hauks, but they are ſo blacke that they are very like to rauens, as alſo their partridges, and egles, which are in like ſort blacke.

A diſcourſe of *Sebaſtian Cabot* touching his diſcouery of part of the *West India* out of *England* in the time of king *Henry* the ſeuenth, vſed to *Galeacius Butrigarius* the Popes Legate in *Spaine*, and reported by the ſayd Legate in this ſort.

This diſcourſe is taken out of the ſecond volume of ÿ voyages of Baptiſta Ramuſius.

Sebaſtian Cabota Pilot mayor of Spaine.

DOe you not vnderſtand ſayd he (ſpeaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to paſſe to India toward the Northweſt, as did of late a citizen of Venice, ſo valiant a man, and ſo well practiſed in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the ſcience of Coſmographie, that at this preſent he hath not his like in Spaine, inſomuch that for his vertues he is preferred aboue all other pilots that ſaile to the Weſt Indies, who may not paſſe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we ſayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, ſaying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and deſirous to haue ſome knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebaſtian Cabot, who had the charge of thoſe things, being an expert man in that ſcience, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and that by this report, ſeeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle perſon, who intertained him friendly, and ſhewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Nauigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he ſpake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres ſince to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandiſes, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuertheleſſe ſome knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Chriſtopher Colonus Genueſe had diſcouered the coaſts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, inſomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine then humane, to ſaile by the Weſt into the Eaſt where ſpices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increaſed in my heart a great flame of deſire to attempt ſome notable thing. And vnderſtanding by reaſon of the Sphere, that if I ſhould ſaile by way of the Northweſt, I ſhould by a ſhorter tract come into India, I thereupon cauſed the King to be aduertiſed of my deuiſe, who immediatly commanded two Caruels to bee furniſhed with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to ſaile toward the Northweſt, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great diſpleaſure. Neuertheleſſe, ſayling along by the coaſt to ſee if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande ſtill continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And ſeeing that there the coaſt turned toward the Eaſt, deſpairing to finde the paſſage, I turned backe againe, and ſailed downe by the coaſt of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the ſaide paſſage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reaſon whereof there was no more conſideration had to this voyage.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertiſed what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furniſhed certaine ſhips, wherewith they cauſed me to ſaile to diſcouer the coaſtes of Braſile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this preſent Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of ſiluer, into the which I ſailed and followed it into the firme land, more then ſixe ſcore leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ſhips. Into this Riuer runne ſo many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

The ſecond voyage of Cabot to the land of Braſil, and Rio de plata.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue my ſelfe to reſt from ſuch trauels, becauſe there are nowe many yong and luſtie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whoſe forwardneſſe I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and reſt with the charge of this office, as you ſee.

The office of Pilote maior.

The foreſaide *Baptiſta Ramuſius* in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of *Sebaſtian Cabot*.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier a Briton, who ſailed vnto the land ſituate in 50. degrees of Latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not throughly knowen, whether they doe ioyne with the firme land of Florida and Noua Hiſpania, or whether they bee ſeparated and deuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres paſt it was written vnto mee by Sebaſtian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Coſmographie, who ſailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the ſeuenth king of England: and he aduertiſed mee, that hauing ſailed a long time Weſt and by North, beyond thoſe Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of Iune finding ſtill the open Sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue paſſed on ſtill the way to Cathaia, which is in the Eaſt, and would haue done it, if the mu-

The great probabilitie of this Northweſt paſſage.

tinie of the ſhipmaſter and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it ſeemeth that God doeth yet ſtill reſerue this great enterpriſe for ſome great prince to diſcouer this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the moſt eaſie and ſhorteſt of all other wayes hitherto found out. And ſurely this enterpriſe would be the moſt glorious, and of moſt importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all theſe great troubles and warres which dayly are vſed in Europe among the miſerable Chriſtian people.

Another teſtimonie of the voyage of *Sebaſtian Cabot* to the Weſt and Northweſt, taken out of the ſixt Chapter of the third Decade of *Peter Martyr* of *Angleria*.

SCrutatus eſt oras glaciales Sebaſtianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, ſed à parentibus in Britanniam inſulam tendentibus (vti moris eſt Venetorum, qui commercij cauſa terrarum omnium ſunt hoſpites) tranſportatus penè infans. Duo is ſibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipſa inſtruxit, & primò tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio menſe vaſtas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere & occidentem ſequi: tetendítque tantum ad meridiem littore ſeſe incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus ęquarit: ad occidentémque profectus tantum eſt vt Cubam Inſulam à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrens, quæ Baccalaos appellauit, eoſdem ſe reperiſſe aquarum, ſed lenes delapſus ad Occidentem ait, quos Caſtellani, meridionales ſuas regiones adnauigantes, inueniunt. Ergò non modò veriſimilius, ſed neceſſario concludendum eſt, vaſtos inter vtrámque ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulſu cœlorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terrę globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, abſorberíque vt nonnulli ſenſerunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forſan aſſentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipſe terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earũ pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piſcium, tynnos æmulantium, ſic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrſorum ineſſe regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipſi piſcibus veſcantur. Inter denſa namque piſcium illorum agmina ſeſe immergunt vrſi, & ſingulos ſinguli complexos, vnguibúſque inter ſquammas immiſſis in terram raptant, & comedunt. Propterea minimè noxios hominibus viſos eſſe ait. Orichalcum in pleriſque locis ſe vidiſſe apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipſum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege noſtro Catholico, poſt Henrici Maioris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noſter eſt, expectátque indies, vt nauigia ſibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens iam tandem detegatur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THeſe North Seas haue bene ſearched by one Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents caried with them into England, hauing occaſion to reſort thither for trade of marchandiſe, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnſearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furniſhed two ſhips in England at his owne charges, and firſt with 300 men directed his courſe ſo farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monſtrous heapes of ice ſwimming on the ſea, and in maner continuall day light, yet ſaw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus ſeeing ſuch heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his ſailes and follow the Weſt, ſo coaſting ſtill by the ſhore, that he was thereby brought ſo farre into the South, by reaſon of the land bending ſo much Southwards, that it was there almoſt equall in latitude, with the ſea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the ſame degree. He ſailed likewiſe in this tract ſo farre towards the Weſt, that hee had the Iſland of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the ſame degree of longitude. As hee trauiled by the coaſtes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he ſaith that hee found the like courſe of the waters toward the Weſt, but the ſame to runne more ſoftly and gently then the ſwift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southward. Wherfore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought alſo

A current toward the Weſt.

alſo of neceſſitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknowen, there ſhould be certaine great open places whereby the waters ſhould thus continually paſſe from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt: which waters I ſuppoſe to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the vnceſſant mouing and impulſion of the heauens, and not to bee ſwallowed vp and caſt vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as ſome haue imagined, becauſe they ſee the ſeas by increaſe and decreaſe to ebbe and flowe. Sebaſtian Cabot himſelfe named thoſe lands Baccalaos, becauſe that in the Seas thereabout hee found ſo great multitudes of certaine bigge fiſhes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they ſometime ſtayed his ſhippes. He found alſo the people of thoſe regions couered with beaſtes ſkinnes, yet not without the vſe of reaſon. He alſo ſaith there is great plentie of Beares in thoſe regions which vſe to eate fiſh: for plunging themſelues into ẏ water, where they perceiue a multitude of theſe fiſhes to lie, they faſten their clawes in their ſcales, and ſo draw them to land and eate them, ſo (as he ſaith) the Beares being thus ſatiſfied with fiſh, are not noiſome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of theſe Regions he ſaw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vſe familiarly, and delight to haue him ſometimes keepe mee company in mine owne houſe. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Caſtile, after the death of King Henry the ſeuenth of that name King of England, he was made one of our councill and Aſſiſtants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ſhips dayly to be furniſhed for him to diſcouer this hid ſecret of Nature.

The people of Iſland ſay the Sea and yce ſetteth alſo Weſt. Ionas Arngrimus.

Copper found in many places by Cabote.

The teſtimonie of *Francis Lopez de Gomara* a *Spaniard*, in the fourth Chapter of the ſecond Booke of his generall hiſtory of the Weſt *Indies* concerning the firſt diſcouerie of a great part of the Weſt *Indies*, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by *Sebaſtian Cabota* out of *England*.

HE which brought moſt certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, ſaith Gomara, was Sebaſtian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ſhips at the coſt of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great deſire to traffique for the ſpices as the Portingals did. He caried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Iſland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himſelfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was ſo cold, and the ice ſo great, that hee durſt not paſſe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that ſhort night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the Weſt, refreſhing himſelfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he ſailed along the coaſt vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he ſhaped his courſe to returne into England.

A note of *Sebaſtian Cabots* firſt diſcouerie of part of the *Indies* taken out of the latter part of *Robert Fabians* Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the cuſtodie of *M. Iohn Stow* a diligent preſeruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himſelfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the ſame, as by a Sea card and other demonſtrations reaſonable he ſhewed) the king cauſed to man and victuall a ſhip at Briſtow, to ſearch for an Iland, which he ſaid hee knew well was rich, and repleniſhed with great commodities: Which ſhippe thus manned and victualled at the kings coſt, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her ſmall ſtocks, being in her as chiefe patron the ſaid Venetian. And in the company of the ſaid ſhip, ſailed alſo out of Briſtow three or foure ſmall ſhips fraught with ſleight and groſſe marchandizes, as courſe cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And ſo departed from Briſtow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Cabots voyage from Briſtol wherein he diſcouered Newfound land, & the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence as farre almoſt as Florida.

Of three Sauages which *Cabot* brought home and preſented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne, mentioned by the foreſaid *Robert Fabian*.

THis yeere alſo were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Iland that before I ſpake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: Theſe were clothed in beaſts ſkins, & did eate raw fleſh, and ſpake ſuch ſpeach that no man could vnderſtand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beaſtes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I ſaw two apparelled after the maner of Engliſhmen in Weſtminſter pallace, which that time I could not diſcerne from Engliſhmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for ſpeach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

A briefe extract concerning the diſcouerie of *Newfound-land*, taken out of the booke of *M. Robert Thorne*, to doctor *Leigh*, &c.

I Reaſon, that as ſome ſickeneſſes are hereditarie, ſo this inclination or deſire of this diſcouery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Briſtol named Hugh Eliot, were the diſcouerers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the Mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the Weſt Indies, from whence all the golde commeth, had bene ours; for all is one coaſt as by the Card appeareth, and is aforeſaid.

The large penſion granted by K. Edward the 6. to *Sebaſtian Cabota*, conſtituting him *grand Pilot* of *England.*

EDwardus ſextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, ad quos præſentes hæ literæ noſtræ peruenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos in conſideratione boni & acceptabilis ſeruitij, nobis per dilectum ſeruientem noſtrum Sebaſtianum Cabotam impenſi atque impendendi, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia, & mero motu noſtro, nec non de aduiſamento, & conſenſu pręclariſſimi auunculi noſtri Edwardi Ducis Somerſeti perſonæ noſtrę Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, ſubditorúmque noſtrorum protectoris, & cæterorum conſiliariorũ noſtrorum, dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus, & concedimus eidem Sebaſtiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem ſiue annualem reditum, centum ſexaginta & ſex librarum, treſdecim ſolidorum, & quatuor denariorum ſterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam, & annuatìm percipiendam prædictam annuitatem, ſiue annalem reditum eidem Sebaſtiano Cabotę, durante vita ſua naturali, de theſauro noſtro ad receptum ſcacarij noſtri Weſtmonaſterij per manus theſaurariorum, & Camerariorum noſtrorum, ibidem pro tempore exiſtentium, ad feſta annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, natiuitatis ſancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones ſoluendam. Et vlteriùs de vberiori gratia noſtra, ac de aduiſamento, & conſenſu prædictis damus, & per pręſentes concedimus pręfato Sebaſtiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum ſummas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas ſiue annalis reditus centum ſexaginta ſex librarũ, treſdecim ſolidorum, & quatuor denariorũ, à feſto ſancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimò præterito huc vſq; ſe extendit, & attingit, habendas & recipiendas pręfato Sebaſtiano Cabotæ & aſſignatis ſuis de theſauro noſtro prædicto per manus prędictorum Theſaurariorum, & Camerariorum noſtrorum de dono noſtro abſque computo, ſeu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel ſucceſſoribus noſtris proinde reddendo, ſoluendo, vel faciendo: eo quòd expreſſa mentio, &c. In cuius rei teſtimonium, &c. Teſte Rege, apud Weſtmonaſterium 6. die Ianuarij, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi ſexti. Anno D. 1549.

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDward the ſixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Chriſtian people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, ſendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in conſideration of the good and acceptable ſeruice done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued ſeruant Sebaſtian Cabota, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduiſe and counſel of our moſt honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerſet gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and ſubiects, and of the reſt of our Counſaile, haue giuen & granted, and by theſe preſents do giue and graunt to the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundreth, threeſcore & ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings foure pence ſterling, to haue, enioy, and yerely receiue the foreſaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foreſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treaſurie at the receit of our Exchequer at Weſtminſter, at the hands of our Treaſurers & paymaſters, there remayning for the time being, at the feaſts of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, S. Michael yͤ Archangel, & the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more ſpeciall grace, and by the aduiſe and conſent aforeſaide wee doe giue, and by theſe preſents doe graunt vnto the aforeſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſo many, and ſo great ſummes of money as the ſaide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, threeſcore and ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings 4. pence, doeth amount and riſe vnto from the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel laſt paſt vnto this preſent time, to be had and receiued by the aforeſaid Sebaſtian Cabota, and his aſſignes out of our aforeſaid Treaſurie, at the handes of our aforeſaide Treaſurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing elſe therefore to be yeelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, foraſmuch as herein expreſſe mention is made to the contrary.

In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patents: Witneſſe the King at Weſtminſter the ſixt day of Ianuarie, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

A diſcourſe written by *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* Knight, to proue a paſſage by the Northweſt to *Cathaia*, and the Eaſt *Indies*.

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Capitulo 7.

To proue that theſe Indians came by the Northweſt, which induceth a certaintie of this paſſage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What ſeueral reaſons were alleaged before the Queenes Maieſtie, and certaine Lords of her Highneſſe priuie Council, by M. Anth. Ienkinſon a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to proue this paſſage by the Northeaſt, with my ſeuerall anſweres then alleaged to the ſame.

Capitulo 9.

How that this paſſage by the Northweſt is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeaſt, if there were any ſuch.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would enſue, this paſſage being once diſcouered.

To proue by authoritie a paſſage to be on the Northſide of *America*, to goe to *Cathaia*, and the Eaſt *India*.

Chapter 1.

WHen I gaue my ſelfe to the ſtudie of Geographie, after I had peruſed and diligently ſcanned the deſcriptions of Europe, Aſia & Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all deſcriptions I found to bee an Iland enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southſide of it the frete or ſtraight of Magellan, on the Weſt ſide Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, ſeparating it from the Eaſt parts of Aſia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the Eaſt part our Weſt Ocean, and on the

North ſide the ſea that ſeuereth it from Groneland, thorow which Northren Seas the Paſſage lyeth, which I take now in hand to diſcouer.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, diſcourſeth of an incomparable great Iſland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Aſia, which lay Weſtward from the Straightes of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming alſo that the Princes of Atlantis did aſwell enioy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the moſt part of Europe, as of Atlantis it ſelfe.

Alſo to proue Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinæus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraued with the Image of Auguſtus Cæſar: which pieces were ſent to the Pope for a teſtimonie of the matter, by Iohn Ruſus Archbiſhop of Conſentinum.

Proclus pag. 24.

Iuſtine Lib. 4.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marſilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philoſopher, Crantor the Græcian, and Proclus, and Philo the famous Iew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato) to be ouerflowen and ſwallowed vp with water, by reaſon of a mightie earthquake, and ſtreaming downe of the heauenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto ſome part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iuſtine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Alſo there chanced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders.

Plinie,

And alſo the Cities of Pyrrha and Antiſſa, about Meotis palus: and alſo the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian boſome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene ſwallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be diſcerned: By which accident America grew to be vnknowen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately diſcouered againe, by Americus Veſpucius, in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which ſome ſay to haue bene firſt diſcouered by Chriſtophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

The ſame calamitie happened vnto this Iſle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which ſome of the people of the Southeaſt parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vſuall moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in theſe our dayes there can no other mayne or Iſlande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then thoſe Weſterne Iſlands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

A minore ad maius.

Then, if when no part of the ſayd Atlantis was oppreſſed by water, and earthquake, the coaſts round about the ſame were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the ſame by the Northweſt, ſeeing the moſt part of it was (ſince that time) ſwallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the olde deeps and chanels, but rather, be an occaſion of the inlarging of the olde, and alſo an inforcing of a great many new: why then ſhould we now doubt of our Northweſt paſſage and nauigation from England to India? &c. ſeeing that Atlantis now called America, was euer knowen to be an Iland, and in thoſe dayes nauigable round about, which by acceſſe of more water could not be diminiſhed.

Alſo Ariſtotle in his booke De mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus in his annotations vpon the ſame, ſaith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifeſtly doth appeare, Aſia, Africk, and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Iland, compaſſed about with the reach of the ſea Atlantine: which likewiſe prooueth America to be an Iland, and in no part adioyning to Aſia, or the reſt.

Strabo lib. 15.

Alſo many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean ſea (which lieth Eaſt of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that ſea alſo on the Weſt coaſts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the diſtance betweene the two coaſts is almoſt halfe the compaſſe of the earth.

Valerius Anſelmus in Catalogo annorum & principum. fol. 6, Gen. 9. 10.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifeſtly, that the Eaſt Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the ſea adioyning to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the ſame mountaine: but that thoſe ſeas and the mountaine Atlas were ſo called of this great Iland Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memoriall of the mighty prince Atlas, ſometime king thereof, who was Iaphet yongeſt ſonne to Noah, in whoſe time the whole earth was diuided betweene the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northweſt will be found fauourable to this our enterpriſe, and am the rather imboldened to beleeue the ſame, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Ariſtotle, and other ancient Phyloſophers: but alſo by all the beſt moderne

Geographers, as Gemma Friſius, Munſterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gaſtaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramaſinus, Franciſcus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauaſor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and alſo Ortelius, who doth coaſt out in his generall Mappe ſet out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northweſt ſide of America, from Hochelaga to Cape de Paramantia: deſcribing likewiſe the ſea coaſtes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Iſlands diſioyned by a great ſea, from any part of Aſia.

All which learned men and painefull trauellers haue affirmed with one conſent and voice, that America was an Iſland: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with ſmall danger paſſe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the Eaſt, in much ſhorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the neereſt parte of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moued theſe learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende ſo many and ſundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the ſame: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue ſo conſtantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cauſe, and many probable reaſons, to haue lead them thereunto.

We ought by reaſon right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

Now leaſt you ſhould make ſmall accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongſt fables of no importance: I haue for the better aſſurance of thoſe prooſes, ſet downe ſome part of a diſcourſe, written in the Saxon tongue, and tranſlated into Engliſh by M. Nowel ſeruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treaſurer of England, wherein there is deſcribed a Nauigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, King of Weſtſaxe Anno 871, the wordes of which diſcourſe were theſe: Hee ſailed right North, hauing alwaies the deſert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine ſea, continuing his courſe, vntill hee perceiued that the coaſt bowed directly towards the Eaſt, or elſe the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to ſtay vntil he had a weſterne winde, or ſomewhat vpon the North, and ſayled thence directly Eaſt alongſt the coaſt, ſo farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, becauſe the coaſt there bowed directly towards the South, or at leaſt opened he knew not howe farre into the land, ſo that he ſayled thence along the coaſt continually full South, ſo farre as he could trauell in the ſpace of fiue dayes, where hee diſcouered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

A Nauigation of one Octher made in king Alfreds time.

A perfect deſcription of our Moſcouia voyage.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very ſame way, that we now doe yeerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moſcouia, which way no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by ſea, vntil it was ſince diſcouered by our Engliſh men, in the time of King Edward the ſixt: but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new diſcouery, being nothing ſo indeede, as by this diſcourſe of Ochther it appeareth.

By Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chancellor and Borough.

Neuertheleſſe if any man ſhould haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he ſhould haue bene thought but ſimple: conſidering that this Nauigation was written ſo many yeres paſt, in ſo barbarous a tongue by one onely obſcure author, and yet we in theſe our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeue this paſſage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the beſt, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainely ſet out in the beſt and moſt allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Coſmographical tables & diſcourſes of this our age, and by the reſt not denied, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To prooue by reaſon, a paſſage to be on the Northſide of *America*, to goe to *Cataia*, &c.

Chap. 3.

First, all ſeas are maintained by the abundance of water, ſo that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay or Hauen is, the ſhallower it waxeth, (although by ſome accidentall barre, it is ſometime found otherwiſe) But the farther you ſayle Weſt from Iſland towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the ſeas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the ſame Sea with Mar del Sur, by ſome fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

Experimented by our Engliſh fiſhers.

2 Alſo if that America were not an Iſland, but a part of ẏ continent adioyning to Aſia, either

the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, & Quinzay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time haue made ſome road into it, hoping to haue found ſome like cõmodities to their owne.

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore haue ſought farre and neere for new ſeats, driuen thereunto through the neceſſitie of their cold and miſerable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the ſame, had the paſſages bene neuer ſo ſtraite or difficult; the countrey being ſo temperate, pleaſant and fruitfull, in compariſon of their owne. But there was neuer any ſuch people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who firſt diſcouered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen muſt then of neceſſitie haue ſeene ſome one ciuil man in America, conſidering how full of ciuill people Aſia is: But they neuer ſaw ſo much as one token or ſigne, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reaſon of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Aſia if it were ſo ioyned: yet ſome one ſauage or wandring beaſt would in ſo many yeres haue paſſed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beaſts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c, in America: nor of thoſe proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Aſia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Iſland, and in no part adioyning to Aſia: But alſo that the people of thoſe Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreouer at the leaſt ſome one of thoſe painefull trauellers, which of purpoſe haue paſſed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to diſcouer, would as it is moſt likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Iſthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared ſome cauſe to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus, who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the ſea coaſtes of Mangia, ouer againſt it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Nauigation along thoſe ſeas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciſcus Vaſques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Aſia.

The Sea hath three motions.
1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem.
2 Motum fluxus & refluxus.
3 Motum circularem.
Ad cœli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.

7 Alſo it appeareth to be an Iſland, inſomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the Eaſt to the Weſt, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aſwel celeſtiall as elemental: which motion of the waters is moſt euidently ſeene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southſide of Afrike, where the current that runneth from the Eaſt to the Weſt is ſo ſtrong (by reaſon of ſuch motiõ) that the Portugals in their voyages Eaſtward to Calicut, in paſſing by Cap. de buona Sperança are inforced to make diuers courſes, the current there being ſo ſwift as it ſtriketh from thence all along Weſtward vpon the fret of Magellan, being diſtant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth: and not hauing free paſſage and entrance thorow the fret towards the Weſt, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to ſalue this wrong (Nature not yeelding to accidentall reſtraints) all along the Eaſterne coaſtes of America, Northwards ſo far as Cape Fredo, being the fartheſt knowne place of the ſame continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithal the trending of the land.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with ſuch force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the ſame being at Baccalaos, as he ſayled along the coaſtes of America, then either it muſt of neceſſitie haue way to paſſe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Weſtward towards Cataia, being knowen to come ſo farre, onely to ſalue his former wrongs, by the authoritie before named: or els it muſt needes ſtrike ouer, vpon the coaſt of Iſland, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are Eaſt from the ſayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coaſtes Iaques Cartier met with the ſame, conſidering the ſhortneſſe of the Cut from the ſayd Cape Fredo, to Iſland, Lappia, &c. And ſo the cauſe Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coaſts, through the narrow ſeas, which it doth not, but is diſgeſted about the North of Labrador, by ſome through paſſage there thorow this fret.

Poſita cauſa, ponitur effectus.

Contarenus.

The like courſe of the water in ſome reſpect happeneth in the Mediterrane ſea (as affirmeth Conterenus) wheras the current which commeth from Tanais, & Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coaſts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding ſufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the ſtraitneſſe of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coaſtes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this courſe of the ſea doth ſometime ſurceaſe, and thereby impugne this principle, becauſe it is not diſcerned all along the coaſt of America, in ſuch ſort as Iaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I anſwere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coaſt of America, or elſwhere this current is not ſenſibly perceiued, yet it hath euermore ſuch like motion, either in the vppermoſt or nethermoſt part of the ſea: as it may be proued true, if ye ſinke a ſayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, faſtening to the nethermoſt corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you ſhall plainely perceiue, the courſe of the water, and current, running with ſuch courſe in the bottome.

An obiection anſwered.

The ſea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua ſuperficie aquæ.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the ſea, in the Ocean: howe farre ſoeuer you be off the land.

9 Alſo there commeth another current from out the Northeaſt from the Scythian Sea (as M. Ienkinſon a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me) which runneth Weſtward towardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: ſo that both theſe currents, muſt haue way thorow this out fret, or elſe encounter together and runne contrarie courſes, in one line, but no ſuch conflicts of ſtreames, or contrary courſes are found about any part of Labrodor, or Terra noua, as witneſſe our yeerely fiſhers, and other ſaylers that way, but is there diſgeſted, as aforeſayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

The yce ſet weſtward euery yeere from Iſland. Auth. Iona Angrimo.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not beene ſome thorow paſſage by the fret aforeſayd, and ſo by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it ſelfe: For the Tides and courſes of the ſea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as freſh riuers are by ſprings, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condenſation.

So that it reſteth not poſſible (ſo farre as my ſimple reaſon can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reacceſſe of the ſame water, which paſſeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by ſuch circular motion as aforeſayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is prooued by the teſtimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was ſent from P. de la Natiuidad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania, which Bernard ſayled 750. Leagues, on the Northſide of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeaſt the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.

The flowing is occaſioned by reaſon that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.

An experience to prooue the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.

Wherfore, this current being proued to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting ſufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the ſtraite, is by the neceſſitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the ſame, and thence certainly knowen, not to ſtrike ouer vpon Iſland, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backeſide of America: therefore this current (hauing none other paſſage) muſt of neceſſity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and ſo trending by the Moluccæ, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it ſelfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidenteem.

So that it ſeemeth, we haue now more occaſion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a paſſage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter ſhall be ſufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reaſon it ſelf, grounded vpon experience, aſſureth vs of this paſſage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But leaſt theſe might not ſuffice, I haue added in this chapter following, ſome further proofe hereof, by the experience of ſuch as haue paſſed ſome part of this diſcouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of thoſe, which haue ſailed wholy, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of ſundry mens trauels, the opening of ſome part of this Northweſt paſſage: wherby good hope remaineth of the reſt.

Chap. 3.

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee ſayled 1500 miles vpon the coaſtes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeaſt: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but alſo as farre as he could diſcerne.

2 Alſo Franciſcus Vaſques de Coronado paſſing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the countrey of Quinira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great ſea, where were certaine ſhips laden

Alcatrarzi be Pellicanes.

with Merchandiſe, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of ſiluer, who ſignified by ſignes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewiſe proueth America by experience to be diſioyned from Cataia, on that part by a great Sea, becauſe they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that, ſo farre as is diſcouered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Baros lib. 9. Of his firſt Decas cap. 1.

3 In like maner, Iohn Baros teſtifieth that the Coſmographers of China (where he himſelfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coaſt trendeth from thence Northeaſt, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furtheſt part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the ſaid Coſmographers knew no cauſe to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whoſe experiences America is prooued to be ſeparate from thoſe parts of Aſia, directly againſt the ſame. And not contented with the iudgements of theſe learned men only, I haue ſearched what might be further ſayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciſcus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Iſland, and likewiſe Gronland: and that Gronland is diſtant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Coſmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into thoſe parts, and ſayled 900 miles vpon the Northeaſt coaſtes of America doe in part confirme the ſame.

6 Likewiſe Hieronymus Fracaſtorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the ſame land.

7 Alſo Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard ſay at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they preſuppoſed to be the paſſage to Cataia,

Written in the diſcourſes of Nauigation.

Furthermore, Sebaſtian Cabota by his perſonal experience and trauel hath ſet foorth, and deſcribed this paſſage in his Charts, which are yet to be ſeene in the Queens Maieſties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was ſent to make this diſcouery by king Henrie the ſeuenth, and entred the ſame fret: affirming that he ſayled very farre Weſtward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northſide of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas ſtill open, ſayd, that he might, & would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Maſter and Mariners had not bene.

Now as theſe mens experience hath proued ſome part of this paſſage: ſo the chapter following ſhal put you in full aſſurance of the reſt, by their experiences which haue paſſed through euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumſtance that the Northweſt paſſage hath bene ſayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

Quinque ſenſus.
1 Viſus.
2 Auditus.
3 Olfactus.
4 Guſtus.
5 Tactus.
Singularia ſenſu, vniuerſalia verò mente percipiuntur.

The diuerſitie betweene bruite beaſtes and men, or betweene the wiſe and the ſimple is, that the one iudgeth by ſenſe onely, and gathereth no ſurety of any thing that he hath not ſeene, felt, heard, taſted, or ſmelled: And the other not ſo onely, but alſo findeth the certaintie of things by reaſon, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added prooſes of both ſorts, that the one and the other might thereby be ſatiſfied.

1 Firſt, as Gemma Friſius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this paſſage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Alſo Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Chriſt) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempeſt, vpon the coaſt of Germanie which were preſented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconſull of France.

Lib. 2. cap. 66.

3 And Plinie vpon the ſame ſayth, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is ſuch abundance of moiſture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable paſſage that way, through which thoſe Indians came.

Pag. 590.

4 And for the better proofe that the ſame authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wreſted, to proue my opinion of the Northweſt paſſage: you ſhall finde the ſame affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who ſheweth how many wayes the Indian ſea ſtretcheth it ſelfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewiſe driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coaſtes of Germany, by

great tempeſt, as they were ſayling in trade of marchandize.

5 Alſo while Frederic Barbaroſſa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coaſt of Germanie.

6 Likewiſe Othon in the ſtorie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were alſo certaine Indians caſt by force of weather, vpon the coaſt of the ſayd countrey, which foreſaid Indians could not poſſibly haue come by the Southeaſt, Southweſt, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeaſt: therefore they came of neceſſitie by this our Northweſt paſſage.

Auouched by Franciſcus Lopes de Gomara in his hiſtorie of India, lib. 1. cap. 10.

To prooue that theſe Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeaſt, Southweſt, nor from any other part of *Afrike*, or *America*.

Cap. 5.

First, they could not come from the Southeaſt by the Cape de bona Sperança, becauſe the roughnes of the Seas there is ſuch (occaſioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greateſt Armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty paſſe that way, much leſſe then a Canoa of India could liue in thoſe outragious ſeas without ſhipwracke (being a veſſell of very ſmall burden) and haue conducted themſelues to the place aforeſayd, being men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

2 Alſo, it appeareth plainely that they were not able to come from alongſt the coaſt of Afrike aforeſayd, to thoſe parts of Europe, becauſe the winds doe (for the moſt part) blow there Eaſterly off from the ſhore, and the current running that way in like ſort, ſhould haue driuen them Weſtward vpon ſome part of America: for ſuch winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thẽce to the ſaid place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforeſayd, keeping the ſeas alwayes, without ſkilful mariners to haue conducted them ſuch like courſes as were neceſſary to performe ſuch a voiage.

3 Preſuppoſing alſo, if they had bene driuen to the Weſt (as they muſt haue bene, comming that way) then they ſhould haue periſhed, wanting ſupplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coaſt of Afrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America vntill they arriued vpon ſome part of Europe, or the Iſlands adioyning to it, to haue refreſhed themſelues.

4 Alſo, if (notwithſtanding ſuch impoſſibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeaſt, yet muſt they without all doubt haue ſtriken vpon ſome other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Iſles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they ſhould or would haue departed vndiſcouered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in thoſe dayes any ſuch ſhip or men but only vpon the coaſts of Germanie, where they haue bene ſundry times and in ſundry ages caſt aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themſelues againe to ſea, if they had ſo arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

5 And by the Southweſt it is vnpoſſible, becauſe the current aforeſayd which cõmeth from the Eaſt, ſtriketh with ſuch force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with ſuch ſwiftneſſe and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ſhip (but not poſſibly a Canoa, with ſuch vnſkilfull mariners) can come into our Weſterne Ocean through that fret, from the Weſt ſeas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

This firſt reaſon by later experiẽce is proued vtterly vntrue.

6 And further, to prooue that theſe people ſo arriuing vpon the coaſt of Germany, were Indians, & not inhabiters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifeſt, becauſe the natiues both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then ſuch as do beare neither maſtes nor ſailes, (except onely vpon the coaſts of Barbarie and the Turkes ſhips) but do carie themſelues from place to place neere the ſhore by the ore onely.

That the Indians could not be natiues either of Africa, or of America.

To prooue that thoſe Indians came not by the Northeaſt, and that there is no thorow nauigable paſſage that way.

Cap. 6.

It is likely that there ſhould be no thorow paſſage by the Northeaſt, whereby to goe round about the world, becauſe all Seas (as aforeſayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more ſhallow and ſhelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the Eaſt, which breedeth ſmall hope of any great continuance of that ſea, to be nauigable towards the Eaſt, ſufficient to ſaile thereby round about the world.

Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citiſſimè corrumpitur.

Qualis cauſa talis effectus.

2 Alſo, it ſtandeth ſcarcely with reaſon, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zona, could endure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the paſſage by the Northeaſt cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it ſheweth) ſeeing that ſome of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whoſe Summer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene ſtroken to death with the cold damps of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental miſhap, and yet the aire in ſuch like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold for ſuch as the Indians are.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the groſſe thicke aire ſo neere the Pole wil ſo ſtiffen and furre the ſailes and ſhip tackling, that no mariner can either hoiſe or ſtrike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this paſſage is preſuppoſed to be, hath taught vs) without the vſe whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Alſo, the aire is ſo darkened with continuall miſts and fogs ſo neere the Pole, that no man can well ſee, either to guide his ſhip, or direct his courſe.

5 Alſo the compaſſe at ſuch eleuation doth very ſuddenly vary, which things muſt of force haue bene their deſtructions, although they had bene men of much more ſkill then the Indians are.

Similium ſimilis eſt ratio.

6 Moreouer, all baies, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increaſe vpon the flood, ſenſibly to be diſcerned on the one ſide of the ſhore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main ſea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Perſicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thameſis, and all other knowen hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the meine ſea, doe likewiſe receiue their increaſe vpon the flood the ſame way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the Weſt; as M. Ienkinſon affirmed vnto me: and therfore it followeth that this Northeaſt ſea, receiuing increaſe but onely from the Weſt, cannot poſſibly open to the maine Ocean by the Eaſt.

7 Moreouer, the farther you paſſe into any ſea towards the end of it, on that part which is ſhut vp from the maine ſea (as in all thoſe aboue mentioned) the leſſe and leſſe the tides riſe and fall. The like whereof alſo happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which prooueth but ſmall continuance of that Sea toward the Eaſt.

8 Alſo, the further yee goe toward the Eaſt in Mare Glaciale, the leſſe ſalt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the ſalt Sea towards the Eaſt, as it is to the Weſt onely, ſeeing Euery thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then muſt it be like ſalt throughout, as all the ſeas are, in ſuch like climate and eleuation.

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

Omne ſimile gignit ſui ſimile.

And therefore it ſeemeth that this Northeaſt ſea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and ſuch like freſſhets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermoſt parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius Neper, Tanais, &c.

9 Furthermore, if there were any ſuch ſea at that eleuation, of like it ſhould be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) becauſe the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the vppermoſt part, and the extreme coldneſſe of the earth in the bottome, the ſea there being but of ſmall depth, whereby the one accidentall coldneſſe doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection ſo neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can neuer be diſſolued after it is frozen, notwithſtanding the great length of their day: for that the ſunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of ſufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile againſt this ice, yet muſt it be broken before it can be diſſolued, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the ſunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be ſo farre ſpent, and ſo great darkenes and cold enſue, that no man could be able to endure ſo cold, darke, and diſcomfortable a nauigation, if it were poſſible for him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the ice being once broken, it muſt of force ſo driue with the windes and tides, that no ſhip can ſaile in thoſe ſeas, ſeeing our Fiſhers of Iſland, and the New found land, are ſubiect to danger through the great Iſlands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the ſailers great danger) farre to the South of that preſuppoſed paſſage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeaſt paſſage ſhould be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it ſhould cut off Ciremiſſi, & Turbi Tartari, with Vzeſucani, Chiſani, and others from the Continent of Aſia, which are knowen to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the ſame Continent.

And if there were any thorowe paſſage by the Northeaſt, yet were it to ſmall ende and purpoſe for our traffique, becauſe no ſhippe of great burden can Nauigate in ſo ſhallow a Sea:

and ſhips of ſmall burden are very vnfit & vnprofitable, eſpecially towards the bluſtering North, to performe ſuch a voyage.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed, came only by the Northweſt, which induceth a certaintie of our paſſage by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northweſt, as it is vnlikely that they ſhould come either by the Southeaſt, Southweſt, Northeaſt, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northweſt paſſage hauing bene alreadie ſo many wayes prooued, by diſproouing of the others, &c. I ſhall the leſſe neede in this place, to vſe many words otherwiſe then to conclude in this ſort, That they came onely by the Northweſt from England, hauing theſe many reaſons to leade me thereunto.

1 Firſt, the one halfe of the windes of the compaſſe might bring them by the Northweſt, bearing alwayes betweene two ſheats, with which kind of ſayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vſe of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ſhip can poſſibly come either by the Southeaſt, Southweſt or Northeaſt, hauing ſo many ſundry Capes to double, whereunto are required ſuch change and ſhift of windes.

2 And it ſeemeth likely that they ſhould come by the Northweſt, becauſe the coaſt whereon they were driuen, lay Eaſt from this our paſſage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ſhip to an oppoſite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwiſe guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, & therefore it ſeemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

True, both in ventis obliquè flantibus, as alſo in ventis ex diametro ſpirantibus.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then muſt they (as aforeſaid) haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coaſts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeaſt, then vpon the coaſts of Ceremiſſi, Tartarij, Lappia, Iſland, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon theſe coaſts (as aforeſaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without ſhipwracke vpon the coaſtes of Germanie, if they had firſt ſtriken vpon the coaſtes of ſo many countries, wanting both Arte and ſhipping to make orderly diſcouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and alſo of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of thoſe parts of the world, which in moſt of theſe places are plentifull.

6 And further it ſeemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the moſt part of thoſe countries, by which they muſt haue come any other way beſides by the Northweſt, being for the moſt part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, ſlaine them, or (at the leaſt wiſe) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainely appeareth that thoſe Indians (which as you haue heard in ſundry ages were driuen by tempeſt vpon the ſhore of Germanie) came onely through our Northweſt paſſage.

7 Moreouer, the paſſage is certainely prooued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who paſſed through this fret, giuing name to a Promontorie farre within the ſame, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Poliſacus fluuius.

8 Alſo one Scolmus a Dane entred and paſſed a great part thereof.

9 Alſo there was one Saluaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the Weſt Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northweſt paſſage from vs to Cataia, conſtantly to be beleeued in America nauigable. And further ſaid in the preſence of ſir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northweſt paſſage, & ſhewed Saluaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly ſet downe and deſcribed this Northweſt paſſage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certainty) ſuch a paſſage Northweſt from England, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame: which done, the king moſt earneſtly deſired him not in any wiſe to diſcloſe or make the paſſage knowen to any nation: For that (ſaid the king) if *England* had knowledge

The words of the king of Portugall, to Andro Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northweſt paſſage from England to Cataia.

and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Saluaterra reported) was the greateſt Diſcouerer by ſea, that hath bene in our age. Alſo Saluaterra being perſwaded of this paſſage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered moſt willingly to accompanie me in this Diſcouery, which of like he would not haue done if he had ſtood in doubt thereof.

An obiection.

Ariſtotle lib. de mundo, cap. 2. Beroſus lib. 5.

And now as theſe moderne experiences cannot be impugned, ſo, leaſt it might be obiected that theſe things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote ſo many yeeres paſt) might ſerue litle to prooue this paſſage by the North of America, becauſe both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknowen: to remooue this doubt, let this ſuffiſe: That Ariſtotle (who was 300. yeeres before Chriſt) named Mare Indicum. Alſo Beroſus (who liued 330 yeres before Chriſt) hath theſe words, Ganges in India. Alſo in the firſt chapter of Heſter be theſe wordes, In the dayes of Aſſuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Aſſuerus liued 580 yeeres before Chriſt. Alſo Quintus Curtius (where he ſpeaketh of the conqueſts of Alexander) mentioneth India. Alſo, Arianus, Philoſtratus, and Sidrach in his diſcourſes of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the moſt part of India vnder his gouernment. All which aſſureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in thoſe dayes.

Theſe things conſidered, we may (in my opinion) not only aſſure our ſelues of this paſſage by the Northweſt, but alſo that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebaſtian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithſtanding all this, there be ſome that haue a better hope of this paſſage to Cataia by the Northeaſt then by the Weſt, whoſe reaſons with my ſeuerall anſweres enſue in the chapter following.

Certaine reaſons alleaged for the proouing of a paſſage by the Northeaſt, before the Queenes Maieſtie, and certaine Lords of the Counſell, by Master *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, with my ſeuerall anſweres then vſed to the ſame.

Cap. 8.

BEcauſe you may vnderſtand as well thoſe things alleaged againſt me, as what doth ſerue for my purpoſe, I haue here added the reaſons of Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon a worthy gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the paſſage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeaſt, then by the Northweſt.

The Northweſt paſſage aſſented vnto.

He firſt ſaid that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a paſſage by the Northweſt, according to mine opinion: but aſſured he was, that there might be found a nauigable paſſage by the Northeaſt from England, to goe to all the Eaſt parts of the world, which he endeuoured to prooue three wayes.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt was that he heard a Fiſherman of Tartaria ſay in hunting the Morce, that he ſayled very farre towards the Southeaſt, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow paſſage to be that way.

The anſwer or reſolution.

Whereunto I anſwered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vſe of the Sea Card, Compaſſe or Starre, which he confeſſed to be true: and therfore they could not (ſaid I) certainly know the Southeaſt from the Northeaſt, in a wide ſea, and a place vnknowen from the ſight of the land.

Or if he ſailed any thing neere the ſhore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongſt the ſhore.

Viſus nonnunquam fallitur in ſuo obiecto.

And further, it might be that the poore Fiſherman through ſimplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but ſea, becauſe he ſaw no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth ſmall aſſurance of a Nauigable ſea by the Northeaſt, to goe round about the world, For that he iudged by the eye onely, ſeeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

The ſecond reaſon or allegation.

His ſecond reaſon is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coaſt of Tartaria, which could not come (ſaid he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through ſome fret in the Northeaſt of Mare Glaciale, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Aſia, ſauing in India and Cataia: which reaſon (in my ſimple iudgement) forceth as litle.

The anſwer or reſolution.

Firſt, it is doubtfull whether thoſe barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it ſo farre, being of ſuch nature that it will not ſwimme.

Alſo the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is alſo a beaſt called Aſinus Indicus (whoſe horne moſt like it was) which hath but one horne like an Unicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts thereunto adioyning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zieglerus writeth in his hiſtorie of Scondia.

And as Albertus ſaieth, there is a fiſh which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it ſeemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicornes horne, yea, or no.

His third and laſt reaſon was, that there came a continuall ſtreame or current through Mare Glaciale, of ſuch ſwiftneſſe (as a Colmax told him) that if you caſt any thing therein, it would preſently be carried out of ſight towards the Weſt.

The third and laſt reaſon or aſſertion.

Whereunto I anſwered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Boſphorus, and along the coaſt of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the ſame: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freſhets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

The anſwer or reſolution.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increaſed and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reaſons alleaged, to prooue a paſſage to Cataia by the Northeaſt, with my ſeuerall anſweres thereunto: ſo will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or diſpaire of either at your pleaſure.

How that the paſſage by the Northweſt is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the Eaſt, if there were any ſuch.

Cap. 9.

FIrſt, by the Northeaſt (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous ſpeedie & luckie paſſage) you are in danger (being ſo neere the Pole) to be benighted almoſt the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue ſo long comfortleſſe, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reaſon or vnderſtanding may iudge.

2 Alſo Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccæ are neerer vnto vs by the Northweſt, then by the Northeaſt, more then two fiue parts, which is almoſt by the halfe.

Some doubt of this.

3 Alſo we may haue by the Weſt a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeaſt: the paſſage being at ſuch eleuation as it is formerly expreſſed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finiſhed without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well ſaile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moſcouia, and returne in the nauigable ſeaſon of the yeere, & from S. Nicholas to Cerimiſſi Tartari, which ſtande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the leaſt 400 leagues, which amounteth ſcarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeaſt.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeaſt according to your deſire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeaſt, you muſt ſaile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northweſt ſaile thither with all Eaſterly windes, and returne with any Weſterly windes, whereas you muſt haue by the Northeaſt ſundry windes, and thoſe proper, according to the lying of the coaſt and Capes, you ſhalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: wherby your iourney ſhould be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured ſo neere the Pole. As we are taught by ſir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we ſhould long inioy that trade by the Northeaſt, if there were any ſuch paſſage that way, the commodities thereof once knowen to the Moſcouite, what priuilege ſoeuer hee hath granted, ſeeing pollicy with the maſſe of exceſſiue gaine, to the inriching (ſo greatly) of himſelfe and all his dominions would perſwade him to preſume the ſame, hauing ſo great opportunitie to vtter the commodities of thoſe countries by the Narue.

But by the Northweſt, we may ſafely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince liuing, Chriſtian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Alſo the Queenes Maieſties dominions are neerer the Northweſt paſſage then any other great princes that might paſſe that way, and both in their going and returne, they muſt of neceſſitie ſuccour themſelues and their ſhips vpon ſome part of the ſame, if any tempeſtuous weather ſhould happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Maieſties nauie, as it is at this preſent: and yet it ſhould be greatly increaſed by the traffike inſuing vpon this diſcouerie, for it is the long voyages that increaſe and maintaine great ſhipping.

Now it ſeemeth neceſſarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all theſe things were, as we haue heretofore preſuppoſed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would enſue, this paſſage once diſcouered.

Cap. 10.

FIrſt, it were the onely way for our princes, to poſſeſſe the wealth of all the Eaſt parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conqueſt of India, and other the Eaſt parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull inriching to our prince, and an vnſpeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the ſhortneſſe of the voyage, we ſhould be able to ſell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we ſhould ſhare with the Portugall in the Eaſt, & the Spaniard in the Weſt, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Alſo we might ſayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iuriſdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, cloth of gold, ſilkes, all maner of ſpices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an ineſtimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4 Alſo we might inhabite ſome part of thoſe countreyes, and ſettle there ſuch needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly conſumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforeſaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our ſtaple ſome conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or ſome other part, wheras it ſhal ſeeme beſt for the ſhortning of the voyage.

6 Beſide vttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much eſteeme: as appeareth in Heſter, where the pompe is expreſſed of the great king of India, Aſſuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houſes and tents were apparelled, with gold and ſiluer, as part of his greateſt treaſure: not mentioning either veluets, ſilkes, cloth of gold, cloth of ſiluer, or ſuch like, being in thoſe countreyes moſt plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great eſtimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, ſo that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Alſo, here we ſhall increaſe both our ſhips and mariners, without burthening of the ſtate.

8 And alſo haue occaſion to ſet poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and ſuch like, which the Indians and thoſe people do much eſteeme: by reaſon whereof, there ſhould be none occaſion to haue our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and ſuch like idle perſons.

All theſe commodities would grow by following this our diſcouery, without iniury done to any Chriſtian prince, by croſſing them in any of their vſed trades, whereby they might take any iuſt occaſion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly ſhewed you ſome part of the grounds of mine opinion, truſting that you will no longer iudge me fantaſticke in this matter: ſeeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perſwaded thereunto by the beſt Coſmographers of our age, the ſame being confirmed both by reaſon and certaine experiences.

Alſo this diſcouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted, and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our

Lord God 1527. as Alphonſo Vllua teſtifieth in the ſtory of Carolus life: who would haue ſet him forth in it (as the ſtory mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reaſon of his long warres had not cauſed him to ſurceaſe the ſame.

And the king of Portugall fearing leaſt the Emperour would haue perſeuered in this his enterpriſe, gaue him, to leaue the matter vnattempted, the ſumme of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour ſuch ſummes of money for egges in mooneſhine.

This diſcouery offered.

It hath bene attempted by Sebaſtian Cabota in the time of king Henry the ſeuenth, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

This diſcouery attempted.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforeſaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

This diſcouery performed.

Alſo diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath ſent two or three times to haue diſcouered the ſame: The diſcouerers ſpending and conſuming their victuals in ſearching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now eaſily be found out in ſhort time: and that with litle ieoperdie and leſſe expences.

For America is diſcouered ſo farre towardes the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning is knowen to ſtand but at 72 degrees. So that wee haue but 10 degrees to ſaile North & South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not haue ſit out all this while, but that they are ſure to poſſeſſe to themſelues all that trade they now vſe, and feare to deale in this diſcouery, leaſt the Queenes Maieſtie hauing ſo good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might enſue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to her ſelfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, ſhould beate the buſh, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreſeeing, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, ſhould ſeeke to diſcouer to the Northweſt, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow paſſage that way by the Northweſt.

The labour of this diſcouerie ſhortned by other mens trauell.

Why ÿ kings of Spaine and Portugal would not perſeuer in this diſcouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterpriſe, with thoſe likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Caſtilia, to proue that there were ſuch Ilands in the Weſt Ocean, as were after by him and others diſcouered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northweſt paſſage to be moſt worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the Weſt Ilands ſet foorth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the ſame) from 942 yeeres before Chriſt, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himſelfe had neither ſeene America nor any other of the Ilands about it, neither vnderſtood he of them by the report of any other that had ſeene them, but only comforted himſelfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biſcaine, which ſhould haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a ſtranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biſcaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or (at the leaſt) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit my ſelfe haue not ſeene this paſſage or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers moſt credible men, which haue both ſeene and paſſed through ſome and euery part of this diſcouery, beſides ſundry reaſons for my aſſurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

Theſe things conſidered, & indifferently weighed togither, with the wonderfull commodities which this diſcouery may bring, eſpecially to this realme of England: I muſt needes conclude with learned Baptiſta Ramuſius, and diuers other learned men, who ſaid, that this diſcouery hath bene reſerued for ſome noble prince or woorthie man, thereby to make himſelfe rich, and the world happie: deſiring you to accept in good part this briefe and ſimple diſcourſe, written in haſte, which if I may perceiue that it ſhall not ſufficiently ſatiſfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large diſcourſe, which I haue written onely of this diſcouery.

And further, becauſe it ſufficeth not only to know that ſuch a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the ſame, I wil at leaſure make you partaker of another ſimple diſcourſe of nauigation, wherein I haue not a litle trauelled, to make my ſelfe as ſufficient to bring theſe things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my ſelfe therein.

And therein I haue deuiſed to amend the errors of vſuall ſea cards, whoſe common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bigneſſe.

And haue alſo deuiſed therein a Sphericall inſtrument, with a compaſſe of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a preciſe order to pricke the ſea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the ſhortning of any diſcouery, to know at the firſt entring of any fret, whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre ſoeuer the ſea ſtretcheth it ſelfe into the land.

Deſiring you hereafter neuer to miſlike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honeſt enterpriſe: for if through pleaſure or idleneſſe we purchaſe ſhame, the pleaſure vaniſheth, but the ſhame remaineth for euer.

Pereas qui vmbras times.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, ſhunneth his countries ſeruice, and his owne honour: ſeeing death is ineuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere ſperno.*

Certaine other reaſons, or arguments to prooue a paſſage by the Northweſt, learnedly written by M. *Richard Willes* Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be ſpoken of to thoſe fruitfull and wealthie Iſlands, which wee doe vſually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. Theſe Iſlands, although they ſtand Eaſt from the Meridian, diſtant almoſt halfe the length of the world, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, poſſeſſed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully ſought in reſpect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerouſly brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portugals in compariſon of the Molucchians for neereneſſe vnto vs, for like ſituation Weſtward as we haue, for their vſuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeaſterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well vnderſtood of all men, and the Southeaſterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more ſpoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may ſeeme needfull to diſcourſe thereof any further.

1 By the Southeaſt.

2 By the Southweſt.

The ſecond way lyeth Southweſt, betweene the Weſt India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow ſtraight where Magellan firſt of all men that euer we doe read of, paſſed theſe latter yeeres, leauing thereunto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiouſly take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Eaſterne current and leuant windes as eaſily ſuffer them to returne, as ſpeedily therwith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impoſſibility of ſtriuing againſt the force both of winde and ſtreame, this paſſage is litle or nothing vſed, although it be very well knowen.

This is an errour.

3 By the Northeaſt.

The third way by the Northeaſt, beyond all Europe and Aſia, that worthy and renowmed knight ſir Hugh Willoughbie ſought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way conſiſteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reaſon, or approoued by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythiſh Cape ſet by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely ſailing in that Northerne ſea alwayes clad with yce and ſnow, or at the leaſt continually peſtred therewith, if happily it be at any time diſſolued: beſides bayes and ſhelfes, the water waxing more ſhallow toward the Eaſt, that we ſay nothing of the foule miſts and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the vncomfortable nights, ſo neere the Pole, fiue moneths long.

Ortel. tab. Aſiæ, 3.

4 By the Northeaſt.

A fourth way to go vnto theſe aforeſaid happy Iſlands Moluccæ ſir Humfrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight diſcourſeth of at large in his new paſſage to Cathayo. The enterpriſe of it ſelfe being vertuous, the fact muſt doubtleſſe deſerue high praiſe, and whenſoeuer it ſhal be finiſhed, the fruits thereof cannot be ſmal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, & fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the paſſage doubtfull, the voiage not throughly knowen, and therefore gaineſaid by many, after this maner.

Ob. 1.

Firſt, who can aſſure vs of any paſſage rather by the Northweſt then by the Northeaſt? doe not both wayes lye in equall diſtance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean ſea beyond America farther diſtant from our Meridian by 30. or 40. degrees Weſt, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eaſtward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true? In the Northeaſt that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie periſhed for colde: and can you then promiſe a paſſenger any better happe by the Northweſt? Who hath gone for triall ſake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo? In Theatro.

Ob.2. If you ſeeke the aduiſe herein of ſuch as make profeſſion in Coſmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldeſt children, will anſwere by their mappes with a negatiue, concluding moſt of the Sea within the land, and making an ende of the world Northward, neere the 63. degree. The ſame opinion, when learning chiefly floriſhed, was receiued in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi ſeruiat vltima Thyle, ſaid Virgil, being of opinion, that Iſland was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Ioſeph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the beſt Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in ſome of his great globes, haue continued the Weſt Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and conſequently, cut off all paſſage by ſea that way.

The ſame doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his ſea Carde, neuertheleſſe doubting of ſo great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the Weſt Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but ſuch a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the cauſes in the firſt obiection alledged, or cleane ſhut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Ob.3. Thirdly, the greateſt fauourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any ſuch paſſage be, it lieth ſubiect vnto yce and ſnow for the moſt part of the yeere, whereas it ſtandeth in the edge of the froſtie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and diſſolued the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no ſayling: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the ſunne maketh a certaine ſeaſon in thoſe partes, how ſhall it be poſſible for ſo weake a veſſel as a ſhippe is, to holde out amid whole Iſlands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche ſide, and at the mouth of that gulfe, iſſuing downe furiouſly from the north, and ſafely to paſſe, when whole mountaines of yce and ſnow ſhall be tumbled downe vpon her?

Ob.4. Well, graunt the Weſt Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, graunt there be a paſſage betweene theſe two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it ſet, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Friſius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and ſo left by our countreyman Sebaſtian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free paſſage to Cathayo. For examples ſake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moſcouia: you may likewiſe in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Conſtantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no paſſage by Sea through Moſcouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforeſaid Mediterranean ſea, we ſaile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and ſpices from the Moluccaes vp the Red ſea or Arabian gulph to Sues, ſcarcely three dayes iourney from the aforeſayd hauen: yet haue wee no way by ſea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Iſthmos or litle ſtraight of land betweene the two ſeas. In like maner although the Northerne paſſage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the Weſt Ocean beyond America, vſually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40. degrees eleuation from the Iſland Iapan, yea three hundred leagues Northerly aboue Iapan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow paſſage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforeſaid it falleth out, Aſia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion ſeeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruſeth our Coſmographers doings. Ioſephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemiſpheres of the world, but alſo in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the ſame opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the Weſt Indies were part of Aſia. Which ſentence well agreeth with that olde concluſion in the Schooles: Quicquid præter Africam & Europam eſt, Aſia eſt, Whatſoeuer land doeth neither apperteine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Aſia.

Ob.5. Furthermore it were to ſmall purpoſe to make ſo long, ſo painefull, ſo doubtfull a voyage by ſuch a new found way, if in Cathayo you ſhould neither bee ſuffered to land for ſilkes and ſiluer, nor able to fetch the Molucca ſpices and pearle for piracie in thoſe Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabitants vnder a great penaltie to let in any ſtranger into thoſe countreys, ſhall you reade in the report of Galeotro Perera there impriſoned with other Portugals: as alſo in the Iaponiſh letters, how for that cauſe the worthy traueller Xauierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great ſumme of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie vſed in thoſe Seas no man can be ignorant of, that liſteth to reade the Iaponiſh and Eaſt Indian hiſtorie.

Ob.6.

Finally, all this great labour would be loſt, all theſe charges ſpent in vaine, if in the ende our trauellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring ſafely home into their owne natiue countrey that wealth & riches, which they in forrein regions with aduenture of goods, & danger of their liues haue ſought for. By the Northeaſt there is no way, the Southeaſt paſſage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of thoſe Seas. At yͤ Southweſt Magellans experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are perſuaded by reaſon, how the Eaſterne current ſtriketh ſo furiouſly on that ſtraight, and falleth with ſuch force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ſhip can returne that way into our Weſt Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truely it is, then wee may ſay that the aforeſayd Eaſterne current or leuant courſe of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, looſeth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeaſt, in the paſſage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of neceſſity caryed: hauing none other way to maintaine it ſelfe in circular motion, & conſequently the force and fury thereof to be no leſſe in the ſtraight of Anian, where it ſtriketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any ſuch ſtraight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both ſtraights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for nauigation in that region we doe finde preciſely ſet downe.

Neuertheleſſe to approoue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northweſt from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Friſius recordeth, and left a name vnto that ſtraight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that paſſed this ſtraight, of whom Maſter Frobiſher ſpeaketh, that was impriſoned therefore many yeeres in Liſbone, to verifie the olde Spaniſh prouerbe, I ſuffer for doing well. Likewiſe Andrew Vrdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie, his Carde (for he was a great Diſcouerer) made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath bene ſeene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Cic. 1. de orat, Ariſt. pri. Metaph.

Now if the obſeruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the beſt Philoſophers that euer were doe affirme: truely the voyage of theſe aforeſayd trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northweſt, do moſt euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that paſſage free. So much the more we are ſo to thinke, for that the firſt principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome ſaith, is the hiſtory of trauell, that is, reports made by trauellers ſkilful in Geometrie and Aſtronomie, of all ſuch things in their iourney as to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now anſwere to thoſe arguments that ſeemed to make againſt this former concluſion.

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.

Sol.1.

The firſt obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world ſet forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly ſkilleth not, being vnſkilfully drawen for that point: as manifeſtly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the ſame with Gemma Friſius his vniuerſall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebaſtian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this caſe before all Mercator & Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a ſkilful Sea man, but a long traueller, and ſuch a one as entred perſonally that ſtraight, ſent by king Henry the ſeuenth to make this aforeſayd Diſcouerie, as in his owne diſcourſe of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northweſterne ſtraight lyeth neere the 318. Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the ſame bredth about 10. degrees Weſt, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropicke of Cancer, and ſo runneth into Mar del Zur, at the leaſt 18. degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it firſt began: otherwiſe I could as well imagine this paſſage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moſcouia, and more impoſſible then it for the farre ſituation and continuance thereof in the froſtie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very poſſible and moſt likely in compariſon thereof, for that it neither coaſteth ſo farre North as the Moſcouian paſſage doeth, neither is this ſtraight ſo long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

Sol.2.

The ſecond argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue ſixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all paſſages Northward from the eleuation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean ſea beyond Aſia, yet haue the Portugals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Iapan an Iſland in the Eaſt Ocean, betweene Aſia & America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the ſixt diſcouered the Moſcouian paſſage farther North then Thyle, & ſhewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland & Norway: the like our Northweſterne trauellers haue done, declaring by their nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Coſmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the Weſt Indies with that froſty region vnder the north pole. As for Virgil he ſang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone.

Quarum quæ media eſt, non eſt habitabilis æſtu. Imagining, as moſt men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether diſhabited for heat, though preſently wee know many famous and worthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Iſland of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, & the wealthy Iſlands for the which chiefly all theſe voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the equinoctiall line.

Ouid. 1. Meta.

To anſwere the third obiection, beſides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobiſher may ſuffice, who lately through all theſe Iſlands of ice, and mountaines of ſnow, paſſed that way, euen beyond the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in ſome places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in Auguſt did, yet came he home ſafely againe.

Sol. 3.

The fourth argument is altogether friuolous & vaine, for neither is there any iſthmos or ſtrait of land betweene America and Aſia, ne can theſe two landes ioyntly be one continent. The firſt part of my anſwere is manifeſtly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The authour of that booke likewiſe περὶ κόσμου to Alexander, attributed vnto Ariſtotle, is of the ſame opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dioniſius in οἰκουμένης περιηγήσει hath this verſe οὕτως ὠκεανὸς περιδέδρομε γαῖαν ἅπασαν. So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: ſpeaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Aſia, as then Aſia was trauelled and knowen. With theſe Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela. cap. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his deſcription of Aſia. All the which writers doe no leſſe confirme the whole Eaſterne ſide of Aſia to be compaſſed about with the ſea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis, the Weſt Indies to be an Iſland, as in a ſpecial diſcourſe thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the ſentence of Proclus, Marſilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Iſland. Homer, Strabo, Ariſtotle, Dionyſius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Aſia, Afrike, & Europe, to be enuironed with the Ocean. I may therfore boldly ſay (though later intelligences thereof had we none at all) that Aſia & the Weſt Indies be not tied together by any Iſthmos or ſtraight of land, contrary to the opinion of ſome new Coſmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controuerſie. And thus much for the firſt part of my anſwere vnto the fourth obiection.

Sol. 4.

Lib. Geog.

Note.

Richard Eden.

The ſecond part, namely that America and Aſia cannot be one continent, may thus be proued, καὶ τῆς γῆς κοιλοτέρας μᾶλλον ῥεῖ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ πλῆθος. The moſt Riuers take downe that way their courſe, where the earth is moſt hollow and deepe, writeth Ariſtotle: and the Sea (ſayth he in the ſame place) as it goeth further, ſo is it found deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moſcouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their ſtreames Northward out of Moſcouia into the ſea? Which way doeth that ſea ſtrike? The South is maine land, the Eaſterne coaſt wareth more and more ſhalow: from the North, either naturally, becauſe that part of the earth is higher Ariſtot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of neceſſitie, for that the forcible influence of ſome Northerne ſtarres cauſeth the earth there to ſhake off the Sea, as ſome Philoſophers doe thinke: or finally for the great ſtore of waters engendred in that froſtie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I ſay, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeaſterne currant muſt at the length abruptly bow toward vs South on the Weſt ſide of Finmarke and Norway: or elſe ſtrike downe Southweſt aboue Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Iſeland, into the Northweſt ſtraight we ſpeake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the ſituation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobiſher experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobiſher the further he trauailed in the former paſſage, as he tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found the Sea. Lay you now the ſumme hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanels are moſt hollow, the ſea in taking his courſe wareth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeaſterne current ſtriketh downe into the ſtraight we ſpeake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and ſnowe falling downe furiouſly out from the land vnder the North pole. Where ſtore of water is, there is it a thing impoſſible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but wareth deeper, there can be diſcouered no land. Finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobiſher

Lib. 2. Meteor. cap. 1.

Plin. lib. 2, cap. 67.

mette withall after that he had ſailed no ſmall way in that paſſage, if there bee any Iſthmos or ſtraight of land betwixt the aforeſayd Northweſterne gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Aſia and America together? That concluſion frequented in ſcholes Quicquid præter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and ſo is it of right to be vnderſtood.

Sol.5.

The fift obiection requireth for anſwere wiſedome and policie in the trauailer, to winne the Barbarians fauour by ſome good meanes: and ſo to arme and ſtrengthen himſelfe, that when he ſhal haue the repulſe in one coaſt, he may ſafely trauaile to an other, commodiouſly taking his conuenient times, and diſcreetely making choiſe of them with whom hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entry, would for vs Engliſhmen be very hard, conſidering the ſtrength and valour of ſo great a Nation, farre diſtant from vs, and the attempt thereof might be moſt perillous vnto the doers, vnleſſe their part were very good.

Touching their lawes againſt ſtrangers, you ſhall reade neuertheleſſe in the ſame relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is woont to graunt free acceſſe vnto all foreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandiſe, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntill ſuch time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coaſt to bee a circumciſed Saracene: wherefore ſome of them were put to the ſword, the reſt were ſcattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be ſeene. As for the Iapans they be moſt deſirous to be acquainted with ſtrangers. The Portingals though they were ſtraitly handled there at the firſt, yet in the ende they found great fauour at the Prince his hands, inſomuch that the Loutea or preſident that miſuſed them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth thoſe ſeas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reach from Iapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and ſhall an Engliſhman, better appointed then any of them all (that I ſay no more of our Nauie) feare to ſaile in that Ocean? What ſeas at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

Sol.6.

To the laſt argument. Our trauailers neede not to ſeeke their returne by the Northeaſt, neither ſhall they be conſtrained, except they liſt, either to attempt Magellans ſtraight at the Southweſt, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeaſt: they may returne by the Northweſt, that ſame way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath ſhewed.

Luc.lib.1. Pharſal.

What the Eaſterne current is.

The reaſon alleadged for proofe of the contrary may be diſproued after this maner. And firſt it may be called in controuerſie, whether any current continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no? For learned men doe diuerſly handle that queſtion. The naturall courſe of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth moſt lowe and deepe: in reſpect whereof, it was erſt ſayd, the ſeas doe ſtrike from the Northren landes Southerly. Violently the ſeas are toſſed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreaſed and diminiſhed by the courſe of the Moone, hoiſed vp & downe through the ſundry operations of the Sunne and the ſtarres: finally, ſome be of opinion, that the ſeas be caried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the higheſt moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the reſt of the heauenly ſpheres, are from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt. And this they doe call their Eaſterne current, or leuant ſtreame. Some ſuch current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neereneſſe thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and bluſtring Eaſterne windes violently driuing the ſeas Weſtward: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, & the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the Weſt and South, as from the Eaſt, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eaſtward, neither be we kept euer backe by the aforeſaid Leuant windes and ſtreame. But in Magellans ſtreight wee are violently driuen backe Weſtward: Ergo, through the Northweſterne ſtraight or Anian frette ſhall we not be able to returne Eaſtward? It followeth not. The firſt, for that the northweſterne ſtraight hath more ſea roome at the leaſt by one hundreth Engliſh myles, then Magellans frette hath, the onely want whereof cauſeth all narrow paſſages generally to be moſt violent. So would I ſay in the Anian gulfe, if it were ſo narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in reſpect of ſuch ſtreightneſſe thereof, not for the neereneſſe of the Sunne, or Eaſterne windes, violently forcing that way any leuant ſtreame: But in that place there is more ſea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Friſius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

Lib.1.Geog. Cap 2.

And hitherto reaſon ſee I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the reſt. It muſt be Peregrinationis hiſtoria, that is, true reportes of ſkilfull trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in ſuch controuerſies of Geographie muſt put vs out of doubt.

Ortelius in his vniuerſall tables, in his particular Mappes of the Weſt Indies, of all Aſia, of the Northren kingdomes, of the Eaſt Indies, Mercator in ſome of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuerſall table of the Globe diuided, in his ſea Carde, and particuler tables of the Eaſt Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe ſo much differ from Gemma Friſius and Cabota, among themſelues, and in diuers places from themſelues, concerning the diuers ſituation and ſundry limits of America, that one may not ſo raſhly, as truely ſurmiſe, theſe men either to be ignorant in thoſe points touching the aforeſaid region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

The firſt Voyage of M. Martine Frobiſher, to the Northweſt, *for the ſearch of the ſtraight or paſſage to China, written by* Christopher Hall, Maſter in the *Gabriel*, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

The 7. of Iune being Thurſday, the two Barks, viz. the Gabriel, and the ‖ Michael & our Pinneſſe ſet ſaile at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Detford, and there we ancred: the cauſe was, that our Pinneſſe burſt her boultſprit, and foremaſt aboard of a ſhip that rode at Detford, elſe wee meant to haue paſt that day by the Court then at Grenewich. Iune.

‖ M. Matthew Kinderſlye was Captaine of the Michael.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and ſet ſaile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we ſhotte off our ordinance and made the beſt ſhew we could: Her Maieſtie beholding the ſame, commended it, and bade vs farewell, with ſhaking her hand at vs out of the window. Afterward ſhee ſent a Gentleman aboord of vs, who declared that her Maieſtie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and alſo willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The ſame day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the company, that her Maieſtie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wiſhed vs happie ſucceſſe.

The 12. day being ouer againſt Graueſend, by the caſtle or blockehouſe, we obſerued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compaſſe is 11. degrees and a halfe.

The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had ſight of Faire yle, being from vs 6. leagues North and by Eaſt, and when I brought it Northweſt and by North, it did riſe at the Southermoſt ende with a litle hommocke, and ſwampe in the middes. Faire Iſland.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northweſt and by North a freſh gale, I caſt about to the Weſtward, the Southermoſt head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthweſt from me, and the land of Faire yle, Weſt Southweſt from me. I ſailed directly to the North head of that ſaid land, ſounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde ſhels: and within halfe a mile of that Iſland, there are 36. fathoms, for I ſailed to that Iſland to ſee whether there were any roadeſteede for a Northweſt winde, and I found by my ſounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the ſhoare, 28. fathome, and ſo did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foreſaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Iſland. The tide ſetteth there Northweſt and Southeaſt: the flood ſetteth Southeaſt, and the ebbe Northweſt. Shotland.

The 26. day hauing the winde at South a faire gale, ſayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did obſerue the latitude, the Iſland of Fowlay being Weſt Northweſt frõ me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head Eaſt ſoutheaſt from me, I found my *eleuation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that preſent being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as alſo to take in freſh water, I plyed roome with a ſound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in ſeuen fathoms water, and faire ſande. You haue comming in the ſounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the ſound lyeth in North northweſt, and there we roade to a Weſt ſunne, & ſtopped our leake, and hauing refreſhed our ſelues with water, at a North northweſt ſunne, I ſet ſaile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southeſt, and turned out till wee were cleare of the ſound, and ſo ſailed Weſt to go cleare of the Iſland of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I ſounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and ſtreamie ground, and alſo I ſounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Iſlande, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and ſtreame ground, like

* By eleuation he meaneth the diſtance of the ſunne from the zenith.

S. Tronions.

Fowlay Iſland.

broken otmell, and one ſhell being redde and white like mackerell.

Latitude 59. deg. 59. min. Here they begin to ſaile Weſt and by North.

The 27. day at a South ſunne I did obſerue the latitude, the Iſland of Fowlay being from me two leagues Eaſt Northeaſt: I found my ſelfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truly obſerued, the winde at South Southweſt: I ſailed Weſt and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the ſhippe ſailed Weſt and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I ſounded hauing 60. fathome, with little ſtones and ſhels, the Iſland from vs 8. leagues Eaſt.

July the firſt. The firſt of July, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee ſailed Weſt 4. glaſſes 4. leagues, and at that preſent we had ſo much winde that we ſpooned afore the ſea Southweſt 2. leagues.

3. The 3. day we found our Compaſſe to bee varied one point to the Weſtwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we ſailed Weſt and by North 6. leagues.

The Compaſſe varying Weſtwards one point.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone Weſt and by North 4. leagues. At that preſent I found our Compaſſe to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Weſtwards, which is one point.

11. The Iſland of Friſeland.

The 11 day at a Southeaſt ſunne we had ſight of the land of Friſeland bearing from vs Weſt northweſt 16. leagues, and riſing like pinacles of ſteeples, and all couered with ſnowe. I found my ſelfe in 61. degr. of latitude. Wee ſailed to the ſhoare and could finde no ground at 150. fathoms, we hoiſed out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the ſhoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and ſo they came aboord againe: We had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reaſon of the fogge. Yet from Thurſday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we ſailed Southweſt 20. leagues.

18. The 18. day at a Southeaſt ſunne I found the ſunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a Southſoutheaſt ſunne 40. deg. So I obſerued it till I found it at the higheſt, and then it was eleuated 52. deg. I iudged the variation of the Compaſſe to be 2. points and a halfe to the Weſtward.

The variation of the needle, two points and a halfe to the Weſt.

A great drift of yce.

The 21. day we had ſight of a great drift of yce, ſeeming a firme lande, and we caſt Weſtward to be cleare of it.

The latitude of 62. degrees 2. min.

The 26. we had ſight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

Sight of land ſuppoſed to haue bene Labrador.

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, wee had ſight of lande, which I ſuppoſed to be Labrador, with great ſtore of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and ſownded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being ſo thicke, I could not get to the ſhoare, and ſo lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Munday we came within a mile of the ſhoare, and ſought a harborowe: all the ſownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing a ſhoare, could get no ground at a 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the

30. ſhoare: then we ſailed Eaſtnortheaſt along the ſhoare, for ſo the lande lyeth, and the currant is there great, ſetting Northeaſt, and Southweſt: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, wee would haue ſeene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ſhip may driue a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide.

31. This day at 4. of the cloke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had ſight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by Eaſt, and we ſailed Northeaſt, and by North to that land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce ſtretched along the coaſt, ſo that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues.

August. 1. Wedneſday the firſt of Auguſt it calmed, and in the after noone I cauſed my boate to be hoyſed out, being hard by a great Iſland of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and ſownded within two Cables length of it, and had ſixteene fathome, and little ſtones, and after that

2. ſownded againe within a Minion ſhot, and had ground at an hundreth fathome, and faire ſand: we ſownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had ſixtie fathome rough ground, and at that preſent being aboord, that great Iſland of yce fell one part from another, making a noyſe as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I ſownded againe, and had 90. fathome, and ſmall blacke ſtones, and little white ſtones, like pearles. The tide here did ſet to the ſhoare.

10. The tenth I tooke foure men, and my ſelfe, and rowed to ſhoare to an Iſland one league from the maine, and there the flood ſetteth Southweſt alongeſt the ſhoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge ſo too, I could not tarry to proone it, becauſe the ſhip was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a ſhoare, it was a low water. I went to ỹ top of the Iſland, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and ſo without tarrying I came aboord.

11. They enter the Streit in the latitude of 63. deg. and 8. min.

The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the ſtreight.

12. The 12. wee ſet ſaile towardes an Iſland, called the Gabriels Iſland, which was 10. leagues then from vs.

13 We eſpied a ſound, and bare with it, and came to a ſandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the land bearing Eaſt ſoutheaſt off vs, and there we rode al night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeaſt Moone. We called it Priors ſownd, being from the Gabriels Iſland, tenne leagues.

14 The 14. we waied, and ranne into another ſownde, where wee ankered in 8. fathome water, faire ſand, and blacke oaze, and there calked our ſhip, being weake from the wales vpward, and tooke in freſh water.

15 The 15. day we waied, and ſailed to Priors Bay, being a mile from thence.

16 The 16. day was calme, and we rode ſtill, without yce, but preſently within two houres it was frozen round about the ſhip, a quarter of an ynch thicke, and that day very faire, and calme.

17 The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Iſland.

18 The 18. day we ſailed North northweſt, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough oaze, vnder Burchers Iſland, which is from the former Iſland, ten leagues.

19 The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boate, with eight men in her, to rowe vs a ſhoare, to ſee if there were there any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Iſland, we had ſight of ſeuen boates, which came rowing from the Eaſt ſide, toward that Iſland: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we ſent our boate with fiue men in her, to ſee whither they rowed, and ſo with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the ſhoare, rowing after our boate, till ſuch time as they ſawe our ſhip, and then they rowed a ſhoare: then I went on ſhoare my ſelfe, and gaue euery of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on ſhoare againe. Whereupon all the reſt came aboord with their boates, being nineteene perſons, and they ſpake, but we vnderſtoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noſes, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale ſkinnes, and ſo doe the women, not differing in the faſhion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe ſtreekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales ſkinnes, with a keele of wood within the ſkin: the proportion of them is like a Spaniſh ſhallop, ſaue only they be flat in the bottome, and ſharpe at both ends. Sight of the Countrey people. The deſcription of the people.

20 The twentieth day wee waved, and went to the Eaſtſide of this Iſland, and I and the Captaine, with foure men more went on ſhoare, and there we ſawe their houſes, and the people eſpying vs, came rowing towards our boate: whereupon we plied toward our boate: and wee being in our boate and they aſhoare, they called to vs, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife: ſo the Captaine and I willed fiue of our men to ſet him a ſhoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they came from, but their wilfulneſſe was ſuch, that they would goe to them, and ſo were taken themſelues, and our boate loſt. 5. of our men taken by the people.

21 The next day in the morning, we ſtoode in neere the ſhoare, and ſhotte off a fauconet, and ſounded our trumpet, but we could heare nothing of our men: this ſound wee called the fiue mens ſound, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the ſnow lay a foote thicke vpon our hatches.

22 The 22. day in the morning we waved, and went againe to the place where we loſt our men, and our boate. We had ſight of fourteene boates, and ſome came neere to vs, but wee could learne nothing of our men: among the reſt, we intiſed one boate to our ſhips ſide, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, we tooke him, and his boate, and ſo kept him, and ſo rowed downe to Thomas Williams Iſland, and there ankered all night.

26 The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trumpets Iſland. They returne.

27 The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Iſland, and at 8. of the clocke at night we had the Cape Labrador as we ſuppoſed Weſt from vs, ten leagues.

28 The 28. day we went our courſe Southeaſt.

29 We ſailed Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, 22. leagues.

September. 1 The firſt day of September in the morning we had ſight of the land of Friſeland, being eight leagues from vs, but wee could not come neerer it, for the monſtrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the ſixth of this Moneth, we ranne along Iſland, and had the South part of it at eight of the clocke, Eaſt from vs ten leagues.

7 The ſeuenth day of this moneth we had a very terrible ſtorme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the ſea out of our waſte, but he caught hold of the foreſaile ſheate, and there held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ſhip.

The Sheld.

The 25. day of this moneth we had ſight of the Iſland of Orkney, which was then Eaſt from vs. The firſt day of October we had ſight of the Shelds, and ſo ſailed about the coaſt, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The language of the people of *Meta incognita.*

Argoteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a noſe.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchater, the head.
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.

Attegay, a coate.
Polleuetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a ſhippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the foremoſt finger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yacketrone, the litle finger.

The ſecond voyage of Maſter *Martin Frobiſher,* made to the Weſt and Northweſt Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a deſcription of the Countrey, and people: Written by Maſter *Dioniſe Settle.*

ON Whitſunday, being the ſixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobiſher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maieſties ſhips, called The Aide, of nine ſcore tunnes, or therabouts: and two other little Barkes likewiſe, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Maſter Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Maſter Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captaine, accompanied with ſeuen ſcore Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, well furniſhed with victuals, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for one halfe yeere, on this his ſecond voyage, for the further diſcouering of the paſſage to Cathay, and other Countreys thereunto adiacent, by Weſt and Northweſt nauigations: which paſſage or way, is ſuppoſed to bee on the North and Northweſt pars of America: and the ſaid America to be an Iſland inuironed with the ſea, where through our Merchants may haue courſe and recourſe with their merchandize, from theſe our Northernmoſt parts of Europe, to thoſe Orientall coaſts of Aſia, in much ſhorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or ſhall frequent the ſame. Our ſaid Captaine and General of this preſent voyage and company hauing the yeere before, with two little pinneſſes, to his great danger, and no ſmall commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is alſo preſt, when occaſion ſhall be miniſtred (to the benefite of his Prince, and natiue Countrey) to aduenture himſelfe further therein. As for this ſecond voyage, it ſeemeth ſufficient, that he hath better explored and ſearched the commodities of thoſe people and Countreys, which in his firſt voyage the yeere before he had found out.

The Iſlands Orcades, or Orkney.

The Orcadians vpon ſmal occaſion fire their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fiſher men of England haue daily traffike to Orkney.

Vpon which conſiderations, the day and yeere before expreſſed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accompliſhment of things neceſſary, the laſt of May we hoiſed vp ſailes, and with a merrie wind the 7. of Iune we arriued at the Iſlands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. ſubiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made prouiſion of freſh water: in the doing whereof our Generall licenſed the Gentlemen and ſouldiers for their recreation, to goe on ſhore. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with ſhrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perſwaſions we reclamed them to their houſes. It ſeemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or ſome other enemies, that mooue them to ſuch ſudden feare. Their houſes are very ſimply builded with Pibble ſtone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middeſt thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and ſleepe on the one ſide of the houſe, and the cattell on the other, very beaſtly and rudely, in reſpect of ciuilitie. They are deſtitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowſhards. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his houſe. They take great quantitie of fiſh, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dreſſe their meat very filthily, and eate it without ſalt. Their apparell is after the rudeſt ſort of Scotland. Their money is all baſe. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fiſher men of England can better declare the diſpoſitions of thoſe people then I: wherefore I remit other their vſages to their reports, as yeerely repairers thither, in their courſe to and from Iſland for fiſh.

In Iune and Iuly no night in thoſe Weſt and Northweſt regions.

We departed herehence the 8. of Iune, and followed our courſe betweene Weſt and Northweſt, vntill the 4. of Iuly: all which time we had no night, but that eaſily, and without any impediment we had when we were ſo diſpoſed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleaſures to paſſe away the time: a thing of no ſmall moment, to ſuch as wander in vnknowen ſeas, and long nauigations, eſpecially, when both the winds and raging ſurges do paſſe their common and wonted courſe. This benefite endureth in thoſe parts not 6. weekes, while the ſunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raiſed to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

Great abundance of Firre trees floting in the ſea.

Inquire further of this current.

All along theſe ſeas, after we were ſixe dayes ſailing from Orkney, we met floting in the ſea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and ſo driuen into the ſea. Iſland hath almoſt no other wood nor fuell, but ſuch as they take vp vpon their coaſtes. It ſeemeth, that theſe trees are driuen from ſome part of the New found land, with the current that ſetteth from the Weſt to the Eaſt.

The 4. of Iuly we came within the making of Friſland. From this ſhoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Iſlands of yce, of halfe a mile, ſome more, ſome leſſe in compaſſe, ſhewing aboue the ſea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we ſuppoſed faſt on ground, where with our lead we could ſcarſe ſound the bottome for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant ſmels of ſweete gums, & pleaſant notes of muſicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee taſted the moſt boiſterous Boreal blaſts mixt with ſnow and haile, in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a ſudden alteration, and eſpecially in a place or Parallele, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea vnto 70. degrees, ſhew themſelues more temperate then this doth.

Yce, ſnow, and haile in Iune and Iuly.

All along this coaſt yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, & ſo defendeth the Countrey, that thoſe that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ſhip boate to haue gone on ſhoare, which for that without great danger he could not accompliſh, he deferred it vntill a more conuenient time. All along the coaſt lie very high mountaines couered with ſnow, except in ſuch places, where through the ſteepenes of the mountaines of force it muſt needs fall. Foure dayes coaſting along this land, we found no ſigne of habitation. Little birds, which we iudged to haue loſt the ſhore, by reaſon of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much ſubiect vnto, came flying into our ſhips, which cauſeth vs to ſuppoſe, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and alſo habitable within, then the outward ſhore maketh ſhew or ſignification.

Friſeland ſubiect to fogge.

From hence we departed the eight of Iuly: and the 16. of the ſame, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Iſland as we iudge, lying neere the ſuppoſed continent with America: and on the other ſide, oppoſite to the ſame, one other Iſland called Halles Iſle, after the name of the Maſter of the ſhip, neere adiacent to the firme land, ſuppoſed continent with Aſia. Betweene the which two Iſlands there is a large entrance or ſtreight, called Frobiſhers ſtreight, after the name of our Generall, the firſt finder thereof. This ſaid ſtreight is ſuppoſed to haue paſſage into the ſea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowen as yet.

Frobiſhers ſtreight.

It ſeemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the ſea ſhould haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that ſome contrary tide, either from the Eaſt or Weſt, with maine force caſteth out that great quantity of yce, which commeth floting from this coaſt, euen vnto Friſeland, cauſing that Countrey to ſeeme more vntemperate then others, much more Northerly then the ſame.

I cannot iudge that any temperature vnder the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (conſidering that the Sunnes eleuation ſurmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minuts) can haue power to diſſolue ſuch monſtrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by ſome other force, as by ſwift currents and tides, with the helpe of the ſaid day of halfe a yeere.

Iſlands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of theſe lands we taſted cold ſtormes, in ſo much that it ſeemed we had changed ſummer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

At our firſt comming, the ſtreighes ſeemed to be ſhut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cauſe of diſcomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whoſe diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts ſeemed nothing, in reſpect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinneſſes prepared of purpoſe, paſſed twiſe thorow them to the Eaſt ſhore, and the Iſlands thereunto adiacent: and the ſhip, with the two Barks lay off and on ſomething further into the ſea, from the danger of the yce.

Captaine Frobiſher his ſpeciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

Whileſt

The order of the people appearing on ſhoare.

Whileſt he was ſearching the Countrey neere the ſhoare, ſome of the people of the Countrey ſhewed themſelues leaping and dauncing, with ſtrange ſhrikes and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall deſirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, cauſed kniues, and other things to be proffered vnto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing ſome thing of theirs to counteruaile the ſame. At the length two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Maſter, who did the like to them, commanding the company to ſtay, and went vnto them: who after certaine dumbe ſignes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly eſcaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not reſpecting the reſt of our companie which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other eſcaped.

Fierce and bold people. One taken.

Whileſt our Generall was buſied in ſearching the Countrey, and thoſe Iſlands adiacent on the Eaſtſhoare, the ſhip and barkes hauing great care, not to put farre into the ſea from him, for that he had ſmall ſtore of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempeſt, chancing in the night, amongſt and in the thickeſt of the yce, which was ſo monſtrous, that euen the leaſt of a thouſand had bene of force ſufficient, to haue ſhiuered our ſhip and barks into ſmall portions, if God (who in all neceſſities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a ſufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well diſcerne to flee from ſuch imminent dangers, which we auoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the ſpace of 4. houres. If we had not incurred this danger amõgſt theſe monſtrous Iſlands of yce, we ſhould haue loſt our Generall and Maſter, and the moſt of our beſt ſailers, which were on the ſhoare deſtitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Maſter Gunner, Maſter Iackman, and Andrew Dier, the Maſters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearſed, before we would with our owne ſafetie, runne into the ſeas, to the deſtruction of our ſayd Generall, and his company.

Richard Cox, Maſter gunner. Maſter Iackman. Andrew Dier.

The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our Captaine returned to the ſhip, with report of ſuppoſed riches, which ſhewed it ſelfe in the bowels of thoſe barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all ſatiſfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the ſtreights, the Northweſt and Weſt winds diſperſed the yce into the ſea, & made vs a large entrance into the ſtreights, ſo that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Maſter with great diligence, ſought out and ſounded the Weſt ſhoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ſhip and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Maſters mate, Iackmans ſound, and brought the ſhip, barkes, and all their company to ſafe anker, except one man, which died by Gods viſitation.

Iackmans ſound.

At our firſt arriuall, after the ſhip rode at anker, our generall, with ſuch company as could well be ſpared from the ſhips, in marching order entred the lande, hauing ſpeciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee ſhould all with one voyce, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our ſafe arriuall: ſecondly beſeech him, that it would pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the reſt of our company in this order tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Chriſtian ſtudie and endeuour, thoſe barbarous, people trained vp in Paganiſme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of ſaluation in Chriſt our Redeemer. With other words very apt to ſignifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all ſuſpicion of an vndutifull ſubiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the reſt of the Gentlemen and other deſerue worthily herein, their due praiſe and commendation.

Poſſeſſion taken.

Theſe things in this order accompliſhed, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne ſafegard, to Maſter Fenton, Maſter Yorke, and Maſter Beaſt his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other neceſſarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Enſigne diſplaied, ſo farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped vp ſtones on high mountaines, and other places in token of poſſeſſion, as likewiſe to ſignifie vnto ſuch as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that poſſeſſion is taken in the behalfe of ſome other Prince, by thoſe who firſt found out the Countrey.

Yce needefull to be regarded of ſeafaring men.

Who ſo maketh nauigations to thoſe Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious ſeas to encounter withall, but alſo many monſtrous and great Iſlands of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced ſundry times, while the ſhip did ride here at anker, to haue continuall watch, with boats & men ready with halſers to knit faſt vnto ſuch yce, as with the ebbe & flood were toſſed to and fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ſhip.

Our Generall certaine dayes ſearched this ſuppoſed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to anſwere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men ſufficient to the Eaſt ſhore being the ſuppoſed continent of Aſia, and left the ſhip with moſt of the Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, vntill ſuch time as he either thought good to ſend or come for them.

The ſtones of this ſuppoſed continent with America be altogether ſparkled, and gliſter in the Sunne like gold: ſo likewiſe doth the ſand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerb: All is not gold that gliſtereth.

Stones gliſter with ſparkles like gold.
A common prouerbe.

On this Weſt ſhore we found a dead fiſh floating, which had in his noſe a horne ſtreight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollow, into the which ſome of our ſailers putting ſpiders they preſently died. I ſaw not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof we ſuppoſed it to be the ſea Vnicorne.

The ſea Vnicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ſhip and barks to anker in, and alſo ſuch ſtore of ſuppoſed gold ore as he thought himſelfe ſatisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Maſter Yorke aforeſaid was Captaine, accompanied with our maſter and his Mate: who coaſting along the Weſt ſhore not farre from whence the ſhip rode, they perceiued a faire harborough, and willing to ſound the ſame, at the entrance thereof they eſpied two tents of Seale ſkins, vnto which the Captaine, our ſaid Maſter, and other company reſorted. At the ſight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neuertheleſſe they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glaſſes, bels, kniues, and ſuch like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs except one dogge. They did in like maner leaue behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine loſt the yere before, and in that peoples cuſtody, might (if any of them were aliue) be aduertiſed of our preſence and being there.

The people fled at the ſight of our men.

On the ſame day after conſultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewiſe that could be ſpared from the ſhip, vnder the conduct and leading of Maſter Philpot, (vnto whom in our Generall his abſence, and his Lieutenant Maſter Beaſt, al the reſt were obedient) went a ſhore, determining to ſee, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwiſe take ſome of them, and ſo attaine to ſome knowledge of thoſe men whom our Generall loſt the yeere before.

Maſter Philpot.
Maſter Beaſt.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remoued their tents further into the ſaid Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the ſea. We parting our ſelues into two companies, and compaſſing a mountaine came ſuddenly vpon them by land, who eſpying vs, without any tarying fled to their boates, leauing the moſt part of their oares behind them for haſte, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinneſſes met them and droue them to ſhore: but if they had had all their oares, ſo ſwift are they in rowing, it had bene loſt time to haue chaſed them.

When they were landed they fiercely aſſaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiuing themſelues thus hurt, they deſperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themſelues: which if they had not done, but had ſubmitted themſelues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken them aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue ſaued them, & alſo haue ſought remedy to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they ſhould fall into our hands, thus miſerably by drowning rather deſired death then otherwiſe to be ſaued by vs: the reſt perceiuing their fellowes in this diſtreſſe, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being ſo apt to eſcape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers ſuppoſed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buſkins plucked off, to ſee if ſhe were clouen footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were ſlaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks ſound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

A fierce aſſault of a few.

Hauing this knowledge both of their fierceneſſe and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we diſpoſed our ſelues, contrary to our inclination, ſomething to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a ſpoyle of the ſame: where we found an old ſhirt, a doublet, a girdle, and alſo ſhooes of our men, whom we loſt the yeere before: on nothing elſe vnto them belonging could we ſet our eyes.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.

Boates of ſkinnes.

Their riches are not gold,ſiluer or precious Drapery,but their ſaid tents and botes, made of the ſkins of red Deare and Seale ſkins: alſo dogges like vnto woolues, but for the moſt part black,with other trifles,more to be wondred at for their ſtrangeneſſe,then for any other commoditie needefull for our vſe.

Our departure from the Weſt ſhore.

Thus returning to our ſhip the 3.of Auguſt,we departed from the Weſt ſhore ſuppoſed firme with America,after we had ankered there 13.dayes: and ſo the 4.thereof we came to our Generall on the Eaſt ſhore,and ankered in a faire harborough named Anne Warwickes ſound, vnto which is annexed an Iſland both named after the Counteſſe of Warwicke, Anne Warwickes ſound and Iſle.

In this Iſle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to fraight both the ſhip and barkes, with ſuch ſtone or ſuppoſed gold minerall,as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his firſt,and this his ſecond nauigation to theſe Countreys.

The countrey people ſhew themſelues vnto vs.

In the meane time of our abode here ſome of the countrey people came to ſhew themſelues vnto vs,ſundry times on the maine ſhore,neere adiacent to the ſaid Iſle. Our Generall deſirous to haue ſome newes of his men,whom he loſt the yeere before,with ſome company with him repaired with the ſhip boat to common,or ſigne with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perſwaded to bring them. They at the firſt ſhew made tokens,that three of his fiue men were aliue, and deſired penne,ynck, and paper,and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring thoſe of our men which were liuing,with them.

They alſo made ſignes or tokens of their King,whom they called Cacough, & how he was carried on mens ſhoulders,and a man farre ſurmounting any of our company,in bigneſſe and ſtature.

Their vſage in traffique or exchange.

With theſe tokens and ſignes of writing,penne,yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands,but being laid vpon the ſhore, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewiſe they do when they deſire any thing for change of theirs,laying for that which is left ſo much as they thinke will counteruaile the ſame,and not comming neere together. It ſeemeth they haue bene vſed to this trade or traffique, with ſome other people adioyning, or not farre diſtant from their Countrey.

The people ſhew themſelues the third time.

After 4.dayes ſome of them ſhewed themſelues vpon the firme land,but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof,ſuppoſing to heare of our men,went from the Iſland,with the boat,and ſufficient company with him. They ſeemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking,whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were,and ſo with few ſignes diſmiſſed them and returned to his company.

The people ſhew themſelues againe on firme land.

An other time as our ſaid Generall was coaſting the Countrey with two little Pinneſſes, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white ſkin allured vs to them. Once againe our generall,for that he hoped to heare of his men,went towards them: at our comming neere the ſhore whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behind great ſtones,& thoſe 3, in ſight labouring by al meanes poſſible that ſome would come on land: and perceiuing we made no haſt by words nor friendly ſignes, which they vſed by clapping of their hands,and being without weapon,and but 3.in ſight, they ſought further means to prouoke vs thereunto. One alone laid fleſh on the ſhore, which we tooke vp with the Boat hooke, as neceſſary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child,whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digeſt our meat: whereby they perceiued themſelues deceiued of their expectation,for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full ſhew of their craftie natures,and ſubtile ſleighes, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken ſome of our men, one of them counterfeited himſelfe impotent and lame of his legs,who ſeemed to deſcend to the water ſide, with great difficultie: and to couer his craft the more,one of his fellowes came downe with him,and in ſuch places where he ſeemed vnable to paſſe,he tooke him on his ſhoulders,ſet him by the water ſide,and departed from him,leauing him (as it ſhould ſeeme) all alone, who playing his counterfait pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke ſome of vs to come on ſhore, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our party good with a lame man.

Their firſt meanes to allure vs to ſhore.

Their ſecond meanes.

Their third and craftieſt allurement.

Compaſſion to cure a crafty lame man.

Our Generall hauing compaſſion of his impotency, thought good (if it were poſſible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he cauſed a ſouldier to ſhoote at him with his Caleeuer, which graſed before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the reſt from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, ſlings, and darts. Our Generall cauſed ſome caleeuers to be ſhot off at them, whereby ſome being hurt, they might hereafter ſtand in more feare of vs.

This was all the anſwere for this time we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their craftie dealing at theſe three ſeuerall times being thus manifeſt vnto vs, may plainely ſhew their diſpoſition in other things to be correſpondent. We iudged that they vſed theſe ſtratagemes, thereby to haue caught ſome of vs, for the deliuering of the man woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire ſomething long, and cut before either with ſtone or knife, very diſorderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit vp with two loupes, ſhewing forth on either ſide of their faces, and the reſt foltred vpon a knot. Alſo ſome of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wriſts of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both fleſh, fiſh, and foule, or ſomething per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard froſen, as pleaſantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for neceſſities ſake ſtand in need of the premiſſes, ſuch graſſe as the Countrey yeeldeth they plucke vp and eate, not deintily, or ſalletwiſe to allure their ſtomacks to appetite: but for neceſſities ſake without either ſalt, oyles, or waſhing, like brute beaſts deuouring the ſame. They neither vſe table, ſtoole, or table cloth for comlines: but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like ſort, they vſe their tongues as apt inſtruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are aſſured to looſe none of their victuals.

They frank or keepe certaine dogs not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke togither, as we do oxen & horſes, to a ſled or traile: and ſo carry their neceſſaries ouer the yce and ſnow from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect ſignes. And when thoſe dogs are not apt for the ſame vſe: or when with hunger they are conſtrained for lacke of other victuals, they eat them: ſo that they are as needfull for them in reſpect of their bigneſſe, as our oxen are for vs.

Dogges like vnto wolues.

They eate dogs fleſh.

They apparell themſelues in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as they kill, ſewed together with the ſinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they ſkin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they giue when they thinke to gratifie any friendſhip ſhewed vnto them: a great ſigne of friendſhip with them. The men haue them not ſo ſide as the women.

Hoods and tailes to their apparell.

The men and women weare their hoſe cloſe to their legges, from the waſt to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Vpon their legges they weare hoſe of leather, with the furre ſide inward two or three paire on at once, and eſpecially the women. In thoſe hoſe they put their kniues, needles, and other things needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hoſe, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their ſaid hoſe, and ſo in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dreſſe their ſkinnes very ſoft and ſouple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre ſide inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none but the ſaid ſkinnes.

Thoſe beaſts, fiſhes, and foules which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houſes, bedding, hoſe, ſhooes, threed, and ſailes for their boates, with many other neceſſaries whereof they ſtand in need, and almoſt all their riches.

Their houſes are tents made of Seale ſkins, pitched vp with 4. Firre quarters foure ſquare meeting at the top, and the ſkins ſewed together with ſinewes, and laid thereupon: they are ſo pitched vp, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or againſt the Sunne.

Their houſes of Seale ſkins and Firre.

They haue other ſorts of houſes which we found not to be inhabited, which are raiſed with ſtones and Whale bones, and a ſkinne layd ouer them, to withſtand the raine or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke they reſort for a time to fiſh, hunt, and foule, and ſo leaue them vntill the next time they come thither againe.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and ſlings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, ſinewed at the back with ſtrong ſinewes, not glued too, but faſt girded and tyed on. Their bow ſtrings are likewiſe ſinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with thoſe two ends, and the wood in the midſt, they paſſe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad ſide to the wood: inſomuch that they ſeeme when they

Their weapons of defence.

Three ſorts of heads to their arrowes.

are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue alſo three ſorts of heads to thoſe arrowes: one ſort of ſtone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the ſecond ſort of bone, much like vnto a ſtopt head, with a hooke on the ſame: the third ſort of bone likewiſe made ſharpe at both ſides, and ſharpe pointed. They are not made very faſt but lightly tyed to, or elſe ſet in a nocke, that vpon ſmall occaſion the arrowes leaue theſe heads behind them: and they are of ſmall force, except they be very neere when they ſhoote.

Two ſorts of darts.

Their Darts are made of two ſorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end, and likewiſe in the midſt: their proportions are not much vnlike our toaſting yrons but longer: theſe they caſt out of an inſtrument of wood, very readily. The other ſort is greater then the firſt aforeſayd, with a long bone made ſharpe on both ſides not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their moſt hurtfull weapon.

Two ſorts of boates made of leather.

They haue two ſorts of boats made of leather, ſet out on the inner ſide with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the ſame: the greater ſort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein ſixteene or twenty men may ſit: they haue for a ſayle dreſt the guts of ſuch beaſts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they ſew together: the other boate is but for one man to ſit and row in with one oare.

They vſe to foule, fiſh, and hunt.

Their order of fiſhing, hunting, and fouling are with theſe ſaid weapons: but in what ſort, or how they vſe them we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

It is to be ſuppoſed that their inhabiting is elſe where.

I can ſuppoſe their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houſes or apparell, are of ſuch force to withſtand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey ſeemeth to be infected withall: neither do I ſee any ſigne likely to performe the ſame.

Thoſe houſes or rather dennes which ſtand there, haue no ſigne of footway, or any thing elſe troden, which is one of the chiefeſt tokens of habitation. And thoſe tents which they bring with them, when they haue ſufficiently hunted and fiſhed, they remoue to other places: and when they haue ſufficiently ſtored them of ſuch victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter ſtations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertility which I coniecture to be in that Countrey.

Their vſe of yron.

They haue ſome yron whereof they make arrow heads, kniues, and other little inſtruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

It ſeemeth that they haue conuerſation with ſome other people, of whom for exchange they ſhould receiue the ſame. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a ſound.

Anthropophagi.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idoll they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence. I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans fleſh then otherwiſe: for that there is no fleſh or fiſh which they find dead (ſmell it neuer ſo filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dreſſing. A loathſome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

Signes of gold oare.

There is no maner of creeping beaſt hurtfull, except ſome Spiders (which as many affirme, are ſignes of great ſtore of gold) and alſo certaine ſtinging Gnattes, which bite ſo fiercely, that the place where they bite ſhortly after ſwelleth and itcheth very ſore.

Signes of gold from other people.

They make ſignes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

Deſcription of the Countreis.

The Countreys on both ſides the ſtreights lye very high with rough ſtony mountaines, and great quantitie of ſnow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no graſſe, except a little which is much like vnto moſſe that groweth on ſoft ground, ſuch as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe there is nothing fit or profitable for the vſe of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whoſe ſkins are like vnto Aſſes, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as alſo in breadth, any in theſe our parts or Countreys: their feete likewiſe are as great as our oxens, which we meaſured to be ſeuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are alſo hares, wolues, fiſhing beares, and ſea foule of ſundry ſorts.

As the Countrey is barren and vnfertile, ſo are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the ſame to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fiſhing, and fouling, with raw fleſh and warme blood to ſatiſfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

A ſigne of Earthquakes or thunder.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monſtrous mountaines, whoſe greateſt ſubſtance are ſtones, and thoſe ſtones ſo ſhaken with ſome extraordinarie meanes that one is ſeparated from another, which is diſcordant from all other Quarries.

There are no riuers, or running ſprings, but ſuch as through the heate of the Sunne, with ſuch water as diſcendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of ſnow do lie, are ingendred.

No riuers, but ſuch as the Sunne doth cauſe to come of ſnow.

It argueth alſo that there ſhould be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is ſo froſen within, that that water which ſhould haue recourſe within the ſame to maintaine ſprings, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is ſeene other where. Such valleis as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne deſcendeth from great abundance of ſnowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no paſſage, ſinketh into the earth and ſo vaniſheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occaſion or continuall ſtanding of the ſaid water, the earth is opened, and the great froſt yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or fiue fathoms within the ground for lacke of the ſaid moiſture, the earth (euen in the very Summer time) is froſen, and ſo combineth the ſtones together, that ſcarcely inſtruments with great force can vnknit them.

A probabilitie that there ſhould be neither ſpring or riuers in the ground.

Alſo where the water in thoſe valleis can haue no ſuch paſſage away, by the continuance of time in ſuch order as is before rehearſed, the yeerely deſcent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the loweſt banke of the ſame, they fall into the valley, and ſo continue as fiſhing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard froſen: as by ſkarres that remaine thereof in Summer may eaſily be perceiued: ſo that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to diſſolue the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

Neuertheleſſe I am aſſured that below the force of the froſt within the earth, the waters haue recourſe, and emptie themſelues out of ſight into the ſea, which through the extremitie of the froſt are conſtrained to doe the ſame: by which occaſion the earth within is kept the warmer, and ſprings haue their recourſe, which is the onely nutriment of golde and Minerals within the ſame.

Springs nouriſh gold.

There is much to be ſayd of the commodities of theſe Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let paſſe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

The 24. of Auguſt, after we had ſatiſfied our minds with fraight ſufficient for our veſſels, though not our couetous deſires with ſuch knowledge of the Countrey, people, and other commodities as are before rehearſed, we departed therehence. The 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and ſo ſailed to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Hauen to conduct the ſhip.

Our departure from thoſe Countreys.

We loſt our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29. of Auguſt, the other the 31. of the ſame moneth, by occaſion of great tempeſt and fogge. Howbeit God reſtored the one to Briſtowe, and the other made his courſe by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we loſt two men, one in the way by Gods viſitation, and the other homeward caſt ouer borde with a ſurge of the ſea.

How & when we loſt our 2. Barks, which God neuertheleſſe reſtored.

I Could declare vnto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of ſuch places and regions as we haue bene at, but not altogether ſo perfectly as our maſters and others, with many circumſtances of tempeſts and other accidents incident to Sea faring men, which ſeeme not altogether ſtrange, but I let them paſſe to their reports as men moſt apt to ſet forth and declare the ſame. I haue alſo left the names of the Countreys on both the ſhores vntouched, for lacke of vnderſtanding the peoples language: as alſo for ſundry reſpects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

The concluſion.

Countreys new diſcouered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the diſcouerers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our general named ſundry Iſlands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of diuers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, aſwel on the one ſhore as alſo on the other.

The third and laſt voyage vnto *Meta Incognita*, made by M. *Martin Frobiſher*, in the yeere 1578. Written by *Thomas Ellis*.

Theſe are to let you know, that vpon the 25, of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall, whoſe Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Maſter, Chriſtopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whoſe Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ſhips came to Grauеſend, where wee ankred and abode the comming of certaine of our Fleete which were not yet come.

Maſter Yorke. Chriſtopher Hall. The Hopewel. Captaine Carew. Andrew Dier, The 27. of the ſame moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things preſt in a readineſſe, the wind fauouring, and tide ſeruing, we being of ſailes in number eight, waied ankers and hoiſed our ſailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the reſidue which then and there abode our arriuall: where we ſafely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we with the diſcharge of certaine pieces ſaluted, according to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courteſie: which being finiſhed we landed: where our Generall continued muſtering his ſouldiers and Miners, and ſetting things in order appertaining to the voyage vntill the laſt of the ſaid moneth of May, which day we hoiſed our ſailes, and committing our ſelues to the conducting of Almightie God, we ſet forward toward the weſt Countrey in ſuch luckie wiſe and good ſucceſſe, that by the fift of Iune we paſſed the Durſies, being the vtmoſt part of Ireland to the Weſtward.

Harwich.

Durſies, Ireland.

And here it were not much amiſſe nor farre from our purpoſe, if I ſhould a little diſcourſe and ſpeake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plimmouth, as alſo the meeting certaine poore men, which were robbed and ſpoyled of all that they had by Pirates and Rouers: amongſt whom was a man of Briſtow, on whom our Generall vſed his liberalitie, and ſent him away with letters into England.

Plimmouth.

Briſtow.

But becauſe ſuch things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the ſame) to that from the which I haue digreſſed and ſwarued, I meane our ſhips now ſailing on the ſurging ſeas, ſometime paſſing at pleaſure with a wiſhed Eaſterne wind, ſometime hindered of our courſe againe by the Weſterne blaſts, vntill the 20. day of the foreſayd moneth of Iune, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almoſt cleane couered with ſnow, ſo that we might ſee nought but craggie rockes and the tops of high and huge hilles, ſometimes (and for the moſt part) all couered with foggie miſts. There might we alſo perceiue the great Iſles of yce lying on the ſeas, like mountaines, ſome ſmall, ſome big, of ſundry kinds of ſhapes, and ſuch a number of them, that wee could not come neere the ſhore for them.

Frizeland.

Thus ſailing alongſt the coaſt, at the laſt we ſaw a place ſomewhat voyd of yce, where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other) went a ſhore, where they ſawe certaine tents made of beaſts ſkinnes, and boates much like vnto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furniſhed with fleſh, fiſh, ſkins, and other trifles: amongſt the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongſt them, or els a traffike with ſome other nation. The men ran away, ſo that wee could haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (becauſe hee would haue them no more to flee, but rather incouraged to ſtay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement that his men ſhould take nothing away with them, ſauing onely a couple of white dogs, for the which he left pinnes, poynts, kniues, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and ſo came abord, and hoyſed ſailes, and paſſed forwards.

The curteſie of our Generall.

But being ſcarce out of the ſight thereof, there fell ſuch a fogge and hidious miſt that we could not ſee one another: whereupon we ſtroke our drums, and ſounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and ſo continued all that day and night till the next day that the miſt brake vp: ſo that we might eaſily perceiue all the ſhips thus ſailing together all that day, vntil the next day, being the 22. of the ſame: on which day wee ſawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we caſt about to ſhun the danger thereof.

But one of our ſmall Barkes named the Michael, whoſe Captaine was Maſter Kinderſlie, the Maſter Bartholomew Bull, loſt our company, inſomuch that we could not obteine the ſight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to ſpeake further anon when occaſion ſhall be miniſtred, and opportunitie ſerue. Thus we continued in our courſe vntill the ſecond of Iuly, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where we ſaw ſo much yce, that we thought it vnpoſſible to get into the Straights: yet at the laſt we gaue the aduenture and entred the yce.

Maſter Kinderſlie. Bartholomew Bull.

Being amongſt it wee ſawe the Michael, of whom I ſpake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whoſe Captaine was Maſter Fenton, the Maſter Charles Iackman, bearing into the foreſayd yce, farre diſtant from vs, who in a ſtorme that fell that preſent night, (whereof I will at large God willing, diſcourſe hereafter) were ſeuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights amongſt the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the laſt, (by the prouidence of God) they came ſafely to harbor in their wiſhed Port, in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, the 20. of Iuly aforeſayd, tenne dayes before any of the other ſhippes: who going on ſhore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their prouiſion in great heapes of ſtones being both of fleſh and fiſh, which they had killed: whereof wee alſo found great ſtore in

The Michael. The Iudith. M. Fenton. Charles Iackman.

The Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound.

other places after our arriual. They found alſo diuers engins, as bowes, ſlings, and darts. They found likewiſe certaine pieces of the Pinneſſe which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinneſſe he had ſunke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

Now ſeeing I haue entreated ſo much of the Iudith and the Michael: I will returne to the reſt of the other ſhips, and will ſpeake a little of the ſtorme which fell, with the miſhaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

At the firſt entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our paſſage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the moſt part, being a league in compaſſe, the yce being round about vs and incloſing vs, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (becauſe it was almoſt night) we minded to take in our ſailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the ſtorme ſo increaſed, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce ſo neere vs, and comming on ſo faſt vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might eſpie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs ſo faſt, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus paſſed we on in that great danger, ſeeing both our ſelues and the reſt of our ſhips ſo troubled and toſſed amongſt the yce, that it would make the ſtrongeſt heart to relent.

Our entrance & paſſage, &c.

At the laſt the Barke Dionyſe being but a weake ſhip, and bruiſed afore amongſt the yce, being ſo leake that no longer ſhe could tarry aboue the water, ſanke without ſauing any of the goods which were within her: which ſight ſo abaſhed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we ſhould haue taſted of the ſame ſauce. But neuertheleſſe we ſeeing them in ſuch danger, manned our boates and ſaued all the men in ſuch wiſe, that not one periſhed: God be thanked.

Barke Dionyſe.

The ſtorme ſtill increaſed and the yce incloſed vs, ſo that we were faine to take downe top and top maſtes: for the yce had ſo inuironed vs, that we could ſee neither land nor ſea, as farre as we could kenne: ſo that we were faine to cut our cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, ſomewhat to eaſe the ſhips ſides from the great and driry ſtrokes of the the yce: ſome with Capſtan barres, ſome fending off with oares, ſome with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, ſome going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their ſhoulders from the ſhips. But the rigorouſnes of the tempeſt was ſuch, and the force of the yce ſo great, that that not onely they burſt and ſpoyled the foreſaid prouiſion, but likewiſe ſo raſed the ſides of the ſhips, that it was pitifull to behold, and cauſed the hearts of many to faint.

Narow ſhifts for ſafetie.

Thus we continued all that diſmall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexitie, looking for inſtant death: but our God (who neuer leaueth them deſtitute which faithfully call vpon him, although he often puniſheth for amendements ſake) in the morning cauſed the winds to ceaſe, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: ſo that we might perceiue about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an eaſie breath of wind which our God ſent vs, we bent our ſelues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deſerued or hoped for: for when we were in the foreſaid cleare place, he ſent vs a freſh gale at Weſt or at Weſt Southweſt, which ſet vs cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he ſent vs ſo pleaſant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after puniſhment conſolation.

Gods prouidence.

Thus we ioyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our ſailes and lay a hull, praying God for our deliuerance, and ſtayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we ſeeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, ſauing onely they of whom I ſpake before and the ſhip which was loſt, then at the laſt wee hoiſed our ſailes, and lay bulting off and on, till ſuch time as it would pleaſe God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which ſurpaſſed all the reſt that euer we ſaw: for we iudged it to be neere foureſcore fathomes aboue water, and we thought it to be aground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine ſcore fathoms deepe, and of compaſſe about halfe a mile.

A mountaine of yce appearing in ſundry figures.

Alſo the fift of Iuly there fell a hidious fogge and miſt, that continued till the nineteenth of the ſame: ſo that one ſhippe could not ſee another. Therefore we were faine to beare a ſmall ſayle and to obſerue the time: but there ran ſuch a current of a tide, that it ſet vs to the Northweſt of the Queenes foreland the backſide of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no ſight either of Sunne or Starre) we ſcarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of Iuly we loſt the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

A fog of long continuance.

A current to the Northweſt.

The 16. day one of our ſmall Barkes named the Gabriel was ſent by our Generall to beare in

The Gabriel.

The people offer to traffike with vs.

with the land to diſcrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which ſeemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and ſkins for kniues, and other trifles: whoſe courteſie cauſed vs to thinke, that they had ſmall conuerſation with other of the Straights.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Iſlands whereon we went on ſhore, and found where the people had bene: but we ſaw none of them. This day wee were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the firſt. For through the darkneſſe and obſcuritie of the foggie miſt, we were almoſt run on rocks and Iſlands before we ſaw them: But God (euen miraculouſly) prouided for vs, opening the fogges that we might ſee clearely, both where and in what danger we preſently were, and alſo the way to eſcape: or els without faile we had ruinouſly runne vpon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our inſtant caſe, wee caſt about to get againe on Sea-bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praiſed God. The cleare continued ſcarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themſelues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, ſtrooke their ſailes and lay a hull, ſtaying to haue the reſt of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themſelues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall diſcharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that ſhe had eſcaped, and that the reſt (by following of her) might ſet themſelus free, which they did that day.

Warning pieces of ſafe paſſage diſcharged.

Then hauing gathered our ſelues togither we proceeded on our purpoſed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our ſelues diſtant from the coaſt till the 19. day of Iuly: at which time the fogges brake vp and diſperſed, so that we might plainely and clearely behold the pleaſant ayre, which ſo long had bene taken from vs, by the obſcuritie of the foggie miſts: and after that time we were not much encombred therewith vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

A faire ſound betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans ſound.

Then we eſpying a fayre ſound, ſuppoſed it to goe into the Straights betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans ſound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall ſent forth againe the Gabriel to diſcouer it, who paſſed through with much difficulty: for there ran ſuch an extreme current of a tide, with ſuch a horrible gulfe, that with a freſh gale of wind they were ſcarce able to ſtemme it: yet at the length with great trauaile they paſſed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater: who altogether aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to ſee if they could obtaine their wiſhed Port. But they were ſo incombred that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the laſt they eſcaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel bare in with the Weſterne ſhore, where they found harbour, and there moared their ſhips vntill the fourth of Auguſt, at which time they came to vs in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound. The Thomas of Ipſwich caught a great leake which cauſed her to caſt againe to Seabord and ſo was mended.

We ſailed along ſtill by the coaſt vntill we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforeſayd, which place or gulfe (as ſome of our Maſters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee diſcouered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would ſerue to ſearch. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulting vp and downe euer ſince her departure alone, neuer finding any of her company. We met then alſo the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet ſo thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea-bord.

An horrible ſnowe fell in Iuly.

There fell alſo the ſame day being the 26. of Iuly, ſuch an horrible ſnow, that it lay a foot thick vpon the hatches which froſe as it fell.

We had alſo at other times diuers cruell ſtormes both of ſnow and haile, which manifeſtly declared the diſtemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were ſo many times repulſed and put backe from our purpoſe; knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually conſented to our valiant Generall once againe, to giue the onſet.

The 28. day therefore of the ſame Iuly we aſſayed, and with little trouble (God be prayſed) we paſſed the dangers by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chaſed away the noyſome darkeneſſe of the night: at which time we ſet forward towards our wiſhed Port: by the 30. day wee obteined our expected deſire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no ſmal ioy vnto the General, and great conſolation to the heauie hearts of thoſe wearied wights.

The time of our ſetting forward, &c.

The 30. day of July we brought our ſhips into the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, and moared them, namely theſe ſhips, The Admirall, the Rearadmiral, the Francis of Foy, the Beare, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore vpon the Counteſſes Iland, where he ſet his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to diſpatch with their lading.

Our Generall himſelfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into ſundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as alſo to finde out and ſee the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine vpon an Iland by Beares ſound, and named it the Counteſſe of Suſſex Iland. One other was found in Winters Fornace, with diuers others, to which the ſhips were ſent ſunderly to be laden. In the ſame rodes he mette with diuers of the people of the Countrey at ſundry times, as once at a place called Dauids ſound: who ſhot at our men, and very deſperately gaue them the onſet, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a doſen: but ſeeing themſelues not able to preuaile, they tooke themſelues to flight: whom our men purſued, but being not vſed to ſuch craggie cliffes, they ſoone loſt the ſight of them, and ſo in vaine returned.

The Counteſſe of Suſſex Iland. Winters Fornace.

Dauids ſound.

We alſo ſaw of them at Beares ſound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ſhips chanced to be in the ſound (as they came diuers times, becauſe the Harbor was not very good) the ſhip laden, and departed againe: then ſo long as any ſhips were in ſight, the people would not be ſeene. But when as they perceiued the ſhips to be gone, they would not only ſhew themſelues ſtanding vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but alſo would come in their Botes very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertiſement, ſent for the Captaines and Gentlemen of the Ships, to accompany and attend vpon him, with the Captaine alſo of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the Fleebote hauing loſt vs the 26. day in the great ſnowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good Oare, wherewith they laded themſelues, and came to ſeeke the Generall: ſo that now we had all our Shippes, ſauing one Barke, which was loſt, and the Thomas of Ipſwich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forſooke our company, and returned home without lading.

The policie of the people for ſafetie of themſelues.

Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I ſpake) came all together to the Counteſſe of Suſſex Iland, neere to Beares ſound: where he manned out certaine Pinniſſes, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, fledde away with all ſpeede, and in haſte left certaine dartes and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

Their ſpeedie flight at our Generals arriuall.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in botes vpon the Sea, gaue chaſe to them in a Pinneſſe vnder ſaile, with a freſh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he ſailed, the further off he was from them: which well ſhewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commaunded vs to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboard with our ſhips: for whileſt we were in the Countrey, we were in continual danger of freezing in: for often ſnow and haile often falling, the water was ſo much froſen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could ſcarce row our botes or Pinneſſes, eſpecially in Diers ſound, which is a calme and ſtill water: which cauſed our Generall to make the more haſte, ſo that by the 30. day of Auguſt we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceede any further herein, to ſhew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and thoſe Gentlemen which ſhould haue inhabited all the yeere in thoſe Countries, whoſe valiant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtleſſe they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withſtoode their willingneſſe.

Gentlemen ſhould haue inhabited the Countrey.

For the Barke Dionyſe which was loſt, had in her much of their houſe which was prepared and ſhould haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Alſo the Thomas of Ipſwich which had moſt of their prouiſion in her, came not into the Streightes at all: neither did we ſee her ſince the day we were ſeparated in the great ſnow, of which I ſpake before. For theſe cauſes, hauing not their houſe, nor yet prouiſion, they were diſappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ſhips, and ſo came away with vs.

But before we tooke ſhipping, we builded a litle houſe in the Counteſſe of Warwicks Iland, and garniſhed it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glaſſes, Kombes, Babes on horſebacke and on foote, with innumerable other ſuch fanſies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to ſome familiaritie againſt other yeeres.

An houſe erected and garniſhed with diuers trifles.

Thus

An outragious tempeſt.

Thus hauing finiſhed all things we departed the Countrey, as I ſayd before: but becauſe the Buſſe had not lading enough in her, ſhe put into Beares ſound to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the reſt without at Sea ſtayed for her. And that night fell ſuch an outragious tempeſt, beating on our ſhips with ſuch vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Iſlands of yce, inſomuch that (had not the great goodneſſe of God bene miraculouſly ſhewed to vs) we had bene caſt away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one ſhippe (I thinke) that eſcaped without dammage. Some loſt anchor and alſo cables, ſome botes, ſome Pinniſſes: ſome anchor, cables, boates and Pinniſſes.

This boyſtrous ſtorme ſo ſeuered vs one from another, that one ſhippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Rearadmirall, or any other ſhip of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares ſound could not come to his Shippe, but was compelled to goe aboord the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boyſtrous blaſts continued ſo extreamely and ſo long a time, that they ſent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in ſuch haſte, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were ſeparated. And if by chance any one Shippe did ouertake other, by ſwiftneſſe of ſayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigour of the wind ſo hidious, that they could not continue company together the ſpace of one whole night.

Our entring the coaſtes dangerous.

Thus our iourney outward was not ſo pleaſant, but our comming thither, entering the coaſts and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and ſwift tides, our times of aboade there in ſnowe and ſtormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of Auguſt with dangerous bluſtering windes and tempeſts, which that night aroſe, was as vncomfortable: ſeparating vs ſo as wee ſayled, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the Engliſh coaſtes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and paſſed the channell, vntill our arriuall in the riuer of Thames.

The report of *Thomas VViars* paſſenger in the *Emanuel*, otherwiſe called the *Buſſe* of *Bridgewater*, wherein *Iames Leech* was Maſter, one of the ſhips in the laſt Voyage of Maſter *Martin Frobiſher* 1578. concerning the the diſcouerie of a great Iſland in their way homeward the 12. of September.

The Buſſe of Bridgewater was left in Beares ſound at Meta incognita, the ſecond day of September behinde the Fleete in ſome diſtreſſe, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee ſhoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two, The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North northweſt ſhe ſet ſayle, and departed thence, and fell with Friſland on the 8. day of September at ſixe of the clocke at night, and then they ſet off from the Southweſt point of Friſland, the wind being at Eaſt, and Eaſt Southeaſt, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and ſhifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at Weſt northweſt faire weather, they ſteered Southeaſt, and by ſouth, and continued that courſe vntil the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they deſcryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermoſt part of it was Southeaſt by Eaſt from them, and the Northermoſt next, North Northeaſt, or Northeaſt. The Maſter accompted that the Southeaſt poynt of Friſland was from him at that inſtant when hee firſt deſcryed this new Iſlande, Northweſt by North, 50. leagues. They account this Iſland to be 25. leagues long, and the longeſt way of it Southeaſt, and Northweſt. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. ſecond part, or there about. They continued in ſight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the laſt part they ſaw of it, bare from them Northweſt by North. There appeared two Harboroughs vpon that coaſt: the greateſt of them ſeuen leagues to the Northwards of the Southermoſt poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the ſame land, and alſo twentie or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the Weſt part of Ireland about Galway, and had firſt ſight of it on the 25. day of September.

The Iſland in length 25. leagues.
This Iland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 ſecond part.
Two harboroughs in this Iſland.

Notes framed by M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple Eſquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with *M. Frobiſher in his* North weſt diſcouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, conſidering the ſame may ſtirre vp conſiderations of theſe and of ſuch other things, not vnmeete in ſuch new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

That the firſt Seate be choſen on the ſeaſide, ſo as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate ſafe from the enemie: and ſo as the enemie ſhalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be diſperſed with all windes and tempeſts that ſhall ariſe. Thus ſeated you ſhall be leaſt ſubiect to annoy of the enemie, ſo may you by your Nauie within paſſe out to all parts of the world, and ſo may the Shippes of England haue acceſſe to you to ſupply all wants, ſo may your commodities be caryed away alſo. This ſeat is to be choſen in a temperate Climat, in ſweete ayre, where you may poſſeſſe alwayes ſweete water, wood, ſeacoles or turfe, with fiſh, fleſh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or ſo many of thoſe as may ſuffice very neceſſitie for the life of ſuch as ſhall plant there. And for the poſſeſſing of mines of golde, of ſiluer, copper, quickſiluer, or of any ſuch precious thing, the wants of thoſe needfull things may be ſupplyed from ſome other place by ſea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of,
Slate ſtone to tyle withall, or ſuch clay as maketh tyle,
Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made,
Timber for buylding eaſely to be conueied to the place,
Reede to couer houſes or ſuch like, if tyle or ſlate be not,
are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil ſort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandiſe. If they ſhall liue without ſea traffique, at the firſt they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miſerable by infinite wants that will otherwiſe enſue, and ſo will they be forced of themſelues to depart, or elſe eaſely they will be conſumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and ſo the enterprize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purpoſes that may be taken in hand.

And by trade of marchandiſe they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue moſt ſpeciall regard of that poynt, and ſo to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and ſeate may draw to you acceſſe of Nauigation for the ſame, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the ſame out, and fetch home the ſupply of the wants of the ſeate.

Such Nauigation ſo to be employed ſhall, beſides the ſupply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of ſuch things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, ſtandeth a matter of great conſequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curteſie and much forbearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vſed: ſo ſhall you haue firme amitie with your neighbours, ſo ſhall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and ſo ſhall you waxe rich and ſtrong in force. Diuers and ſeuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of ſome portable or Nauigable riuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of ſuch a one is moſt requiſite: And ſo is it of effect for the diſperſing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For ſo may you beſt diſcouer all the natural cōmodities of their countrey, & alſo all their wants, al their ſtrengths, all their weakneſſe, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greateſt conſequence.

And in your planting the conſideration of the clymate and of the ſoyle be matters that are to be reſpected. For if it be ſo that you may let in the ſalt ſea water, not mixed with the freſh into flats, where the ſunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of ſkill, and ſo you haue wonne one noble commoditie for the fiſhing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the ſoyle and clymate be ſuch as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Iſlands of the Canaries, then there reſteth but a workman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dreſſe Reſigns of the ſunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a ſoyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Oliue tree to growe: Then you may be aſſured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, conſidering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the Weſt Indies, and if you finde the wilde Oliue there it may be graffed.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our ſtate of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the Weſt Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beaſts fitte for ſole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the ſoyle ſhall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, Potatos, &c. there may ariſe ſome trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, cheſts may be made, if they be of ſome kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of ſome other, then they may yeeld Roſin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewiſe ſhips and houſes, &c.

And becauſe traffique is a thing ſo materiall, I wiſh that great obſeruation be taken what euery ſoyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie ſoeuer, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeuour, and to ſend vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuiſe what meanes may be thought of to raiſe trades.

Now admit that we might not be ſuffered by the Sauages to enioy any whole country or any more then the ſcope of a citie, yet if we might enioy traffique, and be aſſured of the ſame, we might be much inriched, our Nauie might be increaſed, and a place of ſafetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuil warres ſhould happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt ſoyle, we might ſo vſe the matter, as we ſhould not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, ſacks, reſignes, orenges, lemonds, ſpaniſh ſkins, &c. Nor vpon France for woad, bayſalt, and Gaſcoyne wines, nor on Eaſtland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, maſtes, &c. So we ſhould not ſo exhauſt our treaſure, and ſo exceedingly inrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but ſhould purchaſe the commodities that we want for halfe the treaſure that now wee doe: and ſhould by our owne induſtries and the benefites of the ſoyle there cheaply purchaſe oyles, wines, ſalt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, maſtes, boords, fiſh, golde, ſiluer, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: beſides if there be no flatts to make ſalt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in ſufficient quantitie for common vſes at home there.

If you can keepe a ſafe Hauen, although you haue not the friendſhip of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by ſea vpon one ſhore or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not preſent.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the ſhore ſide or vpon any portable riuer, you were beſt to cut downe of the ſame the firſt winter, to be ſeaſoned for ſhips, barks, boates and houſes.

And if neere ſuch wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a ſawing mill may be placed, it would doe great ſeruice, and therefore conſideration would be had of ſuch places.

And if ſuch port & choſen place of ſetling were in poſſeſſion and after fortified by arte, although by the land ſide our Engliſhmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themſelues of fiſh to ſerue very neceſſitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and ſo haue vent of their marchandize of England & alſo haue victual, or by meanes hereupon to be vſed, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the ſeting place, they ſhould find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Iſlands alſo. And ſo this firſt ſeat might in time become a ſtapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place firſt choſen ſhould not ſo well pleaſe our people, as ſome other more lately found out: There might be an eaſie remoue, and that might be raſed, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the ſoyles adioyning to ſuch conuenient Hauen and ſetling places be found marſhie and boggie, then men ſkilful in dꝛayning are to be carryed thither. Foꝛ arte may woꝛke wonderful effects therein, and make the ſoyle rich foꝛ many vſes.

To plant vpon an Iſland in the mouth of ſome notable riuer, oꝛ vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no ſuch Iſland be, were to great end. Foꝛ if ſuch riuer were nauigable oꝛ poꝛtable farre into the land, then would ariſe great hope of planting in fertil ſoyles, and traffike on the one oꝛ on the other ſide of the riuer, oꝛ on both, oꝛ the linking in amitie with one oꝛ other pettie king contending there foꝛ dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made foꝛ the ſafe paſſage of ſuch as ſhall pierce the ſame. Theſe are to be couered with doubles of courſe linnen artificially wꝛought, to defend the arrow oꝛ the dart of the ſauage from the rower.

Since euery ſoile of the woꝛld by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bꝛing in your returne a perfect note of the ſoile without and within, and we ſhall deuiſe if neede require to amend the ſame, and to dꝛaw it to moꝛe perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we ſhall in fiue dꝛifats furniſh you with ſuch kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as ſhall the very next ſummer following yeeld you ſome fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as ſhall ſuffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that ſhoꝛtly after ſhall be able to yeeld you great ſtoꝛe of ſtrong durable good ſider to dꝛinke, and theſe trees ſhall be able to encreaſe you within leſſe then ſeuen yeeres as many trees pꝛeſently to beare, as may ſuffice the people of diuers pariſhes, which at the firſt ſetling may ſtand you in great ſtead, if the ſoile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodneſſe already. And becauſe you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld pꝛeſent reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, thereforꝛe I make mention of theſe thus ſpecially, to the end you may haue it ſpecially in minde.

A true Diſcourſe of the three Voyages of diſcouerie, for the finding of a paſſage to *Cathaya*, by the Northweſt, vnder the conduct of *Martin Frobiſher* Generall: Before which, as a neceſſary Preface is prefixed a twofolde diſcourſe, conteining certaine reaſons to proue all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Maſter *George Beſt*, a Gentleman employed in the ſame voyages.

What commodities and inſtructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Diſcourſe.

1 First, by example may be gathered, how a Diſcouerer of new Countries is to pꝛoceede in his firſt attempt of any Diſcouerie.

2 Item, how he ſhould be pꝛouided of ſhipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.

3 How to pꝛoceede and deale with ſtrange people, be they neuer ſo barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie oꝛ otherwiſe.

4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.

5 How a Pilot may deale, being inuironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen Sea.

6 How length of dayes, change of ſeaſons, Summers and Winters doe differ in ſundꝛy regions.

7 How dangerous it is to attempt new Diſcoueries, either foꝛ the length of the voyage, oꝛ the ignoꝛance of the language, the want of Interpꝛetoꝛs, new and vnaccuſtomed Elements and ayꝛes, ſtrange and vnſauoury meates, danger of theeues and robbers, fierceneſſe of wilde beaſtes and fiſhes, hugeneſſe of woods, dangerouſneſſe of Seas, dꝛead of tempeſtes, feare of hidden rockes, ſteepneſſe of mountaines, darkeneſſe of ſudden falling fogges, continuall paines taking without any reſt, and infinite others.

8 How pleaſant and pꝛofitable it is to attempt new Diſcoueries, either foꝛ the ſundꝛy ſights and ſhapes of ſtrange beaſtes and fiſhes, the wonderfull woꝛkes of nature, the different maners and faſhions of diuers nations, the ſundꝛy ſoꝛtes of gouernment, the ſight of ſtrange trees, fruite, foules, and beaſtes, the infinite treaſure of Pearle, Golde and Siluer, the newes of newe found landes, the ſundꝛy poſitions of the Sphere, and many others.

9 How valiant Captaines vſe to deale vpon extremitie, and otherwiſe.

10 How truſtie ſouldiers dutifully vſe to ſerue.

11 Alſo here may bee ſeene a good example to be obſerued of any pꝛiuate perſon, in taking notes, and making obſeruations of all ſuch things as are requiſite foꝛ a Diſcouerer of newe Countries.

12 Laſtly, the Reader here may ſee a good patterne of a well gouerned ſeruice, ſundry inſtructions of matters of Coſmographie, Geographie, and Nauigation, as in reading more at large may be ſeene.

Experiences and reaſons of the Sphere, to proue all partes of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the poſition of the fiue Zones.

Experience to proue that Torrida Zona is habitable.

First, it may be gathered by experience of our Engliſhmen in Anno 1553. For Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandiſe to Guinea, and entred ſo farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned with gaine.

Alſo the Engliſhmen made another Voyage very proſperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coaſts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a trueth, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongſt by Benin, vnto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendiculer vnder the Equinoctial) all that whole Bay is more ſubiect to many blooming and ſmoothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cauſe thereof is ſome accidents in the land. For it is moſt certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes &c. may cauſe through their ſundry kinde of ſituation, ſundry ſtrange and extraordinary effects, which the reaſon of the clyme otherwiſe would not giue. I mention theſe Voyages of our Engliſhmen, not ſo much to proue that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to ſhew their readineſſe in attempting long and dangerous Nauigations. Wee alſo among vs in England haue blacke Moores, Æthiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a ſmall continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why ſhould not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what ſhould I name any more experiences, ſeeing that all the coaſtes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and ſome Engliſhmen, who there haue built Caſtles and Townes. Onely this I will ſay to the Merchants of London, that trade yeerely to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greateſt part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in Iune, then the Countrey of Marochus, as ſhall appeare by theſe reaſons and experiences following. For let vs firſt conſider the breadth and bigneſſe of this burning Zone (which as euery man knoweth, is 47. degrees) each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being 23. degrees and a halfe diſtant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Paralels, on each ſide the Equinoctiall one, eyther of them diſtant from the Equinoctial about 20. degrees, which Paralels may be deſcribed either of them twice a yeere by the Sunne, being in the firſt degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of Iuly, hauing North latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the firſt degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of Nouember, and in Aquarius the 9. of Ianuary, hauing South latitude, I am to proue by experience and reaſon, that all that diſtance included betweene theſe two Paralels laſt named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the ſame moſt fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the ſame not to be within the ſpace of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either ſide, but onely vnder and about the two Tropickes, and ſo proportionally the neerer you doe approch to eyther Tropicke, the more you are ſubiect to extremitie of heate (if any ſuch be) and ſo Marochus being ſituate but ſixe or ſeuen degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, ſhall be more ſubiect to heate, then any place vnder or neere the Equinoctiall line.

Marochus more hote then about the Equinoctiall.

And firſt by the experience of ſundry men, yea thouſands, Trauailers and Merchants, to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies in many places both directly vnder, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one conſent affirme, that it aboundeth in the middeſt of Torrida Zona with all maner of Graine, Hearbes, graſſe, fruite, wood and cattell, that we haue heere, and thouſandes other ſortes, farre more wholeſome, delectable and precious, then any wee haue in theſe Northerne climates, as very well ſhall appeare to him that will reade the Hiſtories and Nauigations of ſuch as haue trauelled Arabia, India intra & extra Gangem, the Iſlands Moluccæ, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truely reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radiſh, Lettuce, Colewortes, Borage, and ſuch like, doe waxe ripe, greater, more ſauourie and delectable in taſte then ours, within ſixteene dayes after the ſeede is ſowen. Wheate being ſowed the firſt of Februarie, was found ripe the firſt of May, and generally, where it is

Marueilous fruitfull ſoile vnder the Equinoctiall.

it is leſſe fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the ſeed is ſowne, and in ſome places will bring foorth an eare as bigge as the wriſt of a mans arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, peace, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Alſo graſſe being cut downe, will grow vp in ſixe dayes aboue one foote high. If our cattell be tranſported thither, within a ſmall time their yongones become of bigger ſtature, and more fat then euer they would haue bene in theſe countreys. There are found in euery wood in great numbers, ſuch timber trees as twelue men holding handes together are not able to fathome. And to be ſhort, all they that haue bene there with one conſent affirme, that there are the goodlieſt greene medowes and plaines, the faireſt mountaines couered with all ſorts of trees and fruites, the faireſt valleys, the goodlieſt pleaſant freſh riuers, ſtored with infinite kinde of fiſhes, the thickeſt woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, ſiluer, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of ſpices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in ſuch abundance, as hitherto they haue bene thought to haue bene bred no where elſe but there. And in concluſion, it is nowe thought that no where elſe but vnder the Equinoctiall, or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradiſe, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that theſe things may ſeeme the leſſe ſtrange, becauſe it hath bene accompted of the olde Philoſophers, that there coulde nothing proſper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going ouer their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge ſuch naturall cauſes as to me ſeeme very ſubſtantiall and ſure reaſons.

Great trees.

Commodities and pleaſures vnder the Equinoctiall.

Firſt you are to vnderſtand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or leſſe heat in theſe lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in ſome place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and vneuen Angles. And the other meane is the longer or ſhorter continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon. So that whereſoeuer theſe two cauſes do moſt concurre, there is moſt exceſſe of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is leſſe. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly vpon any region ſubiect vnto it, if it hath no continuance or abode aboue the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. And this ſecond cauſe mora Solis ſupra Horizontem, the time of the ſunnes abiding aboue the Horizon, the old Philoſophers neuer remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were vnequall and oblique, the heat was the leſſe, as towards both Poles, which reaſon is very good and ſubſtantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reuerberate in themſelues, ſo that the heat is doubled, euery beame ſtriking twice, & by vniting are multiplied, and continue ſtrong in forme of a Columne. But in our Latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames deſcend oblique and ſlanting wiſe, and ſo ſtrike but once and depart, and therefore our heat is the leſſe for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet becauſe wee haue a longer continuance of the Sunnes preſence aboue our Horizon then they haue vnder the Equinoctial; by this continuance the heat is increaſed, for it ſhineth to vs 16. or 18. houres ſometime, when it continueth with them but twelue houres alwayes.

Heat is cauſed by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.

Note this reaſon.

And againe, our night is very ſhort wherein cold vapours vſe to abound, being but ſixe or eight houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelue houres long, by which two aduantages of long dayes and ſhort nightes, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to paſſe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proued by experience, and is nothing diſſonant from good reaſon. Therefore whoſoeuer will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, muſt not onely conſider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but alſo the continuance of the ſame aboue the Horizon. As firſt to them vnder the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular ouer their heads, and therefore during the two houres of thoſe two dayes the heat is very vrgent, and ſo perhaps it will be in foure or fiue dayes more an houre euery day, vntill the Sunne in his proper motion haue croſſed the Equinoctiall; ſo that this extreme heat cauſed by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man ſay the Sunne may ſcalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, ſo farre foorth as reaſon leadeth, I am content to allow it, and therefore I will meaſure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, becauſe this temperature is beſt knowen vnto vs. As for example, the 11. day of March, when vnder the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre paſt eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the Eaſt about 38. degrees aboue the Horizon, becauſe there it riſeth alwayes at ſixe of the clocke, and mooueth euery houre 15. degrees, and ſo high very neere will it be with vs at London the ſaid eleuenth day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with vs at noone, the eleuenth of March, the ſame force it ſeemeth to haue vnder the Equinoctial at half an houre paſt eight in the morning, or rather leſſe force vnder the Equinoctiall. For with vs the Sunne had bene already ſixe houres aboue the Horizon, and ſo had purified and clenſed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreaſed at noone; but vnder the Equinoctiall, the Sunne hauing bene vp but two houres and an halfe, had ſufficient to doe, to purge and conſume the cold and moyſt vapours of the long night paſt, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much leſſe heate at halfe an houre paſt eight vnder the Equinoctiall, then is with vs at noone; à fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to haue the Sunne ſhining, but we greatly deſire the ſame. Likewiſe the 11 of Iune, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and vnder the Equinoctiall it is ſo high after 10 of the clocke, and ſeeing then it is beneficial with vs; à fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

And thus haue wee meaſured the force of the Sunnes greateſt heate, the hotteſt dayes in the yeere, vnder the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from ſixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two vntill Sunne ſet. And this is concluded, by reſpecting onely the firſt cauſe of heate, which is the conſideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine ſimilitude, that whereas the Sunne ſhineth neuer aboue twelue houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleaſant euen to vs, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with ſuch warme places. So there remaineth leſſe then foure houres of any exceſſiue heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the yeere, that is the eleuenth day of March, and the fourteenth of September: for vnder the Equinoctiall they haue two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne: and likewiſe two Winters, in Iune and December, which are our Sommer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely taſted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approching neere thereunto, then may wee more eaſily meaſure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it ſtriketh vpon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of Iune the Sunne will be in the firſt degree of Cancer. Then looke what force the heate of the Sunne hath vnder the Equinoctiall, the ſame force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is eleuated betweene fourtie and ſeuen, and fourtie and eight degrees. And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of Iune ſuſtaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the ſame Meridian doeth likewiſe at noone, or the Ilands Taprobana, Moluccæ, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye vnderneath the Equinoctiall. For vpon the twelfth day of Iune aforeſaide, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Iſoſcheles Triangle, whoſe Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Baſis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto Paris in France neere the ſame Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Baſe muſt needs be equal per 5. primi, Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cauſe then the reaſon of the Angle, as the olde Philoſophers haue appointed. But becauſe at Paris the Sunne riſeth two houres before it riſeth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, and ſetteth likewiſe two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes preſence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh ſome effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it muſt then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall.

Paris in France is as hote as vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune.

In Iune is greater heat at Paris then vnder the Equinoctial.

Alſo this is an other reaſon, that when the Sunne ſetteth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe vnder their Horizon, almoſt euen to their Antipodes, whereby their twilights are very ſhort, and their nights are made very extreeme darke and long, and ſo the moyſture and coldneſſe of the long nights wonderfully encreaſeth, ſo that at length the Sunne riſing can hardly in many houres conſume and driue away the colde humours and moyſt vapours of the night paſt, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth vnder their Horizon but very little, after a ſloping ſort, whereby their nights are not very darke, but lightſome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifeſtly appeare, their twilights are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very vneuen, and vnlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Alſo the Sommer day at Paris is ſixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywiſe vnder the Equinoctiall the day is but twelue houres long, and ſo long is alſo the night, in whatſoeuer Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode aboue the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath vnder the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the ſame proportion would ſeeme to be betweene the heate of the one place,

The twilights are ſhorter, and the nights darker vnder the Equinoctial then at Paris.

place and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progreſſe that day in both places) are equall.

But vnder the Equinoctiall the preſence and abode of the Sunne aboue the Horizon is equall to his abſence, and abode vnder the Horizon, eche being twelue houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is aboue the Horizon ſixteene houres long, and but eight houres abſence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be ſubtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine ſtill a double proportion, whereby it ſeemeth to follow, that in Iune the heate at Paris were double to the heate vnder the Equinoctiall. For (as I haue ſaid) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cauſe of difference is, Mora Solis ſupra Horizontem, the ſtay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. Therefore, whoſoeuer could finde out in what proportion the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encreaſe the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expreſly be ſet downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.

Thus you partly ſee by comparing a Climate to vs well knowen, and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune is no exceſſiue heat, but a temperate aire rather tending to cold. For as they haue there for the moſt part a continuall moderate heat, ſo yet ſometime they are a little pinched with colde, and vſe the benefite of fire as well as we, eſpecially in the euening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied faſt in the vpper part of the houſe, ſo will they haue fires made on both ſides their bed, of which two fires, the one they deuiſe ſuperſtitiouſly to driue away ſpirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldneſſe of the nights.

They vſe and haue neede of fire vnder the Equinoctiall.

Alſo in many places of Torrida Zona, eſpecially in the higher landes ſomewhat mountainous, the people a litle ſhrincke at the cold, and are often forced to prouide themſelues clothing, ſo that the Spaniards haue found in the Weſt Indies many people clothed, eſpecially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, elſe would they neuer prouide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a griefe and trouble then otherwiſe. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparell, thinking it to be comberſome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Colde intermingled with heate vnder the Equinoctial.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extreme hot, becauſe the people of the countrey can, and doe liue without clothing, wherein they childiſhly are deceiued: for our Clime rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, becauſe wee cannot liue without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing ſo many clothes, is a remedy againſt extremitie, and argueth not the goodneſſe of the habitation, but inconuenience and iniury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of theſe troubleſome things are required, but that we may liue naked and bare, as nature bringeth vs foorth.

Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, becauſe the people of Africa, eſpecially the Ethiopians, are ſo cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled ſhort, which blackneſſe and curled haire they ſuppoſe to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it ſhould be poſſible I cannot ſee: for euen vnder the Equinoctiall in America, and in the Eaſt Indies, and in the Ilands Moluccæ the people are not blacke, but tauney and white, with long haire vncurled as wee haue, ſo that if the Ethiopians blackneſſe came by the heat of the Sunne, why ſhould not thoſe Americans and Indians alſo be as blacke as they, ſeeing the Sunne is equally diſtant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concaue and conuexe Superficies of the Orbe of the Sunne is concentrike, and equidiſtant to the earth; except any man ſhould imagine ſomewhat of Aux Solis, and Oppoſitum, which indifferently may be applied aſwel to the one place as to the other. But the Sunne is thought to giue no otherwiſe heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neereneſſe to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the middeſt of the middle Zone, and in all other places vpon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall ſnow, which is neerer to the Orbe of the Sunne, then the people are in the valley, by ſo much as the height of theſe mountaines amount vnto, and yet the Sunne notwithſtanding his neereneſſe, can not melt the ſnow for want of conuenient place of reflections. Alſo the middle region of the aire where all the haile, froſt, and ſnow is engendred, is neerer vnto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, becauſe there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect againſt, whereby appeareth that the neereneſſe of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.

The Sunne heateth not by his neereneſſe, but onely by reflection.

Therefore to returne againe to the blacke Moores. I my ſelfe haue ſeene an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire Engliſh woman to wife, begat a ſonne in all reſpects as blacke as the father was, although England were his natiue countrey, and an Engliſh woman his mother: whereby it ſeemeth this blacknes proceedeth rather of ſome natural

A black Moores ſonne borne in England.

The colour of the people in Meta Incognita.

The complexion of the people of Meta incognita.

infection of that man, which was ſo ſtrong, that neither the nature of the Clime, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Clime. And for a more freſh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this diſcourſe is taken in hande) that were brought this laſt yeere into England, were all generally of the ſame colour that many nations be, lying in the middeſt of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was ſubiect to Sunne and aire, but alſo in their bodies, which were ſtil couered with garments as ours are, yea the very ſucking childe of twelue moneths age had his ſkinne of the very ſame colour that moſt haue vnder the Equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reaſon of the Clime, for that they are at leaſt ten degrees more towardes the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne neuer commeth neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within three or foure degrees of that which they call the froſen Zone, and as I ſaide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, whereby it followeth, that there is ſome other cauſe then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that ſhould cauſe the Ethiopians great blackneſſe. And the moſt probable cauſe to my iudgement is, that this blackeneſſe proceedeth of ſome naturall infection of the firſt inhabitants of that Countrey, and ſo all the whole progenie of them deſcended, are ſtill polluted with the ſame blot of infection. Therefore it ſhall not bee farre from our purpoſe, to examine the firſt originall of theſe blacke men, and howe by a lineall diſcent they haue hitherto continued thus blacke.

The cauſe of the Ethiopians blackneſſe.

The Arke of Noe.

Chus the ſonne of Cham accurſed.

Africa was called Chameſis.

It manifeſtly and plainely appeareth by holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and ouerflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men aliue, but Noe and his three ſonnes, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, who onely were left to poſſeſſe and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the ſundry diſcents that vntil this preſent day haue inhabited the whole earth, muſt needes come of the off-ſpring either of Sem, Cham, or Iaphet, as the onely ſonnes of Noe, who all three being white, and their wiues alſo, by courſe of nature ſhould haue begotten and brought foorth white children. But the enuie of our great and continuall enemie the wicked Spirite is ſuch, that as hee coulde not ſuffer our olde father Adam to liue in the felicitie and Angelike ſtate wherein hee was firſt created, but tempting him, ſought and procured his ruine and fall: ſo againe, finding at this flood none but a father and three ſonnes liuing, hee ſo cauſed one of them to tranſgreſſe and diſobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his poſteritie ſhoulde bee accurſed. The fact of diſobedience was this: When Noe at the commandement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the floud-gates of heauen were opened, ſo that the whole face of the earth, euery tree and mountaine was couered with abundance of water, hee ſtraitely commaunded his ſonnes and their wiues, that they ſhould with reuerence and feare beholde the iuſtice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the floud while they remained in the Arke, they ſhould vſe continencie, and abſtaine from carnall copulation with their wiues: and many other precepts hee gaue vnto them, and admonitions touching the iuſtice of God, in reuenging ſinne, and his mercie in deliuering them, who nothing deſerued it. Which good inſtructions and exhortations notwithſtanding his wicked ſonne Cham diſobeyed, and being perſwaded that the firſt childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) ſhould inherite and poſſeſſe all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commaundement while they were yet in the Arke, vſed company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to diſ-inherite the off-ſpring of his other two brethren: for the which wicked and deteſtable fact, as an example for contempt of Almightie God, and diſobedience of parents, God would a ſonne ſhould bee borne whoſe name was Chus, who not onely it ſelfe, but all his poſteritie after him ſhould bee ſo blacke and lothſome, that it might remaine a ſpectacle of diſobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and curſed Chus came all theſe blacke Moores which are in Africa, for after the water was vaniſhed from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem choſe that part of the land to inhabite in, which nowe is called Aſia, and Iaphet had that which now is called Europa, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke ſonne Chus, and was called Chameſis after the fathers name, being perhaps a curſed, dry, ſandy, and vnfruitfull ground, fit for ſuch a generation to inhabite in.

Thus you ſee, that the cauſe of the Ethiopians blackneſſe is the curſe and naturall infection of blood, and not the diſtemperature of the Climate; Which alſo may bee prooued by this example, that theſe blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, as within, euen vnto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where, by reaſon of the Sphere, ſhould be the ſame temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good complexions. Wherefore I conclude, that the blackneſſe proceedeth not of the hoteneſſe of the Clime, but as I ſaide, of the infection of blood, and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blackneſſe is not able to deſtroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee aſſertained, that vnder the Equinoctiall is the moſt pleaſant and delectable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct ouer their heads, and therefore the heate at that time ſomewhat of force, yet becauſe it commeth ſo ſeldome, and continueth ſo ſmall a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed; but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time ſhould in the ſhort day waxe ſomewhat vrgent, the coldneſſe of the long night there would eaſily refreſh it, according as Honterus ſayeth, ſpeaking of the temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

Greateſt temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

Quódque die ſolis violento incanduit æſtu,
Humida nox reficit, paribuſque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moyſture of the night doeth coole and refreſh the ſame againe, the Sunne being as long abſent in the night, as it was preſent in the day.

Alſo our Authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacro Boſco, in the Chapter of the Zodiacke, deriueth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine ſignifieth Vita, life; for out of Ariſtotle hee alleadgeth, that Secundum acceſſum & receſſum ſolis in Zodiaco, fiunt generationes & corruptiones in rebus inferioribus: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiake, the inferiour bodies take their cauſes of generation and corruption. Then it followeth, that where there is moſt going too and fro, there is moſt generation and corruption: which muſt needes be betweene the two Tropickes; for there the Sunne goeth too and fro moſt, and no where elſe but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropikes, that is, in the middle Zone, is greateſt increaſe, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which alſo wee finde by experience; for there is Summer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, ſo that they haue two Harueſts in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out ſo temperate, it reſteth to declare where the hoteſt part of the world ſhould bee, for we finde ſome places more hote then others.

Vnder the Equinoctiall is greateſt generation.

To anſwere this doubt, reaſon perſwadeth, the hoteſt place in the world to bee vnder and about the two Tropickes; for there more then in any other place doe both the cauſes of heate concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon, the Pole there being eleuated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them vnder the Equinoctiall, yet becauſe the ſame continued but a ſmall time, (their dayes being ſhort, and their nights long) and the ſpeedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, becauſe of the ſuddeine croſſing of the Zodiake with the Equinoctiall, and that by ſuch continuall courſe and recourſe of hote and colde, the temperature grew moderate, and very well able to bee endured: ſo nowe to them vnder the two Tropickes, the Sunne hauing once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoctial, beginneth to draw neere their Zenith, which may bee (as before) about the eleuenth day of May, and then beginneth to ſende his beames almoſt at right Angles, about which time the Sunne entreth into the firſt degree of Gemini, and with this almoſt right Angle the Sunne beames will continue vntill it bee paſt Cancer, that is, the ſpace of two moneths euery day at noone, almoſt perpendicular ouer their heades, being then the time of Solſtitium Aeſtiuale: which ſo long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cauſe an extreeme heate (if any be in the world) but of neceſſitie farre more heate then can bee vnder the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no ſuch long abode in the Zenith, but paſſeth away there-hence very quickly. Alſo vnder the Tropickes, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne hauing a longer time of operation, muſt needes be encreaſed, eſpecially ſeeing the night wherein colde and moyſture doe abound vnder the Tropickes, is leſſe then it is vnder the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that vnder the Tropickes is the hoteſt place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the world, eſpecially becauſe there both cauſes of heate doe concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two moneths together, and the longer abode of the Sunnes preſence aboue the Horiſon. And by this meanes more at large is prooued, that Marochus in Summer is farre more hote, then at any time vnder the Equinoctiall, becauſe it is ſituate ſo neere the Tropick of Cancer, and alſo for the length of their dayes. Neither yet do I thinke, that the Regions ſituate vnder the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitfull alſo; although Marochus and ſome other parts of Afrike neere the Tropike for the drineſſe of the

Greateſt heate vnder the Tropickes.

natiue ſandie ſoile, and ſome accidents may ſeeme to ſome to be intemperate for ouer much heat. For Ferdinandus Ouiedus ſpeaking of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, Ilands of America, lying hard vnder, or by the Tropike of Cancer, ſaith, that theſe Ilands haue as good paſture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

Cuba.
Hiſpaniola.

Alſo, they haue moſt holeſome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reaſon whereof the heards of beaſtes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taſte, then any in Spaine, becauſe of the ranke paſture, whoſe moyſture is better digeſted in the blade or graſſe, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made more fat and vnctious, it is of better and more ſtedfaſt nouriſhment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely draw much moyſture out of the earth to the nouriſhment of ſuch things as growe, and are engendred in that Clime, but doeth alſo by moderation preſerue the ſame from putrifying, digeſting alſo, and condenſating or thickning the ſaid moyſt nouriſhment into a gummie and vnctious ſubſtance, whereby appeareth alſo, that vnder the Tropikes is both holeſome, fruitfull, and pleaſant habitation, whereby laſtly it followeth, that all the middle Zone, which vntill of late dayes hath bene compted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the moſt delicate, temperate, commodious, pleaſing, and delectable part of the world, and eſpecially vnder the Equinoctiall.

Vnder the Tropickes is moderate temperature.

Hauing now ſufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to ſpeake ſomewhat alſo of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and alſo how theſe Regions are habitable to the inhabitants of the ſame, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and alſo how in Winter the ſame is habitable, eſpecially to the inhabitants thereof.

The colde Regions of the world are thoſe, which tending toward the Poles Arctike, and Antarctike, are without the circuite or boundes of the ſeuen Climates: which aſſertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and ſet out in our authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacroboſco, where hee plainely ſaith, that without the ſeuenth Climate, which is bounded by a Parallel paſſing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beyonde is diſcommodious and intollerable. But Gemma Friſius a late writer finding England and Scotland to be without the compaſſe of thoſe Climates, wherein hee knewe to bee very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the vttermoſt Parallel whereof paſſeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth ouer and aboue the firſt computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moſcouia, &c. which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

Nine Climates.

The olde writers perſwaded by bare coniecture, went about to determine of thoſe places, by comparing them to their owne complexions, becauſe they felt them to bee hardly tollerable to themſelues, and ſo took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if a man borne in Marochus, or ſome other part of Barbarie, ſhould at the latter end of Sommer vpon the ſuddeine, either naked, or with his thinne veſture, bee brought into England, hee would iudge this Region preſently not to bee habitable, becauſe hee being brought vp in ſo warme a Countrey, is not able here to liue, for ſo ſuddeine an alteration of the colde aire: but if the ſame man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and ſo afterward by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himſelfe with the froſt of Autumne, it would haue ſeemed by degrees to harden him, and ſo to make it farre more tollerable, and by vſe after one yeere or two, the aire would ſeeme to him more temperate. It was compted a great matter in the olde time, that there was a braſſe pot broken in ſunder with froſen water in Pontus, which after was brought and ſhewed in Delphis, in token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore conſecrated to the Temple of Apollo.

A compariſon betweene Marochus and England.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fourtie three degrees in Latitude, it was preſently counted a place very hardly and vneaſily to be inhabited for the great colde. And how then can ſuch men define vpon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, whether they were inhabited or not, ſeeing that in ſo neere a place they ſo groſſely miſtooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inuentions of the olde Authours, haue perſiſted willingly in the ſame opinion, with more confidence then conſideration of the cauſe: ſo lightly was that opinion receiued, as touching the vnhabitable Clime neere and vnder the Poles.

Therefore I am at this preſent to proue, that all the land lying betweene the laſt climat euen vnto the point directly vnder either poles, is or may be inhabited, eſpecially of ſuch creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confeſſed, that ſome particular liuing creature cannot liue in euery particular place or region, eſpecially with the ſame ioy and felicitie, as it did where it was firſt bred, for the certeine agreement of nature that is betweene the place and the thing bred in that place; as appeareth by the Elephant, which being tranſlated and brought out of the ſecond or third climat, though they may liue, yet will they neuer ingender or bring forth yong. Alſo we ſee the like in many kinds of plants and herbs; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire greene leaues, but not any fruit: and tranſlated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fruit, or leaues, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence ſhould not be habitable.

All the North regions are habitable.

Elephant.

Orange tree.

In the prouing of theſe colde regions habitable, I ſhalbe very ſhort, becauſe the ſame reaſons ſerue for this purpoſe, which were alleged before in the prouing the middle Zone to be temperate, eſpecially ſeeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the meanes either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or ſhort continuance of the Suns preſence aboue ground: ſo that if the Sunnes beames do beat perpendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cauſe of heat, and if the Sunne do alſo long continue aboue the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increaſed by acceſſe of this other cauſe, & ſo groweth to a kinde of extremity. And theſe two cauſes, as I ſayd before, do moſt concurre vnder the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greateſt heat of the world. And likewiſe, where both theſe cauſes are moſt abſent, there is greateſt want of heat, and increaſe of colde (ſeeing that colde is nothing but the priuation and abſence of heat) and if one cauſe be wanting, and the other preſent, the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be vnderſtood, that the neerer any region is to the Equinoctiall, the higher the Sunne doth riſe ouer their heads at noone, and ſo maketh either right or neere right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them ſo much the ſhorter time, and cauſeth ſhorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to reſtore the domage of the day paſt, by reaſon of the moiſture conſumed by vapour. But in ſuch regions, ouer the which the Sunne riſeth lower (as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh there vnequall Angles, but the Sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and cauſeth ſo much ſhorter and warmer nights, as retaining warme vapours of the day paſt. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when vnder the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance & increaſe of the day, doth augment ſo much the more in colde regions as they are nerer the poles, and ceaſeth not increaſing vntill it come directly vnder the point of the pole Articke, where the Sunne continueth aboue ground the ſpace of ſixe moneths or halfe a yere together, and ſo the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North ſignes, from the firſt degree of Aries vntill the laſt of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March vntill the 14 of September. The Sunne therfore during the time of theſe ſixe moneths without any offence or hindrance of the night, giueth his influence vpon thoſe lands with heat that neuer ceaſeth during that time, which maketh to the great increaſe of Summer, by reaſon of the Sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high ouer their heads, to cauſe right angle beames, and to giue great heat, yet the Sun being there ſometime almoſt 24 degrees high doth caſt a conuenient and meane heat, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the ſpace of ſixe moneths (as is before ſayd) during which time there followeth to be a conuenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be ſuſpected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and alſo, Quia virtus vnita creſcit, the vertue and ſtrength of heat vnited in one increaſeth. If then there be ſuch a moderate heat vnder the poles, and the ſame to continue ſo long time; what ſhould moue the olde writers to ſay there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat vnder both the poles might more manifeſtly appeare, let vs conſider the poſition & quality of the ſphere, the length of the day, and ſo gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by conſequent the quantity of his angle, and ſo laſtly the ſtrength of his heat.

Two cauſes of heat.

Hote nights nere the pole.

Colde nights vnder the Equinoctiall.

One day of ſixe moneths.

Moderate heat vnder ẏ poles.

Thoſe lands and regions lying vnder the pole, and hauing the pole for their Zenith, muſt needs haue the Equinoctial circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sun entring into the North ſignes, and deſcribing euery 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primum mobile, the ſame parallels muſt needs be wholly aboue the Horizon: and ſo looke how many degrees there are from the firſt of Aries to the laſt of Virgo, ſo many whole reuolutions there are aboue their Horizon that dwell vnder the pole, which amount to 182, and ſo many of our dayes the

The Sunne neuer ſetteth in 182 dayes.

the

Horizon and Equinoctiall all one vnder the pole.

the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they haue there continuall day and light, without any hinderance of moiſt nights. Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the firſt degree of Aries, and laſt degree of Virgo, maketh his reuolution in the very horizon, ſo that in theſe 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is aboue the horizon, and the other halfe is vnder his only center, deſcribing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

London.

And therefore ſeeing the greateſt declination of the Sunne is almoſt 24 degrees, it followeth, his greateſt height in thoſe countreys to be almoſt 24 degrees. And ſo high is the Sun at noone to vs in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewiſe the 21 of January being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the Sun at noone hath in London the 29 of October, the ſame force of heat it hath, to them that dwell vnder the pole, the ſpace almoſt of two moneths, during the time of the Summer ſolſtitium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; ſo that if the heat of the Sunne at noone could be well meaſured in London (which is very hard to do, becauſe of the long nights which ingender great moiſture and cold) then would manifeſtly appeare by expreſſe numbers the maner of the heat vnder the poles, which certainly muſt needs be to the inhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to ouermuch heat, and if moiſture do not want.

Commodious dwelling vnder the poles.

For as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and haue in our gardens hearbs and floures notwithſtanding our cold nights, how much more ſhould they haue the ſame good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the coolenesse of the night vaniſheth, that heat is ſtrong, and by continuall acceſſe is ſtill increaſed and ſtrengthened. And thus by a ſimilitude of the equall height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions vnder the poles.

And ſurely I cannot thinke that the diuine prouidence hath made any thing vncommunicable, but to haue giuen ſuch order to all things, that one way or other the ſame ſhould be imployed, and that euery thing and place ſhould be tollerable to the next: but eſpecially all things in this lower world be giuen to man to haue dominion and vſe thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation vnder the poles during the time of Summer.

The nights vnder the pole.

But all the controuerſie conſiſteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaueth thoſe regions, and is no more ſeene for the ſpace of other ſixe moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes courſe is vnder their horizon for the ſpace of halfe a yere, and then thoſe regions (ſay ſome) muſt needs be deformed with horrible darkneſſe, and continuall night, which may be the cauſe that beaſts can not ſeeke their food, and that alſo the colde ſhould then be intollerable. By which double euils all liuing creatures ſhould be conſtrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and iniury of Winter, and famine inſuing thereof, but that all things ſhould periſh before the Summer following, when they ſhould bring foorth their brood and yoong, and that for theſe cauſes the ſayd Clime about the pole ſhould be deſolate and not habitable. To all which obiections may be anſwered in this maner: Firſt, that though the Sunne be abſent from them thoſe ſix moneths, yet it followeth not that there ſhould be ſuch extreme darkneſſe; for as the Sunne is departed vnder their horizon, ſo is it not farre from them: and not ſo ſoone as the Sunne falleth ſo ſuddenly commeth the darke night; but the euening doth ſubſtitute and prolong the day a good while after by twilight. After which time the reſidue of the night receiueth light of the Moone and Starres, vntill the breake of the day, which giueth alſo a certaine light before the Sunnes riſing; ſo that by theſe meanes the nights are ſeldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but leaſt in the middle Zone vnder the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are ſhort, and the nights darker then in any other place, becauſe the Sunne goeth vnder their horizon ſo deepe, euen to their antipodes. We ſee in England in the Summer nights, when the Sunne goeth not farre vnder the horizon, that by the light of the Moone & Starres we may trauell all night, and if occaſion were, do ſome other labour alſo. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can ſee to feed in the nights, ſeeing we are ſo well certified therof by our experience: and by reaſon of the ſphere our nights ſhould be darker then any time vnder the poles.

The Aſtronomers conſent that the Sunne deſcending from our vpper hemiſphere at the 18 parallel vnder the horizon maketh an end of twilight, ſo that at length the darke night inſueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun approching againe within as many parallels, doth driue away the night by acceſſe of the twilight. Againe, by the poſition of the ſphere vnder the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. Theſe reuolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are alſo parallel to the horizon, ſo that the Sunne deſcending vnder that horizon, and there deſcribing certaine parallels not farre diſtant, doth not bring darke nights to thoſe regions vntill it come to the parallels diſtant 18 degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be about the 4 day of our Nouember, and after the Winter ſolſtitium, the Sunne returning backe againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of Ianuary; during which time onely, that is, from the 4 day of Nouember vntill the 19 day of Ianuary, which is about ſix weeks ſpace, thoſe regions do want the commodity of twilights: therefore, during the time of theſe ſayd ſix moneths of darkneſſe vnder the poles, the night is deſtitute of the benefit of the Sunne and the ſayd twilights onely for the ſpace of ſix weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of ſix weeks is without remedy from heauen; for the Moone with her increaſed light hath acceſſe at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking light euery one of themſelues ſeuerally halfe the courſe of that moneth, by whoſe benefit it commeth to paſſe that the night named extreame darke poſſeſſeth thoſe regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this alſo diuided into two ſorts of ſhorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the ſpace of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. And this reaſon is gathered out of the ſphere, whereby we may teſtifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights vnder the pole are tolerable to liuing creatures. And if it be ſo that the Winter and time of darkneſſe there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them vnprouided therefore: for there the beaſts are couered with haire ſo much the thicker in how much the vehemency of colde is greater; by reaſon whereof the beſt and richeſt furres are brought out of the coldeſt regions. Alſo the fowles of theſe colde countreys haue thicker ſkinnes, thicker feathers, and more ſtored of downe then in other hot places. Our Engliſh men that trauell to S. Nicholas, and go a fiſhing to Wardhouſe, enter farre within the circle Arctike, and ſo are in the frozen Zone, and yet there, aſwell as in Iſland and all along thoſe Northerne Seas, they finde the greateſt ſtore of the greateſt fiſhes that are; as Whales, &c. and alſo abundance of meane fiſhes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the ſea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

The regions vnder the poles want twilights but ſixe weeks.

Winter nights vnder the pole tolerable to liuing creatures

But ſome perhaps will maruell there ſhould be ſuch temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at vnder 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobiſher & his company were troubled with ſo many and ſo great mountaines of fleeting ice, with ſo great ſtormes of colde, with ſuch continuall ſnow on tops of mountaines, and with ſuch barren ſoile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low ſhrubs, and ſuch like. To all which obiections may be anſwered thus: Firſt, thoſe infinite Iſlands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, flouds, winds, and currents, were driuen to and fro, and troubled the fleet; ſo that this is an argument to proue the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw ſo monſtrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall ſnow on tops of mountaines, it is there no otherwiſe then is in the hoteſt part of the middle Zone, where alſo lieth great ſnow all the Summer long vpon tops of mountaines, becauſe there is not ſufficient ſpace for the Sunnes reflection, whereby the ſnow ſhould be molten. Touching the colde ſtormy winds and the barrenneſſe of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Deuonſhire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North ſide thereof all alongſt the coaſt within ſeuen or eight miles off the ſea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte husbanded and ſeene vnto: and the cauſe thereof are the Northerne driuing winds, which comming from the ſea are ſo bitter and ſharpe that they kill all the yoong & tender plants, and ſuffer ſcarſe any thing to grow; and ſo is it in the Iſlands of Meta incognita, which are ſubiect moſt to Eaſt & Northeaſtern winds, which the laſt yere choaked vp the paſſage ſo with ice that the fleet could hardly recouer their port. Yet notwithſtanding all the obiections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, women, children, & ſundry kind of beaſts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes and dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, ſeamewes, wilmots, partridges, larks, crowes, hawks, and ſuch like, as in the third booke you ſhall vnderſtand more at large. Then it appeareth that not onely the middle Zone but alſo the Zones about the poles are habitable.

An obiection of Meta incognita.

Meta incognita inhabited.

Which thing being well conſidered, and familiarly knowen to our Generall captaine Frobiſher, aſwell for that he is thorowly furniſhed of the knowledge of the ſphere and all other ſkilles appertaining to the arte of nauigation, as alſo for the confirmation he hath of the ſame by many yeres experience both by ſea and land, and being perſuaded of a new and neerer paſſage to Cataya then by Capo de buona Sperança, which the Portugals yerely vſe: he began firſt with himſelfe to deuiſe, and then with his friends to conferre, and layed a plaine plat vnto them that that voyage was not onely poſſible by the Northweſt, but alſo he could proue eaſie to be performed. And further, he determined and reſolued with himſelfe to go make full proofe thereof, and to accompliſh or

Captaine Frobiſhers firſt voyage.

bring true certificate of the truth, or els neuer to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet vndone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had conceiued in his minde a great hope by ſundry ſure reaſons and ſecret intelligence, which here for ſundry cauſes I leaue vntouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to ſet forward, and performe the ſame. Long time he conferred with his priuate friends of theſe ſecrets, and made alſo many offers for the performing of the ſame in effect vnto ſundry merchants of our countrey aboue 15 yeres before he attempted the ſame, as by good witneſſe ſhall well appeare (albeit ſome euill willers which challenge to themſelues the fruits of other mens labours haue greatly iniured him in the reports of the ſame, ſaying that they haue bene the firſt authours of that action, and that they haue learned him the way, which themſelues as yet haue neuer gone) but perceiuing that hardly he was hearkened vnto of the merchants, which neuer regard vertue without ſure, certaine, and preſent gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good cauſes haue their chiefe increaſe and maintenance) and there layed open to many great eſtates and learned men the plot and ſumme of his deuice. And amongſt many honourable minds which fauoured his honeſt and commendable enterpriſe, he was ſpecially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambroſe Dudley earle of Warwicke, whoſe fauourable minde and good diſpoſition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and aduance all honeſt actions with the authours and executers of the ſame: and ſo by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he receiued ſome comfort of his cauſe, and by litle and litle, with no ſmall expenſe and paine brought his cauſe to ſome perfection, and had drawen together ſo many aduenturers and ſuch ſummes of money as might well defray a reaſonable charge to furniſh himſelfe to ſea withall.

He prepared two ſmall barks of twenty and fiue and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accompliſh his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furniſhed with the foreſayd two barks, and one ſmall pinneſſe of ten tun burthen, hauing therein victuals and other neceſſaries for twelue moneths prouiſion, he departed vpon the ſayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of Iune anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and ſailing Northweſt from England vpon the 11 of Iuly he had ſight of an high and ragged land, which he iudged to be Friſland (whereof ſome authors haue made mention) but durſt not approch the ſame by reaſon of the great ſtore of ice that lay alongſt the coaſt, and the great miſts that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from thence he loſt company of his ſmall pinneſſe, which by meanes of the great ſtorme he ſuppoſed to be ſwallowed vp of the Sea, wherein he loſt onely foure men.

The Michael returned home.

Alſo the other barke named The Michael miſtruſting the matter, conueyed themſelues priuily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was caſt away.

Frobiſhers firſt entrance within þ ſtraights.

The worthy captaine notwithſtanding theſe diſcomforts, although his maſt was ſprung, and his toppe maſt blowen ouerboord with extreame foule weather, continued his courſe towards the Northweſt, knowing that the ſea at length muſt needs haue an ending, & that ſome land ſhould haue a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the leaſt to bring true proofe what land and ſea the ſame might be ſo farre to the Northweſtwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore diſcouered. And the twentieth of Iuly he had ſight of an high land, which he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after her Maieſties name. And ſailing more Northerly alongſt that coaſt, he deſcried another forland with a great gut, bay, or paſſage, diuiding as it were two maine lands or continents aſunder. There he met with ſtore of exceeding great ice all this coaſt along, and coueting ſtill to continue his courſe to the Northwards, was alwayes by contrary winde detained ouerthwart theſe ſtraights, and could not get beyond. Within few dayes after he perceiued the ice to be well conſumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by ſome ſwift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the ſame ſtraights, or els conueyed ſome other way: wherefore he determined to make proofe of this place, to ſee how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himſelfe thorow the ſame into ſome open ſea on the backe ſide, whereof he conceiued no ſmall hope, and ſo entred the ſame the one and twentieth of Iuly, and paſſed aboue fifty leagues therein, as he reported, hauing vpon either hand a great maine or continent. And that land vpon his right hand as he ſailed Weſtward he iudged to be the continent of Aſia, and there to be diuided from the firme of America, which lieth vpon the left hand ouer againſt the ſame.

Frobiſhers ſtraights.

This place he named after his name, Frobiſhers ſtreights, like as Magellanus at þ Southweſt end of the world, hauing diſcouered the paſſage to the South ſea (where America is diuided from the continent of that land, which lieth vnder the South pole) and called the ſame ſtraights, Magellanes ſtraits.

After he had paſſed 60 leagues into this foreſayd ſtraight, he went aſhore, and found ſignes where fire had bene made.

He ſaw mightey deere that ſeemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he eſcaped wͭ his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to vſe defence and policy to ſaue his life.

Deere.

In this place he ſaw and perceiued ſundry tokens of the peoples reſorting thither. And being aſhore vpon the top of a hill, he perceiued a number of ſmall things fleeting in the ſea afarre off, which he ſuppoſed to be porpoſes or ſeales, or ſome kinde of ſtrange fiſh; but comming neerer, he diſcouered them to be men in ſmall boats made of leather. And before he could deſcend downe frō the hill, certaine of thoſe people had almoſt cut off his boat from him, hauing ſtollen ſecretly behinde the rocks for that purpoſe, where he ſpeedily haſted to his boat, and bent himſelfe to his halberd, and narrowly eſcaped the danger, and ſaued his boat. Afterwards he had ſundry conferences with them, and they came aboord his ſhip, and brought him ſalmon and raw fleſh and fiſh, and greedily deuoured the ſame before our mens faces. And to ſhew their agility, they tried many maſteries vpon the ropes of the ſhip after our mariners faſhion, and appeared to be very ſtrong of their armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of ſeales, and beares ſkinnes, and ſuch like, with our men; and receiued belles, looking glaſſes, and other toyes, in recompenſe thereof againe. After great curteſie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more eaſily to truſt them; and fiue of our men going aſhore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were neuer ſince heard of to this day againe: ſo that the captaine being deſtitute of boat, barke, and all company, had ſcarſely ſufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could now neither conuey himſelfe aſhore to reſcue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the ſubtile traitours were ſo wary, as they would after that neuer come within our mens danger. The captaine notwithſtanding deſirous to bring ſome token from thence of his being there, was greatly diſcontented that he had not before apprehended ſome of them: and therefore to deceiue the deceiuers he wrought a prety policy; for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and ſpecially in belles, he rang a prety lowbell, making ſignes that he would giue him the ſame that would come and fetch it. And becauſe they would not come within his danger for feare, he flung one bell vnto them, which of purpoſe he threw ſhort, that it might fall into the ſea and be loſt. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, ſo that in the end one of them came nere the ſhip ſide to receiue the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himſelfe: for the captaine being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man faſt, and plucked him with maine force boat and all into his barke out of the ſea. Whereupon when he found himſelfe in captiuity, for very sholer and diſdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithſtanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at ſea.

The firſt ſight of yͤ Sauages.

Salmon.

Fiue Engliſhmen intercepted and taken.

Taking of the firſt Sauage.

Now with this new pray (which was a ſufficient witneſſe of the captaines farre and tedious trauell towards the vnknowen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this ſtrange infidell, whoſe like was neuer ſeene, read, nor heard of before, and whoſe language was neither knowen nor vnderſtood of any) the ſayd captaine Frobiſher returned homeward, and arriued in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but ſpecially famous for the great hope he brought of the paſſage to Cataya.

Frobiſhers returne.

And it is eſpecially to be remembred that at their firſt arriuall in thoſe parts there lay ſo great ſtore of ice all the coaſt along ſo thicke together, that hardly his boat could paſſe vnto the ſhore. At length, after diuers attempts he commanded his company, if by any poſſible meanes they could get aſhore, to bring him whatſoeuer thing they could firſt finde, whether it were liuing or dead, ſtocke or ſtone, in token of Chriſtian poſſeſſion, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty, thinking that thereby he might iuſtify the hauing and inioying of the ſame things that grew in theſe vnknowen parts.

The taking poſſeſſion of Meta incognita.

Some of his company brought floures, ſome greene graſſe; and one brought a piece of blacke ſtone much like to a ſea cole in colour, which by the waight ſeemed to be ſome kinde of mettall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the iudgement of the captaine at the firſt ſight; and yet for nouelty it was kept in reſpect of the place from whence it came.

How the ore was found by chance.

After his arriuall in London, being demanded of ſundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to preſent thē withall but a piece of this blacke ſtone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman one of the aduenturers wiues to haue a piece therof, which by chance ſhe threw and burned in the fire, ſo long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a litle vineger, it gliſtered with a bright marqueſſet of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in ſome queſtion, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make aſſay thereof, who gaue out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the ſame Goldfiners promiſed great matters thereof if there were any ſtore to be found, and offered themſelues to aduenture for the ſearching of thoſe parts from whence the ſame was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter ſought ſecretly to haue a leaſe at her Maieſties hands of thoſe places, whereby to inioy the maſſe of ſo great a publike profit vnto their owne priuate gaines.

Many aduenturers.

In concluſion, the hope of more of the ſame golde ore to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to aduance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage againſt the yere following, and the captaine more ſpecially directed by commiſſion for the ſearching more of this golde ore then for the ſearching any further diſcouery of the paſſage. And being well accompanied with diuers reſolute and forward gentlemen, her Maieſty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks houſe in Eſſex, he came to take his leaue, and kiſſing her higneſſe hands, with gracious countenance & comfortable words departed toward his charge.

In the ſecond voyage commiſſion was giuen onely for the bringing of ore.

A true report of ſuch things as happened in the ſecond voyage of captaine *Frobiſher*, pretended for the diſcouery of a new paſſage to *Cataya, China*, and the *Eaſt India*, by the Northweſt. *Ann. Dom.* 1577.

BEing furniſhed with one tall ſhip of her Maieſties, named The Ayde, of two hundred tunne, and two other ſmall barks, the one named The Gabriel, the other The Michael, about thirty tun a piece, being fitly appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things neceſſary for the voyage, the ſayd captaine Frobiſher, with the reſt of his company came aboord his ſhips riding at Blackwall, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the firſt winde and tide ſeruing him, the 25 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of ſuch gentlemen as attempted this diſcouery, and the number of ſouldiers and mariners in ech ſhip, as followeth.

ABoord the Ayd being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all ſorts, whereof 30 or moe were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the reſt ſufficient and tall Sailers.

Aboord the Gabriel being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 perſons, whereof ſixe were Souldiers, the reſt Mariners.

Aboord the Michael were 16 perſons, whereof fiue were Souldiers, the reſt Mariners.

Aboord the Ayde was	Generalll of the whole company for her Maieſty	Martin Frobiſher.
	His Lieutenant	George Beſt.
	His Enſigne	Richard Philpot.
	Corporall of the ſhot	Francis Forder.
	The reſt of the gentlemen	Henry Carew. Edmund Stafford. Iohn Lee. M. Haruie. Mathew Kinerſley. Abraham Lins. Robert Kinerſley. Francis Brakenbury. William Armſhow.
	The Maſter	Chriſtopher Hall.
	The Mate	Charles Iackman.
	The Pilot	Andrew Dier.
	The Maſter gunner	Richard Cox.

Aboord the Gabriell was	Captaine One Gentleman The Maiſter	Edward Fenton. William Tamfield. William Smyth.
Aboord the Michaell was	Captaine One Gentleman The Maiſter	Gilbert Yorke. Thomas Chamberlaine Iames Beare.

ON Whitſunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Graueſend, where we remained vntill Monday at night.

On munday morning the 27 of May, aboord the Ayde we receiued all the Communion by the Miniſter of Graueſend, and prepared vs as good Chriſtians towards God, and reſolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

They receiue the communion.

Tueſday the eight and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arriued at Harwich in Eſſex and there ſtayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, vntill Friday being the thirtieth of May, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell, ſtraightly commanding our Generall, not to exceede his complement and number appointed him, which was, one hundred and twentie perſons: whereupon he diſcharged many proper men which with vnwilling mindes departed.

The number of men in this voyage.

He alſo diſmiſſed all his condemned men, which he thought for ſome purpoſes very needefull for the voyage, and towarde night vpon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we ſet ſaile, and put to the Seas againe. And ſayling Northward alongſt the Eaſt coaſts of England and Scotland, the ſeuenth day of Iune we arriued in Saint Magnus ſound in Orkney Ilands, called in latine Orcades, and came to ancker on the South ſide of the Bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall where we ſet ſaile firſt   leagues.

The condemned men diſcharged.

The firſt arriuall after our departing frõ England.

Here our companie going on lande, the Inhabitants of theſe Ilandes beganne to flee as from the enemie, whereupon the Lieutenant willed euery man to ſtay togither, and went himſelfe vnto their houſes to declare what we were and the cauſe of our comming thither, which being vnderſtood, after their poore maner they friendly entreated vs, and brought vs for our money ſuch things as they had. And here our Goldfiners found a Mine of ſiluer.

A Mine of ſiluer found in Orkney.

Orkney is the principall of the Iſles of the Orcades, and ſtandeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much ſubiect to colde, anſwerable for ſuch a climate, and yet yeeldeth ſome fruites, and ſufficient maintenance for the people contented ſo poorely to liue.

There is plentie ynough of Poultrey, ſtore of egges, fiſh, and foule.

For their bread they haue Oaten Cakes, and their drinke is Ewes milke, and in ſome partes Ale.

Their houſes are but poore without and ſluttiſh ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turffe, the Countrey in moſt parts being voide of wood.

They haue great want of Leather, and deſire our old ſhoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.

Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.

In this Iland hath bene ſometime an Abbey or a religious houſe called Saint Magnus; being on the Weſt ſide of the Ile, whereof this ſound beareth name, through which we paſſed. Their Gouernour or chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we vnderſtood, was in durance at Edenburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

S.Magnus ſound why ſo called.

After we had prouided vs here of matter ſufficient for our voyage the eight of Iune wee ſet ſayle againe, and paſſing through Saint Magnus ſound hauing a merrie winde by night, came cleare and loſt ſight of all the land, and keeping our courſe Weſt Northweſt by the ſpace of two dayes, the winde ſhifted vpon vs ſo that we lay in trauerſe on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our courſe to the weſtward, and ſometime to the Northward, as the winde ſhifted. And hereabout we met with 3 ſaile of Engliſh fiſhermen frõ Iſeland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters vnto our friends in England. We trauerſed theſe Seas by the ſpace of 26 dayes without ſight of any land, and met with much drift wood, & whole bodies of trees. We ſawe many monſterous fiſhes and ſtrange foules, which ſeemed to liue onely

Great bodies of trees driuing in the ſeas.

Monſtrous fiſh & ſtrange foule liuing onely by the Sea.

onely by the Sea, being there ſo farre diſtant from any land. At length God fauoured vs with more proſperous windes, and after wee had ſayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of Iuly the Michaell being formoſt a head ſhot off a peece of Ordinance, and ſtroke all her ſayles, ſuppoſing that they deſcryed land, which by reaſon of the thicke miſtes they could not make perfit: howbeit, as well our account as alſo the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and ſmooth, did plainely declare we were not farre off the coaſt. Our Generall ſent his Maſter aboord the Michaell (who had beene with him the yeere before) to beare in with the place to make proofe thereof, who deſcryed not the land perfect, but ſawe ſundry huge Ilands of yce, which we deemed to be not paſt twelue leagues from the ſhore, for about tenne of the clocke at night being the fourth of Iuly, the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect and knew it to be Friſlande. And the heigth being taken here, we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermoſt part of this land. Betweene Orkney and Friſland are reckoned leagues.

Water being blacke and ſmooth, ſignifieth land to be neere.

Ilands of yce.

The firſt ſight of Friſland the 4. of Iuly.

This Friſlande ſheweth a ragged and high lande, hauing the mountaines almoſt couered ouer with ſnow alongſt the coaſt full of drift yce, and ſeemeth almoſt inacceſſible, and is thought to be an Iland in bigneſſe not inferiour to England, and is called of ſome Authors, Weſt Friſlande, I thinke becauſe it lyeth more Weſt then any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude to the Northward very farre as ſeemed to vs, and appeareth by a deſcription ſet out by two brethren Venetians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who being driuen off from Ireland with a violent tempeſt made ſhipwracke here, and were the firſt knowen Chriſtians that diſcouered this land about two hundred yeares ſithence, and they haue in their Sea-cardes ſet out euery part thereof and deſcribed the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as ciuill and religious people as we. And for ſo much of this land as we haue ſayled alongſt, comparing their Carde with the coaſt, we finde it very agreeable. This coaſt ſeemeth to haue good fiſhing, for we lying becalmed let fall a hooke without any bayte and preſently caught a great fiſh called a Hollibut, who ſerued the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous meate for ſurfetting. And ſounding about fiue leagues off from the ſhore, our leade brought vp in the tallow a kinde of Corrall almoſt white, and ſmall ſtones as bright as Chriſtall: and it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were thoroughly diſcouered, although we ſawe no creature there but little birdes. It is a maruellous thing to behold of what great bigneſſe and depth ſome Ilands of yce be here, ſome ſeuentie, ſome eightie fadome vnder water, beſides that which is aboue, ſeeming Ilands more then halfe a mile in circuit. All theſe yce are in taſt freſh, and ſeeme to be bredde in the ſounds thereabouts, or in ſome lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driuen alongſt the coaſtes. We found none of theſe Ilands of yce ſalt in taſte, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes ſalt, but of ſome ſtanding or little moouing lakes or great freſh waters neere the ſhore, cauſed eyther by melted ſnowe from tops of mountaines, or by continuall acceſſe of freſh riuers from the land, and intermingling with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame froſt) may cauſe ſome part of ſalt water to freeſe ſo with it, and ſo ſeeme a little brackiſh, but otherwiſe the maine Sea freeſeth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or froſen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath bene. Our Generall prooued landing here twice, but by the ſuddaine fall of miſtes (whereunto this coaſt is much ſubiect) he was like to looſe ſight of his ſhips, and being greatly endangered with the driuing yce alongſt the coaſt, was forced aboord and faine to ſurceaſe his pretence till a better opportunitie might ſerue: and hauing ſpent foure dayes and nightes ſayling alongſt this land, finding the coaſt ſubiect to ſuch bitter colde and continuall miſtes, he determined to ſpend no more time therein, but to beare out his courſe towardes the ſtreightes called Frobiſhers ſtreightes after the Generals name, who being the firſt that euer paſſed beyond 58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath beene yet knowen of certaintie of New found land, otherwiſe called the continent or firme land of America, diſcouered the ſaide ſtraightes this laſt yere 1576.

Friſland deſcribed.

An eaſie kind of Fiſhing.

White Corrall got by ſounding.

Monſtrous Iſles of yce, in taſte freſh, wherehence they are ſuppoſed to come.

The opinion of the froſen Seas is deſtroyed by experience.

Betweene Friſland and the ſtraights we had one great ſtorme, wherein the Michaell was ſomewhat in danger, hauing her Stirrage broken, and her toppe Maſtes blowen ouer boord, & being not paſt 50 leagues ſhort of the ſtraightes by our account, we ſtroke ſayle & lay a hull, fearing the continuance of of the ſtorme, the winde being at the Northeaſt, and hauing loſt companie of the Barkes in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the ſeuenteenth day of Iuly, hauing the euening before ſeene diuers Ilands of fleeting yce, which gaue an argument that we were not farre from land. Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being rea-

The Stirrage of the Michaell broken by tempeſt.

The firſt entrance of the ſtraightes.

ſonable cleare) deſcried land, but to be better aſſured he ſent the two Barkes two contrarie courſes, whereby they might diſcry either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a ſmall ſayle by an Iland of yce, which was the marke for vs to meete togither againe. And about noone, the weather being more cleare, we made the North foreland perfite, which otherwiſe is called Halles Iland, and alſo the ſmall Iland bearing the name of the ſayde Hall whence the Ore was taken vp which was brought into England this laſt yeere 1576 the ſaid Hall being preſent at the finding & taking vp thereof, who was then Maiſter in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobiſher. At our arriuall here all the Seas about this coaſt were ſo couered ouer with huge quantitie of great yce, that we thought theſe places might onely deſerue the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Iſie Sea.

Halles Iland.

This North foreland is thought to be deuided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little ſound called Halles ſound, which maketh it an Iland, and is thought little leſſe then the Ile of Wight, and is the firſt entrance of the ſtraights vpon the Norther ſide, and ſtandeth in the latitude of ſixtie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Friſland   leagues. God hauing bleſſed vs with ſo happie a land-fall, we bare into the ſtraights which runne in next hand, and ſomewhat further vp to the Northwarde, and came as neere the ſhore as wee might for the yce, and vpon the eighteenth day of Iuly our Generall taking the Goldfiners with him, attempted to goe on ſhore with a ſmall rowing Pinneſſe, vpon the ſmall Ilande where the Ore was taken vp, to prooue whether there were any ſtore thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Iland a peece ſo bigge as a Walnut, where the firſt was found. But our men which ſought the other Ilands thereabouts found them all to haue good ſtore of the Ore, whereupon our Generall with theſe good tidings returned aboord about tenne of the clocke at night, and was ioyfully welcommed of the company with a volie of ſhot. He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboord, which the company had killed aſhore, and hauing found vpon thoſe Ilands ginnes ſet to catch fowle, and ſtickes newe cut, with other things, he well perceiued that not long before ſome of the countrey people had reſorted thither.

The deſcription of the ſtraights.

No more gold Ore found in the firſt Iland.

Egs & foules of Meta incognita.

Snares ſet to catch birds withall.

Hauing therefore found thoſe tokens of the peoples acceſſe in thoſe parts, and being in his firſt voyage well acquainted with their ſubtill and cruell diſpoſition, hee prouided well for his better ſafetie, and on Friday the ninteenth of Iuly in the morning early, with his beſt companie of Gentlemen and ſouldiers, to the number of fortie perſons, went on ſhore, aſwell to diſcouer the Inland and habitation of the people, as alſo to finde out ſome fit harborowe for our ſhippes. And paſſing towardes the ſhoare with no ſmall difficultie by reaſon of the abundance of yce which lay alongſt the coaſt ſo thicke togither that hardly any paſſage through them might be diſcouered, we arriued at length vpon the maine of Halles greater Iland, and found there alſo aſwell as in the other ſmall Ilands good ſtore of the Ore. And leauing his boates here with ſufficient guarde we paſſed vp into the countrey about two Engliſh miles, and recouered the toppe of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Columne or Croſſe of ſtones heaped vp of a good heigth togither in good ſort, and ſolemnely ſounded a Trumpet, and ſaide certaine prayers kneeling about the Enſigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambroſe Dudley Earle of Warwick, whoſe noble minde and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gaue great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not ſeeing any thing here worth further diſcouerie, the countrey ſeeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in moſt parts couered with ſnow.

The building of a Columne, called Mount Warwicke.

And thus marching towards our botes, we eſpied certaine of the countrey people on the top of Mount Warwick with a flag wafting vs backe againe and making great noiſe, with cries like the mowing of Buls ſeeming greatly deſirous of conference with vs: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, anſwered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noiſe of our trumpets they ſeemed greatly to reioyce, ſkipping, laughing and dancing for ioy. And hereupon we made ſignes vnto them, holding vp two fingers, cōmanding two of our men to go apart from our cōpanies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men & two of theirs met togither a good ſpace from company, neither partie hauing their weapons about thē. Our men gaue them pins and points and ſuch trifles as they had. And they likewiſe beſtowed on our men two bow caſes and ſuch things as they had. They earneſtly deſired our men to goe vp into their countrey, and our men offered them like kindneſſe aboord our ſhips, but neither part (as it ſeemed) admitted or truſted the others curteſie. Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe vſe to lay downe of their marchandiſe vpon the ground, ſo much as they meane to part withal, and ſo looking that the other partie with whom they make trade ſhould doe the like, they themſelues

The firſt ſight of the countrie people, wafting with a flagge.

The meeting a part of two Engliſhmen, with two of that countrey.

The order of their traffique.

Another mee-ting of two of our men with two of theirs.

The Engliſh-men chaſed to their boates.

One of that Countreymen taken.

doe depart, and then if they doe like of their Mart they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandiſe, otherwiſe if they like not, they take their owne and depart. The day being thus well neere ſpent, in haſte wee retired our companies into our boates againe, minding forthwith to ſearch alongſt the coaſt for ſome harborow fit for our ſhippes, for the preſent neceſſitie thereof was much, conſidering that all this while they lay off and on betweene the two landes, being continually ſubiect aſwell to great danger of fleeting yce, which enuironed them, as to the ſodaine flawes which the coaſt ſeemeth much ſubiect vnto. But when the people perceiued our departure, with great tokens of affection they earneſtly called vs backe againe, following vs almoſt to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Maſter with him, who was beſt acquainted with their maners, went apart vnto two of them, meaning, if they could lay ſure hold vpon them, forcibly to bring them aboord, with intent to beſtow certaine toyes and apparell vpon the one, and ſo to diſmiſſe him with all arguments of curteſie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. The Generall and his Maiſter being met with their two companions togither, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Saluages for lacke of better marchandiſe, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them) and gaue it vnto our Generall for a preſent. But he preſently vpon a watchword giuen with his Maiſter ſodainely laid hold vpon the two Saluages. But the ground vnderfoot being ſlipperie with the ſnow on the ſide of the hill, their handfaſt fayled and their prey eſcaping ranne away and lightly recouered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. And being onely two Saluages in ſight, they ſo fiercely, deſperately, and with ſuch fury aſſaulted and purſued our Generall and his Maſter, being altogether vnarmed, and not miſtruſting their ſubtiltie that they chaſed them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather ſpeedily fled backe, becauſe they ſuſpected a greater number behind the rockes. Our ſouldiers (which were commanded before to keepe their boates) perceiuing the danger, and hearing our men calling for ſhot came ſpeedily to reſcue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Saluages heard the ſhot of one of our caliuers (and yet hauing firſt beſtowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men ſpeedily following them. But a ſeruant of my Lorde of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and vncombred with any furniture hauing only a dagger at his backe ouertooke one of them, and being a Corniſhman and a good wraſtler, ſhewed his companion ſuch a Corniſh tricke, that he made his ſides ake againſt the ground for a moneth after. And ſo being ſtayed, he was taken aliue and brought away, but the other eſcaped. Thus with their ſtrange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and paſſed from the maine to a ſmall Iland of a mile compaſſe, where they reſolued to tarrie all night; for euen now a ſodaine ſtorme was growen ſo great at ſea, that by no meanes they could recouer their ſhips. And here euery man refreſhed himſelfe with a ſmall portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, hauing neither eate nor drunke all the day before. But becauſe they knewe not how long the ſtorme might laſt, nor how farre off the ſhippes might be put to ſea, nor whether they ſhould euer recouer them againe or not, they made great ſpare of their victuals, as it greatly behoued them: For they knew full well that the beſt cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and ſtones, a hard food to liue withall, and the people more readie to eate them then to giue them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night vpon hard cliffes of ſnow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortleſſe.

The Ayde ſet on fire.

These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ſhips at Sea was no leſſe perilous. For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was ſet on fire, and had bene the confuſion of the whole if by chance a boy eſpying it, it had not bene ſpeedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguiſhed.

The great dan-ger of thoſe rockes of yce.

This day alſo were diuerſe ſtormes and flawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the ſtorme was growen ſo great, & continued ſuch vntill the morning, that it put our ſhips at ſea in no ſmall perill: for hauing mountaines of fleeting yce on euery ſide, we went roomer for one, and loofed for another, ſome ſcraped vs, and ſome happily eſcaped vs, that the leaſt of a M. were as dangerous to ſtrike as any rocke, and able to haue ſplit aſunder the ſtrongeſt ſhip of the world. We had a ſcope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we turned, being otherwiſe compaſſed on euery ſide about: but ſo much was the winde and ſo litle was our ſea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourſe we caſt ſo oft about, that we made fourteene bordes in eight glaſſes running, being but foure houres: but God being our beſt Stereſman, & by the induſtry of Charles Iackman and Andrew Dyer thē maſters mates, both very expert Mariners, & Richard Cox ẏ maiſter Gunner, with other very carefull ſailers, then within bord, and alſo by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darkeneſſe, we did happily auoide thoſe preſent dangers, whereat ſince wee haue more marueiled then in the preſent danger feared, for that euery man within borde, both better and worſe had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger. But the next morning being the 20 of Iuly, as God would, the ſtorme ceaſed, and the Generall eſpying the ſhips with his new Captiue and whole company, came happily abord, and reported what had paſſed a ſhoare, whereupon altogither vpon our knees we gaue God humble and hartie thankes, for that it had pleaſed him, from ſo ſpeedy peril to ſend vs ſuch ſpeedy deliuerance, and ſo from this Northerne ſhore we ſtroke ouer towards the Southerland.

Night without darknes in that countrey.

The one and twentieth of Iuly, we diſcouered a bay which ranne into the land, that ſeemed a likely harborow for our ſhips, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make proofe thereof, and with his goldfiners to ſearch for Ore, hauing neuer aſſayed any thing on the South ſhore as yet, and the firſt ſmall Iland which we landed vpon. Here all the ſands and clifts did ſo gliſter and had ſo bright a marqueſite, that it ſeemed all to be gold, but vpon tryall made, it prooued no better then black-lead, and verified the prouerbe. All is not gold that gliſtereth.

Our firſt comming on the Southerland of the ſayd ſtraights.

A Mine of Blacke lead.

Vpon the two and twentieth of Iuly we bare into the ſayde ſound, and came to ancker a reaſonable bredth off the ſhore, where thinking our ſelues in good ſecuritie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of drift yce, which the Ebbe brought foorth of the ſounds and came thwart vs ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and ſouldiers within bord taking great paines at this pinch at the Capſtone, ouercame the moſt danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it ſtroke on our ſterne ſuch a blow, that we feared leaſt it had ſtriken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawſe, we were faine to ſet our fore ſaile to runne further vp within, and if our ſtirrage had not bene ſtronger then in the preſent time we feared, we had runne the ſhip vpon the rockes, hauing a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to paſſe. And this was named Iackmans ſound, after the name of the Maſters mate, who had firſt liking vnto the place.

Iackmans ſound

Vpon a ſmall Iland, within this ſound called Smithes Iland (becauſe he firſt ſet vp his forge there) was found a Mine of ſiluer, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made ſay of ſuch Ore as they found vpon the Northerland, and found foure ſortes thereof to holde gold in good quantitie. Vpon another ſmall Iland here was alſo found a great dead fiſh, which as it ſhould ſeeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpoſe, being about twelue foote long, and in bigneſſe anſwerable, hauing a horne of two yardes long growing out of the ſnoute or noſtrels. This horne is wreathed and ſtraite, like in faſhion to a Taper made of waxe, and may truely be thought to be the ſea Vnicorne. This horne is to be ſeene and reſerued as a Iewell by the Queenes Maieſties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

Smiths Iland.

The finding of an Vnicornes horne.

Tueſday the three and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall with his beſt company of gentlemen, ſouldiers and ſaylers, to the number of ſeuentie perſons in all, marched with enſigne diſplayde, vpon the continent of the Southerland (the ſuppoſed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to ſound a call for euery man to repaire to the enſigne, he declared to the whole company how much the cauſe imported for the ſeruice of her Maieſtie, our countrey, our credits, and the ſafetie of our owne liues, and therefore required euery man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by thoſe he ſhould aſſigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beſte: which done, we caſt our ſelues into a ring, and altogither vpon our knees, gaue God humble thanks for that it had pleaſed him of his great goodneſſe to preſerue vs from ſuch imminent dangers, beſeeching likewiſe the aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirite, ſo to deliuer vs in ſafetie into our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of theſe ſecrets being knowen, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and conſequently to the aduancement of our common wealth. And ſo, in as good ſort as the place ſuffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no leſſe painfull in climbing then dangerous in deſcending, by reaſon of their ſteepneſſe & yce. And hauing paſſed about fiue miles, by ſuch vnwieldie wayes, we returned vnto our ſhips without ſight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diuerſe of the Gentlemen deſired our Generall to ſuffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie perſons to march vp thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might diſcouer the Inland, and doe ſome acceptable ſeruice for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he ſought for, and well conſidering the ſhort time he had in hand, and the greedie deſire our countrey hath to a preſent ſauour and returne of gaine, bent his whole indeuour *only* to find a Mine to fraight his ſhips, and to leaue the reſt (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accompliſhed.

And therefore the twentie ſixe of July he departed ouer to the Northland, with the two barkes, leauing the Ayde ryding in Iackmans ſound, and ment (after hee had found conuenient harborow, and fraight there for his ſhips) to diſcouer further for the paſſage. The Barkes came the ſame night to ancker in a ſound vpon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne ſo ſwift, and the place was ſo ſubiect to indrafts of yce, that by reaſon thereof they were greatly endangered, & hauing found a very rich Myne, as they ſuppoſed, and got almoſt twentie tunne of Ore together, vpon the 28 of July the yce came driuing into the ſound where the Barkes rode, in ſuch ſort, that they were therewith greatly diſtreſſed. And the Gabriell riding aſterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld aſunder in the hawſe with a peece of driuing yce, and loſt another ancker, and hauing but one cable and ancker left, for ſhe had loſt two before, and the yce ſtill driuing vpon her, ſhe was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the reſt, by one great Iland of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not ſo chanced, I thinke ſurely ſhee had beene caſt vpon the rockes with the yce. The Michael mored ancker vpon this great yce, and roade vnder the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it ſelfe, and the ſetting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made vnto the companie within boord a ſodaine and fearefull noyſe. The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further vp the ſtraights, and leauing our Ore behind vs which we had digged, for haſt left the place by the name of Beares ſound after the Maſters name of the Michaell, and named the Iland Leceſters Iland. In one of the ſmall Ilands here we found a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our ſauage Captiue being with vs, & being demanded by ſignes whether his countreymen had not ſlaine this man and eat his fleſh ſo from the bones, he made ſignes to the contrary, and that he was ſlaine with Wolues and wild beaſts. Here alſo was found hid vnder ſtones good ſtore of fiſh, and ſundry other things of the inhabitants; as ſleddes, bridles, kettels of fiſhſkinnes, kniues of bone, and ſuch other like. And our Sauage declared vnto vs the vſe of all thoſe things. And taking in his hand one of thoſe countrey bridles, he caught one of our dogges and hampred him handſomely therein, as we doe our horſes, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a ſled as we doe horſes in a coach, ſetting himſelfe thereupon like a guide: ſo that we might ſee they vſe dogges for that purpoſe that we do our horſes. And we found ſince by experience, that the leſſer ſort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domeſticall cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater ſort ſerue for the vſe of drawing their ſleds.

Beares ſound. Leceſters Ilād. A tombe with a dead mans bones in it.

Bridles, kniues, and other inſtruments found hid among the Rockes.

They vſe great dogs to draw ſleds, and litle dogs for their meat.

The twentie ninth of July, about fiue leagues from Beares ſound, we diſcouered a Bay which being fenced on ech ſide with ſmal Ilands lying off the maine, which breake the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did proue a very fit harborow for our ſhips, where we came to ancker vnder a ſmall Ilande, which now together with the ſound is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Counteſſe of Warwicke. And this is the furtheſt place that this yeere we haue entred vp within the ſtreites, and is rekoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance of the ſtreites not aboue 30 leagues. Vpon this Iland was found good ſtore of the Ore, which in the waſhing helde gold to our thinking plainly to be ſeene: whereupon it was thought beſt rather to load here, where there was ſtore and indifferent good, then to ſeeke further for better, and ſpend time with ieoperdie. And therefore our Generall ſetting the Myners to worke, and ſhewing firſt a good preſident of a painefull labourer and a good Captaine in himſelfe, gaue good examples for others to follow him: whereupon euery man both better and worſe, with their beſt endeuours willingly layde to their helping hands. And the next day, being the thirtieth of July, the Michaell was ſent ouer to Iackmans ſound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither. Vpon the maine land ouer againſt the Counteſſes Iland we diſcouered and behelde to our great maruell the poore caues and houſes of thoſe countrey people, which ſerue them (as it ſhould ſeeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome vnder grounde, in compaſſe round, like to an Ouen, being ioyned faſt one by another, hauing holes like to a Foxe or Conny berry, to keepe and come togither. They vndertrenched theſe places with gutters ſo, that the water falling from the hilles aboue them, may ſlide away without their annoyance: and are ſeated commonly in the foote of a hill, to ſhield them better from the cold windes, hauing their doore and entrance euer open towards the South. From the ground vpward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one ouer another, are handſomely compacted in the top together, and are couered ouer with Sealeſkinnes, which in ſtead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which houſe they haue only one roome, hauing the one halfe of the floure raiſed with broad ſtones a foot higher than ẏ other, whereon ſtrawing Moſſe, they make their neſts to ſleep in.

Thirty leagues diſcouered within the ſtraites.

A good preſident of a good Captain ſhewed by Captain Frobiſher.

The maner of their houſes in this countrey.

Whales bones vſed in ſtead of timber.

They defile theſe dennes moſt filthily with their beaſtly feeding, & dwell ſo long in a place (as we thinke) vntill their ſluttiſhnes lothing them, they are forced to ſeeke a ſweeter ayre, and a new ſeate, and are (no doubt) a diſperſed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and liue in hords and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by ſundry circumſtances of our experience.

The ſluttiſhneſſe of theſe people.

Here our captiue being aſhore with vs, to declare the vſe of ſuch things as we ſaw, ſtayd himſelfe alone behind the company, and did ſet vp fiue ſmall ſtickes round in a circle one by another, with one ſmal bone placed iuſt in the middeſt of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant ſome charme or witchcraft therein. But the beſt coniecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen ſhould vnderſtand, that for our fiue men which they betrayed the laſt yeere (whom he ſignified by the fiue ſtickes) he was taken and kept priſoner, which he ſignified by the bone in the midſt. For afterwards when we ſhewed him the picture of his countreman, which the laſt yeere was brought into England (whoſe counterfeit we had drawen, with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his own, & alſo in Engliſh apparel) he was vpon the ſudden much amazed thereat, and beholding aduiſedly the ſame with ſilence a good while, as though he would ſtreine courteſie whether ſhould begin the ſpeech (for he thought him no doubt a liuely creature) at length began to queſtion with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, ſeemed to ſuſpect him, as one diſdeinfull, and would with a little helpe haue growen into choller at the matter, vntill at laſt by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noiſe and cryes, ceaſed not wondring, thinking that we could make men liue or die at our pleaſure.

A ſigne ſet vp by the ſauage captiue, & the meaning thereof.

The ſauage captiue amazed at his countreimans picture.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gaue vs plainely to vnderſtand by ſignes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our fiue men the laſt yeere, and confeſſing the maner of ech thing, numbred the fiue men vpon his fiue fingers, and pointed vnto a boat in our ſhip, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed: And when we made him ſignes, that they were ſlaine and eaten, he earneſtly denied, and made ſignes to the contrary.

The laſt of Iuly the Michael returned with the Aide to vs from the Southerland, and came to anker by vs in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, and reported that ſince we departed from Iackmans ſound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, vntill the thirtieth of Iuly, when certaine of our company being a ſhoare vpon a ſmall Iſland within the ſayd Iackmans ſound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did eſpie a long boat with diuers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eighteene or twenty perſons, whom ſo ſoone as our men perceiued, they returned ſpeedily aboord, to giue notice thereof vnto our company. They might perceiue theſe people climbing vp to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they wafted vnto our ſhip, and made great outcries and noyſes, like ſo many Buls. Hereupon our men did preſently man foorth a ſmall ſkiffe, hauing not aboue ſixe or ſeuen perſons therein, which rowed neere the place where thoſe people were, to prooue if they could haue eny conference with them. But after this ſmall boate was ſent a greater, being wel appointed for their reſcue, if need required.

Another ſhew of twenty perſons of that countrey in one boate.

As ſoone as they eſpied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and haſted away, either for feare, or elſe for pollicie, to draw our men from reſcue further within their danger: wherefore our men conſtruing that their comming thither was but to ſeeke aduantage, followed ſpeedily after them, but they rowed ſo ſwiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their beſt endeuour in rowing, and hauing chaſed them aboue two miles into the ſea, returned into their ſhips againe.

The morning following being the firſt of Auguſt, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into Iackmans ſound, and declared vnto the company there, that the laſt night paſt he came to anker in a certaine baye (which ſithens was named Yorkes ſound) about foure leagues diſtant from Iackmans ſound, being put to leeward of that place for lacke of winde, where he diſcouered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company aſhore, he entred into them, but found the people departed, as it ſhould ſeeme, for feare of their comming. But amongſt ſundry ſtrange things which in theſe tents they found, there was rawe and new killed fleſh of vnknowen ſorts, with dead carcaſſes and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They alſo beheld (to their greateſt marueile) a dublet of Canuas made after the Engliſh faſhion, a ſhirt, a girdle, three ſhoes for contrary feete, and of vnequall bigneſſe, which they well coniectured to be the apparell of our fiue poore countreymen, which were intercepted the laſt yeere by theſe Countrey people, about fiftie leagues from this place, further within the Straights. Whereupon our men being in good

Yorkes ſound.

The apparel found againe of our Engliſh men which the yere before were taken captiue.

hope, that ſome of them might be here, and yet liuing: the Captaine deuiſing for the beſt left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, yncke, and paper alſo, whereby our poore captiue countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arriuall, and likewiſe returne their anſwere. And ſo without taking any thing away in their tents, leauing there alſo looking glaſſes, points, and other of our toyes (the better to allure them by ſuch friendly meanes) departed aboord his Barke, with intent to make haſte to the Aide, to giue notice vnto the company of all ſuch things as he had there diſcouered: and ſo meant to returne to theſe tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie intrappe or intice the people to ſome friendly conference. Which things when he had deliuered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captaine Yorke with the maſter of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came ouer from the other ſide in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and ſouldiors to the number of thirty or forty perſons in two ſmall rowing Pinnaſſes made towards the place, where the night before they diſcouered the tents of thoſe people, and ſetting Charles Iackman, being the maſters Mate, aſhore with a conuenient number, for that he could beſt guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, meaning to compaſſe them on the one ſide, whileſt the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other ſide. But landing at laſt at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents remoued. Notwithſtanding, our men which marched vp into the countrey, paſſing ouer two or three mountaines, by chance eſpied certaine tents in a valley vnderneath them neere vnto a creeke by the Sea ſide, which becauſe it was not the place where the guide had bene the night before, they iudged them to be another company, and beſetting them about, determined to take them if they could. But they hauing quickly diſcried our companie, lanched one great & another ſmal boat, being about 16 or 18 perſons, and very narrowly eſcaping, put themſelues to ſea. Wherupon our ſouldiers diſcharged their Caliuers, and followed them, thinking the noiſe therof being heard to our boats at ſea, our men there would make what ſpeede they might to that place. And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (croſſing vpon them in the mouth of the ſound whereby their paſſage was let from getting ſea roome, wherein it had bene impoſſible for vs to ouertake them by rowing) forced them to put themſelues aſhore vpon a point of land within the ſayd ſound (which vpon the occaſion of the ſlaughter there, was ſince named The bloody point) whereunto our men ſo ſpeedily followed, that they had little leiſure left them to make any eſcape. But ſo ſoone as they landed, ech of them brake his Oare, thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in carying away their boates for want of Oares. And deſperatly returning vpon our men, reſiſted them manfully in their landing, ſo long as their arrowes and dartes laſted, and after gathering vp thoſe arrowes which our men ſhot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodies incountred afreſh againe, and maintained their cauſe vntill both weapons and life fayled them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they caſt themſelues headlong from off the rockes into the ſea, leaſt perhaps their enemies ſhould receiue glory or prey of their dead carcaiſes, for they ſuppoſed vs belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans fleſh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerouſly hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were ſlaine fiue or ſixe, the reſt by flight eſcaping among the rockes, ſauing two women, whereof the one being old and vgly, our men thought ſhee had bene a deuill or ſome witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbred with a ſucking childe at her backe, hiding her ſelfe behind the rockes, was eſpied by one of our men, who ſuppoſing ſhe had bene a man, ſhot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childs arme, whereupon ſhe cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed ſalues thereunto. But ſhe not acquainted with ſuch kind of ſurgery, plucked thoſe ſalues away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much vnlike our dogs, healed vp the childes arme. And becauſe the day was welneere ſpent our men made haſte vnto the reſt of our company which on the other ſide of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other Engliſh furniture, that they were the ſame company which Captaine Yorke diſcouered the night before, hauing remoued themſelues from the place where he left them.

A good deuiſe of Captaine Yorke.

The Sauages haue boats of ſundry bignes.

The Engliſh men purſue thoſe people of that countrey.

The ſwift rowing of thoſe people.

The bloody point.

Yorkes ſound.

A hot ſkirmiſh betweene the Engliſh and them of that countrey.

The deſperate nature of thoſe people.

The taking of the woman & her child.

A prety kind of ſurgery which nature teacheth.

And now conſidering their ſudden flying from our men, and their deſperate maner of fighting, we began to ſuſpect that we had heard the laſt newes of our men which the laſt yere were betrayed of theſe people. And conſidering alſo their rauenous and bloody diſpoſition in eating any kind of raw fleſh or carrion howſoeuer ſtinking, it is to bee thought that they had ſlaine and deuoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and darts.

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captiues and ſuch poore ſtuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ſhips, when being at ſea, there aroſe a ſudden flaw of winde, which was not a litle dangerous for their ſmall boates: but as God would they came all ſafely aboord. And with theſe good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound vnto vs. And betweene Iackmans ſound, from whence they came, and the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound betweene land and land, being thought the narroweſt place of the Straights were iudged nine leagues ouer at the leaſt: and Iackmans ſound being vpõ the Southerland, lyeth directly almoſt ouer againſt the Counteſſes ſound, as is reckoned ſcarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, ſtandeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New found land, and vpon the ſame continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrary.

The narroweſt place of the Straites is 9. leagues ouer.

The Queenes Cape.

Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and euery man with ſilence deſired to behold the maner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expreſſed by writing. At their firſt encountring they beheld each the other very wiſtly a good ſpace, without ſpeech or word vttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it ſeemed the griefe and diſdeine of their captiuity had taken away the vſe of their tongues and vtterance: the woman at the firſt very ſuddenly, as though ſhe diſdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to ſing as though ſhe minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake vp the ſilence firſt, and with ſterne and ſtayed countenance, began to tell a long ſolemne tale to the woman, whereunto ſhe gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finiſhed, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintance by ſpeech, they were turned together, ſo that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued without the comfort of the other. And for ſo much as we could perceiue, albeit they liued continually together, yet they did neuer vſe as man & wife, though the woman ſpared not to doe all neceſſary things that appertained to a good houſwife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that appertained to his eaſe: for when he was ſeaſicke, ſhe would make him cleane, ſhe would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dreſſe his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would neuer ſhift himſelfe, except he had firſt cauſed the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were moſt ſhamefaſt, leaſt any of their priuie parts ſhould be diſcouered, either of themſelues, or any other body.

The maner of the meeting of the two captiues, and their entertainment

The ſhamefaſtnes and chaſtity of thoſe Sauage captiues.

On Munday the ſixth of Auguſt, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Myners and the other things a ſhore, pitched their tents in the Counteſſes Iſland, and fortifyed the place for their better better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty perſons, when being all at labour, they might perceiue vpon the top of a hill ouer againſt them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries vnto them, and were of the ſame companie, which had encountred lately our men vpon the other ſhore, being come to complaine their late loſſes, and to entreate (as it ſeemed) for reſtitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon the Generall taking the ſauage captiue with him, and ſetting the woman where they might beſt perceiue her in the higheſt place of the Iſland, went ouer to talke with them. This captiue at his firſt encounter of his friends fell ſo out into teares that he could not ſpeake a word in a great ſpace, but after a while, ouercomming his kindneſſe, he talked at full with his companions, and beſtowed friendly vpon them ſuch toyes and trifles as we had giuen him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly ſorrowfull for the loſſe of their friends. Our Generall by ſignes required his fiue men which they tooke captiue the laſt yere, and promiſed them, not only to releaſe thoſe which he had taken, but alſo to reward them with great gifts and friendſhip. Our Sauage made ſignes in anſwere from them that our men ſhould be deliuered vs, and were yet liuing, and made ſignes likewiſe vnto vs that we ſhould write our letters vnto them, for they knew very well the vſe we haue of writing, and receiued knowledge thereof, either of our poore captiue countreymen which they betrayed, or elſe by this our new captiue who hath ſeene vs dayly write, and repeate againe ſuch words of his language as we deſired to learne: but they for this night, becauſe it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earneſtly in haſt for the ſame. And the next morning early being the ſeuenth of Auguſt, they called againe for the letter, which being deliuered vnto them, they ſpeedily departed, making ſignes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, vntill which time we heard no more of them, & about the time appointed they returned, in ſuch ſort as you ſhal afterwards heare.

Another appearance of the countrey people.

Theſe people know the vſe of writing.

A letter ſent vnto the fiue Engliſh captiues.

This night becauſe the people were very neere vnto vs, the Lieutenant cauſed the Trumpet to ſound a call, and euery man in the Iſland repayring to the Enſigne, he put them in minde of the place ſo farre from their countrey wherein they liued, and the danger of a great multitude which they were ſubiect vnto, if good watch and warde were not kept, for at euery low water the enimie might come almoſt dryfoot from the mayne vnto vs, wherefore he willed euery man to prepare him in good readineſſe vpon all ſudden occaſions, and ſo giuing the watch their charge, the company departed to reſt.

I thought the Captaines letter well worth the remembring, not for the circumſtance of curious enditing, but for the ſubſtance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore haue repeated here the ſame, as by himſelfe it was haſtily written.

The forme of M. *Martin Frobiſhers* letter to the Engliſh captiues.

IN the name of God, in whom we all beleeue, who (I truſt) hath preſerued your bodies and ſoules amongſt theſe Infidels, I commend me vnto you. I will be glad to ſeeke by al means you can deuiſe for your deliuerance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ſhips, which I will not ſpare for your ſakes, or any thing elſe I can doe for you. I haue aboord, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliuer for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the laſt yeere is dead in *England*. Moreouer you may declare vnto them, that if they deliuer you not, I will not leaue a man aliue in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to ſpeake with mee, they ſhall haue either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for you. And thus vnto God whom I truſt you doe ſerue, in haſt I leaue you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tueſday morning the ſeuenth of Auguſt. Anno 1577.

Yours to the vttermoſt of my power,
MARTIN FROBISHER.

Poſtſcript.

I haue ſent you by theſe bearers, penne, ynke, and paper, to write backe vnto me againe, if perſonally you cannot come to certifie me of your eſtate.

The cauſe why M. Frobiſher entred no further within the Streits this yere.

Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Streites at this time for any further diſcouery of the paſſage hauing taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought ſufficient for the vſe of language: & hauing alſo met with theſe people here, which intercepted his men the laſt yere, (as the apparell and Engliſh furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour loſt to ſeeke them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And conſidering alſo the ſhort time he had in hand, he thought it beſt to bend his whole endeuour for the getting of Myne, and to leaue the paſſage further to be diſcouered hereafter. For his commiſſion directed him in this voyage, onely for the ſearching of the Ore, and to deferre the further diſcouery of the paſſage vntill another time.

Beſts bulwarke

On Thurſday the ninth of Auguſt we began to make a ſmal Fort for our defence in the Counteſſes Iſland, and entrenched a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good heigth was compaſſed and well fenced with the ſea, and we finiſhed the reſt with caſkes of the earth, to good purpoſe, and this was called Beſts bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who firſt deuiſed the ſame. This was done for that wee ſuſpected more leſt the deſperate men might oppreſſe vs with multitude, then any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel: but as wiſedome would vs in ſuch place (ſo farre from home) not to be of our ſelues altogether careleſſe: ſo the ſignes which our captiue made vnto vs, of the comming downe of his Gouernour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gaue vs occaſion to foreſee what might enſue thereof, for he ſhewed by ſignes that this Catchoe was a man of higher ſtature farre then any of our nation is, and he is accuſtomed to be caried vpon mens ſhoulders.

Their King called Catchoe. How he is honoured.

About midnight the Lieutenant cauſed a falſe Alarme to be giuen in the Iſland, to proue as well the readines of the company there aſhore, as alſo what help might be hoped for vpon the ſudden frō the ſhips if need ſo required, & euery part was found in good readines vpon ſuch a ſudden.

Saturday the eleuenth of Auguſt the people ſhewed themſelues againe, & called vnto vs from the ſide of a hil ouer againſt vs. The General (with good hope to heare of his men, and to haue anſwere of his letter) went ouer vnto them, where they preſented themſelues not aboue three in ſight, but were hidden indeede in greater numbers behind the rockes, and making ſignes of delay with vs to intrappe ſome of vs to redeeme their owne, did onely ſeeke aduantage to traine our boat about a point of land from ſight of our companie: whereupon our men iuſtly ſuſpecting them, kept aloofe without their danger, and yet ſet one of our company aſhore, which tooke vp a great bladder which one of them offered vs, and leauing a looking glaſſe in the place, came into the boate againe. In the meane while our men which ſtood in the Counteſſes Iſland to beholde, who might better diſcerne them, then thoſe of the boate, by reaſon they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie vnto our men in the boate, for that they ſaw diuers of the Sauages creeping behind the rockes towards our men, wherupon the Generall preſently returned without tidings of his men.

A bladder changed for a looking glaſſe.

No newes of the Engliſh captiues.

Concerning this bladder which we receiued, our Captiue made ſignes that it was giuen him to keepe water and drinke in, but we ſuſpected rather it was giuen him to ſwimme and ſhift away withall, for he and the woman ſought diuers times to eſcape, hauing looſed our boates from aſterne our ſhips, and we neuer a boate left to purſue them withall, and had preuailed very farre, had they not bene very timely eſpied and preuented therein.

To what end the bladder was deliuered.

After our Generals comming away from them they muſtred themſelues in our ſight, vpon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rancke, all holding hands ouer their heads, and dancing with great noiſe and ſongs together: we ſuppoſed they made this dance and ſhew for vs to vnderſtand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we ſhould doe the ſame. And thus they continued vpon the hill tops vntill night, when hearing a piece of our great Ordinance, which thundred in the hollowneſſe of the high hilles, it made vnto them ſo fearefull a noiſe, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this was done more to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

Thoſe people dancing vpon the hil toppes.

Nn Suuday the 12 of Auguſt, Captaine Fenton trained the company, and made the ſouldiers maintaine ſkirmiſh among themſelues, as well for their exerciſe, as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found, for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hilles thereabout, and obſerued all the manner of our proceedings.

A ſkirmiſh ſhewed to thoſe people.

On Wedneſday the fourteenth of Auguſt, our Generall with two ſmall boates well appointed, for that hee ſuſpected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went vp a certaine Bay within the Counteſſes ſound, to ſearch for Ore, and met againe with the countrey people, who ſo ſoone as they ſaw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders ſowed together with the guts and ſinewes of beaſts, wafted vs amaine vnto them, but ſhewed not aboue three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceiue a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gaue vs good cauſe to ſuſpect their traiterous meaning: whereupon we made them ſignes, that if they would lay their weapons aſide, and come forth, we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifeſted vnto vs: but for all the ſignes of friendſhip we could make them they came ſtill creeping towards vs behind the rocks to get more aduantage of vs, as though we had no eyes to ſee them, thinking belike that our ſingle wits could not diſcouer ſo bare deuiſes and ſimple drifts of theirs. Their ſpokeſman earneſtly perſwaded vs with many intiſing ſhewes, to come eate and ſleepe aſhore, with great arguments of courteſie, and clapping his bare hands ouer his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed vs to doe the like. But the better to allure our hungry ſtomackes, he brought vs a trimme baite of raw fleſh, which for faſhion ſake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceiued his firſt cold morſell could nothing ſharpen our ſtomacks, he caſt about for a new traine of warme fleſh to procure our appetites, wherefore he cauſed one of his fellowes in halting maner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnes in caruing, he hoiſed him vpon his ſhoulders, and bringing him hard to the water ſide where we were, left him there limping as an eaſie prey to be taken of vs. His hope was that we would bite at this baite, and ſpeedily leape aſhore within their danger, wherby they might haue apprehended ſome of vs, to ranſome their friends home againe, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and ſouldiers had great will to encounter them aſhore, but the Generall more carefull by proceſſe of time to winne them, then wilfully at the firſt to ſpoile them, would in no wiſe admit that any man ſhould put himſelfe in hazard aſhore, conſidering the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conqueſt: notwithſtanding to proue this cripples footemanſhip, he gaue liberty for one to ſhoote: whereupon the cripple hauing a parting blow, lightly recouered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple, and hath learned his leſſon for euer halting afore ſuch cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likeneſſe, and maintained the ſkirmiſh with their ſlings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water ſuffred them: and with as deſperate minde as hath bene ſeene in any men, without feare of ſhotte or any thing, followed vs all along the coaſt, but all their ſhot fell ſhort of vs, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the

Their flags made of bladders.

Great offers.

coaſt

A hundreth Sauages.

coaſt along for vs, and being diſperſed ſo, were not well to be numbred, but wee might diſcerne of them aboue an hundreth perſons, and had cauſe to ſuſpect a greater number. And thus without loſſe or hurt we returned to our ſhips againe.

Now our worke growing to an end, and hauing, onely with fiue poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and ſouldiers, brought aboord almoſt two hundreth tunne of Ore in the ſpace of twenty dayes, euery man therewithall well comforted, determined luſtily to worke a freſh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a ſpeedy and happy ende.

And vpon Wedneſday at night being the one and twentieth of Auguſt, we fully finiſhed the whole worke. And it was now good time to leaue, for as the men were well wearied, ſo their ſhooes and clothes were well worne, their baſkets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the ſhips reaſonably well filled. Some with ouer-ſtraining themſelues receiued hurts not a little daungerous, ſome hauing their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our ſhips ſides a night, which gaue vs a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, & put vs in mind to make more haſte homeward.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and ſouldiers herein, who leauing all reputation apart, with ſo great willingneſſe and with couragious ſtomackes, haue themſelues almoſt ouercome in ſo ſhort a time the difficultie of this ſo great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further proofe, now brought home doth well witneſſe.

Thurſday the 22 of Auguſt, we plucked downe our tents, and euery man haſted homeward, and making bonefires vpon the top of the higheſt Mount of the Iſland, and marching with Enſigne diſplayed round about the Iſland, wee gaue a vollie of ſhotte for a farewell, in honour of the righ honourable Lady Anne, Counteſſe of Warwicke, whoſe name it beareth: and ſo departed aboord.

The 23 of Auguſt hauing the wind large at Weſt, we ſet ſaile from out of the Counteſſes ſound homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the ſame ſound againe.

They returne. Snow halfe a foote deepe in Auguſt.

The 24 of Auguſt about three of the clocke in the morning, hauing the wind large at Weſt, we ſet ſaile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Foreland aſterne of vs, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our courſe more Southerly, to bring our ſelues the ſooner vnder the latitude of our owne climate.

The wind was very great at ſea, ſo that we lay a hull all night, & had ſnow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

From the 24 vntil the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our courſe Southſoutheaſt, and had like to haue loſt the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of Auguſt the wind blew much at Northeaſt, ſo that we could beare but onely a bunt of our foreſaile, and the Barkes were not able to cary any ſayle at all.

The Michael loſt company of vs and ſhaped her courſe towards Orkney becauſe that way was better knowne vnto them, and arriued at Yermouth.

The Maſter of the Gabriel ſtrooken ouer-boord.

The 30 of Auguſt with the force of the wind, and a ſurge of the ſea, the Maſter of the Gabriel and the Boatſwain were ſtriken both ouerboord, & hardly was the Boatſwain recouered, hauing hold on a roape hanging ouerboord in the ſea, and yet the Barke was laced fore and after with ropes a breaſt high within boorde.

This Maſter was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very ſufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleaſant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was caſt ouerboord, and that the Boatſwain had him by the hand, and could not ſaue him, and ſo immediately vpon the end of his tale, his dreame came right euilly to paſſe, and indeed the Boatſwain in like ſort held him by one hand, hauing hold on a rope with the other, vntill his force fayled, and the Maſter drowned. The height being taken we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our ſelues from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundreth leagues.

The laſt of Auguſt about midnight, we had two or three great and ſudden flawes or ſtormes.

The firſt of September the ſtorme was growen very great, and continued almoſt the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarrie for the Barkes our ſhip was much beaten with the ſeas, euery ſea almoſt ouertaking our poope, ſo that we were conſtrained with a bunt of our ſaile to trie it out, and eaſe the rolling of our ſhip. And ſo the Gabriel not able to beare any ſayle to keepe company with vs, and our ſhip being higher in the poope, and a tall ſhip, whereon the winde had moꝛe foꝛce to dꝛiue, went ſo faſt away that we loſt ſight of them, and left them to God and their good foꝛtune of Sea. The ſecond day of September in the moꝛning, it pleaſed God of his goodneſſe to ſend vs a calme, whereby we perceiued the Rudder of our ſhip toꝛne in twaine, and almoſt ready to fall away. Wherefoꝛe taking the benefite of the time, we flung halfe a dozen couple of our beſt men ouer boord, who taking great paines vnder water, dꝛiuing plankes, and binding with ropes, did well ſtrengthen and mend the matter, who returned the moſt part moꝛe then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleaſure was, the ſea was calme vntill the woꝛke was finiſhed. The fift of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of degrees and a halfe. In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the place by the height of the ſunne, becauſe the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but alſo of all other fixed Starres. And here the North Starre is ſo much eleuated aboue the Hoꝛizon, that with the ſtaffe it is hardly to bee well obſerued, and the degrees in the Aſtrolabe are too ſmall to obſerue minutes. Therefoꝛe wee alwaies vſed the Staffe and the ſunne as fitteſt inſtruments foꝛ this vſe.

The Rudder of the Aide toꝛne in twain.

How the latitudes were alwayes taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Aſtrolabe.

Hauing ſpent foure oꝛ fiue dayes in trauerſe of the ſeas with contrary winde, making our Souhter way good as neere as we could, to raiſe our degrees to bꝛing our ſelues with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our ſelues in the latitude of degrees and ten minutes. The eleuenth of September about ſixe a clocke at night the winde came good Southweſt, we vered ſheat and ſet our courſe Southeaſt.

And vpon Thurſday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, wee were in the latitude of and a halfe, and reckoned our ſelues not paſt one hundꝛed and fifty leagues ſhoꝛt of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Weſtſouthweſt, we kept our courſe Southeaſt.

The thirteenth dey the height being taken, wee found our ſelues to be in the latitude of degrees, the wind Weſtſouthweſt, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our courſe Eaſt, to run in with the ſleeue oꝛ chanel ſo called, being our narrow ſeas, and reckoned vs ſhoꝛt of Sylley twelue leagues.

Sonday, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to ſound with our lead, and had ground at 61 fadome depth, white ſmall ſandy ground, and reckoned vs vpon the backe of Sylley, and ſet our courſe Eaſt and by Noꝛth, Eaſtnoꝛtheaſt, and Noꝛtheaſt among.

The ſixteenth of September, about eight of the clocke in the moꝛning ſounding, we had 65. fadome oſey ſand, and thought our ſelues thwart of S. Georges channell a little within the banks. And bearing a ſmall ſaile all night, we made many ſoundings, which were about foꝛtie fadome, and ſo ſhallow, that we could not well tell where we were.

The ſeuenteenth of September we ſounded, and had foꝛty fadome, and were not farre off the lands end, finding bꝛanded ſand with ſmall woꝛmes and Cockle ſhelles, and were ſhotte betwene Sylley and the lands ende, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the pointe with a South and by Eaſt way, but were faine to make another boord, the wind being at Southweſt and by Weſt, and yet could not double the point to come cleere of the lands end, to beare along the channel: and the weather cleered vp when we were hard aboord the ſhoꝛe, and we made the lands end perfit, and ſo put vp along Saint Georges chanel. And the weather being very foule at ſea, we coueted ſome harboꝛough, becauſe our ſteerage was bꝛoken, and ſo came to ancoꝛ in Padſtow road in Cornewall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were aduiſed by the countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two euils, to chooſe the leſſe, foꝛ there was nothing but pꝛeſent perill where we roade: whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe dꝛiuen, being but an open roade, where our Anker came home, and with foꝛce of weather put to Seas againe, and about the thꝛee and twentieth of September, arriued at Milford Hauen in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made vs happy men, that we had receiued ſuch long deſired ſafetie.

The arriual of the Aide at Padſtow in Cornewall.

Our comming to Milford Hauen.

About one moneth after our arriuall here, by oꝛder from the Loꝛds of the Counſell, the ſhip came vp to Briſtow, where the Oꝛe was committed to keeping in the Caſtel there. Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arriued in good ſafetie, who hauing neuer a man within boord very ſufficient to bꝛing home the ſhip, after the Maſter was loſt, by good foꝛtune, when ſhe came vpon the coaſt, met with a ſhip of Briſtow at ſea, who conducted her in ſafety thither.

The arriuall of the Gabriel at Briſtow.

Here we heard good tidings alſo of the arriuall of the other Barke called the Michael, in the Noꝛth parts, which was not a little ioyful vnto vs, that it pleaſed God ſo to bꝛing vs to a ſafe meeting againe, and wee loſt in all the voyage only one man, beſides one that dyed at ſea, which was ſicke befoꝛe he came aboord, and was ſo deſirous to follow this enterpꝛiſe, that he rather choſe to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt ſo notable a voyage.

The Michael arriued in the Noꝛth parts.

Only one man died the voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine *Frobiſher*, pretended for the diſcouerie of *Cataia*, by *Meta Incognita*, *Anno Do.*1578.

The Generall being returned from the ſecond voyage, immediately after his arriuall in England, repaired with all haſt to the Court being then at Windſore, to aduertiſe her Maieſtie of his proſperous proceeding, and good ſucceſſe in this laſt voyage, & of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in theſe Septentrionall parts diſcouered. He was courteouſly enterteyned, and hartily welcommed of many noble men, but eſpecially for his great aduenture, commended of her Maieſtie, at whoſe hands he receiued great thankes, and moſt gratious countenance, according to his deſerts. Her Highneſſe alſo greatly commended the reſt of the Gentlemen in this ſeruice, for their great forwardnes in this ſo dangerous an attempt: but eſpecially ſhe reioyced very much, that among them there was ſo good order of gouernement, ſo good agreement, euery man ſo ready in his calling, to do whatſoeuer the General ſhould cōmand, which due commendation gratiouſly of her Maieſtie remembred, gaue ſo great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they, to continue her Highneſſe ſo good and honourable opinion of them, haue ſince neither ſpared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (ſo well begun) to a happie and proſperous ende. And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appearance & made ſhew of great riches & profit, & the hope of the paſſage to Cataya, by this laſt voyage greatly increaſed, her Maieſtie appointed ſpeciall Commiſſioners choſen for this purpoſe, gentlemen of great iudgement, art, and ſkill, to looke thorowly into the cauſe, for the true triall and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And becauſe that place and countrey hath neuer heretofore beene diſcouered, and therefore had no ſpeciall name, by which it might be called and knowen, her Maieſtie named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a marke and bound vtterly hitherto vnknowen. The commiſſioners after ſufficient triall and proofe made of the Ore, and hauing vnderſtood by ſundrie reaſons, and ſubſtantiall grounds, the poſſibilitie and likelyhood of the paſſage, aduertiſed her highneſſe, that the cauſe was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be aduanced againe. Whereupon preparation was made of ſhips and all other things neceſſary, with ſuch expedition, as the time of the yeere then required. And becauſe it was aſſuredly made accompt of, that the commoditie of Mines, there already diſcouered, would at the leaſt counteruaile in all reſpects the aduenturers charge, and giue further hope & likelyhood of greater matters to follow: it was thought needfull, both for the better guard of thoſe parts already found, and for further diſcouery of the Inland and ſecrets of thoſe countreys, & alſo for further ſearch of the paſſage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more & more increaſeth) that certaine numbers of choſen ſouldiers and diſcreet men for thoſe purpoſes ſhould be aſſigned to inhabite there. Whereupon there was a ſtrong fort or houſe of timber, artificially framed, & cunningly deuiſed by a notable learned man here at home, in ſhips to be caried thither, wherby thoſe men that were appointed to winter & ſtay there the whole yere, might aſwell bee defended from the danger of the ſnow and cold ayre, as alſo fortified from the force or offence of thoſe countrey people, which perhaps otherwiſe with too great multitudes might oppreſſe them. And to this great aduenture and notable exploit many well minded and forwad yong Gentlemen of our countrey willingly haue offered themſelues. And firſt Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobiſher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Beſt, and Captaine Filpot, vnto whoſe good diſcretions the gouernment of that ſeruice was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in reſpec of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the firſt brunt & aduenture of thoſe dangers among a ſauage and brutiſh kinde of people, in a place hitherto euer thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabite Meta Incognita all the yeere, were one hundreth perſons, wherof 40 ſhould be mariners for the vſe of ſhips, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yere, and 30 ſouldiers for the better guard of the reſt, within which laſt number are included the Gentlemen, Goldfiners, Bakers, Carpenters, & all neceſſary perſons. To each of the Captaines was aſſigned one ſhip, aſwel for the further ſearching of the coaſt & countrey there, as for to returne & bring backe their companies againe, if the neceſſity of the place ſo vrged, or by miſcarying of the fleet the next yere, they might be diſappointed of their further prouiſion. Being therfore thus furniſhed withal neceſſaries, there were ready to depart vpon the ſaid voyage 15 ſaile of good ſhips, wherof the whole number was to returne again with their loding of gold Ore in the end of the ſommer, except thoſe 3 ſhips, which ſhould be left for the vſe of thoſe Captains which ſhould inhabite there the whole yere. And being in ſo good

readineſſe

M. Frobiſher cōmended of her Maieſtie.

The Gentlemen commended.

Cōmiſſioners appointed to examine the goodneſſe of the Ore.

A name giuen to ẏ place new diſcouered.

The hope of the paſſage to Cataya.

A forte to be built in Meta Incognita.

A hundreth men appointed to inhabite there.

Fifteene ſayle.

readineſſe, the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leaue of her Maieſtie, at whoſe hands they all receiued great incouragement, and gracious countenance. Her highneſſe beſides other good gifts, and greater promiſes, beſtowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the reſt of of the Captaines kiſſed her hand, tooke their leaue, and departed euery man towards their charge.

A chaine of gold giuen to M.Frobiſher.

The names of the ſhips with their ſeuerall Captaines.

1 In the Aide being Amirall, was the Generall	Captaine	Frobiſher.
2 In the Thomas Allen Viceadmirall		Yorke.
3 In the Iudith Lieutenant generall		Fenton,
4 In the Anne Francis		Beſt.
5 In the Hopewell		Carew.
6 In the Beare		Filpot,
7 In the Thomas of Ipſwich		Tanfield.
8 In the Emmanuel of Exceter		Courtney.
9 In the Francis of Foy		Moyles.
10 In the Moone		Vpcot.
11 In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater		Newton.
12 In the Salomon of Weymouth		Randal.
13 In the Barke Dennis		Kendal.
14 In the Gabriel		Haruey.
15 In the Michael		Kinnerſley.

The ſayd fifteene ſaile of ſhips arriued and met together at Harwich, the ſeuen and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and muſtred their companies. And euery ſeuerall Captaine receiued from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be obſerued for the Fleete, ſet downe by Captaine Frobiſher Generall, and deliuered in writing to euery Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the courſe, the 31 of May.

1 INprimis, to baniſh ſwearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to ſerue God twice a day, with the ordinary ſeruice vſuall in Churches of England, and to cleare the glaſſe, according to the old order of England.

2 The Admiral ſhall carie the light, & after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but euery man to ſit his ſailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man ſhall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall them the diſtance of one Engliſh mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to caſt about, before her caſting about ſhee ſhall giue warning, by ſhooting off a peece, and to her ſhall anſwere the Viceadmirall and the Rereadmirall each of them with a piece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceadmirall ſhall anſwere firſt, and the Rereadmirall laſt.

5 That no man in the Fleete deſcrying any ſayle or ſayles, giue vpon any occaſion any chace before he haue ſpoken with the Admirall.

6 That euery euening all the Fleete come vp and ſpeake with the Admirall, at ſeuen of the Clocke, or betweene that and eight, and if the weather will not ſerue them all to ſpeake with the Admirall, then ſome ſhall come to the Viceadmirall, and receiue the order of their courſe of Maſter Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he ſhall direct them.

7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any miſchance, they ſhal preſently ſhoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and ſhew two lights.

8 If any man in the Fleete come vp in the night, & hale his fellow, knowing him not, he ſhall giue him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other ſhal anſwere him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Chriſt his Sonne. So that if any be found amongſt vs, not of our

owne company, he that firſt deſcrieth any ſuch ſayle or ſayles, ſhall giue warning to the Admirall by himſelfe or any other that he can ſpeake to, that ſailes better then he, being neereſt vnto him.

9 That euery ſhip in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and moſt part calmes, ſhall keepe a reaſonable noiſe with trumpet, drumme, or otherwiſe, to keepe themſelues cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out ſo thicke or miſtie that we lay it to hull, the Admiral ſhall giue warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one ouer another, to the end that euery man may take in his ſailes, and at his ſetting of ſayles againe doe the like, if it be not cleere.

11 If any man diſcouer land by night, that he giue the like warning, that he doth for miſchances, two lights, and two pieces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his flagge, and ſtrike all his ſailes he hath aboord.

12 If any ſhip ſhall happen to loſe company by force of weather, then any ſuch ſhip or ſhips ſhall get her into the latitude of   , and ſo keepe that latitude vntil they get Friſland. And after they be paſt the Weſt parts of Friſland, they ſhall get them into the latitude of   , and   , and not to the Northward of   ; and being once entred within the Streites, al ſuch ſhips ſhal euery watch ſhoote off a good piece, and looke out well for ſmoke and fire which thoſe that get in firſt ſhall make euery night, vntill all the fleete be come together.

13 That vpon the ſight of an Enſigne in the maſt of the Admirall (a piece being ſhot off) the whole fleete ſhall repaire to the Admirall, to vnderſtand ſuch conference as the Generall is to haue with them.

14 If we chance to meete with any enemies, that foure ſhips ſhall attend vpon the Admirall, viz. the Francis of Foy the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure vpon my Lieutenant generall in the Iudith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure vpon the Vizadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any diſordred perſon in the Fleete, that he be taken and kept in ſafe cuſtodie vntill he may conueniently be brought aboord the Admirall, and there to receiue ſuch puniſhment as his or their offences ſhall deſerue.

By me *Martin Frobiſher.*

Our departure from England.

Cape Cleare the ſixt of Iune.

A charitable deede.

Marke this current.

Hauing receiued theſe articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. And ſayling along the South part of England Weſtward, we at length came by the coaſt of Ireland at Cape Cleare the ſixth of Iune, and gaue chaſe there to a ſmall barke which was ſuppoſed to be a Pyrat, or Rouer on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Briſtow, who had met with ſuch company of Frenchmen as had ſpoiled and ſlaine many of them, and left the reſt ſo ſore wounded that they were like to periſh in the ſea, hauing neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themſelues with, nor victuals to ſuſtaine their hungry bodies. Our Generall, who well vnderſtood the office of a Souldier and an Engliſhman, and knew well what the neceſſitie of the ſea meaneth, pitying much the miſerie of the poore men, relieued them with Surgerie and ſalues to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts; ſome of them hauing neither eaten nor drunke more then oliues and ſtinking water in many dayes before, as they reported. And after this good deede done, hauing a large wind, we kept our courſe vpon our ſayd voyage without ſtaying for the taking in of freſh water, or any other prouiſion, whereof many of the fleete were not throughly furniſhed: and ſayling towards the Northweſt parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from out of the Southweſt, which caried vs (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeaſtwards of our ſayd courſe, which current ſeemed to vs to continue it ſelfe towards Norway, and other the Northeaſt parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to beleeue, that this is the ſame which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza, where ſtriking ouer from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no paſſage there for the narrowneſſe of the ſayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where alſo hauing a let of land, it is forced to ſtrike backe againe towards the Northeaſt, as we not onely here, but in another place alſo, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere haue found, as ſhalbe hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Now had we ſayled about foureteene dayes, without ſight of any land, or any other liuing thing, except certaine foules, as Wilmots, Nodies, Gulles, &c. which there ſeeme onely to liue by ſea.

The twentieth of Iune, at two of the clocke in the morning, the General deſcried land, & found it to be Weſt Friſland, now named weſt England, here the Generall, & other Gentlemen went aſhore, being the firſt knowen Chriſtians that we haue true notice of, that euer ſet foot vpon that ground: and therefore the Generall tooke poſſeſſion thereof to the vſe of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maieſtie, and diſcouered here a goodly harborough for the ſhips, where were alſo certaine little boates of that countrey. And being there landed, they eſpied certaine tents and people of that countrey, which were (as they iudge) in all ſorts, very like thoſe of Meta Incognita, as by their apparell, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

Weſt England.

The Sauage and ſimple people ſo ſoone as they perceiued our men comming towards them, (ſuppoſing there had bene no other world but theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at ſo ſtrange a ſight, and creatures of humane ſhape, ſo farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themſelues. They left in their tents all their furniture for haſte behind them, where amongſt other things were found a boxe of ſmall nailes, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Firre tree well cut, with diuers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they haue trade with ſome ciuill people, or elſe are indeede themſelues artificiall workemen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompenſe belles, looking-glaſſes, and diuers of our countrey toyes behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promiſeth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well diſcouered. The deſcription whereof you ſhall finde more at large in the ſecond voyage.

Friſland ſuppoſed to be continent with Groenland.

Some are of opinion, that this Weſt England is firme land with the Northeaſt partes of Meta Incognita, or elſe with Groenland. And their reaſon is, becauſe the people, apparel, boates, and other things are ſo like to theirs: and another reaſon is, the multitude of Iſlands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, doth argue, that on the North ſide there is a bay, which cannot be but by conioyning of the two lands together.

The 23 of Iune.

Charing croſſe.

And hauing a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobiſhers Streites, the three and twentieth of Iune. But firſt wee gaue name to a high cliffe in Weſt England, the laſt that was in our ſight, and for a certaine ſimilitude, we called it Charing croſſe. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, becauſe to the Northwardes of this coaſt we met with much driuing yce, which by reaſon of the thicke miſtes and weather might haue bene ſome trouble vnto vs.

On Munday the laſt of Iune, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porpoſes.

A Whale ſtrooke a ſhip.

This ſame day the Salamander being vnder both her corſes and bonets, happened to ſtrike a great Whale with her full ſtemme, with ſuch a blow that the ſhip ſtoode ſtill, and ſtirred neither forward nor backward. The Whale thereat made a great and vgly noyſe, and caſt vp his body and taile, and ſo went vnder water, and within two daies after, there was found a great Whale dead ſwimming aboue water, which wee ſuppoſed was that which the Salamander ſtrooke.

Frobiſhers Streites choked vp with yce.

The ſecond day of Iuly early in the morning we had ſight of the Queenes Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and paſſing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred ſomewhat within the Streites, perceiuing no way to paſſe further in, the whole place being frozen ouer from the one ſide to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked vp the paſſage, and denied vs entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this paſſage or Sea hereabouts is frozen ouer at any time of the yere: albeit it ſeemed ſo vnto vs by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather ſuppoſe theſe yce to bee bred in the hollow ſoundes and freſhets thereabouts: which by the heate of the ſommers Sunne, being looſed, doe emptie themſelues with the ebbes into the ſea, and ſo gather in great abundance there together.

And to ſpeake ſomewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen ſea in theſe parts: I doe thinke it to be rather a bare coniecture of men, then that euer any man hath made experience of any ſuch ſea. And that which they ſpeake of Mare glaciale, may be truely thought to be ſpoken of theſe partes: for this may well be called indeede the ycie ſea, but not the frozen ſea, for no ſea conſiſting of ſalt water can be frozen, as I haue more at large herein ſhewed my opinion in my ſecond voyage; for it ſeemeth impoſſible for any ſea to bee frozen which hath his courſe of ebbing and flowing, eſpecially in thoſe places where the tides doe ebbe and flowe aboue ten fadome. And alſo all theſe aforeſayd yce, which we ſometime met a hundreth mile from lande, being gathered out of the ſalt Sea, are in taſte freſh, and being diſſolued, become ſweete and holeſome water.

Salt water cannot freeze.

And the cauſe why this yere we haue bene more combred with yce then at other times before, may be by reaſon of the Eaſterly & Southerly winds, which brought vs more timely thither now then we looked for. Which blowing from the ſea directly vpon the place of our Streits, hath kept in the yce, and not ſuffered them to be caried out by the ebbe to the maine ſea, where they would in more ſhort time haue bene diſſolued. And all theſe fleeting yce are not only ſo dangerous in that they wind and gather ſo neere together, that a man may paſſe ſometimes tenne or twelue miles as it were vpon one firme Iſland of yce: but alſo for that they open and ſhut together againe in ſuch ſort with the tides and ſea-gate, that whileſt one ſhip followeth the other with full ſayles, the yce which was open vnto the foremoſt will ioyne and cloſe together before the latter can come to follow the firſt, whereby many times our ſhippes were brought into great danger, as being not able ſo ſodainely to take in our ſayles, or ſtay the ſwift way of our ſhips.

We were forced many times to ſtemme and ſtrike great rockes of yce, and ſo as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes ſome of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and paſſed ſo farre within the danger thereof, with continuall deſire to recouer their port, that it was the greateſt wonder of the world that they euer eſcaped ſafe, or were euer heard of againe. For euen at this preſent we miſſed two of the fleete, that is, the Iudith, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we ſuppoſed had bene vtterly loſt, hauing not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

Barke Dennis ſunke.

And one of our fleete named the Barke Dennis, being of an hundreth tunne burden, ſeeking way in amongſt theſe yce, receiued ſuch a blow with a rocke of yce that ſhe ſunke downe therewith in the ſight of the whole fleete. Howbeit hauing ſignified her danger by ſhooting off a peece of great Ordinance, new ſuccour of other ſhips came ſo readily vnto them, that the men were all ſaued with boats.

Part of the houſe loſt.

Within this ſhip that was drowned there was parcell of our houſe which was to bee erected for them that ſhould ſtay all the winter in Meta Incognita.

This was a more fearefull ſpectacle for the Fleete to beholde, for that the outragious ſtorme which preſently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the Fleete being thus compaſſed (as aforeſayd) on euery ſide with yce, hauing left much behinde them, thorow which they paſſed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not poſſible to paſſe, there aroſe a ſudden terrible tempeſt at the Southeaſt, which blowing from the maine ſea, directly vpon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a ſea-boorde of vs vpon our backes, and thereby debard vs of turning backe to recouer ſea-roome againe: ſo that being thus compaſſed with danger on euery ſide, ſundry men with ſundry deuiſes ſought the beſt way to ſaue themſelues. Some of the ſhips, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birth of ſea roome, did take in their ſayles, and there lay adrift. Other ſome faſtened & mored Anker vpon a great Iſland of yce, and roade vnder the Lee therof, ſuppoſing to be better guarded thereby from the outragious winds, and the danger of the leſſer fleeting yce. And againe ſome were ſo faſt ſhut vp, and compaſſed in amongſt an infinite number of great countreys and Iſlands of yce, that they were faine to ſubmit themſelues and their ſhips to the mercy of the vnmercifull yce, and ſtrengthened the ſides of their ſhips with iunckes of cables, beds, Maſtes, plankes and ſuch like, which being hanged ouer boord on the ſides af their ſhips, might the better defend them from the outragious ſway and ſtrokes of the ſaid yce. But as in greateſt diſtreſſe, men of beſt valour are beſt to bee diſcerned, ſo it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what inuincible minde euery Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painefull Mariners and poore Miners (vnacquainted with ſuch extremities) to the euerlaſting renowne of our nation, did ouercome the brunt of theſe ſo great and extreme dangers: for ſome, euen without boord vpon the yce, and ſome within boord vpon the ſides of their ſhips, hauing poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and Ores in their handes, ſtoode almoſt day and night without any reſt, bearing off the force, and breaking the ſway of the yce with ſuch incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwiſe no doubt had ſtriken quite through and through the ſides of their ſhips, notwithſtanding our former prouiſion: for plankes of timber of more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bigneſſe, by the ſurging of the ſea and billowe, with the yce were ſhiuered and cut in ſunder, at the ſides of our ſhips, ſo that it will ſeeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee prooued, and that by many ſubſtantiall witneſſes, that our ſhips, euen thoſe of greateſt burdens, with the meeting of contrary waues of the ſea, were heaued vp betweene Iſlands of yce, a foote welneere out of the ſea aboue their watermarke, hauing their knees and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidſt theſe extremes, whileſt ſome laboured for defence of the ſhips, and ſought to ſaue their bodies, other ſome of more milder ſpirit ſought to ſaue the ſoule by deuout prayer and meditation to the Almightie, thinking indeede by no other meanes poſſible then by a diuine Miracle to haue their deliuerance: ſo that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himſelfe in beſt ſecuritie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his beſt ſafetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miſerable men without hope of euer getting foorth againe, diſtreſſed with theſe extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ſhips, that is, the Anne Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being ſomewhat a Seaboord of the Fleete, and being faſt ſhips by a winde, hauing a more ſcope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the ſtorme vnder ſayle, being hardly able to beare a coaſt of each.

And albeit, by reaſon of the fleeting yce, which were diſperſed here almoſt the whole ſea ouer, they were brought many times to the extreameſt point of perill, mountaines of yce tenne thouſand times ſcaping them ſcarce one ynch, which to haue ſtriken had bene their preſent deſtruction, conſidering the ſwift courſe and way of the ſhips, and the vnwieldineſſe of them to ſtay and turne as a man would wiſh: yet they eſteemed it their better ſafetie, with ſuch perill to ſeeke Sea-roome, than without hope of euer getting libertie to lie ſtriuing againſt the ſtreame, and beating amongſt the Iſie mountaines, whoſe hugeneſſe and monſtrous greatneſſe was ſuch, that no man would credite, but ſuch as to their paines ſawe and felt it. And theſe foure ſhippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were firſt cleare of the yce, who now enioying their owne libertie, beganne a new to ſorrow and feare for their fellowes ſafeties. And deuoutly kneeling about their maine Maſt, they gaue vnto God humble thankes, not only for themſelues, but beſought him likewiſe highly for their friendes deliuerance. And euen now whileſt amidoeſt theſe extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogither ouerlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foreſayd dangers, it pleaſed God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heauen to ſende them helpe in good time, giuing them the next day a more fauourable winde at the West Northweſt, which did not onely diſperſe and driue foorth the yce before them, but alſo gaue them libertie of more ſcope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the ſame day following perceiued of the other foure ſhippes, where (to their greateſt comfort) they enioyed againe the fellowſhip one of another. Some in mending the ſides of their ſhips, ſome in ſetting vp their top Maſtes, and mending their ſayles and tacklings; Againe, ſome complayning of their falſe Stemme borne away, ſome in ſtopping their leakes, ſome in recounting their dangers paſt, ſpent no ſmall time & labour. So that I dare well auouch, there were neuer men more dangerouſly diſtreſſed, nor more mercifully by Gods prouidence deliuered. And hereof both the torne ſhips, and the forwearied bodies of the men arriued doe beare moſt euident marke and witneſſe. And now the whole Fleete plyed off to Seaward, reſoluing there to abide vntill the Sunne might conſume, or the force of winde diſperſe theſe yce from the place of their paſſage: and being a good birth off the ſhore, they tooke in their ſailes, and lay adrift.

The ſeuenth of Iuly as men nothing yet diſmayed, we caſt about towards the inward, and had ſight of land, which roſe in forme like the Northerland of the ſtraights, which ſome of the Fleete, and thoſe not the worſt Marriners, iudged to be the North Foreland: howbeit other ſome were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be diſcerned by reaſon of the thicke fogge which a long time hung vpon the coaſt, & the new falling ſnow which yeerely altereth the ſhape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners markes. And by reaſon of the darke miſts which continued by the ſpace of twentie dayes togither, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeede we thought our ſelues to be vpon the Northeaſt ſide of Frobiſhers ſtraights, we were now caried to the Southweſtwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceiued by a ſwift current comming from the Northeaſt, were brought to the Southweſtwards of our ſaid courſe many miles more then we did thinke poſſible could come to paſſe. The cauſe whereof we haue ſince found, and it ſhall be at large hereafter declared.

Another aſſault.

Foggs, ſnow, and miſtes hinder the Mariners markes.

A ſwift current from the Northeaſt.

Here we made a point of land which ſome miſtooke for a place in the ſtraightes called Mount Warwicke: but how we ſhould be ſo farre ſhot vp ſo ſuddainely within the ſaid ſtraighs the experteſt Mariners began to maruell, thinking it a thing impoſſible that they could be ſo farre ouertaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceiue them here which they had not by former experience prooued and found out. Howbeit many confeſſed that they found a ſwifter

A current.

courſe of flood then before time they had obſerued. And truely it was wonderfull to heare and ſee the ruſhing and noiſe that the tides do make in this place with ſo violent a force that our ſhips lying a hull were turned ſometimes round about euen in a moment after the maner of a whirlepoole, and the noyſe of the ſtreame no leſſe to be heard a farre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

But whileſt the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongſt great ſtore of yce in a place they knew not without ſight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and ſo to know the true eleuation of the pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the coaſt, the Generall with the Captaines & Maſters of his ſhips, began doubtfully to queſtion of the matter, and ſent his Pinneſſe aboord to heare each mans opinion, and ſpecially of Iames Beare, Maſter of the Anne Francis, who was knowen to be a ſufficient and ſkilful Mariner, and hauing bene there the yere before, had wel obſerued the place, and drawen out Cardes of the coaſt. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Chriſtopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, deliuered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleete, that hee had neuer ſeene the foreſayd coaſt before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobiſhers Streits, as ſome of the Fleete ſuppoſed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend ſo like, that the beſt Mariners therein may bee deceiued.

Iames Beare a good Mariner.

Chriſtopher Hall chiefe Pylot.

The tenth of Iuly, the weather ſtill continuing thicke and darke, ſome of the ſhips in the fogge loſt ſight of the Admirall and the reſt of the fleete, and wandring to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were beſt to ſeeke backe againe to ſeaward through great ſtore of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull courſe in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coaſt, whereof by reaſon of the darke miſtes they could not diſcerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground ſhould lie off the place, as commonly in theſe parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke conſidering the foreſayd opinion of the Pylot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, hauing loſt ſight of the Fleete, turned backe to ſea againe, hauing two other ſhips in company with him.

Alſo the Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing likewiſe loſt company of the Fleete, and being all alone, held it for beſt to turne it out to ſea againe, vntill they might haue cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being ſo narrowly diſtreſſed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leape vpon an Iland of yce to auoide the preſent danger, and ſo hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.

Some hoped to ſaue themſelues on cheſtes, and ſome determined to tie the Hatches of the ſhips togither, and to binde themſelues with their furniture faſt thereunto, and ſo to be towed with the ſhip-bote aſhore, which otherwiſe could not receiue halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arriued, they ſhould eyther haue periſhed for lacke of foode to eate, or elſe ſhould themſelues haue beene eaten of thoſe rauenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

Hard ſhifts to ſaue mens liues.

The reſt of the Fleete following the courſe of the Generall which led them the way, paſſed vp aboue ſixtie leagues within the ſaide doubtfull and ſuppoſed ſtraights, hauing alwayes a faire continent vpon their ſtarreboord ſide, and a continuance ſtill of an open Sea before them.

The coaſt along yͤ Southſide of Gronland 60 leagues

The Generall albeit with the firſt perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde ſtraights, yet he perſwaded the Fleete alwayes that they were in their right courſe, and knowen ſtraights. Howbeit I ſuppoſe he rather diſſembled his opinion therein then otherwiſe, meaning by that policie (being himſelfe led with an honourable deſire of further diſcouerie) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to ſee a further proofe of that place. And as ſome of the companie reported, he hath ſince confeſſed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ſhips, he both would and could haue gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and diſſolued the long doubt of the paſſage which we ſeeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya.

Miſtaken ſtraights which indeede are no ſtraights.

Frobiſher could haue paſſed to Cataia.

1 Of which miſtaken ſtraights, conſidering the circumſtance, we haue great cauſe to confirme our opinion, to like and hope well of the paſſage in this place. For the foreſaid Bay or Sea, the further we ſayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endleſſe continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the ſame, ſo after we had ſayled fiftie or ſixtie leagues therein we had no let of yce, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

Faire open way.

Reaſons to proue a paſſage here.

2 Alſo this place ſeemeth to haue a maruellous great indraft, and draweth vnto it moſt of the

driſt

drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eaſtwards of the ſame, as by good experience we haue found.

Great indrafts.

A current to the Weſt.

3 For here alſo we met with boordes, lathes, and diuers other things driuing in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ſhip called the Barke Dennis, which periſhed amongſt the yce as beforeſaid, being loſt at the firſt attempt of the entrance ouerthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobiſhers ſtraights, which could by no meanes haue bene ſo brought thither, neither by winde nor tyde, being loſt ſo many leagues off, if by force of the ſaid current the ſame had not bene violently brought. For if the ſame had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the ſaid flood had carried it, the ebbe would haue recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not ſo come to paſſe, becauſe it was then ſometime calme, and moſt times contrarie.

Nine houres flood to three houres ebbe.

And ſome Mariners doe affirme that they haue diligently obſerued, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to paſſe by force of the ſayd current: for whereas the Sea in moſt places of the world, doth more or leſſe ordinarily ebbe and flow once euery twelue houres with ſixe houres ebbe, and ſixe houres flood, ſo alſo would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this haſtning current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to beginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and alſo to continue longer than his naturall courſe by an other houre and a halfe, vntill the force of the ebbe be ſo great that it will no longer be reſiſted: according to the ſaying, Naturam expellas furca licet, vſque recurrit. Although nature and naturall courſes be forced and reſiſted neuer ſo much, yet at laſt they will haue their owne ſway againe.

Moreouer it is not poſſible that ſo great courſe of floods and current, ſo high ſwelling tides with continuance of ſo deepe waters, can be digeſted here without vnburdening themſelues into ſome open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the paſſage to be hereabouts. Alſo we ſuppoſe theſe great indrafts doe growe and are made by the reuerberation and reflection of that ſame current, which at our comming by Ireland, met and croſſed vs, of which in the firſt part of this diſcourſe I ſpake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, paſſing by and waſhing the Southweſt parts of Ireland, reboundeth ouer to the Northeaſt parts of the world, as Norway, Iſland, &c. where not finding any paſſage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreaſed by a new acceſſe, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, paſſing the bay of Saint Nicholas Weſtward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coaſtes of Groenland, and from thence vpon Frobiſhers ſtraights being to the Southweſtwardes of the ſame.

The ſea moueth from Eaſt to Weſt continually.

5 And if that principle of Philoſophie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur à ſuperioribus, that is, if inferiour bodies be gouerned, ruled, and caried after the manner and courſe of the ſuperiors, then the water being an inferior Element, muſt needes be gouerned after the ſuperior heauen, and ſo follow the courſe of Primum mobile from Eaſt to Weſt.

Authoritie.

6 But euery man that hath written or conſidered any thing of this paſſage, hath more doubted the returne by the ſame way by reaſon of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we alſo by experience partly find) than any miſtruſt they haue of the ſame paſſage at all. For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not ſuch but that we may returne, although with much a doe. For we were eaſlier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Alſo by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceiue vs in this ſort: That whereas we ſuppoſed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the ſhore contrarie to all expectation.

Hard but yet poſſible turning backe againe.

Our men that ſayled furtheſt in the ſame miſtaken ſtraightes (hauing the maine land vpon their ſtarboord ſide) affirme that they met with the outlet or paſſage of water which commeth thorow Frobiſhers ſtraightes, and followeth as all one into this paſſage.

Some of our companie alſo affirme that they had ſight of a continent vpon their larboord ſide being 60 leagues within the ſuppoſed ſtraightes: howbeit except certaine Ilands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foreſaid tract of land ſeemeth to be more fruitfull and better ſtored of Graſſe, Deere, Wilde foule, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Guls, Wilmots, Falcons and Taſſel gentils, Rauens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we haue yet diſcouered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded marchandiſe, and did exchange kniues, bels, looking glaſſes, &c. with thoſe countrey people, who brought him foule, fiſh, beares ſkinnes, and ſuch like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the ſame. Here alſo they ſaw of thoſe greater boats of the countrey, with twentie perſons in a peece.

Traffique.

Now after the Generall had beſtowed theſe many dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way ſayling alongſt this coaſt (being the backeſide of the ſuppoſed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceiued a great ſound to goe thorow into Frobiſhers ſtraights. Whereupon he ſent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of Iuly, to prooue whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the ſtraightes, which they did: and as wee imagined before, ſo the Queenes foreland prooued an Iland, as I thinke moſt of theſe ſuppoſed continents will. And ſo he departed towardes the ſtraights, thinking it were high time now to recouer his Port, and to prouide the Fleete of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as ſhall by the proceſſe and his reſolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the reſt of the fleete he was ſo intangled by reaſon of the darke fogge amongſt a number of Ilands and broken ground that lye off this coaſt, that many of the ſhippes came ouer the top of rockes, which preſently after they might perceiue to lie dry, hauing not halfe a foote water more then ſome of their ſhips did draw. And by reaſon they could not with a ſmal gale of wind ſtemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleere off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable togither, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwiſe they had bene by the force of the tydes caried vpon the rockes againe, and periſhed: ſo that if God in theſe fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not carried vs thorow, we had ſurely periſhed amidſt theſe dangers. For being many times driuen hard aboord the ſhore without any ſight of land, vntill we were ready to make ſhipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to ſound before our ſhips, leaſt we might light thereon before we could diſcerne the ſame; it pleaſed God to giue vs a cleare of Sunne and light for a ſhort time to ſee and auoyde thereby the danger, hauing bene continually darke before, and preſently after. Manie times alſo by meanes of fogge and currents being driuen neere vpon the coaſt, God lent vs euen at the very pinch one proſperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and auoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, euery man recommending himſelfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or neuer, now Lord looke downe from heauen and ſaue vs ſinners, or elſe our ſafetie commeth too late: euen then the mightie maker of heauen, and our mercifull God did deliuer vs: ſo that they who haue bene partakers of theſe dangers doe euen in their ſoules confeſſe, that God euen by miracle hath ſought to ſaue them, whoſe name be prayſed euermore.

Returne out of the miſtaken ſtraights.

Great dangers.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recouer their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerouſly attempted it, for yet the yce choaked vp the paſſage, and would not ſuffer them to enter. And hauing neuer ſeene any of the fleete ſince twenty dayes paſt, when by reaſon of the thicke miſtes they were ſeuered in the miſtaken ſtraights, they did now this preſent 23 of Iuly ouerthwart a place in the ſtraights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with ſeuen ſhips of yͤ Fleete againe, which good hap did not onely reioyce them for themſelues, in reſpect of the comfort which they receiued by ſuch good companie, but eſpecially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whoſe ſafeties long time they did not a little ſuſpect and feare.

Anne Francis met with ſome of the fleete.

At their meeting they haled the Admirall after the maner of the Sea, and with great ioy welcommed one another with a thundring volly of ſhot. And now euery man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had paſſed.

Francis of Foy.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe ſought way backe againe through the yce from out of the miſtaken ſtraights, where (to their great perill) they prooued to recouer their Port. They brought the firſt newes of the Vizadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themſelues, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater was miſſing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reaſonably cleare of the yce, but the other ſhip they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themſelues ſo hardly diſtreſſed as neuer men more. Alſo they told vs of the Gabriel, who hauing got thorow from the backſide, and Weſtern point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobiſhers ſtraights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

Bridgewater ſhip.

And vpon the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly, the ſhip of Bridgewater got out of the yce and met with the Fleete which lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland. They reported of their maruellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ſhip to be ſo leake that they muſt of neceſſitie ſeeke harborow, hauing their ſtem ſo beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themſelues aboue water. They had (as they ſay) fiue hundreth ſtrokes at the pump in leſſe then halfe a watch, being ſcarce two houres; their men being ſo ouer-wearied therewith, and with the former dangers that they deſired helpe of men from the other ſhips. Moreouer they declared that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the ſtraights within were frozen vp, and that it was the moſt impoſſible thing of the world, to paſſe vp vnto the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, which was the place of our Port.

The Streits frozen ouer.

The report of theſe dangers by theſe ſhips thus publiſhed amongſt the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils paſt, and thoſe preſent before their face, brought no ſmall feare and terror into the hearts of many conſiderate men. So that ſome beganne priuily to murmure againſt the Generall for this wilfull maner of proceeding. Some deſired to diſcouer ſome harborow thereabouts to refreſh themſelues and reforme their broken veſſels for a while, vntill the North and Northweſt windes might diſperſe the yce, and make the place more free to paſſe. Other ſome forgetting themſelues, ſpake more vndutifully in this behalfe, ſaying: that they had as leeue be hanged when they came home, as without hope of ſafetie to ſeeke to paſſe, and ſo to periſh amongſt the yce.

The Generall not opening his eares to the peeuiſh paſſion of any priuate perſon, but chiefly reſpecting the accompliſhment of the cauſe he had vndertaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine conſiſteth) and calling to his remembrance the ſhort time he had in hand to prouide ſo great number of ſhips their loading, determined with this reſolution to paſſe and recouer his Port, or elſe there to burie himſelfe with his attempt.

A valiant minde of M. Frobiſher.

Notwithſtanding ſomewhat to appeaſe the feeble paſſions of the fearefuller ſort, and the better to entertaine time for a ſeaſon, whileſt the yce might the better be diſſolued, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them into harborow: thereupon whileſt the ſhippes lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland, he ſought to goe in with his Pinneſſes amongſt the Ilandes there, as though hee meant to ſearch for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing leſſe, but rather ſought if any Ore might be found in that place, as by the ſequele appeared.

In the meane time whileſt the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine reſolution what to do, being hard aboord the lee-ſhore, there aroſe a ſodaine and terrible tempeſt at the South-ſoutheaſt, whereby the yce began maruellouſly to gather about vs.

Whereupon euery man, as in ſuch caſe of extremitie he thought beſt, ſought the wiſeſt way for his owne ſafety. The moſt part of the Fleete which were further ſhot vp within the ſtraights, and ſo farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the courſe of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongſt the yce, and ſo paſſed ouer the ſtorme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a ſhort time in the ſame place.

Howbeit the other ſhips which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme ſtorme for a longer ſeaſon. And the nature of the place is ſuch, that it is ſubiect diuerſly to diuers windes, according to the ſundry ſituation of the great Alps and mountaines there, euery mountaine cauſing a ſeuerall blaſt, and pirrie, after the maner of a Leuant.

In this ſtorme being the ſixe and twentieth of Iuly, there fell ſo much ſnow, with ſuch bitter cold aire, that we could not ſcarce ſee one another for the ſame, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and ſayles, the ſnow being aboue halfe a foote deepe vpon the hatches of our ſhip, which did ſo wet throw our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had fiue or ſixe ſhifts of apparell had ſcarce one drie threed to his backe, which kind of wet and coldneſſe, togither with the ouerlabouring of the poore men amiddeſt the yce, bred no ſmall ſickneſſe amongſt the fleete, which ſomewhat diſcouraged ſome of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, euery man perſwading himſelfe that the winter there muſt needes be extreme, where they found ſo vnſeaſonable a Sommer.

Snow in Iuly

Extreme winter.

And yet notwithſtanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a maruellous force of heate amongſt thoſe mountaines, inſomuch that when there is no breth of winde to bring the colde aire from the diſperſed yce vpon vs, we ſhall be wearie of the bloming heate and then ſodainely with a perry of winde which commeth downe from the hollowneſſe of the hilles, we ſhall haue ſuch a breth of heate brought vpon our faces as though we were entred within ſome bathſtoue or hote-houſe, and when the firſt of the pirry and blaſt is paſt, we ſhall haue the winde ſodainely a new blow cold againe.

Great heat in Meta Incognita.

Vnconſtant weather.

In this ſtorme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipſwich, who found themſelues able to hold it vp with a ſaile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and ſafetie to ſeeke Searoome, then to hazard the continuance of the ſtorme, the danger of the yce, and the lee-ſhoare.

And being vncertaine at this time of the Generals priuate determinations, the weather being ſo darke that they could not diſcerne one another, nor perceiue which way he wrought, betooke themſelues to this courſe for beſt and ſafeſt.

The General, notwithſtanding the great ſtorme, following his own former reſolution, ſought by all meanes poſſible, by a ſhorter way to recouer his Port, and where he ſaw the yce neuer ſo little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and ſo himſelfe valiantly led the way thorow before to induce the Fleete to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and vpon the one and thirtieth of Iuly recouered his long wiſhed Port after many attempts and ſundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill paſt, he encountred a great Iland of yce which gaue the Ayde ſuch a blow, hauing a little before wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it ſtroke the anker flouke through the ſhips bowes vnder the water, which cauſed ſo great a leake, that with much adoe they preſerued the ſhip from ſinking.

The Generall recouereth his port.

At their arriuall here they perceiued two ſhips at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to maruell and greatly to reioyce, for thoſe they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the ſmall Barke called the Gabriel, who ſo long time were miſſing, and neuer heard of before, whom euery man made the laſt reckoning, neuer to heare of againe.

Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their ſundry fortunes and perils paſt, they highly prayſed God, and altogither vpon their knees gaue him due, humble and heartty thankes, and Maiſter Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Maieſties Councell to be their Miniſter and Preacher made vnto them a godly ſermon, exhorting them eſpecially to be thankefull to God for their ſtrange and miraculous deliuerance in thoſe ſo dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the vncertainetie of mans life, willed them to make themſelues alwayes readie as reſolute men to enioy and accept thankefully whatſoeuer aduenture his diuine Prouidence ſhould appoint. This maiſter Wolfall being well ſeated and ſetled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honeſt woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the beſt, refuſed not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to ſaue ſoules, and to reforme thoſe Infidels if it were poſſible to Chriſtianitie: and alſo partly for the great deſire he had that this notable voyage ſo well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to ſtay there the whole yeare if occaſion had ſerued, being in euery neceſſary action as forward as the reſoluteſt men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Paſtor and miniſter of Gods word, which for the profite of his flocke ſpared not to venture his owne life.

Maſter Wolfall Preacher.

But to returne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to ſpeake ſome what of their dangers (albeit they be more then by writing can be expreſſed) they reported that from the night of the firſt ſtorme which was about the firſt day of Iuly vntill ſeuen dayes before the Generals arriuall, which was the ſixe and twentith of the ſame, they neuer ſaw any one day or houre, wherin they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almoſt togither faſt amongſt the yce. They had their ſhip ſtricken through and through on both ſides, their falſe ſtemme borne quite away, and could goe from their ſhips in ſome places vpon the yce very many miles, and might eaſily haue paſſed from one Iland of yce to another euen to the ſhore, and if God had not wonderfully prouided for them and their neceſſitie, and time had not made them more cunning and wiſe to ſeeke ſtrange remedies for ſtrange kindes of dangers, it had bene impoſſible for them euer to haue eſcaped: for among other deuiſes, whereſoeuer they found any Iland of yce of greater bigneſſe then the reſt (as there be ſome of more then halfe a mile compaſſe about, and almoſt forty fadome high) they commonly coueted to recouer the ſame, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon hauing mored anker, they road vnder the lee therof for a time, being therby garded from the danger of the leſſer driuing yce. But when they muſt needes forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would vndermine and compaſſe them round about, and when that by heauing of the billow they were therewith like to be bruſed in peeces, they vſed to make faſt the ſhippe vnto the moſt firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her noſe faſt thereunto, would fill all their ſayles whereon the winde hauing great power, would force forward the ſhip, and ſo the ſhippe bearing before her the yce, & ſo one yce driuing forward another, ſhould at length get ſcope & searoome. And hauing by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupyed the cleare place for a prettie ſeaſon among ſundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by meaſure to be 65 fadome aboue water, which for a kind of ſimilitude, was called Salomons porch.

The aduentures of Captaine Fenton and his companie.

Extremitie causeth men to deuiſe new arts and remedies.

Hard ſhifts.

Some thinke thoſe Ilands eight times ſo much vnder water as they are aboue, becauſe of their monſtrous weight. But now I remember I ſaw very ſtrange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and ſhooting vpon the mayne ſeas 40. myles from any land, without any Shippe or other veſſell vnder them. Alſo I ſaw freſh Riuers running amidſt the ſalt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not beleeue, let him knowe that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe vpon Ilandes of yce, and running there vp and downe, did ſhoote at Buts vpon the yce, and with their Caliuers did kill great Seales, which vſe to lye and ſleepe vpon the yce, and this yce melting aboue at the toppe by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in ſundry ſtreames, which vniting together, made a pretie Brooke able to driue a Mill.

Strange wonders.

The ſayde Captaine Fenton recouered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and ſpent good tyme in ſearching for Mine, and hee found good ſtore thereof. He alſo diſcouered about tenne Miles vp into the Countrey, where he perceiued neither Towne, Village, nor likelihoode of habitation, but it ſeemeth (as he ſayth) barren, as the other parts which as yet we haue entred vpon: but their victuals and prouiſion went ſo ſcant with them, that they had determined to returne homeward within ſeuen dayes after, if the Fleete had not then arriued.

The Generall after his arriuall in the Counteſſes ſound, ſpent no time in vaine, but immediatly at his firſt landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and conſulted with them for the ſpeedier execution of ſuch things as then they had in hand. As firſt, for ſearching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupyed on. Then to giue good Orders to bee obſerued of the whole company on ſhore. And laſtly, to conſider for the erecting vp of the Fort and Houſe for the vſe of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of theſe, and all other like important cauſes in this ſeruice, it was ordeined from her Maieſtie and the Councell, that the Generall ſhould call vnto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, conſult and determine of all occurrents in this ſeruice, whoſe names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.
Captaine Yorke.
Captaine Beſt.
Captaine Carew.
Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea cauſes to haue as aſſiſtants, Chriſtopher Hall and Charles Iackman, being both very good Pilots, and ſufficient Mariners, whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the diſcouerie. From the place of our habitation Weſtward, Maſter Selman was appointed Notarie, to regiſter the whole maner of proceeding in theſe affaires, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleaſed her Maieſtie to require it.

The firſt of Auguſt euery Captaine by order, from the Generall and his councell, was commanded to bring aſhoare vnto the Counteſſes Iland all ſuch Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and Myners, as were vnder their charge, with ſuch prouiſion as they had of victuals, tents, and things neceſſary for the ſpeedy getting together of Mine, and fraight for the ſhippes.

The Muſter of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and conſidered, euery man was ſet to his charge, as his place and office required. The Myners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners diſcharged their ſhippes.

Vpon the ſecond of Auguſt were publiſhed and proclaymed vpon the Counteſſe of Warwicks Iland with ſound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his councell, appoynted to be obſerued of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whileſt the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines ſought out new Mynes, the Goldfiners made tryall of the Ore, the Mariners diſcharged their ſhippes, the Gentlemen for example ſake laboured heartily, and honeſtly encouraged the inferiour ſort to worke. So that the ſmall tyme of that little leaſure that was left to tarrie, was ſpent in vaine.

The ſecond of Auguſt the Gabriel arriued, who came from the Vizeadmirall, and beeing diſtreſſed ſore with Yce, put into Harborough neere vnto Mount Oxford. And now was the whole Fleete arriued ſafely at their Port, excepting foure, beſides the Shippe that was loſt: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Moone, whoſe abſence was ſome lette vnto the workes and other proceedings, aſwell for that theſe Shippes were furniſhed with the better ſorte of Myners, as with other prouiſion for the habitation.

The ninth of Auguſt the Generall with the Captaynes of his counſell aſſembled together, and began to conſider and take order for the erecting vp of the houſe or Fort for them that were

Conſultation for inhabiting Meta incognita.

An hundred men appointed to inhabite.

No habitation this yeere.

to inhabite there the whole yeere, and that preſently the Maſons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. Firſt therefore they peruſed the Bils of lading, what euery man receiued into his Shippe, and found that there was arriued onely the Eaſtſide, and the Southſide of the houſe, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were vſed for fenders in many Shippes, and ſo broken in pieces whileſt they were diſtreſſed in the yce. Alſo after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to ſerue one hundreth men, which was the number appoynted firſt to inhabite there, becauſe their greateſt ſtore was in the Shippes which were not yet arriued. Then Captaine Fenton ſeeing the ſcarcitie of the neceſſary things aforeſayd, was contented, and offred himſelfe to inhabite there with ſixtie men. Whereupon they cauſed the Carpenters and Maſons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take vpon them to erect vp a leſſe houſe for ſixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber ſufficient, whereas now they had but ſixe and twentie dayes in all to remayne in that Countrey. Wherefore it was fully agreed vpon, and reſolued by the Generall and his counſell, that no habitation ſhould be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Maſter Selman the Regiſter to ſet downe this decree with all their conſents, for the better ſatiſfying of her Maieſtie, the Lords of the Counſell, and the Aduenturers.

The Anne Francis, ſince ſhee was parted from the Fleete, in the laſt ſtorme before ſpoken of, could neuer recouer aboue fiue leagues within the ſtreights, the winde being ſometime contrary, and moſt times the Yce compaſſing them round about. And from that time, being about the ſeuen and twentieth of July, they could neither heare nor haue ſight of any of the Fleete, vntil the 3. of Auguſt, when they deſcryed a ſayle neere vnto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had ſpoken, they could vnderſtand no newes of any of the Fleete at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipſwich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary windes, euer ſince that foreſayd ſtorme, without ſight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to looſe one another againe, the Moone being conſort alwayes with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed vp together into the ſtreightes, with great deſire to recouer their long wiſhed Port: and they attempted as often, and paſſed as farre as poſſible the winde, weather, & yce gaue them leaue, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Eaſterly or Southerly, which would ſerue their turnes, then had they ſo great a fogge and darke miſte therewith, that eyther they could not diſcerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay ſo thicke together, that it was impoſſible for them to paſſe. And on the other ſide, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bring the yce ſo ſuddenly about them, that commonly then they were moſt therewith diſtreſſed, hauing no Winde to cary them from the danger thereof.

And by the ſixt of Auguſt being with much adoe got vp as high as Leiceſter point, they had good hope to finde the Souther ſhore cleare, and ſo to paſſe vp towardes their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly vpon the great Bay which commeth out of the miſtaken ſtreights before ſpoken of, they were ſo ſuddenly compaſſed with yce round about by meanes of the ſwift Tydes which run in that place, that they were neuer afore ſo hardly beſet as now. And in ſeeking to auoyde theſe dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis loſt ſight of the other two Ships, who being likewiſe hardly diſtreſſed, ſignified their danger, as they ſince reported, by ſhooting off their ordinance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could haue giuen them any remedie, being ſo buſily occupied to winde themſelues out of their owne troubles.

The Moone.

The Fleeboate called the Moone, was here heaued aboue the water with the force of the yce, and receiued a great leake thereby. Likewiſe the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Anne Francis were ſore bruſed at that inſtant, hauing their falſe ſtemmes borne away, and their ſhip ſides ſtroken quite through.

The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich and the Moone conſult.

Now conſidering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leaſure that they had left to tarie in theſe partes, beſides that euery night the ropes of their Shippes were ſo frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes ſafety, thinking it an impoſſibilitie for them to paſſe vnto their Port, as well for that they ſaw themſelues, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooued before, who affirmed that the ſtreights were all frozen ouer within: They thought it now very hie time to conſider of their eſtates and ſafeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the Captaines and maſters of theſe Shippes, deſired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into conſideration with them of theſe matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipſwich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, with his maſter Iohn Lakes came aboorde the Anne Francis the eight of Auguſt to conſult of theſe cauſes. And being aſſembled together in the Captaines Cabin, ſundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller ſort of Mariners being ouertyred with the continuall labour of the former dangers, coueted to returne homeward, ſaying that they would not againe tempt God ſo much, who had giuen them ſo many warnings, and deliuered them from ſo wonderfull dangers: that they rather deſired to loſe wages, fraight, and all, then to continue and follow ſuch deſperate fortunes. Againe, their Ships were ſo leake, and the men ſo wearie, that to amend the one, and refreſh the other, they muſt of neceſſitie ſeeke into harborough.

But on the other ſide it was argued againe to the contrary, that to ſeeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to ſubiect themſelues to double dangers: if happily they eſcaped the dangers of Rockes in their entring, yet being in, they were neuertheleſſe ſubiect there to the danger of the Ice, which with the ſwift tydes and currents is caryed in and out in moſt harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables aſunder, driue them vpon the ſhoare, and bring them to much trouble. Alſo the coaſt is ſo much ſubiect to broken ground and rockes, eſpecially in the mouth and entrance of euery Harborough, that albeit the Channell be ſounded ouer and ouer againe, yet are you neuer the neerer to diſcerne the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like ſhape and forme as the Land, being full of hils, dales, and ragged Rocks, ſuffreth you not by your ſoundings to knowe and keepe a true geſſe of the depth. For you ſhall ſound vpon the ſide or hollowneſſe of one Hill or Rocke vnder water, and haue a hundreth, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next caſt, yer you ſhall be able to heaue your lead againe, you ſhall be vpon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your vtter confuſion.

Another reaſon againſt going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a ſudden freezing vp of the ſounds, ſeeing that euery night there was new congealed yce, euen of that water which remayned within their ſhippes. And therefore it ſhould ſeeme to be more ſafe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bring them foorth of harborough, to hazard by ſudden froſts to be ſhut vp the whole yeere.

After many ſuch dangers and reaſons alledged, and large debating of theſe cauſes on both ſides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis deliuered his opinion vnto the company to this effect. Firſt concerning the queſtion of returning home, hee thought it ſo much diſhonorable, as not to grow in any farther queſtion: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they muſt needes) and not to be able to bring a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were liuing or loſt, or whether any of them had recouered their Port or not, in the Counteſſes ſound, (as it was to bee thought the moſt part would if they were liuing) hee ſayde that it would be ſo great an argument eyther of want of courage or diſcretion in them, as hee reſolued rather to fall into any danger, then ſo ſhamefully to conſent to returne home, proteſting that it ſhould neuer bee ſpoken of him, that hee would euer returne without doing his endeuour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals ſafetie. Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinniſſe of fiue tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe, which was caryed in pieces, and vnmade vp for the vſe of thoſe which ſhould inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to ioyne together, hee offered himſelfe to proue before therewith, whether it were poſſible for any Boate to paſſe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might alſo thereby giue true notice, if any of the Fleete were arriued at their Port or not.

Captaine Beſts reſolution.

A Pinniſſe for the inhabiters.

But notwithſtanding, for that he well perceiued that the moſt part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for theſe cauſes ſomewhat to encline thereunto. As firſt, to ſearch alongſt the ſame coaſt, and the ſoundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpoſe, for that it was likely to finde ſome of the Fleete there, which being leake, and ſore bruſed with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being diſtreſſed with foule weather in the laſt ſtorme, then to hazard their vncertaine ſafeties amongſt the yce: for about this place they loſt them, and left the Fleete then doubtfully queſtioning of harborough.

It was likely alſo, that they might finde ſome fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behoouefull for them againſt another time. It was not likewiſe impoſſible to finde ſome Ore or Mine thereabouts wherewithall to fraight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neereneſſe to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the ſtreights, being likely heere alwayes to loade in a ſhorter time, howſoeuer the ſtreight ſhould be peſtered with yce within, ſo that if it might come to paſſe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Mine, or conuenient harborough, any of theſe three would ſerue their preſent turnes,

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and giue ſome hope and comfort vnto their companies, which now were altogether comfortleſſe. But if that all fortune ſhould fall out ſo contrary, that they could neyther recouer their Port, nor any of theſe aforeſayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coaſt, as long as it was poſſible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall concluſion was ſet downe thus, Firſt, that the Thomas of Ipſwich and the Moone ſhould conſort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Engliſhmen and faithfull friends, ſhould ſupply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, euery Shippe to ſend off his Boate with a ſufficient Pylot, to ſearch out and ſound the harboroughs for the ſafe bringing in of their Shippes. And beeing arriued in harborough, where they might finde conuenient place for the purpoſe, they reſolued foorthwith to ioyne and ſette together the Pinneſſe, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, diſcouer vp into the ſtreights.

After theſe determinations thus ſet downe, the Thomas of Ipſwich the night following loſt company of the other Shippes, and afterward ſhaped a contrary courſe homeward, which fell out as it manifeſtly appeared, very much againſt their Captaine Maſter Tanfieldes minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſell it hath ſince bene prooued, to the great diſcredite of the Pilot Cox, who ſpecially perſuaded his company againſt the opinion of his ſayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witneſſe, euen at their conference togither, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little ſuſpect the ſayd Pilot Cox, ſaying that he had opinion in the man neither of honeſt ductie, manhoode, nor conſtancie. Notwithſtanding the ſayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being deſirous to put in execution his former reſolutions, went with his Shippeboate (being accompanied alſo with the Moones Skiffe) to prooue amongſt the Ilands which lye vnder Hattons Hedland, if any conuenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Ore were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while vnder Sayle, ſearching through many ſounds, they ſawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which ſeemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently ſound ouer, and ſearched againe.

Beſtes bleſſing.

Here the ſayde Captaine found a great blacke Iland, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were ſomewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully vnto the place: where when they arriued, they found ſuch plentie of blacke Ore of the ſame ſort which was brought into England this laſt yeere, that if the goodneſſe might anſwere the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reaſonably ſuffice all the golde-gluttons of the world. This Iland the Captaine for cauſe of his good hap, called after his owne name, Beſtes bleſſing, and with theſe good tydings returning aboord his Ship the ninth of Auguſt about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was ioyfully welcommed of his company, who before were diſcomforted, and greatly expected ſome better fortune at his handes.

Anne Francis in danger.

The Moone in harborough.

The next day being the tenth of Auguſt, the weather reaſonably fayre, they put into the foreſayde Harborough, hauing their Boate for their better ſecuritie ſounding before their Shippe. But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in ſounding the Channell ouer and ouer againe, the Anne Francis came aground vpon a ſuncken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe drye vntill the next flood, when by Gods Almighty prouidence, contrary almoſt to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to vnderſette their Shippe with their mayne Yarde, which otherwiſe was likely to ouerſet and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had aboue two thouſand ſtrokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, ſo ſore ſhee was bruſed by lying vpon the Rockes. The Moone came ſafely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whoſe helpe in their neceſſitie they could not well haue miſſed.

Now whileſt the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amiſſe, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of ſufficient quantitie of Ore, and the Carpenters indeuoured to doe their beſt for the making vp of the Boate or Pinneſſe: which to bring to paſſe, they wanted two ſpeciall and moſt neceſſarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called Knees, which are the chiefeſt ſtrength of any Boate, and alſo nayles, wherewithall to ioyne the plancks together. Whereupon hauing by chance a Smyth amongſt them, (and yet vnfurniſhed of his neceſſary tooles to worke and make nayles withall) they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anuile to worke vpon, and to vſe a pickare in ſtead of a ſledge to beate withall, and alſo to occupy two ſmall bellowes in ſteade of one payre of greater Smiths bellowes. And for lacke of ſmall Yron for the eaſier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and fireſhouell in pieces.

The eleuenth of Auguſt the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Maſter of his Shippe with him, went vp to the toppe of Hattons Hedland, which is the higheſt land of all the ſtreights, to the ende to deſcry the ſituation of the Countrey vnderneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby alſo to ſee what ſtore of Yce was yet left in the ſtreights, as alſo to ſearch what Mineral matter or fruite that ſoyle might yeeld: And the rather for the honour the ſaid Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name which himſelfe gaue thereunto the laſt yeere, in the higheſt part of this Hedland he cauſed his company to make a Columne or Croſſe of ſtone, in token of Chriſtian poſſeſſion. In this place there is plentie of blacke Ore, and diuers pretie ſtones.

Hattons Hedland.

Pretie ſtones.

The ſeuenteenth of Auguſt the Captaines with their companies chaced and killed a great white Beare, which aduentured and gaue a fierce aſſault vpon twentie men being weaponed. And he ſerued them for good meate many dayes.

A mightie white Beare.

The eighteenth of Auguſt the Pinneſſe with much adoe being ſet together, the ſayde Captaine Beſt determined to depart vp the ſtreights, to prooue and make tryall, as before was pretended, ſome of his company greatly perſuading him to the contrary; and ſpecially the Carpenter that ſet the ſame together, who ſayde that hee would not aduenture himſelfe therein for fiue hundreth pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the ſtrength of the nayles, and lacked ſome of her principall knees and tymbers.

A Pinneſſe there built.

Theſe wordes ſomewhat diſcouraged ſome of the company which ſhould haue gone therein: Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne ſelfe-will, but ſomewhat foreſeeing how it might be afterwards ſpoken, if contrary fortune ſhould happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and deſperate reſolutions, and ſo thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Maſter and Mariners of beſt iudgement together, declared vnto them how much the cauſe imported him in his credite to ſeeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of ſome cauſes of weight, as otherwiſe to make due examination and tryall of the goodneſſe of the Ore, whereof they had no aſſurance but by geſſe of the eye, and it was well like the other: which ſo to cary home, not knowing the goodneſſe thereof, might be as much as if they ſhould bring ſo many ſtones. And therefore hee deſired them to deliuer their plaine and honeſt opinion, whether the Pinneſſe were ſufficient for him ſo to aduenture in or no. It was anſwered, that by carefull heede taking thereunto amongſt the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinneſſe might ſuffice. And hereupon the Maſters mate of the Anne Francis called Iohn Gray, manfully and honeſtly offering himſelfe vnto his Captaine in this aduenture and ſeruice, gaue cauſe to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

And vpon the nineteenth of Auguſt the ſayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, and eighteene perſons in the ſmall Pinneſſe, hauing conuenient portion of victuals and things neceſſary, departed vpon the ſayd pretended Voyage, leauing their ſhippe at anchor in a good readineſſe for the taking in of their fraight. And hauing little winde to ſayle withall, they plyed alongſt the Souther ſhore, and paſſed aboue 30. leagues, hauing the onely helpe of mans labour with Oares, and ſo intending to keepe that ſhore aboord vntil they were got vp to the fartheſt and narroweſt of the ſtreights, minded there to croſſe ouer, and to ſearch likewiſe alongſt the Northerland vnto the Counteſſes ſound, and from thence to paſſe all that coaſt along, whereby if any of the Fleete had bene diſtreſſed by wrecke of rocke or yce, by that meanes they might be perceiued of them, and ſo they thereby to giue them ſuch helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and euer ſuſpect that ſome of the Fleete were ſurely caſt away, and driuen to ſeeke ſowre ſallets amongſt the colde cliffes.

They aduenture vp the ſtreight in a weake Pinneſſe.

And being ſhotte vp about fortie leagues within the Streights, they put ouer towardes the Norther ſhore, which was not a little dangerous for their ſmall boates. And by meanes of a ſudden flawe were dryuen, and faine to ſeeke harborough in the night amongſt all the rockes and broken ground of Gabriels Ilands, a place ſo named within the ſtreights aboue the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great ſtones ſet vp by the Countrey people as it ſeemed, for markes, where they alſo made many Croſſes of ſtone, in token that Chriſtians had bene there. The 22. of Auguſt they had ſight of the Counteſſes ſound, and made the place perfect from the toppe of a hill, and keeping along the Norther ſhore, perceiued the ſmoke of a fire vnder a hils ſide: whereof they diuerſly deemed. When they came

40. leagues within the ſtreights.

Gabriels Ilands.

neerer the place, they perceiued people which wafted vnto them, as it ſeemed, with a flagge or enſigne. And becauſe the Country people had vſed to doe the like, when they perceiued any of our boats to paſſe by, they ſuſpected them to be the ſame. And comming ſomewhat neerer, they might perceiue certaine tents, and diſcerne this enſigne to be of mingled colours, blacke and white, after the Engliſh faſhion. But becauſe they could ſee no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within fiue or ſixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were woont to frequent thoſe partes, they could not tell what to iudge thereof, but imagined that ſome of the ſhips being carried ſo high with the ſtorme and miſtes, had made ſhipwracke amongſt the yce or the broken Iſlands there, and were ſpoyled by the countrey people, who might vſe the ſundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewiſe within their danger. Whereupon the ſayd Captaine with his companies, reſolued to recouer the ſame enſigne, if it were ſo, from thoſe baſe people, or els to loſe their liues, and all together. In the ende they diſcerned them to be their countreymen, and then they deemed them to haue loſt their Ships, and ſo to be gathered together for their better ſtrength. On the other ſide, the company aſhoare feared that the Captaine hauing loſt his Shippe, came to ſeeke forth the Fleete for his reliefe in his poore Pinniſſe, ſo that their extremities cauſed eche part to ſuſpect the worſt.

Proximus ſum egomet mihi.

The Captaine now with his Pinniſſe being come neere the ſhoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept aflote, leſt in their neceſſitie they might winne the ſame from him, and ſeeke firſt to ſaue themſelues: for euery man in that caſe is next himſelfe. They haled one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere? and either partie anſwered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a ſudden and ioyfull outſhoote, with great flinging vp of caps, and a braue voly of ſhotte to welcome one another. And truely it was a moſt ſtrange caſe to ſee how ioyfull and gladde euery partie was to ſee themſelues meete in ſafetie againe, after ſo ſtrange and incredible dangers: Yet to be ſhort, as their dangers were great, ſo their God was greater.

Captain Yorke arriued.

And here the company were working vpon new Mines, which Captaine Yorke being here arriued not long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Counteſſe of Suſſex Mine.

After ſome conference with our friends here, the Captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, to ſpeake with the Generall, and to haue tryall made of ſuch mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldfiners. And ſo he determined to diſpatch againe towards his ſhip. And hauing ſpoken with the General, he receiued order for all cauſes, and direction as well for the bringing vp of his Shippe to the Counteſſes ſound, as alſo to fraight his Ship with the ſame Oare which he himſelfe had found, which vpon triall made, was ſuppoſed to be very good.

The 23. of Auguſt, the ſayd Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commiſſioners in counſell with the Generall) aboorde the Ayde, where they conſidered and conſulted of ſundry cauſes, which being particularly regiſtred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done againſt another yeere.

None of the people will be taken.

The 24. of Auguſt, the Generall with two Pinniſſes and good numbers of men went to Beares ſound, commanding the ſayde Captaine with his Pinneſſe to attend the ſeruice, to ſee if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for ſundry times they ſhewed themſelues buſie thereabouts, ſometimes with ſeuen or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceiued any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a more number of men) they did neuer ſhewe themſelues againe there at all. Wherefore our men ſought with their Pinniſſes to compaſſe about the Iland where they did vſe, ſuppoſing there ſuddenly to intercept ſome of them. But before our men could come neere, hauing belike ſome watch in the toppe of the mountaines, they conueyed themſelues priuily away, and left (as it ſhould ſeeme) one of their great dartes behinde them for haſte, which we found neere to a place of their caues and houſing. Therefore, though our Generall were very deſirous to haue taken ſome of them to haue brought into England, they being now growen more wary by their former loſſes, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the ſame day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and ſet his courſe ouer the ſtreights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues ouer, and returned aboord his Shippe the 25. of Auguſt, to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Counteſſes ſound, where he arriued the 28. of the ſame. By the way he ſet his Miners aſhore at Beares ſound, for the better diſpatch and gathering the Ore togither, for that ſome of the ſhips were behind hand with their fraight, the time of the yeere paſſing ſuddenly away.

The thirtith of Auguſt the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which ſhe had receiued by meanes of the rocks and yce. This day the Maſons finiſhed a houſe which Captaine Fenton cauſed to be made of lyme and ſtone vpon the Counteſſe of Warwickes Iſland, to the ende we might proue againſt the next yeere, whither the ſnow could ouerwhelme it, the froſt breake it vp, or the people diſmember the ſame. And the better to allure thoſe brutiſh and vnciuill people to courteſie againſt other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they ſpecially delight, one for the neceſſary vſe, and the other for the great pleaſure thereof. Alſo pictures of men and women in lead, men on horſebacke, looking glaſſes, whiſtles, and pipes. Alſo in the houſe was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to ſee and taſte.

A houſe builded and left there.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Alſo here we ſowed peaſe, corne, and other graine, to proue the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle againſt the next yeere.

Maſter Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly ſermon, which being ended, he celebrated alſo a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine myſtery was the firſt ſigne, ſeale, and confirmation of Chriſts name, death, and paſſion euer knowen in theſe quarters. The ſaid M. Wolfall made ſermons, and celebrated the Communion at ſundry other times, in ſeuerall and ſundry ſhips, becauſe the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place. The Fleet now being in ſome good readineſſe for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to conſult, told them that he was very deſirous that ſome further diſcouery ſhould be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his Ships laden with Ore, but alſo meant to bring ſome certificate of a further diſcouery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to paſſe (hauing ſometime therein conſulted) they found very hard, and almoſt inuincible. And conſidering that already they had ſpent ſometime in ſearching out the trending and faſhion of the miſtaken ſtraites, therefore it could not be ſayd, but that by this voyage they haue notice of a further diſcouery, and that the hope of the paſſage thereby is much furthered and encreaſed, as appeared before in the diſcourſe thereof. Yet notwithſtanding if any meanes might be further deuiſed, the Ceptaines were contented and willing, as the Generall ſhoulde appoynt and commaund, to take any enterpriſe in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impoſſible, and that rather conſultation was to be had of returning homeward, eſpecially for theſe cauſes following. Firſt the darke foggy miſts, the continuall falling ſnowe and ſtormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily euer more and more increaſed, haue no ſmall argument of the Winters drawing neere. And alſo the froſt euery night was ſo hard congealed within the ſound, that if by euill hap they ſhould bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they ſhould be ſhut vp there faſt the whole yeere, which being vtterly vnprouided, would be their vtter deſtruction. Againe, drinke was ſo ſcant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the prouiſion which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and waſted, but alſo each ſhippes ſeuerall prouiſion ſpent and loſt, which many of our company to their great griefe found in their returne ſince, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cauſe of this leakage and waſting was, for that the great timber and ſeacole, which lay ſo waighty vpon the barrels, brake, bruiſed, and rotted the hoopes inſunder. Yet notwithſtanding theſe reaſons alleaged the Generall himſelfe (willing the reſt of the Gentlemen and Captaines euery man to looke to his ſeuerall charge and lading, that againſt a day appointed, they ſhould be all in a readineſſe to ſet homeward) went in a Pinneſſe, and diſcouered further Northward in the ſtraights, and found that by Beares ſound and Halles Iſland, the land was not firme, as it was firſt ſuppoſed, but all broken Iſlands in maner of an Archipelagus, and ſo with other ſecret intelligence to himſelfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where preſently vpon his arriuall at the Counteſſes ſound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and firſt cauſed certaine Articles to be proclamed, for the better keeping of orders and courſes in their returne, which Articles were deliuered to euery Captaine.

M. Wolfall a godly Preacher.

Conſultation for a further diſcouery.

Broken Iſlands in maner of an Archipelagus.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

Hauing now receiued Articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardneſſe and in good order, the laſt day of Auguſt the whole Fleete departed from the Counteſſes ſound, excepting the Iudith, and the Anne Francis, who ſtayed for the taking in of freſh water, and came the next day and mette the Fleete lying off and on, athwart Beares ſound, who ſtayed for the Generall, which then was gone aſhore to diſpatch the two Barkes and the Buſſe of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboord. The Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing moſt part of his company aſhore, the firſt of September went alſo to Beares ſound in his Pinneſſe to fetch his men aboord, but the wind grewe ſo great immediatly vpon their landing, that the ſhippes at Sea were in great danger, and ſome of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be vtterly loſt, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and others, who could not tell on which ſide their danger was moſt: for hauing mightie rockes threatning on the one ſide, and driuing Iſlands of cutting yce on the other ſide, they greatly feared to make ſhipwracke, the yce driuing ſo neere them that it touched their bolt-ſprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne ſo hie, they were not able to put to ſea with their ſmall Pinneſſes to recouer their ſhippes. And againe, the ſhippes were not able to tarrie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outragious windes and ſwelling ſeas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboord the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and went himſelfe with the reſt of his men aboord the Barkes. But their numbers were ſo great, and the prouiſion of the Barkes ſo ſcant, that they peſtered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire, whereby they might recouer their ſhippes. But in the morning following it was much worſe, for the ſtorme continued greater, the Sea being more ſwollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of ſight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ſhip of Bridgewater which was of greateſt receit, and whereof they had beſt hope and made moſt account, roade ſo farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betweene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a ſaile. And the Barks were already ſo peſtered with men, and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed with prouiſion, that they had ſcarce meat for ſixe dayes for ſuch numbers.

Returne homeward.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to ſeeke the Fleete, leauing the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares ſound. The Buſſe ſet ſayle, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better ſafetie, amongſt a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of euer getting forth againe. The Michael ſet ſayle to follow the Generall, and could giue the Buſſe no reliefe, although they earneſtly deſired the ſame. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two euils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Buſſe of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of euer getting forth, or elſe to bee towed in his ſmall Pinneſſe at the ſterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receiue or relieue halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee reſolued to commit himſelfe with all his company vnto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerouſly towed at the ſterne of the Barke for many miles, vntill at length they eſpyed the Anne Francis vnder ſayle, hard vnder their Lee, which was no ſmall comfort vnto them. For no doubt, both theſe and a great number more had periſhed for lacke of victuals, and conuenient roome in the Barks without the helpe of the ſayd Ship. But the honeſt care that the Maſter of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and the good regarde of duetie towardes his Generall, ſuffered him not to depart, but honeſtly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithſtanding all the ſtormy weather, when all the Fleete beſides departed. And the Pinneſſe came no ſooner aboord the ſhippe, and the men entred, but ſhee preſently ſhiuered and fell in pieces and ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, with all the poore mens furniture: ſo weake was the boat with towing, and ſo forcible was the ſea to bruiſe her in pieces. But (as God would) the men were all ſaued.

At this preſent in this ſtorme many of the Fleete were dangerouſly diſtreſſed, and were ſeuered almoſt all aſunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arriued ſafely in England about the firſt of October, ſome in one place and ſome in another. But amongſt other, it was moſt marueilous how the Buſſe of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of neuer getting forth, was forced to ſeeke a way Northward thorow an vnknowen channell full of rocks, vpon the backe ſide of Beares ſound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North ſea, a very dangerous attempt: ſaue that neceſſitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie maſteries. This aforeſayd North ſea is the ſame which lyeth vpon the backe ſide of Frobiſhers ſtraits, where firſt the Generall himſelfe in his Pinneſſes, and after ſome other of our company

An vnknowen channell into the Northeaſt, diſcouered by the Buſſe of Bridgewater.

haue diſcouered (as they affirme) a great foreland, where they would haue alſo a great likelihood of the greateſt paſſage towards the South ſea, or Mar del Sur.

The Buſſe of Bridgewater, as ſhe came homeward, to the Southeaſtward of Friſeland, diſcouered a great Iſland in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was neuer yet found before, and ſailed three dayes alongſt the coaſt, the land ſeeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion Countrey.

A fruitful new Iſland diſcouered.

There died in the whole Fleet in all this voyage not aboue forty perſons, which number is not great, conſidering how many ſhips were in the Fleet, and how ſtrange fortunes we paſſed.

A generall and briefe deſcription of the Countrey, and condition of the people, which are found in *Meta Incognita*.

Hauing now ſufficiently and truly ſet forth the whole circumſtance, and particuler handling of euery occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobiſher, it ſhal not be from the purpoſe to ſpeake ſomewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the ſauages there inhabiting.

Firſt therefore touching the Topographical deſcription of the place, It is now found in the laſt voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being ſituate in latitude at 61. degrees and a halfe, which before was ſuppoſed to be part of the firme land of America, and alſo al the reſt of the South ſide of Frobiſhers ſtraites, are all ſeuerall Iſlands and broken land, and likewiſe ſo will all the North ſide of the ſaid ſtraites fall out to be as I thinke. And ſome of our company being entred aboue 60. leagues within the miſtaken ſtraites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainely that they had diſcryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out ſo to be.

A Topographicall deſcription of Meta Incognita.

Theſe broken lands and Iſlands being very many in number, do ſeeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatneſſe, forme, and faſhion one from another, ſo are they in goodneſſe, colour, and ſoyle much vnlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in moſt parts couered with ſnow euen all the Sommer long. The Norther lands haue leſſe ſtore of ſnow, more graſſe, and are more plaine Countreys: the cauſe whereof may be, for that the Souther Iſlands receiue all the ſnow, that the cold winds and percing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receiue more warme blaſts of milder ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cauſe why the people couet to inhabit more vpon the North parts then the South, as farre as we can yet by our experience perceiue they doe. Theſe people I iudge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the ſame ſort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northeaſtwards beyond Moſcouy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to ſay in the Moſcouy tongue, as eaters of themſelues, and ſo the Ruſſians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did ſometime trauell in the parts of Moſcouy) who hath great experience of thoſe Samoeds and people of the Northeaſt, I find that in all their maner of liuing, thoſe people of the Northeaſt, and theſe of the Northweſt are like. They are of the colour of a ripe Oliue, which how it may come to paſſe, being borne in ſo cold a climate, I referre to the iudgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the ſame colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The people of Meta Incognita like vnto Samoeds.

Their natiue colour.

They are men very actiue and nimble. They are a ſtrong people and very warlike, for in our ſight vpon the toppes of the hilles they would often muſter themſelues, and after the maner of a ſkirmiſh trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and dartes with great dexteritie. They go clad in coates made of the ſkinnes of beaſts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They haue alſo ſome garments of feathers, being made of the caſes of foules, finely ſowed and compact togither. Of all which ſorts wee brought home ſome with vs into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they vſe to weare the hairie ſide of their coates outward, and ſometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by ſignes they haue declared) they weare foure or fiue folde vpon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is feruent hote, or els extreme cold, & farre more exceſſiue in both qualities, then the reaſon of the climate ſhould yeeld. For there it is colder, being vnder 62. degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouſe in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moſcouie, being at aboue 72. degrees in latitude. The reaſon hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with Eaſterne and Northeaſtern winds, which from the ſea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was alſo the cauſe that this yeere our ſtraits were ſo long ſhut vp with ſo great ſtore of yce. But there is

Their apparel

The accidentall cauſe of the cold ayre at Meta Incognita.

great hope and likelihood, that further within the Straights it will bee more conſtant and temperate weather.

Theſe people are in nature very ſubtill and ſharpe witted, ready to conceiue our meaning by ſignes, and to make anſwere well to be vnderſtood againe. And if they haue not ſeene the thing whereof you aſke them, they will wincke, or couer their eyes with their hands, as who would ſay, it hath bene hid from their ſight. If they vnderſtand you not whereof you aſke them, they wil ſtop their eares. They will teach vs the names of each thing in their language which wee deſire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of vs. They delight in Muſicke aboue meaſure, and will keepe time and ſtroke to any tune which you ſhall ſing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will ſing the ſame tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true ſtroke with our Mariners, and ſeeme to take great delight therein. They liue in Caues of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, euen as the beare or other wild beaſtes do. They eat raw fleſh and fiſh, and refuſe no meat howſoeuer it be ſtinking. They are deſperate in their fight, ſullen of nature, and rauenous in their maner of feeding.

The Sauages delight in Muſicke.

Hard kind of liuing.

Their ſullen & deſperate nature doth herein manifeſtly appeare, that a company of them being enuironed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, ſo that they could by no meanes eſcape our hands, finding themſelues in this caſe diſtreſſed, choſe rather to caſt themſelues headlong down the rocks into the ſea, and ſo be bruiſed and drowned, rather then to yeeld themſelues to our mens mercies.

Their weapons.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they haue darts, ſlings, bowes, and arrowes headed with ſharpe ſtones, bones, and ſome with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and mourne greatly at the loſſe or harme of their fellowes, and expreſſe their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mourneful ſong, and Dirges. They are very ſhamefaſt in bewraying the ſecrets of nature, and very chaſte in the maner of their liuing: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the laſt voyage, ſhould put off his coat or diſcouer his whole body for change, hee would not ſuffer the woman to bee preſent, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the ſpace of two or three moneths, while the man liued in company of the woman, there was neuer any thing ſeene or perceiued betweene them, more then might haue paſſed betweene brother and ſiſter: but the woman was in all things very ſeruiceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was ſicke, and he likewiſe in all the meates which they did eate together, woulde carue vnto her of the ſweeteſt, fatteſt, and beſt morſels they had. They wondred much at all our things, and were afraid of our horſes and other beaſts out of meaſure. They began to grow more ciuill, familiar, pleaſant, and docible amongſt vs in very ſhort time.

Their chaſtity.

Their boates.

They haue boates made of leather, and couered cleane ouer ſauing one place in the middle to ſit in, planked within with timber, and they vſe to row therein with one Ore, more ſwiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They haue one ſort of greater boates wherein they can carrie aboue twentie perſons, and haue a Maſt with a ſaile thereon, which ſaile is made of thinne ſkinnes or bladders, ſowed togither with the ſinewes of fiſhes.

They are good Fiſhermen, and in their ſmall Boates being diſguiſed with their coates of Seales ſkinnes, they deceiue the fiſh, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiuing men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they ſhoote at a great fiſh with any of their darts, they vſe to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fiſh not able to cary it ſo eaſily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

Traffique with ſome other nation vnknowen.

They vſe to traffike and exchange their commodities with ſome other people, of whom they haue ſuch things as their miſerable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to haue, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure ſquare, certaine buttons of copper, which they vſe to weare vpon their forehads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe vſe great pearle.

Gold.

Alſo they haue made ſignes vnto vs, that they haue ſeene gold, and ſuch bright plates of mettals, which are vſed for ornaments amongſt ſome people with whom they haue conference.

We found alſo in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth vſually grow in they hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or elſe themſelues are great trauellers.

Their fewell.

They haue nothing in vſe among them to make fire withall, ſauing a kinde of Heath and Moſſe which groweth there.

And they kindle their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one ſticke againſt another, as we doe with flints. They drawe with dogges in ſleads vpon the yce, and remooue their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and prouiſion againſt Winter. They doe ſometime parboyle their meat a little and ſeeth the ſame in kettles made of beaſts ſkins: they haue alſo pannes cut and made of ſtone very artificially: they vſe prety ginnes wherewith they take foule. The women carry their ſucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with raw fleſh, which firſt they do a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women haue their faces marked or painted ouer with ſmall blewe ſpots: they haue blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the ſame in a decent order. The men haue but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirſt withall. Their earth yeeldeth no graine or fruit of ſuſtenance for man, or almoſt for beaſt to liue vpon: and the people will eate graſſe and ſhrubs of the ground, euen as our kine doe. They haue no wood growing in their Countrey thereabouts, and yet wee find they haue ſome timber among them, which we thinke doth grow farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or ſome other part of New found land: for there belike, the trees ſtanding on the cliffes of the ſea ſide, by the waight of yce and ſnow in Winter ouercharging them with waight, when the Sommers thaw commeth aboue, and alſo the Sea vnderfretting them beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are vndermined and fall downe from thoſe cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driuen to and fro vpon the coaſtes further off, and by coniecture are taken vp here by theſe Countrey people, to ſerue them to planke and ſtrengthen their boates withall, and to make dartes, bowes, and arrowes, and ſuch other things neceſſarie for their vſe. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the Seas ouer great ſtore, which being cut or ſawed aſunder, by reaſon of long driuing in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which ſort theirs is found to be.

How they make fire.

Their kettles and pannes.

The people eate graſſe and ſhrubs.

We haue not yet found any venemous Serpent or other hurtful thing in theſe parts, but there is a kind of ſmall flie or gnat that ſtingeth and offendeth ſorely, leauing many red ſpots in the face, and other places where ſhe ſtingeth. They haue ſnow and haile in the beſt time of their Sommer, and the ground froſen three fadome deepe.

A ſtrange kind of gnat.

Theſe people are great inchanters, and vſe many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great ſtone with a ſtring vnto a ſticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the ſticke, they lift vp the ſtone from ground, which ſometimes with all a mans force they cannot ſtirre, and ſometime againe they lift as eaſily as a fether, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to haue eaſe and helpe. And they made vs by ſignes to vnderſtand, lying groueling with their faces vpon the ground, and making a noiſe downeward, that they worſhip the deuill vnder them.

Inchanters.

They haue great ſtore of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of ſundry ſorts of wild foule, as Seawmewes, Gulles, Wilmotes, Ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fifteene hundred.

The beaſts and foules of the Countrey.

They haue alſo ſtore of haukes, as Falkons, Taſſels, &c. whereof two alighted vpon one of our ſhips at their returne, and were brought into England, which ſome thinke wil proue very good.

There are alſo great ſtore of rauens, larkes, and partridges, whereof the Countrey people feed.

All theſe foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and fethers, and haue thicker ſkinnes then any in England haue: for as that countrey is colder, ſo nature hath prouided a remedie thereunto.

Our men haue eaten of their Beares, Hares, Partridges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reaſonable good meat, but not ſo delectable as ours.

Their wild foule muſt be all fleine, their ſkins are ſo thicke: and they taſt beſt fryed in pannes.

The Countrey ſeemeth to be much ſubiect to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very ſubtile, piercing and ſearching, ſo that if any corrupted or infected body, eſpecially with the diſeaſe called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will preſently breake forth and ſhew it ſelfe, and cannot there by any kind of ſalue or medicine be cured.

Their longeſt Sommers day is of great length, without any darke night, ſo that in July al the night long, we might perfitly and eaſily write and reade whatſoeuer had pleaſed vs, which lightſome nights were very beneficiall vnto vs, being ſo diſtreſſed with abundance of yce as we were.

The Sunne ſetteth to them in the Euening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riſeth againe in the morning at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, ſo that in Sommer their Sunne ſhineth to them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is abſent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee abſent theſe 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not

The length of their day.

darke

A full reuolution of the Moone aboue their Horizon.

darke that time, for that the Sunne is neuer aboue three or foure degrees vnder the edge of their Horizon: the cauſe is, that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very vneuen and oblique Angles. But the Moone at any time of the yeere being in Cancer, hauing North latitude, doth make a full reuolution aboue their Horizon, ſo that ſometime they ſee the Moone aboue 24. houres togither. Some of our company of the more ignorant ſort, thought we might continually haue ſeene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

The people are now become ſo warie, and ſo circumſpect, by reaſon of their former loſſes, that by no meanes we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this laſt voyage. But to ſay trueth, wee could not beſtow any great time in purſuing them, becauſe of our great buſineſſe in lading, and other things.

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maieſtie, granted to Maſter *Adrian Gylbert* and others, for the ſearch and diſcouery of the Northweſt Paſſage to *China*.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great coſtes and charges, hath greatly and earneſtly trauelled and ſought, and yet doth trauell and ſeeke, and by diuers meanes indeuoureth and laboureth, that the Paſſage vnto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the Northweſtward, Northeaſtward, or Northward, vnto which part or partes of the world, none of our loyall Subiects haue hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be diſcouered, knowen, and frequented by the Subiects of this our Realme: Knowe yee therefore that for the conſiderations aforeſayd and for diuers other good conſiderations vs thereunto specially mouing, We of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and to any other perſon by him or his heires to be aſſigned, and to thoſe his aſſociates and aſſiſtants, whoſe names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one aſſignee of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of theſe preſents, vnder our Banners and Enſignes freely, without let, interruption, or reſtraint, of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, any law, ſtatute, proclamation, patent, charter, or prouiſo to the contrary notwithſtanding, to ſaile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to paſſe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Iſles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer, that by the ſayde Northweſtward, Northeaſtward, or Northward, is to be by him, his aſſociates or aſſignes diſcouered, and for and in the ſayde ſayling, voyage, and paſſage, to haue and vſe ſo many ſhippes, Barkes, Pinneſſes, or other veſſels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of neceſſary prouiſion, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances whatſoeuer, as to ſuch a voyage ſhall or may be requiſite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, ſtatute, ordinance or prouiſo to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding. And alſo we doe giue and grant to the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayde aſſociates, and to ſuch aſſignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one aſſignee of euery of his ſayde aſſociates for euer, full power and abſolute authoritie to trade and make their reſiance in any of the ſayde Iſles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the ſayde places or any of them, growing and ariſing, with all maner of priuiledges, prerogatiues, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land whatſoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the tenth part of all ſuch golde and ſiluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious ſtones, or the value thereof, as the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociates, their heires and aſſignes, ſeruants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them ſhall finde, the ſayd tenth to bee deliuered duely to our Cuſtomer, or other officers by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors thereunto aſſigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayde aſſociates, their ſayde heires and aſſignes, ſhall lade, charge, arriue, and diſcharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatſoeuer to the ſayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, wee haue giuen, granted, and authorized, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the ſayd Adrian Gilbert, and his ſayd aſſociats for euer, their heires and their ſaid aſſignes & euery of them, that if the aforeſayd Iles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, or Hauens, or any other of the premiſſes by the ſayd Adrian Gylbert or his aſſociats, their heires and their ſaid aſſignes or any of them, to be found by them, diſcouered and traffiqued vnto by any trade as aforeſayd, ſhall be by any other our ſubiects viſited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforeſayd, without the ſpecial licence in writing of the ſaid Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociats, and their heires and aſſignes for euer, or by the moſt part of them, ſo that the ſayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes be one of them, that then aſwell their ſhip, or ſhips in any ſuch voyage or voyages vſed, as all and ſinguler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatſoeuer, from or to any of the places aforeſayd tranſported, that ſo ſhall preſume to viſit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, ſhall be forfaited and confiſcated, ipſo facto, the onehalfe of the ſame goods and marchandizes, or other things whatſoeuer, or the value thereof to be to the vſe of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vſe of the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociats, their heires and aſſignes for euer: and vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociats, their heires and aſſignes wee impoſe, giue, aſſigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to ſue and to be ſued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, and them for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſaid aſſociats, and vnto their heires and their ſayd aſſignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip, for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, we haue giuen, graunted, and confirmed, and doe by theſe preſents giue, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, conſtitute and ordeine, and appoynt all ſuch ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the ſayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, ſhall thinke meete, neceſſary, and conuenient, ſo that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, and of this our preſent graunt.

The colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage.

And we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulneſſe of our authority, of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do eſtabliſh, confirme & ratifie all ſuch ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in ſo full and great power and authority, as we, our heires or ſucceſſours may or can in any ſuch caſe graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing ſubiects in this diſcouerie, we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulneſſe of authority for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue, graunt, eſtabliſh, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by theſe preſents, to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and to his aſſociates, and to the heires and aſſignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other perſon or perſons of our louing ſubiects whatſoeuer that ſhall hereafter trauaile, ſayle, diſcouer, or make voyage as aforeſayd to any the Iles, Mainelands, Countreys or Territories whatſoeuer, by vertue of this our graunt to be diſcouered, that the heires and aſſignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands and Countreys, or Territories whatſoeuer before mentioned, ſhall haue and inioy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as perſons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in ſuch like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and perſonally reſiant within our ſayd Realme, any law, ſtatute, proclamation, cuſtome or vſage to the contrary hereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Free Denization granted.

Moreouer, for the conſideration aforeſayd by vertue hereof, we giue and graunt vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, that during the ſpace of fiue yeeres next and immediatly enſuing the date hereof, it ſhall not be lawfull for any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, to viſit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatſoeuer hitherto not yet diſcouered by any of our ſubiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the ſpecial conſent and good liking of the ſaid Adrian Gylbert, his heires or aſſignes firſt had in writing. And if any perſon or perſons of the aſſociats of the ſayd Adrian, his heires or aſſignes, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, free of this diſcouery, ſhall do any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the ſpace of the ſayd fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties ſo offending, they and their heires for euer ſhall looſe (ipſo facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and ſhall ſtand and remaine to all intents and purpoſes as perſons exempted out of this graunt.

This Patent remained in force fiue yeeres.

And further by vertue hereof wee giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours at all times during the ſpace of fiue yeers next enſuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and aſſignes, that if it ſhall happen any one or moe in any ſhip or ſhips ſayling on their ſayd voyage, to become mutinous, ſeditious, diſordered, or any way vnruly to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for the ſucceſſe in the attempt or proſecuting of this diſcouerie or trade intended, to vſe or execute vpon him or them ſo offending, ſuch puniſhment, correction, or execution, as the cauſe ſhall be found in iuſtice to require by the verdict of twelue of the companie ſworne thereunto, as in ſuch a caſe apperteineth: That expreſſe mention of the certaintie of the premiſſes, or of other gifts or graunts by vs to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociats before this time made is not mentioned in theſe preſents, or any other lawe, act, ſtatute, prouiſo, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof we haue made theſe our Letters to bee made patents: Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the ſixt day of Februarie, in the ſixe and twentie yeere of our reigne.

Authoritie to proceede at Sea againſt mutiners.

1583.

The firſt voyage of M. *Iohn Dauis*, vndertaken in Iune 1585. for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, Written by M. *Iohn Ianes* Marchant, ſometimes ſeruant to the worſhipfull Maſter *William Sanderſon*.

Certaine Honourable perſonages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court & Countrey, with diuers worſhipful Marchants of London and of the Weſt Countrey, mooued with deſire to aduance Gods glory and to ſeeke the good of their natiue Countrey, conſulting together of the likelyhood of the Diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterpriſers from their principall purpoſe, reſolued after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for neceſſarie ſhipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductour of this ſo hard an enterpriſe. The ſetting forth of this Action was committed by the aduenturers, eſpecially to the care of M. William Sanderſon Marchant of London, who was ſo forward therein, that beſides his trauaile which was not ſmall, hee became the greateſt aduenturer with his purſe, and commended vnto the reſt of the companie one M. Iohn Dauis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the ſeuenth of Iune, towards the diſcouerie of the aforeſayd Northweſt paſſage, with two Barkes, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneſhine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneſhine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneſhine we had 23. perſons, whoſe names are theſe following, M. Iohn Dauis Captaine, William Eſton Maſter, Richard Pope Maſters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Dauie gunner, William Croſſe boatſwayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Ruſſell, Chriſtopher Gorney boy: Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, Iohn Ruſſell, Robert Corniſh Muſicians.

Muſicians.

The Mooneſhine had 19. perſons, William Bruton Captaine, Iohn Ellis Maſter, the reſt Mariners.

The 7. of Iune the Captaine and the Maſter drew out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southweſt and Weſt ſouthweſt, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained vntil the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, hauing the wind North and by Eaſt moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driuen backe againe, and were conſtrained to arriue at newe Grymsby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that ſpace the Captaine, the Maſter and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did plat out and deſcribe the ſituation of all the Ilands, rocks and harboroughs to the exact vſe of Nauigation, with lines and ſcale thereunto conuenient.

They depart from Silley.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Eaſterly, but calme.

July.

The firſt of Iuly wee ſawe great ſtore of Porpoſes; The Maſter called for an harping iron, and ſhot twiſe or thriſe: ſometimes he miſſed, and at laſt ſhot one and ſtrooke him in the ſide, and wound him into the ſhip: when we had him aboord, the Maſter ſayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had ſome of the fiſh ſodden, and it did eat as ſweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in ſight, and the Maſter went to ſhoote at them, but they were ſo great, that they burſt our yrons, and we loſt both fiſh, yrons, paſtime and all: yet neuertheleſſe the Maſter ſhot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was ſo ſtrong that he burſt off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boat-hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile; ſo at length we let them alone.

The 6. we ſaw a very great Whale, and euery day we ſaw whales continually.

The 16. 17. and 18. we ſaw great ſtore of Whales.

Great ſtore of whales.

The 19. of July we fell into a great whirling and bruſſling of a tyde, ſetting to the Northwards: and ſayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southſouthweſt. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of ſome ſhoare, the ayre being ſo foggie and full of thicke miſt, that we could not ſee the one ſhip from the other, being a very ſmall diſtance aſunder: ſo the Captaine and the Maſter being in diſtruſt how the tyde might ſet them, cauſed the Mooneſhine to hoyſe out her boate and to ſound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Maſter, and I went towards the breach, to ſee what it ſhould be, giuing charge to our gunners that at euery glaſſe they ſhould ſhoote off a muſket-ſhot, to the intent we might keepe our ſelues from looſing them. Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compaſſed vs about: then we went vpon ſome of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was cauſed onely by the rowling of this yce together: Our companie ſeeing vs not to returne according to our appoyntment, left off ſhooting muskets, and began to ſhoote falkonets, for they feared ſome miſhap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboord againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good freſh water. Then wee bent our courſe toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rowling of the yce together made a great roaring.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we ſayled along the coaſt the fogge brake vp, and we diſcouered the land, which was the moſt deformed rockie and mountainous land that euer we ſaw: The firſt ſight whereof did ſhew as if it had bene in forme of a ſugar-loafe, ſtanding to our ſight aboue the cloudes, for that it did ſhew ouer the fogge like a white liſte in the ſkie, the tops altogether couered with ſnow, and the ſhoare beſet with yce a league off into the Sea, making ſuch yrkeſome noyſe as that it ſeemed to be the true patterne of deſolation, and after the ſame our Captaine named it, The land of Deſolation.

The land of Deſolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblew, ſo that we were conſtrained to bend our courſe South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almoſt compaſſed with yce, for we ſaw very much toward the Northnortheaſt, Weſt, and Southweſt: and this day and this night wee cleared our ſelues of the yce, running Southſouthweſt along the ſhoare.

Upon Thurſday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoyſed out our boate, and the Captaine with ſixe ſaylers went towards the ſhoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coaſt to be voyde of yce to our iudgement, and the ſame night wee were all perſwaded that we had ſeene a Canoa rowing along the ſhoare, but afterwards we fell in ſome doubt of it, but we had no great reaſon ſo to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the ſhoare, willed the Maſter to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the ſhoare by the ſpace of a league, or about two miles, hee found ſo much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to ſee if they could get any fiſh, becauſe there were ſo many ſeales vpon the coaſt, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy ſtanding poole, we ſounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the ſhoare, our men ſawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not diſcerne them, yet it might be ſo very well: for we had wood floting vpon the coaſt euery day, and the Mooneſhine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coaſt being ſixtie foote of length and foureteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After this the Captaine came aboord, the weather being very calme and faire we bent our courſe toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke water.

Floting wood.

The 23. we coaſted the land which did lie Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt.

The 24. the winde being very faire at Eaſt, we coaſted the land which did lie Eaſt and Weſt, not being able to come neere the ſhoare by reaſon of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, becauſe the weather was ſomewhat colde by reaſon of the yce, and the better to encourage our men,

Colde by reaſon of yce.

their allowance was increaſed: the captaine and the maſter tooke order that euery meſſe, being fiue perſons, ſhould haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfaſt. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was ſomewhat colde, but when it came off the ſea it was very hote.

They ſaile Northweſtward aboue foure dayes.

The 25 of this moneth we departed from ſight of this land at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our courſe to the Northweſtward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our deſired paſſage, and ſo continued aboue foure dayes.

Land in 64 degrees 15 min.

The ſound where our ſhips did ride was called Gilberts ſound.

Muſicians.

The people of the countrey came and conferred with our men.

The 29 of Iuly we diſcouered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeaſt from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northweſtwards, we bare in with this land to take ſome view of it, being vtterly void of the peſter of yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coaſt, we found many faire ſounds and good roads for ſhipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we iudged this land to be a great number of Iſlands ſtanding together. Heere hauing mored our barke in good order, we went on ſhoare vpon a ſmall Iſland to ſeeke for water and wood. Vpon this Iſland we did perceiue that there had bene people: for we found a ſmall ſhoo and pieces of leather ſowed with ſinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Iſland on the other ſide of our ſhippes: and the Captaine, the Maſter, and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey hauing eſpied vs, made a lamentable noiſe, as we thought, with great outcries and ſkreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At laſt I hallowed againe, and they likewiſe cried. Then we perceiuing where they ſtood, ſome on the ſhoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a ſmall Iſland faſt by them, we made a great noiſe, partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton and the Maſter of his ſhippe, with others of their company, made great haſte towards vs, and brought our Muſicians with them from our ſhippe, purpoſing either by force to reſcue vs, if need ſhould ſo require, or with courteſie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we cauſed our Muſicians to play, our ſelues dancing, and making many ſignes of friendſhip. At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Iſlands, and two of them came ſo neere the ſhoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a prety way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow thorow the throat, and their ſpeech ſuch as we could not vnderſtand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and ſignes of curteſie. At length one of them pointing vp to the Sunne with his hand, would preſently ſtrike his breaſt ſo hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before he would any way truſt vs. Then Iohn Ellis the Maſter of the Mooneſhine was appointed to vſe his beſt policie to gaine their friendſhip; who ſtrooke his breaſt, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had diuers times done, they beganne to truſt him, and one of them came on ſhoare, to whom we threw our cappes, ſtockings and gloues, and ſuch other things as then we had about vs, playing with our muſicke, and making ſignes of ioy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboord our barks.

Thirty ſeuen Canoas.

Their muſicke.

Great familiaritie with the Sauages.

The next morning being the 30 of Iuly there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ſhips, calling to vs to come on ſhoare: we not making any great haſte vnto them, one of them went vp to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, ſhewing vs a ſeales ſkinne, and another thing made like a timbrell, which he did beat vpon with a ſticke, making a noiſe like a ſmall drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all ſtaying in their Canoas; we came to the water ſide where they were: and after we had ſworne by the Sunne after their faſhion, they did truſt vs. So I ſhooke hands with one of them, and he kiſſed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in ſo great credit with them vpon this ſingle acquaintance, that we could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of ſeales ſkinnes & birds ſkinnes; their buſkins, their hoſe, their gloues, all being commonly ſowed and well dreſſed: ſo that we were fully perſwaded that they haue diuers artificers among them. We had a paire of buſkins of them full of fine wooll like beuer. Their apparell for heat was made of birds ſkinnes with their feathers on them. We ſaw among them leather dreſſed like Glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes diſpleaſe vs, but would giue vs whatſoeuer we aſked of them, and would be ſatiſfied with whatſoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care one of another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had ſolde vs his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and eaſie to be brought to any ciuility or good order: but we iudge them to be idolaters and to worſhip the Sunne.

During the time of our abode among theſe Iſlands we found reaſonable quantity of wood, both firre, ſpruſe and iuniper; which whether it came floting any great diſtance to theſe places where we found it, or whether it grew in ſome great Iſlands neere the ſame place by vs not yet diſcouered, we know not; but we iudge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, becauſe the people had great ſtore of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gaue them to vs for ſmall trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We ſaw about this coaſt maruellous great abundance of ſeales ſkulling together like ſkuls of ſmall fiſh. We found no freſh water among theſe Iſlands, but onely ſnow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of ſuch oare as M. Frobiſher brought from Meta incognita. We had diuers ſhewes of Study or Muſcouy glaſſe ſhining not altogether vnlike to Chriſtall. We found an herbe growing vpon the rocks, whoſe fruit was ſweet, full of red iuice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found alſo birch and willow growing like ſhrubbes low to the ground. Theſe people haue great ſtore of furres as we iudge. They made ſhewes vnto vs the 30 of this preſent, which was the ſecond time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue ſkinnes and furres, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with ſuch things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the maſter would by no meanes detract the purpoſe of our diſcouery. And ſo the laſt of this moneth about foure of the clocke in the morning in Gods name we ſet ſaile, and were all that day becalmed vpon the coaſt.

Diuers ſorts of wood.

They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to vſe it.

Moſcouie glaſſe.

A fruit like corinths.

The firſt of Auguſt we had a faire winde, and ſo proceeded towards the Northweſt for our diſcouery.

Auguſt.

The ſixt of Auguſt we diſcouered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the peſter of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode vnder a braue mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ſhips lay at anker was called Totnes rode. The ſound which did compaſſe the mount was named Exeter ſound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walſingham. So ſoone as we were come to an anker in Totnes rode vnder Mount Raleigh, we eſpied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we ſuppoſing them to be goats or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the ſhore, we found them to be white beares of a monſtrous bigneſſe: we being deſirous of freſh victuall and the ſport, began to aſſault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right againſt me: my piece was charged with hailſhot & a bullet: I diſcharged my piece and ſhot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water ſtraight, making ſmall account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-ſpeares, & two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes; but we iudged by their dung that they fed vpon graſſe, becauſe it appeared in all reſpects like the dung of an horſe, wherein we might very plainly ſee the very ſtrawes.

Land in 66 degrees 40 min.

Foure white beares.

The 7 we went on ſhore to another beare which lay all night vpon the top of an Iſland vnder Mount Raleigh, and when we came vp to him he lay faſt aſleep. I leuelled at his head, and the ſtone of my piece gaue no fire: with that he looked vp, and layed downe his head againe: then I ſhot being charged with two bullets, and ſtrooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all vpon him with boare-ſpeares, and thruſt him in the body: yet for all that he gript away our boare-ſpeares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Maſter ſhot his boare-ſpeare, and ſtrooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and ſwimme into a coue faſt by, where we killed him, and brought him aboord. The breadth of his forefoot from one ſide to the other was foureteene inches ouer. They were very fat, ſo as we were conſtrained to caſt the fat away. We ſaw a rauen vpon Mount Raleigh. We found withies alſo growing like low ſhrubs & flowers like Primroſes in the ſayd place. The coaſt is very mountainous, altogether without wood, graſſe, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of ſtone; but the braueſt ſtone that euer we ſaw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

A huge white beare.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coaſting along the ſhoare, which lieth Southſouthweſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt.

The 9 our men fell in diſlike of their allowance, becauſe it was too ſmall as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; euery meſſe being fiue to a meſſe ſhould haue foure pound of bread a day, twelue wine quarts of beere, ſix Newland fiſhes; and the fleſh dayes a gill of peaſe more: ſo we reſtrained them from their butter and cheeſe.

The 11 we came to the moſt Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our firſt entrance for the diſcouery. The weather being very foggy we coaſted this North land; at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were ſhot into a very faire entrance or paſſage, being in ſome places twenty leagues broad, and in ſome thirty, altogether void of any peſter of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our paſſage. Hauing ſailed Northweſt ſixty leagues in this entrance we diſcouered certaine Iſlands ſtanding in the midſt thereof, hauing open paſſage on both ſides. Wherupon our ſhips diuided themſelues, the one ſailing on the North ſide, the other on the South ſide of the ſayd Iſles, where we ſtayed fiue dayes, hauing the winde at Southeaſt, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on ſhoare and found ſignes of people, for we found ſtones layed vp together like a wall, and ſaw the ſkull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs houle on the ſhoare, which we thought had bene wolues, and therefore we went on ſhoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came preſently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we ſhot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatherne coller, wherupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like maſtiues with pricke eares and long buſh tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two ſleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, ſpruſe and oken boords ſawen like inch boords: the other was made all of whale bone, & there hung on the tops of the ſleads three heads of beaſts which they had killed. We ſaw here larks, rauens, and partridges.

Timber ſawen.

Fowle.

The 17 we went on ſhoare, and in a little thing made like an ouen with ſtones I found many ſmall trifles, as a ſmall canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing ſmall holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, & other ſmall things. The coaſt was very barren without wood or graſſe: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of diuers colours. We found a ſeale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid vnder ſtones.

An image.

Probabilities for the paſſage.

Wee neuer came into any bay before or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackiſh.

Our Captaine and Maſter ſearched ſtill for probabilities of the paſſage, and firſt found, ‖ that this place was all Iſlands, with great ſounds paſſing betweene them.

Secondly, the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Thirdly, we ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe Iſles three or foure whales in a ſkull, which they iudged to come from a Weſterly ſea, becauſe to the Eaſtward we ſaw not any whale.

Alſo as we were rowing into a very great ſound lying Southweſt, frõ whence theſe whales came, vpon the ſudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southweſt againſt the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was mainteined.

Fiftly, in ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had ſounding in 90 fadoms, faire gray oſie ſand, and the further we ran into the Weſtwards the deeper was the water; ſo that hard aboord the ſhoare among theſe Iſles we could not haue ground in 330 fadoms.

Laſtly, it did ebbe and flow ſixe or ſeuen fadome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuers parts, ſo as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Maſter determined what was beſt to doe, both for the ſafegard of their credits, and ſatiſfying of the aduenturers, and reſolued, if the weather brake vp, to make further ſearch.

The 20 the winde came directly againſt vs: ſo they altered their purpoſe, and reaſoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being Northweſt, we departed from theſe Iſlands; and as we coaſted the South ſhoare we ſaw many faire ſounds, whereby we were perſwaded that it was no firme land but Iſlands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeaſt, with very ſtormy and foule weather: ſo we were conſtrained to ſeeke harborow vpon the South coaſt of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire ſound, & ankered in 25 fadoms greene oſie ſand. Here we went on ſhore, where we had manifeſt ſignes of people where they had made their fire, and layed ſtones like a wall. In this place we ſaw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a ſnite, for the head was eaten off.

Faulcons.

The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming ſomewhat faire, we departed from this road, purpoſing by Gods grace to returne for England.

Their returne.

The 26 we departed from ſight of the North land of this entrance, directing our courſe homewards vntill the tenth of the next moneth.

The 10.of September wee fell with The land of deſolation, thinking to goe on ſhoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night wee put to ſea againe thinking to ſearch it the next day: but this night aroſe a very great ſtorme, and ſeparated our ſhips, ſo that we loſt the ſight of the Mooneſhine.

September.

The 13.about noone (hauing tried all the night before with a gooſe wing) we ſet ſaile, & within two houres after we had ſight of the Mooneſhine againe: this day we departed from this land.

They ſaile from The land of deſolation to England in 14. dayes.

The 27.of this moneth we fell with ſight of England. This night we had a marueilous ſtorme and loſt the Mooneſhine.

The 30.of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneſhine being come in not two houres before.

The ſecond voyage attempted by M.*Iohn Dauis* with others, for the diſcouery of the *Northweſt paſſage*, in Anno 1586.

The 7.day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, with a ſhip of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60.tunnes named the Sunneſhine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneſhine, and a pinneſſe of tenne tunnes named the North ſtarre.

And the 15.of Iune I diſcouered land in the latitude of 60.degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Weſtward 47.degrees, mightily peſtered with yce and ſnow, ſo that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in ſome places tenne leagues, in ſome 20.and in ſome 50.leagues off the ſhore; ſo that wee were conſtrained to beare into 57. degrees to double the ſame, and to recouer a free Sea, which through Gods fauourable mercy we at length obtained.

Land diſcouered in 60.degrees.

The 29.of Iune after many tempeſtuous ſtorms we againe diſcouered land, in longitude from the Meridian of London 58. degr. 30.min. and in latitude 64. being Eaſt from vs: into which courſe ſith it pleaſed God by contrary winds to force vs, I thought it very neceſſary to beare in with it, & there to ſet vp our pinneſſe, prouided in the Mermayd to be our ſcout for this diſcouery, and ſo much the rather becauſe the yere before I had bene in the ſame place, and found it very conuenient for ſuch a purpoſe, wel ſtored with flote wood, & poſſeſſed by a people of tractable conuerſation: ſo that the 29.of this moneth we arriued within the Iſles which lay before this land, lying North northweſt, and South ſoutheaſt, we know not how farre. This land is very high & mountainous, hauing before it on the Weſt ſide a mighty company of Iſles full of faire ſounds, and harboroughs. This land was very litle troubled with ſnow, and the ſea altogether voyd of yce.

The ſhips being within the ſounds wee ſent our boates to ſearch for ſhole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very hard to finde: and as the boat went ſounding and ſearching, the people of the countrey hauing eſpied them, came in their Canoas towards them with many ſhoutes and cries: but after they had eſpied in the boat ſome of our company that were the yeere before here with vs, they preſently rowed to the boate, and tooke hold on the oare, and hung about the boate with ſuch comfortable ioy, as would require a long diſcourſe to be vttered: they came with the boates to our ſhips, making ſignes that they knewe all thoſe that the yeere before had bene with them. After I perceiued their ioy and ſmall feare of vs, my ſelfe with the Merchants & others of the company went a ſhoare, bearing with me twentie kniues: I had no ſooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas and came running to mee and the reſt, and embraced vs with many ſignes of heartie welcome: at this preſent there were eighteene of them, and to eche of them I gaue a knife: they offred ſkinnes to me for reward, but I made ſignes that they were not ſolde, but giuen them of courteſie: and ſo diſmiſſed them for that time, with ſignes that they ſhould returne againe after certaine houres.

Gentle and louing Sauages.

The next day with all poſſible ſpeede the pinneſſe was landed vpon an Iſle there to be finiſhed to ſerue our purpoſe for the diſcouerie, which Iſle was ſo conuenient for that purpoſe, as that we were very wel able to defend our ſelues againſt many enemies. During the time that the pinneſſe, was there ſetting vp, the people came cõtinually vnto vs ſometime an hundred Canoas at a time, ſometime fourtie, fiftie, more and leſſe, as occaſion ſerued. They brought with them ſeale ſkinnes, ſtagge ſkinnes, white hares, Seale fiſh, ſamon peale, ſmal cod, dry caplin, with other fiſh, and birds ſuch as the countrey did yeeld.

An 100 Canoas with diuers commodities.

My ſelfe ſtill deſirous to haue a further ſearch of this place, ſent one of the ſhipboates to one part of the lande, and my ſelfe went to another part to ſearch for the habitation of this people, with ſtraight commandement that there ſhould be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne ſhot.

Images, trane oyle, and Seale ſkins in tan tubs.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with ſeale ſkinnes ſet vp vpon timber, wherein they found great ſtore of dried Caplin, being a litle fiſh no bigger then a pilchard: they found bags of Trane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, Seale ſkinnes in tan-tubs, with many other ſuch trifles, whereof they diminiſhed nothing.

A plaine champion countrey.
A goodly riuer.

They alſo found tenne miles within the ſnowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and graſſe, ſuch as our moory and waſte grounds of England are: they went vp into a riuer (which in the narroweſt place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it ſtill to continue they knewe not howe farre: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the firſt it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the reſt of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor ſaw any thing, ſaue onely gripes, rauens, and ſmall birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of Iuly I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending vpon me vp into another ſound where the people by ſignes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made ſignes that I ſhould goe into a warme place to ſleepe, at which place I went on ſhore, and aſcended the toppe of an high hill to ſee into the countrey, but perceiuing my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people ſtill following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rockes, and likewiſe downe: at length I was deſirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wreſtling, we found them ſtrong and nimble, and to haue ſkil in wreſtling, for they caſt ſome of our men that were good wreſtlers.

A graue with a croſſe layd ouer.
The Tartars and people of Iapon are alſo ſmal eyed.

The fourth of Iuly we lanched our pinneſſe, and had fortie of the people to helpe vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wreſtled with them, and found them as before, ſtrong and ſkilfull. This fourth of Iuly the Maſter of the Mermayd went to certaine Ilands to ſtore himſelfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, only couered with ſeale ſkinnes, hauing a croſſe laid ouer them. The people are of good ſtature, wel in body proportioned, with ſmall ſlender hands and feet, with broad viſages, and ſmal eyes, wide mouthes, the moſt part vnbearded, great lips, and cloſe toothed. Their cuſtome is as often as they go from vs, ſtill at their returne to make a new truce, in this ſort, holding his hand vp to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Ylyaoute, and ſtriketh his breſt with like ſignes, being promiſed ſafety, he giueth credit. Theſe people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore ſtop their noſes with deeres haire, or the haire of an elan. They are idolaters and haue images geeat ſtore, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we ſuppoſe they worſhip. They are witches, and haue many kinds of inchantments, which they often vſed, but to ſmall purpoſe, thankes be to God.

Their maner of kindling fire like to theirs in America.
A fire made of turfes.
Great theeues

Being among them at ſhore the fourth of Iuly, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a piece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round ſtick like vnto a bedſtaffe, wetting the end thereof in Trane, and in faſhion of a turner with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very ſpeedily produce fire: which done, with turfes he made a fire, into which with many words and ſtrange geſtures, he put diuers things, which wee ſuppoſed to be a ſacrifice: my ſelfe and diuers of my company ſtanding by, they were deſirous to haue me go into the ſmoke, I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the ſmoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thruſt him into the ſmoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to ſpurne it into the ſea, which was done to ſhew them that we did contemne their ſorcery. Theſe people are very ſimple in all their conuerſation, but marueilous theeuiſh, eſpecially for iron, which they haue in great accoũt. They began through our leuitie to ſhew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her ſterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aire, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they ſtole our oares, a caliuer, a boare ſpeare, a ſword, with diuers other things, wherat the company and Maſters being grieued, for our better ſecuritie, deſired me to diſſolue this new friendſhip, and to leaue the company of theſe theeuiſh miſcreants: whereupon there was a caliuer ſhot among them, and immediatly vpon the ſame a faulcon, which ſtrange noice did ſore amaze them, ſo that with ſpeed they departed: notwithſtanding their ſimplicitie is ſuch, that within ten houres after they came againe to vs to intreat peace: which being promiſed, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs Seale ſkinnes, & ſammon peale, but ſeeing iron, they could in no wiſe forbeare ſtealing: which when I perceiued, it did but miniſter vnto mee an occaſion of laughter, to ſee their ſimplicitie, and I willed that in no caſe they ſhould bee any more hardly vſed, but that our owne company ſhould be the more vigilant to keepe their things, ſuppoſing it to be very hard in ſo ſhort time to make them know their cuſts. They eate all their meat raw, they liue moſt vpon fiſh, they drinke ſalt water, and eate graſſe and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fiſhes, ſaue only when dead ſleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke laying his boat vpon the land, hee lyeth downe to ſleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but ſome of them haue bow and arrowes and ſlings. They make nets to take their fiſh of the finne of a whale: they do all their things very artificially: and it ſhould ſeeme that theſe ſimple theeuiſh Iſlanders haue warre with thoſe of the maine, for many of them are ſore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by ſignes they gaue vs to vnderſtand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronounce their language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: theſe words following we learned from them.

Their rude diet.

Their weapons.

Strange nets.

Theſe Iſlanders warre with the people of the maine.

Copper oare.

Their language.

Keſinyoh, Eate ſome.
Madlycoyte, Muſicke.
Aginyoh, Go fetch.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.
Ponameg, A boat.
Paaotyck, An oare.
Aſanock, A dart.
Sawygmeg, A knife.
Vderah, A noſe.
Aoh, Iron.
Blete, An eye.
Vnuicke, Giue it.
Tuckloak, A ſtagge or ellan.
Panygmah, A needle.
Aob, The Sea.
Myſacoah, Waſh it.
Lethickſaneg, A ſeale ſkinne.
Canyglow, Kiſſe me.
Vgnera, My ſonne.
Acu, Shot.

Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fiſh.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Wil you haue this.
Cocah, Go to him.
Aba, Fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Aweonye, Yonder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fogge.
Lechikſah, A ſkinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Saſobneg, A bracelet.
Vgnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A ſeale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A threed.
Quoyſah, Giue it to me.

The 7. of Iuly being very deſirous to ſearch the habitation of this countrey, I went my ſelfe with our new pinneſſe into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and paſſing vp a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were conſtrained to ſeeke ſuccour for that night, which being had, I landed with the moſt part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to ſee into the countrey: but the mountaines were ſo many and ſo mighty as that my purpoſe preuailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinneſſe, and willing diuers of my company to gather muſcles for my ſupper, whereof in this place there was great ſtore, my ſelfe hauing eſpied a very ſtrange ſight, eſpecially to me that neuer before ſaw the like, which was a mighty whirlewinde taking vp the water in very great quantitie, furiouſly mounting it into the aire, which whirlewinde, was not for a puffe or blaſt, but continual, for the ſpace of three houres, with very little intermiſſion, which ſith it was in the courſe that I ſhould paſſe, we were conſtrained that night to take vp our lodging vnder the rocks.

Muſcles.

A ſtrange whirlewinde.

The next morning the ſtorme being broken vp, we went forward in our attempt, and ſailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge, waſte, and deſert Iſles with mighty ſounds, and inlets paſſing betweene Sea and Sea. Whereupon we returned towards our ſhippes, and landing to ſtoppe a floud, wee found the burial of theſe miſcreants; we found of their fiſh in bagges, plaices, and caplin dried, of which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our ſhips, where wee found the people deſirous in their faſhion, of friendſhip and barter: our Mariners complained heauily againſt the people, and ſaid that my lenitie and friendly vſing of them gaue them ſtomacke to miſchiefe: for they haue ſtollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerouſly, they haue cut our boats from our ſterne, and nowe ſince your departure, with ſlings they ſpare vs not with ſtones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you ſtil indure theſe iniuries? It is a ſhame to beare them. I deſired them to be content, and ſaid, I doubted not but al ſhould be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the ſhore, the people following mee in their Canoas: I tolled them on ſhore, and vſed them with much courteſie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gaue ſome of them bracelets, & cauſed ſeuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly,

Great Iſlands.

Slings.

and ſome of them went into the top of the ſhip: and thus curteouſly vſing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no ſooner downe, but they began to practiſe their deuiliſh nature, and with ſlings threw ſtones very fiercely into the Moonelight, and ſtrake one of her men then boatſwaine, that he ouerthrew withall: whereat being moued, I changed my curteſie, and grew to hatred, my ſelf in my owne boate well manned with ſhot, and the barks boat likewiſe purſued them, and gaue them diuers ſhot, but to ſmall purpoſe, by reaſon of their ſwift rowing: ſo ſmally content we returned.

The 11. of this moneth there came fiue of them to make a new truce: the maſter of the Admiral came to me to ſhew me of their comming, and deſired to haue them taken and kept as priſoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he ſawe that the chiefe ringleader and maſter of miſchiefe was one of the fiue, he then was vehement to execute his purpoſe, ſo it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, and ſtriking his breſt offered a paire of gloues to ſell, the maſter offered him a knife for them: ſo two of thẽ came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was ſoone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made ſignes that he ſhould be ſet at libertie: within one houre after he came aboord the winde came faire, whereupon we weyed and ſet ſaile, and ſo brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes ſtill following our ſhip cloſe aboord, talked with him and made a kinde of lamentation, we ſtill vſing him wel with Yliaout, which was the common courſe of curteſie. At length this fellow aboord vs ſpake foure or fiue words vnto the other and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we ſuppoſe with heauie chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, ſignified his death. At length he became a pleaſant companion among vs. I gaue him a new ſute of frize after the Engliſh faſhion, becauſe I ſaw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyfull, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fiſhing tooles, and would make okam, and ſet his hand to a ropes end vpon occaſion. He liued with the dry Caplin that I tooke when I was ſearching in the pinnis, and did eate dry Newland fiſh.

One of the people taken which after dyed.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at ſea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the ſea, with praiſe giuen to God by ſeruice, was caſt ouerboord.

The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degres 8. minuts, we fell vpon a moſt mighty and ſtrange quantitie of yce in one intire maſſe, ſo bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall ſo very high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we ſuppoſed it to be land, and therefore ſent our pinneſſe off to diſcouer it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to vs all conſidering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to ſpeake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was neuer ſeene: and in this place we had very ſtickle and ſtrong currents.

A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.

We coaſted this mightie maſſe of yce vntill the 30 of Iuly, finding it a mighty barre to our purpoſe: the ayre in this time was ſo contagious and the ſea ſo peſtered with yce, as that all hope was baniſhed of proceeding: for the 24 of Iuly all our ſhrowds, ropes and ſailes were ſo froſen, and compaſſed with yce, onely by a groſſe fogge, as ſeemed to me more then ſtrange, ſith the laſt yeere I found this ſea free and nauigable, without impediments.

The nature of fogges.

Our men through this extremity began to grow ſicke and feeble, and withall hopeleſſe of good ſucceſſe: whereupon very orderly, with good diſcretion they intreated me to regard the ſtate of this buſines, and withall aduiſed me, that in conſcience I ought to regard the ſaftie of mine owne life with the preſeruation of theirs, and that I ſhould not through my ouerboldnes leaue their widowes and fatherleſſe children to giue me bitter curſes. This matter in conſcience did greatly moue me to regard their eſtates: yet conſidering the excellencie of the buſineſſe if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the laſt yeeres diſcouery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practiſe, I thought it would growe to my great diſgrace, if this action by my negligence ſhould grow into diſcredite: whereupon ſeeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleaſed his diuine maieſtie to moue my heart to proſecute that which I hope ſhal be to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Chriſtian minde. Whereupon falling into conſideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very ſtrong & ſufficient ſhip, yet by reaſon of her burthen was not ſo conuenient and nimble as a ſmaller bark, eſpecially in ſuch deſperate hazzards: further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers being at 100. li. the moneth, and that in doubtfull ſeruice: all the premiſſes conſidered with diuers other things, I determined to furniſh the Moonelight with reuictualling and ſufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God ſhould direct me. Whereupon I altered our courſe from the yce, and bare Eaſtſoutheaſt to recouer the next ſhore where this thing might be performed: ſo with fauourable winde it pleaſed God that the firſt of Auguſt we diſcouered the land in Latitude *66.* degrees, 33. min. and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees voyd of trouble without ſnow or ice.

The ſecond of Auguſt wee harboured our ſelues in a very excellent good road, where with all ſpeed we graued the Moonelight, and reuictualled her: wee ſearched this countrey with our pinneſſe while the barke was trimming, which William Eſton did: he found all this land to be onely Ilands, with a Sea on the Eaſt, a Sea on the Weſt, and a Sea on the North. In this place wee found it very hot, and wee were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did ſting grieuouſly. The people of this place at our firſt comming in caught a Seale, and with bladders faſt tied to him ſent him vnto vs with the floud, ſo as hee came right with our ſhippes, which we tooke as a friendly preſent from them.

Great heat.

The fift of Auguſt I went with the two Maſters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Eſton eſpied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them ſkinnes, darts, with diuers ſuperſtitious toyes, whereof wee diminiſhed nothing, but left vpon euery boat a ſilke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the ſixt of Auguſt, the people came vnto vs without feare, and did barter with vs for ſkinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Sauage aboord vs kept himſelfe cloſe, and made ſhew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being prouided, I departed from this lande the twelft of Auguſt at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermayd at an anker: the foureteenth ſailing Weſt about fiftie leagues, we diſcouered land, being in latitude *66.* degrees 19. minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Iland of yce, twelue leagues off the ſhore, being mored to the yce.

66. degrees 19. minutes.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of Auguſt we diſcouered land Northweſt from vs in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude *65.* degrees, hauing no land on the South. Here wee had great hope of a through paſſage.

Great hope of a paſſage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone wee againe diſcouered lande Southweſt and by South from vs, where at night wee were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obſeruation, we were in *64.* degrees 20. minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by preciſe ordinary care, wee had ſailed 15. leagues South and by Weſt, yet by art and more exact obſeruation, we found our courſe to be Southweſt, ſo that we plainely perceiued a great current ſtriking to the Weſt.

64. degr. 20. min.

A great current to the Weſt.

This land is nothing in ſight but Iſles, which increaſeth our hope. This nineteenth of Auguſt at ſixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to ſnow, and ſo continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, ſo that we were conſtrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the ſhore: In the morning being the twentieth of Auguſt, the fogge and ſtorme breaking vp, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and ſafe road and locke for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on ſhore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceiued that this land was Iſlands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, hauing a faire North northeaſt winde, with very faire weather: at ſix of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and ſo ſhaped our courſe to the South, to diſcouer the coaſt, whereby the paſſage may be through Gods mercy found.

Ilands.

We coaſted this land till the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, finding it ſtill to continue towards the South, from the latitude of *67.* to 57. degrees: we found marueilous great ſtore of birds, guls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glaſſe vpon the lee, to proue for fiſh, in which ſpace we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fiſhing, not being our purpoſe. This eight and twentieth hauing great diſtruſt of the weather, we arriued in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 5*6.* degrees, and ſailed 10. leagues into the ſame, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both ſides: in this place wee continued vntil the firſt of September, in which time we had two very great ſtormes. I landed, & went ſixe miles by gheſſe into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here wee ſaw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great ſtore of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes or the like, wilde geeſe, ducks, black birdes, ieyes, thruſhes, with other kinds of ſmall birds. Of the partridge and fezant we killed great ſtore with bow and arrowes: in this place at the harborough mouth we found great ſtore of cod.

They runne 8. dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees vpon the coaſt.

A harborough in 56. degrees.

Faire woods.

Store of cod.

The firſt of September at tenne a clocke wee ſet ſaile, and coaſted the ſhore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we ſtrooke ſaile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fiſh, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, ſo that the hooke was no ſooner ouerboord, but preſently a fiſh was taken. It was the largeſt and the beſt fed fiſh that euer I ſawe, and diuers fiſher men that were with me ſayd that they neuer ſaw a more ſuaule or better ſkull of fiſh in their liues: yet had they ſeene great abundance.

A perfect hope of the paſſage about 54. degrees and an halfe.

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great ſtore of Iſles, the countrey low land, pleaſant and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the paſſage, finding a mightie great ſea paſſing betweene two lands Weſt. The South land to our iudgement being nothing but Iſles: we greatly deſired to goe into this ſea, but the winde was directly againſt vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine ſand. In this place is foule and fiſh mightie ſtore.

Two of our men ſlaine by the Sauages.

The ſixt of September hauing a faire Northnorthweſt winde, hauing trimmed our Barke we purpoſed to depart, and ſent fiue of our ſailers yong men a ſhore to an Iſland, to fetch certaine fiſh which we purpoſed to weather, and therefore left it al night couered vpon the Iſle: the brutiſh people of this countrey lay ſecretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the ſudden aſſaulted our men: which when we perceiued, we preſently let ſlip our cables vpon the halſe, and vnder our foreſaile bare into the ſhoare, and with all expedition diſcharged a double muſket vpon them twiſe, at the noyſe whereof they fled: notwithſtanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were ſlaine with their arrowes, and two grieuouſly wounded, of whom at this preſent we ſtand in very great doubt, onely one eſcaped by ſwimming, with an arrow ſhot thorow his arme. Theſe wicked miſcreants neuer offered parly or ſpeech, but preſently executed their curſed fury.

This preſent euening it pleaſed God further to increaſe our ſorowes with a mighty tempeſtuous ſtorme, the winde being Northnortheaſt, which laſted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our ſhip, and purpoſed to cut downe our maſts, the cable of our ſhut-anker brake, ſo that we onely expected to be driuen on ſhoare among theſe Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe diſtreſſe the mightie mercie of God, when hope was paſt, gaue vs ſuccour, and ſent vs a faire lee, ſo as we recouered our anker againe and newe mored our ſhip: where we ſaw that God manifeſtly deliuered vs: for the ſtraines of one of our cables were broken, and we only roade by an olde iunke. Thus being freſhly mored a new ſtorme aroſe, the winde being Weſtnorthweſt, very forcible, which laſted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a faire Weſtnorthweſt winde we departed with truſt in Gods mercie, ſhaping our courſe for England, and arriued in the Weſt countrey in the beginning of October.

Maſter *Dauis* being arriued, wrote his letter to M. *VVilliam Sanderſon* of *London*, concerning his voyage, as followeth.

SIr, the Sunneſhine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: ſhe hath bene at Iſland, and from thence to Groenland, and ſo to Eſtotiland, from thence to Deſolation, and to our Marchants, where ſhe made trade with the people, ſtaying in the countrey twentie dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred ſeale ſkinnes, and an hundred and fortie halfe ſkinnes and pieces of ſkinnes. I ſtand in great doubt of the pinneſſe, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preſerue them, if it be his bleſſed will.

I haue now experience of much of the Northweſt part of the world, & haue brought the paſſage to that likelihood, as that I am aſſured it muſt bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. And further I can aſſure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. I hope I ſhall finde fauour with you to ſee your Card. I pray God it be ſo true as the Card ſhal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your ſkill in Nauigation ſhall be gaineful vnto you, although at the firſt it hath not proued ſo. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, deſiring no longer to liue, then I ſhall be yours moſt faithfully to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command

IOHN DAVIS.

The relation of the courſe which the *Sunſhine* a barke of fiftie tunnes, and the *Northſtarre* a ſmall pinneſſe, being two veſſels of the fleete of M. *Iohn Dauis*, helde after hee had ſent them from him to diſcouer the paſſage betweene *Groneland* and *Iſland*, written by *Henry Morgan* ſeruant to M. *Willliam Sanderſon* of *London*.

The ſeuenth day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure ſailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunſhine, the Mooneſhine, & the Northſtarre, In the Sunſhine were ſixteene men, whoſe names were theſe: Richard Pope Maſter, Marke Carter Maſters mate, Henry Morgan Purſer, George Draward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Iane, Hugh Hempſon, Richard Borden, Iohn Philpe, Andrew Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, Iohn Bruſkome, William Aſhe, Simon Ellis.

May.

Our courſe was Weſtnorthweſt the ſeuenth and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarroſe of Silley. Thus coaſting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dorſes: and our courſe was Southſouthweſt vntill ſixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our courſe was Northweſt. We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneſhine vntil we came to the latitude of 60. degrees: and there it ſeemed beſt to our Generall M. Dauis to diuide his fleete, himſelfe ſayling to the Northweſt, and to direct the Sunſhine, wherein I was, and the pinneſſe called the Northſtarre, to ſeeke a paſſage Northward betweene Groenland and Iſland to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let vs. So the ſeuenth day of Iune wee departed from them: and the ninth of the ſame we came to a firme land of yce, which we coaſted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of Iune: and the eleuenth day at ſixe of the clocke at night we ſaw land which was very high, which afterward we knew to be Iſland: and the twelft day we harboured there, and found many people: the land lyeth Eaſt and and by North in 66. degrees.

M. Dauis in the latitude of 60. deg. diuideth his fleete into 2. parts.

The 7. of Iune

Iſland deſcryed.

66. degrees.

Their commodities were greene fiſh, and Iſland lings, and ſtockfiſh, and a fiſh which is called Scatefiſh: of all which they had great ſtore. They had alſo kine, ſheep, and horſes, and hay for their cattell, and for their horſes. Wee ſaw alſo of their dogs. Their dwelling houſes were made on both ſides with ſtones, and wood layd croſſe ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfes of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of theſe ſtood hard by the ſhore. Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our Engliſh boates: and they had nayles for to naile them withall, and fiſh-hookes and other things for to catch fiſh as we haue here in England. They had alſo braſen kettles, and girdles and purſes made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other ſmall tooles as neceſſary as we haue. They drie their fiſh in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the top of their houſes. If we would goe thither to fiſhing more then we doe, we ſhould make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundreth greene fiſh in one morning. Wee found heere two Engliſh men with a ſhippe, which came out of England about Eaſter day of this preſent yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of vs, and brought vs two lambs. The Engliſh mans name was M. Iohn Roydon of Ipſwich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ſhip. And this is the ſumme of that which I obſerued in Iſland. We departed from Iſland the ſixteenth day of Iune in the morning, and our courſe was Northweſt, and we ſaw on the coaſt two ſmall barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but ſaw them a farre off. Thus we continued our courſe vnto the end of this moneth.

Their commodities.

Their dwellings.

Their boats.

M. Iohn Roydon of Ipſwich.

They departed from Iſland Northweſt.

The third day of Iuly we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and paſſed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the Maſter turned backe againe, and ſo away we went towards Groenland. And the ſeuenth day of Iuly we did ſee Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, becauſe we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the ſhoares ſide: but we were within three leagues of the land, coaſting the ſame diuers dayes together. The ſeuenteenth day of Iuly wee ſaw the place which our Captaine M. Iohn Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Deſolation, where we could not goe on ſhore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewiſe troubled with yce, and went in amongſt it at three of the clocke in the morning. After wee had cleared our ſelues thereof, wee ranged all along the coaſt of Deſolation vntill the ende of the aforeſayd moneth.

Iuly.

Groneland diſcouered.

The land of Deſolation.

Groenland coaſted from the 7. till the laſt of Iuly.

The third of day Auguſt we came in ſight of Gilberts ſound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where wee were appoynted to meete our Generall and the reſt of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

Auguſt.

The 4. day in the morning the Maſter went on ſhore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boats aboord of the ſhip. And in the afternoone I went on ſhore with 6. of our men, and there came to vs ſeuen of them when we were on land. We found on ſhore three dead people, and two of them had their ſtaues lying by them, and their olde ſkinnes wrapped about them, and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. We alſo ſaw their houſes neere the Sea ſide, which were made with pieces of wood on both ſides, and croſſed ouer with poles and then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hilles: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Iſlands.

The houſes of Gronland.

The 21. of Auguſt the Maſter ſent the boate on ſhore for wood with ſixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on ſhore to them, & they went about to kill them as we thought, for they ſhot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ſhip did ſee them goe on ſhore to our men: whereupon the Maſter ſent the pinneſſe after them, and when they ſaw the pinneſſe comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Maſter of the pinneſſe did ſhoote off a caliuer to them the ſame time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did waue vs on ſhore to play with them at the football, and ſome of our company went on ſhore to play with them, and our men did caſt them downe as ſoone as they did come to ſtrike the ball. And thus much of that which we did ſee and do in that harborough where we arriued firſt.

Our men play at footeball with the Sauages.

The 23. day wee departed from the Merchants Iſle, where wee had beene firſt, and our courſe from thence was South & by Weſt, and the wind was Northeaſt, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, vntill we came to another harborough.

The 24. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforeſayd new harborow, and as wee came in, we did ſee dogs running vpon the Iſlands. When we were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborough, and where we rode, we had ſandie ground. We ſaw no wood growing, but found ſmall pieces of wood vpon the Iſlands, & ſome ſmall pieces of ſweete wood among the ſame. We found great Harts hornes, but could ſee none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages I cannot tell of what beaſts they be.

Sweete wood found.

The ſtones that we found in the countrey were black, and ſome white, as I thinke they be of no value, neuertheleſſe I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of Auguſt we departed from this harborough towards England, & the wind tooke vs contrary, ſo that we were faine to go to another harborough the ſame day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seale ſkins, and after we receiued theſe ſkins of them, the Maſter ſent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they ſawe they could not take it from vs, they ſhot with their dartes at vs, and ſtroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Filpe ſhot one of them into the breſt with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the ſhipboate, and they ſhot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the ſhipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the breſts, and he that was aboord our boat, was ſhot in with an arrow, and hurt with a ſword, and beaten with ſtaues, whome our men caſt ouerboord, but the people caught him and carried him on ſhore vpon their boates, and the other two alſo, and ſo departed from vs. And three of them went on ſhore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and thoſe three came away from their dogs, and preſently one of their dogs came ſwimming towards vs hard aboord the ſhip, whereupon our Maſter cauſed the Gunner to ſhoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and ſo the dog turned backe to land, and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ſhip, but they would not come to vs as they did come before.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Sauages and our men.

The 31. of Auguſt we departed from Gylberts ſound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

The 2. of September we loſt ſight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone.

September.

The third day at night we loſt ſight of the Northſtarre our pinneſſe in a very great ſtorme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we ſhaped our courſe the 5. day Southſoutheaſt, and ſayling vntill the 27. of the ſayd moneth, we came in ſight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The pinneſſe neuer returned home.

The 30. day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had ſight of the Iſle of Wight.

The 3. we coaſted all along the ſhore, and the 4. and 5.

The 6. of the ſayd moneth of October wee came into the riuer of Thames as high as Ratliffe in ſafetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northweſtward, made by M. *Iohn Dauis* Gentleman, as chiefe Captaine & Pilot generall, for the diſcouery of a paſſage to the Iſles of the *Moluccas*, or the coaſt of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by M. *Iohn Ianes*.

May.

The 19. of this preſent moneth about midnight wee weyed our ankers, ſet ſayle, and departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunneſhine of London, and the Clincher called the Helene of Londō: thus in Gods name we ſet forwards with the wind at Northeaſt a good freſh gale. About 3. houres after our departure, the night being ſomewhat thicke with darkneſſe, we had loſt the pinneſſe: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the Maſter of the Sunſhine to ſtand to Seawards, and ſee if we could deſcry them, we bearing in with the ſhore for Plimmouth. At length we deſcried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cauſe was: they anſwered that the tiller of their helme was burſt. So ſhaping our courſe Weſtſouthweſt, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet ſome of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that ſhe was a Clincher; neuertheleſſe we put our truſt in God.

The 21 we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coaſt of Spaine, which was afrayd that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference, we deſired the Maſter to carie our letters for London directed to my vncle Sanderſon, who promiſed vs a ſafe deliuerie. And after wee had heaued them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made faſt our letters, before they could get them into the ſhip, they fell into the Sea, and ſo all our labour and theirs alſo was loſt; notwithſtanding they promiſed to certifie our departure at London, and ſo we departed, and the ſame day we had ſight of Silley. The 22. the wind was at Northeaſt by Eaſt with faire weather, and ſo the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we layd our ſhips on the Lee for the Sunneſhine, who was a romaging for a leake, they had 500. ſtrokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northweſt.

The 26. and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the pinneſſes foremaſt was blowen ouerboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinneſſe, which was ſo much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea ſhe was like a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her becauſe ſhe could not ſaile for ſcant wind.

The 31. day our Captaine asked if the pinneſſe were ſtanch, Peerſon anſwered that ſhe was as ſound and ſtanch as a cup. This made vs ſomething glad, when we ſawe ſhe would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

Iune.

The firſt 6. dayes wee had faire weather: after that for 5. dayes wee had fogge and raine, the winde being South. The 12. wee had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunneſhine and the Maſter could not agree: the Mariners would goe on their voyage a fiſhing, becauſe the yeere began to waſte: the Maſter would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the Maſter told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would ſhape ſome contrary courſe while he was aſleepe, and ſo he ſhould loſe vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

The 14. day we diſcouered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with ſnow. Here the wind was variable, ſometimes Northeaſt, Eaſtnortheaſt, and Eaſt by North: but we imagined our ſelues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the ſhore.

Land deſcried.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after noone, the people came preſently to vs after the old maner, with crying Ilyaoute, and ſhewing vs Seales ſkinnes. The 17. we began to ſet vp the pinneſſe that Peerſon framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18. Peerſon and the Carpenters of the ſhips began to ſet on the plankes. The 19. as we went about an Iſland, were found blacke Pumiſe ſtones, and ſalt kerned on the rockes very white and gliſtering. This day alſo the Maſter of the Sunneſhine tooke of the people a very ſtrong luſty yoong fellow.

Salt kerned on the rockes.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Iſland where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and tore the two vpper ſtrakes, and carried them away onely for the loue of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practiſe, we manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a ſhore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were ſo long before they came to ſhore, that our Captaine willed them to ſtay, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and layd the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had turned on the one ſide becauſe wee ſhould not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke againſt the arrowes which we ſhot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would ſaue a Sakers ſhot, doubting wee ſhould haue occaſion to fight with men of warre, and ſo ſhot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking ſtil when the Sauages that were hurt ſhould run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carrie away their bodies: wee had no ſooner ſhot off the piece, but the Maſter of the Sunneſhine manned his boate, and came rowing toward the Iſland, the very ſight of whom made each of them take that hee had gotten, and flee away as faſt as they could to another Iſland about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Iſle. when we came on ſhore, and ſaw how they had ſpoiled the boat, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth ſhould haue her to fiſh withall: whereupon ſhe was preſently carryed aboord, and ſtowed.

Now after this trouble, being reſolued to depart with the firſt wind, there fell out another matter worſe then all the reſt, and that was in this maner. Iohn Churchyard one whom our Captaine had appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and maſter Bruton, and told them that the good ſhip which we muſt all hazard our liues in, had three hundred ſtrokes at one time as ſhe rode in the harbour: This diſquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and diſgrace, and ſo being all agreed, wee purpoſed to liue and die together, and committed our ſelues to the ſhip. Now the 21. hauing brought all our things aboord, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we ſet ſaile and departed from thoſe Iſles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ſhips being all now at Sea, and wee ſhaping our courſe to goe, coaſting the land to the Northwards vpon the Eaſterne ſhore, which we called the ſhore of our Marchants, becauſe there we met with people which traffiqued with vs, but here wee were not without doubt of our ſhip.

Iſles in 64. degrees.

Store of Whales in 67. degrees.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee had great ſtore of Whales, and a kinde of ſea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about ſixe of the clocke at night, we eſpied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the firſt they had bene two great Seales, vntill wee ſawe their oares gliſtering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as faſt as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many ſignes: and at laſt they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made ſtore of, but when he ſaw a knife, he let it go, being more deſirous of the knife then of his dart: theſe people continued rowing after our ſhip the ſpace of 3. howres.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we deſcried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the ſhore: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, kniues, bels, looking glaſſes, and other ſmall trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would ſell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the ſhore. Wee had but few ſkinnes of them, about 20. but they made ſignes to vs that if wee would goe to the ſhore, wee ſhould haue more ſtore of Chichſanege: they ſtayed with vs till 11. of the clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

72. deg. 12. min.

The great variation of the compaſſe.

London coaſt.

The 28. and 29. were foggie with clowdes, the 30. day wee tooke the heigth, and found our ſelues in 72. degrees and 12. minutes of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degrees aboue the Horizon. At midnight the compaſſe ſet to the variation of 28. degrees to the Weſtward. Now hauing coaſted the land, which wee called London coaſt, from the 21. of this preſent, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Weſtwards and Northwards, the land on ſtarboord ſide Eaſt from vs, the winde ſhifted to the North, whereupon we left that ſhore, naming the ſame Hope Sanderſon, and ſhaped our courſe Weſt, and ranne 40. leagues and better without the ſight of any land.

Betweene Groenland & the North of America about 40. leagues.

Iuly.

Iuly.

THe ſecond of Iuly wee fell with a mightie banke of yce Weſt from vs, lying North and South, which banke wee would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not ſuffer vs, ſo that we were faine to coaſt it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might haue run ſo farre Weſt till wee had found land, or els to haue beene thorowly reſolued of our pretended purpoſe.

A mightie banke of yce lying North and South.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we ſought to the Northwards, but the wind croſſed vs.

The 4. was foggie: ſo was the 5. alſo with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide, as we thought, which falling out otherwiſe, cauſed vs to returne after we had ſtayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and ſo was the 9. The 10, we coaſted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coaſted againe the yce, hauing the wind at Northnorthweſt. The 13. bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the ſhoare and come to an anker, and to ſtay 5. or 6. dayes for the diſſoluing of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes ſhining vpon it, would make a quicke diſpatch, that we might haue a further ſearch vpon the Weſterne ſhore. Now when we were come to the Eaſterne coaſt, the water ſomething deepe, and ſome of our companie fearefull withall, we durſt not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people ſeeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being ſomewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few ſkinnes and dartes, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they poynting to the ſhore, as though they would ſhew vs ſome great friendſhip: but we little regarding their curteſie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and ſo departed.

Extreme heate of the Sunne.

The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was ſome fault either in the barke, or the ſet of ſome current, for wee were driuen ſixe points beyond our courſe Weſt. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce Weſt from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had ſight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the ſtreights which we diſcouered the firſt yeere. The 20. wee trauerſed in the mouth of the ſtreight, the wind being at Weſt, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. wee coaſted the Northerne coaſt of the ſtreights. The 23. hauing ſayled threeſcore leagues Northweſt into the ſtreights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Iſles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the ſame The Earle of Cumberlands Iſles, where riding at anker, a Whale paſſed by our ſhip and went Weſt in among the Iſles. Heere the compaſſe ſet at thirtie degrees Weſtward variation. The 23. wee departed, ſhaping our courſe Southeaſt to recouer the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Maſter Bruton and ſome of the Mariners went on ſhoare to courſe dogs, where they found many Graues and Trane ſpilt on the ground, the dogs being ſo fat that they were ſcant able to run.

They were driuen Weſt ſixe points out of their courſe in 67. degrees, 45. minutes.

Mount Raleigh.

The Earle of Cumberlands Iſles.

The variation of the compaſſe 30. deg. Weſtward.

The 26. wee had a prety ſtorme, the winde being at Southeaſt. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the ſtreights, hauing coaſted the South ſhore, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone wee coaſted a banke of yce, which lay on the ſhore, and paſſed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay between 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumlies Inlet. We had oftentimes as, we ſailed alongſt the coaſt, great ruttes, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of ſome great water through a bridge.

The land trendeth from this place Southweſt and by South.

My lord Lumleys Inlet.

The 31. as we ſayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of thoſe ouerfals with a freſh gale of wind, and bearing all our ſailes, wee looking vpon an Iſland of yce betweene vs and the ſhoarre, had thought that our barke did make no way, which cauſed vs to take markes on the ſhoare: at length wee perceiued our ſelues to goe very faſt, and the Iſland of yce which we ſaw before, was carried very forcibly with the ſet of the current faſter then our ſhip went. This day and night we paſſed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

Warwicks Foreland.

A very forcible current Weſtward.

Auguſt.

Chidleys cape.

The lord Darcies Iſland.

THe firſt of Auguſt hauing coaſted a banke of ice which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfe, we fell with the Southermoſt cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, ſo were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: ſo was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 we had a friſking gale at Weſtnorthweſt. The 11 faire. The 12 we ſaw fiue deere on the top of an Iſland, called by vs Darcies Iſland. And we hoiſed out our boat, and went aſhore to them, thinking to haue killed ſome of them. But when we came on ſhore, and had courſed them twiſe about the Iſland, they tooke the ſea and ſwamme towards Iſlands diſtant from that three leagues. When we perceiued that they had taken the ſea we gaue them ouer becauſe our boat was ſo ſmall that it could not carrie vs, and rowe after them, they ſwamme ſo faſt: but one of them was as bigge as a good prety Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Oxe feet. Here vpon this Iſland I killed with my piece a gray hare.

The 13 in the morning we ſaw three or foure white beares, but durſt not go on ſhore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we ſtroke a rocke ſeeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake: and this day we were in 54 degrees of latitude.

The 14 we ſtopt our leake in a ſtorme not very outragious, at noone.

The fiſhing place betweene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.

The 15 being almoſt in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ſhips, nor (according to their promiſe) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to ſet vp, and they proteſted to do ſo vpon euery head land, Iſland or cape, within twenty leagues euery way off from their fiſhing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I ſay we ſhaped our courſe homewards for England, hauing in our ſhip but litle wood, and halfe a hogſhead of freſh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerſon, for he feared to be put out of his office of ſtewardſhip: but becauſe euery man was ſo willing to depart, we conſented to returne for our owne countrey: and ſo we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southweſt.

Abundance of whales in 52 degrees.

The 17 we met a ſhip at ſea, and as farre as we could iudge it was a Biſkaine: we thought ſhe went a fiſhing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we ſaw very many.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at Weſt.

The 19 faire alſo, with much winde at Weſt and by South.

They arriue at Dartmouth the 15 of September.

And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arriued the 15 of September in Dartmouth anno 1587, giuing thanks to God for our ſafe arriuall.

A letter of the ſayd M. *Iohn Dauis* written to M. *Sanderſon* of *London* concerning his forewritten voyage.

GOod M. Sanderſon, with Gods great mercy I haue made my ſafe returne in health, with all my company, and haue ſailed threeſcore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the ſea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The paſſage is moſt probable, the execution eaſie, as at my comming you ſhall fully know.

Yeſterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my ſhortneſſe.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which

by triall you ſhall beſt know,

IOHN DAVIS.

A trauerſe-booke

A TRAVERSE-BOOKE MADE BY M. IOHN DAVIS in his third voyage for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage. *Anno* 1587.

Moneth. May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Courſe.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The windes.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg.	Min.		
	19		W.S.W.weſterly.		50	20	N.E.	This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.
	20							
	21	25	W.S.W.weſterly.	50	50		N.E.	This day we deſcried Silly N.W. by W. from vs.
	22	15	W.N.W.	14			N.E.by E.	This day at noone we departed from Silly.
	22	6	W.N.W.	6			N.E.by E.	
	22	2	W.N.W.	2				
	23	15	N.W.by W.	18			N.E.	
	23	29	W.N.W.	26	50	40		The true courſe, diſtance, and latitude.
		3	W.N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		6	N.W.by W.	5			N.E.by N.	
		2	W.N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		12	W.N.W.	12			N.E.	
Noone the 24	24		W.n.w.Northerly.	25	51	16		The true courſe, diſtance and latitude.
		3	W.N.W.	3			N.N.E.	
		3	W.N.W.	2½			N.by E.	
		6	W.by N.	5			N.	
		6	W.by N.	5			N.	
		2	S.	½			N.	Now we lay vpon the lee for the Sunſhine, which had taken a leake of 500 ſtrokes in a watch.
Noone the 25	24		W.by N.	20	51	30		The true courſe, diſtance, and latitude.
		3	W.	2			N.N.W.	
		2	W.S.W.	2			N.W.	
		1	S.W.	1			W.N.W.	
		2	W.N.W.	1½			N.	
		3	W.N.W.	1½			N.	
		2					Calme.	
		4	W.N.W.	4			S.S.E.	
		5	W.	6			S.S.E.	
Noone the 26	24		W.by N.Weſterly	23	51	40		The true courſe, diſtance, &c.
		11	W.	16			S.S.E.	
		6	W.N.W.	2			S.S.E.	We lay at hull, with much winde, raine, and fogg.
		7	W.	5			S.E.	
Noone the 27	24		W. northerly.	22				The common courſe ſuppoſed.
Noone the 28	24		W.	20	52	12	E.S.E.	We towed the pinneſſe 18 houres of this day.
Noone the 28	28		W.by n.Northerly.	43	52	13		The true courſe, diſtance, &c.
Noone the 29	24		N.W.	30			S.by E.	
		6	N.W.	10			S.	
		2	N.by W.	2			W.by N.	
		3	W.by N.	3			W.by S.	
		12	N.W.	12			S.S.W.	
Noone the 30	48		N.W.by N.	65	54	50		The true courſe, &c.
		9	N.W.	12			S.W.	

Moneth May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Courſe.	Leagues	Eleuation of the pole. Deg	Min	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
		9	N.W. by W.	12			S.S.W.	
		2	W.N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		3	W. by N.	4			N.	
	30	24	W.n.w Northerly.	27	55	30		The true courſe, &c.
Iune	1	12	W.	10			N.N.W	
		9	N.W.	8			E.N.E.	
		2	N.W.	2;			E.N.E.	
	1	24	W n.w. Weſterly.	17	55	45		The true courſe.&c.
		12	N.W.	16			E.S.E.	
		6	N.W.	7			S.	
		6	N.W.	8			S.S.W.	
Noone the	2	24	N.W. Northerly.	32	56	55		The true courſe.&c.
Noone the	5	72	W. by S. ſoutherly.	45	56	20		The true courſe, &c. drawen from diuers trauerſes.
Noone the	6	24	S.W.	16			W.N.W.	
		7	S.W. by W.	6			W. by N.	
		5					Calme.	
		3	W.N.W.	1			S.	
Noone the	7	9	W.N.W.	12			S.	
		12	W.N.W.	20			S.	
		3	W.N.W.	4			S.	
Noone the	8	9	W.N.W.	7			S.	
		12	W.N.W.	5			S.	
Noone the	9	12	W.N.W.	13			S.E.	
Noone the	9	96	W. by N. northerly	86	57	30		The true courſe, diſtance, & latitude for 96 houres.
		2	W.N.W.	4			S.E.	
		3	W.N.W.	2			S.E.	
		6	W.N.W.	1			Calme.	
Noone the	10	12	W.N.W.	16,			E.	
		7	W.N.W.	12			E.	
		2	N.W.	2			E.	
Noone the	11	15	N.W.	18			E.N.E.	
		12	N.W.	12			E.N.E.	
		12	N.W.	13			E. by S.	
Noone the	12	72	N.w. by w. norther.	78	59	50		The true courſe, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	13	24	N n w. Weſterly.	26	60	58	E. by N.	
Noone the	14	24	N.N.W.	32	62	30	N.E.	This day in the morning at fiue of the clocke we diſcouered land bein ſtant from vs at the neereſt place ſixteene leagues. This land in general Northweſt and to the Weſtwards, being very mountainous. The wind this day variable, and the aire ſometime foggie, and ſometime cleere. foreſayd land bare from vs (ſo neere as we could iudge) North, N and Southeaſt.
		0	W.N.W.	7			N.	
		3	N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		3	N.W. by N.	3			N.E. by N.	
	15	9	N.N.W.	8.			N.E.	
Noone the	15	24	N.W. Northerly.	22	62	20		The true courſe,&c.
Noone the	16	24	N.N.E. Eaſterly.	14	64			The true courſe, &c. This 16 of Iune at 5 of the clocke in the aftern being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to an among many low iſlands which lay before the high land. The 17 of Iu ſet vp our pinneſſe. The 20 ſhe was ſpoiled by the Sauages. At midni the 21 of Iune wee departed from this coaſt, our two barks for their fiſ voyage, and my ſelfe in the pinneſſe for the diſcouery. From midnight we ſhaped our courſe as followeth.
	17							
	20							
* At midnight ÿ	21	8	W.N.W.	7			S.E.	
Noone the	22	4	N.W.	6			S.E.	
		13	N.W.	18			S.E	
		11	N.	13			S.E.	At this time we ſaw great ſtore of whales.
Noone the	23	36	N.W. by N.	42	65	40		The true courſe.&c.

Noone

Moneth. Iune.	Dayes.	Houres.	Courſe.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg	Min.		
Noone the	24	24	N. by E. Northerly	41	67	40	S.S.E.	The true courſe, &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of Iune at 6 of the clocke at night we met two ſauages at ſea in their ſmall canoas, vnto whom we gaue bracelets, and nailes, for ſkins & birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from vs. The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came vnto vs 30 ſauages 20 leagues off the ſhore, intreating vs to goe to the ſhore. We had of them fiſh, birds, ſkinnes, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, kniues &c. They remained with vs foure houres, and departed.
	25							
Noone the	20	48	N.				S.	
		3	N.W.	2			S.W.	
		7	N.N.E.	10			S.	
		6	N.	8			S.W.	
		8	W.N.W.	5			S.E.	
Noone the	27	72	N. Weſterly.	52	70	4		The true courſe,&c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	30	72	N.	42	72	12		The true courſe,&c. Since the 21 of this moneth I haue continually coaſted the ſhore of Gronland, hauing the ſea all open towards the Weſt, and the land on yͤ ſtarboord ſide Eaſt from me. For theſe laſt 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot and very calme, the Sun being 5 degrees aboue the horizon at midnight. The compaſſe in this place varieth 28 degrees toward yͤ Weſt.
	30							
Iuly.	1	20	W. by S. Weſterly	44	71	36	N.W. by N	The true courſe, &c. This day at noone wee coaſted a mighty banke of ice Weſt from vs.
	2	24	S.E.	12	71	9		
Noone the	3	8	N.N.W.	11	71	40	N.	This day we fell againe with the ice, ſeeking to double it out by the North.
Noone the	5	48	S.S.E.	36	70		N.	The true courſe,&c.
	6	24	S.S.W.	22	69		Variable.	The true courſe,&c. This 6 of Iuly we put our barke thorow the ice, ſeeing the ſea free on the Weſt ſide: and hauing ſailed 5 leagues Weſt, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not paſſe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our ſelues the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and ſo recouered the ſea through Gods fauour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.
	7							
	8							
Noone the	9	72	E.S.E.	7	68	50	Calme.	The true courſe,&c.
Noone the	10	24	S.E. by S.	8	68	30	E. by N.	The true courſe,&c. This day we coaſted the ice.
Noone the	11	24	E.N.E.	11½	68	45	Variable.	The true courſe,&c.
Noone the	12	24	S.S.E.	16	68		N.N.W.	The true courſe,&c.
	13	24	E. by S.	20			S.	This day the people came to vs off the ſhore, and bartered with vs. Being within the iſles, & not finding good ankorage, we bare off againe into the ſea.
Noone the	14	24	W. by N.	11	67	50	S.	The true courſe.&c.
Noone the	15	24	W.S.W.	5	67	45	E.	The true courſe,&c. This day a great current ſet vs Weſt 6 points from our courſe.
Noone the	16	24	S.W. by W. weſterly	22	67	10	S.	The true courſe,&c. This day we fell wͭ a mighty banke of ice Weſt of vs.
Noone the	18	48	S. by W.	30	65	33	N. fog.	The true courſe,&c. Collected by diuers experiments.
Noone the	19	24	W. ſoutherly.	12	65	20	S. fog.	The true courſe. &c. This 19 of Iuly at one a clocke in the afternoone we had ſight of the land of Mount Ralegh, and by 12. of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights, which (by Gods helpe) I diſcouered the firſt yere.
	20							The 20 day wee trauerſed in the mouth of the ſayd Streights with a contrary winde, being Weſt, and faire weather.
	23							This 23 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, hauing ſailed 60 leagues Northweſt, we ankered among an huge number of iſles lying in the bottome of the ſayd ſuppoſed paſſage, at which place the water riſeth 4 fadome vpright. Here as we rode at anker, a great whale paſſed by vs, and ſwam Weſt in among the iſles. In this place a S.W. by W. moone maketh a full ſea. Here the compaſſe varied 30 degrees.
	24							The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we ſet ſaile, departing from this place, and ſhaping our courſe S.E. to recouer the maine Ocean againe.
	25							This 25 we were becalmed almoſt in the bottome of the Streights, & had the weather maruellous extreame hot.
	26						S.E.	This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke ſtorme.
	27						S.	Being ſtill in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.
Noone the	29				64			At this preſent we got cleere of the Streights, hauing coaſted the South ſhore, the land trending from hence S.W. by S.
Noone the	30	24	S.S.W.	22	63			This day we coaſted the ſhore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Alſo this 30 of Iuly in the afternoone we croſſed ouer the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or paſſage, being 20 leagues broad, and ſituate betweene 62 & 63 degrees. In which place we had 8 or 9 great races, currents or ouerfals, lothſomly crying like the rage of the waters vnder London bridge, and bending their courſe into the ſayd gulfe.

This

Moneth	Dayes.	Houres.	Courſe.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde	THE DISCOVRSE.
Iuly.					Deg.	Min.		
	31	24	S. by W.	27	62		N.W.	This 31 at noone, comming cloſe by a foreland or great cape, we fell mighty race, where an iſland of ice was carried by the force of the current faſt as our barke could ſaile with lum winde, all ſailes bearing. This cape it was the moſt Southerly limit of the gulfe which we paſſed ouer the 30 of this moneth, ſo was it the North promontory or firſt beginning of very great inlet, whoſe South limit at this preſent wee ſaw not. Which or gulfe this afternoone, and in the night, we paſſed ouer: where to our admiration we ſaw the ſea falling downe into the gulfe with a mighty and roring, and with diuers circular motions like whirlepooles, in ſuch forcible ſtreames paſſe thorow the arches of bridges.
Auguſt								
Noone the	1	24	S.E. by S.	16	61	10	W.S.W.	The true courſe, &c. This firſt of Auguſt we fell with the promontory of the ſayd gulfe or ſecond paſſage, hauing coaſted by diuers courſes for our ſafegard, a great banke of the ice driuen out of that gulfe.
Noone the	3	48	S.S.E.	16	60	26	Variable.	
Noone the	6	72	S.E. Southerly.	22	59	35	Variable to calme.	The true courſe, &c.
	7	24	S.S.E.	22	58	40	W.S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	8	24	S.E.	13	58	12	W. fogge.	The true courſe, &c.
	9	24	S. by W.	13	57	30	Variable & calme.	The true courſe, &c.
	10	24	S.S.E.	17	56	40	S.W. by W.	The true courſe, &c.
	11	24	S.E. eaſterly.	40	55	13	W.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	12	24	S.E. eaſterly.	20	54	32	W.S.W.	The true courſe. &c.
	13	24	S.S.E.	4	54		N.W.	This day ſeeking for our ſhips that went to fiſh, we ſtroke on a rocke, among many iles, and had a great leake.
Noone the	14	24	S.S.E.	28	52	40	N.W.	This day we ſtopped our leake in a ſtorme. The 15 of Auguſt at noone, in the latitude of 52 degrees 12. min. and 16 leagues from the ſhore, we our courſe for England, in Gods name, as followeth.*
*Noone yͤ	15				52	12	S.S.W.	The true latitude.
	16	20	E.ſ.e. halfe point ſ.	50	51		S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	17	24	E. by S.	30	50	40	S.	The true courſe, &c. This day vpon the Banke we met a Biſcainer either for the Grand bay or for the paſſage. He chaſed vs.
	18	24	E. by N. northerly.	49	51	18	W.	The true courſe. &c.
	19	24	E. halfe point north.	51	51	35	Variable W. & S.	The true courſe, &c.
	20	24	E.S.E.	31	50	50	S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
Noone the	22	48	E. by N.	68	51	30	S.S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	23	24	E. by N. Northerly	33	51	52	S.	The true courſe, &c.
	24	24	E. by N.	31	52	10	Variable.	The true courſe. &c. This 24 of Auguſt obſeruing the variation, the compaſſe to vary towards the Eaſt, from the true Meridian, one
Noone the	27	72	E. Northerly.	40	52	22	Variable & calme.	The true courſe, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	29	48	E.S.E.	47	51	28	Variable W. & N.	The true courſe, &c.
Noone the	31	48	S.e. by e. Eaſterly.	14	51	0	Variable.	The true courſe, &c.
September	2	48	E. Southerly	65	51		N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	3	24	E. by S. Eaſterly.	24	50	50	W.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	4	24	S.E. by E.	20	50	21	N.N.E.	The true courſe, &c.
	5	24	S.E. by E.	18	49	48	N.N.E.	The true courſe, &c. Now we ſuppoſed our ſelues to be 55 leagues
	6	24	E. by S.	15	49	40	N.	The true courſe, &c.
	7	24	E.S.E.	20	49	15	N.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	8	24	N.E.	18	49	40		
	9	24	W.S.W.	7	49	42		
	10	24	S.E. by E.	8	49	28	Variable.	
	11	24	N.E. by E.	10	49	45	Variable.	
	12	24	N.W. by W.	6	50		N.E.	
	13	24	E. by S. ſoutherly.	15	49	47	N.E.	
	15							This 15 of September 1587 we arriued at Dartmouth.

Vnder the title of the *houres*, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the ſumme or caſting vp of ſo many other dayes and parts of dayes going next before, as conteine the foreſayd ſumme.

A report of Maſter *Iohn Dauis* of his three Voyages made for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, taken out of a Treatiſe of his, Intituled The worlds Hydrographicall deſcription.

NOw there onely reſteth the North parts of America, vpon which coaſt my ſelfe haue had moſt experience of any in our age: for thriſe I was that waye imployed for the diſcouery of this notable paſſage, by the honourable care and ſome charge of Syr Francis Walſingham kinght, principall ſecretary to her Maieſtie, with whom diuers noble men and worſhipfull marchants of London ioyned in purſe and willingneſſe for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendleſſe, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

The 1. voyage.

In my firſt voyage not experienced of the nature of thoſe climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that paſſage was to be ſearched, I ſhaped a Northerly courſe and ſo ſought the ſame toward the South, and in that my Northerly courſe I fell vpon the ſhore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues diſtant from the Durſeys Weſtnorthweſt Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with ſnow, no viewe of wood, graſſe or earth to be ſeene, and the ſhore two leagues off into the ſea ſo full of yce as that no ſhipping could by any meanes come neere the ſame. The lothſome view of the ſhore, and irkſome noyſe of the yce was ſuch, as that it bred ſtrange conceites among vs, ſo that we ſuppoſed the place to be waſt and voyd of any ſenſible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the ſame Deſolation: ſo coaſting this ſhore towards the South in the latitude of ſixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the Weſt, I ſtill followed the leading thereof in the ſame height, and after fifty or ſixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I ſtill followed, and in thirtie leagues ſayling vpon the Weſt ſide of this coaſt by me named Deſolation, we were paſt al the yce and found many greene & pleaſant Iſles bordering vpon the ſhore, but the hils of the maine were ſtill couered with great quantities of ſnow, I brought my ſhip among thoſe Iſles and there mored to refreſh our ſelues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of ſixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countery hauing eſpyed our ſhippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, & holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would ſtrike their breaſts: we doing the like the people came aboard our ſhippes, men of good ſtature, vnbearded, ſmall eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as ſignes would permit, we vnderſtood that towards the North and Weſt there was a great ſea, and vſing the people with kindenes in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they moſt deſired, we departed, and finding the ſea free from yce ſuppoſing our ſelues to be paſt al daunger we ſhaped our courſe Weſtnorthweſt thinking thereby to paſſe for China, but in the latitude of ſixtie ſixe degrees we fell with another ſhore, and there found another paſſage of twenty leagues broad directly Weſt into the ſame, which we ſuppoſed to be our hoped ſtraight, we entered into the ſame thirty or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor ſtreighten, then conſidering that the yeere was ſpent (for this was the fine of Auguſt) not knowing the length of the ſtraight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our beſt courſe to returne with notice of our good ſucceſſe for this ſmall time of ſearch. And ſo returning in a ſharpe fret of Weſterly windes the 29. of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting maſter Secretary Walſingham with the reſt of the honourable and worſhipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the ſecond yere to ſearch the bottome of this ſtraight, becauſe by all likelihood it was the place and paſſage by vs laboured for. In this ſecond attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the Weſt became aduenturers in the action, ſo that being ſufficiently furniſhed for ſixe moneths, and hauing direction to ſearch theſe ſtraights, vntill we found the ſame to fall into another ſea vpon the Weſt ſide of this part of America, we ſhould againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but ſhipping with trade might ſafely be conueied to China and the parts of Aſia. We departed from Dartmouth, and ariuing vpon the South part of the coaſt of Deſolation coaſted the ſame vpon his Weſt ſhore to the latitude of ſixetie ſixe degrees, and there ancored among the Iſles bordering vpon the ſame, where we refreſhed our ſelues, the people of this place came likewiſe vnto vs, by whom I vnderſtood through their ſignes that towards the North the ſea was large. At this place the chiefe ſhip whereupon I truſted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occaſions of diſcontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed, ſhee there forſook me. Then conſidering how I had giuen my faith and moſt conſtant promiſe to my worſhipfull good friend maſter William Sanderſon, who of all men was the greateſt aduenturer in that action, and tooke ſuch care for the performance thereof, that he hath to my

The 2. voyage.

knowledge at one time diſburſed as much money as any fiue others whatſoeuer out of his owne purſe, when ſome of the companie haue bene ſlacke in giuing in their aduenture: And alſo knowing that I ſhould looſe the fauor of M. Secretary Walſingham, if I ſhould ſhrink from his direction; in one ſmall barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderſon was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at theſe ſtraights followed the ſame 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Iſlands, where the water did ebbe and flow ſixe fadome vpright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by ſuch things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Chriſtians of Europe that had vſed that trade: in fine by ſearching with our boat, we found ſmall hope to paſſe any farther that way, and therefore recouered the ſea and coaſted the ſhore towards the South, and in ſo doing (for it was too late to ſearch towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent ſwiftneſſe, this we alſo thought might be a paſſage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Iſlands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but becauſe I was alone in a ſmall barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere ſpent, I entred not into the ſame, for it was now the ſeuenth of September, but coaſting the ſhore towardes the South wee ſaw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fiſhermen aboord our barke they all concluded that there was a great ſkull of fiſh, we being vnprouided of fiſhing furniture with a long ſpike nayle made a hooke, and faſtened the ſame to one of our ſounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more then fortie great Cods, the fiſh ſwimming ſo abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a ſmall portion of ſalt that we had, we preſerued ſome thirtie couple, or thereaboutes, and ſo returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walſingham the whole ſucceſſe of this attempt, he commanded me to preſent vnto the moſt honourable Lord high Treaſurour of England, ſome part of that fiſh: which when his Lordſhip ſaw, & heard at large the relation of this ſecond attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduiſing me to proſecute the action, of which his Lordſhip conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Weſterne marchants, and moſt of thoſe in London: yet ſome of the aduenturers both honorable & worſhipfull continued their willing fauor and charge, ſo that by this meanes the next yere two ſhippes were appointed for the fiſhing and one pinneſſe for the diſcouerie.

The North parts of America, all Iſlands.

The 3. voyage.

Departing from Darmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fiſhing, and there according to my direction I left the two ſhips to follow that buſines, taking their faithful promiſe not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which ſhould be in the fine of Auguſt, and ſo in the barke I proceeded for the diſcouerie: but after my departure, in ſixteene dayes the two ſhippes had finiſhed their voyage, and ſo preſently departed for England, without regard of their promiſe: my ſelfe not diſtruſting any ſuch hard meaſure proceeded for the diſcouerie, and followed my courſe in the free and open ſea betweene North and Northweſt to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might ſee America Weſt from me, and Gronland, which I called Deſolation, Eaſt: then when I ſaw the land of both ſides I began to diſtruſt it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithſtanding deſirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the paſſage enlarged, ſo that I could not ſee the Weſterne ſhore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great ſea, free from yce, coaſting the Weſterne ſhore of Deſolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fiſhes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-baſe and ſuch like, beſides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Feſant, Guls, Sea birds and other kindes of fleſh: I ſtill laboured by ſignes to know from them what they knew of any ſea toward the North, they ſtill made ſinges of a great ſea as we vnderſtood them, thē I departed from that coaſt, thinking to diſcouer the North parts of America: & after I had ſailed towards the Weſt 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was conſtrained to coaſt the ſame toward the South, not ſeeing any ſhore Weſt from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great ſea, free, large very ſalt and blew, & of an vnſearcheable depth: So coaſting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ſhips to fiſh, but found them not. Then being forſaken & left in this diſtreſſe referring my ſelf to the mercifull prouidence of God, I ſhaped my courſe for England, & vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this laſt diſcouery it ſeemed moſt manifeſt that the paſſage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reaſon of the Spaniſh fleet & vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted & neuer ſithens attempted. The cauſe why I vſe this particluar relation of all my proceedings for this diſcouery, is to ſtay this obiection, why hath not Dauis diſcouered this paſſage being thriſe that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this diſcouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderſon to his very great charge hath publiſhed, for the which he deſerueth great fauor & commendations.

The

The diſcouerie of the Iſles of *Friſland*, *Iſeland*, *Engroneland*, *Eſtotilaud*, *Drogeo* and *Icaria*: made by two brethren, namely M. *Nicholas Zeno*, and M. *Antonio* his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. *Franciſco Marcolino*.

IN the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named Meſſer Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and ſingular wiſedome, was called and elected gouernour in certaine common wealths of Italy: in the adminiſtration whereof he bore himſelfe ſo diſcretly, that he was beloued of all men, and his name greatly reuerenced of thoſe that neuer knew or ſaw his perſon. And amongſt ſundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grieuous ciuile diſſentions that aroſe among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwiſe, if by his graue aduiſe and great diligence they had not bene preuented, the matter was likely to breake out into hot broyles of warre. He was the firſt Podeſta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Conſtantinople in the yeere 1205 when our ſtate had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a ſonne named Meſſer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without iſſue, made his heire M. Andrea, the ſonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in him. He had a ſonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counſellour: of whom deſcended M. Pietro Captaine Generall of the league of the Chriſtians againſt the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his ſhield, in ſtead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the firſt, he bare a Dragon. He was father to M. Carlo Il grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall againſt the Genowayes in thoſe cruell warres, when as almoſt all the cheife Princes of Europe did oppugne and ſecke to ouerthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiancie and proweſſe, as Furius Camillus deliuered Rome, ſo he deliuered his country from the preſent perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and ſpoile vnto the enemie: wherefore he was afterward ſurnamed the Lyon, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the Lyon in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight and M. Antonio, the father of M. Dragon, of whom iſſued M. Caterino, the father M. Pietro da i Crocecchieri. This M. Pietro had ſonnes M. Caterino, that died the laſt yere, being brother vnto M. Franciſco, M. Carlo, M. Battiſta, and M. Vincenzo: Which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicolo, that is yet liuing.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight, being a man of great courage, after this aforeſaid Genouan warre of Chioggia that troubled ſo our predeceſſours, entred into a great deſire and fanſie to ſee the faſhions of the worlde and to trauell and acquaint himſelfe with the maners of ſundry nations and learne their languages, whereby afterwards vpon occaſions he might be the better able to doe ſeruice to his countrey, and purchaſe to himſelfe credite and honour. Wherefore he cauſed a ſhip to be made, and hauing furniſhed her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our ſeas and paſſing the ſtraites of Gibraltar, he ſailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean, keeping his courſe ſtill to the Northwards, with intent to ſee England and Flanders. Where being aſſalted in thoſe Seas by a terrible tempeſt, he was ſo toſſed for the ſpace of many dayes with the ſea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he diſcouered land, and not being able any longer to ſuſteine the violence of the tempeſt the ſhip was caſt away vpon the Iſle of Friſeland. The men were ſaued, and moſt part of the goods that were in the ſhip. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Iſland came running in great multitudes with weapons to ſet vpon M. Nicolo and his men, who being ſore weather-beaten and ouer-laboured at ſea, and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any reſiſtance at all, much leſſe to defend themſelues couragiouſly, as it behooued them in ſuch a dangerons caſe. And they ſhould haue bene doubtleſſe very diſcourteouſly intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not beene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who vnderſtanding that there was euen at that preſent a great ſhip caſt away vpon the Iſland, came runing at the noyſe and outcryes that they made againſt our poore Mariners, and driuing away the inhabitants, ſpake in Latine and aſked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiuing that they came from Italy and that they were men of the ſaid Countrey, he was ſurpriſed with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promiſing them all, that they ſhould receiue no diſcourteſie, and that they were come into a place where they ſhould be well vſed and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. This was a great Lord, and poſſeſſed certaine Iſlands called Porland, lying on the South ſide of Friſland, being the richeſt and moſt populous of all thoſe parts, his name was Zichmni: and beſide the ſaid little Iſlands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying ouer againſt Scotland.

The ſhip of M.N. Zeno caſt away vpon Friſland in Anno 1380.

A forraine prince happening to be in Friſland with armed men, when M. Zeno ſuffered ſhipwracke there came vnto him and ſpake Latine.

Zichmni prince of Porland or Duke of Zorani.

Of theſe North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongſt other antiquities I haue in my houſe, which although it be rotten through many yeeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to thoſe that are delighted in theſe things, it may ſerue for ſome light to the vnderſtanding of that, which without it cannot ſo eaſily be conceiued. Zichmni being Lord of thoſe Sygnories (as is ſaid) was a very warlike and valiant man and aboue all things famous in Sea cauſes. And hauing the yere before giuen the ouerthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Iſland, being deſirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to giue the attempt for the winning of Friſland, which is an Iſland much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore ſeeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement & diſcretion, and very expert both in ſea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commiſſion to goe aboord his Nauy with all his men, charging the captaine to honour him and in all things to vſe his counſaile.

Friſland the king of Norwayes.

This Nauy of Zichmni was of thirteene veſſels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the reſt ſmall barkes and one ſhip, with the which they ſayled to the Weſtwards and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Ilofe and diuers other ſmall Iſlands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the hauen of the towne named Saneſtol, they tooke certaine ſmall barks laden with fiſh. And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they ſtayed here but a while, and led on their courſe to the Weſtwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulfe or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Iſlandes and broken lands which they reduced al vnto the Signorie & poſſeſſion of Zichmni. Theſe ſeas, for as much as they ſailed, were in maner nothing but ſholds & rocks, in ſo much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleete in iudgement of all that were in it, had bene caſt away, ſo ſmall was the ſkill of Zichmnis men, in reſpect of ours, who had bene trained vp in the arte and practiſe of Nauigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleete hauing done ſuch things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counſaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderſtand what ſucceſſe Zichmni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemie: by reaſon of which victory, they ſent Embaſſadours from all parts of the Iſland to yeeld the countrey vp into his handes, taking downe their enſignes in euery towne and caſtle: they thought good to ſtay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very ſhortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many ſignes of gladneſſe ſhewed, as well for the victory by land, as for that by ſea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in ſuch ſort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great fauourer of valiant men and eſpecially of thoſe that could behaue themſelues well at ſea, cauſed M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after hauing commended him with many honourable ſpeeches, and prayſed his great induſtrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himſelfe to haue receiued an ineſtimable benefite, as the ſauing of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich & bountiful gifts. Then departing from thence they went in tryumphing maner toward Friſland, the chiefe citie of that Iſland, ſituate on the Southeaſt ſide of the Iſle, within a gulfe, as there are many in that Iſland. In this gulf or bay there is ſuch great abundance of fiſh taken, that many ſhips are laden therewith to ſerue Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

N. Zeno, made knight by Zichmni.

Ships laden with fiſh at Friſland, for Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmarke. But not to be proued that euer any came thence.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo ſent to M. Antonio his brother, requeſting that he would ſeeke ſome meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great deſire to trauaile as his brother, bought a ſhip, and directed his courſe that way: & after he had ſailed a great while and eſcaped many dangers, he arriued at length in ſafetie with M. Nicolo, who receiued him very ioyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in fleſh and blood, but alſo in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Friſland and dwelt there for the ſpace of 14 yeres, 4 yeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in ſuch grace and fauour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Nauy, and with great preparation of warre they were ſent forth for the enterpriſe of Eſtland, which lyeth vpon the coaſt betweene Friſland and Norway, where they did many dammages: but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with ſuch a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driuen vpon certaine ſholds: were a great part of their ſhips were caſt away, the reſt were ſaued vpon Griſland, a great Iſland but diſhabited. The king of Norway his fleete being taken with the ſame ſtorme, did vtterly periſh in thoſe ſeas: Whereof Zichmni hauing notice, by a ſhip of his enemies that was caſt by chance vpon Griſland, hauing repayred his fleet, and perceiuing himſelf Northerly neere vnto the Iſlands, determined to ſet vpon Iſland, which together with the reſt, was ſubiect

A letter ſent by M. N. Zeno, from Friſland to his brother M. Antonio in Venice.

The end of the firſt letter.

to the king of Norway: but he found the countrey ſo well fortified and defended, that his fleete being ſo ſmall, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And ſo he left that enterpriſe without performing any thing at all: and in the ſame chanels he aſſaulted the other Iſles called Iſlande, which are ſeuen, Talas, Broas, Iſcant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Bres: and hauing ſpoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine ſmall barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with thoſe few ſhips which were left he returned ſafe into Friſland. M. Nicolo remaining nowe in Bres, determined in the ſpring to go forth and diſcouer land: wherefore arming out three ſmall barkes in the moneth of Iuly, he ſayled to the Northwards, and arriued in Engroneland. Where he found a Monaſterie of Friers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that caſteth forth fire, like Veſuuius and Etna.

Engroneland. Preaching Fryers of Saint Thomas.

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monaſtery and the Fryers chambers, it commeth alſo into the kitchin ſo boyling hot, that they vſe no other fire to dreſſe their meate: and putting their breade into braſſe pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot ouen. They haue alſo ſmal gardens couered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the ſnow and colde, which in thoſe partes being ſituate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of ſundry ſorts, euen as in other temperate countries in their ſeaſons, in ſuch ſort that the rude and ſauage people of thoſe partes ſeeing theſe ſupernaturall effects, doe take thoſe Fryers for Gods, and bring them many preſents, as chickens, fleſh, and diuers other things, and haue them all in great reuerence as Lords. When the froſt and ſnowe is great, they heate their houſes in maner beforeſaid, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an inſtant temper the heate and cold at their pleaſure. In the buildings of the Monaſterie they vſe no other matter but that which is miniſtred vnto them by the fire: for they take the burning ſtones that are caſt out as it were ſparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are moſt enflamed, caſt water vpon them, whereby they are diſſolued and become excellent white lime and ſo tough that being contriued in building it laſteth for euer. And the very ſparkles after the fire is out of them doe ſerue in ſtead of ſtones to make walles and vautes: for being once colde they wil neuer diſſolue or breake, except they be cut with ſome iron toole, and the vautes that are made of them are ſo light that they need no ſuſtentacle or prop to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reaſon of theſe great commodities, the Fryers haue made there ſo many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to ſee. The couerts or rooſes of their houſes for the moſt part are made in maner following: firſt they rayſe vp the wall vp to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by little and litle in fourme of a vaut. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in thoſe partes, becauſe the climate (as I haue ſaide) is extreme colde: for the firſt ſnow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the ſpace of nine moneths, for ſo long dureth their winter. They feede of the fleſh of wilde foule and of fiſh: for wheras the warme water falleth into the ſea, there is a large and wide hauen, which by reaſon of the heate of the water, doeth neuer freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is ſuch concourſe and flocks of ſea foule and ſuch aboundance of fiſh, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, wherby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fiſh, and in a thouſand other neceſſarie affaires and buſines about the Monaſterie.

Winter of 9. moneths.

Their houſes are built about the hill on euery ſide, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting vpwards they goe narower and narower, leauing at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to giue light to the houſe, and the flore of the houſe is ſo hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Hither in the Summer time come many barkes from the Iſlands their about, and from the cape aboue Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Friers al maner of things that may be deſired, taking in change thereof fiſh, which they dry in the ſunne or in the cold, & ſkins of diuers kindes of beaſts. For the which they haue wood to burne and timber very artificially carued, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforeſaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them couet to trafficke with them, and ſo they without any trauell or expences haue that which they deſire. To this Monaſterie reſort Fryers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys, but the moſt part are of Iſlande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reaſon of the ſea being frozen, waiting for the ſpring of the yere to diſſolue the yce. The fiſhers boates are made like vnto a weauers ſhuttle: taking the ſkins of fiſhes, they faſhion them with the bones of the ſame fiſhes, and ſowing them together in many doubles they make them ſo ſure and ſubſtanciall, that it is miraculous to ſee, howe in tempeſts they will ſhut themſelues cloſe within and let the ſea and winde cary them they care not whether,

Trade in ſummer time from Trondon to S. Thomas Friers in Groneland.

Reſort of Fryers from Norway and Sueden, to the Monaſtery in Engroneland, called S. Tho.

M. Frobiſher brought theſe kinde of boates from theſe parts into England.

ther without any feare either of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driuen vpon any rocks, they remaine ſound without the leaſt bruſe in the world: & they haue as it were a ſleeue in the bottome, which is tyed faſt in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the ſleeue, then faſtening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and looſing the band beneath, they conuey the water forth of the boat: and this they doe as often as they haue occaſion, without any perill or impediment at all.

Moreouer, the water of the Monaſtery, being of ſulphurious or brimſtonie nature, is conueyed into the lodgings of the principall Friers by certaine veſſelles of braſſe, tinne, or ſtone, ſo hot that it heateth the place as it were a ſtoue, not carying with it any ſtinke or other noyſome ſmell.

Beſides this they haue another conueyance to bring hot water with a wall vnder the ground, to the end it ſhould not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great veſſel of braſſe that ſtandeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke & to water their gardens, & thus they haue from the hill the greateſt commodities that may be wiſhed: and ſo theſe Fryers employ al their trauaile and ſtudie for the moſt part in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but eſpecially handſome and commodious: neyther are they deſtitute of ingenious and painefull artificers for the purpoſe; for they giue very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and ſeedes they are very bountifull, and giue they care not what. So that there is great reſort of workemen and maſters in diuers faculties, by reaſon of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

In the Monaſtery of Saint Thomas moſt of them ſpake the Latine tongue. The end of the 2. letter.

The moſt of them ſpeake the Latine tongue, and ſpecially the ſuperiours and principals of the Monaſtery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh alſo particular deſcription of a riuer that he diſcouered, as is to be ſeene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being vſed & acquainted with theſe cruell coldes, fel ſicke, and a litle while after returned into Friſland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice, two ſonnes, M. Giouanni and M. Toma, who had two ſonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom deſcended the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

N. Zeno dyed in Friſland.

Now M. Nicolo being dead. M. Antonio ſucceeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour: and albeit he attempted diuers wayes, and made great ſupplication, he could neuer obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himſelf Lord of the ſea. Wherfore vſing alwayes the counſaile and ſeruice of M. Antonio, he determined to ſend him with certaine barks to the Weſtwards, for that towards thoſe parts, ſome of his fiſhermen had diſcouered certaine Iſlands very rich and populous: which diſcouery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, ſauing that we haue changed ſome old words, leauing the matter entire as it was.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fiſher boats, the which, a mightie tempeſt ariſing, were toſſed for the ſpace of many dayes very deſperately vpon the Sea, when at length, the tempeſt ceaſing, and the wether waxing faire, they diſcouered an Iſland called Eſtotiland, lying to the Weſtwards aboue 1000 Miles from Friſland, vpon the which one of the boats was caſt away, and ſixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place ſent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that vnderſtood the language of the fiſhermen, except one that ſpake Latine, who was alſo caſt by chance vpon the ſame Iſland, who in the behalfe of the king asked them what countreymen they were: and ſo vnderſtanding their caſe, rehearſed it vnto the king, who willed that they ſhould tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwiſe doe, dwelt fiue yeres in the Iſland, & learned the language, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Iſland, and reporteths that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle leſſe then Iſland, but farre more fruitfull, hauing in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there ſpring foure riuers that paſſe through the whole countrey.

The diſcouerie of Eſtotiland Weſtward. Sixe fiſhermen taken.

Fiſhermen of Friſland ſpeake Latine.

Sixe were fiue yeeres in Eſtotiland.

One of the fiſhers of Friſland, reporteth of Eſtotiland.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and haue all artes and faculties, as we haue: and it is credible that in time paſt they haue had trafficke with our men, for he ſaid, that he ſaw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this preſent do not vnderſtand: they haue a peculiar language, and letters or caracters to themſelues. They haue mines of all maner of mettals, but eſpecial they abound with gold. They haue their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furres, brimſtone & pitch: and he ſaith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They ſow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do vſe as we do wine. They haue mighty great woods, they make their buildings with wals, & there are many cities and caſtles. They build ſmall barks and haue ſayling, but they haue not the load ſtone, nor know not the vſe of the compaſſe. Wherefore theſe fiſhers were had in great eſtimation, inſo-

Eſtotiland rich, abounding with all the commodities of the world. Abundance of golde.

Trade from Eſtotiland, to Engroneland; Skins, brimſtone, and pitch: golde, corne, and beere, or ale. Many cities and caſtles.

much that the king ſent them with twelue barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had ſuch contrary weather, that they thought to haue periſhed in the ſea: but eſcaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the moſt part of them eaten by the Sauage people, which fed vpon mans fleſh, as the ſweeteſt meat in their iudgements that is.

A countrey called Dorgio.

But that fiſher with his fellowes ſhewing them the maner of taking fiſh with nets, ſaued their liues: and would goe euery day a fiſhing to the ſea and in freſh riuers, and take great abundance of fiſh and giue it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himſelfe ſo great fauour, that he was very well beloued and honoured of euery one.

The 6 fiſhermen of Friſland onely ſaued, by ſhewing the maner to take fiſh.

The fame of this man being ſpread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very deſirous to haue him with him, and to ſee how he vſed his miraculous arte of catching fiſh, in ſo much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end preuailing, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fiſherman was ſent vnto him with the reſt of his company. And for the ſpace of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in thoſe parts, he ſaith, that he was ſent in this order to more then 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongſt themſelues, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to haue him to dwell with them: ſo that wandring vp and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almoſt all thoſe parts. He ſaith, that it is a very great countrey & as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodneſſe, they goe all naked ſo that they are miſerably vexed with colde, neither haue they the wit to couer their bodyes with beaſts ſkins which they take in hunting, they haue no kinde of mettal, they liue by hunting, they cary certaine lances of wood made ſharpe at the point, they haue bowes, yͤ ſtrings wherof are made of beaſts ſkins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they haue gouernours & certaine lawes very diuers among themſelues. But the farther to the Southweſtwards, the more ciuiltie there is, the ayre being ſomewhat temperate, ſo that there they haue cities and temples to idols, wherein they ſacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they haue there ſome knowledge and vſe of gold and ſiluer.

The chiefeſt of the 6 fiſhers, ſpecified before and his companions.

In the ſpace of 13 yeeres he ſerued 25 lords of Drogio.

Now this fiſherman hauing dwelt ſo many yeeres in thoſe countreys purpoſed, if it were poſſible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions deſpairing euer to ſee it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themſelues where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farewell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well receiued of the Lord that dwelt next to that place; who knew him and was a great enemie of the other Lord: and ſo running from from one Lord to another, being thoſe by whom he had paſſed before, after long time & many trauels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arriued vpon the coaſt; wherefore entring into good hope to accompliſh his intent, he went to the ſea ſide, and aſking them of what countrey they were; they anſwered of Eſtotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad, and requeſted that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could ſpeake it, they vſed him for their interpreter.

And afterward he frequented that trade with them in ſuch ſort, that he became very rich, and ſo furniſhing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Friſlande, where he made report vnto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

He returned from Eſtotiland to Friſland.

And he is throughly credited becauſe of the mariners, who approue many ſtrange things, that he reporteth to be true. Wherfore this Lord is reſolued to ſend me forth with a fleet towards thoſe parts, and there are ſo many that deſire to go in the voyage, for the noueltie and ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, that I thinke we ſhall be very ſtrongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenor of the letter before mentioned, which I haue here ſet downe to giue intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being ſet out with many barkes, and men, notwithſtanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the firſt he ſhould: for Zichmni went in his owne perſon: and concerning that matter I haue a letter in forme following.

Zichmni minded to ſend M. Antonio Zeno, with a fleete towards thoſe parts of Eſtotiland.

One great preparation for the voyage of Eſtotiland was begun in an vnlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fiſherman died that ſhould haue bene our guide: notwithſtanding this Lord would not giue ouer the enterprize, but inſtead of the fiſherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Iſland with him: and ſo making our Nauigation to the Weſtwards, we diſcouered certaine Iſlands ſubiect to Friſland, and hauing paſſed certaine ſhelues we ſtayed at Ledouo for the ſpace of 7 daies to refreſh our ſelues, and to furniſh the fleet with neceſſarie prouiſion. Departing from thence we arriued the firſt of Iuly at the Iſle of Iloſe: and for that the wind made for vs, we ſtayed not there, but paſſed forth, and being vpon the maine ſea, there aroſe immediatly a cruel tempeſt, wherwith for eight dayes ſpace we were miſerably vexed, not knowing where we

The 4 letter.

The fiſherman dyed that ſhould haue bene interpreter.

Certaine mariners taken in his ſteede, which came with him from Eſtotiland.

Iſle Iloſe.

were, & a great part of the barks were caſt away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered vp the broken peices of the barks that were loſt, and ſayling with a proſperous winde we diſcouered land at Weſt. Wherefore keeping our courſe directly vpon it, we arriued in a good and ſafe harborough, where we ſaw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiouſly to the water ſide, as it were for defence of the Iſland.

Zichmni his diſcouerie of the Iſland Icaria.

Wherfore Zichmni cauſing his men to make ſignes of peace vnto them, they ſent 10 men vnto vs that could ſpeake ten languages, but we could vnderſtand none of them, except one that was of Iſland.

An Iſland man in Icaria.

He being brought before our prince and aſked, what was the name of the Iſland, and what people inhabited it, & who gouerned it, anſwered, that the Iſland was called Icaria, and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the firſt king of that place, which as they ſay was the ſonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Iſland, left his ſonne there for king, and left them thoſe lawes that they retaine to this preſent, and after this, he deſiring to ſayle further, in a great tempeſt that aroſe, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call thoſe ſeas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the and the kings of the Iſland Icari, and for that they were contented with that ſtate, which God had giuen them, neither would they alter one iote of their lawes and cuſtomes, they would not receiue any ſtranger: wherefore they requeſted our prince, that hee would not ſeeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from that king of worthy memory and obſerued very duly to that preſent: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifeſt deſtruction, they being all reſolutely bent rather to leaue their life, then to looſe in any reſpect the vſe of their lawes.

The kings of of Icaria called Icari after the name of the firſt king of that place, who as they report, was ſonne to Dedalus king of Scots.

Icarian Sea.

Notwithſtanding, that we ſhould not thinke they did altogether refuſe conuerſation and traffick with other men, they tolde vs for concluſion that they would willingly receiue one of our men, & preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongſt them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and cuſtomes, as they had already receiued thoſe other ten of ten ſundry nations, that came into their Iſland.

The people of Icaria deſirous of the Italian tongue.

Ten men of ten ſundry nations.

To theſe things our Prince anſwered nothing at all, but cauſing his men to ſeke ſome good harbrough, he made ſignes as though he would depart, and ſayling round about the Iſland, he eſpied at length a harbrough on the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great ſpeede as they could, doubting leaſt they ſhould be aſſaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for thoſe that dwelt therabouts, making ſignes vnto the other with fire and ſmoke, put themſelues preſently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the ſea ſide vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, ſo that many were ſlaine and diuers ſore wounded.

Infinite multitudes of armed men in Icaria.

And we made ſignes of peace vnto them, but it was to no purpoſe, for their rage increaſed more and more, as though they had fought for land and liuing. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to ſayle along in a great circuite about the Iſlande, being alwayes accompanyed vpon the hil tops & the ſea coaſts with an infinite number of armed men: and ſo doubling the Cape of the Iſland towards the North, we found many great ſholdes, amongſt the which for the ſpace of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of looſing our whole fleet, but that it pleaſed God all that while to ſend vs faire weather.

Zichmni departed from Icaria Weſtwards.

Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the Eaſt cape, we ſaw the inhabitants ſtill on the hill tops and by the ſea coaſt keepe with vs, and in making great outcryes and ſhooting at vs a faire off, they vttered their old ſpitefull affection towards vs. Wherefore wee determined to ſtay in ſome ſafe harborough, and ſee if wee might ſpeake once againe with the Iſlander, but our determination was fruſtrate: for the people more like vnto beaſts then men, ſtood continually in armes with intent to beat vs back, if we ſhould come come on land. Wherefore Zichmni ſeeing he could not preuaile, and thinking if he ſhould haue perſeuered and followed obſtinately his purpoſe, their victuals would haue failed them, he departed with a faire wind and ſailed ſixe daies to the Weſtwards, but the winde changing to the Southweſt, and the ſea waxing rough, wee ſayling 4 dayes with the wind the powp, and at length diſcouering land, were afraid to approch nere vnto it, the ſea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God ſo prouided for vs, that the winde ceaſing there came a great calme. Wherefore ſome of our company rowing to land with oares, returned & brought vs newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good countery and a better harborough: vpon which newes we towed our ſhips and ſmal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we ſaw a farre off a great mountain, that caſt forth ſmoke, which gaue vs good hope that we ſhould finde ſome inhabitants in the Iſland, neither would Zichmni reſt, although it were a great way off, but ſent 100 ſouldiers to ſearch the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, & in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the prouiſion of the fleet, and catcht great ſtore of fiſh and ſea foule and found ſuch aboundance of birds egges, that our men that were halfe famiſhed, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of Iune, at which time the aire in the Iſland was

100 men ſent to diſcrie the countrey.

ſo temperate and pleaſant as is impoſſible to expreſſe: but when we could ſee no people at al, we ſuſpected greatly that this pleaſant place was deſolate and diſhabited. We gaue name to the heauen calling it Trin, and the point that ſtretched out into the ſea, we called Capo de Trin. The 100 ſouldiers that were ſent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Iſland and at the mountaine, and that the ſmoke was a naturall thing proceeding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a ſpring from which iſſued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the ſea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themſelues in caues of the ground, of ſmall ſtature, and very fearefull; for as ſoone as they ſaw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great riuer and a very good and ſafe harborough. Zichmni being thus informed, and ſeeing that it had a holeſome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull ſoyle and faire riuers, with ſundry commodities, fell into ſuch liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious trauell began to murmure, ſaying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they ſhould not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Oares and ſuch as were willing to ſtay with him, ſent all the reſt with the ſhippes backe againe, and willed that I, (though vnwilling) ſhould be their captaine. I therefore departing, becauſe I could not otherwiſe chuſe, ſayled for the ſpace of twenty dayes to the Eaſtwards without ſight of any land; then turning my courſe towards the Southeaſt, in 5. dayes I diſcouered land, and found my ſelfe vpon the Iſle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceiued I was paſt Iſland: wherefore taking in ſome freſh victuals of the inhabitants being ſubiect to Zichmni, I ſayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Friſland, where the people, who thought they had loſt their prince, becauſe of his long abſence, in this our voyage receiued vs very ioyfully.

The 100 ſouldiers returned which had bene through the Iſland, report what they ſaw and found.

M. Antonio Zeno, made chiefe captaine of thoſe ſhips which went back to Friſland.

What followed after this letter I know not but by coniecture, which I gather out of a piece of another letter, which I will ſet downe here vnderneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the Iſland that he diſcouered, and that he ſearched the countrey very diligently and diſcouered it all, and alſo the riuers on both ſides of Engroneland, for that I ſee it particulary deſcribed in the ſea card, but the diſcourſe or narration is loſt. The beginning of the letter is thus.

The 5 letter.

Concerning thoſe things that you deſire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and cuſtomes, of the beaſts, and of the countries adioyning, I haue made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I haue deſcribed the countrey, the monſtrous fiſhes, the cuſtomes and lawes of Friſland, Iſland, Eſtland, the kingdome of Norway, Eſtotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the diſcouery which he made, and the ſtate of Groneland. I haue alſo written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as any that euer liued, for his great valiancie and ſinguler humanitie, wherein I haue deſcribed the diſcouery of Engroneland on both ſides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will ſpeake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very ſhortly, and to ſatiſfie you in ſundry other things by word of mouth.

All theſe letters were written by M. Antonio to Meſſer Carlo his brother: and it grieueth me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning theſe purpoſes, are miſerably loſt: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithſtanding, that the memory of ſo many good things ſhould not bee loſt: whatſoeuer I could get of this matter, I haue diſpoſed and put in order in the former diſcourſe, to the ende that this age might be partly ſatiſfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great diſcoueries made in thoſe partes, then to any other of the time paſt, being moſt ſtudious of the newe relations and diſcoueries of ſtrange countries, made by the great mindes, and induſtrie of our anceſtours.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former Hiſtorie of Meſſer *Nicolas* and Meſſer *Antonio Zeni* (which for ſome fewe reſpects may perhaps bee called in queſtion) I haue heere annexed the iudgement of that famous Coſmographer *Abraham Ortelius*, or rather the yealding and ſubmitting of his iudgement thereunto: who in his *Theatrum Orbis*, *fol.6.* next before the map of *Mar del Zur*, boroweth proofe and authoritie out of this relation, to ſhew that the Northeaſt parte of *America* called *Eſtotiland*, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Iſlande, was about the yeere 1390 diſcouered by the aforeſayd Venetian Gentleman Meſſer *Antonio Zeno*, aboue 100 yeeres before euer *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſet ſaile for thoſe Weſterne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were euen then ſayled by our Europæan Pilots through the helpe of the loadſtone: with diuers other particulars concerning the cuſtomes, religion and wealth of the Southern *Americans*, which are moſt euidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spaniſh Hiſtories of *Nueua Eſpanna* and *Peru*.

Eſtotiland firſt diſcouered.

The ſecond diſcouerie thereof.

AND here I ſhall not (as I ſuppoſe) commit any great inconuenience, or abſurditie, in adding vnto this Hiſtory of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the firſt diſcouery therof, not commonly known. Which diſcouerie al the writers of our time aſcribe (& that not vnworthily) vnto Chriſtopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner firſt diſcouered, made knowen, and profitably communicated vnto the Chriſtian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Eſtotiland, (which moſt of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Iſlands of the ſame, namely, Groneland, Iſland, and Friſland,) was long ago found out by certaine fiſhers of the Iſle of Friſland, driuen by tempeſt vpon the ſhore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 diſcouered a new, by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which ſayled thither vnder the conduct of Zichmni king of the ſaide Iſle of Friſland, a prince in thoſe parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Franciſco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which liued in thoſe partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the deſcription of Eſtotiland aforeſaid theſe particulars following.

Drogio,

Eſtotiland (ſaith he) aboundeth with all things neceſſary for mankinde. In the mids thereof ſtandeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which iſſue foure riuers that moiſten all the countrie. The inhabitans are wittie and moſt expert in all Mechanicall arts. They haue a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preſerued certaine latine bookes, which they vnderſtand not, being perhaps left there not many yeeres before by ſome Europæans, which traffiqued thither. They haue all kinde of mettals; but eſpecially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland: from whence they fetch ſkinnes, pitch and brimſtone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they haue many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ſhips and cities, whereof and of caſtles there are great ſtore. The vſe of the loadſtone for Nauigation is vnknowen vnto them. They make relation alſo of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, vnto whom mans fleſh is delicate meat: whereof being deſtitute they liue by fiſhing, which they vſe very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit againſt the colde they cloth themſelues in beaſtes ſkinnes. Theſe haue no kinde of metall: and they liue by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long ſtaues with ſharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one againſt another. They haue gouernours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities, and temples of idoles, vnto whom they ſacrifice liuing men, whoſe fleſh they afterwards deuoure. Theſe nations haue the vſe of ſiluer and gold.

Thus much of this tract of landes out of the aforeſaide collections or abridgements. Wherein this alſo is worthy the obſeruation, that euen then our Europæan Pilots ſayled thoſe ſeas by the helpe of the loadſtone. For concerning the vſe thereof in Nauigation, I ſuppoſe there is not to be found a more ancient teſtimonie. And theſe things I haue annexed the rather vnto this table of Mar del Zur; conſidering that none of thoſe Authours which haue written the Hiſtories of the Newe world, haue in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

THE VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO *NEVVFOVNDLAND*, TO the Iſles of *Ramea*, and the Iſles of *Aſſumption* otherwiſe called *Natiſcotec*, ſituate at the mouth of the Riuer of *Canada*, and to the Coaſtes of Cape *Briton*, and *Arambec*, corruptly called *Norumbega*, with the Patents, letters, and aduertiſements thereunto belonging.

The voyage of the two ſhips, whereof the one was called the *Dominus vobiſcum*, ſet out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king *Henry* the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the diſcouerie of the North partes.

Maſter Robert Thorne of Briſtoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large diſcourſe to doctor Leigh, his Ambaſſadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be ſeene almoſt in the beginning of the firſt volume of this my work) exhorted the aforeſaid king with very waighty and ſubſtantial reaſons, to ſet forth a diſcouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke preſent effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the teſtimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this ſort. This ſame moneth (ſay they) king *Henry* the 8 ſent 2 faire ſhips wel manned & victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to ſeek ſtrange regions, & ſo they ſet forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas maſter Hal, and maſter Grafton ſay, that in thoſe ſhips there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquirie of ſuch as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who thoſe cunning men ſhould be, which were the directers in the aforeſaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by ſir Martine Frobiſher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduance the action, and went therein himſelfe in perſon, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ſhips was called The Dominus vobiſcum, which is a name likely to be giuen by a religious man of thoſe dayes: and that ſayling very farre Northweſtward, one of the ſhips was caſt away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Maieſtie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ſhip ſhaping her courſe towards Cape Briton, and the coaſtes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to ſearch the ſtate of thoſe vnknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforeſayd. And thus much (by reaſon of the great negligence of the writers of thoſe times, who ſhould haue vſed more care in preſeruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

The voyage of M. *Hore* and diuers other gentlemen, to *Newfoundland*, and Cape *Briton*, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king *Henry* the 8.

One maſter Hore of London, a man of goodly ſtature and of great courage, and giuen to the ſtudie of Coſmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged diuers Gentlemen and others, being aſſiſted by the kings fauour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of diſcouerie vpon the Northweſt parts of America: wherein his perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, that within ſhort ſpace many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and diuers others of good worſhip, deſirous to ſee the ſtrange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, ſome of whoſe names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the Weſt countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the ſonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately liuing, and from whoſe mouth I wrote moſt of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Raſtall Serieant Raſtals brother, M. Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunnes, wherein M. Hore himſelfe was imbarked. In the other ſhip whoſe name was the Minion,

M. Armigil Wade.

went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, afterwardes Clerke of the Counſailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the ſixth, father to the worſhipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the priuie Counſell, M. Oliuer Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Ioy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ſhips aforeſaid, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about ſixe ſcore perſons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we muſtered in warlike maner at Graues-end, and after the receiuing of the Sacrament, they embarked themſelues in the ende of April. 1536.

Cape Briton.

The Iſland of Penguin ſtandeth about the latitude of 30. degrees.

From the time of their ſetting out from Graueſend, they were very long at ſea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any land vntill they came to part of the Weſt Indies about Cape Briton, ſhaping their courſe thence Northeaſtwardes, vntill they came to the Iſland of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and ſtones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geeſe, and they ſaw infinite numbers of their egges. They draue a great number of the foules into their boates vpon their ſayles, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foules they flead and their ſkinnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dreſſed and eate them and found them to be very good and nouriſhing meat. They ſaw alſo ſtore of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed ſome, and tooke them for no bad foode.

M. Dawbneys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple theſe things following: to wit, That after their arriuall in Newfoundland, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet ſeene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the ſame Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, ſpied a boate with Sauages of thoſe parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ſhip and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to ſuch as were vnder the hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would ſee the natural people of the countrey, that they had ſo long and ſo much deſired to ſee: whereupon they came vp, and tooke viewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their ſhip, and vpon the viewe they manned out a ſhip-boat to meet them and to take them. But they ſpying our ſhip-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Iſland that lay vp in the Bay or riuer there, and our men purſued them into the Iſland, and the Sauages fledde and eſcaped: but our men found a fire, and the ſide of a beare on a wooden ſpit left at the ſame by the Sauages that were fled.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfounland.

There in the ſame place they found a boote of leather garniſhed on the outward ſide of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe ſilke, and alſo found a certaine great warme mitten: And theſe caryed with them, they returned to their ſhippe, not finding the Sauages, nor ſeeing any thing elſe beſides the ſoyle, and the things growing in the ſame, which chiefly were ſtore of firre and pine trees.

Extreme famine.

And further, the ſaid M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found ſmall reliefe, more then that they had from the neſt of an Oſprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of diuers ſorts of fiſhes. But ſuch was the famine that increaſed amongſt them from day to day, that they were forced to ſeeke to relieue themſelues of raw herbes and rootes that they ſought on the maine: but the famine increaſing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpoſe to ſatiſfie their inſatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deſerts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he ſtooped to take vp a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the ſame on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

By this meane the company decreaſed, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driuen with hunger to ſeeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fieldes the ſauour of broyled fleſh, and fell out with one for that he would ſuffer him and his fellowes to ſterue, enioying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell ſpeaches, he that had the broyled meate, burſt out into theſe wordes: If thou wouldeſt needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of ſuch a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ſhip, the Captaine found what became of thoſe that were miſſing, & was perſwaded that ſome of them were neither deuoured with wilde beaſtes, nor yet deſtroyed with Sauages: And hereupon hee ſtood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much theſe dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from firſt to laſt, what God had in caſes of diſtreſſe done for them that called vpon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no leſſe, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleaſed God to haue holpen them in that diſtreſſe, that it had bene better to haue periſhed in body, and to haue liued euerlaſtingly, then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned euerlaſtingly both body and ſoule to the vnquenchable fire of hell. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and beſought all the company to pray, that it might pleaſe God to looke vpon their miſerable preſent ſtate, and for his owne mercie to relieue the ſame. The famine increaſing, and the inconuenience of the men that were miſſing being found, they agreed amongſt themſelues rather then all ſhould periſh, to caſt lots who ſhould be killed: And ſuch was the mercie of God, that the ſame night there arriued a French ſhip in that port, well furniſhed with vittaile, and ſuch was the policie of the Engliſh, that they became maſters of the ſame, and changing ſhips and vittailing them, they ſet ſayle to come into England.

The Engliſh ſurpriſe a French ſhip, wherein they returned home.

In their iourney they were ſo farre Northwards, that they ſawe mighty Iſlands of yce in the ſommer ſeaſon, on which were haukes and other foules to reſt themſelues being weary of flying ouer farre from the maine. They ſawe alſo certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, ſomewhat bigger then Herons, which they ſuppoſed to be Storkes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certaine caſtle belonging to ſir Iohn Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Raſtall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Briſtoll, ſo to London. M. Buts was ſo changed in the voyage with hunger and miſerie, that ſir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their ſonne, vntill they found a ſecret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himſelfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his owne mouth, as being the onely man now aliue that was in this diſcouerie.

Haukes and other foules.

Foules ſuppoſed to be ſtorkes.

Certaine moneths after, thoſe Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king cauſing the matter to be examined, and finding the great diſtreſſe of his ſubiects, and the cauſes of the dealing ſo with the French, was ſo mooued with pitie, that he puniſhed not his ſubiects, but of his owne purſe made full and royall recompence vnto the French.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

In this diſtreſſe of famine, the Engliſh did ſomewhat relieue their vitall ſpirits, by drinking at the ſprings the freſh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua compoſita before.

An act againſt the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into *Iſeland* & *Newfoundland*, made in *An.* 2. *Edwardi* ſexti.

FOraſmuch as within theſe few yeeres now laſt paſt, there haue bene leuied, perceiued & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of ſuch Marchants, and fiſhermen as haue vſed and practiſed the aduentures and iourneys into Iſeland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fiſhing, and the getting of fiſh, in and vpon the Seas or otherwiſe, by way of Marchants in thoſe parties, diuers great exactions, as ſummes of money, doles or ſhares of fiſh, and ſuch other like things, to the great diſcouragement & hinderance of the ſame Marchants and fiſhermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof alſo great complaints haue bene made, & informations alſo yeerely to the kings Maieſties moſt honourable councell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent alſo that the ſayd Marchants and fiſhermen may haue occaſion the rather to practiſe & vſe the ſame trade of marchandizing, & fiſhing freely without any ſuch charges and exactions, as are before limited, wherby it is to be thought that more plentie of fiſh ſhall come into this Realme, and thereby to haue the ſame at more reaſonable prices: Be it therfore enacted by the king our ſoueraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authoritie of the ſame, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or miniſter, officers or miniſters of the Admiraltie for the time being, ſhall in any wiſe hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himſelfe, his ſeruant, deputie, ſeruants, or deputies of any ſuch Marchant or fiſherman, any ſumme or ſummes of money, doles or ſhares of fiſh, or any other reward, benefit or aduantage whatſoeuer it be, for any licence to paſſe this Realme to the ſayd voyages or any of them, nor vpon any reſpect concerning the ſaid voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeit for the firſt offence treble the ſumme, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any ſuch officer or miniſter ſhall hereafter haue or take of any ſuch Marchants or fiſhermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieued, and euery other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer he or they be, ſhall and may ſue for the ſame by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which ſuite no eſſoigne protection, or wager of law ſhall be allowed. And for the ſecond offence the party ſo offending, not only to loſe and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but alſo to make fine and ranſome at the kings will and pleaſure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marueiled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better ſearched.

A letter written to M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true ſtate and commodities of *Newfoundland*, by M. *Anthonie Parkhurſt* Gentleman, 1578.

Maſter Hakluyt, after moſt heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindneſſe to me ſhewed, not for any merits that hitherto haue beene mine, but wholly proceeding, I muſt needs confeſſe, of your owne good nature, which is ſo ready preſt to benefit your countrey and all ſuch poore men as haue any ſparke in them of good deſires, that you do not onely become their friend, but alſo humble your ſelfe as a ſeruaunt in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cauſe your burning zeale to bee knowen to thoſe that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompenſe your trauelling mind and pen, wherewith you ceaſe not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly deſires to ſome paſſe, though not poſſibly to that happy ende that you moſt thirſt for: for ſuch is the malice of wicked men the deuils inſtruments in this our age, that they cannot ſuffer any thing (or at leaſt few) to proceed and proſper that tendeth to the ſetting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Chriſtian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene ſo diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harueſt great, I truſt God hath made you an inſtrument to increaſe the number, and to moue men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and thoſe parts from out of the captiuitie of that ſpirituall Pharao, the deuill.

Now to anſwer ſome part of your letter touching the ſundry nauies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra noua, for fiſh: you ſhal underſtand that ſome fiſh not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and ſome yeres come many more then other ſome, as I

English. ſee the like among vs: who ſince my firſt trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increaſed from 30. ſayle to 50. which commeth to paſſe chiefly by the imagination of the Weſterne men, who thinke their neighbours haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they ſee me to take ſuch paines yeerely to go in proper perſon: they alſo ſuppoſe that I find ſome ſecret commoditie by reaſon that I doe ſearch the harbors, creekes and hauens, and alſo the land much more then euer any Engliſhman hath done. Surely I am glad that it ſo increaſeth, whereof ſoeuer it ſpringeth. But to let this paſſe, you ſhall underſtand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. ſaile of Spani-

Spaniards. ards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) beſides 20. or 30. more that come from Biſkaie to kill Whale for Traine. Theſe be better appoynted for ſhipping and furniture of munition, then any nation ſauing the Engliſhmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fiſh, and do vſe all ſtrangers helpe in fiſhing if need require, according to an old cuſtome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, ſo that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of ſalt, in reſpect of your protection of them againſt rouers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke

Portugals. it may be neere fiue or ſixe thouſand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly aboue 50. ſaile, and they make all wet in like ſorte, whoſe tunnage may amount to three thouſand tuns, and not vp-

French. Britons. warde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie ſailes, the moſt of their ſhipping is very ſmall, not paſt fortie tunnes, among which ſome are great and reaſonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not ſo well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be ſome 7000. tunne. Their ſhipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from moſt parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Auiero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Iſland maketh, that the Engliſh are not there in ſuch numbers as other nations.

The fertility of Newfoundland. Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodneſſe of the countrey, you ſhall underſtand that I haue in ſundry places ſowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Peaſe and ſeedes of herbes, kernels, Plumſtones, nuts, all which haue proſpered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in ſome places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Peare-tree meet to graffe on. As for Roſes, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raſpis, as common as graſſe. The timber is moſt Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: fewe of theſe two kinds meete to maſte a ſhip of threeſcore and ten: but neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and ſufficient for any ſhip. There be alſo Okes & thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meeteſt wood for cole, and alſo Willow, which will ſerue for many other purpoſes. As touching the kindes of Fiſh beſide Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plaſe, or rather wee ſhould call them Flounders, Dog fiſh, and another moſt excellent of taſte called of vs a Cat, Oiſters, and Muſkles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muſkle, and generally all haue ſome, great or ſmall. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are alſo other kinds of Shel-fiſh, as Limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobſters, and crabs: alſo a fiſh like a *Smelt which commeth on ſhore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: theſe be the fiſhes, which (when I pleaſe to bee merie with my old companions) I ſay, doe come on ſhore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and coniure them by ſuch like words: Theſe alſo bee the fiſhes which I may ſweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatſoeuer they be appoynted by any man, ſo they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be ſmall, but the nature of the fiſh great and ſtrange. For the Squid, whoſe nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I ſet him a candle to ſee his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doe our freſh water fiſh, the other commeth alſo in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuoure him, and therefore for feare comming ſo neere the ſhore, is driuen drie by the ſurge of the Sea on the pibble and ſands. Of theſe being as good as a Smelt you may take vp with a ſhoue-net as plentifully as you do Wheate in a ſhouell, ſufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be alſo other fiſhes which I tell thoſe that are deſirous of ſtrange newes, that I take as faſt as one would gather vp ſtones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie ſay they, wee beleeue ſo, and that you catch all the reſt you bring home in that ſort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No ſurely, but thus I doe: with three hookes ſtretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Ele ſpeare, with which I pricke thoſe Flounders as faſt as you would take vp fritters with a ſharpe pointed ſticke, and with that toole I may take vp in leſſe then halfe a day Lobſters ſufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This paſtime ended, I ſhewe them that for my pleaſure I take a great Maſtiue I haue, and ſay no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fiſh that obeyeth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Chriſtendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of thoſe great Cods by reaſon of ſheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cauſe my friendes to wonder, and at the firſt hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

Seuerall ſortes of fiſh.

*Called by the Spaniards Anchouas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my trauaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oiſters, which was ſtrange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oiſters and Muſkles did ſticke faſt, as their propertie is, to ſtakes and timber.

Nowe to let theſe merrie tales paſſe, and to come to earneſt matters againe, you ſhall vnderſtand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not ſo colde as fooliſh Mariners doe ſay, who finde it colde ſometimes when plentie of Iſles of yce lie neere the ſhore: but vp in the land they ſhall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the ſituation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little ſmall riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of ſnow and raine: few ſprings that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in ſome places or rather in moſt places great lakes with plentie of fiſh, the countrey moſt couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good graſſe, and plentie of Beares euery where, ſo that you may kill of them as oft as you liſt: their fleſh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be powdred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like ſtore. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geeſe, and many other kind of birdes ſtore, too long to write, eſpecially at one Iſland named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ſhip as many as ſhall lade her. Theſe birdes are alſo called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of theſe then in a gooſe: the Frenchmen that fiſh neere the grand baie, doe bring ſmall ſtore of fleſh with them, but victuall themſelues alwayes with theſe birdes. Nowe againe, for Veniſon plentie, eſpecially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Pleſance: there are many other kinds of beaſts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beaſtes like to Camels in greatneſſe, and their feete clouen, I did ſee them farre off not able to diſcerne them perfectly, but their ſteps ſhewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I ſuppoſe them to bee a kind of Buffes which

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I read to bee in the countreyes adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee alſo to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts ſo plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our fleſh before our faces within leſſe then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie perſons were turning of drie fiſh, and two dogs in ſight, yet ſtoode they not in feare till wee gaue ſhot and ſet the dogs vpon them: the Beares alſo be as bold, which will not ſpare at midday to to take your fiſh before your face, and I beleeue aſſuredly would not hurt any bodie vnleſſe they be forced.

Nowe to ſhew you my fancie what places I ſuppoſe meeteſt to inhabite in thoſe parts diſcouered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chaſteaux, and one Iſland in the very entrie of the ſtreight called Bell Iſle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are ſtones and things meete for it throughout all Newfound land) wee ſhall bee lordes of the whole fiſhing in ſmall time, if it doe ſo pleaſe the Queenes Maieſtie, and from thence ſend wood and cole with all neceſſaries to Labrador lately diſcouered: but I am of opinion, and doe moſt ſtedfaſtly beleeue that we ſhall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fiſhing then any yet we haue vſed, where wee ſhall haue not farre from thence plentie of ſalt made by fire vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reaſon I finde ſalt kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: theſe places may bee found for ſalte in three and fortie. I know more touching theſe two commodities laſt remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I haue ſome knowledge in ſuch matters, and haue moſt deſired the finding of them by painefull trauaile, and moſt diligent inquirie. Now to be ſhort, for I haue bene ouer long by Maſter Buclers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde worthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wiſh the Iſland in the mouth of the riuer of Canada ſhould bee inhabited, and the riuer ſearched, for that there are many things which may riſe thereof, as I will ſhew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I haue read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Briton. I had almoſt forgot to ſpeake of the plentie of wolues, and to ſhew you that there be foxes, blacke white & gray: other beaſts I know none ſaue thoſe before remembred. I found alſo certain Mines of yron and copper in S.Iohns, and in the Iſland of Yron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had deſire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I haue brought home ſome of the oare of both ſortes. And thus I ende, aſſuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceiued by the vile Portugals deſcending of the Iewes and Iudas kinde, I had not failed to haue ſearched this riuer, and all the coaſt of Cape Briton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falſifying their faith and promiſe, diſappointed me of the ſalte they ſhould haue brought me in part of recompenſe of my good ſeruice in defending them two yeeres againſt French Rouers, that had ſpoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me loſe not onely the ſearching of the countrey, but alſo forced mee to come home with great loſſe aboue 600. li. For recompence whereof I haue ſent my man into Portugall to demaund iuſtice at the Kings hand, if not, I muſt put vp my ſupplication to the Queenes Maieſty & her honourable councell, to grant me leaue to ſtay here ſo much of their goods as they haue damnified mee, or elſe that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fiſh as ſhall be worth 600.li. or as much as the ſalte might haue made. I pray you aduertiſe mee what way I were beſt to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the ſuite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Maieſtie and the councell doe tender poore fiſher men, who with me haue ſuſteined three hundred pound loſſe in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend ſhall thinke me a man ſufficient and of credite, to ſeeke the Iſle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I ſhall giue my diligence for the true and perfect diſcouerie, and leaue ſome part of mine owne buſineſſe to further the ſame: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Briſtow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vſe and command

ANTHONY PARCKHVRST.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maieſtie to Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in *America*.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Know ye that of our eſpeciall grace, certaine ſcience and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt to our truſtie and welbeloued ſeruaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonſhire knight, and to his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to diſcouer, finde, ſearch out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian prince or people, as to him, his heires & aſſignes, and to euery or any of them, ſhall ſeeme good: and the ſame to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes for euer, with all commodities, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land: and the ſayd ſir Humfrey and all ſuch as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſhall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the diſcretion of the ſayde ſir Humfrey, and of his heires and aſſignes, the ſtatutes or actes of Parliament made againſt Fugitiues, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, ſtatute, lawe, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And wee doe likewiſe by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue full authoritie and power to the ſaide Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, that hee and they, and euery, or any of them, ſhall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the ſame voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, ſuch and ſo many of our ſubiects as ſhall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them, with ſufficient ſhipping, and furniture for their tranſportations, ſo that none of the ſame perſons, nor any of them be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be ſpecially reſtrained by vs, our heires and ſucceſſors. And further, that he the ſaid Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them ſhall haue, hold, occupy & enioy to him, his heires or aſſignes, and euery of them for euer, all the ſoyle of all ſuch lands, countries, & territories ſo to be diſcouered or poſſeſſed as aforeſaid, and of all Cities, Caſtles, Townes and Villages, and places in the ſame, with the rites, royalties and iuriſdictions, as well marine as other, within the ſayd lands or countreys of the ſeas thereunto adioyning, to be had or vſed with ful power to diſpoſe thereof, & of euery part thereof in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the ſame conueniently may be, at his, and their will & pleaſure, to any perſon then being, or that ſhall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, paying vnto vs for all ſeruices, duties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and ſiluer, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing ſhall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, ſhall for euer bee holden by the ſayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by homage, and by the ſayd payment of the ſayd fift part before reſerued onely for all ſeruices.

And moreouer, we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue and graunt licence to the ſayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them ſhall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulſe, repell, and reſiſt, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatſoeuer, all, and euery ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoeuer, as without the ſpeciall licence and liking of the ſayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and aſſignes, ſhall attempt to inhabite within the ſayd countreys, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within ſuch countreys as aforeſayd, if they ſhall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforeſayd, with the ſubiects of any Chriſtian prince, being in amitie with her Maieſty, where the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their aſſociates or companies, ſhall within ſixe yeeres next enſuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by theſe preſents, further power and authoritie to the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery perſon and perſons, with their ſhippes, veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, or his heires or aſſignes as aforeſayd, ſhall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforeſayde, (the ſubiects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempeſt or ſhipwracke onely excepted) and thoſe perſons and euery of them with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and poſſeſſe, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of ſuch countreys, landes and territories ſo to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterpriſe: wee doe by theſe preſents graunt, and declare, that all ſuch countreys ſo hereafter to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayd, from thenceforth ſhall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours. And wee doe graunt to the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other perſon and perſons, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted or entred in ſome of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the aſſent of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, ſhall nowe in this iourney for diſcouerie, or in the ſecond iourney for conqueſt hereafter, trauel to ſuch lands, countries and territories as aforeſaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our ſayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with ſuch licence as aforeſayd, ſhall, and may haue, and enioy all the priuileges of free denizens and perſons natiue of England, and within our allegiance: any law, cuſtome, or vſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And foraſmuch, as vpon the finding out, diſcouering and inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforeſayd, it ſhall be neceſſarie for the ſafetie of all men that ſhall aduenture themſelues in thoſe iourneys or voiages, to determine to liue together in Chriſtian peace and ciuill quietneſſe each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleaſure and profit, enioy that whereunto they ſhall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt to the ſayd ſir Humfrey and his heires and aſſignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the ſayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, puniſh, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good diſcretions and pollicies, as well in cauſes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all ſuch our ſubiects and others, as ſhall from time to time hereafter aduenture themſelues in the ſayd iourneys or voyages habitatiue or poſſeſſiue, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabite any ſuch lands, countreys or territories as aforeſayd, or that ſhall abide within two hundred leagues of any the ſayd place or places, where the ſayd ſir Humfrey or his heires, or aſſignes, or any of them, or any of his or their aſſociats or companies, ſhall inhabite within ſixe yeeres next enſuing the date hereof, according to ſuch ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances, as ſhall be by him the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, or euery, or any of them deuiſed or eſtabliſhed for the better gouernement of the ſaid people as aforeſayd: ſo alwayes that the ſayd ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and alſo, that they be not againſt the true Chriſtian faith or religion now profeſſed in the church of England, nor in any wiſe to withdraw any of the ſubiects or people of thoſe lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue and graunt full power and authority to our truſtie and welbeloued counſeller, ſir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treaſurer of England, and to the lord treaſurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priuie counſell of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, ſhall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or ſeales by vertue of theſe preſents, authorize and licence the ſayd ſir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them by him and themſelues, or by their or any of their ſufficient atturneys, deputies officers, miniſters, factors and ſeruants, to imbarke and tranſport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their aſſociates and companies, and euery or any of them, with ſuch other neceſſaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the ſaid lord treaſurer or foure of the priuie counſell of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours for the time being, as aforeſayd, ſhall be from time to time by his or their wiſedoms or diſcretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and ſupportation of him the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their ſaid aſſociates and companies, any act, ſtatute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleaſure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Chriſtian Kings, princes and ſtates, that if the ſaid Sir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, ſhall at any time or times hereafter robbe or ſpoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of vniuſt and vnlawfull hoſtilitie to any of the Subiects of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours, or any of the Subiects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or ſtate being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or ſucceſſours: and that vpon ſuch iniurie, or vpon iuſt complaint of any ſuch prince, ruler, gouernour or ſtate, or their ſubiects, wee our heires or ſucceſſors ſhall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the ſaid Sir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any other to whom theſe our Letters patents may extend, ſhall within the terme to be limited by ſuch proclamations, make full reſtitution and ſatiſfaction of all ſuch iniuries done, ſo as both we and the ſaide Princes, or others ſo complayning, may holde vs and themſelues fully contended: And that if the ſaide Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, ſhall not make or cauſe to bee made ſatiſfaction accordingly, within ſuch time ſo to be limited: that then it ſhall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, to put the ſaid Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the ſaid places to be diſcouered as is aforeſaide, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of protection the ſaide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, aſſignes, adherents and others ſo to be put out, and the ſaid places within their habitation, poſſeſſion and rule, ſhal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to purſue with hoſtilitie as being not our Subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expreſſe mention, &c. In witneſſe whereof, &c. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 11. day of Iune, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipſam Reginam, &c.

De Nauigatione Illuſtris & Magnanimi Equitis aurati *Humfredi Gilberti*, ad deducendam in nouum Orbem coloniam ſuſceptâ, Carmen ἐπιβατήριον STEPHANI PARMENII BVDEII.

Ad eundem illuſtrem equitem autoris præfatio.

REddenda eſt, quàm fieri poteſt breuiſſimè, in hoc veſtibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo nouus & exterus, in tanta literatiſſimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata eſt, verſandum in hoc argumento mihi putauerim: ita enim tu, fortiſſime Gilberte, fœtum hunc noſtrum in lucem exire voluiſti. In ſeruitute & barbarie Turcica, Chriſtianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquā etiam ætatis partem educatus; poſtquam doctiſſimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ noſtræ, tum imprimis ſaluæ adhuc earum reliquiæ floreſcunt, in literis adoleuiſſem, more noſtrorum hominum, ad inuiſendas Chriſtiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non ſolùm complura Muſarum hoſpitia, ſed multas etiam ſapienter inſtitutas reſpublicas, multarum Eccleſiarum probatiſſimas adminiſtrationes introſpeximus, iam fermè triennio ea in re poſito. Fuerat hæc noſtra profectio ita à nobis comparata, vt non tantùm mores & vrbes gentium videndum, ſed in familiaritatem, aut ſaltem notitiam illuſtriorum hominum introëundum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, vt hoc à nobis ſine inuidia dici poſſit, (certè enim taceri abſque malicia nullo modo poteſt) non locus, non natio, non reſpublica vlla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem euentum conſilij mei conſiderem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis ciuibus, quibuſcum aliqua conſuetudo mihi contigit, tànta paſſim humanitate acceptus eſſem; vt iam (ſit hoc ſalua pietate à me dictum) ſuauiſſimæ Anglorum amicitiæ fermè aboleuerint deſiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ab cauſſas cùm ſæpenumero animus fuiſſet ſignificationem aliquam noſtræ huius voluntatis & exiſtimationis edendi; accidit vtique ſecundùm ſententiam, vt dum ſalutandis & cognoſcendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatiſſimus ac doctiſſimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus *ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclariſſimo tuo de ducenda propediem colonia in nouum orbem inſtituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoſcere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum ſempiterna poſteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnoui profectò, eáque tali ac tanta obſeruantia proſequi cœpi; vt cum paulò poſt plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus geſtis paſſim audiſſem, tempus longè accommodatiſſimum exiſtimarem eſſe, quo aliqua parte officij*

ſtudijque noſtri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc eſt primum ouum, vnde noſtrum [illegible] *originem ducit. Reliquum eſt, vt eas & redeas quàm proſperrimè, vir nobiliſſime, & beneuolenti tua, autoritate, ac nomine, tueare ſtudium noſtrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.*

AD THAMESIN.

AMnis, inoffenſa qui tàm requiete beatus
Antipodum quæris iam tibi in orbe locum:
Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis
Fecimus, & raucæ carmina prima tubæ.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
Ornatu perages gaudia feſta nouo.

QVæ noua tàm ſubitò mutati gratia cœli?
Vnde graues nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu
Illuſtrat terras, clementiaque ęquora TITAN?
Nimirum poſuere NOTI, meliorque reſurgit
EVRVS, & in ventos ſoluuntur vela ſecundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale BRITANNAE
Tendit ad ignotum noſtris maioribus orbem
Vix notis GILEBERTVS aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, & facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta ſilendum eſt
Illa, quibus noſtri priſcis ætatibus audent
Conferri, & certare dies: quibus obuia plano
Iamdudum FORTVNA ſolo, quibus omne per vndas
NEREIDVM genus exultat, fauſtoque tridenti
Ipſe pater NEREVS placabile temperat æquor.
Et paſſim Oceano curui Delphines ab imo
In ſummos ſaliunt fluctus, quaſi terga pararent
In quibus euectæ ſulcent freta proſpera puppes.
Et quaſi diluuium, tempeſtateſque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela phyſeter.
Et fauet ÆGAEON, & qui NEPTVNIA PROTEVS
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat
Sceptra CHALEDONIDVM: ſeclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, & ad ſeros canit euentura minores.
Vt pacis bellique bonis notiſſima vaſto
Inſula in OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi;
Poſtquam opibus diues, populo numeroſa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta ſui, ne quando immenſa poteſtas
Pondere ſit ruitura ſuo, noua mœnia natis
Quærat, & in longum extendat ſua regna receſſum:
Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis ſublimibus aptæ
In nidis creuere grues, proficiſcitur ingens
De noſtra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILVM.
Euge, ſacrum pectus, tibi, per tot ſecula, ſoli
Seruata eſt regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
Margine, & audacem quarto dignata COLVMBVM;
Iam quintâ luſtranda plagâ tibi, iamque regenda
Imperio ſupereſt. EVROPAM ASIAMQVE relinque,
Et fortunatam nimiùm, niſi ſole propinquo
Arderet, LIBYEN: illis ſua facta viaſque
Terminet ALCIDES: abs te illuſtranda quieſcit

Parte alia tellus, quam non BABYLONIA ſceptra,
Non MACEDVM inuictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus
Attigit, aut vnquam LATIAE feriere ſecures.
Non illo ſoboles MAHOMETI mugijt orbe:
Non vafer HISPANVS, cœlo, ſuperiſque relictis,
Sacra PAPAE humano crudelia ſanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;
Siue illi noſtræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à priſca FAVNORVM ſtirpe ſuperſint
Antiqua geniti terra, ſine legibus vrbes
Syluaſque & pingues habitant ciuilibus agros:
Et priſcos referunt mores, vitamque ſequuntur
ITALIAE antiquæ, & primi rude temporis æuum:
Cum genitor nati fugiens SATVRNVS ob iram
In LATIO poſuit ſedem, rudibuſque regendos
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
Aurea in hoc primùm populo cœpiſſe feruntur
Secula, ſicque homines vitam duxiſſe beati;
Vt ſimul argenti percurrens tempora, & æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vileſceret ætas;
Rurſus in antiquum, de quo deſcenderat, aurum
(Sic perhibent vates) æuo vertente rediret.
Fallor an eſt tempus, reuolutoque orbe videntur
Aurea pacificæ tranſmittere ſecula gentes?
Fallor enim, ſi quaſſatas tot cladibus vrbes
Reſpicio, & paſſim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LIBYAMQVE cruento
MARTE premi, domitaque iugum ceruice ſubire:
Iamque per EVROPAE fines immane tribunal
BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQVE, PELASGISQVE
ÆMATHIISQVE, omnique ſolo quod diuidit HEBRVS,
Et quondam bello inuictis, nunc MARTE ſiniſtro
Anguſtos fines, paruamque tuentibus oram
PANNONIAE populis, & priſca in gente LIBVRNIS.
Tum verò in ſuperos pugnas ſine fine cieri
Patribus AVSONIIS: ardere in bella, neceſque
SARMATICAS gentes: & adhuc à cæde recenti
HISPANVM ſancto GALLVMQVE madere cruore.
Non ſunt hæc auri, non ſunt documenta, ſed atrox
Ingenio referunt ferrum, & ſi dicere ferro
Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile ſaxum.
At verò ad niueos alia ſi parte BRITANNOS
Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus,
Teſtibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
Namque quòd hoc ſummum colitur tibi numen honore
Quo ſuperi, atque omnis geniorum caſta iuuentus
Illius ad ſacra iuſſa vices obit, arguit aurum.
Quòd tàm chara DEO tua ſceptra gubernat AMAZON,
Quàm DEA, cum nondum cœlis ASTRÆA petitis
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
Quòd colit haud vllis incluſas mœnibus vrbes
Aurea libertas, & neſcia ferre tyrannum
Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
Quòd regio nullis iniuria gentibus, arma
Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,
Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
Quòd gladij, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd haſtæ
In raſtros abiere, & bello aſſueta iuuentus

Pacem & amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
Denique ſi fas eſt auro connectere laudes
Æris, & in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
Pectora? Sint teſtes procerum tot millia, teſtes
Mille duces, interque duces notiſſima mille
Illa cui aſſurgunt MVSæ, quam conſcia PALLAS
Lætior exaudit, GILEBERTI gloria noſtri.
Illius auxilium, & ſocialia prælia amici
Mirantur BELGæ, & quamuis iniuſtus IBERVS
Commemorat iuſtas acies, domitaſque per oras
Martia victrices formidat HIBERNIA turmas.
Illum oppugnatæ quaſſatis turribus arces,
Illum expugnatæ perruptis mœnibus vrbes,
Fluminaque & portus capti, hoſtilique notatum
Sanguine ſubmerſæ meminere ſub æquore claſſes.
Hîc vbi per medios proiectus SEQVANA CELTAS
Labitur, & nomen mox amiſſurus, & vndas.
Omnia ſi deſint, quantum eſt ingentibus auſis
Humani generis pro pace bonoque paciſci
Tàm varios caſus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulciſſima ſacri
Oſcula coniugij, numerantemque ordine longo
AVCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
AVCHERIOS exempla ſuos, fratremque patremque;
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem & virtute ſequuntur,
Obſeſſi in muris ſoli portiſque CALETI,
Præpoſuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus vrbem,
Et decus ALBIONVM, turpi ſupereſſe ſalute.
Quòd ſi parua loquor, nec adhuc fortaſſe fatenda eſt
Aurea in hoc iterum noſtro gens viuere mundo,
Quid vetat ignotis vt poſſit ſurgere terris?
Auguror, & faueat dictis DEVS, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo ſecus olim principe in vrbes
Barbara plebs coëat, quàm cùm noua ſaxa vocaret
AMPHION THEBAS, TROIANA ad mœnia PHOEBVS.
Atque vbi ſic vltrò iunctas ſociauerit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges cuſtoditurus eaſdem;
In quibus ignari ciues fraudumque, dolique,
A ſolida aſſueſcant potius virtute beari;
Quàm genio & molli liquentia corpora vita
In Venerem ignauam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
Quàm nummos, quam lucra ſequi, quam propter honores
Viuere ad arbitrium ſtolidæ mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus, opibuſue premetur
Libertas populi, non contrà in deſide vulgo
Oppugnabit opes ciuis ſub nomine pauper:
Quiſque ſuo partem fœlix in iure capeſſet,
Tum ſua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
Exiguo ſudore dabit bona: cura iuuentam
Nulla adiget ſenio, nec ſic labor ocia tollet,
Quo minus è virtute petant ſua commoda ciues.
O mihi fœlicem ſi fas conſcendere puppim:
Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignoſce) relictâ
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare ſorores
Mecum vnâ AONIAS, illic exordia gentis
Prima nouæ ad ſeros tranſmittere poſſe nepotes!

Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ
Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miſerabilis ISTRI
Inuitum retrahunt. His his me fata reſeruent:
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut noſtro incognita cœlo
Munera naturæ; dum ſpreto HELICONE manebit
Illa AGANIPPÆIS ſacrata OXONIA Muſis.
    Dum loquor in viridi feſtinant gramine Nymphæ,
Impediuntque comas lauro, & florentis oliuæ
Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immenſi longè venerantur ELISAM.
Illa autem ad gelidum celſis de turribus amnem
Proſpicit, & iamiam TAMESINO in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis GILEBERTVM albeſcere velis.
Sic dea PELIACO ſpectaſſe è vertice PALLAS
Fertur IASONIOS comites, ad PHASIDOS vndas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbaſa ventis.
DIVA faue, nutuque tuo ſuſcepta parari
Vela iuua; Si ſola geris digniſſima totum
Talibus auſpicijs proferri ſceptra per orbem.
Propterea quia ſola tuos ita pace beaſti
Tranquilla populos, vt iam te principe poſſint
Augere imperij fines. Quia ſola videris
Quo niueæ CHARITES, quo corpore DELIA virgo
Pingitur, & iuſto ſi ſit pro teſte vetuſtas.
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
SEMIDEOS homines: tali eſt de ſanguine magnus
Siue HECTOR genitus, ſiue HECTORE maior ACHILLES
Duntaxat ſine fraude vlla, ſine crimine poſſint
Vlla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
Quæ ſexum factis ſuperas, quæ patribus audes,
NYMPHA, dijs dignas laudes æquare LATINIS.
Mentior infœlix, niſi ſic in corpore virtus
Lucet formoſo, ceu quæ precioſior auro eſt
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
Mentior, & taceo, niſi ſola audiris vbique
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter & omnes
Securam requiem peragis tutiſſima caſus:
Dum reliqui reges duro quaſi carcere clauſi
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
Terrificis monſtris furtiua per ocia ſomno.
Mentior & taceo, ſolam niſi viuere ciues
Æternùm cupiunt: quando nec verbere toruo,
Nec cædis pœnæue thronum formidine firmas:
Sed tibi tot meritis maieſtas parta, & inermis
Ad patulos reſidet cuſtos clementia poſtes:
Vt quot penè rei iuſtum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent ſermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, niſi quod iuſtumque piumque
Agnoſcit probitas, & quæ potes omnia, ſolis
Legibus vſurpas cautas ſanctiſſima vires.
Nec mala formidas: ſi quidem quaſi fune ligatur
Conſilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
In caſtris BELLONA tuis: Quin pronus adorat
GRADIVVS tua iuſſa pater, ſequiturque vocantem
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plauſu.
Dumque fores alijs, vitamque & regna tuetur
Ianitor externus, cingunt tua limina ciues:

Dumque alijs ſordet ſapientia regibus, almo
PEGASIDVM tu fonte ſatur, tot APOLLINIS artes
Aurea vaticina fundis quaſi flumina lingua.
Nil noſtri inuenere dies, nil priſca vetuſtas
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
CHRISTIADVM gentes, quas te, diuina virago,
Iuſtius AONIæ poſſint iactare ſorores.
Audijt hæc mundus, cunctiſque in finibus ardet
Imperio parêre tuo: & quæ fortè recuſat
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua ſceptra
Incurua MAHOMETIGENæ ceruice ſalutant:
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera GALLI:
Dumque ſibi metuit toties tibi victus IBERVS,
Neſcia ROMANO GERMANIA Marte domari
Quærit amicitias BRITONVM: procul oſcula mittit
Virgineis pedibus LATIVM, longéque remoti
PANNONES in tutos optant coaleſcere fines.
Quinetiam quæ ſubmiſſo diademate nuper
Noua Albion.
Obtulit inuictis faſceſque fidemque BRITANNIS,
Nonne vides paſſis vt crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris AMERICA dextram?
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, ſoror ANGLIA, noſtras
Reſpicis, & dura nobiſcum in ſorte gemiſcis?
An verò neſciſſe potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus? poſt quam inſatiabilis auri,
Nam certè non vllus amor virtutis IBEROS
In noſtrum migrare ſolum, pietaſue coëgit,
Ex illo, quæ ſacra prius væſana litabam
Manibus infernis, ſperans meliora, tuumque
Diſcere poſſe DEVM, iubeor mortalibus aras
Erigere, & mutas ſtatuas truncoſque precata
Neſcio quod demens ROMANVM numen adoro.
Cur trahor in terras? ſi mens eſt lucida, puris
Cur DEVS in cœlis rectâ non quæritur? aut ſi
A nobis cœlum petitur, cur ſæpe videmus
Igne, fame, ferro ſubigi, quocunque reatu
Oenotriæ ſedis maieſtas læſa labaſcit?
Non ſic relligio, non ſic me iudice gaudet
Defendi ſua regna DEVS, quòd ſi optimus ille eſt;
Quòd ſi cuncta poteſt, & nullis indiget armis.
Mitto queri cædes, exhauſtaque mœnia bello:
Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora ſeruos
Abiecta, immaníque iugum Buſiride dignum.
Te tantum fortuna ammet tua, te tua virtus:
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus vrbes,
Vt niſi in excelſum creſcant, cœloque minentur
Ædes aëriæ; quanquam latiſſima, deſit
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
Turrigeras arces imitatæ mole carinæ,
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
Si tibi iam ſub ſole iacens penetratus vtroque eſt
Mundus, vtroque iacens peragrata eſt terra ſub axe.
Hugo Willobeius eques auratus.
Ni fruſtrà gelidam vectus WILOBEIVS ad arcton
Illa in gente iacet, cui dum Sol circinat vmbras,
Dimidio totus vix forſitan occidit anno.
Ni fruſtrà quæſiuit iter, duraque bipenni
Martinus Frobiſherus eques auratus.
Illo FROBISERVS reditum ſibi in æquore fecit,
Horridum vbi ſemper pelagus, glacieque perenni

Frigora natiuos ſimulant immitia montes.
Ni fruſtrà per CIMMERIOS, ſyluiſque propinqua
Flumina RIPHAEIS eoa profectus ad vſque eſt
Mœnia IENCISONVS, PERSASQVE & proxima PERSIS
Antonius Ienkinſonus.
BACTRA, & BACTRORVM confines regibus INDOS.
Ni fruſtrà, quod mortali tot ſecla negarant,
Hâc tuus immenſum nuper DRACVS ambijt orbem,
Franciſcus Dracus eques auratus.
Quà patri OCEANO clauſas circumdare terras
Conceſſit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, & duplici ſecludere littore mundos.
Iam ſi fortuna, iam ſi virtute ſequare
Digna tua; ſunt monſtra mihi, ſunt vaſta gigantum
Corpora, quæ magno cecidiſſe ſub HERCVLE non ſit
Dedecus, OGIGIVS non quæ aſpernetur IACCVS.
Quæ ſi indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Auerſare meos multo vt tibi ſanguine fines
Inuidioſa petas: eſt nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens diſcrimen in ISTHMO.
Hanc tibi iamdudum primi inuenere BRITANNI,
Tum cum magnanimus noſtra in regione CABOTVS
Sebaſtianus Cabotus.
Proximus à magno oſtendit ſua vela COLVMBO.
Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigeſcit ab arcto,
Sole nec immodico in ſteriles torretur arenas:
Frigus & æſtatem iuſto moderamine ſeruat,
Siue leues auras, grati ſpiracula cœli,
Seu diæ telluris opes, & munera curas.
Pone age te digno tua ſceptra in honore, meoque
Iunge ſalutarem propius cum littore dextram.
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te ſperare quietem,
Vicinoque bono lætum illuceſcere Solem.
Quòd ſi conſilijs superûm, fatiſque negatum eſt
Durare immenſum magna infortunia tempus:
Quòd ſi de immerita iuſtum eſt ceruice reuelli
Ignarum imperij dominum, populique regendi;
Quòd ſi nulla vnquam potuit ſupereſſe poteſtas,
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
Obſequium. A miti quæſita potentia CYRO
Amiſſa eſt ſæuæ ſoboli. Parcendo ſubegit
Tot reges MACEDVM virtus, tot poſtera ſenſim
Abſcidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod ROMVLEIS creuit ſub patribus olim
Imperium, diri ſemper minuêre NERONES.

A report of the voyage and ſucceſſe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by ſir *Humfrey Gilbert* knight, with other gentlemen aſſiſting him in that action, intended to diſcouer and to plant Chriſtian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon thoſe large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of *Florida*, lying vnder very temperate Climes, eſteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian prince, written by M. *Edward Haies* gentleman, and principall actour in the ſame voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods ſpeciall aſſiſtance returned home with his retinue ſafe and entire.

Many voyages haue bene pꝛetended, yet hitherto neuer any thoꝛowly accompliſhed by our nation of exact diſcouery into the bowels of thoſe maine, ample and vaſt countreys, extended infinitely into the Noꝛth from 30 degrees, oꝛ rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Chꝛiſtian habitation and regiment vpon the ſame, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually poſſeſſe therein, & by our ignoꝛance

of the riches and ſecrets within thoſe lands, which vnto this day we knew chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and moſt of the French, who albeit they can not challenge ſuch right and intereſt vnto the ſayd countreys as we, neither theſe many yeeres haue had opportunity nor meanes ſo great to diſcouer and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of inteſtine warres) as we haue had by the ineſtimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, and had long ſince attained a ſure poſſeſſion and ſetled gouernment of many prouinces in thoſe Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into thoſe forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coaſts frō Florida Northward firſt diſcouered by the Engliſh natiō.

The firſt diſcouery of theſe coaſts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebaſtian his ſonne, an Engliſhman borne, who were the firſt finders out of all that great tract of land ſtretching from the cape of Florida vnto thoſe Iſlands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the ſearch of inland countreys had bene followed, as the diſcouery vpon the coaſt, and out-parts therof was performed by thoſe two men: no doubt her Maieſties territories and reuenue had bene mightily inlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is more; the ſeed of Chriſtian religion had bene ſowed amongſt thoſe pagans, which by this time might haue brought foorth a moſt plentifull harueſt and copious congregation of Chriſtians; which muſt be the chiefe intent of ſuch as ſhall make any attempt that way: or els whatſoeuer is builded vpon other foundation ſhall neuer obtaine happy ſucceſſe nor continuance.

And although we can not preciſely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue bene the humours of men ſtirred vp to great attempts of diſcouering and planting in thoſe remote countreys, yet the euents do ſhew that either Gods cauſe hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted ſo abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto thoſe infidels before the appointed time.

But moſt aſſuredly, the only cauſe of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will alſo bring forward at the time aſſigned by God, an effectuall and compleat diſcouery & poſſeſſion by Chriſtians both of thoſe ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithſtanding God in his wiſdome hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obſcure and miſty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cauſe) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readineſſe for the execution of his will againſt the due time ordeined, of calling thoſe pagans vnto Chriſtianity.

A fit conſideration.

In the meane while, it behoueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any inſtinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the ſame proceed of ambition or auarice, he may aſſure himſelfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and aſſiſtance againſt the violence (els irreſiſtable) both of ſea, and infinite perils vpon the land; whom God yet may vſe an inſtrument to further his cauſe and glory ſome way, but not to build vpon ſo bad a foundation.

Otherwiſe, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compaſſion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in moſt woonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodies and ſoules; aduancement of his honeſt and well diſpoſed countreymen, willing to accompany him in ſuch honourable actions; reliefe of ſundry people within this realme diſtreſſed: all theſe be honorable purpoſes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleaſed, who will aſſiſt ſuch an actour beyond expectation of men. And the ſame, who feeleth this inclination in himſelfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repoſe in the preordinance of God, that in this laſt age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is compleat of receiuing alſo theſe Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raiſe him an inſtrument to effect the ſame: it ſeeming probable by euent of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French ſundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reſerued the ſame to be reduced vnto Chriſtian ciuility by the Engliſh nation. For not long after that Chriſtopher Columbus had diſcouered the Iſlands and continent of the Weſt Indies for Spaine, Iohn and Sebaſtian Cabot made diſcouery alſo of the reſt from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

Probable coniectures ỹ theſe lands North of Florida, are reſerued for the Engliſh nation to poſſeſſe.

And whenſoeuer afterwards the Spanyards (very proſperous in all their Southerne diſcoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and thoſe regions inclining towards the North, they proued moſt vnhappy, and were at length diſcouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable ſucceſſe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeuouring to bring thoſe Northerly regions alſo vnder the Spaniſh iuriſdiction; as if God had preſcribed limits vnto the Spaniſh nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne geſts recorded may be aptly gathered.

The Spanyards proſperous in the Southerne diſcoueries, yet vnhappy in theſe Northerne.

The French, as they can pretend leſſe title vnto theſe Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the firſt diſcouery of the ſame continent ſo far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before diſcouered by the Engliſh nation, vſurping vpon our right, and impoſing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the firſt finders of thoſe coaſts; which iniury we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to diſcouer when we approched the Spaniſh limits: euen ſo God hath not hitherto permitted them to eſtabliſh a poſſeſſion permanent vpon anothers right, notwithſtanding their manifolde attempts, in which the iſſue hath bene no leſſe tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

The French are but vſurpers vpon our right.

The Frēch alſo infortunate in thoſe North parts of America.

Then ſeeing the Engliſh nation onely hath right vnto theſe countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of firſt diſcouery, vnto which Cabot was authoriſed by regall authority, and ſet forth by the expenſe of our late famous king Henry the ſeuenth: which right alſo ſeemeth ſtrongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withſtanding the enterpriſes of other nations: it may greatly incourage vs vpon ſo iuſt ground, as is our right, and vpon ſo ſacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the ſame) to proſecute effectually the full poſſeſſion of thoſe ſo ample and pleaſant countreys apperteining vnto the crowne of England: the ſame (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God preſcribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which alſo is very probable by the reuolution and courſe of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the Eaſt, towards, & at laſt vnto the Weſt, where it is like to end, vnleſſe the ſame begin againe where it did in the Eaſt, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are aſſured of the contrary by the propheſie of Chriſt, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world ſhalbe the end. And as the Goſpel when it deſcended Weſtward began in the South, and afterward ſpread into the North of Europe: euen ſo, as the ſame hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no leſſe hope may be gathered that it will alſo ſpread into the North.

A good incouragement for the Engliſh nation, to proceed in the conqueſts of the North of America.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling theſe heathens vnto Chriſtianity.

The word of God moueth circularly.

Theſe conſiderations may helpe to ſuppreſſe all dreads riſing of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as alſo of the heauy ſucceſſe and iſſue in the late enterpriſe made by a worthy gentleman our countryman ſir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the firſt of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in thoſe Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had conſumed much ſubſtance, and loſt his life at laſt, his people alſo periſhing for the moſt part: yet the myſtery thereof we muſt leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cauſe (which was iuſt in all pretence) and of the perſon, who was very zealous in proſecuting the ſame, deſeruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expenſe of life in ſo vertuous an enterpriſe. Whereby neuertheleſſe, leaſt any man ſhould be diſmayd by example of other folks calamity, and miſdeeme that God doth reſiſt all attempts intended that way: I thought good, ſo farre as my ſelfe was an eye witneſſe, to deliuer the circumſtance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was ſo infortunately incumbred with wants, and worſe matched with many ill diſpoſed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for thoſe affaires, was ſubiected to tolerate abuſes, & in ſundry extremities to holde on a courſe, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to ſucceed.

The iſſue of ſuch actions, being alwayes miſerable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confuſion and diſorder, hath left this for admonition (being the firſt attempt by our nation to plant) vnto ſuch as ſhall take the ſame cauſe in hand hereafter not to be diſcouraged from it: but to make men well aduiſed how they handle his ſo high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into thoſe very mighty and vaſt countreys. An action doubtleſſe not to be intermedled with baſe purpoſes; as many haue made the ſame but a colour to ſhadow actions otherwiſe ſcarſe iuſtifiable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cauſe, without pondering his iuſt proceedings: and doth alſo incenſe forren princes againſt our attempts how iuſt ſoeuer, who can not but deeme the ſequele very dangerous vnto their ſtate (if in thoſe parts we ſhould grow to ſtrength) ſeeing the very beginnings are entred with ſpoile.

The planting of Gods word muſt be handled with reuerence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cauſe, alſo towards thoſe in whom appeareth diſpoſition honourable vnto this action of planting Chriſtian people and religion in thoſe remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wiſh all happineſſe) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with ſir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduerſly.

When firſt Sir Humfrey Gilbert vndertooke the Weſterne diſcouery of America, and had procured

The firſt and great preparation of ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

procured from her Maieſty a very large commiſſion to inhabit & poſſeſſe at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian prince, the ſame commiſſion exemplified with many priuileges, ſuch as in his diſcretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good eſtimation drew vnto him, to aſſociate him in ſo commendable an enterpriſe, ſo that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puiſſant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by ſea: neuertheleſſe, amongſt a multitude of voluntary men, their diſpoſitions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuiſion in the end, to the confuſion of that attempt euen before the ſame was begun. And when the ſhipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coaſt to go aboord: at that time ſome brake conſort, and followed courſes degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promiſes contracted, and the greater number were diſperſed, leauing the Generall with few of his aſſured friends, with whom he aduentured to ſea: where hauing taſted of no leſſe miſfortune, he was ſhortly driuen to retire home with the loſſe of a tall ſhip, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A conſtant reſolution of ſir Humfey Gilbert.

Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great maſſe of ſubſtance, wherby his eſtate was impaired, his minde yet not diſmaid, he continued his former deſignment & purpoſe to reuiue this enterpriſe, good occaſion ſeruing. Upon which determination ſtanding long, without meanes to ſatisfy his deſire; at laſt he granted certaine aſſignments out of his cōmiſſion to ſundry perſons of meane ability, deſiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whō if God gaue good ſucceſſe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the ſame (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worſt that might happen in that courſe might be excuſed without preiudice vnto him by the former ſuppoſition, that thoſe North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a poſſeſſion taken in any parcell of thoſe heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did inueſt him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced ſir Humfry Gilbert to make thoſe aſſignments, deſiring greatly their expedition, becauſe his commiſſion did expire after ſix yeres, if in that ſpace he had not gotten actuall poſſeſſion.

A ſecond preparation of ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his aſſignes: inſomuch that at laſt he muſt reſolue himſelfe to take a voyage in perſon, for more aſſurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almoſt was expired or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongſt others, ſir George Peckam knight ſhewed himſelfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, reſoluing to aduenture their ſubſtance & liues in the ſame cauſe. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of ſhipping, munition, victual, men, and things requiſit, ſome of them cōtinued the charge two yeres compleat without intermiſſion. Such were the difficulties and croſſe accidents oppoſing theſe proceedings, which tooke not end in leſſe then two yeres: many of which circumſtances I will omit.

The laſt place of our aſſembly, before we left the coaſt of England, was in Cauſet bay neere vnto Plimmouth: then reſolued to put vnto the ſea with ſhipping and prouiſion, ſuch as we had, before our ſtore yet remaining, but chiefly the time and ſeaſon of the yeere, were too farre ſpent. Neuertheleſſe it ſeemed firſt very doubtfull by what way to ſhape our courſe, and to begin our intended diſcouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Conſultation about our courſe.

The firſt, that is, beginning South, without all controuerſie was the likelieſt, wherein we were aſſured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida ſetteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, diſcouering from the foreſayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all thoſe lands lying to the North.

Comodities in diſcouering from South Northward.

Alſo the yere being farre ſpent, and arriued to the moneth of Iune, we were not to ſpend time in Northerly courſes, where we ſhould be ſurpriſed with timely Winter, but to couet the ſouth, which we had ſpace enough then to haue attained; and there might with leſſe detriment haue wintred that ſeaſon, being more milde and ſhort in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

Theſe and other like reaſons alleged in fauour of the Southerne courſe firſt to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that foraſmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouiſions were diminiſhed and left inſufficient for ſo long a voyage, and for the wintering of ſo many men, we ought to ſhape a courſe moſt likely to miniſter ſupply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but ſeuen hundred leagues from our Engliſh coaſt. Where being vſually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fine of Auguſt, a multitude of ſhips repairing thither for fiſh, we ſhould be relieued abundantly with many neceſſaries, which after the fiſhing ended, they might well ſpare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not ſtaying long vpon that Newland coaſt, we might proceed Southward, and follow ſtill the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

By which reaſons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly courſe, obeying vnto neceſſity, which muſt be ſupplied. Otherwiſe, we doubted that ſudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke miſts, tempeſt and rage of weather; alſo contrariety of currents deſcending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Raſe, would fall out to be great and irreſiſtable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in thoſe North and colde regions.

Cauſe why we began our diſcouery frō the North.

Incommodities in begining North.

Wherfore ſuppreſſing all obiections to the contrary, we reſolued to begin our courſe Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreſhing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permiſſion) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of ſearch. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our courſe and orders to be obſerued in our voyage; which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and maſters of euery ſhip a copy in maner following.

Euery ſhippe had deliuered two bullets or ſcrowles, the one ſealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included ſeuerall watch-words. That open, ſeruing vpon our owne coaſt or the coaſt of Ireland: the other ſealed, was promiſed on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we ſhould be cleere of the Iriſh coaſt; which from thenceforth did ſerue vntill we arriued and met altogether in ſuch harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The ſayd watch-words being requiſit to know our conſorts whenſoeuer by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet diſperſed ſhould come together againe; or one ſhould hale another; or if by ill watch and ſteerage one ſhip ſhould chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reaſon of the bullet ſealed was to keepe ſecret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coaſt, leſt any of the company ſtealing from the fleet might betray the ſame; which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without miſtruſt, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Maſters to be obſerued by the fleet of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*.

First the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall ſhall ſhorten his ſaile by night, then to ſhew two lights vntill he be anſwered againe by euery ſhip ſhewing one light for a ſhort time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his ſhortening of ſaile, as aforeſayd, ſhall make more ſaile againe: then he to ſhew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall ſhall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet ſhould happen to be ſcattered by weather, or other miſhap, then ſo ſoone as one ſhall deſcry another, to hoiſe both toppe ſailes twiſe, if the weather will ſerue, and to ſtrike them twiſe againe: but if the weather ſerue not, then to hoiſe the maine top ſaile twiſe, and forthwith to ſtrike it twiſe againe.

6 Item, if it ſhall happen a great fogge to fall, then preſently euery ſhippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ſhip to hull, and ſo to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to ſhoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ſhip to anſwere it with one ſhot: and euery man bearing to the ſhip, that is to leeward ſo neere as he may.

7 Item, euery maſter to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ſhip to haile the admirall, and ſo to fall aſterne him, ſailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coaſt, euery ſhip to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ſhip be in danger any way, by leake or otherwiſe, then ſhe to ſhoot off a piece, and preſently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, anſwering her with one light for a ſhort time, and ſo to put it out againe; thereby to giue knowledge that they haue ſeene her token.

10 Item, whenſoeuer the Admirall ſhall hang out her enſigne in the maine ſhrowds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counſell.

11 Item, if there happen any ſtorme or contrary winde to the fleet after the diſcouery, whereby they are ſeparated: then euery ſhip to repaire vnto their laſt good port, there to meet againe.

Our courſe agreed vpon.

The courſe firſt to be taken for the diſcouery is to beare directly to cape Raſe, the moſt Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour our ſelues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the firſt places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Raſe: and therefore euery ſhip ſeparated from the fleet to repaire to that place ſo faſt as God ſhall permit, whether you ſhall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to ſtay for the meeting of the whole fleet the ſpace of ten dayes; and when you ſhall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our courſe vnto the *Newfound land.*

BEginning our courſe from Silley, the neereſt is by Weſtſouthweſt (if the winde ſerue) vntill ſuch time as we haue brought our ſelues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, becauſe the Ocean is ſubiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take trauerſe from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God ſhall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeuour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, ſo nere as you can poſſibly, becauſe cape Raſe lieth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coaſt of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our aſſembly or meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary winds that we can not paſſe the coaſt of Ireland, then the place of our aſſembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

If we ſhall not happen to meet at cape Raſe, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neereſt harbour vnto the Weſtward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other ſhipping we may not ſafely ſtay there, then to reſt at the very next ſafe port to the Weſtward; euery ſhip leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in ſuch a caſe, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himſelfe, ſealed alſo in cloſe waxe, and deliuered vnto euery ſhippe one ſcroule, which was not to be opened vntil occaſion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for inſtruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there, or whether any were ſtill there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promiſes mutually giuen to be obſerued, euery man withdrew himſelfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our ſhippes vnder ſaile, hauing a ſoft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tueſday the eleuenth day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Cauſet bay) theſe ſhippes, whoſe names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and maſters of them, I haue alſo inſerted, as followeth:

1 The Delight *aliàs* The George, of burthen 120 *tunnes*, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke maſter.

2 The Barke Raleigh ſet forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Briſtoll maſter.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouſe maſter.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade maſter.

Our fleet conſiſted of fiue sailes, in which we had about 260 men.
Prouiſions fit for ſuch diſcoueries.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smithes, and ſuch like, requiſite to ſuch an action: alſo Minerall men and Refiners. Beſides, for ſolace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Muſike in good variety: not omitting the leaſt toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horſſe, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes poſſible. And to that end we were indifferently furniſhed of all petty haberdaſhrie wares to barter with thoſe ſimple people.

June 11.

In this maner we ſet forward, departing (as hath bene ſaid) out of Cauſon bay the eleuenth day of June being Tueſday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great ſtorme of thunder and winde fell the ſame night.

June 13.

Obſerue.

Thurſday following, when we hailed one another in the euening (according to the order before ſpecified) they ſignified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen ſicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forſooke vs, notwithſtanding we had the winde Eaſt, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious ſickneſſe, and arriued greatly diſtreſſed at Plimmoth: the reaſon I could neuer vnderſtand. Sure I am, no coſt was ſpared by their owner Maſter Raleigh in ſetting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the loſſe of the moſt puiſſant ſhip in our fleete: after whoſe departure, the Golden Hind ſucceeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

June 15.

From Saturday the 15 of June vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the Weſt northweſt, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees ſcarſe.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly Weſt towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of Weſt to the South or to the North, whereby the courſe thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Aprill & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and leſſe. We had winde alwayes ſo ſcant from Weſt northweſt, and from Weſt ſouthweſt againe, that our trauerſe was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almoſt, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

July 20.
Great fogges vpon the Ocean ſea Northward.

Alſo we were incombred with much fogge and miſts in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe ſo well together, but were diſſeuered, loſing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill vpon the 20 day of July, whom we met againe at ſeuerall places vpon the Newfound land coaſt the third of Auguſt, as ſhalbe declared in place conuenient.

July 27.

Saturday the 27 of July, we might deſcry not farre from vs, as it were mountaines of yce driuen vpon the ſea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that ſome current doth ſet that way from the North.

The banke in length vnknowen, ſtretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30 fadome.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this ſide, we paſſe the banke, which are high grounds riſing within the ſea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not leſſe then 25 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the ſame (as it were ſome vaine of mountaines within the ſea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is ſomewhere more, and ſomewhere leſſe: but we found the ſame about 10 leagues ouer, hauing ſounded both on this ſide thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almoſt 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had paſſed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fiſhing vpon this banke, where are ſometimes an hundred or more ſailes of ſhips: who commonly beginne the fiſhing in Aprill, and haue ended by July. That fiſh is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fiſh.

A great fiſhing vpon yͤ banke.

During the time of fiſhing, a man ſhall know without ſounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of ſea foule houering ouer the ſame, to pray vpon the offalles & garbiſh of fiſh throwen out by fiſhermen, and floting vpon the ſea.

Abundance of foules.

July 30.

Firſt ſight of land.

Upon Tueſday the 11 of June, we forſooke the coaſt of England. So againe Tueſday the 30 of July (ſeuen weekes after) we got ſight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or ſome other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, ſo great haſe and fogge did hang vpon the coaſt, as neither we might diſcerne the land well, nor take the ſunnes height. But by our beſt computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forſaking this bay and vncomfortable coaſt (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coaſt to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

Iland and a foule named Penguin.

We had ſight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almoſt incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much leſſe then a gooſe) and exceeding fat: which the French men vſe to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with ſalt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouiſion.

An Iland called Baccalaos, of the fiſh taken there.

Trending this coaſt, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not paſt two leagues from the maine: to the South therof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues diſtant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar ſort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had loſt in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it ſeemed their ſtore was ſo amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they ſpared not to caſt vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himſelfe was very honeſt and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and deſert: who for the moſt part were ſuch as had bene by vs ſurpriſed vpon the narrow ſeas of England, being pirats and had taken at that inſtant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with ſalt. Both which we reſcued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the ſame ſhip now called the Swallow, following ſtill their kind ſo oft, as (being ſeparated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and ſpoile. And becauſe Gods iuſtice did follow the ſame company, euen to deſtruction, and to the ouerthrow alſo of the Captaine (though not conſenting to their miſdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifeſtation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perſwaded that God more ſharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much theſe went vnder protection of his cauſe and religion, which was then pretended.

Miſdemeanor of them in the Swallow.

Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowen, how this cōpany met with a barke returning home after the fiſhing with his fraight: and becauſe the men in the Swallow were very neere ſcanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they beſought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be ſpared, the rather becauſe the ſame was bound homeward. Leaue giuen, not without charge to deale fauorably, they came aboord the fiſherman, whō they rifled of tackle, ſailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not ſparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out elſe what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men ſkilfull in ſuch miſchiefe) as they tooke their cocke boat to go aboord their own ſhip, it was ouerwhelmed in the ſea, and certaine of theſe men there drowned: the reſt were preſerued euen by thoſe ſilly ſoules whom they had before ſpoyled, who ſaued and deliuered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps deſtitute of ſayles and furniture ſufficient to carry them home (whither they had not leſſe to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the reſt that eſcaped at this inſtant; to reueale the fact, and iuſtifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as ſhalbe declared in place conuenient.

Engliſh ſhips are the ſtrongeſt and Admirals of other fleetes, fiſhing vpon the South parts of Newfound land.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our courſe Southward, vntill we came againſt the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5. leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found alſo the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the Engliſh marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fiſhermen within the ſame harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of ſo happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of Auguſt) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any reſiſtance to the contrarie notwithſtanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 ſailes. But firſt the Generall diſpatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commiſſion from her Maieſtie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a ſlacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2 buts length) the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the larboord ſide by great ouerſight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water faſt by the ſhore, where neither went any ſea gate. But we found ſuch readineſſe in the Engliſh Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ſhip, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Maſters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither alſo came immediatly the Maſters and owners of the fiſhing fleete of Engliſhmen, to vnderſtand the Generals intent and cauſe of our arriuall there. They were all ſatiſfied when the General had ſhewed his commiſſion, and purpoſe to take poſſeſſion of thoſe lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Chriſtian religion in thoſe Paganiſh regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and ſupply of ſome neceſſaries, ſo farre as conueniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them with any fauour and priuiledge, which vpon their better aduiſe they ſhould demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in thoſe partes, he diſmiſſed them, after promiſe giuen of their beſt indeuour to ſatiſfie ſpeedily his ſo reaſonable requeſt. The marchants with their Maſters departed, they cauſed foorthwith to be diſcharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that euery ſhip of our fleete ſhould deliuer vnto the marchants and Maſters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ſhips aſwell Engliſh as ſtrangers, were taxed at an eaſie rate to make ſupply. And beſides, Commiſſioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our Engliſh marchants command all there) to leauie our prouiſion: whereunto the Portugals (aboue other nations) did moſt willingly and liberally contribute. Inſomuch as we were preſented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, moſt fine ruſke or biſket, ſweet oyles and ſundry delicacies. Alſo we wanted not of freſh ſalmons, trouts, lobſters and other freſh fiſh brought daily vnto vs. Moreouer as the maner is in their fiſhing, euery weeke to chooſe their Admirall a new, or rather they ſucceede in orderly courſe, and haue weekely their Admirals feaſt ſolemnized: euen ſo the General, Captaines and maſters of our fleete were continually inuited and feaſted. To grow ſhort, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious paſſage through the Ocean, it ſeemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the ſame was vnexpected in that deſolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beaſts and birds haue only the fruition of all thoſe countries, which now ſeemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good order taken by Engliſh marchãts for our ſupply in Newfound land.

Good entertainment in Newfound land.

No Sauages in the South part of Newfound land.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of Auguſt, the Generall and his company were brought on land by Engliſh marchants, who ſhewed vnto vs their accuſtomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it ſelfe without art: who confuſedly hath brought foorth roſes abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to ſenſe very comfortable. Alſo the like plentie of raſpis berries, which doe grow in euery place.

Auguſt 4.

Munday following, the General had his tent ſet vp, who being accompanied with his own followers, ſommoned the marchants and maſters, both Engliſh and ſtrangers to be preſent at his taking poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted vnto the ſtrangers his Commiſſion: by vertue whereof he tooke poſſeſſion in the ſame harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues euery way, inueſted the Queenes Maieſtie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the cuſtome of England) a rod & a turffe of the ſame ſoile, entring poſſeſſion alſo for him, his heires and aſſignes for euer: And ſignified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they ſhould take the ſame land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himſelfe authoriſed vnder her Maieſtie to poſſeſſe and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable (ſo neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, ſhould be ſubiected and gouerned. And eſpecially at the ſame time for a beginning, he propoſed & deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to ſay: the firſt for Religion, which in publique exerciſe ſhould be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maieſties right and poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, againſt which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall, the partie or parties offending ſhould be adiudged and executed as in caſe of high treaſon, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any perſon ſhould vtter words ſounding to the diſhonour of her Maieſtie, he ſhould looſe his eares, and haue his ſhip and goods confiſcate.

Auguſt 5.

Poſſeſſion taken.

Three lawes.

Theſe contents publiſhed, obedience was promiſed by generall voyce and conſent of the multitude aſwell of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers, praying for continuance of this poſſeſſion and gouernement begun. After this, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, and infixed vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to eſtabliſh this poſſeſſion taken in the right of her Maieſtie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and aſſignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water ſide, both in this harbor of S. Iohn, and elſewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby aſſured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dreſſe and to drie their fiſh, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came firſt into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and ſeruice vnto ſir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine poſſeſſion of the ſame, by themſelues or their aſſignes.

Actuall poſſeſſion maintained in Newfound land.

Now remained only to take in prouiſion granted, according as euery ſhippe was taxed, which did fiſh vpon the coaſt adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: ſome to repaire and trim the ſhips, others to attend in gathering togither our ſupply and prouiſions: others to ſearch the commodities and ſingularities of the countrey, to be found by ſea

Men appointed to make ſearch.

or land, and to make relation vnto the Generall what eyther themſelues could knowe by their owne trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of Engliſh men or ſtrangers, who had longeſt frequented the ſame coaſt. Alſo ſome obſerued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans ſeuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe deſcription of the Newfound land, with the commodities by ſea or lande alreadie made, and ſuch alſo as are in poſſibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuertheleſſe the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did periſh with the Admirall: wherefore in the deſcription following, I muſt omit the particulars of ſuch things.

A briefe relation of the *New found lande*, and the commodities thereof.

New found land is al Ilands or broke lands

Goodly roads and harbours.

That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of ſome) it conſiſteth of ſundry Ilands and broken lands, ſituate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North ſide of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, ſafe roads for ſhips, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

New found land is habitable.

Cold by accidentall meanes

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that ſhould be in this countrey, as of ſome part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the ſame eleuation: euen ſo it cannot ſtand with reaſon and nature of the clime, that the South parts ſhould be ſo intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the ſame doe lie vnder the climats of Briton, Aniou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, ſo can they not ſo much differ from the temperature of thoſe countries: vnleſſe vpon the outcoaſt lying open vnto the Ocean and ſharpe windes, it muſt in deede be ſubiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interpoſed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to reſiſt the aſperitie and rigor of the ſea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more ſubiect to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and ſeeldome vncouered of ſnow, in their culme and higheſt tops, which commeth to paſſe by the ſame reaſon that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Euen ſo all hils hauing their diſcents, the valleis alſo and low grounds muſt be likewiſe hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be ſo forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnall courſe from Eaſt to Weſt, paſſeth ouer (for the moſt part) dry land and ſandy countries, before he arriueth at the Weſt of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaſeth heate, with little or no qualification by moyſt vapours. Where, on the contrarie he paſſeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyſt vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being ſo much to the Northward. Neuertheleſſe (as I ſayd before) the cold cannot be ſo intollerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (eſpeciall within land) that it ſhould be vnhabitable, as ſome doe ſuppoſe, ſeeing alſo there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in theſe South parts there be certaine beaſtes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue ſeene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldneſſe. Beſides, as in the monethes of Iune, Iuly, Auguſt and September, the heate is ſomewhat more then in England at thoſe ſeaſons: ſo men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Rece, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold ſo extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Thoſe which haue arriued there after Nouember and December, haue found the ſnow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, conſidering the ground vpon the coaſt, is rough and vneuen, and the ſnow is driuen into the places moſt declyning, as the like is to be ſeene with vs. The like depth of ſnow happily ſhall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which alſo are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in thoſe South parts, aboue that with vs here: it can not be ſo great as in Swedland, much leſſe in Moſcouia or Ruſſia: yet are the ſame countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is diſpenſed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinkes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

Commodities.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all lilkelihood haue abandoned thoſe coaſtes, the ſame being ſo much frequented by Chriſtians: But in the North are ſauages altogether harmeleſſe. Touching the commodities of this countrie, ſeruing either for ſuſtentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: ſo ẏ it ſeemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of ſome ſharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no leſſe varietie of kindes of fiſh in the ſea and freſh waters, as Trouts, Salmons and other fiſh to vs vnknowen: Alſo Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the moſt famous fiſhing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which alſo is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Trane oiles of the Whale: Herring the largeſt that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malſtrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fiſhing. There are ſundry other fiſh very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobſters, Turbut, with others infinite not ſought after: Oyſters hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reaſon they were not gathered in ſeaſon.

Fiſh of ſea and freſh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aſwel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our Eaſt and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like alſo may be made in them as plentifully by time and induſtrie: Namely, roſen, pitch, tarre, ſopeaſhes, dealboord, maſtes for ſhips, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will afford, and the ſoyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the moſt in thoſe South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypreſſe, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger then a ſmall peaſe. Alſo peare trees, but fruitleſſe. Other trees of ſome ſorts to vs vnknowen.

The ſoyle along the coaſt is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly peaſon ſmall, yet good feeding for cattel. Roſes paſſing ſweet, like vnto our muſke roſes in forme, raſpaſes, a berry which we call Harts, good and holeſome to eat. The graſſe and herbe doth fat ſheepe in very ſhort ſpace, proued by Engliſh marchants which haue caried ſheepe thither for freſh victuall and had them raiſed exceeding fat in leſſe then three weekes. Peaſon which our countreymen haue ſowen in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of Auguſt, of which our Generall had a preſent acceptable for the rareneſſe, being the firſt fruits comming vp by art and induſtrie in that deſolate and diſhabited land.

Lakes or pooles of freſh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are ſaid to be muſkles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by miſchance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuerſitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Buſtards, yet not the ſame. A great white foule called of ſome a Gaunt.

Vpon the land diuers ſorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges moſt plentifull larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were ſo fat and vnable to flie. Birds ſome like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very ſmall. Beaſts of ſundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beaſt, as it ſeemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, ſome greater & ſome leſſer, wolues, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whoſe furre is eſteemed in ſome Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of moſt men that ſaw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he ſent vnto his brother ſir Iohn Gilbert knight of Deuonſhire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderſtood. We could not obſerue the hundreth part of creatures in thoſe vnhabited lands: but theſe mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath ſuperabundantly repleniſhed the earth with creatures ſeruing for the vſe of man, though man hath not vſed the fift part of the ſame, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and fooliſh ſlouth in many of our nation, chuſing rather to liue indirectly, and very miſerably to liue & die within this realme peſtered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in thoſe remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth miniſter vnto mens endeuours, and for art to worke vpon.

Newfound land doth miniſter commodities abundantly for art & induſtrie.

For beſides theſe alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make ſhew of minerall ſubſtance: Iron very common, lead, and ſomewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumſtances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongſt other charges giuen to inquire out the ſingularities of this countrey, the Generall was moſt curious in the ſearch of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, eſpecially to be diligent. The ſame was a Saxon borne, honeſt, and religious, named Daniel. Who after ſearch brought at firſt ſome ſort of Ore, ſeeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no ſmal ſhew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vſing proteſtation, that if ſiluer were the thing which might ſatiſfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, aduiſing him to ſeeke no further: the perill whereof he vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maieſtie, that I may vſe his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Siluer Ore brought vnto the Generall.

My ſelfe at this inſtant liker to die then to liue, by a miſchance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne ſatiſfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue ſome part of the Ore, he replied: Content your ſelfe, I haue ſeene ynough, and were it but to ſatiſfie my priuate humor, I would proceede no further. The promiſe vnto my friends, and neceſſitie to bring alſo the South countries within compaſſe of my Patent neere expired, as we haue alreadie done theſe North parts, do only perſwade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue ſent it aboord, whereof I would haue no ſpeech to be made ſo long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biſcains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom muſt be kept any bruit or muttering of ſuch matter. When we are at ſea proofe ſhalbe made: if it be to our deſire, we may returne the ſooner hither againe. Whoſe anſwere I iudged reaſonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and deſcription of the Newfound land, and proceede to the reſt of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Reaſons why no further ſearch was made for the ſiluer mine.

Miſdemeanor in our companie.

While the better ſort of vs were ſeriouſly occupied in repairing our wants, and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another ſort & diſpoſition were plotting of miſchiefe. Some caſting to ſteale away our ſhipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the ſhore: whoſe conſpiracies diſcouered, they were preuented. Others drew togither in company, and caried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ſhip laden with fiſh, ſetting the poore men on ſhore. A great many more of our people ſtole into the woods to hide themſelues, attending time and meanes to returne home by ſuch ſhipping as daily departed from the coaſt. Some were ſicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminiſhed, and many by the Generall licenſed to returne home. Inſomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, reſolued to ſee an end of our voyage, we grewe ſcant of men to furniſh all our ſhipping: it ſeemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with ſuch prouiſion as might be ſpared for tranſporting home the ſicke people.

God brought togither theſe men into the ſhip ordained to periſh, who before had cõmitted ſuch outrage.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whoſe ſtead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who alſo brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fiſhermen there met at ſea.

Why ſir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.

The Generall made choiſe to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine alſo was amongſt them that returned into England) the ſame Frigate being moſt conuenient to diſcouer vpon the coaſt, and to ſearch into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ſhip could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and ouercharged with baſes and ſuch ſmall Ordinance, more to giue a ſhew, then with iudgement to foreſee vnto the ſafetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occaſion alſo of their ouerthrow.

Liberalitie of the Portugals.

Now hauing made readie our ſhipping, that is to ſay, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our prouiſion, which was wines, bread or ruſke, fiſh wette and drie, ſweete oiles: beſides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and ſuch like: Alſo we had other neceſſary prouiſions for trimming our ſhips, nets and lines to fiſh withall, boates or pinneſſes fit for diſcouery. In briefe, we were ſupplied of our wants commodiouſly, as if we had bene in a Countrey or ſome Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

Auguſt 20
S. Iohns in 47 deg. 40 min.

We departed from this harbour of S. Iohns vpon Tueſday the twentieth of Auguſt, which we found by exact obſeruation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the ſame harborough.

Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.

This Cape lyeth South Southweſt from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the ſea riſeth vp a rocke againſt the point of the Cape, which thereby is eaſily knowen: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Vnder this Cape we were becalmed a ſmall time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in leſſe then two houres, fiſh ſo large and in ſuch abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouiſion.

Fiſh large and plentifull.

From hence we ſhaped our courſe vnto the Iſland of Sablon, if conueniently it would ſo fall out, alſo directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the ſea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Iohns) who was himſelfe preſent, when the Portugals (aboue thirty yeeres paſt) did put into the ſame Iſland both Neat and Swine to breede, which were ſince exceedingly multiplied. This ſeemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Iſland lying ſo neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, ſuch ſtore of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victuall, and serued of ſtore for breed.

Cattel in the Iſle of Sablon.

In this courſe we trended along the coaſt, which from Cape Race ſtretcheth into the Northweſt, making a bay which ſome called Trepaſſa. Then it goeth out againe toward the Weſt, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner Eaſt and Weſt. But this point inclineth to the North: to the Weſt of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We ſent men on land to take view of the ſoyle along this coaſt, whereof they made good report, and ſome of them had wil to be planted there. They ſaw Peaſe growing in great abundance euery where.

Good ſoile.

The diſtance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we ſpent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we neuer attaine ſight of any land all that time, ſeeing we were hindred by the current. At laſt we fell into ſuch flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs eſcaped: where neuertheleſſe we loſt our Admiral with al the men and prouiſion, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of ſkill to make coniecture, by our courſe and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inſerted in ſea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the ſame courſe hereafter) I haue ſet downe the beſt reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Maſter of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouſe.

Reckonings kept in our courſe from Cape *Race* towards *Cape Briton*, and the Iſland of *Sablon*, to the time and place where we loſt our Admirall.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
	Weſt and by South,	25.
	Weſtnorthweſt,	25.
	Weſtnorthweſt,	9.
	Southſouthweſt,	10.
	Southweſt,	12.
	Southſouthweſt,	10.
Auguſt 29.	Weſtnorthweſt.	12. Here we loſt our Admiral.

Summe of theſe leagues, 117.

The reckoning of *Iohn Paul* Maſters mate from *Cape Race*.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
23	Northweſt and by Weſt,	9.
24	Southweſt and by South,	5.
25	Weſt and by South,	40.
26	Weſt and by North,	7.
27	Southweſt,	3.
28	Southweſt,	9.
	South weſt,	7.
	Weſtſouthweſt,	7.
29	Northweſt and by Weſt,	20. Here we loſt our Admirall.

Summe of all theſe leagues, 121

Our courſe we held in clearing vs of theſe flats was Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt, and South 14 leagues with a marueilous ſcant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was loſt.

August 27. Vpon Tewſday the 27 of Auguſt, toward the euening, our Generall cauſed them in his frigat to ſound, who found white ſande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wedneſday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Weſtnorthweſt, contrary to the mind of maſter Cox: neuertheleſſe wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to preuent a miſchiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other courſe, alleaging they could not make the ſhip to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

Predictions before the wracke. The euening was faire and pleaſant, yet not without token of ſtorme to enſue, and moſt part of this Wedneſday night, like the Swanne that ſingeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in ſounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: alſo winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Towards the euening alſo we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpoſe, with a harping yron, hauing firſt ſtriken diuers of them, and brought away part of their fleſh, ſticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. Theſe alſo paſſing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend ſtorme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of ſtrange voyces, the ſame night, which ſcarred ſome from the helme.

Loſſe of our Admirall. Thurſday the 29 of Auguſt, the wind roſe, and blew vehemently at South and by Eaſt, bringing withal raine, and thicke miſt, ſo that we could not ſee a cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongſt flats and ſands, amongſt which we found ſhoale and deepe in euery three or foure ſhippes length, after wee began to ſound: but firſt we were vpon them vnawares, vntill maſter Cox looking out, diſcerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward deſcrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the ſea white, which ſeemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to caſt about to ſeaward, which, being the greater ſhip, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formoſt vpon the breach, keeping ſo ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the ſame, too late to recouer it: for preſently the Admirall ſtrooke a ground, and had ſoone after her ſterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the reſt (that is to ſay, the Frigat, in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) caſt about Eaſtſoutheaſt, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, becauſe that way caried vs to the ſeaward. Making out from this danger, wee ſounded one while ſeuen fadome, then fiue fadome, then foure fadome and leſſe, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the ſea going mightily and high. At laſt we recouered (God be thanked) in ſome deſpaire, to ſea roome enough.

In this diſtreſſe, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom wee ſawe caſt away, without power to giue the men ſuccour, neither could we eſpie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to ſaue themſelues, either in the ſame Pinneſſe or Cocke, or vpon rafters, and ſuch like meanes, preſenting themſelues to men in thoſe extremities: for we deſired to ſaue the men by euery poſſible meanes. But all in vaine, ſith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was poſſible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might eſpie any of them.

This was a heauy and grieuous euent, to loſe at one blow our chiefe ſhippe fraighted with great prouiſion, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the loſſe of our men, which periſhed to the number almoſt of a hundreth ſoules. Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian. Amongſt whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the geſts and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this diſcouerie, to the honour of our nation, the ſame being adorned with the eloquent ſtile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Daniel a refiner of metals. Here alſo periſhed our Saxon Refiner and Diſcouerer of ineſtimable riches, as it was left amongſt ſome of vs in vndoubted hope.

No leſſe heauy was the loſſe of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honeſt, and diſ

creet

creete Gentleman, ouerſeene onely in libertie giuen late before to men, that ought to haue bene reſtrained, who ſhewed himſelfe a man reſolued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his laſt act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that eſcaped this wracke miraculouſly, as ſhall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was paſt of recouering the ſhip, and that men began to giue ouer, and to ſaue themſelues, the Captaine was aduiſed before to ſhift alſo for his life, by the Pinneſſe at the ſterne of the ſhip: but refuſing that counſell, he would not giue example with the firſt to leaue the ſhippe, but vſed all meanes to exhort his people not to deſpaire, nor ſo to leaue off their labour, chooſing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forſaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue periſhed through his default, ſhewing an ill preſident vnto his men, by leauing the ſhip firſt himſelfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the higheſt decke, where hee attended imminent death, and vnauoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his ſeruants at ſuch times.

In the meane ſeaſon, certaine, to the number of fourteene perſons, leaped into a ſmall Pinneſſe (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themſelues to Gods mercy, amiddeſt the ſtorme, and rage of ſea and windes, deſtitute of foode, not ſo much as a droppe of freſh water. The boate ſeeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant ſouldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the leſſer, thought better that ſome of them periſhed then all, made this motion to caſt lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which other wayes ſeemed impoſſible to liue, offred himſelfe with the firſt, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Maſter of the Admirall, and one of this number, refuſed, aduiſing to abide Gods pleaſure, who was able to ſaue all, as well as a few.

A wonderfull ſcape and deliuerance.
A great diſtreſſe.
A deſperate reſolution.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing ſixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at laſt with the men (aliue, but weake) vpon the New found land, ſauing that the foreſayd Headly, (who had bene late ſicke) and another called of vs Braſile, of his trauell into thoſe Countreys, died by the way, famiſhed, and leſſe able to holde out, then thoſe of better health. For ſuch was theſe poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better ſuſtenance then their owne vrine, for ſixe dayes together.

Two men famiſhed.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to be famiſhed, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumſtance of dying: whom againe he will preſerue, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For thoſe that arriued vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coaſt.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the ſea vp and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or ſome Iſland. For we many times, and in ſundry places found ground at 50,45,40 fadomes, and leſſe. The ground comming vpon our lead, being ſometimes oazie ſand, and otherwhile a broad ſhell, with a little ſand about it.

Our people loſt courage dayly after this ill ſucceſſe, the weather continuing thicke and bluſtering, with increaſe of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, ſetling an aſſurance of worſe weather to grow vpon vs euery day. The Leeſide of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coaſt full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknowen. But aboue all, prouiſion waxed ſcant, and hope of ſupply was gone, with loſſe of our Admirall.

Cauſes inforcing vs to returne home againe.

Thoſe in the Frigat were already pinched with ſpare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they beſought the Generall to returne for England, before they all periſhed. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made ſignes of their diſtreſſe, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they alſo of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the ſame opinion and deſire to returne home.

The former reaſons hauing alſo moued the Generall to haue compaſſion of his poore men, in whom he ſaw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, reſolued vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Maſter of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reaſons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall proteſting himſelfe greatly ſatiſfied with that hee had ſeene, and knew already.

Reiterating theſe words, Be content, we haue ſeene enough, and take no care of expence paſt: I will ſet you foorth royally the next Spring, if God ſend vs ſafe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer ſtriue here, where we fight againſt the elements.

Omitting circumſtance, how vnwillingly the Captaine & Maſter of the Hinde condeſcended to this motion, his owne company can teſtifie: yet comforted with the Generals promiſes of a ſpeedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reaſons, prouing an impoſſibilitie, to accompliſh the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

August 31.

A monſter of the ſea.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of Auguſt, we changed our courſe, and returned backe for England, at which very inſtant, euen in winding about, there paſſed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forſooke a very lion to our ſeeming, in ſhape, hair and colour, not ſwimming after the maner of a beaſt by moouing of his feete, but rather ſliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in ſight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe riſing aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tuniſe, Porpoſes, and all other fiſh: but confidently ſhewing himſelfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithſtanding, we preſented our ſelues in open view and geſture to amaſe him, as all creatures will be commonly at a ſudden gaze and ſight of men. Thus he paſſed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonſtration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right againſt the Hinde) he ſent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which ſpectacle wee all beheld ſo farre as we were able to diſcerne the ſame, as men prone to wonder at euery ſtrange thing, as this doubtleſſe was, to ſee a lion in the Ocean ſea, or fiſh in ſhape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himſelfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre againſt ſuch an enemie, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the ſea rough, inſomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almoſt ſwalowed vp.

September 2.

Munday in the afternoone we paſſed in the ſight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ſhip periſhed. Which hindrance thitherward, and ſpeed backe againe, is to be imputed vnto the ſwift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This munday the Generall came aboord the Hind, to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dreſſe his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard ſucceſſe to be all paſt, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his ſecurity. Immediatly after followed a ſharpe ſtorme, which we ouerpaſſed for that time. Prayſed be God.

Our laſt conference with our Generall.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Maſter, and company, which was the laſt meeting, and continued there from morning vntill night. During which time there paſſed ſundry diſcourſes, touching affaires paſt, and to come, lamenting greatly the loſſe of his great ſhip, more of the men, but moſt of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of meaſure grieued, the ſame doubtles being ſome matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumſtance I gathered, the ſame to be yͤ Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the Mew found land. Whatſoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him ſo deepe, as not able to containe himſelfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the ſame time, ſo long after the miſcarying of the great ſhip, becauſe vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coaſt of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he ſent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongſt which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conueniently ſend againe aboord the great ſhip, much leſſe hee doubted her ruine ſo neere at hand.

Circumſtances to be well obſerued in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a ſiluer mine.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuerſly, and by ſundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had neuer before good conceit of theſe North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the Mew found land. And as before he refuſed not to grant aſſignements liberally to them that required the ſame into theſe North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any ſo large grants, eſpecially of S. Iohns, which certaine Engliſh merchants made ſuite for, offering to imploy their money and trauell vpon the ſame: yet neither by their owne ſuite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he ſeemed willing to pleaſure, it could be obtained.

Alſo laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for diſpoſing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he aſſigned the Captaine & Maſter of the Golden Hind, vnto the South diſcouery, and reſerued vnto himſelfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Laſt, being demanded what meanes he had at his arriuall in England, to compaſſe the charges of ſo great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to mee (hee replied) I will aſke a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maieſty, who wil be ſo gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he ſayd) with al his heart, for that he had ſeene, the ſame being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to ſeeke any further. And theſe laſt words he would often repeate, with demonſtration of great feruencie of mind, being himſelfe very confident, and ſetled in beliefe of ineſtimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles miſtruſted altogether, not being made partakers of thoſe ſecrets, which the Generall kept vnto himſelfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witneſſes of his words and proteſtations, which ſparingly I haue deliuered.

Leauing the iſſue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleaſure bring the ſame to light: I will haſten to the end of this tragedie, which muſt be knit vp in the perſon of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen ſo the vehement perſwaſion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull reſolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and ſmall artillerie, too cumberſome for ſo ſmall a boate, that was to paſſe through the Ocean ſea at that ſeaſon of the yere, when by courſe we might expect much ſtorme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Maſter, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his anſwere: I will not forſake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue paſſed ſo many ſtormes, and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be ſo ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the ſea, albeit this was rather raſhnes, then aduiſed reſolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

A token of a good mind.

Seeing he would not bend to reaſon, he had prouiſion out of the Hinde, ſuch as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And ſo we committed him to Gods protection, & ſet him aboord his Pinneſſe, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Iſlands of Açores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntil we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible ſeas, breaking ſhort and high Pyramid wiſe. The reaſon whereof ſeemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the ſea, (as we ſee hilles and dales vpon the land) vpon which the ſeas doe mount and fall: or elſe the cauſe proceedeth of diuerſitie of winds, ſhifting often in ſundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not preſently ſetled, ſo many ſeas do encounter together, as there had bene diuerſitie of windes. Howſoeuer it commeth to paſſe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer ſaw more outragious Seas. We had alſo vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which ſeamen doe call Caſtor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill ſigne of more tempeſt: the ſame is vſuall in ſtormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere caſt away, oppreſſed by waues, yet at that time recouered: and giuing foorth ſignes of ioy, the Generall ſitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind (ſo oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heauen by ſea as by land. Reiterating the ſame ſpeech, well beſeeming a ſouldier, reſolute in Ieſus Chriſt, as I can teſtifie he was.

A reſolute and Chriſtianlike ſaying in a diſtreſſe.

The ſame Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, ſuddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we loſt the ſight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was caſt away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and ſwallowed vp of the Sea. Yet ſtill we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coaſt of England: Omitting no ſmall ſaile at ſea, vnto which we gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we ſhould at any time be ſeparated.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleaſed God to ſend ſafe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger eſcaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeaſt, with ſuch thicke miſt, that we could not diſcerne land, to put in right with the Hauen.

Arriuall in England of the Golden Hinde.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which ſayling well, might happily haue bene before vs. Alſo to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our

haue

A fit motion of the Captain vnto ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

hard ſucceſſe, whom the Captaine deſired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witneſſes of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might pleaſe him to take the examination o of euery perſon particularly, in diſcharge of his and their faithfull endeuour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refuſed ſo to doe, holding himſelfe ſatiſfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether diſpairing of his brothers ſafetie, offered friendſhip and curteſie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to haue his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was ſent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuertheleſſe, when the Captaine returned aboord his ſhip, he found his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde ſeruing to proceede higher vpon the coaſt: they demanded money to carie them home, ſome to London, others to Harwich, and elſe where, (if the barke ſhould be caried into Dartmouth, and they diſcharged, ſo farre from home) or elſe to take benefite of the wind, then ſeruing to draw neerer home, which ſhould be a leſſe charge vnto the Captaine, and great eaſe vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

An ill recompenſe.

Reaſon accompanied with neceſſitie perſwaded the Captaine, who ſent his lawfull excuſe and cauſe of his ſudden departure vnto ſir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediouſnes of ſo vnprofitable a voiage to their ſeeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompenſed: their Captaine neuertheleſſe by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies thoſe at other times, whoſoeuer haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perſeuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one ſame peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Euen ſo, amongſt very many difficulties, diſcontentments, mutinies, conſpiracies, ſickneſſes mortalitie, ſpoylings, and wracks by ſea, which were afflictions, more then in ſo ſmall a Fleete, or ſo ſhort a time may be ſuppoſed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and ſome I ſuppreſſed with ſilence for their ſakes liuing, it pleaſed God to ſupport this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infeſted: the reſt kept together in reaſonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accompliſh, either not pleaſed with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Conſtancie in ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterpriſe and laſt action of ſir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for ſo much as I thought meete to be publiſhed: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguiſhed) ſome ſparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and reſolute in a purpoſe by all pretence honeſt and godly, as was this, to diſcouer, poſſeſſe, and to reduce vnto the ſeruice of God, and Chriſtian pietie, thoſe remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually poſſeſſed by Chriſtians, and moſt rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deſerueth high commendation: euen ſo, he may iuſtly be taxed of temeritie and preſumption (rather) in two reſpects.

His temeritie and preſumption.

Firſt, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation ſelected, neither any demonſtration of commoditie there in eſſe, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their ſubſtance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his aſſociates were promiſed, and made it their beſt reckoning to bee ſalued ſome other way, which pleaſed not God to proſper in his firſt and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his deſignements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raiſe, he thruſt himſelfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, preſuming the cauſe pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the deſired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though hee ſawe no encouragement to proceed, leſt his credite foyled in his firſt attempt, in a ſecond ſhould vtterly be diſgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worſt, refuſed not to entertaine euery perſon and meanes whatſoeuer, to furniſh out this expedition, the ſucceſſe whereof hath bene declared.

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

But ſuch is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For beſides that fruite may growe in time of our trauelling into thoſe Northweſt lands, the croſſes, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors,

mors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vnſauorie, and leſſe delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: ſo it pleaſed the diuine will to reſume him vnto himſelfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aſpired.

Ornatiſsimo viro, Magiſtro *Richardo Hakluyto Oxonij* in *Collegio ædis Chriſti,* Artium & Philoſophiæ Magiſtro, amico, & fratri ſuo.

S. Non ſtatueram ad te ſcribere, cùm in mentem veniret promiſſum literarum tuarum. Putabas te ſuperiore iam Iunio nos ſubſecuturum. Itaque de meo ſtatu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri iuſſeram. Verùm ſic tibi non eſſet ſatisfactum. Itaque ſcribam ad te ijſdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari & συνωνυμίζειν mihi hòc tempore non vacat, Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem & feriò ſoluimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum ſimul relictis. Claſſis quinque nauibus conſtabat: maxima, quam * frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo cõſilio, ſtatim tertio die à nobis ſe ſubduxit, Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauimus ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aſpectu alij aliam viam tenuimus: nobis ſeorſim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Auguſti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm vltrà 41. paucis ante diebus deſcendiſſemus ſpe Auſtralium ventorum, qui tamen nobis ſuo tempore nunquam ſpirauêre. Inſula eſt ea, quam veſtri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiuſdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec inſulam acceſſimus, ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi conſilio omnibus veniendum erat, idque intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & noſtro gaudio. Locus ſitus eſt in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, Diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipſe Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum & anguſtiam nauis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & iam duos dyſentericis doloribus amiſit: de cæteris bona ſpes eſt. Ex noſtris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoſo iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam caſu quodam ſubmerſi ſunt. Cæteri ſalui & longè firmiores. Ego nunquam ſanior. In hunc locum tertio Auguſti appulimus: quinto autem ipſe Admiralius has regiones in ſuam & regni Angliæ poſſeſſionem poteſtatemque vendicauit, latis quibuſdam legibus de religione & obſequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilariùs & lautiùs, Certè enim & qualibus ventis vſi ſimus, & quàm feſſi eſſe potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naues Luſitanicas & Hiſpanicas nacti in hoc loco ſumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos eſurire. Angli etſi ſatis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regij diplomatis omni obſequio & humanitate proſequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter ſolitudinem nihil video? Piſcium inexhauſta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæſtus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò inſigni aliquo onuſtus eſt. Terra vniuerſa * montana & ſylueſtris: arbores vt plurimùm pinus: eæ partim conſenuêre, partim nunc adoleſcunt: magna pars vetuſtate collapſa, & aſpectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, vt nuſquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ; ſed raro à noſtris diuerſę. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, & ſpicas in ſimilitudinem ſecales: & facilè cultura & ſatione in vſum humanum aſſuefieri poſſe videntur. Rubi in ſyluis vel potiùs fraga arboreſcentia magna ſuauitate. Vrſi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: ſed albi ſunt, vt mihi ex pellibus cõiicere licuit, & minores quàm noſtri. Populus an vllus ſit in hac regione incertum eſt: Nec vllum vidi qui teſtari poſſet. Et quis queſo poſſet, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minùs ignotum eſt an aliquid metalli ſubſit montibus. Cauſa eadem eſt, etſi aſpectus eorũ mineras latentes præ ſe ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus ſyluas incendere, quo ad inſpiciendam regionẽ ſpaciũ pateret: nec diſplicebat illi conſilium, ſi non magnũ incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum eſt enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum caſu quopiam in alia neſcio qua ſtatione id accidiſſet, ſeptẽnium totũ piſces non comparuiſſe, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quę cõflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum eſt, vt niſi piſces, qui arefiunt ad ſolem, aſſidui inuertantur, ab aduſtione defendi non poſſint. Hyeme quàm frigidum ſit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum eſt à comitibus menſe Maio ſexdecim totos dies interdum ſe inter tantam glaciem hæſiſſe, vt 60. orgyas altæ eſſent inſulæ: quarum latera ſoli appoſita cum liqueſcerent, libratione quadam vniuerſam molem ita inuerſam, vt quòd ante pronum erat, ſupinum euaderet, magno præſentium diſcrimine,

Dominus Ralegh.

Inſula Penguin.

In the ſouth ſide of Newe found land, there is ſtore of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.

The great heate of the ſunne in ſummer.

vt conſentaneum eſt. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus eſt: ad orientem ſupra mare perpetuæ nebulæ: Et in ipſo mari circa Bancum (ſic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & piſces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies abſque pluuia. Expeditis noſtris neceſſitatibus in hoc loco, in Auſtrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori ſpe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de noſtris. Cupio de vobis ſcire: ſed metuo ne incaſſum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus abſentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit noſtrum obſequium & officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Reuera autem ſpero, hanc noſtram peregrinationem ipſius inſtituto vſui futuram. Nunc reſtat, vt me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores noſtros catenus, vt tu quoque participare poſſis. Vale amiciſſime, ſuauiſſime, ornatiſſime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Auguſti 1583.

STEPHANVS PARMENIVS
Budeius, tuus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the worſhipfull, Maſter *Richard Hakluit* at *Oxford* in *Chriſtchurch* Maſter of Arts, and Philoſophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purpoſed to write vnto you, when the promiſe of your letters came to my mind: You thought in Iune laſt to haue followed vs your ſelfe, and therefore I had left order that you ſhould be aduertiſed of my ſtate, by Maſter Doctor Humfrey: but ſo you would not be ſatiſfied: I will write therefore to you almoſt in the ſame words, becauſe I haue no leaſure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of Iune we ſet ſaile at length from England in good earneſt, and departed, leauing the hauen and land behind vs at Plimmouth: our Fleete conſiſted of fiue ſhippes: the greateſt, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her ſelfe from vs the third day, wee know not vpon what occaſion: with the reſt we ſailed ſtill together till the 23. of Iuly: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the the great miſts, ſome of vs ſailed one way, and ſome another: to vs alone the firſt land appeared, the firſt of Auguſt, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had deſcended beyond 41. degrees in hope of ſome Southerly windes, which notwithſtanding neuer blew to vs at any fit time.

It is an Iſland which your men call Penguin, becauſe of the multitude of birdes of the ſame name. Yet wee neither ſawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds ſeruing for our courſe directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the ſpace of two houres by the great goodneſſe of God, and to our great ioy. The place is ſituate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degrees, called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himſelfe by reaſon of the multitude of the men, and the ſmalneſſe of his ſhip, had his company ſomewhat ſickly, and had already loſt two of the ſame company, which died of the Flixe: of the reſt we conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my ſelfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two perſons by a miſchance were drowned, the reſt are in ſafetie, and ſtrong, and for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of Auguſt: and the fift the Admirall tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrey, for himſelfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and publiſhed certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is ſomewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good ſooth, the experience of ſo long time hath taught vs what contrary winds wee haue found, and what great trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take ſuch order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spaniſh ſhippes, beſides the ſhippes of the Engliſh: which being not able to match vs, ſuffer vs not to bee hunger ſtarued: the Engliſh although they were of themſelues ſtrong ynough, and ſafe from our force, yet ſeeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they ſhewed vs all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be ſpoken of. But what ſhall I ſay, my good Hakluyt, when I ſee nothing but a very wilderneſſe? Of fiſh here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that trauell to theſe parts: the hooke is no ſooner throwne out, but it is eftſoones drawne vp with ſome goodly fiſh: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the moſt part are Pynes and of them ſome are very olde, and ſome yong: a great part of them being fallen by reaſon of their age, doth ſo hinder the ſight of the land, and ſtoppe the way of thoſe that ſeeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the graſſe here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It ſeemeth alſo that the nature of this ſoyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, ſo that it appeareth that by manuring and ſowing, they may eaſily be framed for the vſe of man: here are in the woodes buſh berries, or rather ſtraw berries growing vp like trees, of great ſweeteneſſe. Beares alſo appeare about the fiſhers ſtages of the Countrey, and are ſometimes killed, but they ſeeme to bee white, as I coniectured by their ſkinnes, and ſomewhat leſſe then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither haue I ſeene any to witneſſe it. And to ſay trueth, who can, when as it is not poſſible to paſſe any whither: In like ſort it is vnknowne, whither any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cauſe is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles ſeeme to haue ſome Mynes in them: we mooued the Admirall to ſet the woods a fire, that ſo wee might haue ſpace, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing diſpleaſe him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof inſue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible perſons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fiſh neuer came to the place about it, for the ſpace of 7. whole yeeres after, by reaſon of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Roſen of the trees, which ranne into the riuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is ſo hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fiſh, which is layd out to be dryed by the ſunne, be euery day turned, it cannot poſſibly bee preſerued from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middeſt of the Sea haue taught vs: ſome of our company report, that in May, they were ſometimes kept in, with ſuch huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Iſlands thereof were threeſcore fathoms thicke, the ſides whereof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole maſſe or heape was ſo inuerted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward roſe vpward, to the great perill of thoſe that are neere them, as by reaſon wee may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the Eaſt there is nothing els but perpetuall miſts, and in the Sea it ſelfe, about the Banke (for ſo they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues diſtant from the ſhore, and where they beginne to fiſh) there is no day without raine. When We haue ſerued, and ſupplied our neceſſitie in this place, we purpoſe by the helpe of God to paſſe towards the South, with ſo much the more hope euery day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of thoſe Countreys, which we go to diſcouer. Thus much touching our eſtate,

Now I deſire to know ſomewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but ſpecially I deſire out of meaſure to know how my Patrone maſter Henry Vmpton doth take my abſence: my obedience, and duetie ſhall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this iourney of ours ſhalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be ſtill yours, and ſo yours as no mans more. The ſonne of God bleſſe all our labors, ſo farre, as that you your ſelfe may be partaker of our bleſſing. Adieu, my moſt friendly, moſt ſweete, moſt vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of Auguſt. 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIVS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of *Richard Clarke* of *VVeymouth*, maſter of the ſhip called the *Delight*, going for the diſcouery of *Norembega*, with Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* 1583. Written in excuſe of that fault of caſting away the ſhip and men, imputed to his ouerſight.

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of Auguſt vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our courſe vnto the Ile of Sablon or the Iſle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly haue ſeene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Iſle of Sablon, we fell to controuerſie of our courſe. The Generall came vp in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke maſter of the Admirall what courſe was beſt to keepe: I ſaid that Weſtſouthweſt was beſt: becauſe the wind was at South and night at hand and vnknowen ſands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Weſtnorthweſt. I told him againe that the Iſle of Sablon was Weſtnorthweſt

20. Leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

15. Leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke vntruely chargeth ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ſhip caſt away on Thurſday being the 29 of Auguſt 1583.

and but 15. leagues off, and that he ſhould be vpon the Iſland before day, if hee went that courſe. The Generall ſayd, my reckoning was vntrue, and charged me in her Maieſties name, and as I would ſhewe my ſelfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatnings, becauſe he preſented her Maieſties perſon, did follow his commaundement; and about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning the ſhip ſtroke on ground, where ſhee was caſt away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the courſe that I would haue had them gone before, and ſaw the ſhip caſt away men and all, and was not able to ſaue a man, for there was not water vpon the ſand for either of them much leſſe for the Admirall that drew foureteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ſhip had killed ſome foule with his piece, and ſome of the company deſired me that they might hoyſe out the boat to recouer the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboord they did not hoyſe it in againe that night. And whē the ſhip was caſt away the boate was a ſterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could ſwimme, and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the reſt they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Maſter: They happened on my ſelfe being the maſter, but could neuer ſee the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whoſe names hereafter I will rehearſe. And when the 16. were in the boate, ſome had ſmall remembrance, and ſome had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleaſed God, and looked euery moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being ſo little and ſo many men in her, and ſo foule weather, that it was not poſſible for a ſhippe to brooke halfe a coarſe of ſayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee ſaw it pleaſed God our boate liued in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe vs withall but one oare, which we kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and ſo went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our company one maſter Hedly that put foorth this queſtion to me the Maſter. I doe ſee that it doth pleaſe God, that our boate lyueth in the Sea, and it may pleaſe God that ſome of vs may come to the land if our boate were not ouerladen. Let vs make ſixteene lots, and thoſe foure that haue the foure ſhorteſt lots we will caſt ouerboord preſeruing the Maſter among vs all. I replied vnto him, ſaying, no, we will liue and die together. Maſter Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I anſwered I gaue God prayſe it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and ſayde they were but threeſcore leagues from the lande, (when they were ſeuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any ſuſtenance, ſaue onely the weedes that ſwamme in the Sea, and ſalt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee deſired all to die: for in all theſe fiue dayes and fiue nights we ſaw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was ſo foule weather. Thus we did remaine the ſixt day: then we were very weake and wiſhed all to die ſauing onely my ſelfe which did comfort them and promiſed they ſhould come ſoone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they ſhould neuer come to land, but that I promiſed them the ſeuenth day they ſhould come to ſhore, or els they ſhould caſt me ouer boord: which did happen true the ſeuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke wee had ſight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All theſe ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time ſhifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no ſooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriuall. But we were ſo weake that one could ſcarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on ſhore we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praiſe that he had dealt ſo mercifully with vs. Afterwards thoſe which were ſtrongeſt holpe their fellowes vnto a freſh brooke, where we ſatiſfied our ſelues with water and berries very well. There were of al ſorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as euer I ſaw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might ſee very farre euery way: by the Sea ſide was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I ſaw any in Norway, able to maſt any ſhippe, of pyne trees, ſpruſe trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little houſe with boughes, where we reſted all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to ſee what foode they could find to ſuſtaine themſelues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with ſuch foode as they could get. As we went aboord we found great ſtore of peaſon as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene ſowed there. We reſted there three dayes and three nights and liued very well with peaſe and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, becauſe it was a very goodly riuer like the

riuer

Sixteene gate into the ſhip boate.

Maſter Hedlyes vngodly propoſition.

They came on land the 7. day after their ſhipwracke.

The fruitfulneſſe of the ſouth part of Newfoundland.

riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well reſted our ſelues wee rowed our boate along the ſhore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with ſome Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirſt we put our boate on land and gathered peaſe and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the ſhore fiue dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuer that ranne farre vp into the Countrey and ſaw very goodly growen trees of all ſortes. There we happened vpon a ſhip of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ſhip brought vs into Biskay to an Harborough called The Paſſage. The Maſter of the ſhippe was our great friend, or elſe we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counſayle. For when the viſitors came aboord, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he ſayd we were poore fiſhermen that had caſt away our ſhip in Newfound land, and ſo the viſitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Aſſoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs ſhift for our ſelues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And ſo ſhortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

Fourteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ſhip of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true Report of the late diſcoueries, and poſſeſſion taken in the right of the Crowne of *England* of the *Newfound Lands*, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* Knight.

Wherein is alſo briefly ſet downe, her higneſſe lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Aduenturers in particular: Together with the eaſineſſe and ſhortneſſe of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham *Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer* of Sir *Humfrey Gilberts* voyage to *Newfound Land.*

The firſt Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes paſt, to meete with a right honeſt and diſcreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this laſt iourney for the Weſterne diſcoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely veſſell which is as yet returned from thence.

Maſter Edward Hays.

By him I vnderſtand that Sir Humfrey departed the coaſt of England the eleuenth of Iune laſt paſt, with fiue ſayle of Shippes, from Cauſhen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the beſt forſooke his company, the thirteenth day of the ſame moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen, in Newfound land, the 3. of Auguſt laſt. Vpon whoſe arriuall all the Maſters and chiefe Mariners of the Engliſh Fleet, which were in the ſaid Hauen before, endeuoring to fraight themſelues with fiſh, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commiſſion: which being done, he promiſed to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maieſties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the beſt ſort that they could, and ſhewed him and his all ſuch courteſies as the place could afford or yeelde.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of Auguſt. Anno 1583.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with moſt of his Captaines and ſouldiers. They found the ſame very temperate, but ſomewhat warmer then England at that ſeaſon of the yeere, replenished with Beaſts and great ſtore of Foule of diuers kinds: And Fiſh of ſundry ſortes, both in the ſalt water, and in the freſh, in ſo great plentie as might ſuffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very eaſily taken. What ſundry other commodities for this Realme right neceſſarie, the ſame doeth yeelde, you ſhall vnderſtand in this treatiſe hereafter, in place more conuenient.

Among theſe there was found the tract of a beaſt of 7. ynches and a halfe ouer.

On Munday being the fift of Auguſt, the Generall cauſed his tent to be ſet vpon the ſide of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of Engliſh men and ſtrangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie ſayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Maſters, Gentlemen and other ſouldiers, he cauſed all the Maſters, and principall Officers of the ſhips, aſwell Engliſhmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre vnto his tent: And then and there, in the preſence of them all, he did cauſe his Commiſſion vnder the great Seale of England to bee openly and ſolemnely read vnto them, whereby were granted vnto him, his heires, and aſſignes, by the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priuiledges. The effect whereof being ſignified vnto the ſtrangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke poſſeſſion of the ſayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiuing the ſame with an Haſell wand, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the law and cuſtome of England.

Sir Humfrey tooke poſſeſſion of the New found land in right of the Crowne of England.

Then he ſignified vnto the company both ſtrangers and others, that from thenceforth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by ſuch Lawes as by good aduiſe ſhould be ſet downe, which in all points (ſo neere as might be) ſhould be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the ſame in execution, preſently he ordained and eſtabliſhed three Lawes.

Three lawes eſtabliſhed there by Sir Humfrey.

Firſt, that Religion publiquely exerciſed, ſhould be ſuch, and none other, then is vſed in the Church of England.

The ſecond, that if any perſon ſhould bee lawfully conuicted of any practiſe againſt her Maieſtie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any ſhould ſpeake diſhonourably of her Maieſtie, the partie ſo offending, to looſe his eares, his ſhip and goods, to be confiſcate to the vſe of the Generall.

All men did very willingly ſubmit themſelues to theſe Lawes, Then he cauſed the Queenes Maieſties Armes to be ingraued, ſet vp, and erected with great ſolemnitie. After this, diuers Engliſhmen made ſute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance; their accuſtomed ſtages, ſtandings & drying places, in ſundry places of that land for their fiſh, as a thing that they doe make great accompt of, which he granted vnto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath poſſeſſion maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, ſet, giue and diſpoſe of many things, as abſolute Gouernor there, by vertue of her Maieſties letters patents.

Sundry perſons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe maintaine poſſeſſion for him in diuers places there.

And after their ſhips were repaired, whereof one he was driuen to leaue behind, both for want of men ſufficient to furniſh her, as alſo to carrie home ſuch ſicke perſons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20. of Auguſt, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himſelfe did goe, ſeeming to him moſt fit to diſcouer and approch the ſhore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coaſt Weſt, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall ſent certaine men a ſhore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they ſayled along, ſeemed pleaſant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking ſo well of the place, as they would willingly haue ſtayed and wintred there. But hauing the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their courſe towards the firme of America, which by reaſon of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere eſpecially, they could neuer ſee, till Cox Maſter of the Golden Hinde did diſcerne land, and preſently loſt ſight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great and outragious ſtorme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the preſence of them all was loſt, to their vnſpeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other neceſſary prouiſions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reaſon alſo that Winter was come vpon them, and foule weather increaſed with fogs and miſts that ſo couered the land, as without danger of periſhing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much againſt their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempeſtuous weather ſeparated the one from the other, the ninth of September laſt, ſince which time M. Hays with his Barke is ſafely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes,

Vpon this report (together with my former intent, to write ſome briefe diſcourſe in the commendation of this ſo noble and worthy an enterpriſe) I did call to my remembrance, the Hiſtorie of Themyſtocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) ſignified vnto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuiſe for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of ſuch importance and ſecrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with ſome particular prudent perſon of their choyſe.

Plutarch.

The Athenians knowing Ariſtides the Philoſopher, to be a man indued with ſingular wiſedome and vertue, made choyſe of him to haue conference with Themyſtcles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the ſayd deuiſe: which was, that they might ſet on fire the Nauie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Ariſtides made relation to the Citizens, that the ſtratageme deuiſed by Themyſtocles was a profitable practiſe for the common wealth but it was diſhoneſt. The Athenians (without further demaund what the ſame was) did by common conſent reiect and condemne it, preferring honeſt and vpright dealing before profite.

By occaſion of this Hiſtorie, I drewe my ſelfe into a more deepe conſideration of this late vndertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleaſing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it ſeemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainefull to the Chriſtians. And vpon mature deliberation I found the action to be honeſt and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Ariſtides if he were now aliue: which being by me herein ſufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpoſe to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeuour themſelues to be aſſiſtants to this ſo commendable an enterpriſe, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vndertaken.

Now whereas I doe vnderſtand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, aſſociates and friends doe meane with a conuenient ſupply (with as much ſpeede as may be) to maintaine, purſue and follow this intended voyage already in part performed, and (by the aſſiſtance of almightie God) to plant themſelues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of ſeptentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Aſtronomicall and Coſmographicall are doubtleſſe to bee found all things that be neceſſarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, ſo that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both ‖ of our owne nation and ſtrangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can teſtifie: and that thoſe Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I ſay) to be lamented, that theſe poore Pagans, ſo long liuing in ignorance and idolatry, and in ſort thirſting after Chriſtianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of ſuch as haue trauailed in thoſe partes) that our hearts are ſo hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themſelues to the relieuing of the miſerable and wretched eſtate of theſe ſillie ſoules?

‖Engliſhmen.
Maſter Iohn Hawkins.
Sir Francis Drake.
M. William Winter.
M. Iohn Cheſter.
M. Martin Frobiſher.
Anthony Parkhurſt.
William Battes.
Iohn Louel.
Dauid Ingram.
Strangers French.
Iohn Ribault.
Iaques Cartier.
Andrew Theuet.
Monſieur Gourgues.
Monſieur Laudonniere.
Italians.
Chriſtopher Columbus.
Iohn Verrazanus.

Whoſe Countrey doeth (as it were with armes aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and France, ſtretch out it ſelfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely ſet forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is alſo found to be true by the diſcouerie of our nation, and other ſtrangers, who haue oftentimes trauailed vpon the ſame coaſts.

Chriſtopher Columbus of famous memorie, the firſt inſtrument to manifeſt the great glory and mercy of Almightie God in planting the Chriſtian faith, in thoſe ſo long vnknowen regions, hauing in purpoſe to acquaint (as he did) that renowmed Prince, the Queenes Maieſties grandfather King Henry the ſeuenth, with his intended voyage for the Weſterne diſcoueries, was not onely derided and mocked generally euen here in England, but afterward became a laughing ſtocke to the Spaniards themſelues, who at this day (of all other people) are moſt bounden to laude and prayſe God, who firſt ſtirred vp the man to that enterpriſe.

God doeth not alwayes begin his greateſt workes by the greateſt perſons.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Caſtile (that then was) with his intended purpoſe, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some ſcorned the piloneſſe of his garments, ſome tooke occaſion to ieſt at his ſimple and ſilly lookes, others aſked if this were he that lowts ſo lowe, which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious ſtones? If hee were any ſuch man (ſayd they) he would carry another maner of countenance with him, and looke ſomewhat loftier. Thus ſome iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the conſideration of the inward man.

His cuſtome was to bowe himſelfe very lowe in making of curteſie.

In the ende, what ſucceſſe his Voyage had, who liſt to reade the Decades, the Hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, the conqueſt of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and thoſe of Franciſco Pizarro in Peru about Caſamalcha and Cuſco, may know more particularly. All which their diſcoueries, trauailes and conqueſts are extant to be had in the Engliſh tongue. This deuiſe was then accounted a fantaſticall imagination, and a drowſie dreame.

Hernando Cortes.
Franciſco Pizarro.

But the ſequele thereof hath ſince awaked out of dreames thouſands of ſoules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath ſince made ſufficient proofe, neither to be fantaſticke, nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath inlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly inriched the ſubiects of the ſame, let all men conſider. Beſides, it is well knowen, that ſithence the time of Columbus his firſt diſcouerie, through the planting, poſſeſſing, and inhabiting thoſe partes, there hath bene tranſported and brought home into Europe greater ſtore of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Precious ſtones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages ſince the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wiſh, that ſeeing it hath pleaſed almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake ſome of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowſie dreame, wherein we haue ſo long ſlumbered:

That wee may now not ſuffer that to quaile for want of maintenance, which by theſe valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is ſo nobly begun & enterpriſed. For which purpoſe, I haue taken vpon me to write this ſimple ſhort Treatiſe, hoping that it ſhall be able to perſwade ſuch as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reaſon perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduiſedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better conſideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the ſame. And that ſuch as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good diſpoſition: And withall, I moſt humbly pray all ſuch as are no nigards of their purſes in buying of coſtly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in ſetting forth of games, paſtimes, feaſtings and banquets, (whereof the charge being paſt, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will beſtowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of theſe ſo commendable purpoſed proceedings.

A reaſonable requeſt.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in hand, as in conſcience thereunto mooued, deſiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nouriſh, farre better able to handle this matter then I my ſelfe am, it would haue pleaſed ſome one of them to haue vndertaken the ſame. But ſeeing they are ſilent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my ſelfe, and doe ſtand in good hope (though my ſkill and knowledge bee ſimple, yet through the aſſiſtance of almightie God) to prooue that the Voyage, lately enterpriſed for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maieſties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.

The argument of the booke.

And laſtly, (which is moſt of all) A thing likewiſe tending to the honour and glory of Almightie God. And for that the lawfulneſſe to plant in thoſe Countreyes in ſome mens iudgements ſeemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulneſſe of trade, traffique, and planting.

The ſecond Chapter ſheweth, that it is lawfull and neceſſarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into two ſorts.

AND firſt for traffique, I ſay that the Chriſtians may lawfully trauell into thoſe Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages may not iuſtly impugne and forbidde in reſpect of the mutuall ſocietie and fellowſhippe betweene man and man preſcribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the firſt beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the ſame after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence ſhould be offered to Ambaſſadours: That the Sea with his Hauens ſhould be common: That ſuch as ſhould fortune to be taken in warre, ſhould be ſeruants or ſlaues: And that ſtrangers ſhould not bee driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come;

If it were ſo then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the ſame forbidden or denied ſince? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Chriſtians to vſe trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither ſuch commodities as they want, and bringing from thence ſome part of their plentie?

A thing ſo commonly and generally practiſed, both in theſe our dayes, and in times paſt, beyond the memorie of man, both by Chriſtians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And foraſmuch as the vſe of trade and traffique (be it neuer ſo profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Chriſtian faith: I will therefore ſomewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Chriſtian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer ſo carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two ſortes.

The principall cauſes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The firſt, when Chriſtians by the good liking and willing aſſent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet poſſeſſion.

The ſecond, when Chriſtians being vniuſtly repulſed, doe ſeeke to attaine and manteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iuſtly exerciſed: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyſes and Ioſua, and other Rulers before the birth of Chriſt, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings ſithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wiſh, that before the ſecond be put in practiſe, a proofe may be made of the firſt, ſauing that for their ſafetie as well againſt the Sauages, as all other forreigne enemies, they ſhould firſt well and ſtrongly fortifie themſelues: which being done, then by all fayre ſpeeches, and euery other good meanes of perſwaſion to ſeeke to take away all occaſions of offence.

As letting them to vnderſtand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongſt them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without moleſting or grieuing them any way: which muſt not be done by wordes onely but alſo by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a iuſt cauſe of warre: yet muſt there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwiſe, the Chriſtians ſhould doe their beſt endeuour to take away ſuch feare as may growe vnto them by reaſon of their ſtrange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or ſuch like, by quiet and peaceable conuerſation, and letting them liue in ſecuritie, and keeping a meaſure of blameleſſe defence, with as little diſcommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defenſiue and not offenſiue.

And queſtionleſſe there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we ſhould bring to paſſe all effects to our deſired purpoſes: Conſidering that all creatures, by conſtitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and eaſier wonne for all aſſayes, by courteſie and mildneſſe, then by crueltie or roughneſſe: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reaſon, it is firſt to be put in vre.

For albeit as yet the Chriſtians are not ſo throughly furniſhed with the perfectneſſe of their language, eyther to expreſſe their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the preſent opportunitie, ſuch policie may be vſed by friendly ſignes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Sauages may eaſily perceiue (were their ſences neuer ſo groſſe) an aſſured friendſhip to be offered them, and that they are encountered with ſuch a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and ſafetie. To further this, and to accompliſh it in deedes, there muſt bee preſented vnto them gratis, ſome kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glaſſes, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chryſtall, Amber, Iet, or Glaſſe &c. For ſuch be the things, though to vs of ſmall value, yet accounted by them of high price and eſtimation: and ſooneſt will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall ſocietie with vs.

Moreouer, it ſhall be requiſite eyther by ſpeeche, if it be poſſible, either by ſome other certaine meanes, to ſignifie vnto them, that once league of friendſhip with all louing conuerſation being admitted betweene the Chriſtians and them: that then the Chriſtians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to aſſiſt and defend them in their iuſt quarrels, from all inuaſions, ſpoyles and oppreſſions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduerſaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is ſo much the more to be eſteemed, by how much the perſon vpon whom it is beſtowed ſtandeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in thoſe countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the moſt part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and eſpecially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whoſe foode is mans fleſh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe purſue them with rauenous mindes to eate their fleſh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Chriſtians may in this caſe iuſtly and lawfully ayde the Sauages againſt the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we ſhall not onely mightily ſtirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Chriſtians, proffering vnto them both commodities, ſuccour, and kindneſſe: But alſo by their franke conſents ſhall eaſily enioy ſuch competent quantity of Land, as euery way ſhall be correſpondent to the Chriſtians expectation and contentation, conſidering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how ſmall account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then ſuch as the ground of it ſelfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the firſt ſort of planting, which as I aſſuredly hope, ſo I moſt heartily pray may take effect and place.

But

The ſeconde kinde of planting.

But if after theſe good and fayre meanes vſed, the Sauages neuertheleſſe will not bee herewithall ſatiſfied, but barbarouſly will goe about to practiſe violence eyther in repelling the Chriſtians from their Ports & ſafe landings, or in withſtanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themſelues thither:

Then in ſuch a caſe I holde it no breach of equitie for the Chriſtians to defend themſelues, to purſue reuenge with force, and to doe whatſoeuer is neceſſarie for the atteining of their ſafetie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in ſuch diſtreſſes, to reſiſt violence with violence: And for their more ſecuritie to increaſe their ſtrength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if alſo they ſhal not be ſuffered in reaſonable quietneſſe to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in ſtoute aſſemblies the Chriſtians may iſſue out, and by ſtrong hand purſue their enemies, ſubdue them, take poſſeſſion of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vſe the Law of Armes, as in like caſe among all Nations at this day is vſed: and moſt eſpecially to the ende they may with ſecuritie holde their lawfull poſſeſſion, leſt happily after the departure of the Chriſtians, ſuch Sauages as haue bene conuerted, ſhould afterwards through compulſion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Iſrael, after the deceaſe of Ioſhua) and continue their wicked cuſtome of moſt vnnaturall ſacrificing of humane creatures.

And in ſo doing, doubtleſſe the Chriſtians ſhall no whit at all tranſgreſſe the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, foraſmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Chriſt) the like hath bene done by ſundry Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Iſrael: chiefly in reſpect to begin their planting, for the eſtabliſhment of Gods worde: as alſo ſince the Natiuitie of Chriſt, mightie and puiſſant Emperours and Kings haue performed the like, I ſay to plant, poſſeſſe, and ſubdue. For proofe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Teſtament, how that after Noes flood was ceaſed, reſtauration of mankinde began onely of thoſe fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee ſaued in the Arke with him, whoſe ſeede in proceſſe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers ſortes diuided themſelues to ſundry quarters of the earth. And foraſmuch as all their poſteritie being mightily encreaſed, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predeceſſour, God choſe out of the multitude a peculiar people to himſelfe, to whom afterwardes being vnder the gouernment of Moyſes in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promiſe, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adioyning thereunto. Neuertheleſſe, before they came to poſſeſſion thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many grieuous puniſhments and plagues for their ſinnes, they fell in deſpayre to enioy the ſame.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themſelues with all patience, to ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend: and at laſt attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of ſtrong people, and mighty Kings.

Ioſua 4.

Ioſua 6.

Notwithſtanding, Ioſua their Leader repleniſhed with the Spirite of God, being aſſured of the iuſtneſſe of his quarell, gathered the chiefe ſtrength of the children of Iſrael together, to the number of 40000. with whom he ſafely paſſed the huge riuer Iordan, and hauing before ſent priuie ſpies for the diſcouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderſtand the certaintie of the Citizens eſtate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the ſpace of ſeuen dayes.

In which reſpite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles diſpoſed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico ſhould be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell ſhould be deſtroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, becauſe ſhee before had hid ſecretly the meſſengers of Ioſua, that were ſent thither as ſpies. As for all their golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, or veſſels of braſſe, they were reſerued and conſecrated to the Lords treaſurie.

Ioſua 8.

Ioſua 9.

Iudg.11.13.

In like maner he burned the citie Hay, ſlew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for ſo much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Ioſua to intreate for grace, fauour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their liues ſhould bee ſaued, and that they ſhould be admitted to the company of the children of Iſrael. Yet vnderſtanding afterwards they wrought this by a policie, he vſed them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other neceſſaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conqueſt, which he purſued and neuer left till hee had ſubdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Pereſites, Heuites, and Iebuſites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, & diuers other ſtrange nations, beſides whoſe lands & dominions he wholy diuided among Gods people.

After that Ioſua was deceaſed, Iuda was conſtituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, purſued the proceedings of the holy captaine Ioſua, and vtterly vanquiſhed many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduerſaries to the children of Iſrael, with all ſuch Rulers or Kings as withſtoode him, and namely Adonibezek the moſt cruell tyrant: whoſe thumbes and great toes he cauſed to be cut off, for ſo much as hee had done the like before vnto ſeuentie Kings, whom being his priſoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God ſhewed his iuſtice to reuenge tyrannie. We reade likewiſe, that Gedeon a moſt puiſſant and noble warriour ſo behaued himſelfe in following the worthy acts of Ioſua and Iuda, that in ſhort time he not onely deliuered the children of Iſrael from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but alſo ſubdued them and their Tyrants, whoſe landes he cauſed Gods people to poſſeſſe and inherite.

Iudg. 1.

A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull.

Iudg. 6. 7.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeuour my ſelfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge ſome fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtoriographers, all tending to the like argument. And firſt to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt had ſuffered his paſſion, the Apoſtles being inſpired with the holy Ghoſt, and the knowledge of all ſtrange languages, did immediatly diſperſe themſelues to ſundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Goſpel. Yet not in ſo generall a maner, but that there remayned ſome farre remote Countries vnviſited by them; among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermoſt India, as yet had receiued no light of the word. But it came to paſſe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wiſe Philoſopher in that age, being deſirous to ſearch out vnknowen lands, did firſt diſcouer the ſame, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being publiſhed, and for certaine vnderſtood, there was another graue Philoſopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Chriſtian, who did reſolue himſelfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a ſhort time aſſiſted but with a fewe, in a ſmall Veſſel arriued there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edeſius and Frumentius; whom (being his ſchollers) he had throughly inſtructed both in liberall Sciences, and chriſtian Religion. Now after that Meropius ſomewhile ſtaying there, had (as hee thought) ſufficient vnderſtanding of the Indians whole eſtate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conqueſt of the ſame.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 9.

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the middeſt of his courſe on the Sea homeward, a ſore tempeſt aroſe, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an vnknowen Port of the ſayd land: where he by the moſt cruell barbarous Indians on the ſudden was ſlaine with all his company, except the two young ſchollers aforeſayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reaſon they were of comely ſtature and beautifull perſonages, tooke, and forthwith preſented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteouſly entreated, and ordeined Edeſius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reaſon of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and eſtimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong ſonne to gouerne, and gaue free ſcope and libertie to the two Chriſtians, at their beſt pleaſure to paſſe to their natiue ſoyles, allowing them all neceſſaries for the ſame. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was very ſorowfull they ſhould depart, and therefore moſt earneſtly intreated them to tarie and aſſiſt her in the gouernment of her people, till ſuch time as her young ſonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which requeſt they fulfilled.

Meropius ſlaine.

Edeſius and Frumentius preſerued by the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edeſius farre in all wiſedome, ruled both the Queene and her ſubiects at his diſcretion, whereby he tooke occaſion to put in practiſe priuily, that the foundation of Chriſtian religion might be planted in the hearts of ſuch as with whom he thought his perſwaſion might beſt preuaile, and that ſooneſt would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to paſſe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edeſius tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his natiue countrey. And ſo ſoone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Conſtantine, the effect of all thoſe euents: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the aduiſe and good liking of Athanaſius then Biſhop of Alexandria, did arme and ſet forth a conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his ſo godly a purpoſe. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promiſes, and by force of armes together, vnto the poſſeſſion of all the Indians countrey. The author of this ſtorie Ruffinus receiued the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edeſius companion to Frumentius.

Frumentius in great fauour with ẏ Queene of the Indians.

An other great worke of God begunne by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this ſtorie.

Moreouer

Euſeb. in his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie teſtifieth how that Conſtantine the great did enlarge his dominions by ſubduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.
Euſebius lib. 1. de vita Conſtant. cap. 4. et cap. 9.
Euſeb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

Moreouer Euſebius in his Hiſtorie Eccleſiaſticall in preciſe termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Conſtantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the ſubduing of his next neighbours, but alſo endeuoured by all meanes to ſubiect all ſuch remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quaters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly ayded with a puiſſant armie of valiant ſouldiers whom he had before perſwaded to Chriſtian religion, in proper perſon himſelfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Iſland of Britaines, bending from him full Weſt, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and ſetled therein Chriſtian faith, and left behinde him ſuch Rulers thereof, as to his wiſedome ſeemed beſt. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coaſt of the world, and there vtterly ſubdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perſwaſions, part by maine ſtrength, hee reduced the whole to Chriſtian faith. Afterwards he determined with himſelfe to ſearch out what ſtrange people inhabited in the vttermoſt parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at laſt became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Chriſtians.

In the Eaſt likewiſe, what Nation ſoeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he eaſily wonne and brought in ſubiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnknowen vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquiſhed.

Theodoret. in eccle lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

This worthy beginning of Conſtantine, both his ſonnes ſucceeding his roome, and alſo diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermoſt endeuour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Euſebius more at large ſet forth. Theodoretus likewiſe in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie maketh mention how Theodoſius the vertuous Emperour imployed earneſtly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Goſpel, vtterly ſubuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as alſo in extinguiſhing of ſuch vſurping tyrants as with Paganiſme withſtood the planting of Chriſtian religion. After whoſe deceaſe his ſonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the Eaſt, the other of the Weſt, who with all ſtout godlineſſe moſt carefully imitated the foreſteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging their territories, or increaſing the chriſtian flocke.

Moreouer, it is reported by the ſayd author, that Theodoſius iunior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great ſtudie and zeale purſued and proſecuted the Gentiles, ſubdued their tyrants and countries, and vtterly deſtroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their ſoules to acknowledge their onely Meſſias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who ſo liſteth to read Euſebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholaſticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholaſticus, which all were moſt ſage Eccleſiaſticall writers, ſhall finde great ſtore of examples of the worthy liues of ſundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former ſpeeches.

And for like examples of later time; (yea euen in the memorie of man) I ſhall not neede to recite any other then the conqueſt made of the Weſt and Eaſt Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the laſt Chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vſed more copy of examples then otherwiſe I would haue done, ſauing that I haue bene in place, where this maner of planting the Chriſtian faith hath bene thought of ſome to be ſcarce lawfull, yea, ſuch as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To theſe examples could I ioyne many moe, but whoſoeuer is not ſatiſfied with theſe fewe, may ſatiſfie himſelfe in reading at large the Authors laſt aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I truſt) prooued that we may iuſtly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth ſhew the lawfull title which the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie hath vnto thoſe Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

1170.
Owen Gwyneth was then Prince of Northwales.
Nullum tempus occurit Regi.

AND it is very euident that the planting there ſhal in time right amply enlarge her Maieſties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather ſay) reſtore her to her Highneſſe ancient right and intereſt in thoſe Countries, into the which a noble and worthy perſonage, lineally deſcended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coaſt of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170, arriued and there planted himſelfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himſelfe into England, leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welſh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Iſlands, beaſtes, and foules ſundry Welſh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the ſame.

This Iſland was diſcouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his laſt iourney

There is likewiſe a foule in the ſaide countreys called by the ſame name at this day, and is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as Whitehead, and in trueth the ſaid foules haue white heads. There is alſo in thoſe countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewiſe a Welſh word. Moreouer there are diuers other Welſh wordes at this day in vſe, as Dauid Ingram aforeſaid reporteth in his relations. All which moſt ſtrongly argueth, the ſayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the ſame in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his ſubiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the preſence of Hernando Cortes vſed theſe ſpeeches following.

MY kinſmen, friends, and ſeruants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient ſubiects, and ſo I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or elſe our diuines haue inſtructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, becauſe our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, ſaying that he would ſend ſuch as ſhould rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himſelfe returned not, &c.

Mutezuma his Oration to his ſubiects in preſence of Hernando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

Theſe be the very wordes of Mutezuma ſet downe in the Spaniſh Chronicles, the which being throughly conſidered, becauſe they haue relation to ſome ſtrange noble perſon, who long before had poſſeſſed thoſe countreys, doe all ſufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maieſtie: foraſmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make preſcription of time for themſelues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Beſides all this, for further proofe of her highneſſe title ſithence the arriuall of this noble Briton into thoſe parts (that is to ſay) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the ſeuenth, Letters patents were by his Maieſtie granted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebaſtian and Sancius his three ſonnes, to diſcouer remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which diſcouery was afterwardes executed to the vſe of the Crowne of England, in the ſayde Kings time, by Sebaſtian and Sancius his ſonnes, who were borne here in England: in true teſtimony whereof there is a faire hauen in Newfoundland, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sancius hauen, which proueth that they firſt diſcouered vpon that coaſt from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

M. Oliuer Dalbony.
M. Edward Reow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

And this may ſtand for another title to her Maieſty: but any of the foreſayd titles is as much or more then any other Chriſtian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before ſuch time as they had actuall poſſeſſion thereof, obtained by the diſcouery of Chriſtopher Columbus, and the conqueſt of Vaſques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Franciſco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needleſſe to write any more touching the lawfulneſſe of her Maieſties title.

The fourth chapter ſheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in thoſe countreys, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to ſhew how the ſame is likely to proone very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greateſt iewell of this realme, and the chiefeſt ſtrength and force of the ſame, for defence or offence in marſhall matter and maner, is the multitude of ſhips, maſters and mariners, ready to aſſiſt the moſt ſtately and royall nauy of her Maieſty, which by reaſon of this voyage ſhall haue both increaſe and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in ſundry places of this realme ſhips haue beene built and ſet forth of late dayes, for the trade of fiſhing onely: yet notwithſtanding the fiſh which is taken and brought into England by the Engliſh nauy of fiſhermen, will not ſuffice for the expenſe of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of ſtrangers. And the chiefeſt cauſe why our Engliſh men doe not goe ſo farre Weſterly as the eſpeciall fiſhing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatneſſe of fiſh, is for that they haue no ſuccour and knowen ſafe harbour in thoſe parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fiſh but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fiſh ſo long as pleaſed themſelues, or rather at their comming finde ſuch plenty of fiſh ready taken, ſalted, and dried, as might be ſufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that ſalt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in thoſe

Cox the maſter.

countreys as aforeſayd) ſayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elſewhere. Which being brought to paſſe, ſhall increaſe the number of our ſhippes and mariners, were it but in reſpect of fiſhing onely: but much more in regard of the ſundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, as well thoſe that dwell in the South, as thoſe that dwell in the North, ſo ſoone as they ſhall begin but a little to taſte of ciuility, will take marueilous delight in any garment, be it neuer ſo ſimple; as a ſhirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten caſſocke, a cap, or ſuch like, and will take incredible paines for ſuch a trifle.

Clothiers.
Woolmen,
Carders.
Spinners.
Weauers.
Fullers.
Sheermen.
Diers.
Drapers.
Cappers.
Hatters, &c.
and many decayed townes repaired.

For I my ſelfe haue heard this report made ſundry times by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, ſome twelue yeeres together, and ſome of leſſe time; that the people in thoſe parts are eaſily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being ſo, what vent for our Engliſh clothes will thereby enſue, and how great benefit to all ſuch perſons and artificers, whoſe names are quoted in the margent, I do leaue to the iudgement of ſuch as are diſcreet.

And queſtionleſſe, hereby it will alſo come to paſſe, that all ſuch townes and villages as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not ſet on worke, by reaſon of the tranſportation of raw wooll of late dayes more exceſſiuely then in times paſt) ſhal by this meanes be reſtored to their priſtinate wealth and eſtate: all which doe likewiſe tend to the inlargement of our nauy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeuour my ſelfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation ſhalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reaſon then the manifeſt & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who ſince the firſt diſcouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themſelues and their ſubiects: but haue alſo by iuſt account trebled the number of their ſhippes, maſters and mariners, a matter of no ſmall moment and importance.

The idle perſons of this realme ſhall by occaſion of this iourney bee well imployed & ſet on worke.

Beſides this, it will proue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occaſion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & vnprofitable to this realme, ſhall hereby be ſet on worke, but alſo children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, or vnder, may bee kept from idleneſſe, in making of a thouſand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the Realme may well ſpare) ſhall alſo be imployed on plucking, drying, and ſorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right neceſſary for dying. All which things are to be found in thoſe countreys moſt plentifully. And the men may imploy themſelues in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of huſbandry, and likewiſe in hunting the Whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the ſame in: beſides in fiſhing for cod, ſalmon, and herring, drying ſalting and barrelling the ſame, and felling of trees, hewing and ſawing of them, and ſuch like worke, meete for thoſe perſons that are no men of Art or ſcience.

Hempe doeth grow neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no ſmall number of the naturall Subiects of this Realme, which doe now liue here idlely to the common annoy of the whole ſtate. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a paſſage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by ſundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may enſue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene ſpoken of, without either ſuch charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary paſſage to thoſe parts at this day doeth miniſter.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Diuers voyages touching the diſcouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of ſound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vſe and trade amongſt vs.

The fift chapter ſheweth, that the trading and planting in thoſe countreis is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I Muſt now according to my promiſe ſhew foorth ſome probable reaſons that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the ſame. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two ſorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themſelues, and the Merchants by themſelues. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there ſhall be one ſocietie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another ſocietie of the merchants. And yet not ſo diuided, but that eche ſociety may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And firſt to bend my ſpeech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly ſeeke a temperate climate, wholeſome ayre, fertile ſoile, and a ſtrong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themſelues, or ſuch other perſons as they ſhall thinke good to ſend to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I ſay, that all theſe things are very eaſie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforeſaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Iſlands thereunto adioyning at their choiſe: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where theſe places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for ſuch regard as the wiſer ſort can eaſily coniecture: the rather becauſe I doe certainly vnderſtand, that ſome of thoſe which haue the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my ſelfe, and do meane to reueale the ſame, when cauſe ſhall require, to ſuch perſons whom it ſhall concerne, and to no other: ſo that they may ſeat & ſettle themſelues in ſuch climate as ſhall beſt agree with their owne nature, diſpoſition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the deſcription of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all ſorts, and in very many places, both ſtones of price, pearle and chriſtall, and great ſtore of beaſts, birds, and fowles both for pleaſure and neceſſary vſe of man are to be found.

And for ſuch as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other ſuch like for pleaſure. Alſo for ſuch as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of ſundry kinds, and great ſtore of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronſhawes, Ducks, Mallards, and ſuch like. There is alſo a kinde of beaſt much bigger then an Oxe, whoſe hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which ſort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a ſea man, who was vpon that coaſt, did for a trueth report in the preſence of diuers honourable and worſhipfull perſons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and ſolde in France for fortie ſhillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and deſcribeth that beaſt at large, ſuppoſing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewiſe beaſts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities ſake, great ſtore of fiſh both in the ſalt water and in the freſh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the moſt delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue taſted: and there is alſo a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and ſundry other fruits naturally growing there: ſo that after ſuch time as they are once ſetled, they ſhall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Beaſts for pleaſure.

Hides ſolde for fortie ſhillings a piece.

Great grapes. Wine of the Palme tree.

And now for the better contentation and ſatiſfaction of ſuch worſhipfull, honeſt minded, and well diſpoſed Merchants, as haue a deſire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will firſt ſay vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees aboueſayde, is doubtleſſe to bee found the moſt wholeſome and beſt temperature of ayre, fertilitie of ſoyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no ſmall perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moſcouie and Eaſtland. All which may be either preſently had, or at the leaſt wiſe in very ſhort time procured from thence with leſſe danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument ſhall not altogether ſtand vpon likelihoods and preſumptions, I ſay that ſuch perſons as haue diſcouered and trauelled thoſe parets, doe teſtifie that they haue found in thoſe countreyes all theſe things following, namely:

Of beaſts for furres.
Marterns.
Beauers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of wormes.
Silke wormes great & large

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geeſe.
Stocke dooues.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fiſhes.
Codde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding ſweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Saſafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Poplet.

And ſundry other ſtrange Trees, to vs vnknowen.

Of fruites.
- Grapes very large.
- Muskemellons.
- Limons.
- Dates great.
- Orrenges.
- Figges.
- Prunes.
- Raiſins great and ſmall.
- Pepper.
- Almonds.
- Citrons.

Of Mettals.
- Golde.
- Siluer
- Copper.
- Lead.
- Tinne.

Of Stones.
- Turkeis.
- Rubies.
- Pearls great & faire.
- Marble, of diuers kindes.
- Iaſper.
- Chriſtall.

Sundry other commodities of all ſorts.
- Roſen.
- Pitch.
- Tarre.
- Turpentine.
- Frankincenſe.
- Honny.
- Waxe.
- Rubarbe.
- Oyle Oliue.
- Traine oyle.
- Muske codde.
- Salt.
- Tallow.
- Hides.
- Hempe.
- Flaxe.
- Cochenello & dies of diuers ſorts.
- Feathers of ſundrie ſorts, as for pleaſure and filling of Featherbeds.

And ſeeing that for ſmall coſts, the trueth of theſe things may be vnderſtood (whereof this intended ſupply will giue vs more certaine aſſurance) I doe finde no cauſe to the contrary, but that all well minded perſons ſhould be willing to aduenture ſome competent portion for the furtherance of ſo good an enterpriſe.

Now for the triall hereof, conſidering that in the articles of the ſocietie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouiſion made, that no aduenturer ſhall be bound to any further charge then his firſt aduenture: and yet notwithſtanding keepe ſtill to himſelfe his children, his apprentiſes and ſeruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the ſaid articles it is likewiſe prouided, that none other then ſuch as haue aduentured in the firſt voyage, or ſhal become aduenturers in this ſupply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the ſaid ſociety, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I ſay vnto all ſuch according to the old prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do ſo fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, ſhal by this trade returne with leſſe charge, greater gaine, and more ſafety: Leſſe charge, I ſay, by reaſon of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both eaſily and quietly they may tranſport from the innermoſt parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in veſſels of great burden, and that three times, or twiſe in the yere at the leaſt. But let vs omit all preſumptions how vehement ſoeuer, and dwel vpon the certainty of ſuch commodities as were diſcouered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his aſſiſtants in Newfound land in Auguſt laſt. For there may be very eaſily made Pitch, Tarre, Roſen, Sope aſhes, in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to ſerue the whole realme of euery of theſe kindes: And of Traine oyle ſuch quantity, as if I ſhould ſet downe the value that they doe eſteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would ſeeme incredible.

Commodities found in Auguſt laſt.

It is hereby intended, that theſe commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and ſetling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more ſorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewiſe diſcouered there) I doe holde them for ſome reſpects, more meete for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fiſhing I doe ſpeake nothing, becauſe it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages doe require in exchange of theſe commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it ſhould ſo fall out, that the aboue ſpecified commodities ſhall not happily be found out within this firſt yeere: Yet it is very cleere that ſuch and ſo many may be found out as ſhall miniſter iuſt occaſion to thinke all coſt and labour well beſtowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one ſeat fit for fortification, of great ſafety, wherein theſe commodities following, eſpecially are to be had, that is to ſay, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other neceſſary things, and fiſh of farre greater ſiſe and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all theſe ſo great ſtore, as may ſuffice to ſerue our whole realme.

Beſides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the ſame ſoile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich ſubſtance: I doe not hereby meane the paſſage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres paſt, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ſhip out of the Iſland of Ierſey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade ſecret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ſhip boy belonging to the ſayd ſhip, to goe with them, which ſhippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the ſhippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already ſayd, may ſuffice any man of reaſonable diſpoſition to ſerue for a taſte, vntill ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe almightie God through our owne induſtrie, to ſend vs better tydings. In the meane ſeaſon, if any man well affected to this iourney, ſhall ſtand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the ſame, he may ſatiſfie himſelfe with the iudgement and liking of ſuch of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not neceſſary in this treatiſe, publikely to ſet forth the whole ſecrets of the voyage.

The ſixt Chapter ſheweth that the traffique and planting in thoſe countries, ſhall be vnto the Sauages themſelues very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vndertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our ſelues and our country (as generally other trades and iourneis be) it ſhall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages ſhall hereby haue iuſt cauſe to bleſſe the houre when this enterpriſe was vndertaken.

Firſt and chiefly, in reſpect of the moſt happy and gladſome tidings of the moſt glorious Goſpel of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, whereby they may be brought from falſhood to trueth, from darkneſſe to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from ſuperſtitious idolatrie to ſincere Chriſtianity, from the deuill to Chriſt, from hell to heauen. And if in reſpect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they ſhould but receiue this onely benefit of Chriſtianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee obiected, that the Goſpel muſt bee freely preached, for ſuch was the example of the Apoſtles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aſwel before Chriſts time as ſince, might ſufficiently ſatiſfie: yet for further anſwere, we may ſay with S. Paul, If wee haue ſowen vnto you heauenly things, doe you thinke it much that we ſhould reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. Theſe heauenly tidings which thoſe labourers our countreymen (as meſſengers of Gods great goodneſſe and mercy) will voluntarily preſent vnto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they ſhall receiue from vs, be weighed in equall ballance, I aſſure my ſelfe, that by equal iudgement of any indifferent perſon, the benefits which they then receiue, ſhall farre ſurmount thoſe which they ſhall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to ſome vſe: yet being brought from brutiſh ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderſtand how the tenth part of their Land may be ſo manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the neceſſary vſe of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What iuſt cauſe of complaint may they haue? And in my priuate opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it ſhould by culture and huſbandry yeeld things neceſſary for mans life.

2. Corinth. 9.

But this is not all the benefit which they ſhall receiue by the Chriſtians: for, ouer and beſide the knowledge how to till and dreſſe their grounds, they ſhal be reduced from vnſeemely cuſtomes to honeſt maners, from diſordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall, ſhalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall ſciences: and which ſtandeth them moſt vpon, they ſhalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood ſucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues ſhalbe preſerued. And laſtly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children ſhall be preſerued from the bloody knife of the ſacrificer, a moſt horrible and deteſtable cuſtome in the ſight of God and man, now and euer heretofore vſed amongſt them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpoſe, were it not that I doe feare leſt I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargen cannot be vniuſt, where both parties are gainers.

The ſeuenth Chapter ſheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of ſuch charge or difficultie, as many would make it ſeeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in theſe parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purſe, contrary to the allegation of many malicious perſons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themſelues, nor ſo much as afoord a good word to the ſetting forward thereof: and that worſe is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles ſeeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may diſcourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Eſops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himſelfe, nor ſuffer the poore hungry aſſe to feede thereon:

I ſay and affirme that God hath prouided ſuch meanes for the furtherance of this enterpriſe, as doe ſtand vs in ſtead of great treaſure: for firſt by reaſon that it hath pleaſed God of his great goodneſſe, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preſeruing the people of the ſame, both from ſlaughter by the ſword, and great death by plague, peſtilence, or otherwiſe, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in ſuch penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to ſerue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their eſtates: which is a matter in ſuch like iourneyes, of no ſmall charge to the prince. Moreouer, things in the like iournyes of greateſt price and coſt, as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corſelets are not needefull in ſo plentifull and chargeable maner, as the ſhew of ſuch a iourney may preſent: for a ſmall quantitie of all theſe, to furniſh the Fort only, will ſuffice vntill ſuch time as diuers commodities may be found out in thoſe parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Alſo the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath bleſſed this land withall before all other nations, will ſtand vs in great ſtead amongſt thoſe naked people.

Another helpe we haue alſo, which in ſuch like caſes is a matter of marueilous coſt, and will be in this iourney procured very eaſily (that is to ſay) To tranſport yeerely aſwell our people, as all other neceſſaries needfull for them into thoſe parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fiſh in Newfound-land, being not farre diſtant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie veſſels in effect, ſauing ſome litle fraight with ſalt. And thus it appeareth that the ſouldiers wages, and the tranſportation may be defrayed for farre leſſe ſummes of money then the detractors of this enterpriſe haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conqueſt, hath in like maner many other ſingular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand bleſſed the ſame before all others. For after once we are departed the coaſt of England, wee may paſſe ſtraightway thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde ſerueth to bring vs thither, which ſeldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleaſure that they haue in few or none of other iourneyes. Alſo the paſſage is ſhort, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the moſt, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the moſt. And in the ſame our iourney, by reaſon it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourſe of other countreyes, we may ſafely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither ſhall our ſhips, people, or goods there, be ſubiect to arreſt or moleſtation of any Pagan potentate, Turkiſh tyrant, yea, or Chriſtian prince, which heretofore ſometimes vpon ſlender occaſion in other parts haue ſtayed our ſhips and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen haue bene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ranſome, yea, and ſome loſt their liues: a thing ſo freſh in memorie as it needeth no proofe, and is well worthy of conſideration.

Beſides, in this voyage we doe not croſſe the burnt line, whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we paſſe the frozen ſeas, which yeelde ſundry extreme dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to ſerue our turnes. And laſtly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of freſh water and fewell, (a thing vſually done in long iournies) becauſe, as I ſayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the freſh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found ſo wholſome and ſweete, that they haue made choiſe to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits, commodities and pleaſures heretofore vnknowen, by Gods eſpeciall bleſſing not onely reuealed vnto vs, but alſo as it were infuſed into our boſomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue ſlumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the laſt we would awake, and with willing mindes (ſetting friuolous imaginations aſide) become induſtrious inſtruments to our ſelues, queſtionleſſe we ſhould not only hereby ſet forth the glory of our heauenly father, but alſo eaſily attaine to the end of all good purpoſes that may be wiſhed or deſired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good ſucceſſe in the countrey of theſe Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the diſcipline of warre, ſeeing that a noble man, being but a ſubiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the ſecond) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepſtow in South Wales, by himſelfe and his allies and aſſiſtants, at their owne proper charges paſſed ouer into Ireland, and there made conqueſt of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lyneſter, at which time it was very populous and ſtrong, which Hiſtory our owne chronicles do witneſſe: And why ſhould we be diſmayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue bene able within theſe few yeeres to conquer, poſſeſſe, and enioy ſo large a tract of the earth, in the Weſt Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. Engliſh miles at the leaſt, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall poſſeſſion, beſides many goodly and rich Iſlands, as Hiſpaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other, which are both beautifull and full of treaſure, not ſpeaking any whit at all, how large the ſaid land is from Eaſt to Weſt, which in ſome places is accounted to be 1500. Engliſh miles at the leaſt from Eaſt to Weſt, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Or why ſhould our noble nation be diſmaid, more then was Vaſques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemacchus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the ſaid Vaſques Nunnes not long after, with his ſmall number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

2. Decad lib. 5. fol. 77. of the Weſt Indies, in Engliſh.
Canoa is a kind of boat.
3. Decad lib. 1. fol 97.

Likewiſe Hernando Cortes, being alſo but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Iſlands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many moſt victorious & triumphant conqueſts, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with leſſe then 500. Spaniſh footmen, thirteene horſemen, and ſixe pieces of Ordinance only, he ouerthrew 40000. Indians. The ſame Cortes with his ſayd number of Spanyards, tooke priſoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his moſt chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that inſtant had in it aboue the number of 50000. Indians at the leaſt, and in ſhort time after obteined not onely the quiet poſſeſſion of the ſaid citie, but alſo of his whole Empire.

About the yere of our Lord 1511.

Conqueſt of the Weſt Indies. fol. 43. and 45. Engliſh.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall poſſeſſion, Franciſco Pyſarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall perſon that firſt attempted diſcouerie and conqueſt of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to paſſe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, encloſed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa priſoner, amidſt the number of 60000. Indians his ſubiects, which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleaſed God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210. Spanyards, whereof there were not paſt threeſcore horſemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ranſome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and ſiluer, and ſuch golde and ſiluer veſſels as they then vſed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the ſayd prince cauſed the ſame hall to be marked round about at the ſayd height, which ranſome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after, when as this mighty prince had ſent to his vaſſals & ſubiects to bring in gold and ſiluer for the filling of the hall, as aforeſaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cuſco, as alſo to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire houſe, all ſlated and couered with gold: and when as the ſaid hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie aroſe amongſt the Spanyards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the ſaid prince had politikely offered this great ranſome vnder pretence to raiſe a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards ſhould be taken, ſlaine and ouerthrowen: whereupon they grew to this reſolution, to put the ſayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and ſiluer already brought in, which they preſently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the ſame, as wel for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwiſe, there was found to be already brought in into the ſayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of ſiluer, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that nor ſince ſeene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of ſiluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horſeman eight thouſand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of ſiluer. Euery ſouldiour had 4550. pezos of gold, and 280. pound waight of ſiluer. Euery Captaine had ſome 30000. ſome 20000. pezos of gold and ſiluer, proportionally anſwerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongſt them.

A marueilous victorie.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the reſt, ouer and beſides the maſſie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day ſouldiours ſo rich in ſo ſmall a time, and with ſo little danger. And in this iourney for want of yron, they did ſhooe their horſes, ſome with gold, and ſome with ſiluer. This is to bee ſeene in the generall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conqueſt of Peru is more at large ſet forth.

To this may I adde the great diſcoueries and conqueſts which the princes of Portugall haue made round about the Weſt, the South, and the Eaſt parts of Africa, and alſo at Calicut, and in the Eaſt Indies, and in America, at Braſile and elſewhere in ſundry Iſlands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the ſayd coaſtes and Iſlands, euer as they diſcouered: which being rightly weyed and conſidered, doth miniſter iuſt cauſe of incouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it ſo hard and difficult a thing for the ſubiects of this noble realme of England, to diſcouer, people, plant and poſſeſſe the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning & offring themſelues vnto vs (as is aforeſayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall poſſeſſion of any other Chriſtian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) ſhould not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderſtanding what large Countreys and Iſlands the Portugals with their ſmall number haue within theſe few yeeres diſcouered, peopled and planted, ſome part whereof I haue thought it not amiſſe, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys & Iſlands, ſo neere as I could vpon the ſudden call them to remembrance: for the reſt I doe referre the Reader to the hiſtories, where more at large the ſame is to be ſeene. Firſt, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Iſland of Geiſera & towne of Arzila, not paſt an 140. mile diſtant from their Metropolitane & chiefe city of Feſſe: and after that they wonne alſo from the ſaid princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongſt the Sea coaſts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomoſta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that firſt diſcouered for their vſe Cape Verd, with the Iſlands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted thoſe of Bonauiſta and Sant Iago diſcouering alſo the riuer Senega, otherwiſe called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did diſcouer the coaſt of Guinea, and there peopled and built the caſtle of Mina: then diſcouered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Iſlands of Principe, da Nobon, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the ſaid Iſland of S. Thomas the hauen towne or port of Pauoſan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was ſent foorth, who was the firſt man that diſcouered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Eſperanze, & paſſing the currents that run vpon the ſaid coaſt, on the Southeaſt part of Africa, betweene the ſaid maine land & the Iſland of S. Laurence, otherwiſe called of the ancients, Madagaſcar, he diſcouered to ẏ harbor named the Riuer of ẏ Infant. After that ſince the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accompliſhment of the yeere of Chriſt, 1510. through the trauailes and diſcoueries of Vaſques de Gama, Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corſale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sintra, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonſo de Albuquerque, they did diſcouer, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the Eaſt ſide of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the ſouth Pole, and direct Weſt from the Iland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as alſo vpon the ſaid Eaſt ſide of Africa, they did afterward diſcouer, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and ſo vp to the ſtreight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red ſea, all vpon the Eaſt coaſt of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and paſt the great gulfe of Arabia, and the Indian Sea Eaſt to Sinus Perſicus, and the Iſland of Ormus, and ſo paſſing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrional latitude, they made their courſe againe directly towards the South, and began to diſcouer, people, and plant vpon the Weſt ſide of the hither India at Goa, Mangalor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Iſland of Zeilam.

Ceffala accounted to be the place where the noble and wiſe king Salomon did fetch his gold.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coaſt, their forces grew ſo great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the ſubiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they paſſed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the ſayd land, euer as they paſſed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of diſcipline practiſed in thoſe partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Perſians, and profeſſed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vſe of the Caliuer ſhot, and to enterlace and ioyne footemen with his horſemen, ſithence which time the Perſians haue growen to that ſtrength and force, that they haue giuen many mightie and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Chriſtendome.

And from the Iſland of Zeilam aforeſayd, they alſo diſcouered more Eaſt in paſſing the gulfe of Bengala, and ſo paſſed the notable and famous riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Iſlands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Iſlands of Molucques and Spiceries, and ſo Eaſt alongſt the coaſts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinſay, and to the Iſland of Zipango and Iapan, ſituate in the Eaſt, in 37. degrees of Septemtrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. Theſe are their noble and worthie diſcoueries. Here alſo is not to bee forgotten, that in the yere of our Lord, 1501. that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Veſpucius did diſcouer, people, and plant to their vſe the holdes and forts which they haue in Braſill, of whom (he being but a priuate gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the Weſt Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

Theſe are the furtheſt partes of the world from England. At theſe Ilands hath ſir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie was renowmed.

I doe greatly doubt leaſt I ſeeme ouer tedious in the recitall of the particular diſcoueries and conqueſts of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might moſt manifeſtly and at large appeare, to all ſuch as are not acquainted with the hiſtories, how the king of Portugall, whoſe Countrey for popularity and number of people, is ſcarce comparable to ſome three ſhires of England, and the king of Spaine like wiſe; whoſe natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by meanes of their diſcoueries within leſſe then 90. yeeres paſt, haue as it appeareth both mightily and maruellouſly enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne induſtrie by the aſſiſtance of the omnipotent, whoſe aid we ſhall not need to doubt, ſeeing the cauſe and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith.

To conclude, ſince by Chriſtian dutie we ſtand bound chiefly to further all ſuch acts as do tend to the encreaſing the true flock of Chriſt by reducing into the right way thoſe loſt ſheepe which are yet aſtray: And that we ſhall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predeceſſors of renowmed memorie, and leaue vnto our poſteritie a diuine memoriall of ſo godly an enterpriſe: Let vs I ſay for the conſiderations alledged, enter into iudgement with our ſelues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty aſſiſtance of the omnipotent God, ſhall take our deſired effect (whereof there is no iuſt cauſe of doubt.) Then ſhal her Maieſties dominions be enlarged, her highneſſe ancient titles iuſtly confirmed, all odious idleneſſe from this our Realme vtterly baniſhed, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy perſons relieued, and eſtates of ſuch as now liue in want ſhall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Chriſt, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall cuſtome of ſacrificing humane creatures aboliſhed.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the ſight of our Sauiour Chriſt, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath ſayd: That before the ende of the world, his word ſhall bee preached to all nations; Which good worke I truſt is reſerued for our nation to accompliſh in theſe parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not diſmayed: for the power of God is nothing diminiſhed, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Goſpell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be leſſe ready moſt mightily and miraculouſly to aſſiſt our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith abroad, and the baniſhment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vaſques Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the Weſt: and Vaſques de Gama, Peter Aluares, & Alonſo de Albuquerque in the Eaſt: Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the ſequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee againſt vs? Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatſoeuer is in this treatiſe too much or too little, otherwiſe vnperfect, I take leaue, and ſo end.

A letter of Sir *Francis VValſingham* to M. *Richard Hakluyt* then of *Chriſtchurch* in *Oxford*, incouraging him in the ſtudy of Coſmographie, and of furthering new diſcoueries, &c.

I Vnderſtand aſwel by a letter I long ſince receiued from the Maior of Briſtoll, as by conference with ſir George Pekham, that you haue endeuoured, & giuen much light for the diſcouery of the Weſterne partes yet vnknowen: as your ſtudie in theſe things is very cōmendable, ſo I thanke you much for the ſame; wiſhing you do continue your trauell in theſe and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in priuate, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And ſo I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter of Sir *Francis VValſingham* to Maſter *Thomas Aldworth* merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of *Briſtoll*, concerning their aduenture in the Weſterne diſcouerie.

After my heartie commendations, I haue for certaine cauſes deferred the anſwere of your letter of Nouember laſt till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Weſterne diſcouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that ſir Humfrey Gilbert, as you haue heard long ſince, hath bene preparing into thoſe parts being readie to imbarke within theſe 10. dayes, who needeth ſome further ſupply of ſhipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you ſhall do well if the ſhip or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readineſſe to goe alongſt with him, or ſo ſoone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil proue profitable to the Aduenturers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with theſe bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And ſo bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend.
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from M. *Thomas Aldworth* merchant and Maior of the Citie of *Briſtoll*, to the right honourable Sir *Francis Walſingham* principall Secretary to her Maieſtie, concerning a Weſterne voyage intended for the diſcouery of the coaſt of *America*, lying to the Southweſt of Cape *Briton*.

Right honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steuenton, bearing date the 11. of March, I preſently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know moſt affectionate to this godly enterpriſe, eſpecially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my ſelfe being as then ſicke, with as conuenient ſpeede as he could, hee cauſed an aſſembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable diſpoſition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment cauſed your letters being directed vnto me priuatly, to be read in publike, and after ſome good light giuen by M. Hakluyt vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterpriſe, and were deſirous to be reſolued, the motion grew generally ſo well to be liked, that there was eftſoones ſet downe by mens owne hands then preſent, & apparently knowen by their owne ſpeach, and very willing offer, the ſumme of 1000. markes and vpward: which ſumme if it ſhould not ſuffice, we doubt not but otherwiſe to furniſh out for this Weſterne diſcouery, a ſhip of threeſcore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your ſonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard much good, if it ſhall ſtand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are alſo willing to haue M. Steuenton your honours meſſenger, and one well knowen to vs, as captains. And here in humble maner, deſiring your honour to vouchſafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my ſelfe, my brethren, and the reſt of the merchants of this city, at your honors beſt and moſt conuenient leiſure, becauſe we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I ceaſe, beſeeching God long to bleſſe and proſper your honourable eſtate. Briſtoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and ſummary diſcourſe vpon the intended voyage to the hithermoſt parts of *America*: written by Captaine *Carlile* in April, 1583. for the better inducement to ſatiſfie ſuch Merchants of the Moſcouian companie and others, as in diſburſing their money towards the furniture of the preſent charge, doe demand forthwith a preſent returne of gaine, albeit their ſaid particular diſburſements are required but in very ſlender ſummes, the higheſt being 25. li. the ſecond at 12. li. 10. s. and the loweſt at 6. pound fiue ſhillings.

When the Goldſmith deſireth to finde the certaine goodneſſe of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him, he preſently bringeth the ſame to the Touchſtone, where, by comparing the ſhewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or ſhew of that which he knoweth of old, he forthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make ſome briefe repetition of the particular eſtate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is preſently recommended vnto your knowledge and reſolution.

Moſcouie.

And firſt to lay downe that of Moſcouia, whoſe beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the firſt diſcouery, and by the great gifts beſtowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of ſome of their ſeruants, who thought themſelues ſafe enough from orderly puniſhment, it coſt the company aboue foureſcore thouſand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after ſo long a patience and ſo great a burthen of expences, the ſame began to frame to ſome good courſe and commoditie: It falleth to very tickliſh termes, and to as ſlender likelihood of any further goodneſſe, as any other trade that may be named.

For firſt the eſtate of thoſe Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderſtood.

Dutchmen.

Next, the Dutchmen are there ſo crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperors diſpoſition to keepe promiſe with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, ſuch as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambaſſadours betweene that Prince and her Maieſty, are alwayes borne by the merchants ſtocke.

Denmarke.

And laſtly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who beſides that preſently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewiſe an aduantage vpon the ſhips in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whenſoeuer he liſteth to take the opportunitie.

Eaſterlings.

The badde dealings of the Eaſterlings are ſufficiently knowen to be ſuch towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe ſeeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the ſame purpoſe haue of late cleane debarred them their accuſtomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great townes.

Turkie.

The traffique into Turkie, beſides that by ſome it is thought a hard point to haue ſo much familiaritie with the profeſſed and obſtinate enemie of Chriſt: It is likewiſe a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many ſtates, who for ſundry reſpects are apt to quarell with vs vpon ſudden occaſions, and the preſents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, coſt little leſſe then two thouſand pounds.

Leuant.

As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may eaſily be conſidered by euery one of iudgement, that the ſame ſtand in the like termes touching the paſſages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our ſhippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the loſſe of their goods and trauell, are ſet at ſuch exceſſiue ranſoms before they can bee freed of their ſlauerie, as for the moſt part they are no way able to diſcharge. As for example, at this inſtant there are ſome priſoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whoſe releaſing there muſt be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for ſome three hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckets the man for ſome of them. And how enuiouſly the Venetians doe already oppoſe themſelues againſt our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late cuſtoms which they haue impoſed as well vpon our Engliſh merchandize which we bring them, as alſo vpon ſuch their merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewiſe to worſe termes then before times, and when it was at the beſt, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whenſoeuer it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were choſen, the libertie of all diſordered perſons is ſuch, as they ſpoile and wrong whom they liſt, without any redreſſe at all.

Spaine.
Portugall.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as alſo of the prouiſion they haue from the ſame, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twiſe the yeere ordinarily we ſend our Fleetes into thoſe parts: So that whenſoeuer the king of Spaine liſteth to take the opportunitie, hee may at theſe ſeaſons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ſhips, but alſo of our honeſteſt and ableſt ſort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee ſhall take a quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well thoſe our ſhippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as alſo all others which ſhall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whoſoeuer hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of neceſſitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Chriſtian to be, cannot but be agrieued in

Remember the great arreſt of the Hollanders. An. 1598 his heart to conſider, that his children and ſeruants whom hee deſireth to haue well brought vp, are in theſe trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profeſſion, and made to acquaint themſelues with that which the Parents and Maſters doe vtterly deny and refuſe, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a deteſtable and moſt wicked doctrine.

But who ſhall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermoſt part of America, ſhal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almoſt be wiſhed for.

Commodities of this voyage in ſhortneſſe.

1 As firſt it is to be vnderſtood, that it is not any long courſe, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the firſt diſcouerie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind ſufficeth to make the paſſage, whereas moſt of your other voyages of like length, are ſubiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the paſſage is vpon the high ſea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coaſt, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that thoſe parts of England and Ireland, which lie apteſt for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage, are very well ſtored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or ſtate, when it is compared with any the beſt of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their ſeruants or children, ſhall haue no inſtruction or confeſſions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily ſhall be at their free libertie of conſcience, and ſhall find the ſame Religion exerciſed, which is moſt agreeable vnto their Parents and Maſters.

Commodities of the countrey more then thoſe of Moſcouie.

As for the merchandiſing, which is the matter eſpecially looked for, albeit that for the preſent we are not certainely able to promiſe any ſuch like quantitie, as is now at the beſt time of the Moſcouian trade brought from thence: So likewiſe is there not demanded any ſuch proportion of daily expences, as was at the firſt, and as yet is conſumed in that of Moſcouia and other.

But when this of America ſhall haue bene haunted and practiſed thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne ſhippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moſcouia, there ſhall in this voyage twiſe tenne be imployed well, twiſe the yeere at the leaſt. And if for the preſent time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fiſhing, yet doubt I not after the firſt yeeres planting, but by that matter onely to ſerue halfe a dozen of your beſt ſort of ſhips, although my ſupply of people doe not follow me ſo ſubſtantially, as in all reaſon may be well looked for.

The ſeuerall merchandiſe.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after ſome yeeres, it is firſt to be conſidered, that this ſituation in fourtie degrees, ſhall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of thoſe parts which ſtand to the Southward of it, as alſo of thoſe which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an eſpeciall good fiſhing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but alſo any other ſuch commodities, as the Eaſterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Maſts, Loſhe hides, rich Furres, and other ſuch like, without being in any ſort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or ſtate that ſhall be in ſuch ſort able to command our ſhippes at their pleaſure, as thoſe doe at this day, by meanes of their ſtrait paſſages and ſtrong ſhipping.

As for thoſe partes which lie Weſt and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a ſmall helpe, ſince the grapes doe growe there of themſelues alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will giue them ſuch trifling things as they deſire of vs, and ſhewing them once the meanes how to prouide the ſame, the labour thereof being ſo light, no doubt but in ſhort time they will earneſtly care to haue the ſame in good quantitie for vs. Beſides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may ſerue for the fiſhing of thoſe partes, may well enough appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of ſuch places as are required to make the ſame in.

A lake of ſalt in Vaſques his voyage.

Thus much for the beginning, becauſe they may bee had with an eaſie kinde of trauell: but when it may haue pleaſed God to eſtabliſh our people there any ſuch time as they may haue planted amongſt them in ſundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to ſee what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderſtand of, and that in ſo many ſorts of occaſions as were infinite to be ſet downe: It is to bee aſſuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forſake their barbarous and ſauage liuing, and growe to ſuch order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from thence no leſſe quantitie and diuerſitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the apteſt to fall out with vs, ſo theſe parts being ſomewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue leſſe occaſion of diſquiet. But when it is conſidered that they are our own kindred, and eſteemed our own countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by thoſe who ſhall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of moſt louing and moſt aſſured friends?

There are further to be conſidered theſe two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good proſpering of this action, there muſt of neceſſitie fall out a very liberall vtterance of our Engliſh Clothes into a maine Country, deſcribed to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, ſhall haue wonderfull great vſe of our ſayde Engliſh Clothes, after they ſhall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee alſo of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of neceſſitie muſt bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there be any poſſible meanes to finde a ſea paſſage or other freſh water courſe, which may ſerue in ſome reaſonable and conuenient ſort, to tranſport our marchandize into the Eaſt Indian Sea, through any of theſe Northerly partes of America, it ſhall be ſooneſt and moſt aſſuredly perfourmed by theſe who ſhall inhabite and firſt grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in ſuſpence, vntill ſome better knowledge, becauſe there be many men, who hauing long ſince expected ſome profits herein, vpon the great promiſes that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point ſatiſfied, doe thereupon conceiue that they be but wordes purpoſely caſt out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furniſh their money towards the charge of the firſt diſcouerie.

But nowe to anſwere ſome others who begin with an other obiection, ſaying: That it is not for the Marchants purſe to continue the charges of tranſporting and planting: and that ſince theſe hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will coſt foure thouſand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee alſo a farre greater ſumme of money.

Obiection.

Whereunto I anſwere, that in all attemptes vnknowen, eſpecially ſuch a one as this is, wherewith wee are preſently in hand, the firſt charges are commonly aduentured in more deſperate kinde, then thoſe that followe vpon ſome better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the firſt enterpriſe, an hundred for that one will of themſelues bee willing and deſirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer ſo little more appearance, that the intended matter is by ſome knowledge of our owne, found true in ſome poynts of our firſt preſumption.

Answere.

The examples are many, and may eaſily bee remembred by thoſe who be Marchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into thoſe termes of ſome likelyhood, as is aforeſayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports ſhall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that ſuch a Countrey and people they haue themſelues ſeene as is by vs ſpoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of thoſe, who nowe neither haue heard any thing of the matter, as alſo of others, who preſently make ſuch friuolous ſcruple, and will not otherwiſe be ſatiſfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I ſpeake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not haue preſſed to any further charge then this firſt preparation, but rather by ſuch as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their eſtates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be aſſured that there is ſuch a Countrey, & that their money ſhould not be waſted to nothing in the preparations.

The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobiſher, caused two generall ſupplies, the two yeeres next following, whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ſhips.

The right examination of this point muſt bee the contrary ſequell of the common Prouerbe that is vſed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: ſo on the other ſide by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale and to thoſe eſpecially in priuate, who take on them the hazard of their life and trauell, or ſubſtance in the firſt attempts: and therefore I would wiſh that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to ſpare that which is required of each one towardes the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the ſame, ſince the ſequell in good and ſubſtantiall reaſon doth promiſe, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who ſhall here at home exerciſe the trade of Marchandiſe: but alſo to an infinite number of other, who preſently liue in poore eſtate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this diſcouerie, alter the ſame to a far better degree. Wherefore to make ſome concluſion vpon this point of the Marchants miſdoubt, who ſuſpecteth leſt this firſt diſburſſement without returne of preſent gaine, ſhould not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be vrged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the diſcouery of the Moſcouian trade: It may ſuffice to conſider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall ſort of people throughout all England: And that when ſuch relation ſhall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie wil not refuſe to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it ſhould ſinke for want of any reaſonable ſupply.

But as it is a very little time, ſince I haue beene throughly reſolued to trie my fortune in the matter, ſo it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderſtand with reaſon the circumſtance that belongeth to a matter of ſo great conſideration and importance.

To thoſe who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I ſay thus much more, that Chriſtian charitie doth as greatly perſwade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee ſhall not onely doe a moſt excellent worke, in reſpect of reducing the ſauage people to Chriſtianitie and ciuilitie, but alſo in reſpect of our poore ſorte of people, which are very many amongſt vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great diſquiet of the better ſort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and bleſſed plentifulneſſe, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is ſo mightily encreaſed, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houſes, without any inſtruction how to get their liuings after their parents deceaſe, are driuen to ſome neceſſitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into ſundry diſorders, and ſo the good ſort of people, as I ſayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themſelues led on to one ſhamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found ſome ſuch kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into ſuch vile deedes: and in ſteade thereof, prooue greatly ſeruiceable in thoſe affaires, where they might be ſo imployed.

Maſter Carliles owne experience.

This I ſpeake of mine owne experience, hauing ſeene diuers come ouer to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my reſidence in the ſame, who here had beene very euill and idle liuers, and by ſome little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very induſtrious in their facultie, which I can aſſure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpoſe of farre leſſe value, in reſpect of their particular recompence, then with an aſſured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you ſee in euery point that may bee wiſhed for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reaſon enough to ſatiſfie the well diſpoſed. But nowe to growe ſomewhat neerer the quicke, and to ſhewe you ſome greater appearance, then hath beene yet ſpoken of touching the trade which is the onely ſubiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, becauſe my addreſſe hereby is chiefly to men of ſuch like facultie: you may vnderſtande by that which followeth, the circumſtance of a little diſcourſe, which doeth concerne theſe matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier of S. Malo made his firſt diſcouerie of thoſe partes of America, which lie to the Weſtwardes, and as it were on the backeſide of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to ſeeke out the paſſage, which hee preſumed might haue beene found out into the Eaſt Indian Sea, otherwiſe called the paſſage to Cathaya, but this yere he went no higher then the Iſland of the Aſſumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and ſo returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouiſion into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly ſhoare, ran vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at laſt with his ſmall pinneſſes, (hauing left his great ſhipping by the way) he arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile hee had ſpent ſo much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient, for the better enforming himſelfe at large in this diſcouerie, to winter it out in thoſe partes, which he did at a place called by himſelfe Holy Croſſe. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in theſe partes, and the ſauage people, who for the moſt part make but a ſlender kinde of prouiſion, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into ſome ſcarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuſe to ſerue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at ſomewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was moſt, as with our ſelues the like happeneth at ſuch times.

But when the French had their wants ſerued all the yeere, and that as yet they ſawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the diſcouerie of the paſſage, and yet imagining by the ſignes wherewith the willing people endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that ſome good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well vnderſtoode, they reſolued with themſelues to take ſome of the ſufficiẽteſt men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them ſo long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more ſubſtantially their minde, and knowledge in the ſayde paſſage, concluding this to be the meane of leaſt charge, of leaſt trauaile, and of leaſt hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themſelues, who might bee meeteſt for it, they determined to take the King, as the perſon who might bee beſt infourmed of ſuch partes as were ſomewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as alſo that for the reſpect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further ſeruice, when it ſhould happen them to returne thither againe about the diſcouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French ſhippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterouſly caryed away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a Chriſtian there, as Theuet the French Kings Coſmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into ſuch diſlike with the French, as neuer ſince they would admit any conuerſation or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I ſayde) within theſe two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres ſince was begunne with a ſmall barke of thirtie tunnes, whoſe returne was found ſo profitable, as the next yeere following, being the laſt yeere, by thoſe Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade ſecret vnto themſelues, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a ſhippe of foureſcore tunnes out of the Iſle of Ierſey, but not any one Mariner of that place, ſauing a ſhipboy. This ſhippe made her returne in ſuch ſorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplyed three ſhippes, to wit, one of nine ſcore tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of foure ſcore tunnes: which report is giuen by very ſubſtantiall and honeſt men of Plimmouth, who ſawe the ſayd ſhippes in readineſſe to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of ſome of them.

The Frenchmens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

Here is at this inſtant in the towne a man of Gerneſey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this laſt yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got fourteene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But how ſoeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of ſome notable profite, in aſmuch as they doe ſo greatly, and thus ſuddenly encreaſe the burthen and number of their ſhips this preſent yeere.

Nowe, if in ſo little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to ſuch good paſſe as hath beene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to conſider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reaſon may promiſe a great deale more. And ſo, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I preſume to wiſh and perſwade you to ſome better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more aſſured commodity, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of ſo ſhort and ſafe a courſe as this hath: dealing herein no otherwiſe with you for your ſeuerall ſmall ſummes, then I doe with my ſelfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: beſides the hazard and trauaile of my perſon, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto paſſed cleare and vnſpotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

The South part beſt for inhabiting and traffique.

Articles ſet downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moſcouian Marchants, to conferre with M. *Carlile*, vpon his intended diſcouerie and attempt into the hithermoſt parts of *America*.

The names of the Committies.

Maſter Alderman Hart,
Maſter Alderman Spencer.
Maſter Hoddeſden.
Maſter William Burrough,
Maſter Slany.

Maſter Towerſon,
Maſter Staper.
Maſter John Caſtelin.
Maſter Leake.

First the Committies are well perſwaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with ſauage people of a milde and tractable diſpoſition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely moſt fit and moſt commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenienteſt maner of attempting this enterpriſe is thought to bee thus: That there ſhould be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular eſtate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or preſently looked for.

The charge to tranſport theſe hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furniſh them of munition and other needefull things, will not be leſſe then foure thouſand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Briſtoll one thouſand poundes, the reſidue being three thouſande poundes, remaineth to bee furniſhed by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this firſt preparation.

The furniſhing foorth of 100. men for one yeere will coſt 4000. li.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege ſhould be procured by Maſter Carlile from her Maieſty, by vertue whereof theſe conditions and Articles following may be effectually prouided for.

Firſt, that they who ſhall diſburſſe their money for the firſt preparation, ſhall be named Aduenturers, and ſhall haue the one halfe of all ſuch landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and ſiluer, and other metals whatſoeuer, as ſhall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this diſcouery: yeelding to her Maieſtie the fift part of all ſuch gold and ſiluer, as ſhall happen to be had out of any mines that ſo ſhall be found.

That thoſe parties which doe employ themſelues perſonally in the preſent diſcouerie, ſhall be named Enterpriſers, and ſhall haue the other halfe of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Siluer, and other mettals, yeelding to her Maieſtie the fift part of the Gold and Siluer as the Aduenturers do: The ſame to bee diſtributed by the Generall, with the conſent of the greateſt part of twelue diſcreete perſons to bee choſen out of the whole number of the Enterpriſers.

Alſo, that all trade of Marchandiſe which ſhall bee vſed to and from thoſe partes, which by this diſcouerie ſhall bee found out, ſhall appertaine onely to the Aduenturers which firſt ſhall diſburſſe their money for this diſcouery, with prohibition to all other her Maieſties ſubiects, and other Marchants to deale in the ſayd parts, without the conſent of the firſt Aduenturers, vpon loſſe of ſhippe and goods, and puniſhment of their perſons, that ſo ſhall aduenture in trade of marchandiſe: or otherwiſe by impriſonment at the Companies pleaſure.

That no perſon ſhall hereafter aduenture in this diſcouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the firſt Articles, but ſuch onely as doe diſburſſe their money in this firſt preparation: and they ſhall not aduenture hereafter any greater ſumme, then ratably according to their proportion of this their firſt aduenture.

Alſo, the profite which by this diſcouerie ſhall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwiſe gotten: as alſo ſuch profite which by this diſcouerie ſhall bee obtained by mines, or otherwiſe gotten, that eche one ſhall haue his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their firſt aduenture, and not otherwiſe.

The Aduenturers in this firſt preparation ſhall, at their owne free will and libertie, chooſe whether they will ſupply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any ſuch occaſion to require the ſame. And yet withall ſhall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade which ſhall growe in any of theſe partes: notwithſtanding their ſayd refuſall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Maieſties ſubiects may tranſport themſelues thither that ſhall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his aſſignes may ſhippe thither from time to time, ſo many and ſuch perſons, men, women, and children, as they ſhall thinke meete. And the ſame perſons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleaſure, any lawe to the contrary notwithſtanding, with expreſſe prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, againſt all others, which ſhall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his aſſignes firſt obteined.

That it ſhall not be lawful for any of her Maieſties ſubiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall ſhall haue ſetled his chiefeſt being or reſidence.

A relation of the firſt voyage and diſcouerie of the Iſle *Ramea*, made by for *Monſieur de La court Pre Rauillon*, and *Grand Pre*, with the ſhip called the *Bonauenture*, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beaſts called the Morſes with great teeth, which we haue perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

1591.

For the performance of our ſaid voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ſhips called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then loſt them, a violent wind ariſing at Northweſt, which ſeparated vs.

The fleete of Canada.

After which we had faire wether, and came to to the coaſt of Cape Raſe, & had no further knowledge thereof, becauſe the winde was at the Southweſt but a ſcarce gale: and we came to the ſounding Southweſt of the Iſles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we ſayled Northweſt one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

Cape Raſe.

The Iſles of S. Peter.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, & ſaw a ſhip Southweſt off vs, and ſtayed there that night.

Cape de Rey.

The next day being the ſeuenth of the ſayd moneth, we came to the Iſles of Aponas, where we put foorth our boat, becauſe we had not paſt 8. leagues to our hauen, which we kenned very clearly, although the coaſts lay very low: and becauſe the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we ſought not to ſeeke our port, becauſe it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, becauſe of the ſhoalds that are about it. And we thought to keepe our courſe vntill the next morning betweene the Iſle of Brion & the Iſle of Aponas. But there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt at the Southweſt, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among theſe Iſles. And we trauerſed vp and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempeſt and to ſend vs faire weather, that we might obteine our hauen: which of his goodneſſe he gaue vs. The laſt of May we ranged the Iſle Ramea on the Northnorthweſt ſide, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southſoutheaſt: and ſeeing no land on the Weſt ſide, wee ranged the ſayd land to the Eaſt one quarter to the North at the leaſt 15. leagues, and being from the ſhore ſome eight leagues, we found 15. fathoms water, and paſſed betweene the Iſle of Duoron and the Iſle of Ramea, where goeth a chanell of 3. leagues bredth; in the midſt whereof you ſhall haue 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Iſle Ramea, and the Iſle Duoron lie Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Iſle Ramea by a great league, for I haue ſounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Iſle is marked. And the harbour of the Iſle Ramea lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, one quarter to the Eaſt and Weſt. And if you would enter the ſayd harbour, keepe you a league off the ſhoare: for often times there is great danger.

The Iſles of Aponas.

The Iſle of Brion.

The Iſle Ramea.

The Iſle of Duoron.

And that you may know the ſayd hauen, to the Eaſtnortheaſt of the ſayde Iſle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all ſides like a number of Iſlands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southweſt ſide, you ſhall ſee a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the hauen. And for another better marke of the ſayd harbour, you ſhall ſee an Iſle like vnto a Floure de lice, diſtant from the ſayd hauen 6. leagues at the leaſt: and this Iſle and the ſayd hauen lie Northeaſt and Southweſt, a quarter to the North and South. And on the ſayd Iſle there is good pebble ſtone to drie fiſh vpon: But to the Weſt thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of ſand, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not paſt one fathom water vpon it. From the

The markes of the harbour of the Iſle Ramea.

An Iſle like a Floure de lice.

A banke of ſand.

Cape du Chapt.

The maine a ſhold coaſt.

Liſle Blanche.

The place where they killed 1500. Morſes.

The Iſle Hupp.

ſayde Iſle along the firme land the coaſt lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, and you ſhall ſee as it were a great forreſt running Eaſtward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the ſayd lands you ſhall ſee as it were a ſmall Iſland, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southweſt part: and there is good ſhingle to drie fiſh on. And you muſt coaſt the ſhore with boates and not with ſhips, by reaſon of the ſhallowes of the ſayd coaſt. For I haue ſeene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from ſhore, and I iudged by reaſon of the highneſſe of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing ſo: and I haue ſounded comming neere the ſhore, in more or leſſe depth. The coaſt ſtretcheth three leagues to the Weſt from Liſle Blanch or the white Iſle, vnto the entrance of a riuer, where we ſlewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morſes or Sea oxen, accounting ſmall and great, where at full ſea you may come on ſhoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coaſt trendeth foure leagues to the Weſt ¼ to the Northweſt vnto the Iſle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor graſſe: there are Morſes vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coaſt trendeth to the Northweſt and Northnorthweſt; which is all that I haue ſeene, to wit, the two ſides and one ende of the Iſle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Maſters, when I was on the Northweſt ſide with my ſhippe, I would haue aduentured to haue ſayled South-ſoutheaſt, to haue diſcouered the Eaſterne ſhoare of the ſayd Iſle.

Sands and ſholds.

A ſmal Iſland conteining a league of ground.

A hard hauen.

Markes to come into the hauen.

The Barre

The beſt anchorage.

In your returne to the Eaſt, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the ſayde hauen, are ſandes and ſholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a ſmall Iſland conteining about a league of ground: where there is an hauen toward the Southeaſt: and as you enter into the ſayd hauen on the ſtarreboord ſide, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the ſaid hauen but with the flood, becauſe of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the ſayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeaſt and Northweſt; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fiue foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the ſayd hauen are to leaue the Iſle Blanche or White Iſland at your comming in on the ſtarreboord; and the poynt of the hauen towarde the Weſt hath a thick Iſland, which you ſhall ſee on the other ſide, and it hath a little round Buttreſſe, which lyeth on the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland. There are alſo two other buttreſſes more eaſie to bee ſeene then hidden: theſe are not to the Eaſt but to the Weſt, and they haue markes on them. Here you ſhall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full ſea vpon this barre. And the ſounding is ſtone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you ſhall finde white ſand which lyeth next the Southeaſt of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and bee not afrayd to paſſe vp the chanell. And for markes towarde the Weſt athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Iſland euen, which lyeth to the weſtward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth moſt to the Weſt, you ſhall bee paſt the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the ſayd hauen, ſee that you carefully ſecke the middeſt of the ſayd Thicke land which lyeth in the bottome of the ſayd hauen: for you muſt anchor betweene two bankes of ſand, where the paſſage is but narrow. And you muſt anker ſurely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as ſwiftly and more then in . There is good ground and ankorage here: and you ſhall ride in three fathom water. And within the ſayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you ſhould be driuen Weſtward of the ſayd hauen, you may ſeeke an entrance, which is right ouer againſt the ſmall Iſland named before, which is called The Iſle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full ſea: And you muſt paſſe vp on the Weſt ſide, and you ſhall finde on the Barre at a full ſea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very ſwiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeaſt and Northweſt.

Another entrance.

The Iſle of Cormorants.

Right ouer againſt you on the other ſide, you may paſſe with boates at a full ſea. And all theſe entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I ſay this becauſe I haue paſſed into the maine Sea by the one and the other paſſage. And the ſaid Iſle is not paſt two leagues ouer in the middeſt. It is but two bankes of ſande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from paſſing through the middeſt of all the Iſle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Iſlands altogether cut and ſeparated with ſtreames and riuers.

To anker in the ſayd harbour, you muſt not ride farther then fiue or ſixe cables length from the ſayd hauen.

A letter

A letter ſent to the right Honorable Sir *VVilliam Cecill* Lord *Burghley*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England* &c. From M. *Thomas Iames* of *Briſtoll*, concerning the diſcouerie of the Iſle of *Ramea*, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

Right Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordſhip done, I thought good humbly to aduertiſe your honour of the diſcouery of an Iſland made by two ſmal ſhippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies paſt being priſed neare Silley, by a ſhip of which I am part owner, called the Pleaſure, ſent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maieſties ſeruice. Which priſe is ſent backe to this Port by thoſe of the ſayd ſhippes, with vpwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Iſland lyeth in 47 degrees, ſome fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and ſome part of the Iſland is flat Sands and ſhoulde: and the fiſh commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & Iune, by numbers of thouſands, which fiſh is very big; and hath two great teeth: and the ſkinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of fiue of the ſaide fiſhes they make a hogſhead of Traine, which Traine is very ſweet, which if it will make ſope, the king of Spaine may burne ſome of his Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lorſhip to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Briſtoll, this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours moſt humbly at commandement.
THOMAS IAMES.

A briefe note of the Morſſe and the vſe thereof.

IN the firſt voyage of Iaques Carthier, wherein he diſcouered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the ſaid Iſle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, as you may reade in pag. 205 of this preſent volume, he met with theſe beaſts, as he witneſſeth in theſe words. About the ſaid Iſland are very great beaſts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue alſo in the ſea. Wee ſaw one of them ſleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but ſo ſoone as he heard vs, he caſt himſelfe into the ſea. Touching theſe beaſts which Iaques Carthier ſaith to be as big as Oxen and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, & in the Ruſſiā tongue Morſſes, the hides whereof I haue ſeene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dreſſed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leatherdreſſers take them to be excellent good to make light targets againſt the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vſe in Barbarie againſt arrowes and lances, whereof I haue ſeene diuers in her Maieſties ſtately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the ſayd fiſhes, whereof I haue ſeene a dryfat full at once, are a foote and ſome times more in length: & haue bene ſold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 ſhillings the pound weight, whereas the beſt Iuory is ſold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is ſomewhat more yellow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodſon of Briſtoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and ſkilful Phiſition, ſhewed me one of theſe beaſts teeth which were brought from the Iſle of Ramea in the firſt prize, which was half a yard long or very litle leſſe: and aſſured mee that he had made tryall of it in miniſtring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soueraigne againſt poyſon as any Vnicornes horne.

The voyage of the ſhip called the *Marigold* of M. *Hill* of *Redriffe* vnto Cape *Briton* and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593

Written by *Richard fiſher* Maſter *Hilles* man of *Redriffe*.

THe ſhip called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furniſhed with 20 men, whereof 10 were Mariners, the Maſters name being Richard Strong of Apſham, the Maſters mate Peter Langworth of Apſham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morſſes or ſea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long & ſkinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other neceſſary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of Iune 1593 in conſort of another ſhip of M. Drakes of Apſham, which vpon ſome occaſion was not ready ſo ſoone as ſhee ſhould haue bene by two moneths. The place for which theſe two ſhips were bound was an Iſland within the ſtreightes of Saint Peter on the backe ſide of Newfoundland to the Southweſt in the latitude of fortie ſeuen degrees, called by the

The voyage of M. Drake of Apſham to Ramea.

Britons

The Iſle of Ramea, or Menquit.

Britons of Saint Malo the Iſle of Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adoyning, Menquit: On which Iſle are ſo great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and Iune, that there haue bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one ſmall barke, in the yeere 1591. The two Engliſh ſhipps aforeſayde, leſt companie before they came to Newfounland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The ſhip of M. George Drake fell firſt with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Iſle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where ſhee found a ſhippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with theſe fiſhes; the men whereof enquiring whence our ſhippe was and who was the Maſter thereof, being anſwered that ſhee was belonging to Maſter George Drake of Apſham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled ſo haſtily that preſent night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men ſeazed vpon and brought away as good priſes home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-oxen, but nothing ſuch numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due ſeaſon, which they had neglected. The ſhippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfounland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuſe, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and ſayling toward the ſtraight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet miſſed it, and at length ouer ſhot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The Engliſh men land vpon Cape Briton

Here diuerſe of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the ſpittes of Oke of the Sauages which had roaſted meate a litle before. And as they veiwed the countrey they ſawe diuers beaſtes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our firſt landing wee went againe on ſhipboorde, and ſayled farther foure leagues to the Weſt of Cape Briton, where wee ſawe many Seales. And here hauing neede of freſh water we went againe on ſhore. And paſſing ſomewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fiſh in, with certaine weares in them made to take fiſh. To theſe pondes wee repayred to fill our caſke with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his ſhoulders, who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewarde towardes his bellie, vſing theſe wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens muſket vnawares ſhot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and riſing vp ſuddenly againe hee cryed thriſe with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the buſhes with great agilite and ſwiftneſſe came towardes vs with white ſtaues in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not ſo bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogſhead which wee had filled with freſh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Vpon which occaſion we beſtowed halfe a douſen muſkets ſhotte vpon them, which they auoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themſelues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which ſeemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beaſtes ſkinnes hanging on one of his ſhoulders. The reſt were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a ſkinne tyed behinde. After they had eſcaped our ſhotte they made a great fire on the ſhore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

They goe on ſhore in another place.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerſe other kindes to vs vnknowne, becauſe wee ſtayed not long with diligence to obſerue them: and there is great ſhewe of roſen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raſpeſes, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good ſmell, and diuers good for the ſkuruie, and graſſe very ranke and of great length. Wee ſawe fiue or ſixe boates ſayling to the Southweſtwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Chriſtians, which had ſome trade that way. Wee ſawe alſo, while wee were on ſhore, the manner of their hanging vp of their fiſh and fleſh with withes to drye in the ayre: they alſo lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a ſmoake vnder them, or a ſofte fire, and ſo drie them as the Sauages vſe to doe in Virginia.

A ſecret trade to the Southweſt of Cape Briton.

Soundings to the South and Southweſtward of Cape Briton.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee ſounded and had ſixtie fathomes blacke ozie ground. And ſayling thence Weſtwarde nine or ten leagues off the ſhore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde ſande, and ſmall whitiſh ſtones. Wee continued our courſe ſo farre to the Southweſt, that wee brought our ſelues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing ſayled fiftie or ſixtie leagues to the Southweſt of Cape Briton. We found the current betwene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to ſet out toward the Eaſtſoutheaſt. In our courſe to the Weſt of Cape Briton we ſaw exceeding great ſtore of ſeales, and abundance of Porpoſes, whereof we killed eleuen. We ſawe Whales alſo of all ſortes aſwell ſmall as great: and here our men tooke many berded Coddes with one teate vnderneath, which are like to the Northeaſt Cods, and better then thoſe of Newfoundland,

They ſayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South: Weſt of Cape Briton.

Great ſtore of Seales Porpoſes, Whales and Cods.

From our arriuall at the hauen of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforeſayde the eleuenth of Iuly) we continued beating vp and downe on the coaſt of Arambec to the Weſt and Southweſt of Cape Briton vntill the twentie eight of September, fully by the ſpace of eleuen weekes: and then by the perſwaſion of our Maſter and certaine others wee ſhaped our courſe homeward by the Iſles of the Açores, and came firſt to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and miſſing of expected pray, we ſayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we ſought to boorde a Portugall ſhippe, which we found too well appointed for vs to bring along with vs, and ſo being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing waſted all our victuals, wee were conſtrained againſt our willes to haſten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Chriſtmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very ſtrange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our ſhippe by the ſpace of many dayes as we paſſed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chaſe from our ſhip, vntill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time ſhee immediatly forſooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.

They continue on the coaſt from Cape Briton Weſtwards full eleuen weekes.

An huge Whale purſued their ſhip by the ſpace of many dayes, till one of their men fell ouer boord.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. *George Drake* of *Apſham* to the Iſle of *Ramea* in the aforeſayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fiſher ſeruant to the worſhipfull Maſter Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their looſing of their conſort the ſhippe of Maſter George Drake of Apſham: which though ſhee came directly to the Iſle of Ramea, yet becauſe ſhee was not ready ſo ſoone by two moneths as ſhe ought to haue bene, ſhe was not onely the hinderance of her conſort the Marigolde, & loſt the ſeaſon of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morſes or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but alſo ſuffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Iſle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be foreſtalled and taken vp by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baſkes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee ſay. Which lingering improuidence of our men hath bene the ouerthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the vndertakers of the ſame.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promiſed by the Authour himſelfe: but the ſame not comming to my handes in tyme I am conſtrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderſtanding of the ſtate of the ſayde Iſland, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforeſayd nations of the of Britons and Baſkes, may in part be ſupplyed by the voyage of Maſter Charles Leigh to the ſayde Iſland of Ramea: which alſo comming much too late thither, as Maſter George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and ſhutte out to his and his friendes no ſmall detriment and miſchiefe, and to the diſcouraging of others hereafter in the ſayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neuerthertheleſſe albeit hitherto the ſucceſſe hath not anſwered our expectation through our owne default, as is aboueſaid, yet I was very willing to ſet downe in briefe and homely ſtile ſome mention of theſe three voyages of our owne men. The firſt of M. George Drake, the ſecond of M. Silueſter Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, becauſe they are the firſt, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our owne Nation, that haue conducted Engliſh ſhips ſo farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the ſayd partes; while wee this long time haue ſtood ſtill and haue bene idle lookers on, making courtiſie who ſhould giue the firſt aduenture, or once being giuen, who ſhould continue or proſecute the ſame.

The voyage of the *Grace* of *Briſtol* of M. *Rice Iones*, a Barke of thirty fiue Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint *Laurence* to the Northweſt of *Newefoundland*, as farre as the Iſle of *Aſſumption* or *Natiſcotec*, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by *Silueſter Wyet*, Shipmaſter of *Briſtoll*.

WEe departed with the aforeſaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforeſaid from Briſtoll the 4 of April 1594. and fell with Cape d'Eſpere on the coaſt of Newefoundland the nineteneth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being diſtant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very ſame day.

The 20. day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Cape Raz.
Cape S. Marie.

Then we ſet our courſe Northweſt for Cape S. Marie, which is diſtant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eaſtſide of the great bay of Placentia almoſt at the entrie thereof.

The Iſlands of the Martyers.
The Iſles of S. Peter.
Cape de Rey.
Cape de Angullie.
The bay of Saint George.

From thence we ſhaped our courſe for the Iſlands of S. Pedro paſſing by the broken Iſlands of the Martyers: and when we were thwart of the ſaid Iſles of the Martyers our courſe to the Iſles of S. Pedro was Weſt and by North. In theſe Iſles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ſhips of Sibiburo fiſhing for Cod: where we ſtayed 2 dayes, and tooke in baleſt for our ſhip. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ſhip vpon the lee, and in 2 houres ſpace we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouiſion of our ſhip. Then we departed from the Iſle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the ſaid Iſle, and ſet our courſe Weſt North Weſt, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be diſtant from the Iſles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we ſet our courſe Northnorthweſt being diſtant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From-the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſome 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biſkaine ſhips, which had bene caſt away three yeres before: where we had ſome ſeuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and ſome yron bolts and chaines of their mayne ſhrouds & fore ſhroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caſke remained ſtill. Some part of the commodities were ſpoiled by tumbling downe of the cliffs of the hils, which couered part of the caſke, and the greater part of thoſe Whale finnes, which we vnderſtood to be there by foure Spaniards which eſcaped, & were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houſes of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and ſet round like a Doue-houſe, and couered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found alſo ſome part of their victuals, which were Deeres fleſh roaſted vpon wooden ſpits at the fire, & a diſh made of a ryne of a tree, ſowed together with the ſinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were alſo foules called Cormorants, which they had pulckt and made ready to haue dreſſed, and there we found a wooden ſpoone of their making. And we diſcerned the tracks of the feete of ſome fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

They land on the Iſle of Natiſcotec.

When we had diſpatched our buſineſſe in this bay of S. George and ſtayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northren point of the ſaid bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet eſcape the fiſher for a time, are woont vſually to ſhoot themſelues on ſhore on the Iſle of Aſſumption, or Natiſcotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to Canada, we ſhaped our courſe ouer to that long Iſle of Natiſcotec, and wee found the diſtance of the way to the Eſtermoſt ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues: and it ſtandeth in the latitude of 49. Here we arriued about the middeſt of Iune at the Eaſt end, and rode in eighteene fadome water in faire white ſand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fiſh: we went alſo ſeuen of vs on ſhore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and ſawe ſtore of land and ſea foules, and ſawe the footing of diuers beaſtes in the ſand when we were on ſhore. From the Eaſter end we went to the Norther ſide of the Iſland, which we perceiued to be but narrow in reſpect of the length thereof. And after wee had ſearched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and miſſed of our purpoſe, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Iſland of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eaſtermoſt part of Natiſcotec ſome twelue leagues. From the Iſle of Penguin wee ſhaped our courſe for Cape de Rey and had ſight of the Iſland of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Iſles of Saint Pedro, and ſo came into the Bay of Placencia, and arriued in the Eaſterſide thereof ſome ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fiſhermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threeſcore and odde ſayles, whereof eight ſhippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vſed and they wiſhed heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men beſtowed two pinneſſes on vs to make vp our voyage with fiſh. Then wee departed ouer to the other ſide of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Peſmarck, and there made our ſtage and fiſhed ſo long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at reſt, cut both our pinneſſe and our ſhippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinneſſes and get them againe. Then for feare of a ſhrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing paſſed Cape Raz, we paſſed Northwarde fourteene leagues and arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie ſayles of Engliſhmen, wee made vp our fiſhing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of Auguſt to our good content: and departing thence we arriued firſt in Combe and ſtaied there a ſeuen night, and afterward in Hungrod in the riuer of Briſtoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. *Charles Leigh*, and diuers others to Cape *Briton* and the Iſle of *Ramea*.

The Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, wherof was M. Steuen Benner, bound vnto the riuer of Canada, ſet to ſea at the ſole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the ſaide Charles Leigh himſelfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the ſayd Abraham, going themſelues in the ſaid ſhips as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after ſome hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the ſaid moneth put to ſea againe. And with proſperous windes the 18 of May we were vpon the banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we loſt the Chancewel. The 20 we had ſight of land and entred within the bay of Aſſumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ſhip: and afterward in the ſame bay wee met with our conſort. Whereupon we preſently put to ſea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the laſt of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuſe to ſeeke Shallops but could find none. The firſt of Iune we ſet ſaile from Rogneuſe, and the ſecond we put roome to a bay vnder the Northſide of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme ſtorme. The 4 we ſet ſaile, and this day we ſaw a great Iſland of yce. The 5 at night we loſt the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne ſetting we had ſight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reaſon of contrary windes we caſt anker vnder the Northeaſt ende of the Iſle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reaſonable ground. In that place we caught great ſtore of Cods, which were larger and better fiſh then any in Newfounland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the ſhore we fell to fiſhing where the Cods did bite at leaſt 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almoſt as faſt as we could hale them into the ſhip. The 14 we came to the 2 Iſlands of Birds, ſome 23 leagues frō Menego: where there were ſuch abundance of Birds, as is almoſt incredible to report. And vpon the leſſe of theſe Iſlands of Birds, we ſaw great ſtore of Morſſes or ſea Oxen, which were a ſleepe vpon the rockes: but when we approched nere vnto them with our boate they caſt themſelues into the ſea and purſued vs with ſuch furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Iſland, which lyeth 5 leagues Weſt from the Iſland of Birds. About this Iſland ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught alſo a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was ſo great that the hooke could not hold her into the ſhip: but when ſhe was aboue water ſhe bent the hooke & eſcaped. In this Iſland we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great ſtore of wood, but of ſmal groweth. Springes of freſh water we found none in all the Iſland, but ſome ſtanding pooles of raine water. The ſame day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had ſtormy weather. The 18 we came to the Iſle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our conſort. And approching neere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we caſt anker in 3 fadomes water and ſent our great boate into the harborough, with the maſters mate and ſome dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ſhips. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and

two

The Iſle of Menego.

The 2 Iſlands of Birdes.

Store of Morſſes.

In Bryans Iſland excellent ground for corne and medow.

The Iſle Ramea.

two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de luz being the French Kings ſubiects, whom they ſuppoſed to haue bene of Spaine, and ſo affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went preſently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had caſt anker we ſent preſently to ſpeake with the maſters of all the ſhips: but thoſe onely of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two ſhippes were. They ſayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we preſently ſent our boate for the Maſters of both the ſayd ſhippes, to requeſt them to come aboord, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which meſſage one of the ſayde Maſters came aboord, with the Pilote and Maſters mate of the other ſhippe: whom when we had examined, they ſayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings ſubiectes. We requeſted them for our better ſecuritie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer vp their powder and munition: promiſing them that if we found them to be the French Kings ſubiectes it ſhoulde be kept in ſafetie for them without diminiſhing. But they woulde not conſent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that vnleſſe they would conſent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not conſenting, we ſent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ſhip: but ſtraightly commanded our men not to touch any thing elſe in the ſhip vpon their further perill: which they promiſed to performe. When they came aboorde the ſaide ſhips which were moored together, they were reſiſted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell preſently to pillaging of the Baſkes, contrary to their promiſe: whereupon we ſent another to forbidde them: but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my ſelfe, and tooke away from our men whatſoeuer they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I ſent aboord our owne ſhip their powder and munition to be kept in ſafetie vntil we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Baſkes poſſeſſion of their ſhippe againe and tolde them they ſhould not looſe the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings ſubiects. Then I caryed away all our men, and alſo tooke with me two or three of the chiefeſt of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumſtances found one of the ſhips to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the maſter of the ſaid ſhip, that I was throughly ſatiſfied that he was of France and ſo diſmiſſed him in peace. Of the other ſhip we had great preſumption that ſhe was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee diſmiſſed them likewiſe in peace. After I had thus diſmiſſed them, our ſhips company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them reſolued to cary one of thoſe ſhips away. But they were preuented of their euill purpoſe by ayde, which the ſaide ſhips receiued from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very early there were gathered together out of all the ſhips in both harboroughs, at the leaſt 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the ſhore three pieces of Ordinance againſt vs, and had prepared themſelues in al readineſſe to fight with vs, which ſo ſoone as we had diſcried them gaue the onſet vpon vs with at leaſt an hundred ſmall ſhot out of the woods. There were alſo in a readines to aſſault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had ſkirmiſhed a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whoſe ſhip rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required ſome of our men to come on ſhore vnto them: whereupon wee requeſted M. Ralph Hill and the Boatſwaines mate to go on ſhore to them: whom when they had they detained as priſoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baſkes in poſſeſſion: which we ſurrendred vnto them in ſafetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboord vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ſhip of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baſkes which at firſt we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almoſt bene betraied. For the ſaid Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themſelues aboord of our ſhip and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others ſhould haue entred our ſhip vnawares from one of the ſhips of S. Malo, which profeſſed to be our friend, & vnto whom we ſhewed all courteſie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatned to ſet fire on the ſaid ſhip, which was then thwart our hawſe, from which they would haue entred. By which reſolution of ours God did diſcourage thẽ from effecting their miſcheiuous purpoſes. Now the ſaid captaine Charles when he ſaw himſelf preuented of his wicked intents, took his boat preſently to go on ſhore, and promiſed that all things ſhould be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would ſend vs our two men againe. But when he was on ſhore he preſently ſent for our great boat which he claimed to be his & withall commanded vs out of the harborough: but he ſent not our men as he promiſed, we being now the weaker ſide did not only deliuer his boat but alſo determined to be gon

Another harborough in Ramea.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the French men and vs.

A new treaſon of the Britons.

and then requeſted them to help vs with our anker which was on ſhore; but they would not. Then we deſired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on ſhore (for we durſt not ſend our boat leſt they ſhould haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promiſed to do for vs, as alſo to ſend our men; but when they were on ſhore, they would do neither. We therefore ſeeing their falſhood in euery thing, durſt no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawſe; which we did, & ſo departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawſer behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great ſhewes of friendſhip, and dranke vnto vs from the ſhore; but more for feare then loue, and requeſted vs to come on ſhore for our men, whom then they deliuered. The ſame morning in paſſing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ſhip came on ground vpon the ſands; where we lay ſome 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ſhip without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we ſtopped. About ſix of the clocke at night we got our ſhip on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then becauſe of the wind we could not paſſe. But it pleaſed God to ſend vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ſhip cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind aroſe at eaſt & eaſtſoutheaſt, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ſhip and men periſhed in the ſands. The ſame day, becauſe the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Iſle Blanch, where the ſhips of the other harborow had their ſtages: but it was at leaſt two leagues from their ſhips; where we hoped by friendſhip to procure a ſhallope & aſſurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the ſhore with our ſhip, & weaued them with a white flag, they in ſted of cōming vnto vs, ſent their meſſage by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on ſhore of purpoſe againſt vs; ſo that they would neither ſpeake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to ſea that night; but there was much wind at Eaſt, which kept vs within the bay, & inforced vs to come to an anker vnder Iſle Blanch. The next morning being the 22, we put to ſea, and about 12 of the clocke the ſame day, the wind being at Northeaſt and foule weather, the maſter ſayd he could not ply vp to Grande Coſte, becauſe of the leeſhore, & the wind againſt vs, and therefore aſked what we ſhould do. I aſked then how farre we had to the riuer of cape Briton: he ſayd a little way. Then ſayd I, If it be not farre, we were beſt to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & baliſt, which we wanted. To which the maſter ſayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the beſt courſe, ſayd I was content, ſo farre forth as that from thence we tooke the firſt faire wind for Grande Coſte. Hereupon the maſter willed him at the helme to keepe his courſe ſoutheaſt and ſoutheaſt and by ſouth. Preſently after I aſked him how many leagues we had to the ſayd riuer, and from the ſayd riuer to Grande Coſte. He then ſayd that we had 40 leagues to the riuer, and from the riuer to Grande Coſte 120 leagues. Hereupon I ſaid I would not conſent to go ſo far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directeſt courſe for Grande Coſte; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ſhip preſented me & the maſter with a requeſt in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Iſlands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coſte; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of Iune we ſent our boat on ſhore in a great bay vpon the Iſle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the Weſt ſide of the Iſle of Menego, where we left ſome caſke on ſhore in a ſandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we caſt anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell out conſort in a ſhallope; who told vs that their ſhip was caſt away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the ſhore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ſhip from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they preſently did run her vp into a ſandy bay, where ſhe was no ſooner come on ground, but preſently after there came aboord many ſhallops with ſtore of French men, who robbed and ſpoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men euen to their very ſhirts, and vſing them in ſauage maner: whereas they ſhould rather as Chriſtians haue aided them in that diſtreſſe. Which newes when we heard, we bleſſed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnſpeakeable mercy had not onely preſerued all the men, but brought vs thither ſo miraculouſly to ayd and comfort them. So preſently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was alſo one ſhip of Sibiburo, whoſe men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the maſter thereof which had dealt very honeſtly with our men

The bar of the hauen of Ramea.

They depart from Ramea.

Iſle Blanch or the White Iſle.

The riuer of Cape Briton.

Their arriuall in the Iſle of Cape Briton.

The Chancewel caſt away 18 leagues within Cape Briton.

Woods on the Iſle of Cape Briton.

R ſtayed

ſtayed in his ſhip, and came aboord of vs: whom we vſed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely ſuch things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had diſpatched our buſineſſe, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one ſhallop with maſt, ſailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ſhip. In recompenſe whereof he gaue vs two hogſheads of ſider, one barrell of peaze, and 25 ſcore of fiſh. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biſkaine ſome 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whoſe men dealt moſt doggedly with the Chancewels company. The ſame night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biſkain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approching nere their ſtage, we ſaw it vncouered, and ſo ſuſpected the ſhip to be gone: whereupon we ſent our pinneſſe on ſhore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great ſtore of fiſh on ſhore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceiue whether the ſhip ſhould be gone, but as they thought to ſea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauages boat which our men purſued: but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The ſame day in the afternoone we brought our ſhip to an anker in the harborow: and the ſame day we tooke three hogſheads and an halfe of traine, and ſome 300 of greene fiſh. Alſo in the euening three of the Sauages, whoſe boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom we gaue coats and kniues, and reſtored them their boat againe. The next day being the firſt of Iuly, the reſt of the Sauages came vnto vs, among whom was their king, whoſe name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom alſo we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. Theſe Sauages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greateſt multitude of lobſters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we caſt anker in a reaſonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Iſland ſome eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the Engliſh port. At this place in purſuing certaine ſhallops of a ſhip of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told vs, that the Biſkainer whom we ſought, was in the Engliſh port with two Biſkainers more, and two ſhips of Rochel. Thereupon wee ſent one of our men in the Rochellers ſhallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the Engliſh port, requeſting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ſhip called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Maſter Iohannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they anſwered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would aſſiſt vs what they might. This anſwere we had the ſixt day: and the ſeuenth in the fornoone we arriued in the Engliſh port, and caſt anker aloofe from the other ſhips: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to deſire the performance of his promiſe: who ſent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to reſtore moſt of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ſhip to haue them reſtored. This day and the eighth I ſpent in procuring ſuch things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to reſtore vs the reſt of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and alſo haue ſatiſfaction for our victuals and merchandiſes which by their meanes were loſt in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ſhip to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall ſent his boat aboord, and deſired to ſpeake with mee: then I went aboord vnto him, and deſired to haue our things with peace and quietneſſe, proffering to make him and the Maſters of the two ſhips of Rochel our vmpires, and what they ſhould aduiſe I would ſtand vnto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ſhip to make peace; but they would heare no reaſon, neither yet condeſcend to reſtore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I deſired that as I came in peace vnto them, they would ſo ſet me aboord my ſhip againe: which they denied to doe, but moſt vniuſtly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our ſhallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but ſo ſoone as ſhe came to the Admirals ſhips ſide, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men alſo as priſoners with vs. Then preſently all the three Biſkainers made toward our ſhip, which was not careleſſe to get the winde of them all: and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the ſame, ſhee then ſtayed for them: but when they ſaw they had loſt their aduantage, they preſently turned their courſe, making as great haſte in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twiſe to goe aboord, but was ſtill enforced backe by the two other Biſkainers, who ſought our liues: ſo that in the end the Maſter of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs: and yet notwithſtanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to paſſe by them vnto our ſhip: but we reſcued our ſhallop vnder our Maſters great boat; and by that meanes paſſed in ſafety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purpoſed if the winde had ſerued our turne, to haue made them to repent their

The Sauages of Cape Briton come aboord of our ſhip.

Cibo an harborow in the Iſle of Cape Briton.

New Port.

Port Ingles.

euill dealing, and to reſtore vs our owne againe, or els to haue ſuncke their ſhips if we could. But the winde ſerued not our turne for that purpoſe; but caried vs to ſea: ſo that the ſame morning wee tooke our courſe toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spaniſh ſhip, which as we had intelligence, did fiſh at that place. The thirteenth day we had ſight of S. Peters Iſlands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and miſty weather, while we made towards the land, we ſent our ſhallop before the ſhippe to diſcouer dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, ſhe loſt vs: yet we kept on our courſe, thinking that although we could not ſee them, yet they might ſee our ſhip: and comming into ſixteene fathoms water we caſt anker, ſuppoſing our ſelues to be neere the ſhore: and in the euening it pleaſed God to giue vs for the ſpace of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our ſelues to be imbayed, and alſo had ſight of our ſhallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The ſame night we went further into the ſame bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on ſhore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the ſame euening we had ſight of S. Laurence, and ſent off our boat in the night with our Maſter and ſixteene men to ſurpriſe the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence; who preſently vpon the entrance of our men ſurrendred vp their ſhip and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Maſter of our ſhip with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our ſhippe, but being foggy, he caſt anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ſhip, which through the current and foggy weather was put fiue or ſixe leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were ſurpriſed again by certaine Basks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. Theſe Basks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who ſleeping on ſhore, eſcaped vnto them ouerland) on the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſayd boat with our Maſter and others: and then preſently made vnto the ſhip; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that vnleſſe they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at laſt vpon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to ſaue their liues, they yeelded vp the ſhip againe, vpon condition, that they ſhould not iniury any of our men, but ſhould let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, diſarming them, ſtripping their clothes from their backs, and vſing them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they preſently towed the ſhippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne ſhippes did ride, and within leſſe then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our ſhippe arriued in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our ſhallop came aboord vnto vs, with moſt part of our ſixteene men, who tolde vs the whole ſtory before recited, as alſo that captaine Laurence had caried away our Maſter, and Stephen van Herwicke priſoners, and turned the reſt of our men on ſhore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almoſt any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two priſoners: and the ſame day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards ſhallops, with fiue hogſheads of traine oile in ech of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two ſhallops fled on ſhore. The ſame day alſo we tooke the Maſter of one of the ſhips which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained priſoners to ranſome M. Crafton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence ſent them aboord, and we alſo releaſed all our priſoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatſwaine of the Spaniſh ſhip, whom we kept with vs: and the ſame day we ſet ſaile frō thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the ſame night, being within fiue or ſix leagues of the harborow, I ſent off our two ſhallops with thirty men to diſcouer the harborow, and to ſurpriſe the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ſhip, and in the mouth thereof we eſpied three ſhallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ſhip of Rochel, which they had ſurpriſed with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ſhips in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell iſle. And as we were diſcourſing with the Rochellers, we had ſight of the ſhips: whereupon we ſent our boat aboord the the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to requeſt him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This meſſage being ſent, we made all the haſte we could vnto the ſhip of Bell iſle, which firſt began with vs with three great ſhot, one whereof hit our maintopſaile, but both the other miſſed vs. And we alſo ſent one vnto them: then being approched nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a ſhallop to enter them, and we caried alſo a warpe with vs to make faſt vnto their ſhip, whereby our ſhip might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they be-

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Iſlands.

A Spaniſh ſhip taken.

M. Crafton.

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

A Briton ſhip of 200 tunnes taken.

tooke themſelues to their cloſe fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with ſhot & pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerouſly, eſcaping neere dangers both by ſhot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was ſhot out of my hand into the ſea; which ſhot alſo burſt one ſide of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we cauſed them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ſhip aboue forty men, moſt whereof we ſent aboord of our ſhippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dreſſe the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable ſtrong ſhip, almoſt two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had alſo fourteene or fifteene men more, which were then abſent from the ſhip; otherwiſe we ſhould haue had the hoter fight. The ſame day we got our ſailes to the yard, and our top maſts on end, and rigged the ſhippe what we could. The 26 day we got ſome oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, fitting our ſelues for the ſea, and getting fiſh aboord as weather ſerued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ſhip their company, my ſelfe and my friends being reſolued to take our paſſage in the prize; wherein when we were ſhipped, and the company, there aroſe great enmity againſt vs by the other ſhippe, which afterward was quieted. The ſecond day of Auguſt, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to ſea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpoſe to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to ſea we found our ſailes ſo olde, our ropes ſo rotten, and our prouiſion of bread and drinke ſo ſhort, as that we were conſtrained to make our reſolution directly for England; whereupon we drew out our reaſons the fourth day of Auguſt, and ſent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cauſe of our reſolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and ſaying, that we in the prize went about to couſin and deceiue them. To conclude, they ſent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commiſſion before to go for the Iſlands of the Açores, and there to ſpend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of Auguſt, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coaſt of Newfoundland, and kept our courſe directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing loſt vs in a fogge, ſhe ſhot off two pieces of ordinance, and we anſwered her with three: afterwards we ſpake not with her, ſuppoſing that ſhe went for the Iſlands. The 27 of Auguſt, drawing neere the coaſt of England, we ſounded and found ground at ſeuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Briſtow channell, and other in Silly channell: ſo that through variety of iudgements, and euill marinerſhip we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, ſometimes running to the Northeaſt, ſometimes to the Southeaſt, then againe to the Eaſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt. Thus did we ſpend faire winds, and loſe our time vntill the laſt of Auguſt. And then it pleaſed God that we fell with the Iſland of Lundy within the channell of Briſtoll; from whence we ſhaped our courſe: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outſide of the Iſle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleaſed God to bring the ſhip in ſafety to London, where ſhe was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine obſeruations touching the countreys and places where we trauelled.

The Newfoundland we found very ſubiect to fogs and miſts. The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great ſtore of firre trees, and in ſome places red: and about the ſhore it hath great abundance of cod-fiſh. We were on land in it in foure ſeuerall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Raſe: 3 At the harborow of Lano which lieth foure leagues to the Weſt beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Iſland of Menego for the ſoile is much like Newfoundland, but the fiſh about it, as alſo thorowout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Iſland is ſcant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midſt of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thriſe on ſhore: once at the Eaſt ſide, and twiſe at the Weſt.

The three Iſlands of birds are ſandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds ſit there as thicke as ſtones lie in a paued ſtreet. The greateſt of the Iſlands is about a mile in compaſſe. The ſecond is little leſſe. The third is a very little one, like a ſmall rocke. At the ſecond of theſe three lay on the ſhore in the Sunſhine about thirty or forty ſea-oxen or morſes; which when our boat came nere them, preſently made into the ſea, and ſwam after the boat.

Brions Iſland wee found to be very good, and ſandy ground. It hath in it ſtore of firre trees. It is ſomewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in compaſſe. Here we were on land once, and went from the one ſide of it to the other.

The Iſland of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Iſland, hauing alſo abundance of firre trees. It ſeemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at leaſt. We were there in harborow, but not on ſhore, which we much deſired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Baſks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Iſle Blanche likewiſe ſeemeth in quality of the ground and bigneſſe of it to be much like Brions Iſland aforeſayd, but ſomewhat leſſe. We were not on ſhore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be ſomewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the Weſt end of it we ſaw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did alſo at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Eaſterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing ſo high land, as the Weſt. We went on ſhore vpon it in fiue places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was caſt away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Iſland betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the Engliſh port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulneſſe of Brions Iſland, Iſle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great ſtore of wild corne like barley, ſtrawberries, gooſeberries, mulberies, white roſes, and ſtore of wilde peaſon. Alſo about the ſayd Iſlands the ſea yeeldeth great abundance of fiſh of diuers ſorts. And the ſayd Iſlands alſo ſeeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other neceſſary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

CERTAINE VOYAGES CONTAINING THE Diſcouerie of the Gulfe of *Sainct Laurence* to the Weſt of *Newfoundland*, and from thence vp the riuer of *Canada*, to *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and other places: with a deſcription of the temperature of the climate, the diſpoſition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the ſoile, and other matters of ſpeciall moment.

The firſt relation of *Iaques Carthier* of *S. Malo*, of the new land called *New France*, newly diſcouered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. *Iaques Carthier* departed from the Port of *S. Malo*, with two ſhips, and came to *Newfoundland*, and how he entred into the Pott of *Buona Viſta*.

After that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, yͤ Viceadmirall of France had cauſed the Captaines, Maſters, and Mariners of the ſhippes to be ſworne to behaue themſelues truely and faithfully in the ſeruice of the moſt Chriſtian King of France, vnder the charge of the ſayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of April 1534. we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ſhips of threeſcore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in ech one: and with ſuch proſperous weather we ſailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Viſta, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude *. But becauſe of the great ſtore of the ice that was alongſt the ſayd land, we were conſtrained to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins hauen, diſtant from the other Port about fiue leagues toward Southſoutheaſt: there did we ſtay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dreſſed our boats.

tooke themſelues to their cloſe fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with ſhot & pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerouſly, eſcaping neere dangers both by ſhot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was ſhot out of my hand into the ſea; which ſhot alſo burſt one ſide of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we cauſed them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ſhip aboue forty men, moſt whereof we ſent aboord of our ſhippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dreſſe the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable ſtrong ſhip, almoſt two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had alſo fourteene or fifteene men more, which were then abſent from the ſhip; otherwiſe we ſhould haue had the hotter fight. The ſame day we got our ſailes to the yard, and our top maſts on end, and rigged the ſhippe what we could. The 26 day we got ſome oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, fitting our ſelues for the ſea, and getting fiſh aboord as weather ſerued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ſhip their company, my ſelfe and my friends being reſolued to take our paſſage in the prize; wherein when we were ſhipped, and the company, there aroſe great enmity againſt vs by the other ſhippe, which afterward was quieted. The ſecond day of Auguſt, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to ſea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpoſe to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to ſea we found our ſailes ſo olde, our ropes ſo rotten, and our prouiſion of bread and drinke ſo ſhort, as that we were conſtrained to make our reſolution directly for England; whereupon we drew out our reaſons the fourth day of Auguſt, and ſent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cauſe of our reſolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and ſaying, that we in the prize went about to couſin and deceiue them. To conclude, they ſent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commiſſion before to go for the Iſlands of the Açores, and there to ſpend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of Auguſt, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coaſt of Newfoundland, and kept our courſe directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing loſt vs in a fogge, ſhe ſhot off two pieces of ordinance, and we anſwered her with three: afterwards we ſpake not with her, ſuppoſing that ſhe went for the Iſlands. The 27 of Auguſt, drawing neere the coaſt of England, we ſounded and found ground at ſeuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Briſtow channell, and other in Silly channell: ſo that through variety of iudgements, and euill marinerſhip we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, ſometimes running to the Northeaſt, ſometimes to the Southeaſt, then againe to the Eaſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt. Thus did we ſpend faire winds, and loſe our time vntill the laſt of Auguſt. And then it pleaſed God that we fell with the Iſland of Lundy within the channell of Briſtoll; from whence we ſhaped our courſe: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outſide of the Iſle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleaſed God to bring the ſhip in ſafety to London, where ſhe was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

A Briton ſhip of 200 tunnes taken.

Certaine obſeruations touching the countreys and places where we trauelled.

THe Newfoundland we found very ſubiect to fogs and miſts. The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great ſtore of firre trees, and in ſome places red: and about the ſhore it hath great abundance of cod-fiſh. We were on land in it in foure ſeuerall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Raſe: 3 At the harborow of Lano which lieth foure leagues to the Weſt beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Iſland of Menego for the ſoile is much like Newfoundland, but the fiſh about it, as alſo thorowout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Iſland is ſcant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midſt of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thriſe on ſhore: once at the Eaſt ſide, and twiſe at the Weſt.

The three Iſlands of birds are ſandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds ſit there as thicke as ſtones lie in a paued ſtreet. The greateſt of the Iſlands is about a mile in compaſſe. The ſecond is little leſſe. The third is a very little one, like a ſmall rocke. At the ſecond of theſe three lay on the ſhore in the Sunſhine about thirty or forty ſea-oxen or morſes; which when our boat came nere them, preſently made into the ſea, and ſwam after the boat.

Brions Iſland wee found to be very good, and ſandy ground. It hath in it ſtore of firre trees. It is ſomewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in compaſſe. Here we were on land once, and went from the one ſide of it to the other.

The Iſland of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Iſland, hauing alſo abundance of firre trees. It ſeemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at leaſt. We were there in harborow, but not on ſhore, which we much deſired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Baſks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Iſle Blanche likewiſe ſeemeth in quality of the ground and bigneſſe of it to be much like Brions Iſland aforeſayd, but ſomewhat leſſe, We were not on ſhore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be ſomewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the Weſt end of it we ſaw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did alſo at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Eaſterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing ſo high land, as the Weſt. We went on ſhore vpon it in fiue places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was caſt away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Iſland betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the Engliſh port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulneſſe of Brions Iſland, Iſle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great ſtore of wild corne like barley, ſtrawberries, gooſeberries, mulberies, white roſes, and ſtore of wilde peaſon. Alſo about the ſayd Iſlands the ſea yeeldeth great abundance of fiſh of diuers ſorts. And the ſayd Iſlands alſo ſeeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other neceſſary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

CERTAINE VOYAGES CONTAINING THE Diſcouerie of the Gulfe of *Sainct Laurence* to the Weſt of *Newfoundland*, and from thence vp the riuer of *Canada*, to *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and other places: with a deſcription of the temperature of the climate, the diſpoſition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the ſoile, and other matters of ſpeciall moment.

The firſt relation of *Iaques Carthier* of *S. Malo*, of the new land called *New France*, newly diſcouered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. *Iaques Carthier* departed from the Port of *S. Malo*, with two ſhips, and came to *Newfoundland*, and how he entred into the Port of *Buona Viſta*.

After that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, & Uiceadmirall of France had cauſed the Captaines, Maſters, and Mariners of the ſhippes to be ſworne to behaue themſelues truely and faithfully in the ſeruice of the moſt Chriſtian King of France, vnder the charge of the ſayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of April 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ſhips of threeſcore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in ech one: and with ſuch proſperous weather we ſailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Viſta, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude *. But becauſe of the great ſtore of the ice that was alongſt the ſayd land, we were conſtrained to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins hauen, diſtant from the other Port about fiue leagues toward Southſoutheaſt: there did we ſtay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dreſſed our boats.

How we came to the Iſland of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

The Iſle of Birds.

VPon the 21 of May the winde being in the Weſt, we hoiſed ſaile, and ſailed toward North and by Eaſt from the cape of Buona Viſta vntil we came to the Iſland of Birds, which was enuironed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithſtanding the ſayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in ſome birds, whereof there is ſuch plenty, that vnleſſe a man did ſee them, he would thinke it an incredible thing. for albeit the Iſland (which containeth about a league in circuit) be ſo full of them, that they ſeeme to haue bene brought thither, and ſowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many houering about it as within; ſome of the which are as big as iayes, blacke and white, with beaks like vnto crowes: they lie alwayes vpon the ſea; they cannot flie very high, becauſe their wings are ſo little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as ſwiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water; they are alſo exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In leſſe then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with ſtones: ſo that beſides them which we did eat freſh, euery ſhip did powder and ſalt fiue or ſixe barrels full of them.

Of two ſorts of birds, the one called *Godetz*, the other *Margaulx*; and how we came to *Carpunt*.

BEſides theſe, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the ſea, leſſer then the others; and theſe doe all gather themſelues together in the Iſland, and put themſelues vnder the wings of other birds that are greater: theſe we named Godetz. There are alſo of another ſort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs: thoſe we named Margaulx. And albeit the ſayd Iſland be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithſtanding beares come ſwimming thither to eat of the ſayd birds: and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any ſwan, who in their preſence leapt into the ſea; and vpon Whitſunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, ſwimming toward land as ſwiftly as we could ſaile. So ſoone as we ſaw her, we purſued her with our boats, and by maine ſtrength tooke her, whoſe fleſh was as good to be eaten as the fleſh of a calfe of two yeres olde. The Wedneſday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Caſtles; but becauſe the weather was ill, and the great ſtore of ice we found, we were conſtrained to enter into an harborow about the ſayd entrance called Carpunt, where, becauſe we could not come out of it, we ſtayed til the ninth of Iune, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to ſaile further then the ſayd Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

A great white beare.

Les Chaſteaux.

Carpunt.

The deſcription of *Newfoundland*, from *Cape Razo* to *Cape Degrad*.

THe land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt. All this part of land is parted into Iſlands one ſo nere the other, that there are but ſmall riuers betweene them; thorow the which you may paſſe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are thoſe of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of theſe Iſlands that is the higheſt of them all, being the top of it you may plainly ſee the two low Iſlands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it fiue and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the Eaſt, the other on the South ſide of the Iſland. But you muſt take heed of the ſide & point of the Eaſt, becauſe that euery where there is nothing els but ſhelues, and the water is very ſhallow: you muſt go about the Iſland toward the Weſt the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the ſayd Carpunt. Alſo you are to take heed of three ſhelues that are in the chanell vnder the water: and toward the Iſland on the Eaſt ſide in the chanell, the water is of three or foure fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eaſtnortheaſt, and on the Weſt you may go on ſhore.

Of the Iſland which now is called *S. Katherins iſland*.

GOing from the point Degrad, and entring into the ſayd bay toward the Weſt & by North: there is ſome doubt of two Iſlands that are on the right ſide, one of the which is diſtant from the ſayd point three leagues, and the other ſeuen, either more or leſſe then the firſt, being a low and plaine land, and it ſeemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Iſland; in which, toward the Northeaſt there is very dry ſoile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, ſo that you muſt go a little about. The ſayd Iſland & the Port of Caſtles trend toward North northeaſt, and South ſouthweſt, and they are about 15.leagues aſunder. From the ſaid port of Caſtles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the ſaid Bay, that trendeth toward Eaſt northeaſt, and Weſt ſouthweſt, there are 12.leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to ſay, the third part athwart the ſaide Bay the depth being ſounded it is about 38.fadomes: and from the ſaid port of Balances to the white Sands toward Weſt ſouthweſt there is 15.leagues, but you muſt take heed of a ſhelfe that lyeth about 3.leagues outward frõ the ſaid white Sands on the Southweſt ſide aboue water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon, or white Sands.

Of the place called *Blanc Sablon*, or the white Sand: of the Iland of *Breſt*, and of the Iland of *Birds*, of the ſorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the *Iſlettes*.

White Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor ſoutheaſt. But toward South ſouthweſt from the ſaide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called Breſt Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great ſtore of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their neſtes in holes vnder the ground euen as Conies. A point of land being paſſed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and paſſage found called the Iſlettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fiſhing. From the ſaid Port of the Iſlettes vnto another called Breſt, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51.degrees and 55.minutes, and in longitude*. From the Iſlettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the ſaide Port of Breſt is alſo amongſt thoſe Ilands. Moreouer the Ilands do compaſſe more then 3.leagues from the ſaid Breſt, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned ſeene.

Breſt a place to the North in Newfound land.

How we with our ſhips entred into the Port of *Breſt*, and ſayling onward toward the Weſt we paſſed amidſt the *Iſlettes*, which were ſo many in number, that it was not poſſible to tell them: and how we named them the *Iſlettes*.

Vpon the 10. of Iune wee with our ſhips entred into the Port of Breſt, to furniſh our ſelues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to paſſe the ſaide Bay. Vpon S.Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the ſaid Port toward the weſt, to ſee what harboroughes were there: wee paſſed through the midſt of the Iſlettes, which were ſo many in number that it was not poſſible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10.leagues beyond the ſaid Port. We to reſt our ſelues ſtayed in one of them a night, and there we found great ſtore of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their neſts, we named them all The Iſlettes.

Of the Port called *S. Antonies Port*, *S. Seruans Port*, *Iames Cartiers Port*: of the riuer called *S. Iames*: of the cuſtomes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of *White Sand*.

The next day we paſſed the ſaid Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good hauen, which we named S. Antonies Hauen, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little riuer towarde the Southweſt coaſt, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we ſet vp a Croſſe, and named it S. Seruans Port: and on the Southweſt ſide of the ſaid Port and riuer, about one league there is a ſmall Iland as round as an Ouen, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the ſaid Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater riuer, in which we tooke good ſtore of ſalmon, that we named S. Iames his Riuer. Being in the ſaid riuer, we ſaw a ſhip of Rochel that the night before had paſſed the Port of Breſt, where they thought to haue gone a fiſhing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere vnto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the Weſt then the ſaid riuer of S. Iames, which I take to be one of the beſt in all the world, and therefore wee named it Iames Carthiers Sound. If the ſoile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather ſtones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beaſtes, for in all the North Iland I did not ſee a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on ſhoare in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing elſe but moſſe and ſmall thornes ſcattered here and there, withered and dry. To be ſhort, I beleeue that this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good ſtature and bigneſſe, but wilde and vnruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other ſuch thing in ſtead of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beaſtes ſkinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go ſomewhat ſtraiter and cloſer in their garments then the men do, with their waſtes girded: they paint themſelues with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made

The riuer of S. Iaques.

Boats made of the barke of Birch trees.

of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fiſh and take great ſtore of Seales, and as farre as we could vnderſtand ſince our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the ſaide Seales and other neceſſaries for their liuing.

Of certaine Capes, that is to ſay, *The double Cape*, *The pointed Cape*, *Cape Royal*, and *The Cape of Milke*: of the mountaines of *Granges*: of the Ilands of *Doue houſes*: and of the great fiſhing of Cods.

VPon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ſhips againe with our boats on purpoſe to ſaile forwards becauſe the weather was faire, and vpon Sunday we cauſed Seruice to be ſaide: then on munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Breſt and ſailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had ſeene, that ſeemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidſt the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one aboue the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee ſounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Breſt to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about fiue or ſixe leagues beyond we ſounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The ſaid land lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we ſailed along the ſaid coaſt toward the Southweſt, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very ſteepe and wilde hilles, among the which were ſeene certaine ſmal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke miſts and fogges of the weather, we could not haue ſight of any land, but in the euening we ſpied an entrance into the land, by a riuer among the ſaid Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southweſt about 3 leagues from from vs. The ſaid Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and alſo toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North ſide of which there is a plaine Iland. And becauſe we would haue notice of the ſaid entrance, to ſee if there were any good hauens, we ſtrooke ſaile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had ſtormie weather from Northeaſt, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southweſt vntill thurſday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like doue houſes, and therefore wee named them The doue houſes. And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by Weſt, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the Weſt ſouthweſt ſide of the ſaide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North ſide of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene theſe two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are alſo certaine others that ſhew that there be ſome riuers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee ſounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greateſt fiſhing of Cods that poſſible may be: for ſtaying for our company, in leſſe then an houre we tooke aboue an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene *Cape Royal*, and *The Cape of milke*.

THe next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with ſuch rage turned againſt vs, that we were conſtrained to go backe toward Cape Royal, thinking there to finde ſome harborough, and with our boates went to diſcouer betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that aboue the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The ſaid gulfe on the Southſide is ſhut vp. The foreſaid low grounds are on one of the ſides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The ſaide low grounds doe ſtretch themſelues more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill ſoile: and in the middeſt of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The ſaide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude *. That night we found no harborough, and therefore wee lanched out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the Weſt,

Of the Iland called *S. Iohn*.

FRom the ſaid day vntill the 24 of the moneth being S. Iohns day we had both ſtormie weather and winde againſt vs, with ſuch darkeneſſe and miſtes, that vntill S. Iohns day, we could haue no ſight of any land, and then had we ſight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southweſt about 35 leagues, but that day was ſo foggie and miſtie, that we could not come neere land, and becauſe it was S. Iohns day, we named it Cape S. Iohn.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of *Margaulx*, and of the kinds of beaſts and birds that there are ſound. Of the Iland of *Brion*, and Cape *Dolphin*.

The next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was alſo ſtormie, darke, and windy, but yet we ſailed a part of the day toward Weſt Northweſt, and in the euening wee put our ſelues athwart vntill the ſecond quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compaſſe know that we were Northweſt & by Weſt about ſeuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. Iohn, and as wee were about to hoiſe ſaile, the winde turned into the Northweſt, wherefore wee went Southeaſt, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as ſteepe and vpright as any wall, ſo that it was not poſſible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. Theſe Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of graſſe, which there do make their neſtes: and in the greateſt of them, there was a great and infinite number of thoſe that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geeſe, which were ſeuered in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the ſhoare there were of thoſe Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to thoſe of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned: we went downe to the loweſt part of the leaſt Iland, where we killed aboue a thouſand of thoſe Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates ſo many of them as we pleaſed, for in leſſe then one houre we might haue filled thirtie ſuch boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. About fiue leagues frō the ſaid Ilands on the Weſt, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and ſo much in breadth: there did we ſtay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about with ſand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Thoſe Ilands haue the beſt ſoile that euer we ſaw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peaſon bloomed, as thick, as ranke, and as faire as any can be ſeene in Britaine, ſo that they ſeemed to haue bene plowed and ſowed. There was alſo great ſtore of gooſeberies, ſtrawberies, damaſke roſes, parſeley, with other very ſweete and pleaſant hearbes. About the ſaid Iland are very great beaſtes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths like vnto Elephants teeth, & liue alſo in the Sea. We ſaw one of them ſleeping vpon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but ſo ſoone as he heard vs, he caſt himſelfe into the Sea. We alſo ſaw beares & wolues: we named it Brions Iland. About it toward Southeaſt, and Northweſt, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be ſome paſſage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If ſo it were, it would be a great ſhortning, aſwel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward Weſt-Southweſt is the firme land, which ſeemeth to be as an Iland compaſſed about with litle Ilands of ſands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of Iune we compaſſed the ſaid lands about that lie Weſt Southweſt: and a farre off they ſeeme to be little hilles of ſand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, becauſe the winde was againſt vs. That day we went 15. leagues.

Three Ilands.

The Ilands of Margaulx.

Morſes or Sea-oxen.

Brions Iland.

Of the Iland called *Alezai*, and of the cape of *S. Peter*.

The next day we went along the ſaid land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is alſo betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is faſhioned as it were halfe a circle, all compaſſed about with ſand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can ſtretch, there is nothing but marriſh grounds and ſtanding pooles. And before you come to the firſt Cape, very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About fiue leagues from the ſecond Cape toward the Southweſt, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The firſt Cape we named S. Peters Cape, becauſe vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called *Cape Orleans*: of the Riuer of Boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

From Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage of ſand, and hauing ſounded toward Southweſt euen to the ſhoare about fiue leagues, wee found twentie and fiue fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the ſhoare ſixe fadome, rather more then leſſe, and alſo good anckorage. But becauſe wee would bee the better acquainted with this ſtonie and rockie ground, wee ſtrooke our ſailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the laſt of the moneth ſaue one, the winde blewe South and by Eaſt. Wee ſailed Weſtward vntill Tueſday morning at Sunne riſing, being the laſt of the moneth, without any ſight or knowledge of any lande, except in the euening toward Sunne ſet, that wee diſcouered a lande which ſeemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs Weſt ſouthweſt, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne riſing wee ſailed Weſtward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had ſeene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South ſoutheaſt, and North northweſt, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the ſaid land is low and plaine, and the faireſt that may poſſibly be ſeene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, becauſe it is all full of ſhelues and ſands. We with our boats went on ſhore in many places, and among the reſt wee entred into a goodly riuer, but very ſhallow, which we named The riuer of boats, becauſe that there wee ſaw boates full of wild men that were croſſing the riuer. We had no other notice of the ſaid wild men: for the wind came from the ſea, and ſo beat vs againſt the ſhore, that wee were conſtrained to retire our ſelues with our boates toward our ſhips. Till the next day morning at Sunne riſing, being the firſt of July, we ſailed Northeaſt, in which time there roſe great miſtes and ſtormes, and therefore wee ſtrucke our ſailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, & there we had ſight of Cape Orleance, and of another about ſeuen leagues from vs, lying North and by Eaſt, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the Northſide of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous ſhelfe, and banke of ſtones. Whileſt wee were at this Cape, we ſawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coaſt, who made ſignes vnto vs that we ſhould returne toward the ſaid Cape againe. We ſeeing ſuch ſignes, began to turne toward him, but he ſeeing vs come, began to flee: ſo ſoone as we were come on ſhoare, we ſet a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a litle ſtaffe, and then came to our ſhips againe. That day we trended the ſaid land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde ſome good harborough, but it was not poſſible: for as I haue ſaid already, it is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great ſhelues. Neuertheleſſe we went that day on ſhore in foure places to ſee the goodly and ſweete ſmelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewtrees, Pines, white elmes, aſhes, willowes, with many other ſorts of trees to vs vnknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peaſon, white and red gooſeberies, ſtrawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, euen like vnto Rie, which ſeemed to haue bene ſowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be ſeene, and very hote. There are many thruſhes, ſtockdoues, and other birds: to be ſhort, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

An exceeding goodly land.

Varietie of goodly trees.

Of the Bay called S. *Lunario*, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodneſſe of thoſe grounds.

The next day being the ſecond of July we diſcouered and had ſight of land on the Northerne ſide toward vs, that did ioyne vnto the land aboueſaid, al compaſſed about, and we knew that it had about * in depth, and as much athwart, we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the ſhore ſo ſhallow, that for the ſpace of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeaſt ſide from the ſaid Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middeſt whereof there is a Bay faſhioned trianglewiſe, very deepe, & as farre off as we could ken from it the ſame lieth Northeaſt. The ſaid Bay is compaſſed about with ſands and ſhelues about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the ſaid Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being acroſſe the ſaid Capes, diſcouered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by Eaſt. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, ſo that wee were conſtrained to beare a ſmal ſaile vntil the next morning, being the thirde of July when the winde came from the Weſt: and we ſailed Northward to haue a ſight of the land that we had left on the Northeaſt ſide, aboue the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in ſome places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reaſon of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceiued hope that wee ſhould finde a paſſage, like vnto the paſſage of The Caſtles. The ſaid gulfe lieth Eaſt Northeaſt, and Weſt ſouthweſt. The ground that lieth on the Southſide of the ſaid gulfe, is as good and eaſie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that euer wee haue ſeene, as plaine and ſmooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of ſundry ſorts: among the reſt there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as poſſibly can be ſeene, able to make maſtes for ſhips of three hundred Tunne: neither did we ſee any place that was not full of the ſaide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middeſt of the ſaid Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

The paſſage des Chaſteaux.

Trees able to maſt ſhips of 300. tunnes.

Of the *Cape D'Eſperance*, or the Cape *of Hope*, and of *S. Martins Creeke*, and how 7. boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themſelues, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we ſhot at them, and our lances, they fled with great haſt.

The Cape of the ſaid South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde ſome paſſage. The fourth of July we went along the coaſt of the ſaid land on the Northerly ſide to finde ſome harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no ſuccour againſt the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we ſtayed from the fourth of July vntil the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the ſixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee with one of our boates went to diſcouer a Cape and point of land that on the Weſterne ſide was about ſeuen or eight leagues from vs, to ſee which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee ſawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the ſaid point, and a great number of the men went on ſhore making a great noiſe, beckening vnto vs that wee ſhould come on land, ſhewing vs certaine ſkinnes vpon pieces of wood, but becauſe we had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other ſide lying in the Sea: they ſeeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came alſo fiue more of them that were comming from the Sea ſide, all which approched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many ſignes of ioy and mirth, as it were deſiring our friendſhip, ſaying in their tongue Napeu tondamen aſſurtah, with many other words that we vnderſtood not. But becauſe (as we haue ſaid) we had but one boat, wee would not ſtand to their courteſie, but made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs: and ſuddenly with their boates compaſſed vs about: and becauſe they would not away from vs by any ſignes that we could make, we ſhot off two pieces among them, which did ſo terrifie them, that they put themſelues to flight toward the ſayde point, making a great noiſe: and hauing ſtaid a while, they began anew, euen as at the firſt to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee ſtrucke at them with two lances, which thing was ſo great a terrour vnto them, that with great haſt they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

Fortie or 50 boates of Saluages.

How the ſaid wilde men comming to our ſhips, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the ſaid wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

The next day part of the ſaide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ſhips were at road. We being aduertiſed of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but ſo ſoone as they ſaw vs, they began to flee, making ſignes that they came to trafique with vs, ſhewing vs ſuch ſkinnes as they cloth themſelues withall, which are of ſmall value. We likewiſe made ſignes vnto them, that we wiſhed them no euill: and in ſigne thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and cary them kniues with other Iron wares, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they ſaw, they alſo came on land, and brought ſome of their ſkinnes, and ſo began to deale with vs, ſeeming to be very glad to haue our iron wares and other things, ſtil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to caſt Sea water on their heads. They gaue vs whatſoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, ſo that they were conſtrained to goe backe againe naked, and made vs ſignes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more ſkinnes with them.

How that we hauing ſent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladneſſe. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth foorth, and of the Bay called *Baia du Chaleur*, or *The Bay of heat*.

Vpon thurſday being the eight of the moneth, becauſe the winde was not good to go out with our ſhips, we ſet our boates in a readineſſe to goe to diſcouer the ſaid Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we ſailed vntil noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the ſaid Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but ſeeing that there was no paſſage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coaſt: & ſayling, we ſaw certaine wilde men that ſtood vpon the ſhore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and ſmokes: wee went thither, & found that there was a chanel of the ſea that did enter into the lake, and ſetting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and

brought

Three hundred gentle Sauages.

brought vp pieces of Seales ready ſodden, putting them vpon pieces of wood: then retiring themſelues, they would make ſignes vnto vs, that they did giue them vs. Wee ſent two men vnto them with hatchets, kniues, beads, & other ſuch like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in cluſters they came to the ſhore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them ſkinnes and other ſuch things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more then 300, men, women and children: ſome of the women which came not ouer, wee might ſee ſtand vp to the knees in water, ſinging and dancing: the other that had paſſed the riuer where we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them vp toward heauen, ſhewing many ſignes of gladneſſe: and in ſuch wiſe were wee aſſured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatſoeuer they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatſoeuer they had, and that was but of ſmall value. We perceiued that this people might very eaſily be conuerted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fiſhing. They haue an ordinarie time to fiſh for their prouiſion. The countrey is hotter then the countrey of Spaine, and the faireſt that can poſſibly be found, altogether ſmooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer ſo little, but it hath ſome trees (yea albeit it be ſandie) or elſe is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corne is like oates, and ſmal peaſon as thicke as if they had bene ſowen and plowed, white and red gooſeberies, ſtrawberies, blackberies, white and red Roſes, with many other floures of very ſweet and pleaſant ſmell. There be alſo many goodly medowes full of graſſe, and lakes wherein great plentie of ſalmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Baye du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

¶ Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, liuing and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no paſſage through the ſaid Bay, we hoiſed ſaile, and went from S.Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12, of July, to goe and diſcouer further beyond the ſaid Bay, and went along the ſea coaſt Eaſtward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but ſhallow ground, and the Sea ſtormie, ſo that we were conſtrained to draw toward ſhore, betweene the ſaid Cape and an Iland lying Eaſtward, about a league from the ſaid Cape, where we caſt ancker for that night. The next morning we hoiſed ſaile to trend the ſaid coaſt about, which lyeth North Northeaſt. But there roſe ſuch a ſtormie and raging winde againſt vs, that we were conſtrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we ſtay all that day til the next that we hoiſed vp ſaile, and came to the middeſt of a riuer fiue or ſixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerthwart the ſaid Riuer, there aroſe againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and ſtormes. So that we were conſtrained vpon Tueſday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer, and there did we ſtay till the ſixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thurſday, the winde became ſo raging that one of our ſhips loſt an ancker, and we were conſtrained to goe vp higher into the riuer ſeuen or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempeſt, and darkeneſſe that was, wee ſtayed in the ſaide harborough till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee ſawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fiſhing for mackerels, whereof there is great ſtore. Their boates were about 40, and the perſons what with men, women & children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the ſides of our ſhips. We gaue them kniues, combes, beads of glaſſe, and other trifles of ſmall value, for which they made many ſignes of gladneſſe, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and ſinging in their boates. Theſe men may very well and truely be called Wilde, becauſe there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, beſides their boates and nets was not worth fiue ſouce. They goe altogether naked ſauing their priuities, which are couered with a little ſkinne, and certaine olde ſkinnes that they caſt vpon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found firſt: their heads be altogether ſhauen, except one buſh of haire which they ſuffer to grow vpon the top of their crowne as long as a horſe taile, & then with certaine leather ſtrings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne vpſide downe, and vnder them they lay themſelues all along vpon the bare ground. They eate their fleſh almoſt raw, ſaue onely that they heate it a little vpon imbers of coales, ſo doe they their fiſh. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the riuer, and freely went on ſhore among them, whereat they made many ſignes, and all their men in two or three companies began to ſing and dance, ſeeming to be very glad of our comming. They had cauſed all the yong women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that ſtayed with them, to ech of which we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breaſts with their hands. When the men ſaw vs giue ſomething vnto thoſe that had ſtayed, it cauſed al the reſt to come out of the wood, to the end they ſhould haue as much as the others: Theſe women were about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their maner of cheriſhing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then ſuddenly they began to dance, and ſing many ſongs. There we found great ſtore of Mackrels, that they had taken vpon the ſhore, with certaine nets that they make to fiſh, of a kind of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the ſea, but onely in fiſhing time. As farre as I vnderſtand, there groweth likewiſe a kinde of Millet as big as Peaſon, like vnto that which groweth in Breſil, which they eate in ſtead of bread. They had great ſtore of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue alſo Prunes, (that is to ſay Damſins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honeſta. They haue alſo Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we ſhewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, ſhaking their heads, they will ſay Nohda, which is as much to ſay, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of thoſe things they haue, they would with ſignes ſhew vs how to dreſſe them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taſte of ſalt. They are very great theeues, for they will filch and ſteale whatſoeuer they can lay hold of, and all is fiſh that commeth to net.

Hempe.

Maiz.

Damſins, figs, nuts, apples.

¶ How our men ſet vp a great Croſſe vpon the point of the ſayd Porte, and the Captaine of thoſe wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeaſed, and contented that two of his Children ſhould goe with him.

VPon the 24 of the moneth, wee cauſed a faire high Croſſe to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the preſence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the ſayd hauen, in the middeſt whereof we hanged vp a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this poſie, *Viue le Roy de France*. Then before them all we ſet it vpon the ſayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and ſetting of it vp. So ſoone as it was vp, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heauen, yeelding God thankes: and we made ſignes vnto them, ſhewing them the Heauens, and that all our ſaluation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they ſhewed a great admiration, looking firſt one at another, and then vpon the Croſſe. And after wee were returned to our ſhips, their Captaine clad with an old Beares ſkin, with three of his ſonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not ſo neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, ſhewing vs the croſſe we had ſet vp, and making a croſſe with two fingers, then did he ſhew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would ſay that all was his, and that wee ſhould not ſet vp any croſſe without his leaue. His talke being ended, we ſhewed him an Axe, faining that we would giue it him for his ſkin, to which he liſtned, for by little and little hee came neere our ſhips. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and ſuddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ſhips, wherat they were greatly aſtoniſhed. But our Captain did ſtraight waies aſſure them, that they ſhould haue no harme, nor any iniurie offred them at all, & entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we ſhew them with ſignes, that the croſſe was but onely ſet vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would ſhortly come againe, and bring good ſtore of iron wares & other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, & afterward bring them to the ſayd port againe: and ſo wee clothed two of them in ſhirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of thoſe three that went backe, a hatchet, and ſome kniues, which made them very glad. After theſe were gone, and had told the newes vnto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ſhips ſixe boates of them, with fiue or ſixe men in euery one, to take their farewels of thoſe two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them ſome fiſh, vttering many words which we did not vnderſtand, making ſignes that they would not remoue the croſſe we had ſet vp.

This hauen ſeemeth to be Gaspay.

Two ſauages taken.

¶ How after we were departed from the ſayd porte, following our voyage along the ſayd coaſt, we went to diſcouer the land lying Southeaſt, and Northweſt.

THe next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the ſaid port: and being out of the riuer, we ſailed Eaſtnortheaſt, for after the entrance into the ſaid riuer, the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ſhips, we might ſee all the coaſt ſayling behind, which we came to ſeeke, the land lying Southeaſt and Northweſt, the courſe of which was diſtant from the riuer about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape *S. Aluiſe*, and *Cape Memorancie*, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and ſuddenly went ouer it.

ON munday being the 27 of the moneth, about ſunne-ſet we went along the ſaid land, as we haue ſaid, lying Southeaſt & Northweſt, till Wedneſday that we ſaw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the Eaſt: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the ſayd Cape we ſounded, and found 24 fadome water. The ſaid lands are plaine, and the faireſt and moſt without woods that we haue ſeene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the ſayd Cape S. Aluiſe Cape, becauſe that was his day: it is 49 degrees and a halfe in latitude, and in longitude *. On Wedneſday morning we were on the Eaſt ſide of the Cape, and being almoſt night we went Northweſtward for to approch neere to the ſayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Aluiſe Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northweſt. About three leagues from the ſayd Cape we would needes ſound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the ſaid land, about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the firſt of Auguſt, by Sunne riſing, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeaſt, that were very high and craggie, and ſeemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and riuers: wee went about the ſayd lands, as well on the one ſide as on the other, ſtill bending Northweſt, to ſee if it were either a gulfe, or a paſſage, vntill the fift of the moneth. The diſtance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go fiue miles farther, the winds were ſo great, and the tide againſt vs. And at fiue miles end, we might plainely ſee and perceiue land on both ſides, which there beginneth to ſpread it ſelfe, but becauſe we rather fell, then got way againſt the wind, we went toward land, purpoſing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermoſt out into the ſea that we could ſee, about fiue leagues from vs, but ſo ſoone as we came thither, we found it to be naught elſe but Rockes, ſtones, & craggie cliffes, ſuch as we had not found any where ſince we had ſailed Southward from S. Iohns Cape: and there was the tide with vs, which caried vs againſt the wind Weſtward, ſo that as we were ſayling along the ſayd coaſt, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and ſuddenly went ouer, but we were conſtrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

Fifty degrees of latitude.

How after we had agreed and conſulted what was beſt to be done, we purpoſed to returne: and of *S. Peters* Streight, and of *Cape Tiennot*.

AFter we had ſailed along the ſayd coaſt, for the ſpace of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne againſt vs, with ſo ſwift and raging a courſe, that it was not poſſible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one ſtones caſt farther, ſo that we were conſtrained to leaue our boates with ſome of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went aſhore to the ſayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southweſt, which hauing ſeene, we came to our boats againe, and ſo to our ſhips, which were ſtil ready vnder ſaile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where ſo ſoone as we came, wee aſſembled together all our Captaines, Maſters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was beſt to be done: and after that euery one had ſaid, conſidering that the Eaſterly winds began to beare ſway, and blow, & that the flood was ſo great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that ſtormes and tempeſts began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were ſo farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we muſt agree to returne home againe, or els to ſtay there all the yeere. Moreouer, we did conſider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not poſſible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and conſidered, we altogether determined to addreſſe our ſelues homeward. Nowe becauſe vpon Saint Peters day wee entred into the ſayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee ſounded it in many places, in ſome wee found 150 fadome water, in ſome 100, and neere the ſhoare ſixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wedneſday following, we had a good and proſperous gale of winde, ſo that we trended the ſaid North ſhore Eaſt, Southeaſt, Weſt Northweſt: for ſuch is the ſituation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeaſt, about twenty fiue leagues from

The Streit of S.Peter.

the Streight. In this place we ſaw certaine ſmokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the ſayd cape: but becauſe the wind blewe vs toward the coaſt, we went not to them, which when they ſaw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ſhips, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderſtand, that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making ſignes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ſhips, and that they were laden with Fiſh. We named the ſayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the ſaid Cape all the land trendeth Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Weſtnorthweſt. All theſe lands lie low, very pleaſant, enuironed with ſand, where the ſea is entermingled with mariſhes and ſhallowes, the ſpace of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from Weſt to Eaſtnortheaſt altogether enuironed with Iſlands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could ſee, are many dangerous ſhelues more then foure or fiue leagues from land.

Cape Tiennot.

How that vpon the ninth of Auguſt wee entred within *White Sands*, and vpon the fift of September we came to the port of *S. Malo*.

FRom the ſayd Wedneſday vntill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southweſt, which cauſed vs to run Eaſtnortheaſt, on which day we came to the Eaſterly partes of Newfoundland, betweeen the Granges and the Double Cape. There began great ſtormie winds comming frõ the Eaſt with great rage: wherfore we coaſted the Cape Northnorthweſt, to ſearch the Northerne part, which is (as we haue ſayd) all enuironed with Iſlands, and being neere the ſaid Iſlands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the ſayd gulfe, ſo that the next day being the 9 of Auguſt, we by the grace of God entred within the White Sands. And this is ſo much as we haue diſcouered. After that, vpon the 15 of Auguſt, being the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, after that we had heard ſeruice, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and proſperous weather we came into the middle of the ſea, that is between Newfound land and Britanie, in which place we were toſt and turmoyled three dayes long with great ſtormes and windy tempeſts comming from the Eaſt, which with the ayde and aſſiſtance of God we ſuffred: then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the ſayd yere, we came to the port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is ſpoken in the Land newly diſcouered, called *New France*.

God	———	Gold	*benyoſco*
the Sunne	*Iſnez*	the priuie members	*aſſegnega*
the Heauen	*camet*	an Arrow	*cacta*
the Day	———	a greene Tree	*haueda*
the Night	*aiagla*	an earthen diſh	*vndaco*
Water	*ame*	a Bow	———
Sand	*eſtogaz*	Braſſe	*aignetaze*
a Sayle	*aganie*	the Brow	*anſce*
the Head	*agonaze*	a Feather	*yco*
the Throate	*conguedo*	the Moone	*caſmogan*
the Noſe	*hehongueſto*	the Earth	*conda*
the Teeth	*heſangue*	the Wind	*canut*
the Nayles	*agetaſcu*	the Raine	*onnoſcon*
the Feete	*ochedaſco*	Bread	*cacacomy*
the Legs	*anoudaſco*	the Sea	*amet*
a dead man	*amocdaza*	a Ship	*caſaomy*
a Skinne	*aionaſca*	a Man	*vndo*
that Man	*yca*	the Haires	*hoc hoſco*
a Hatchet	*aſogne*	the Eyes	*ygata*
a Cod fiſh	*gadagourſere*	the Mouth	*heche*
good to be eaten	*gueſande*	the Eares	*hontaſco*
Fleſh	———	the Armes	*ageſcu*
Almonds	*anongaza*	a Woman	*enraſeſco*
Figs	*aſconda*	a ſicke Man	*alonedeche*

Shooes	*atta*	a Mackrell	*agedoneta*
a skinne to couer a	*ouſcozon*	Nuttes	*caheya*
mans priuy mẽbers	*vondico*	Apples	*honeſta*
red cloth	*caheneta*	Beanes	*ſahe*
a Knife	*agoheda*	a Sword	*acheſco*

A ſhorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of *France*, to the Iſlands of *Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay*, and diuers others which now are called *New France*, with the particular cuſtomes, and maners of the inhabitants therein,

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitſunday, being the 16 of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S.Malo we deuoutly each one confeſſed our ſelues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the ſayd Church, wee preſented our ſelues before the Reuerend Father in Chriſt, the Lord Biſhop of S. Malo, who bleſſed vs all, being in his Biſhops roabes. The Wedneſday following, being the 19 of May, there aroſe a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoyſed ſayle with three ſhips, that is to ſay, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twenty tunne, wherin the foreſaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and maſter Thomas Froſmont chiefe Maſter, accompanied with maſter Claudius de Pont Briand, ſonne to the Lorde of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the ſecond ſhip called the little Hermina, being of three ſcore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the ſayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and maſter William Marie. In the third ſhip called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maingare. So we ſayled with a good and proſperous wind, vntill the 20 of the ſaid moneth, at which time the weather turned into ſtormes and tempeſts, the which with contrary winds, and darkeneſſe, endured ſo long that our ſhips being without any reſt, ſuffered as much as any ſhips that euer went on ſeas: ſo that the 25 of Iune, by reaſon of that foule and foggie weather, all our ſhips loſt ſight one of another againe till wee came to Newfound land where we had appointed to meete. After we had loſt one another, wee in the Generals ſhip were with contrary windes toſt to and fro on the ſea, vntill the ſeuenth of Iuly, vpon which day we arriued in Newe found land, and came to the Iſland called The Iſland of Birds, which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Iſland is ſo full of birds, that all our ſhips might eaſily haue bene fraighted with them, & yet for the great number that there is, it would not ſeeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our ſelues filled two boats of them. This Iſland hath the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon the eight of the ſayd moneth we ſailed further, & with a proſperous weather came to the Port called The Port of white ſands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Caſtels, where we had purpoſed to meete & ſtay together the 15 of the ſaid moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to ſay, the other two ſhips, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So ſoone as our fellowes were come, we ſet our ſhips in a readines, taking in both water, wood, & other neceſſaries. And then on the 29 of the ſayd moneth, early in the morning we hoiſed ſaile to paſſe on further, & ſayling along the Northerne coaſt that runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, til two houres after Sun-ſet or thereabouts, then we croſſed along two Iſlands, which doe ſtretch further foorth then the others, which we called S. Williams Iſlands, being diſtant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Breſt. All the coaſt from the Caſtels to that place lieth Eaſt & Weſt, Northeaſt & Southweſt, hauing betweene it ſundry little Iſlands, altogether barren and full of ſtones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of Iuly, we ſailed on Weſtward to find out other Iſlands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Iſlands and great creekes where many good harboroughs ſeeme to be: them we named S.Marthas Iſlands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the ſea there is a dangerous ſhallow, wherein are fiue rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Iſlands about ſeuen leagues as you paſſe into the ſayd Iſlands, on the Eaſt & on the Weſt ſide, to which we came the ſayd day an houre after noone, & from that houre vntill midnight we ſailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Iſlands, which we named S.Germans Iſlands Southeaſtward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous ſhallow. Likewiſe betweene S.Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues from the ſayd Iſlands, there lyeth a banke of

The Iſle of birds in 49 degrees 40 minutes.

The Bay des Chaſteaux or The Grand Bay.

of ſand, vpon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore ſeeing the danger of the coaſt, we ſtrucke ſaile and went no further that night: The next day being the laſt of Iuly, we went all along the coaſt that runneth Eaſt and Weſt, and ſomewhat Southeaſterly which is all enuironed about with Iſlands and drie ſands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from S.Germans Cape to the ſaid Iſlands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the reſt of the coaſt be compaſſed about with ſands without any ſigne or ſhew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth Northweſt about ſeuen leagues from the foreſaid Iſlands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we ſailed on all that night Weſt and Weſtnorthweſt, till it was day, and then the wind turned againſt vs, wherefore we went to ſeeke a hauen wherein we might harbour our ſhips, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpoſe, about ſeuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, & that we named S.Nicholas Hauen, it lieth amidſt 4 Iſlands that ſtretch into the ſea: Vpon the neereſt wee for a token ſet vp a woodden croſſe. But note by the way, that this croſſe muſt be brought Northeaſt, & then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you ſhall find ſixe fadome water, and within the hauen foure. Alſo you are to take heede of two ſhelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coaſt is full of ſhoulds and very dangerous, albeit in ſight many good hauens ſeeme to be there, yet is there nought elſe but ſhelues and ſants. We ſtaied and reſted our ſelues in the ſayd hauen, vntill the ſeuenth of Auguſt being Sonday: on which day we hoyſed ſayle, and came toward land on the South ſide toward Cape Rabaſt, diſtant from the ſayd hauen about twentie leagues Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt: but the next day there roſe a ſtormie and a contrary winde, and becauſe we could find no hauen there toward the South, thence we went coaſting along toward the North, beyond the abouesayd hauen about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Iſlands, paſſages, and entrences toward what wind ſoeuer you pleaſe to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Iſland that is like to a Cape of lande, ſtretching ſomewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill faſhioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the ſayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the ſayd moneth wee went from the ſayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, ſayling Weſtward, and diſcouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth Weſt and by South, diſtant from the ſayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about fiue and twenty leagues. And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaſte, & that there was an Iſland, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes iourney from the ſayd Cape, and Iſland began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North ſhore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the ſayd Cape, there is aboue a hundreth fadome water. Moreouer I beleeue that there were neuer ſo many Whales ſeen as wee ſaw that day about the ſayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of Auguſt the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing paſſed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Iſland of the Aſſumption, and one Cape of the ſaid high countreys lyeth Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt, the diſtance betweene which is about fiue and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the ſayd landes about toward the South: from the ſayd day vntill Teweſday noone following, the winde came Weſt, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purpoſing to goe and ſee the land that we before had ſpied. Being arriued there, we found the ſayd landes, as it were ioyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the ſayd low lands ſtretch Eaſt, and Weſt, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirtie leagues diſtance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The ſayd men did moreouer certifie vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it came, euen vnto Canada, and that then there was freſh water, which went ſo farre vpwards, that they had neuer heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other paſſage but with ſmall boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other paſſage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had ſeene and noted the other lands, & coaſt toward the North, which he had omitted to ſee from S.Laurence his gulfe, becauſe he would know, if betweene the lands toward the North any paſſage might be diſcouered.

Cape Thiennot.

Port S. Nicholas.

Cape Rabaſt.

The gulfe of S.Laurence.

A Cape of the Iſle of Aſſumption.

A mighty ſhull of Whales.

The Iſle of Aſſumption.

The mouth of the riuer of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

How our Captaine cauſed the ſhips to returne backe againe, only to know if in *Saint Laurence* gulfe there were any paſſage toward the North.

Chap, 2.

VPon the 18 of Auguſt being Wedneſday, our Captaine cauſed his ſhippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other ſhore, ſo that we trended the ſaid Northerly coſt, which runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, being faſhioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not ſo high as that on the South parts. The Thurſday following we came to ſeuen very high Iſlands, which we named The round Iſlands. Theſe Iſlands are diſtant from the South ſhore about 40 leagues, and ſtretch out into the ſea about 3 or 4 leagues. Againſt theſe there are goodly low grounds to be ſeene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats cõpaſſed about. Ouerthwart theſe lands there are diuers ſandy ſhelues more then two leagues into the ſea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almoſt dry. At the furtheſt bounds of theſe lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of freſh water, that with ſuch ſwiftneſſe runneth into the ſea, that for the ſpace of one league within it the water is as freſh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred into the ſayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome & a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fiſhes ſhaped like horſes, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we ſaw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoyſed ſaile, and ſailed ſo long along the ſaid coaſt, that we had ſight of the reſt of the ſayd Northerne coaſt, which as yet we had not ſeene, and of the Iſland of the Aſſumption which wee went to diſcouer, departing from the ſayd land: which thing ſo ſoone as we had done, & that we were certified no other paſſage to be there, we came to our ſhips againe, which we had left at the ſaid Iſlands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the ſame place by occaſion of contrary winds & foggie miſts, we were conſtrained to ſtay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoiſe ſaile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed & came to a hauen on the Southerly coaſt about 80 leagues from the ſaid Iſlands. This hauen is ouer againſt three flat Iſlands that lie amidſt the riuer, becauſe on the midway betweene thoſe Iſlands, & the ſayd hauen toward the North, there is a very great riuer that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the ſea it hath many ſhelues, & there is not altogether two fadome water, ſo that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the ſaid ſhelues, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from ſhore to ſhore. All the Northerly coaſte runneth Northeaſt and by North, and Southweſt & by South. The ſaid hauen wherin we ſtayed on the South ſide, is as it were but a ſluce of the waters that riſe by the flood, & but of ſmal accompt: we named them S. Iohns Iſlets, becauſe we found them, & entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the ſaid hauen, there is an Iſland lying Eaſtward about 5 leagues diſtant from the ſame: betweene which and the land there is no paſſage ſauing only for ſmal boats. The hauen of S. Iohns Iſlets dryeth vp all the waters that riſe by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the leaſt. The beſt place to harborough ſhips therein is on the South part of a little Iſland that is ouer againſt the ſaid hauen, whereby the bancke or ſhore of the Iſland riſeth. Vpon the firſt of September we departed out of the ſaid hauen, purpoſing to go toward Canada, & about 15 leagues from it toward the Weſt, & Weſtſouthweſt, amidſt the riuer, there are three Iſlands, ouer againſt the which there is a riuer which runneth ſwift, and is of a great depth, & it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told vs. This riuer paſſeth and runneth along very high and ſteepe hils of bare ſtone, where very little earth is, & notwithſtanding there is great quantity of ſundry ſorts of trees that grow in the ſaid bare ſtones, euen as vpon good & fertile ground, in ſuch ſort that we haue ſeene ſome ſo great as wel would ſuffiſe to make a maſt for a ſhip of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as poſſibly can be, growing in a ſtony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the ſayd riuer we met with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, ſo that ſome of them went backe againe, & the other came as neere vs as eaſily they might heare & vnderſtand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whoſe word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the ſayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reaſon of the ſeas flowing, the tide was very ſwift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Iſlands, about which, more then three leagues compaſſe, lie many rocks and great ſtones, & but two fadome water: and the flowing amidſt thoſe Iſlands is very vnconſtant and doubtful, ſo that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to loſe our Pinneſſe: & coaſting along the ſaid drie ſands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

The ſeuen Iſles.

A ſwift riuer.

Sea-horſes.

The Iſle of Aſſumption, or Natiſcotec

A hauen on the Southerne coaſt.

A great riuer.

S. Iohns Iſlets.

This is the riuer of Tadaſeu, or of Saguenay.

About fiue leagues beyond the riuer of Saguenay Southweſt, there is another Iland on the Northſide, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to haue caſt anker, on purpoſe to ſtay the next tide, but we could ſound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight ſhoot from ſhore, ſo that we were conſtrained to winde backe to the ſaid Iland, where wee ſounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoyſed ſaile and went thence, ſayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fiſh neuer before of any man ſeene or knowen. They are about the bigneſſe of a Porpoſe, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as ſnow without any ſpot, within which riuer there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogither betweene the Sea and the freſh water. Theſe people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde vs that they be very ſauory and good to be eaten. Moreouer they affirme none to be found elſewhere but in the mouth of that riuer. The ſixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more vpward into the riuer, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little hauen or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewiſe great quantitie of the ſaid Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeux in France at euery tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, repleniſhed with many goodly and great trees of many ſorts. Among the reſt there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, ſomewhat bigger and better in ſauour then ours, but ſomewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The ſeuenth of the moneth being our Ladies euen, after ſeruice we went from that Iland to goe vp higher into the riuer, and came to 14 Ilands ſeuen or eight leagues from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and fiue in bredth, greatly inhabited of ſuch men as onely liue by fiſhing of ſuch ſorts of fiſhes as the riuer affordeth, according to the ſeaſon of them. After we had caſt anker betwene the ſaid great Iland, & the Northerly coaſt, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with vs, meeting with many of thoſe countrey people, who would not at all approch vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, vntill our two men began to ſpeake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who ſo ſoone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and ſhewing many ſorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefeſt of them came to our boats & brought many Eeles and other ſorts of fiſhes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muſke millions. The ſame day came alſo many other boates full of thoſe countreymen and weomen, to ſee and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteouſly receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as poſſibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many ſmall gifts, but of ſmall value: neuertheleſſe they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whoſe proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelue boats came to our ſhips, accompanied with many people, who cauſing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched vnto vs with ſixteene men. Then beganne the ſaid Agouhanna ouer againſt the ſmalleſt of our ſhips, according to their maner and faſhion, to frame a long Oration, moouing all his bodie and members after a ſtrange faſhion, which thing is a ceremonie and ſigne of gladneſſe and ſecuritie among them, and then comming to the Generals ſhip, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he ſpake with them & they with him, where they began to tell and ſhew vnto him what they had ſeene in France, and what good entertainement they had had: hearing which things the ſaid Lord ſeemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kiſſe it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for ſo they vſe to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, cauſing bread and wine to be brought to make the ſaid Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and ſatiſfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, becauſe he looked for a fitter opportunity. Theſe things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the ſaid Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then cauſed our boates to be ſet in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the riuer, to find ſome ſafe harborough for our ſhips: and we paſſed vp the riuer againſt the ſtreame about tenne leagues, coaſting the ſaid Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleaſant ſound, where is a little riuer and hauen, where by reaſon of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place ſeemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ſhips therein, and ſo we did very ſafely, we named it the holy Croſſe, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village,

The riuer of Saguenay.

Innumerable Tortoiſes.

The Iſle of Condres or Filberds.

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans.

Maiz.

Santa Croix.

Stadacona.

Goodly hemp

whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as poſſibly may be ſeene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Aſhes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damſons, and many other ſortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any ſeede or any mans worke or labour at all. Hauing conſidered the place, and finding it fit for our purpoſe, our Captaine withdrew himſelfe on purpoſe to returne to our ſhips: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming againſt vs one of the Lords of the ſaid village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the faſhion of their countrey, in ſigne of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oration, the women ſtill ſinging and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindneſſe toward vs, cauſed the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glaſſe, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleaſure they conceiued of our comming, we might heare them ſing, and ſee them dance for all they were ſo farre,

How our Captaine went to ſee and note the bigneſſe of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ſhips, cauſing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Croſſe,

Chap. 3.

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

AFter we were come with our boats vnto our ſhips againe, our Captaine cauſed our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the ſaid Iland, to note the trees that in ſhew ſeemed ſo faire, and to conſider the nature and qualitie of it: which thing we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Alſo we ſaw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of vs ſeene in thoſe countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelue leagues, in ſight very pleaſant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnleſſe it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fiſhers dwellings as before we haue ſaid. The next day we departed with our ſhips to bring them to the place of the holy Croſſe, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of thoſe people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ſhips, ſhewing ſundry and diuers geſtures of gladneſſe and mirth, except thoſe two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who ſeemed to haue altered and changed their mind and purpoſe, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ſhips, albeit ſundry times they were earneſtly deſired to doe it, whereupon we began to miſtruſt ſomewhat. Our Captaine aſked them if according to promiſe they would go with him to Hochelaga? They anſwered yea, for ſo they had purpoſed, and then echone withdrew himſelfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on ſhore, to cauſe certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and ſet vp, that the better and ſafelier we might harbour our ſhips there: and many of thoſe countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the reſt of their company, who kept themſelues aſide vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the ſhore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their ſide. Our Captaine vnderſtanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the ſaide point where he found the ſaid Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and diuers other: and after ſalutations giuen on ech ſide, Taignoagny ſetled himſelfe formoſt to ſpeake to our Captaine, ſaying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and ſorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine anſwered, that albeit it did greeue them, yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all theſe words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to ſpeake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatſoeuer Taignoagny ſpake, was onely long of himſelfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous ſtedfaſt league of friendſhip, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, caſt out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we brought our two great ſhippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the higheſt, are three fadome deepe, and at the loweſt, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinneſſe without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So ſoone as we had ſafely placed our ſhips, behold we ſaw Donnacona, Taignoagny & Domagaia, with more then fiue hundred perſons, men, women and children, and the ſaid Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefeſt of the countrey came aboord of our ſhips, who were all courteouſly receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of ſmall value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly ſorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them ſhould goe with him, becauſe the riuer was of no importance. Our Captaine anſwered him, that for all his ſaying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any meanes it were poſſible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as poſſibly he could: and that if he (that is to ſay Taignoagny) would goe with him, as he had promiſed, he ſhould be very well entertained, beſide that, he ſhould haue ſuch a gift giuen him, as he ſhould well content himſelfe: for he ſhould doe nothing elſe but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny anſwered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they ſodainly returned to their houſes. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the firſt, and brought with him many Eeles, with ſundry ſorts of other fiſhes, whereof they take great ſtore in the ſaid riuer, as more largely hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. And as ſoone as they were come to our ſhips, according to their wonted vſe they beganne to ſing and dance. This done, Donnacona cauſed all his people to be ſet on the one ſide: then making a round circle vpon the ſand he cauſed our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which he preſented vnto our Captaine: then ſodainely beganne all his people to make three great ſhreeks or howles, in ſigne of ioy and league of friendſhip: preſently vpon that he did preſent vnto him two other young male children one after another, but yonger then the other, at the giuing of which, euen as before they gaue out ſhreekes and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which preſents, our Captaine gaue the ſaide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the ſaid Lords owne ſiſter, and the preſents were only giuen him to the end he ſhould not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine anſwered, that if they were onely giuen him to that intent, if ſo he would, he ſhould take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was ſo commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had giuen him thoſe children as a ſigne and token of good will and ſecurity, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes aroſe betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceiued that Taignoagny was but a craftie knaue, and that he intended but miſchiefe and treaſon, as well by this deede as others that we by him had ſeene. After that our Captaine cauſed the ſaid children to be put in our ſhips, and cauſed two Swords and two copper Baſons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and them he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding moſt heartie thankes vnto our Captaine for them, and preſently vpon that he commaunded all his people to ſing and dance, and deſired our Captaine to cauſe a peece of artillerie to be ſhot off, becauſe Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and alſo, becauſe they had neuer heard nor ſeene any before: to whom our Captaine anſwered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to ſhoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by thoſe people and ſhips, at whoſe noyſe they were greatly aſtoniſhed and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen vpon them, and put themſelues to flight, howling, crying, and ſhreeking, ſo that it ſeemed hell was broken looſe. But before we went thence, Taignoagny cauſed other men to tell vs, that thoſe men which we had left in our Pinneſſe in the road, had ſlaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had ſhot off, whereupon the reſt had put themſelues all to flight, as though they ſhould all haue bene ſlaine: which afterward we found vntrue, becauſe our men had not ſhot off any peece at all that day.

How *Donnacona* and *Taignoagny* with others, deuiſed a prettie ſleight or pollicie: for they cauſed three of their men to be attired like Diuels, fayning themſelues to be ſent from their God *Cudruaigny*, onely to hinder our voyage to *Hochelaga*.

Chap. 4.

The next day being the eighteenth of September, theſe men ſtill endeuoured themſelues to ſeeke all meanes poſſible to-hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuiſed a prettie guile, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed. They went and dreſſed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges ſkinnes white and blacke, their faces beſmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and cauſed them ſecretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ſhips as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the ſpace of two houres, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approch and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the reſt iſſued out of the wood comming to vs, but yet not ſo neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to ſalute our Captaine, who aſked him if he would haue the boate to come for him; hee anſwered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ſhips: then preſently came that boat ruſhing out, wherein the three counterfeit Diuels were with ſuch long hornes on their heads, and the middlemoſt came making a long Oration and paſſed along our ſhips without turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people purſue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who ſo ſoone as the men were come to them, fell proſtrate in the boate euen as if they had beene dead: then were they taken vp and carried into the wood, being but a ſtones caſt off, then euery one withdrew himſelfe into the wood, not one ſtaying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long diſcourſe, ſo loud that we might heare them in our ſhips, which laſted aboue halfe an houre, & being ended we began to eſpie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards vs, holding their hands vpward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, ſhewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Ieſus, Ieſus, Ieſus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Ieſus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and ſeeing their geſtures and ceremonies, aſked of them what they ayled, and what was happened or chanced anew; they anſwered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, ſaying in French, *Nenni eſt il bon*, that is to ſay, it was not good: our Captaine aſked them againe what it was, then anſwered they, that their God Cudruaigny had ſpoken in Hochelaga: and that he had ſent thoſe three men to ſhewe vnto them that there was ſo much yce and ſnow in that countrey, that whoſoeuer went thither ſhould die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them ſaying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or ſaid: then bade we them ſhew his meſſengers from vs, that Chriſt would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeue in him. Then did they aſke of our Captaine if he had ſpoken with Ieſus: he anſwered no, but that his Prieſts had, and that he had tolde them they ſhould haue faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell thoſe newes vnto their felowes, who ſodainly came all ruſhing out of the wood, ſeeming to be very glad for thoſe words that our Captaine had ſpoken, and to ſhew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy, ſo ſoone as they were before our ſhips, they altogither gaue out three great ſhreekes, and thereupon beganne to ſing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a reſolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them ſhould goe with him to Hochelaga, vnleſſe he would leaue him ſome hoſtage to ſtay with him: our Captaine anſwered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they ſhould ſtay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his iourney thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinneſſe, and the two boates from *Canada* to goe to *Hochelaga*: and alſo there is deſcribed, what was ſeene by the way vpon the ſaid riuer.

Chap. 5.

The next day being the 19 of September we hoyſed ſaile, and with our Pinneſſe and two boates departed to goe vp the riuer with the flood, where on both ſhores of it we beganne to ſee as goodly a countrey as poſſibly can with eye be ſeene, all repleniſhed with very goodly trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuer, which rather ſeemed to haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwiſe. True it is, that becauſe they are not dreſſed and wrought as they ſhould be, their bunches of grapes are not ſo great nor ſweete as ours: alſo we ſawe all along the riuer many houſes inhabited of Fiſhers, which take all kindes of fiſhes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindneſſe vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought vs great ſtore of fiſh, with other ſuch things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting vp their hands toward heauen, gaue many ſignes of ioy: we ſtayed at a place called Hochelai, about fiue and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuer wareth very narrow, and runneth very ſwift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but alſo for certaine great ſtones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long diſcourſe, who being come neere vs, did by euident ſignes and geſtures ſhew vs, that the higher the riuer went, the more dangerous it was, and bade vs take heede of our ſelues. The ſaid Lord preſented and gaue vnto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 eight

Vines laden with grapes.

Hochelay.

yeres old, the man child he gaue him againe, becauſe it was too young, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteouſly as he could did entertaine and receiue the ſaid Lord and his company, giuing them certaine ſmall trifles, and ſo they departed toward the ſhore againe. Afterwards the ſayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to viſite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine ſmall preſents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we ſailed vp along the ſaide riuer, neuer loſing one houre of time, all which time we ſaw as goodly and pleaſant a countrey as poſſible can be wiſhed for, full (as we haue ſaid before) of all ſorts of goodly trees, that is to ſay, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Aſhes, Boxe, Willowes, and great ſtore of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, ſo that if any of our fellowes went on ſhore, they came home laden with them: there are likewiſe many Cranes, Swannes, Geeſe, Duckes, Feaſants, Partriges, Thruſhes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreaſts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerſe kindes, with many other ſorts of Birds, euen as in France, and great plentie and ſtore. Vpon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuer fiue or ſixe leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went againſt the tide, hauing but two fadome water, ſtill keeping the ſayd ſcantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could eſpie no paſſage or going out, nay, rather it ſeemed to haue bene cloſed and ſhut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or leſſe. And therefore we were conſtrayned to caſt anker, and to ſtay with our Pinneſſe, and went with our two boates to ſeeke ſome going out, and in one place we found foure or fiue branches, which out of the riuer come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the ſaid branches, becauſe of the great fierceneſſe and ſwiftneſſe wherewith they breake out, and the courſe of the water, they make certaine barres and ſhoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Thoſe Shouldes being paſſed, we found foure or fiue fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are loweſt, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All theſe foure or fiue branches do compaſſe about fiue or ſixe Ilands very pleaſant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the ſaide Ilands, and met with fiue men that were hunting of wilde beaſtes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp togither. Our boates being ſomewhat neere the ſhore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on ſhore, as lightly and as eaſily as if he had bene a child of fiue yeeres old: ſo ſtrong and ſturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wilde Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaine, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glaſſen Beades. We aſked them with ſignes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they anſwered yea, and that we had yet three dayes ſayling thither.

The lake of Angoleime.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

How our Captaine cauſed our boates to be mended and dreſſed to goe to *Hochelaga*: and becauſe the way was ſomewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinneſſe behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainement we had of the people.

Chap. 6.

THe next day our Captaine ſeeing that for that time it was not poſſible for our Pinneſſe to goe on any further, he cauſed our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to ſay, Claudius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, Iohn Gouion, Iohn Powlet, with twentie & eight Mariners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaine of the other two ſhips, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuer: we ſayled with good and proſperous weather vntill the ſecond of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, diſtant from the place where we had left our Pinneſſe fiue and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of thoſe countriemen, who brought vs fiſh and ſuch other vicuals as they had, ſtill dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and ſuch ſmall trifles, wherewith they were greatly ſatiſfied. So ſoone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thouſand perſons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time ſeene, the men dauncing on one ſide, the women on another, and likewiſe the children on another: after that they brought vs great ſtore of fiſh, & of their bread

They leaue their Pinneſſe behind.

Hochelaga diſtant from the lake of Angolcime 45. leagues.

made of Millet, caſting them into our boates ſo thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine ſaw, he with many of his company went on ſhore: ſo ſoone as euer we were aland they came cluſtring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making ſignes and ſhewes of great mirth and gladneſſe, that laſted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine ſeeing their louing kindneſſe and entertainement of vs, cauſed all the weomen orderly to be ſet in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other ſuch ſmall trifles, and to ſome of the men he gaue kniues: then he returned to the boates to ſupper, and ſo paſſed that night, all which while all thoſe people ſtood on the ſhore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, ſtill crying Aguiaze, which in their tongue ſignifieth Mirth and Safetie.

How our Captaine with fiue Gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to ſee the towne of *Hochelaga*, and the ſituation of it.

Chap. 7.

The third of October.

Hochelaga ſixe miles from the riuer ſide.

This Millet is Maiz.

The deſcription of Hochelaga.

Maiz, peaſe, beanes, muſkmillions, cucumbers, and other fruits.

Plentie of fiſh and the preſeruing thereof.

Our Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, hauing very gorgeouſly attired himſelfe, cauſed all his company to be ſet in order to go to ſee the towne and habitation of thoſe people, and a certaine mountaine that is ſomewhat neere the citie: with whom went alſo fiue Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leauing the reſt to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of Hochelaga to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the faireſt and beſt countrey that poſſibly can be ſeene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or fiue miles, we met by the way one of the chiefeſt Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who ſo ſoone as he ſawe vs beckned and made ſignes vpon vs, that we muſt reſt vs in that place where they had made a great fire and ſo we did. After that we had reſted our ſelues there a while, the ſaid Lord began to make a long diſcourſe, euen as we haue ſaide aboue, they are accuſtomed to doe in ſigne of mirth and friendſhip, ſhewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hatchets, a paire of kniues and a croſſe which he made him to kiſſe, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of ſuch corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is euen as the Millet of Breſil, as great and ſomewhat bigger then ſmall peaſon, wherewith they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midſt of thoſe fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may ſee very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compaſſed about with timber, with three courſes of Rampires, one within another framed like a ſharpe Spire, but laide acroſſe aboue. The middlemoſt of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and faſhioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned togither after their faſhion. This encloſure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is ſhut with piles, ſtakes, and barres. Ouer it, and alſo in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get vp, all full of ſtones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houſes, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunningly ioyned togither. Within the ſaid houſes, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middeſt of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common togither: then doe the huſbands, wiues and children each one retire themſelues to their chambers. They haue alſo on the top of their houſes certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter ſhall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like thoſe whereon we beat our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paſte of it, and of the paſte, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote ſtone, and then couer it with hote ſtones, and ſo they bake their bread in ſtead of Ouens. They make alſo ſundry ſorts of pottage with the ſaid corne and alſo of peaſe and of beanes, whereof they haue great ſtore, as alſo with other fruits, as Muſke-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They haue alſo in their houſes certaine veſſels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preſerue and keepe their fiſh, cauſing the ſame in ſommer to be dried in the ſunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they make great prouiſion, as we by experience haue ſeene. All their viands and meates are without any taſt or ſauour of ſalt at all. They ſleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-ſpread with the ſkinnes of certaine wilde Beaſtes, wherewith they alſo cloth and couer themſelues. The thing moſt precious that they haue in all the world they call Eſurgny: it is as white as any ſnow: they take it in the ſaid riuer of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deſerued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, firſt they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great ſlaſhes and ſtrokes vpon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and ſhoulders: then they caſt the ſame bodie ſo mangled downe to the bottome of the riuer, in a place where the ſaid Eſurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the ſaid Eſurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and ſiluer, accounting it the preciouſeſt thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will ſtop or ſtanch bleeding at the noſe, for we haue prooued it. Theſe people are giuen to no other exerciſe, but onely to huſbandrie and fiſhing for their ſuſtenance: they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, becauſe they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as thoſe of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongſt that riuer be ſubiects vnto them.

Eſurgni good to ſtanch blood.

How we came to the Towne of *Hochelaga*, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO ſoone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to preſent themſelues before vs after their faſhion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the middeſt of the towne. They haue in the middlemoſt part of their houſes a large ſquare place, being from ſide to ſide a good ſtones caſt, whither we were brought, and there with ſignes were commanded to ſtay: then ſuddenly all the women and maidens of the Towne gathered themſelues together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie ſoeuer they could touch, weeping for very ioy that they ſaw vs, ſhewing vs the beſt countenance that poſſibly they could, deſiring vs with their ſignes, that it would pleaſe vs to touch their children. That done, the men cauſed the women to withdraw themſelues backe, then they euery one ſate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue ſhewen and rehearſed ſome Comedie or other ſhew: then preſently came the women againe, euery one bringing a foureſquare Matte in manner of Carpets, and ſpreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they cauſed vs to ſit vpon them. That done, the Lord & King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens ſhoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) ſitting vpon a great Stagges ſkinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foreſaid mats neere to the Captaine, euery one beckning vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any of the reſt, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the ſkinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in ſtead of his Crowne. He was full of the palſie, and his members ſhronke togither. After he had with certaine ſignes ſaluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifeſt tokens bid all welcome, he ſhewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with ſignes deſired him to touch them, and ſo he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuerſe diſeaſed men, ſome blinde, ſome criple, ſome lame and impotent, and ſome ſo old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it ſeemed vnto them that God was deſcended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine ſeeing the miſery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Goſpel of Saint Iohn, that is to ſay, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diſeaſed, praying to God that it would pleaſe him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptiſme and Chriſtendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the paſſion of Chriſt, word by word, that all the ſtanders by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept ſilence, & were maruellouſly attentiue, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in geſtures. Then he cauſed the men all orderly to be ſet on one ſide, the women on another, & likewiſe the children on an other, & to the chiefeſt of them he gaue hatchets, to the other kniues, & to the women beads & ſuch other ſmall trifles. Then where ẏ children were, he caſt rings, counters, & brooches made of Tin, Mount Roial.

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga, and another to the South.

The 3 ſaults or falles of water in 44 degrees of latitude.

The riuer of Saguenay commeth from the Weſt, where there is gold and ſiluer.

Red copper in Saguenay.

whereat they ſeemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other muſicall inſtruments to be ſounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women ſeeing that, put themſelues before to ſtay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fiſh, pottage, beanes, and ſuch other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but becauſe the meates had no ſauour at all of ſalt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with ſignes gaue them to vnderſtand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerſe of the men and women followed vs, and brought vs to the toppe of the foreſaid mountaine, which wee named Mount Roial, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might diſcerne and plainely ſee thirtie leagues about. On the Northſide of it there are many hilles to be ſeene running Weſt and Eaſt, and as many more on the South, amongſt and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleaſant as poſſibly can be ſeene, being leuell, ſmooth, and very plaine, fit to be huſbanded and tilled: and in the middeſt of thoſe fieldes we ſaw the riuer further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greateſt and the ſwifteſt fall of water that any where hath beene ſeene, and as great, wide, and large as our ſight might diſcerne, going Southweſt along three faire and round mountaines that wee ſawe, as we iudged about fifteene leagues from vs. Thoſe which brought vs thither tolde and ſhewed vs, that in the ſayd riuer there were three ſuch falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates: but becauſe we could not vnderſtand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were one from another. Moreouer they ſhewed vs with ſignes, that the ſaid three fals being paſt, a man might ſayle the ſpace of three monethes more alongſt that Riuer, and that along the hilles that are on the North ſide there is a great riuer, which (euen as the other) commeth from the Weſt, we thought it to be the riuer that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any ſigne or queſtion mooued or aſked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whiſtle, which was of ſiluer, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his ſide being of yellow copper guilt, and ſhewed vs that ſuch ſtuffe came from the ſaid Riuer, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to ſay, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their fingers ends. Alſo they ſhewed vs the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither. They gaue vs alſo to vnderſtande that thoſe Agouionda doe continually warre one againſt another, but becauſe we did not vnderſtand them well, we could not perceiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine ſhewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with ſignes aſked them if any came from thence, they ſhaking their heads anſwered no: but they ſhewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and ſeene theſe things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of thoſe people: ſome of them when as they ſawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them vp on their ſhoulders, and carry them as on horſebacke. So ſoone as we came to our boates we hoyſed ſaile to goe toward our Pinneſſe, doubting of ſome miſchance. Our departure grieued and diſpleaſed them very much, for they followed vs along the riuer as farre as they could: we went ſo faſt that on munday being the fourth of October wee came where our Pinneſſe was. The Tueſday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoyſed ſaile, and with our Pinneſſe and boates departed from thence toward the Prouince of Canada, to the port of the Holy Croſſe, where we had left our ſhips. The ſeuenth day we came againſt a riuer that commeth from the North, and entred into that riuer, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees: we named that riuer The riuer of Fouetz: But becauſe one of thoſe Ilandes ſtretcheth it ſelfe a great way into the riuer, our Captaine at the point of it cauſed a goodly great Croſſe to be ſet vp, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the ſame riuer, and conſider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could: but becauſe we found it to be of no importance, and very ſhallow, we returned and ſayled downe the riuer.

How we came to the Port of the *Holy Croſſe*, and in what ſtate we found our ſhips: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to viſite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular cuſtomes of the people.

Chap. 9.

VPon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Croſſe, where our ſhips were, and found that the Maſters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ſhips, altogither cloſed with great peeces of timber ſet vpright and very well faſtened togither: then had they beſet the ſaid trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other neceſſarie things to ſhield and defend themſelues from the power of all the countrey. So ſoone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to viſite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deſerued it. Donnacona their Lord deſired our Captaine the next day to come and ſee Canada, which he promiſed to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to viſite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ſhips. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a ſtones caſt from their houſes, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all ſet in a ranke, and (as their cuſtome is) the men all on one ſide, & the women on the other, ſtill dancing and ſinging without any ceaſing: and after we had ſaluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them kniues and ſuch other ſleight things: then he cauſed all the women and children to paſſe along before him, giuing ech one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to ſee their houſes, which (the qualitie conſidered) were very well prouided, and ſtored with ſuch victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to paſſe away the winter withall. Then they ſhewed vs the ſkins of fiue mens heads ſpread vpon boords as we doe vſe parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were ſkins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre againſt them. Moreouer they told vs, that it was two yeeres paſt that thoſe Toudamans came to aſſault them, yea euen into the ſaid riuer, in an Iland that lyeth ouer againſt Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 perſons, men, women, and children, who being all aſleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were aſſaulted by the ſaid Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to ſaue themſelues, they were all ſlaine, only fiue excepted, who eſcaped. For which loſſe they yet ſorrowed, ſhewing with ſignes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ſhips againe.

Stadacona.

Toudamani dwelling Southward of Canada.

The manner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and cuſtomes.

Chap. 10.

THis people beleeue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they ſay that often he ſpeaketh with them and telleth them what weather ſhal follow, whether good or bad. Moreouer they ſay, that when he is angry with them he caſteth duſt into their eyes: they beleeue that when they die they go into the ſtars, & thence by litle & little deſcend downe into the Horizon, euen as the ſtars doe, & that then they go into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire & precious trees, floures, & fruits. After that they had giuen vs theſe things to vnderſtand, we ſhewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell & an euill ſpirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all neceſſaries, being the Creatour of all himſelfe, and that onely we muſt beleeue in him: moreouer, that it is neceſſarie for vs to be baptiſed, otherwiſe wee are damned into hell. Theſe and many other things concerning our faith and religion we ſhewed them, all which they did eaſily beleeue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to ſay, nought, ſo that very earneſtly they deſired and prayed our Captaine that he would cauſe them to be baptiſed, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptiſed: but becauſe we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe & religion, we excuſed our ſelues, deſiring Taignoagny & Domagaia to tell the reſt of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, & bring Prieſts & chriſome with vs, for without them they could not be baptiſed: which they did eaſily beleeue, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had ſeene many childen baptiſed in Britain whiles they were there. Which promiſe when they heard they ſeemed to be very glad. They liue in common togither, and of ſuch commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well ſtored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themſelues with the ſkinnes of certaine wilde beaſts, but very miſerably. In winter they weare hoſen and ſhoes made of wilde beaſts ſkins, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and obſerue the rites of matrimonie, ſauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wiues, which (their huſbands being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their huſbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, beſmearing al their faces with cole-duſt & greaſe mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widowes.

They deſire to be baptized.

Their Maiz.

Tabacco deſcribed.

They haue a filthy and deteſtable vſe in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for euery man that will haue to doe with them, vntill ſuch time as they find a match. This I ſay, becauſe I haue ſeene by experience many houſen full of thoſe Damoſels, euen as our ſchooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreouer, the miſrule and riot that they keepe in thoſe houſes is very great, for very wantonly they ſport and dally togither, ſhewing whatſoeuer God hath ſent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a ſword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it is as bigge as our ſmall peaſon: there is great quantitie of it growing in Breſill. They haue alſo great ſtore of Muske-milions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peaſon and Beanes of euery colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth alſo a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouiſion for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vſe of it, and firſt they cauſe it to be dried in the ſunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beaſts ſkinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of ſtone or wood like a pipe: then when they pleaſe they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the ſaid Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon it, at the other ende ſucke ſo long, that they fill their bodies full of ſmoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and noſtrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They ſay that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they neuer goe without ſome of it about them. We our ſelues haue tryed the ſame ſmoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it ſeemed almoſt as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fiſhing (whereto they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and huſbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much more able to reſiſt cold then ſauage beaſtes, for wee with our owne eyes haue ſeene ſome of them, when it was coldeſt (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ſhips ſtarke naked going vpon ſnow & yce, which thing ſeemeth incredible to them that haue not ſeene it. When as the ſnow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great ſtore of wilde beaſts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares & Foxes, with diuers other ſorts whoſe fleſh they eate raw, hauing firſt dried it in yͤ ſunne or ſmoke, and ſo they doe their fiſh. As farre foorth as we could perceiue and vnderſtand by theſe people, it were a very eaſie thing to bring them to ſome familiaritie & ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies ſake ſet therunto his helping hand when he ſeeth cauſe. Amen.

Of the greatneſſe and depth of the ſaid riuer, and of the ſorts of beaſts, birdes, fiſhes, and other things that we haue ſeene, with the ſituation of the place.

Chap. 11.

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

The ſaid riuer beginneth beyond the Iland of The Aſſumption, ouer againſt the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the ſeuen Ilands. The diſtance ouer from one ſide to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middeſt it is aboue 200 fadome deepe. The ſureſt way to ſayle vpon it is on the South ſide. And toward the North, that is to ſay, from the ſaid 7 Ilands, from ſide to ſide, there is ſeuen leagues diſtance, where are alſo two great riuers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make diuers very dangerous ſhelues in the ſea. At the entrance of thoſe two riuers we ſaw many & great ſtore of Whales and Sea horſes. Ouerthwart the ſaid Ilands there is another little riuer that runneth along thoſe marriſh grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherin there is great ſtore of water foules. From the entrance of that riuer to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues diſtance: the originall beginning of it is in the riuer that commeth from Saguenay, which riſeth and ſpringeth among high & ſteepe hils: it entreth into that riuer before it commeth to the Prouince of Canada on the North ſide. That riuer is very deepe, high, and ſtreight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any veſſell to goe vpon it. After that riuer followeth the Prouince of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are alſo in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the ſaid riuer, many other Ilands, ſome great, & ſome ſmall, among which there is one that containeth aboue ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and alſo many Vines. You may goe into it from both ſides, but yet the ſureſt paſſage is on the South ſide. On the ſhore or banke of that riuer Weſtward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ſhips. Hard by there is in that riuer one place very narrow, deepe, & ſwift running, but it is not paſſing the third part of a league, ouer againſt the which there is a goodly high peece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled & wrought, & as good as poſſibly can be ſeene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our firſt voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to ſay, Ayraſte, Starnatan, Tailla, which ſtandeth vpon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, vnder which towne toward the North the riuer and port of the holy croſſe is, where we ſtaied from the 15 of September, vntill the 16 of May 1536, and there our ſhips remained dry, as we haue ſaid before. That place being paſt, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, ſtanding vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which ſtandeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the ſayd countrey on both ſides of the riuer as farre as Hochelay & beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was ſeene. There are certaine mountaines farre diſtant from the ſaid riuer, which are to be ſeene aboue the foreſaid townes, from which mountaines diuers riuers deſcend, which fall into the ſaid great riuer. All that countrey is full of ſundry ſorts of wood and many Vines, vnleſſe it be about the places that are inhabited, where they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houſes and lodgings. There is great ſtore of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other ſuch like ſorts of beaſts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Weaſels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great, and diuers other ſortes of wilde beaſtes. They cloth themſelues with the ſkinnes of thoſe beaſts, becauſe they haue nothing elſe to make them apparell withall. There are alſo many ſorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Buſtards, wilde Geeſe white and gray, Duckes, Thruſhes, Black-birdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-breaſts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France. Alſo, as we haue ſaid before, the ſaid riuer is the plentifulleſt of fiſh that euer hath of any man bene ſeene or heard of, becauſe that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their ſeaſons, you ſhall finde all ſorts of freſh water fiſh and ſalt. There are alſo many Whales, Porpoſes, Seahorſes, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fiſh that we had neuer ſeene nor heard of before. They are as great as Porpoſes, as white as any ſnow, their bodie and head faſhioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide betwene the freſh & ſalt water, which beginneth betweene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Riuers falling from mountaines.

Beaſts.

Birdes.

Fiſhes.

Of certaine aduertiſements and notes giuen vnto vs by thoſe countreymen, after our returne from *Hochelaga*.

Chap. 12.

After our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, trafficke, and with great familiaritie and loue were conuerſant with thoſe that dwelt neereſt vnto our ſhips, except that ſometimes we had ſtrife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full ſore againſt the will of the others. Wee vnderſtood of Donnacona and of others, that the ſaid riuer is called the riuer of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being ſomewhat more then a league farther Weſtnorthweſt, and that 8 or 9 dayes iourneys beyond, it wil beare but ſmall boats. But the right and readie way to Saguenay is vp that riuer to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foreſaid riuer, & that there is yet one moneths ſayling thither. Moreouer, they told vs and gaue vs to vnderſtand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honeſt, and many inhabited townes, and that they haue great ſtore of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the ſaid firſt riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the ſaid riuer entreth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of freſh water found, and as they haue heard ſay of thoſe of Saguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themſelues were neuer there. Moreouer they told vs, that where we had left our Pinneſſe when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a riuer that goeth Southweſt, from whence there is a whole moneths ſayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor ſnow ſeene, where the inhabitants do continually warre one againſt another, where is great ſtore of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other ſorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beaſts ſkinnes euen as they: we aſked them if there were any gold or red copper, they anſwered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderſtand by their ſignes and tokens.

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of golde & red copper.

Two or three great lakes. Mare dulcium aquarum.

The riuer of Irrouacas falling into the lake of Angoleſme.

Of a ſtrange and cruell diſeaſe that came to the people of *Stadacona*, wherewith becauſe we did haunt their company, we were ſo infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

In the moneth of December, wee vnderſtood that the peſtilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in ſuch ſort, that before we knew of it, according to their confeſſion, there were dead aboue 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ſhips, or vs. And albeit we had driuen them from vs, the ſaid vnknowen ſicknes began to ſpread it ſelfe amongſt vs, after the ſtrangeſt ſort that euer was eyther heard of or ſeene, inſomuch as ſome did loſe all their ſtrength, and could not ſtand on their feete, then did their legges ſwel, their ſinnowes ſhrinke as blacke as any cole. Others alſo had all their ſkins ſpotted with ſpots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it aſcend vp to their ankels, knees, thighes, ſhoulders, armes, and necke: their mouth became ſtincking, their gummes ſo rotten, that all the fleſh did fall off, euen to the rootes of the teeth, which did alſo almoſt all fall out. With ſuch infection did this ſickneſſe ſpread it ſelfe in our three ſhips, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne perſons that we were, there were not ten whole, ſo that one could not helpe the other, a moſt horrible and pitifull caſe, conſidering the place we were in, forſomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and ſaw but few of vs. There were alreadie eight dead, and more then fifty ſicke, and as we thought, paſt all hope of recouery. Our Captaine ſeeing this our miſery, & that the ſickneſſe was gone ſo farre, ordained and commanded, that euery one ſhould deuoutly prepare himſelfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Chriſt, cauſed his Image to be ſet vpon a tree, about a ſlight ſhot from the fort amidſt the yce and ſnow, giuing all men to vnderſtand, that on the Sunday following, ſeruice ſhould be ſaid there, and that whoſoeuer could goe, ſicke or whole, ſhould goe thither in Proceſſion, ſinging the ſeuen Pſalmes of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying moſt heartily that it would pleaſe the ſaid our Chriſt to haue compaſſion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would pleaſe God to giue him leaue to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboiſe, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and becauſe the ſickeneſſe was to vs vnknowen, our Captaine cauſed him to be ripped to ſee if by any meanes poſſible we might know what it was, and ſo ſeeke meanes to ſaue and preſerue the reſt of the company: he was found to haue his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liuer was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither ſhrunke about the heart, ſo that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood iſſued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was ſomewhat periſhed, rough as if it had bene rubbed againſt a ſtone. Moreouer, becauſe one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and ſound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In ſuch ſort did the ſickneſſe continue and encreaſe, that there were not aboue three ſound men in the ſhips, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himſelfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were conſtrained to bury ſome of the dead vnder the ſnow, becauſe we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was ſo hard frozen, and we ſo weake. Beſides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceiue our weakeneſſe and miſerie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleaſed God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, ſome ſicke and ſome whole, whom when he ſaw out of the Fort, he would throw ſtones at them and chide them, faigning that ſo ſoone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with ſignes ſhewe the people of the countrey that hee cauſed all his men to worke and labour in the ſhips, ſome in calking them, ſome in beating of chalke, ſome in one thing, and ſome in another, and that he would not haue them come foorth till their worke was done. And to make his tale ſeeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole & ſound to make a great noyſe with knocking ſtickes, ſtones, hammers, and other things togither, at which time we were ſo oppreſſed and grieued with that ſickneſſe, that we had loſt all hope euer to ſee France againe, if God of his infinite goodneſſe and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vpon vs, and reuealed a ſingular and excellent remedie againſt all diſeaſes vnto vs, the beſt that euer was found vpon earth, as hereafter ſhall follow.

How long we ſtayed in the Port of the holy Croſſe amidſt the ſnow and yce, and how many died of the ſaid diſeaſe, from the beginning of it to the midſt of March.

Chap. 14.

FRom the midſt of Nouember vntill the midſt of March, we were kept in amidſt the yce aboue two fadomes thicke, and ſnow aboue foure foote high and more, higher then the ſides of our ſhips, which laſted till that time, in ſuch ſort, that all our drinkes were frozen in the Veſſels, and the yce through all the ſhips was aboue a hand-breadth thicke, as well aboue hatches as beneath, and ſo much of the riuer as was freſh, euen to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which ſpace there died fiue and twentie of our beſt and chiefeſt men, and all the reſt were ſo ſicke, that wee thought they ſhould neuer recouer againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleaſed God to caſt his pitifull eye vpon vs, and ſent vs the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recouerie, in ſuch maner as in the next Chapter ſhall be ſhewed.

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recouered our health: and the maner how to vſe it.

Chap. 15.

OUr Captaine conſidering our eſtate (and how that ſickneſſe was increaſed and hot amongſt vs)one day went foorth of the Forte, and walking vpon the yce, hee ſaw a troupe of thoſe Countreymen comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not paſſing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very ſicke with that diſeaſe, and had his knees ſwolne as bigge as a child of two yeres old, all his ſinews ſhrunke together, his teeth ſpoyled, his gummes rotten, and ſtinking. Our Captaine ſeeing him whole and ſound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderſtand and know of him how he had healed himſelfe, to the end he might eaſe and help his men. So ſoone as they were come neere him, he aſked Domagaia how he had done to heale himſelfe: he anſwered, that he had taken the iuice and ſappe of the leaues of a certaine Tree, and therewith had healed himſelfe: For it was a ſingular remedy againſt that diſeaſe. Then our Captaine aſked of him if any were to be had thereabout, deſiring him to ſhew him, for to heale a ſeruant of his, who whileſt he was in Canada with Donnacona, was ſtriken with that diſeaſe: That he did becauſe he would not ſhew the number of his ſicke men. Domagaia ſtraight ſent two women to fetch ſome of it, which brought ten or twelue branches of it, and therewithall ſhewed the way how to vſe it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaues of the ſayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the ſayd decoction euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is ſicke: moreouer, they told vs, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other diſeaſe: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Saſſafras tree. Our Captain preſently cauſed ſome of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durſt taſt of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to taſt & proue it: the other ſeeing that did the like, and preſently recouered their health, and were deliuered of that ſickenes, & what other diſeaſe ſoeuer, in ſuch ſorte, that there were ſome had bene diſeaſed and troubled with the French Pockes foure or fiue yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proued to be true, there was ſuch ſtrife about it, who ſhould be firſt to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, ſo that a tree as big as any Oake in France was ſpoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in fiue or ſixe daies, and it wrought ſo wel, that if all the phiſicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not haue done ſo much in one yere, as that tree did in ſixe dayes, for it did ſo preuaile, that as many as vſed of it, by the grace of God recouered their health.

A perfect remedy againſt the French Pocks.

How the lord *Donnacona* accompanied with *Taignoagny* and diuers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to ſee before.

Chap. 16.

WHile that diſeaſe laſted in our ſhips, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Aiouneſta, and Aſquenoudo, becauſe the yce and ſnow was not ſo broken along the riuer that they could ſayle: it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would ſtay out but a fortnight, & we beleeued it, but they ſtayed aboue two moneths, which made vs miſtruſt that they had bene gone to raiſe the countrey to come againſt vs, and do vs ſome diſpleaſure, we ſeeing our ſelues ſo weake & faint. Albeit we had vſed ſuch diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could haue done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whileſt they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ſhips, and brought vs freſh meat, as Stags, Deere, fiſhes, with diuers other things, but held them at ſuch an exceſſiue price, that rather then they would ſell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, becauſe that yere the Winter was very long, and they had ſome ſcarcity and neede of them.

A long winter

How *Donnacona* came to *Stadacona* againe with a great number of people, and becauſe he would not come to viſit our Captaine, fained himſelfe to be ſore ſicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come ſee him.

Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the ſhore ſide, accompanied with diuers luſty and ſtrong men, ſuch as we were not wont to ſee, and tolde vs that their lord

Donnacona would the next day come and ſee vs, and bring great ſtore of Deeres fleſh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cauſe wee knew not, but (as the prouerb ſayth) he that takes heede and ſhields himſelfe from all men, may hap to ſcape from ſome: for we had need to looke about vs, conſidering how in number we were diminiſhed, and in ſtrength greatly weakned, both by reaſon of our ſickneſſe and alſo of the number that were dead, ſo that we were conſtrained to leaue one of our ſhips in the Port of the Holy Croſſe. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durſt not paſſe the riuer that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we miſtruſted ſome treaſon. Our Captaine ſeeing this, ſent one of his ſeruants to them, accompanied with Iohn Poulet being beſt beloued of thoſe people, to ſee who were there, and what they did. The ſayd Poulet & the other fained themſelues onely to be come to viſit Donnacona, & bring him certaine preſents, becauſe they had beene together a good while in the ſayd Donnaconas Towne. So ſoone as he heard of their comming, he got himſelfe to bed, faining to bee very ſicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his houſe to ſee him, and whereſoeuer they went, they ſaw ſo many people, that in a maner one could not ſtirre for another, and ſuch men as they were neuer wont to ſee. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houſes, but ſtill kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ſhips, and tolde them that if it would pleaſe our captaine to ſhew him ſo much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whoſe name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued ſome diſpleaſure, and carie him with him into France, he ſhould therefore for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatſoeuer hee would command him, and bade the ſeruant come againe the next day, and bring an anſwere. Our Captain being aduertiſed of ſo many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purpoſed to play a prettie prancke, that is to ſay, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and ſome more of the chiefeſt of them priſoners, in ſo much as before hee had purpoſed, to bring them into France, to ſhew vnto our King what he had ſeene in thoſe Weſterne parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themſelues with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Morequer he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other ſtrange people. The ſayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceaſed from trauailing into ſtrange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The ſayd Poulet, and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embaſſage, and ſhewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he ſent his ſeruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and ſee him, and ſhewe what hee ſhould, for he ſhould be very well entertained, and alſo part of his will ſhould be accompliſhed. Taignoagny ſent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had ſo offended him, which hee did not, but ſtayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our ſhippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would haue ſlaine them, ſo that then wee plainely perceiued their knauery.

Rubies, Gold, and wollen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians

The towne of Sidatin.

But becauſe they vnderſtood, that thoſe of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forſaken the bottome of a ſhip which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and moſt of them without difficulty did paſſe from one ſide of the riuer to the other with ſmall Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer: Taignoagny, and Domagaia ſtood talking together aboue an houre before they would come ouer, at laſt they came to ſpeake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cauſe the foreſayd man to be taken and caried into France, Our Captaine refuſed to doe it, ſaying, that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leaue him in an Iſland. Our Captaine ſpake this, onely to aſſure them, that they ſhould bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other ſide: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee ſhould neuer returne into France againe, and therefore promiſed to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Croſſe, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine cauſed a Croſſe to be ſet vp in our Forte: and how the Lord *Donnacona*, *Taignoagny*, *Domagaia*, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the ſayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

The third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the ſolemnitie of the day, cauſed a goodly fayre croſſe of 35 foote in height to bee ſet vp, vnder the croſſet of which hee cauſed a ſhield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was written in antique letters, *Franciſcus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat.* And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women, and children, who told vs that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, & being come neere our ſhips, our Captaine went to ſalute Donnacona, who alſo ſhewed him a mery countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were ſtill bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he ſhould not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, & kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ſhips to eate & drinke as hee was wont to do, and alſo Taignoagny, who promiſed, that after a while he would come, and ſo they did, & entred into our ſhips: but firſt it was told our Captain by Domagaia, that Taignoagny had ſpoken ill of him, & that he had bid Donnacona hee ſhould not come aboord our ſhips. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and ſaw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men ſtayed in great number, wherefore ye ſtraight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, & two more of the chiefeſt whom he pointed vnto: then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Preſently after, the ſaid lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by & by Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine ſeeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whoſe crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the ſayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians ſeeing their Lord taken, began to run away, euen as ſheepe before the woolfe, ſome croſſing ouer the riuer, ſome through the woods, each one ſeeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our ſelues, and laid vp the priſoners vnder good guard and ſafety.

Donnacona, Taignoagny, & Domagaia take.

How the ſaid Canadians the night following came before our ſhips to ſeeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues: of the talke and concluſion they agreed vpon the next day: and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

The night following they came before our ſhips, (the riuer being betwixt vs) ſtriking their breaſts, and crying and howling like woolues, ſtill calling Agouhanna, thinking to ſpeake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made ſignes vnto vs, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluſter, as euer we ſaw, who went to hide themſelues in the Foreſt, except ſome, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to ſpeake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought vp on high to ſpeake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had ſpoken, and ſhewed vnto the King of France what hee had ſeene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelue moneths, he ſhould returne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great rewards, whereat Donnacona was very glad, and ſpeaking to the others, told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cryes, and then Donnacona and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be deſcribed. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee ſhould cauſe them to come to the other ſide of the riuer, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, & that he ſhould aſſure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefeſt of them to the ſhips, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praiſe to our captaine, and gaue him a preſent of foure and twenty chaines of Eſurgny, for that is the greateſt and precious eſt riches they haue in this world, for they eſteeme more of that, then of any gold or ſiluer. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord ſawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him ſome victuals to ſerue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue Donnacona, as a great preſent, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other ſmall trifles, as Kniues, and Beades, whereof hee ſeemed to be very glad, who ſent

Foure and twenty chains of Eſurgny.

them to his wiues and children. Likewiſe, he gaue to them that came to ſpeake with Donacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the ſayd people came againe to ſpeake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the ſhore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

VPon the fifth of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the ſayd people came againe to ſpeake vnto their Lord, and ſent a Boate, which in their tongue they call Caſnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men ſhould be retained.

Theſe women brought great ſtore of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they liue withall, fleſh, fiſh, and other things after their faſhion.

Theſe women being come to our ſhippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell thoſe women that hee ſhould come againe after ten or twelue moneths, and bring Donnacona to Canada with him: this hee ſayd onely to appeaſe them, which our captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as ſignes, ſeemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would giue him many things: in ſigne whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of Eſurgny, and then paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer againe, where ſtood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the ſixt of the moneth, we departed out of the ſayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to harborough a little beneath the Iſland of Orleans, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Croſſe, and vpon Sonday we came to the Iſland of Filberds, where wee ſtayed vntill the ſixteenth of that moneth, till the fierceneſſe of the waters were paſt, which at that time ranne too ſwift a courſe, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuer, and therefore we ſtayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Donnaconas ſubiects came from the riuer of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia aduertiſed, that their Lord was taken to bee caryed into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ſhips, to ſpeake to Donnacona, who told them that after twelue moneths he ſhould come againe, and that he was very well vſed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of Beauers, and ſea Woolues ſkinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gaue alſo to our Captaine a chayne of Eſurgny, for which our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue Hatchets, and they gaue him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the ſixteenth of May, we hoyſed ſayle, and came from the ſaid Iſland of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about fiue leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take ſome reſt the night following, we ſtayed that day, in hope the next day we might paſſe and auoide the dangers of the riuer of Saguenay, which are great. That euening we went aland and found great ſtore of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it The Iſland of Hares: in the night there aroſe a contrary winde, with ſuch ſtormes and tempeſt, that wee were conſtrained to returne to The Iſland of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, becauſe there was none other paſſage among the ſayde Iſlandes, and there we ſtayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather end good winde came againe: and then wee ſayled againe, and that ſo proſperouſly, that wee paſſed to Honguedo, which paſſage vntill that time had not bene diſcouered: wee cauſed our ſhips to courſe athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and becauſe the winde was good and conuenient, we ſayled all day and all night without ſtaying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Iſland, which we were not minded to doe, to the end wee might ſhorten our way. Theſe two lands lie Northweſt, and Southeaſt, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The ſayd Iſland is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Vpon Thurſday being the twenty ſixe of the moneth, and the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, we coaſted ouer to a land and ſhallow of lowe ſandes, which are about eight leagues Southweſt from Brions Iſland, aboue which are large Champaines, full of trees and alſo an encloſed ſea, whereas we could neither ſee, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, becauſe the wind did change on the coaſt, we came to Brions Iſland againe, where wee ſtayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeaſt of this Iſland, wee ſawe a lande, ſeeming vnto vs as an Iſland, we coaſted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice

The Iſle of Orleans.
Iſle de Coudres.

A knife of red coper brought from Saguenay.

The Iſle of Hares

The Iſle of Brion.

notice of three other high Iſlands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen theſe things we returned to the Cape of the ſayd land, which doeth deuide it ſelfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the ſea runneth ſo ſwift, that it cannot poſſibly be ſwifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty ſeuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it ſeemeth that there is ſome entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue theſe lands we ſaw another cape toward the South, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of June, and Whitſonday, wee had notice of the coaſte lying Eaſtſoutheaſt, diſtant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and becauſe the wind was againſt vs, wee went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we ſtayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, ſayling along that coaſt vntill wee came to Saint Peters Iſlands. Wee found along the ſayd coaſt many very dangerous Iſlands and ſhelues, which lye all in the way Eaſtſoutheaſt and Weſtnorthweſt, about three and twenty leagues into the ſea. Whileſt we were in the ſayd Saint Peters Iſlands we met with many ſhips of France and of Britaine, wee ſtayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntil the ſixteenth that we departed thence & came to Cape Raſe, and entred into a Port called Rognoſo, where wee tooke in freſh water, and wood to paſſe the ſea: there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of June, we went from that Port, and with ſuch good and proſperous weather we ſailed along the ſea, in ſuch ſorte, that vpon the ſixt of July 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Nauigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlaſting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of *Hochelaga* and *Canada*, of vs called *New France*: But firſt the names of their numbers.

Secada	1	*Indahir*	6
Tigneni	2	*Aiaga*	7
Hiſche	3	*Addigue*	8
Hannaion	4	*Madellon*	9
Oniſcon	5	*Aſſens*	10

Here follow the names of the chiefeſt partes of man, and other words neceſſary to be knowen.

the Head	*aggonzi*	a Womans member	*caſtaigne*
the Browe	*hegueniaſcon*	an Eele	*eſgueny*
the Eyes	*higata*	a Snaile	*vndeguezi*
the Eares	*ahontaſcon*	a Tortois	*heuleuxima*
the Mouth	*eſahe*	Woods	*conda*
the Teeth	*eſgongay*	leaues of Trees	*hoga*
the Tongue	*oſnache*	God	*endragny*
the Throate	*agonhon*	giue me ſome drink	*quazahoaquea*
the Beard	*hebelim*	giue me to breakfaſt	*quaſo hoa quaſcahoa*
the Face	*hegouaſcon*	giue me my ſupper	*quaza hoa quatfrian*
the Haires	*aganiſcon*	let vs goe to bed	*caſigno agnydahoa*
the Armes	*aiayaſcon*	a Man	*aguehum*
the Flanckes	*aiſſonne*	a woman	*agruaſte*
the Stomacke	*aggruaſcon*	a Boy	*addegeſta*
the Bellie	*eſchehenda*	a Wench	*agniaqueſta*
the Thighes	*hetnegradaſcon*	a Child	*exiaſta*
the Knees	*agochinegodaſcon*	a Gowne	*cabata*
the Legges	*agouguenehonde*	a Dublet	*caioza*
the Feete	*onchidaſcon*	Hoſen	*hemondoha*
the Hands	*aignoaſcon*	Shooes	*atha*
the Fingers	*agenoga*	a Shirt	*amgoua*
the Nailes	*igedaſcon*	a Cappe	*caſtrua*
a Mans member	*ainoaſcon*	Corne	*oſizi*

Bread	*carraconny*	giue me a knife	*buazahca agobeda*
Water	*ame*	a Hatchet	*adogne*
Fleſh	*quahonaſcon*	a Bow	*ahenca*
Reiſins	*queion*	a Darte	*quahetan*
Damſons	*honneſta*	let vs goe a hunting	*Caſigno donnaſcat*
Figges	*abſconda*	a Stagge	*aionneſta*
Grapes	*ozoba*	a Sheepe	*aſquenondo*
Nuttes	*quahoya*	a Hare	*Sourhanda*
a Hen	*ſahomgahoa*	a Dogge	*agaya*
a Lamprey	*ziſto*	a Towne	*canada*
a Salmon	*ondacon*	the Sea	*agogaſy*
a Whale	*ainne honne*	the waues of the ſea	*coda*
a Gooſe	*ſadeguenda*	an Iſland	*cohena*
a Streete	*adde*	an Hill	*agacha*
Cucumber ſeede	*caſconda*	the yce	*honneſca*
to Morrowe	*achide*	Snow	*camſa*
the Heauen	*quenhia*	Colde	*athau*
the Earth	*damga*	Hotte	*odazani*
the Sunne	*yſmay*	Fier	*aziſta*
the Moone	*aſſomaha*	Smoke	*quea*
the Starres	*ſtagnehoham*	a Houſe	*canoca*
the Winde	*cohoha*	Beanes	*ſahe*
good morrow	*aignag*	Cinnamom	*adhotathny*
let vs go to play	*caſigno candy*	my Father	*addathy*
come & ſpeak with	*aſſigniquaddadia*	my Mother	*adanahoe*
looke vpon me (me	*quagathoma*	my Brother	*addagrim*
hold your peace	*aiſta*	my Siſter	*adhoaſſene*
let vs go with ỹ boat	*caſigno caſnouy*		

They of Canada ſay, that it is a moneths ſayling to goe to a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers diſcouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

The third voyage of diſcouery made by Captaine *Iaques Cartier*, 1540. vnto the Countreys of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, and *Saguenay*.

KIng Francis the firſt hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of diſcouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and ſeene in the Weſterne partes diſcouered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and hauing alſo ſeene and talked with the people, which the ſayd Cartier had brought out of thoſe Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whoſe name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne deſire and requeſt, and died in the ſayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maieſtie was aduertized by the ſayd Cartier of the death and deceaſe of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) ſauing one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he reſolued to ſend the ſayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with Iohn Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberual, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouernour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the ſayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the ſhippes, that they might diſcouer more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were poſſible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King cauſed a certaine ſumme of money to be deliuered to furniſh out the ſayd voyage with fiue ſhippes: which thing was perfourmed by the ſayd Monſieur Roberual and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the ſayd fiue ſhips at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two former voyages had beene prepared

Ten Sauages brought into France.

Iohn Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberual.

Great riches & very good ſoile in Saguenay, which is beyond ỹ ſaults.

prepared and ſet forth. And the ſaid Monſieur Roberual ſent Cartier thither for the ſame purpoſe. And after that Cartier had cauſed the ſaid fiue ſhips to bee built and furniſhed and ſet in good order, Monſieur Roberual came downe to S.Malo and found the ſhips fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acroſſe full ready to depart and ſet ſaile, ſtaying for nothing elſe but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And becauſe Monſieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things neceſſary come downe, which he had prouided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and becauſe the ſaid things were very neceſſary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S.Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ſhip or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the ſaid Cartier ſhoulde depart with the fiue ſhippes which he had furniſhed, and ſhould goe before. Conſidering alſo that the ſaid Catier had receiued letters from the king, whereby hee did expreſly charge him to depart and ſet ſayle immediatly vpon the ſight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his diſpleaſure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the concluſion of theſe things, and the ſaid Monſieur Roberual had taken muſter and view of the gentlemen, ſouldiers, and mariners which were retained and choſen for the performance of the ſayd voyage, hee gaue vnto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouerne all things as if he had bene there in perſon: and himſelfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After theſe things thus diſpatched, the winde comming faire, the foreſayd fiue ſhips ſet ſayle together well furniſhed and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we ſailed ſo long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reaſon of our late departure, that wee were on the ſea with our ſayd fiue ſhips full three moneths before wee could arriue at the Port and Hauen of Canada, without euer hauing in all that time 30. houres of good wind to ſerue vs to keepe our right courſe: ſo that our fiue ſhippes through thoſe ſtormes loſt company one of another, all ſaue two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Vicount of Beaupre, vntill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Hauen of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in paſſing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cauſe that we ſtood in great neede of water, becauſe of the cattell, aſwell Goates, Hogges, as other beaſtes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were conſtrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore becauſe we were the ſpace of three moneths in ſayling on the ſea, and ſtaying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monſieur Roberual, and taking in of freſh water and other things neceſſary, wee arriued not before the Hauen of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) vntill the 23. day of Auguſt. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our ſhippes, making ſhew of ioy for our arriuall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and gouernment of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France: And hee came to the Captaines ſhip with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the ſayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the reſt were, the Captaine anſwered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body reſted in the earth, and that the reſt ſtayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the ſaid Agona made no ſhewe of anger at all theſe ſpeeches: and I thinke he tooke it ſo well becauſe he remained Lord and Gouernour of the countrey by the death of the ſaid Donacona. After which conference the ſaid Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow ſkin edged about with Eſnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they eſteeme moſt precious, as wee eſteeme gold) which was vpon his head in ſtead of a crowne, and he put the ſame on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wriſts two bracelets of Eſnoguy, and put them vpon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke and ſhewing vnto him great ſignes of ioy: which was all diſſimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his ſaid crowne of leather and put it againe vpon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine ſmal preſents, ſignifying vnto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would beſtow vpon him: for which the ſayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the ſhore with their boates. After which things the ſayd Captaine went with two of his boates vp the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Hauen and a ſmall riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ſhips, then the former. And therefore he returned and cauſed all his ſhips to be brought before the ſayd riuer, and at a lowe water he cauſed his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ſhips in more ſaftie, which he meant to keepe and ſtay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following,

The kings letters to Catier.

23. of May, 1540.

The great miſchiefe of leeſing the ſeaſon.

Carpont Hauen.

Tranſporting of diuers ſorts of cattell for breed.

The 23 of Auguſt.

The new king of Canada.

Great diſſimulation of a Sauage.

A good roade 4. leagues aboue Saincte Croix.

and the reſt remayned in the roade in the middeſt of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were diſcharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of Auguſt vntill the ſecond of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ſhips he ſent backe Mace Iolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his Nephew, ſkilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertiſe him what had bene done and found: and how Monſieur de Roberual was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occaſion of contrary winds and tempeſts he was driuen backe againe into France.

The deſcription of the aforeſaid Riuer and Hauen.

The ſayd Riuer is ſmall, not paſt 50. paſes broad, and ſhippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full ſea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both ſides of the ſaid Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers ſorts, which are aboue tenne fathoms higher then the reſt, and there is one kind of tree aboue three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the moſt excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreouer there are great ſtore of Okes the moſt excellent that euer I ſaw in my life, which were ſo laden with Maſt that they cracked againe: beſides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood on the South ſide the ground is all couered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not ſo kind as thoſe of France becauſe the Vines bee not tilled, and becauſe they grow of their owne accord. Moreuer there are many white Thornes, which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Medlers. To bee ſhort, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man ſhould find or deſire. We ſowed ſeedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naueaus, Lettiſes and others, which grew and ſprung vp out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like vnto a ſnake: and at the mouth of it toward the Eaſt there is a high and ſteepe cliffe, where we made a way in maner of a payre of ſtaires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ſhips, and all things that might paſſe aſwell by the great as by this ſmall riuer. Moreouer a man may behold a great extenſion of ground apt for tillage, ſtraite and handſome and ſomewhat enclining toward the South, as eaſie to be brought to tillage as I would deſire, and very well repleniſhed with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forreſts of France. Here wee ſet twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the ſaid ground, and ſowed it part with Naueaus or ſmall Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I ſaid before, ſprang out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the ſayd Fort: adioyning whereunto we found good ſtore of ſtones, which we eſteemed to be Diamants. On the other ſide of the ſaid mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Myne of the beſt yron in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the ſand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters ſide we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Weſtward of the ſaid Riuer there are, as hath bene ſayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly graſſe as euer I ſawe in any Medowe in France: and betweene the ſayd Medow and the Wood are great ſtore of Vines: and beyond the ſaid Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it ſelfe, which is as good as poſſibly may be ſeene, and as ſtrong. And at the ende of the ſayd Medow within an hundred paſes there is a riſing ground, which is of a kind of ſlate ſtone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which ſhewe like gold and ſiluer: and throughout all that ſtone there are great graines of the ſayd Myne. And in ſome places we haue found ſtones like Diamants, the moſt faire, polliſhed and excellently cut that it is poſſible for a man to ſee, when the Sunne ſhineth vpon them, they gliſter as it were ſparkles of fire.

Trees aboue 3. fathoms about.

Hanneda the moſt excellent tree of the world.

Abundance of Vines full of grapes.

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed ſprong out of the ground within 8. dayes.

A great plaine of very good arable ground.

Diamants of Canada.

An yron Myne.

Leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans naile found in Canada.

Excellent and ſtrong hempe.

How after the departure of the two ſhippes which were ſent backe into *Britaine*, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to goe vp the great Riuer to diſcouer the paſſage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

The ſayd Captaine hauing diſpatched two ſhips to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preſeruation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Maſters, and Pilots choſen for counſayle, to make a voyage with two boates furniſhed with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpoſe to view and vnderſtand the faſhion of the Saults of water, which are to be paſſed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the ſpring to paſſe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readineſſe for their buſineſſe. The foreſaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the ſayd place of Charlesburg Royal the ſeuenth day of September in the yeere aforeſayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre ſtayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went vp the riuer, the Captaine went to ſee the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the ſaid Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treaſons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought againſt him. In regard of which his curteſie the ſaid Captaine would not paſſe by without viſiting of him, and to let him vnderſtand that the Captaine thought himſelfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and beſtowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was ſet with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and ſmall belles. And withall hee gaue him two Baſins of Laton, and certaine hatchets and kniues: whereat the ſayde Lord ſeemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee ſailed with ſo proſperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of the moneth at the firſt Sault of water, which is two leagues diſtant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and paſſe as farre vp as it was poſſible with one of the boates, and that the other ſhould ſtay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe vp againſt the courſe or ſtreame of the ſayde Sault. And after wee had paſſed ſome part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and ſo great a current, that wee could not poſſibly paſſe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine reſolued to goe by land to ſee the nature and faſhion of the Sault. And after that we were come on ſhore, wee founde hard by the water ſide a way and beaten path going toward the ſayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the ſayd way, and ſoone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had ſignified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee deſired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with vs to ſhewe vs the way, and they brought vs ſo farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer againſt the ſecond Sault, which came and brought vs of their victuals, as Pottage and Fiſh, and offered vs of the ſame. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by ſignes as wordes, how many more Saults wee had to paſſe to goe to Saguenay, and what diſtance and way it was thither, this people ſhewed vs and gaue vs to vnderſtand, that wee were at the ſecond Sault, and that there was but one more to paſſe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the ſayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, ſhewing vs the ſame with certaine little ſtickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine diſtance, and afterward layde other ſmall branches betweene both, repreſenting the Saults. And by the ſayde marke, if their ſaying be true, it can be but ſixe leagues by land to paſſe the ſayd Saults.

The Vicount of Beaupre and the reſt of their councell.

The rich countrey of Saguenay ſituated beyond the Saults which are in 44. deg.

They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September.

The Towne of Tutonaguy.

Bad ground, and a great current.

A Towne of friendly people.

Another village of good people which dwell ouer againſt the ſecond Sault.

They were at the ſecond Sault.

The riuer not nauigable to paſſe to Saguenay.

Here after followeth the figure of the three *Saults*.

After that we had bene aduertiſed by the ſayde people, of the things abouementioned, both becauſe the day was farre ſpent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the ſame day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great ſtore of people to the number of 400. perſons or thereabout, which ſeemed to giue vs very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gaue eche of them certaine ſmall trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other ſmal toyes, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his litle hatchet & hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man muſt not truſt them for all their faire ceremonies and ſignes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too ſtrong for vs, then would they haue done their beſt to haue killed vs, as we vnderſtood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and paſſed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came vp the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body ſaue one of his ſonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee

400 perſons about their boates.

Like thoſe of new Albion.

The Sauages are great diſſemblers.

was

Maiſouna.

The Sauages conſpire together againſt the French.

A very great number of Sauages aſſembled together.

was gone to Maiſouna, as our boyes alſo told vs, ſaying, that it was two dayes ſince he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Agona, what they ſhould doe againſt vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderſtoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accuſtomed, to bring vs fiſh, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertiſed by ſome of our men which had bene at Stadacona to viſite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people aſſembled together, cauſed all things in our fortreſſe to bee ſet in good order: &c.

The reſt is wanting.

A letter written to M. *Iohn Growte* ſtudent in *Paris*, by *Iaques Noel* of S. *Malo*, the nephew of *Iaques Cartier*, touching the foreſaid diſcouery.

The Saults are in 44. deg. and eaſie to paſſe.

But 5. leagues iourney to paſſe the 3. Saults.

Ten dayes iourney from the Saults to this great Lake.

Maſter Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter ſhewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an Engliſh Gentleman: wherein all the Weſt Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is deſcribed in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaques Cartier: and that the ſayd Chart doth not marke or ſet downe The great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertiſed vs, which dwell at the ſayd Saults. In the foreſayd Chart which you ſent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Saults or falles of the Riuer ſtand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not ſo hard a matter to paſſe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing elſe but that in the middeſt of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were beſt to build boates aboue the Saults: and it is eaſie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not aboue fiue leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue ſeene the ſayd Riuer beyond the ſayd Saultes, which ſhewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we paſſed it. The people of the Countrey aduertiſed vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this preſent I cannot write vnto you more at large, becauſe the meſſenger can ſtay no longer. Here therefore for the preſent I will ende, ſaluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts deſire. From S. Malo in haſte this 19 day of Iune. 1587.

Your louing Friend, IAQVES NOEL.

COſin, I pray you doe me ſo much pleaſure as to ſend mee a booke of the diſcouery of New Mexico, and one of thoſe new Mappes of the Weſt Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the Engliſh Gentleman, which you ſent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my ſelfe, if there be any meane to find out thoſe deſcriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two laſt voyages into Canada.

Vnderneath the aforeſaid vnperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter ſent to M. *Iohn Growte* ſtudent in *Paris* from *Iaques Noel* of *S. Malo*, the grand nephew of *Iaques Cartier*.

The Saults are in the latitude of 44. deg.

I Can write nothing elſe vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my vncle diſceaſed, although I haue made ſearch in all places that I could poſſibly in this Towne: ſauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a ſea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my ſaid vncle, which is in the poſſeſſion of maſter Cremeur: which booke is paſſing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well aſſured, becauſe I my ſelfe haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the ſayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midſt of both the branches of the ſaid riuer ſomewhat neereſt that arme which runneth toward the Northweſt, theſe words following written in the hand of Iaques Cartier.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was ſaid, That here is the land of *Saguenay*, which is rich and wealthy in precious ſtones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the ſame I found written theſe two lines following in the ſaid Carde enclining toward the Southweſt. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language *Canodeta*.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I ſpake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a ſea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two ſonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this preſent are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertiſe you thereof.

Your louing Friend, IAQVES NOEL.

Here followeth the courſe from *Belle Iſle*, *Carpont*, and the *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland* vp the Riuer of *Canada* for the ſpace of 230. leagues, obſerued by *Iohn Alphonſe* of *Xanctoigne* chiefe Pilote to *Monſieur Roberual*. 1542.

BElles Iſles are in 51 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. Belles Iſles and Carpont are Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, and they are ten leagues diſtant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Iſle from the Grand Bay are Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance from Bell Iſle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midſt of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northſide thereof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Iſle, ouer againſt Carpont toward the Eaſt there is a ſmall flat Iſland, and on the ſide toward the Northeaſt there is a flat rocke. And when thou commeſt out of the harborough of Carpont thou muſt leaue this rocke on the ſtarreboord ſide, and alſo on the larboord ſide there are two or three ſmall Iſles: and when thou commeſt out on the Northeaſt ſide, ranging along the ſhore toward the Weſt about two pikes length in the midway there is a ſhold which lieth on thy ſtarboord ſide: and ſaile thou by the North coaſt, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; becauſe there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the ſea. And when thou art come athwart the hauen of Butes, run along the North ſhore about one league or an halfe off, for the coaſt is without all danger: Bell Iſle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Iſles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North ſhore lie Northeaſt, Weſt and Southweſt, & the diſtance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer againſt the Bay des Chaſteaux: and from thence forward it hath not paſt 5 leagues in breadth. And againſt Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South ſhore is all low land along the ſea coaſt. The North ſhore is reaſonable high land. Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$. The Iſles of Blanc Sablon & the Iſles de la Damoiſelle, are Northeaſt, Weſtſouthweſt, and take a little of the Weſtſouthweſt, and they are diſtant 36 leagues: theſe Iles are in 50. deg. $\frac{3}{4}$. And there is a good hauen: & you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeaſt, and within the diſtance of a pike & an half, becauſe of a rocke which lieth on your larreboord ſide, & you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer againſt a litle nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doeſt ancre there is not aboue the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldeſt go out by the Weſt ſide, thou muſt ſaile neere the Iſle by the ſtarreboord, & giue roome vnto the Iſle on the larboord at the comming forth: and when thou art not paſt a cables length out thou muſt ſaile hard by the Iſles on the larboord ſide, by reaſon of a ſuncken flatte which lieth on the ſtarreboord, and thou ſhalt ſaile ſo on to the Southſouthweſt, vntill thou come in ſight of a rocke which ſhineth, which is about halfe a league in the ſea diſtant from the Iſles, and thou ſhalt leaue it on the larreboord: (and from the Iſles of Damoiſelle vnto New foundland the ſea is not in breadth aboue 36. leagues, becauſe that Newfoundland euen vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheaſt & Southſouthweſt.) Betweene the Iſles de la Damoiſelle and the Iſles of Blanck Sablon there be many Iſles and good harbours: and on this coaſt there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which ſeeme to be feaſants. The Iſles de la Damoiſelle & Cape Tienot are Northeaſt & Weſtſouthweſt & take a little of the Northeaſt and ſouthweſt, & they are diſtant 18. leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and $\frac{1}{4}$. And there the ſea is broadeſt. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greateſt breadth of this ſea. And there are 6 or 7 Iſles betweene the Iſles de la Damoiſelle & Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in yͤ ſea 5 or 6 leagues diſtant frō it a ſunkē Iland dangerous for ſhips. The Cape Tienot and the midſt of the Iſle of Aſcenſion are Northeaſt and ſouthſouthweſt, & they are 22. leagues diſtant, the midſt of the Iſle of Aſcenſion is in 49 deg. & $\frac{1}{2}$. The ſaid Iſle lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt. the Northweſt end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeaſt end is in 48. degrees and a halfe. and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5.

Belle Iſle.

Carpont in 52 degrees.

The Grand Bay in 52. and an halfe.

A flatte rocke.

Butes.

The Iſle of Blanc Sablon or white ſand.

The ſeuerall breadths of the Grand Bay.

Blanc Sablon in 51. deg. 2. third parts.

The Iſles de la Damoiſelle in 50 deg. 3. fourth parts.

Many Iſles & good harbors.

Cape Tienot in 50 deg. one fourth part.

The Iſle Aſcenſion, Aſſumption by Natiſcotec.

leagues broad: and from the Northweſt end of the Iſle vnto the firme land of the North ſide the Sea is not aboue ſeuen leagues broad, but vnto the firme land on the South ſide are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of tho Iſle of Aſcention toward the Southeaſt are Northeaſt and Southweſt, and are diſtant 30. leagues. The ſaid Cape of Tienot and the Northweſt end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion are Eaſt and Weſt, and take a little of the Northeaſt and Southweſt, and they are diſtant 34. leagues. The Iſle of Aſcenſion is a goodly Iſle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, ſtanding all vpon white rocks and Alablaſter, all couered with trees vnto the Sea ſhore, and there are al ſorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beaſts, as beares, Luſerns, Porkeſpicks. And from the Southeaſt end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion vnto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northweſt end of the Iſle & the Cape des Monts noſtre Dame, which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeaſt and Weſtſouthweſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion toward the Southeaſt are Eaſt and Weſt and there is 15. leagues diſtance betweene them. The Bay of Molues or Gaſpay is in 48. degrees, and the coaſt lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeaſt and Southweſt vnto the Bay of Heate: and there are 3. Iſles, one great one and two ſmal: from the Bay of Heate vntill you paſſe the Monts noſtre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, and it is a good Harbour: and you muſt ſaile along the ſhore on the Northſide by reaſon of the low point at the entrance thereof: and when you are paſſed the poynt bring your ſelfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South ſhore, and here within this Hauen are two riuers, one which goeth toward the Northweſt, and the other to the Southweſt. And on this coaſt there is great fiſhing for Coddes and other fiſh, where there is more ſtore then is in Newfoundland, and better fiſh. And here is great ſtore of riuer foule, as Malards, wild Geeſe, and others: And here are all ſorts of trees, Roſe trees, Raſpeſſes, Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France. The Iſle of Aſcenſion and the 7. Iſles which lie on the North ſhore lie Southeaſt and Weſtnorthweſt, and are diſtant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Iſles are Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, & are diſtant 35. leagues. The Cape of Monts noſtre Dame and the 7. Iſles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence vpward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Iſles are in 50. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. The 7. Iſles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeaſt and Southweſt and the diſtance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine ſmall Iſlands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Noſtre Dame, which are on the South ſide of the entrance of the riuer, are North and South: and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea. The poynt of Ongear and the riuer of Caen lie Eaſt and Weſt, and they are diſtant 12. leagues. And all the coaſt from the Iſle of Aſcenſion hither is very good ground, wherein growe all ſortes of trees that are in France and ſome fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. And the riuer of Caen and the Iſle of Raquelle lye Northeaſt and Southweſt, and they are diſtant 12. leagues. The Iſle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. In this riuer of Caen there is great ſtore of fiſh. And here the Sea is not paſt 8. leagues broad. The Iſle of Raquelle is a very low Iſle, which is neere vnto the South ſhore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ſhips may paſſe. And there is not from the Iſle to the South ſhore aboue one league, and from the Iſle vnto the North ſhore about foure leagues. The Iſle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeaſt Weſtſouthweſt, and are diſtant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two ſmall Iſlandes neere the North ſhore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$, and the entrance hath not paſt a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southweſt: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it ſeemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the ſame runneth into the Sea of Cathay, for it ſendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible raſe or tyde. And here the riuer from the North ſhore to the South ſhore is not paſt foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous paſſage betweene both the lands, becauſe there lie bankes of rockes in the riuer. The Iſle of Raquelle and the Iſle of Hares lye Northeaſt and Southweſt, and take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Eaſt and the Weſt, and they are diſtant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Iſle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheaſt & Southſouthweſt, and are diſtant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Iſle of Raquelle are Northnorthweſt, and Southſouthweſt, and are diſtant three leagues. The Iſle of Hares is in 48. and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of Noſtre

The commendation of the Iſle of Aſcentiō.

From Cape Briton to the Southeaſt end of the Iſle of Aſcention is but 50 leagues.

The Cape of Monts noſtre Dame.

The Bay of Molues or Gaſpay.

The Bay de Chaleur or of Heate

The Bay of Ognedoc.

Greater ſtore and better fiſh then in Newfoundland.

Foules.

Trees.

The mouth of the riuer of Canada twenty fiue leagues broad.

The 7 Iſles in 50 degrees and a halfe.

The riuer is here but 10 leagues broad.

The point of Ongear in 49 degrees and a quarter.

The Iſle of Raquelle in 48 degrees and two third parts.

The riuer 8 leagues broad.

The entrance of Saguenay.

The ſea of Cathay.

The riuer not paſt 4 leagues ouer.

The Iſle of Hares in 48 and one ſixteenth part.

Noſtre Dame vnto Canada and vnto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coaſt is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all couered with trees vnto the brink of the riuer. And the land on the North ſide is higher, and in ſome places there are high mountaines. And from the Iſle of Hares vnto the Iſle of Orleans the riuer is not paſt 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Iſle of Hares and the high land on the North ſide the ſea is not paſt a league and an halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is aboue 100. fathoms deepe in the middeſt. To the Eaſt of the Iſle of Hares there are 2 or 3 ſmall Iſles and rockes. And from hence to the Iſle Des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Iſles and rockes on the South ſhore: and towards the North the ſea is fayre and deepe. The Iſle of Hares and the Iſle of Filbeards lie northeaſt, Weſt and Southweſt, and they are diſtant 12 leagues. And you muſt alwayes run along the high land on the north ſhore; for on the other ſhore there is nothing but rocks. And you muſt paſſe by the ſide of the Iſle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not paſt a quarter of a league broad, and you muſt ſayle in the middeſt of the chanel: and in the middeſt runneth the beſt paſſage either at an hie or a low water, becauſe the ſea runneth there ſtrongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The iſle of Filbeards is a ſmall iſle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of ſand. The iſle of Filberds ſtands in 47. deg. and $\frac{3}{4}$. The iſle of Filberds and the iſle of Orleans lie northeaſt and ſouthweſt, and they are diſtant 10 leagues, and thou muſt paſſe by the high land on the northſide about a quarter of a league, becauſe that in the midſt of the riuer there is nothing but ſholds and rocks. And when thou ſhalt bee ouer againſt a round Cape, thou muſt take ouer to the South ſhore ſouthweſt, and a quarter toward the South; and thou ſhalt ſayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee freſh, and the ſalt water endeth. And when thou ſhalt be athwart the point of the iſle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be freſh, thou ſhalt ſayle in the midſt of the riuer, and thou ſhalt leaue the iſle on the ſtarreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not paſt a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South ſhore there is a ledge of Iſles all couered with trees, and they end ouer againſt the point of the Iſle of Orleans. And the poynt of the iſle of Orleans toward the Northeaſt is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Iſle of Orleans is a fayre Iſle, all couered with trees euen vnto the riuers ſide: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North ſhore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Iſland: and Shippes may very well paſſe there. From the middeſt of the Iſle vnto Canada the Riuer runneth Weſt; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth Weſt Southweſt: and from the Weſt ende of the Iſle to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Iſle, thou ſhalt ſee a great Riuer which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyſe. The Fort of France-roy ſtands in 47 degrees, and one ſixt part of a degree.

Note

The iſle of Filbeards in 47 degrees and 3-quarters.

The begining of the freſh water.

The riuer but a quarter of a league broad.

The Iſle of Orleans in 47. degrees and one third part.

Canada 1 league to the Weſt of the Iſle of Orleans.

The Fort of France-Roy ſtood in 47 degrees and one ſixt part.

The extenſion of all theſe lands, vpon iuſt occaſion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the ſame latitude. And the reaſon wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, becauſe the freſh Riuer is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is alſo broad and deepe: and in ſome places it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And alſo becauſe the land is not tylled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cauſe of colde, becauſe there is not ſtore of fire nor cattel. And the ſunne hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southweſt at Rochel. And here the north ſtarre by the compaſſe ſtandeth North northeaſt. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre paſt nine at France-Roy. From the ſayde place vnto the Ocean ſea and the coaſt of New France, is not aboue 50 leagues diſtance. And from the entrance of Norumbega vnto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and vnto yͤ Iſle of Raſus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entreth into the riuer of Canada, and vnto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man come foorth of the Grande Bay is not aboue 230 leagues. And the courſe is Northeaſt and Weſt Southweſt not aboue 5 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$ difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hochelaga are ſtill better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that golde and ſiluer will be found here, according as the people of the countrey ſay. Theſe landes lye ouer againſt Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they ſtretch toward Aſia, according to the roundneſſe of the world. And therefore it were good to haue a ſmall Shippe of 70 tunnes to diſcouer the coaſt of New France on the backe ſide of Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I haue not ſearched the ende thereof, and I

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France.

A ſecond reaſon.

The variation of yͤ compaſſe.

From the fort of France Roy vnto yͤ mouth of the Grand Bay 230 leags.

Gold and ſiluer like to be found in Canada.

A Bay in 42. degrees giuing ſome hope of a paſſage.

knowe

Trees.
Redde plums.
Fowle.
Corne.
Wheate to be ſowen in March.
The cauſe of the oftẽ ſnowing in Canada.

knowe not whether it paſſe through. And in all theſe Countreys there are okes, and bortz, aſhes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines, pruſſetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, haſeltrees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummes, And very faire corne groweth there, and peaſon grow of their owne accord, gooſeberries and ſtrawberries. And there are goodly Forreſts, wherein men may hunt. And there are great ſtore of ſtagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Sauages ſay there bee Unicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as buſtards, wilde geeſe, cranes, turtle doues, rauens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are ſowen there, are not paſt 2. or 3. dayes in comming vp out of the ground. I haue tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to ſowe your Wheate vntill March, and it will be ripe in the middeſt of Auguſt. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and repleniſhed with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reaſon why it ſnoweth there oftener then in France is, becauſe it raineth there but ſeldome: for the raine is conuerted into ſnowes.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

Iohn Alphonſe made this Voyage with *Monſieur Roberual.*

There is a pardon to be ſeene for the pardoning of *Monſieur de Saine terre*, Lieutenant of the ſayd *Monſieur de Roberual*, giuen in *Canada* in the preſence of the ſayde *Iohn Alphonſe.*

The Voyage of *Iohn Francis de la Roche*, knight, Lord of *Roberual*, to the Countries of *Canada*, *Saguenai*, and *Hochelaga*, with three tall Ships, and two hundred perſons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the ſame ſummer, and all the next winter.

SIr Iohn Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furniſhed 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings coſt: And hauing in his fleete 200. perſons, aſwel men as women, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monſieur Saine-terre his lieutenãt, l'Eſpiney his Enſigne, captain Guinecourt, Monſieur Noire fontaine, Dieu lamont, Frote, la Broſſe, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and Iohn Alfonſe of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, ſet ſayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The ſame day about noone we came athwart of Cheſe de boys, where we were enforced to ſtay the night following. On Munday the ſeuenteenth of the ſayde Moneth wee departed from Cheſe deboys. The winde ſerued vs notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long ſpace: For wee were ſuddenly enforced to turne backe, and to ſeeke Harborough in Belle Iſle, on the coaſt of Bretaigne, where wee ſtayed ſo long, and had ſuch contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, vntill the ſeuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde ſeuenteene Shippes of fiſhers. While wee made ſomewhat long abode

Diamonts.
Golde found.

heere, Iaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was ſent with fiue ſayles the yeere before, arriued in the very ſame Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next enſuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Iaques Cartier ſtole away.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his ſmall company withſtand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cauſe of his returne into France. Neuertheleſſe, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furniſhed with ſufficient forces, commaunded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it ſeemeth with ambition, becauſe they would haue all the glory of the diſcouerie of thoſe partes themſelues, ſtole priuily away the next night from vs, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaigne.

Wee ſpent the greateſt part of Iune in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furniſhing our ſelues with freſh water, whereof wee ſtoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in compoſing and taking vp of a quarell betweene ſome of our Countreymen, and certaine Portugals. At length, about the laſt of the aforeſayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and paſſed by the Iſle of Aſcenſion: and finally arriued foure leagues Weſtward of the Iſle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our ſhipping, where wee caſt anchor, went a ſhoare with our people, and choſe out a conuenient place to fortifie our ſelues in, fitte to commaund the mayne Riuer, and of ſtrong ſituation againſt all inuaſion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of Iuly, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and prouiſions on ſhore, and began to trauaile in fortifying of our ſelues.

Iuly.

Of the Fort of *France-Roy*, and that which was done there.

HAuing deſcribed the beginning, the middeſt, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monſieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the Weſt partes: He ſayled ſo farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arriued in the ſayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred perſons, ſouldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture neceſſary for a Fleete. The ſayde Generall at his firſt arriuall built a fayre Fort, neere and ſomewhat Weſtward aboue Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, ſituated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre, and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houſes of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Milles, and a ſtoue to warme men in, and a Well before the houſe. And the buylding was ſituated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, called France prime, by Monſieur Roberual. There was alſo at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two ſtories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the firſt all our victuals, and whatſoeuer was brought with vs was ſent to be kept: and neere vnto that Towre there is another ſmall riuer. In theſe two places aboue and beneath, all the meaner ſort was lodged.

France prime.

And in the Moneth of Auguſt, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in ſuch worke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforeſayde Generall ſent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monſieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monſieur Guine-court, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yeere next enſuing, furniſhed with victuals and other things, as it ſhould pleaſe the King: and alſo to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were ſent him, and were found in this countrey.

August 1542.

September 14.

After theſe two Shippes were departed, conſideration was had how they ſhould doe, and how they might paſſe out the Winter in this place. Firſt they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out ſhort: and they were ſcantled ſo, that in eche meſſe they had but two loaues weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at ſupper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without butter.

The proportion of their victuals.

On the Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and ſometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porpoſes and beanes at ſupper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great ſtore of Aloſes, which is a fiſh ſomewhat redde like a Salmon, to get kniues and other ſmall trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell ſicke of a certaine diſeaſe in their legges, reynes, and ſtomacke, ſo that they ſeemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

Note that the yce began to breake vp in April.

The length of the winter.

Monſieur Roberual vſed very good iuſtice, and puniſhed euery man according to his offence. One whoſe name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept priſoner for his offence, and others alſo were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

They had women with them.

The maners of the Sauages.

TO declare vnto you the ſtate of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly ſtature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themſelues for feare of heat and ſunne burning.

Their apparell.

So haue they of Ceuola, and Quiuira, and Meta Incognita.

Their victuals.

They remoue from place to place.

Fiſh.

Beaſtes.

Fowle.

In ſtead of apparell, they weare ſkinnes vpon them like mantles; and they haue a ſmall payre of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, aſwell men as women. They haue hoſen and ſhooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no ſhirts: neither couer they their heads, but their hayre is truſſed vp aboue the crowne of their heads, and palyted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all vnſalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, aſwell fiſh as fleſh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may beſt finde foode, as Aloſes in one place, and other fiſh, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other freſh water fiſh, and ſtore of Porpoſes. They feede alſo of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkeſpynes, and ſtore of other wilde beaſtes. And there is as great ſtore of Fowle as they can deſire.

Their bread of great Myl or Maiz.

Drinke of Seale oyle at their great feaſts.

Their gouernment.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they liue very well; for they take care for nothing elſe.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feaſts.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him: and they doe him honour according vnto their maner and faſhion. And when they trauayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

The weomen nurſe their children with the breaſt, and they ſit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with ſkinnes of furre.

The voyage of *Monſieur Roberual* from his Fort in *Canada* vnto *Saguenay*, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

The 5. of Iune

The 6. of Iune.

MOnſieur Roberual the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the ſaid prouince of Saguenay on the Tueſday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after ſupper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the ſayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occaſion they lay in the Rode ouer againſt the place before mentioned: but on the Wedneſday about ſixe of the clocke in the morning they ſet ſayle, and ſayled againſt the ſtreame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, aſwell great as ſmall, and to the number of threeſcore and ten perſons, with the aforeſayd Generall.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforeſayde place and Fort thirtie perſons to remayne there vntill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the firſt of Iuly, or elſe they ſhould returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the ſayde thirtie perſons, and the furniture which was there, while hee ſtayed ſtill in the Countrey.

Monſieur de Royeze.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monſieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commiſſion, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the ſayd lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance vntill the ſayd firſt day of Iuly, were receiued by the ſayd Lieutenant Royeze.

The 14. of Iune.

On Thurſday the 14. of Iune Monſieur de l'Eſpiney, la Broſſe, Monſieur Frete, Monſieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and loſt, among whom was Monſieur de Noirefontaine, and one named la Vaſſeur of Conſtance.

The 19. of Iune.

Maiz.

The 22. of Iuly 1543.

On Tueſday the 19. of Iune aforeſayd, there came from the Generall, Monſieur de Villeneufue, Talebot, and three others, which brought ſixeſcore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to ſtay yet vntill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of Iuly.

The reſt of this Voyage is wanting.

THE VOYAGES AND NAVIGATIONS OF the Engliſh nation to *Virginia*, and the ſeuerall diſcoueries therof chiefly at the charges of the honourable *Sir Walter Ralegh* knight, from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude: together with the ſucceſſe of the Engliſh colonies there planted; as likewiſe a deſcription of the Countrey, with the Inhabitants, and the manifold commodities. Whereunto are annexed the Patents, letters, diſcourſes, &c. to this part belonging.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maieſtie to *M. VValter Ralegh* now Knight, for the diſcouering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the ſpace of 6. yeeres and no more.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhal come, greeting. Know ye that of our eſpecial grace, certaine ſcience, & meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors doe giue and grant to our truſty and welbeloued ſeruant Walter Ralegh Eſquire, and to his heires and aſſignes for euer, free liberty & licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to diſcouer, ſearch, finde out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian prince, nor inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him, his heires and aſſignes, and to euery or any of them ſhall ſeeme good, and the ſame to haue, holde, occupy & enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iuriſdictiõs, royalties, priuiledges, franchiſes and preeminences, thereto or therabouts both by ſea and land, whatſoeuer we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any perſon or perſons, bodies politique or corporate: and the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and all ſuch as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, ſhal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires & aſſignes, the ſtatutes or act of Parliament made againſt fugitiues, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other ſtatute, act, law, or any ordinance whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And we do likewiſe by theſe preſents, of our eſpecial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and leade in the ſayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, ſuch, and ſo many of our ſubiects as ſhall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom alſo we doe by theſe preſents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and alſo to haue, take and employ, and vſe ſufficient ſhipping and furniture for the tranſportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, ſo that none of the ſame perſons or any of them be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be reſtrained by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors.

And further that the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, ſhall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them for euer, all the ſoyle of all ſuch landes, territories, and Countreis, ſo to be diſcouered and poſſeſſed as aforeſayd, and of all ſuch Cities, Caſtles, Townes, Villages, and places in the ſame, with the right, royalties, franchiſes, and iuriſdictions, as well marine as other within the ſayd landes, or Countreis, or the ſeas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vſed, with full power to diſpoſe thereof, and of euery part in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the ſame conueniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleaſure, to any perſons then being, or that ſhall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors: reſeruing alwayes to vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, for all ſeruices, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and ſiluer, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing, ſhall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countries, and territories ſhall for euer be holden of the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, by homage, and by the ſayd payment of the ſayd fift part, reſerued onely for all ſeruices.

And moreouer, we do by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and grant licence to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulſe, repell and reſiſt aſwell by ſea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatſoeuer, all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoeuer, as without the eſpeciall liking and licence of the ſayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and aſſignes, ſhall attempt to inhabite within the ſayde Countreyes, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within ſuch Countreyes as aforeſayde (if they ſhall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforeſayd with the ſubiects of any Chriſtian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or aſſignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their aſſociats or company, ſhall within ſixe yeeres (next enſuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing, and graunting by theſe preſents further power and authoritie to the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery thoſe perſon or perſons, with their Shippes, Veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſayde Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or aſſignes, as aforeſayd, ſhalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforeſayd, (the ſubiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fiſhing as heretofore they haue commonly vſed, or being driuen by force of a tempeſt, or ſhipwracke onely excepted:) and thoſe perſons, and euery of them, with their ſhippes, veſſels, goods, and furniture to deteine and poſſeſſe as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of ſuch Countreyes, landes, and territories ſo to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to theſe enterpriſes: we doe by theſe preſents, graunt and declare that all ſuch Countries, ſo hereafter to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as is aforeſayd, from thenceforth ſhall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours. And wee doe graunt to the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other perſon and perſons, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted or entred in ſome of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the aſſent of the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, ſhall in his iourneis for diſcouerie, or in the iourneis for conqueſt, hereafter trauaile to ſuch lands, countreis and territories, as aforeſayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther borne within our ſayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countreyes, and Territories, with ſuch licence, (as aforeſayd) ſhall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and perſons natiue of England, and within our allegiance in ſuch like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and perſonally reſident within our ſaid Realme of England, any law, cuſtome, or vſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Note.

Free denization granted.

And foraſmuch as vpon the finding out, diſcouering, or inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countries, and territories as aforeſaid, it ſhalbe neceſſary for the ſafety of all men, that ſhall aduenture themſelues in thoſe iourneyes or voyages, to determine to liue together in Chriſtian peace, and ciuill quietneſſe eche with other, whereby euery one may with more pleaſure and profit enioy that whereunto they ſhall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe preſents doe giue & grant to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the ſaid mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the ſeas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, puniſh, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good diſcretions and policies, aſwell in cauſes capitall, or criminall, as ciuil, both marine and other, all ſuch our ſubiects, as ſhal from time to time aduenture themſelues in the ſaid iourneis or voyages, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabite any ſuch lands, countreis, or territories as aforeſayd, or that ſhall abide within 200. leagues of any of the ſayde place or places, where the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or any of his or their aſſociats or companies, ſhall inhabite within 6. yeeres next enſuing the date hereof, according to ſuch ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances as ſhall be by him the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them deuiſed, or eſtabliſhed, for the better gouernment of the ſaid people as aforeſaid. So alwayes as the ſaid ſtatutes, lawes, and ordinances may be,as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, ſtatutes, gouernement, or pollicie of England, and alſo ſo as they be not againſt the true Chriſtian faith, nowe profeſſed in the Church of England, nor in any wiſe to withdrawe any of the ſubiectes or people of thoſe lands or places from the alleageance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors,giue and grant ful power and authoritie to our truſtie and welbeloued Counſailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley,our high Treaſourer of England,and to the Lorde Treaſourer of England for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors for the time being,and to the priuie Couſaile of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, or any foure or more of them for the time being,that he, they,or any foure or more of them,ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of theſe preſents,authoriſe and licence the ſaide Walter Ralegh,his heires and aſſignes,and euery or any of them by him, & by themſelues,or by their,or any of their ſufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers,Miniſters,Factors,and ſeruants, to imbarke & tranſport out of our Realme of England and Ireland,and the Dominions thereof,all or any of his or their goods,and all or any the goods of his and their aſſociats and companies, and euery or any of them, with ſuch other neceſſaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the ſayde Lorde Treaſurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counſaile,of vs our heires and ſucceſſors for the time being(as aforeſaid)ſhalbe from time to time by his or their wiſedomes, or diſcretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and ſupportation of him the ſayde Walter Ralegh,his heires, and aſſignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their aſſociats and companies, any act, ſtatute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes,and our wil and pleaſure is,and we do hereby declare to all Chriſtian kings, princes,and ſtates, that if the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes,or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, ſhall at any time or times hereafter robbe or ſpoile by ſea or by land, or doe any acte of vniuſt or vnlawfull hoſtilitie, to any of the ſubiects of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, or to any of the ſubiects of any the kings,princes,rulers, Gouernours,or eſtates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and ſucceſſours,and that vpon ſuch iniurie,or vpon iuſt complaint of any ſuch Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or eſtate, or their ſubiects, wee, our heires and ſucceſſors,ſhall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the ſaide Walter Ralegh,his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, or any to whom theſe our Letters patents may extende, ſhall within the termes to bee limited, by ſuch Proclamation, make full reſtitution,and ſatiſfaction of all ſuch iniuries done : ſo as both we and the ſaid Princes, or other ſo complaining,may hold vs and themſelues fully contented: And that if the ſaid Walcer Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, ſhall not make or cauſe to be made ſatiſfaction accordingly within ſuch time ſo to be limitted,that then it ſhal be lawful to vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, to put the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the ſaide places to be diſcouered(as is aforeſaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection,and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of protection of the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires, aſſignes and adherents, and others ſo to be put out, and the ſaid places within their habitation,poſſeſſion and rule, ſhall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to purſue with hoſtilitie,as being not our ſubiects,nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained,or defended,nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection,or dominion,or allegeance any way belonging: for that expreſſe mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premiſſes,or any part thereof,or of any other gift,or grant by vs,or any our progenitors, or predeceſſors to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, before this time made in theſe preſents bee not expreſſed, or any other grant, ordinance, prouiſion, proclamation, or reſtraint to the contary thereof, before this time giuen,ordained,or prouided,or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer,in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof, wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made Patents. Witneſſe our ſelues, at Weſtminſter the fiue and twentie day of March, in the ſixe and twentith yeere of our Raigne.

Anno 1584.

The firſt voyage made to the coaſts of *America*, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. *Philip Amadas*, and M. *Arthur Barlowe*, who diſcouered part of the Countrey now called *Virginia*, *Anno 1584*. Written by one of the ſaid Captaines, and ſent to ſir *Walter Ralegh* knight, at whoſe charge and direction, the ſaid voyage was ſet forth.

The 27 day of April, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the Weſt of England, with two barkes well furniſhed with men and victuals, hauing receiued our laſt and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former inſtructions, and commandements deliuered by your ſelfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnnéceſſary, for the manifeſt diſcouerie of the Countrey, as alſo for tedIouſneſſe ſake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our courſe, ſayling thither and returning: onely I haue preſumed to preſent vnto you this briefe diſcourſe, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to ſucceede, as well to your ſelfe, (by whoſe direction and charge, and by whoſe ſeruantes this our diſcouerie hath beene performed) as alſo to her Highneſſe, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wiſedome wilbe ſatiſfied, conſidering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by thoſe ſmal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

A Southerly courſe not greatly needful for Virginia.

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this preſent yeere, we were fallen with the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, keeping a more Southeaſterly courſe then was needefull, becauſe wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexcio, diſbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Iſlands we found the ayre very vnwholſome, and our men grew for the moſt part ill diſpoſed: ſo that hauing refreſhed our ſelues with ſweet water, & freſh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there. Theſe Iſlands, with the reſt adioyning, are ſo well knowen to your ſelfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A ſweet ſmell from the land.

The ſecond of Iuly, we found ſhole water, wher we ſmelt ſo ſweet, and ſo ſtrong a ſmel, as if we had bene in the midſt of ſome delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were aſſured, that the land could not be farre diſtant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but ſlacke ſaile, the fourth of the ſame moneth we arriued vpon the coaſt, which we ſuppoſed to be a continent and firme lande, and we ſayled along the ſame a hundred and twentie Engliſh miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer iſſuing into the Sea.

The firſt riuer.

The firſt that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without ſome difficultie, & caſt anker about three harquebuz-ſhot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the ſame: and after thankes giuen to God for our ſafe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and “ to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, in the right of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, as rightfull Queene, and Princeſſe of the ſame, and after deliuered the ſame ouer to your vſe, according to her Maieſties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highneſſe great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vſed in ſuch enterpriſes, we viewed the land about vs, being, whereas we firſt landed, very ſandie and low towards the waters ſide, but ſo full of grapes, as the very beating and ſurge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found ſuch plentie, as well there as in all places elſe, both on the ſand and on the greene ſoile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little ſhrubbe, as alſo climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my ſelfe hauing ſeene thoſe parts of Europe that moſt abound, find ſuch difference as were incredible to be written.

“ July 13 poſſeſſion taken.

Abundance of grapes.

The Iſle of Wokokon.

We paſſed from the Sea ſide towardes the toppes of thoſe hilles next adioyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both ſides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay ſtretching it ſelfe to the Weſt, which after wee found to bee but an Iſland of twentie miles long, and not aboue ſixe miles broade. Vnder the banke or hill whereon we ſtoode, we behelde the vallyes repleniſhed with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing diſcharged our harquebuz-ſhot, ſuch a flocke of Cranes (the moſt part white) aroſe vnder vs, with ſuch a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had ſhowted all together.

Goodly Cedars, Pines, Cypres, Saſſaphras.

This Iſland had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middeſt of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not ſuch as you finde in Bohemia, Moſcouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the higheſt and reddeſt Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Saſſaphras, the Lentiſk, or the tree that beareth the Maſticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Maſter Winter brought from the ſtreights of Magellan, and many other of excellent ſmell and qualitie. We remained by the ſide of this Iſland two whole dayes before we ſaw any people of the Countrey: the third day we eſpied one ſmall boate rowing towardes vs, hauing in it three perſons: this boat came to the Iſland ſide, foure harquebuz-ſhot from our ſhippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the ſhore ſide towards vs, and wee being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Maſter and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my ſelfe, and others rowed to the land, whoſe comming this fellow attended, neuer making any ſhewe of feare or doubt. And after he had ſpoken of many things not vnderſtood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ſhips, and gaue him a ſhirt, a hat & ſome other things, and made him taſte of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boate againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: aſſoone as hee was two bow ſhoot into the water, he fell to fiſhing, and in leſſe then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could ſwimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he deuided his fiſh into two parts, pointing one part to the ſhip, and the other to the pinneſſe: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites receaued, departed out of our ſight.

Conference with a Sauage.

Abundance of fiſh.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handſome and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maieſtie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this ſort: hee left his boates altogether as the firſt man did a little from the ſhippes by the ſhore, and came along to the place ouer againſt the ſhips, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his ſeruants ſpread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he ſate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the reſt of his men ſtood round about him, ſomewhat a farre off: when we came to the ſhore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer miſtruſted any harme to be offred from vs, but ſitting ſtill he beckoned vs to come and ſit by him, which we performed: and being ſet hee made all ſignes of ioy and welcome, ſtriking on his head and his breaſt and afterwardes on ours, to ſhewe wee were all one, ſmiling and making ſhewe the beſt he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long ſpeech vnto vs, wee preſented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of the company durſt ſpeake one worde all the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, ſpake one in the others eare very ſoftly.

The arriuall of the kings brother.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reuerenced: the King himſelfe in perſon was at our being there, ſore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was ſhot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reaſon whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the country, being ſixe dayes iourney off, we ſaw him not at all.

After we had preſented this his brother with ſuch things as we thought he liked, wee likewiſe gaue ſomewhat to the other that ſat with him on the matte: but preſently he aroſe and tooke all from them and put it into his owne baſket, making ſignes and tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the reſt were but his ſeruants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging ſome things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere ſkinnes: when we ſhewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he ſawe, a bright tinne diſh moſt pleaſed him, which hee preſently tooke vp and clapt it before his breaſt, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making ſignes that it would defende him againſt his enemies arrowes: for thoſe people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne diſh for twentie ſkinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie ſkins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues, and would haue giuen any thing for ſwordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the ſhippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes ouerpaſſed, he brought his wife with him to the ſhips, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane ſtature and very baſhfull: ſhee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre ſide next to her body, and before her a piece of the ſame: about her forehead ſhee had a bande of wite Corall, and ſo had her huſband many times: in her eares ſhee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle,

Trafficke with the Sauages.

Tinne much eſteemed.

White corall Perles.

whereof wee deliuered your worſhip a little bracelet) and thoſe were of the bignes of good peaſe. The reſt of her women of the better ſort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and ſome of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue fiue or ſixe in either eare: he himſelfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpoliſhed we knew not what metal it ſhould be, neither would he by any meanes ſuffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very eaſily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both ſides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowiſh, and their haire black for the moſt part, and yet we ſaw children that had very fine aburne, and cheſtnut coloured haire.

After that theſe women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great ſtore of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with vs: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was preſent, none durſt trade but himſelfe: except ſuch as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himſelfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner ſort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderſtood ſince by theſe men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more reſpect to their King, Nobilitie and Gouernours, then theſe doe. The Kings brothers wife, when ſhe came to vs (as ſhe did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when ſhe came into the ſhippe, ſhe left them all on land, ſauing her two daughters, her nurſe and one or two more. The Kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the ſhippes, ſo many fires would hee make on the ſhoare a farre off, to the end we might vnderſtand with what ſtrength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine, or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they haue any they are very fewe, and thoſe it ſeemes they had twentie yeres ſince, which, as thoſe two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened vpon their coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſhip, being beaten that way by ſome ſtorme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were ſaued, but only the ſhip, or ſome part of her being caſt vpon the land, out of whoſe ſides they drew the nayles and the ſpikes, and with thoſe they made their beſt inſtruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe ſome great tree, or take ſuch as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and roſen vpon one ſide thereof, they ſet fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their ſhels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they faſhion very fine boates, and ſuch as will tranſport twentie men. Their oares are like ſcoopes, and many times they ſet with long poles, as the depth ſerueth.

Pitch trees.

The manner of making their boates.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a ſword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them: but we refuſed it for this time, becauſe we would not make them knowe, that we eſteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderſtoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worſhippe doeth very well vnderſtand.

He was very iuſt of his promiſe: for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and performed his promiſe. He ſent vs euery day a brace or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fiſh the beſt of the world. He ſent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Peaſe, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well taſted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they ſow, in July they reape: in June they ſow, in Auguſt they reape: in July they ſow, in September they reape: onely they caſt the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the ſoft turfe with a with wodden mattock, or pickaxe: our ſelues prooued the ſoile, and put ſome of our Peaſe in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they haue alſo Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: ſome growing naturally, and ſome in their gardens, and ſo haue they both wheat and oates.

The ſoile is the moſt plentifull, ſweete, fruitfull and wholſome of all the worlde: there are aboue fourteene ſeuerall ſweete ſmelling timber trees, and the moſt part of their vnderwoods are Bayes, and ſuch like: they haue thoſe Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our ſhippes, my ſelfe, with ſeuen more went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, wee came to an Iſland, which they call Raonoak, diſtant from the harbour by which we entred, ſeuen leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houſes, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with ſharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially: when wee came towardes it, ſtanding

Roanoak Iſland.

neere vnto the waters ſide, the wife of Granganimo, the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her huſband was not then in the village; ſome of her people ſhee commanded to drawe our boate on ſhore for the beating of the billoe: others ſhe appointed to cary vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the houſe for feare of ſtealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her houſe, ſhe cauſed vs to ſit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and waſhed them, and dryed them againe: ſome of the women plucked off our ſtockings and waſhed them, ſome waſhed our feete in warme water, and ſhee her ſelfe tooke great paines to ſee all things ordered in the beſt maner ſhee could, making great haſte to dreſſe ſome meate for vs to eate.

The great kindnes of the kings brothers wife.

After we had thus dryed our ſelues, ſhe brought vs into the inner roome, where ſhee ſet on the boord ſtanding along the houſe, ſome wheate like furmentie, ſodden Veniſon, and roaſted, fiſh ſodden, boyled, and roaſted, Melons rawe, and ſodden, rootes of diuers kindes, and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape laſteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caſkes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is ſodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and ſometimes Saſſaphras, and diuers other wholeſome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindneſſe, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could poſſibly deuiſe. We found the people moſt gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treaſon, and ſuch as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themſelues from the cold in their ſhort winter, and to feed themſelues with ſuch meat as the ſoile affoordeth: there meate is very well ſodden and they make broth very ſweet and ſauorie: their veſſels are earthen pots, very large, white and ſweete, their diſhes are wodden platters of ſweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worſhip, of whome they ſpeake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee eſpied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but aſſoone as ſhee eſpied our miſtruſt, ſhee was very much mooued, and cauſed ſome of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night, ſhe was very ſory, and gaue vs into our boate our ſupper halfe dreſſed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate ſide, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the ſame a prettie diſtance from the ſhoare: ſhee peceiuing our ielouſie, was much greiued, and ſent diuers men and thirtie women, to ſit all night on the banke ſide by vs, and ſent vs into our boates fine mattes to couer vs from the raine, vſing very many wordes to intreate vs to reſt in their houſes: but becauſe wee were fewe men, and if wee had miſcaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durſt not aduenture any thing, although there was no cauſe of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

A ſolemne banket.

Their Idols.

Beyond this Iſland there is the maine lande, and ouer againſt this Iſland falleth into this ſpacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants, on which ſtandeth a towne called Pomeiock, & ſixe dayes iourney from the ſame is ſituate their greateſt citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they ſpeake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they haue heard affirme it to bee aboue one houres iourney about.

Skicoak a great towne.

In to this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great ſtore of Muſkles in which there are pearles: likewiſe there deſcendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not ſubiect to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and theſe three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southweſt, foure dayes iourney is ſituate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermoſt towne of Wingandacoa, neere vnto which, ſixe and twentie yeres paſt, there was a ſhip caſt away, whereof ſome of the people were ſaued, and thoſe were white people, whom the countrey people preſerued.

A ſhip caſt away.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Iſland vnhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of ſome of the dwellers of Sequotan, faſtened two boates of the countrey together & made maſtes vnto them, and ſailes of their ſhirtes, and hauing taken into them ſuch victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Iſland 3 weekes: but ſhortly after it ſeemed they were caſt away, for the boates were found vpon the coaſt, caſt a land in another Iſland adioyning: other then theſe, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either ſeene, or heare of amongſt theſe people, and theſe aforeſaid were ſeene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelouſly when we were amongſt them at the whitenes of our ſkins, euer coueting to touch our breaſts, and to view the ſame. Beſides they had our ſhips in maruelous admiration, & all things els were ſo ſtrange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer ſeene the like. When we diſcharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſame: for the weapons which themſelules vſe are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of ſmall canes, headed with a ſharpe ſhell or tooth of a fiſh ſufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their ſwordes be of wood hardened: likewiſe they vſe wooden breaſtplates for their defence. They haue beſide a kinde of club, in the end whereof they faſten the ſharpe hornes of a ſtagge, or other beaſt. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aſke counſel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They ſing ſongs as they march towardes the battell in ſtead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reaſon whereof, and of their ciuill diſſentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongſt them, the people are maruelouſly waſted, and in ſome places the countrey left deſolate.

Their weapons.

Or Panauuaioc.

Adioyning to this countrey aforeſaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the ſetting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newſiok, ſituate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus: theſe kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres paſt there was a peace made betweene the king Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as theſe men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderſtand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries & ſlaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the beſt of his countrey to their towne to a feaſt: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illuſion of the deuil) the captaine or Lord of the town came ſuddenly vpon thē, and ſlewe them euery one, reſeruing the women and children: and theſe two haue oftentimes ſince perſwaded vs to ſurprize Piemacum his towne, hauing promiſed and aſſured vs, that there will be found in it great ſtore of commodities. But whether their perſwaſion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Iſland called Roanoak, are maine Iſlands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increaſes, together with many townes, and villages, along the ſide of the continent, ſome bounding vpon the Iſlands, and ſome ſtretching vp further into the land.

When we firſt had ſight of this countrey, ſome thought the firſt land we ſaw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Hauen, we ſaw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coaſt a tracte of Iſlands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean ſea, and betweene the Iſlands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (theſe Iſlands being very narrow for the moſt part, as in moſt places ſixe miles broad, in ſome places leſſe, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in ſome places, forty, and in ſome fifty, in ſome twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this incloſed Sea there are aboue an hundreth Iſlands of diuers bigneſſes, whereof one is ſixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a moſt pleaſant and fertile ground, repleniſhed with goodly Cedars, and diuers other ſweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leaſure to view. Beſides this Iſland there are many, as I haue ſayd, ſome of two, of three, of foure, of fiue miles, ſome more, ſome leſſe, moſt beautifull and pleaſant to behold, repleniſhed with Deere, Conies, Hares and diuers beaſts, and about them the goodlieſt and beſt fiſh in the world, and in greateſt abundance.

Roanoak ſixteen miles long.

This Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our diſcouery made this preſent voyage, as farre foorth as the ſhortneſſe of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and ſo contenting our ſelues with this ſeruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occaſion and aſſiſtance ſhalbe giuen, we reſolued to leaue the countrey, and to apply our ſelues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued ſafely in the Weſt of England about the middeſt of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in poſſeſſion by vs, to her Maieſties vſe, and ſo to yours by her Maieſties graunt, wee thought good for the better aſſurance thereof, to record ſome of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were preſent, as witneſſes of the ſame, that thereby all occaſion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maieſties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwiſe, ſuch as like not the action may vſe and pretend, whoſe names are:

Maſter Philip Amadas,	Captaines.
Maſter Arthur Barlow,	
William Greeneuile,	Of the companie.
Iohn Wood,	
Iames Browewich,	
Henry Greene,	
Beniamin Wood,	
Simon Ferdinando,	
Nicholas Petman,	
Iohn Hewes,	

We brought home alſo two of the Sauages being luſtie men, whoſe names were Wancheſe and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir *Richard Greenuile*, for Sir *VValter Ralegh*, to *Virginia*, in the yeere 1585.

The 9. day of April, in the yeere aboueſayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete conſiſting of the number of ſeuen ſailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of ſeuen ſcore tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a ſmall barke: whereunto were alſo adioyned for ſpeedy ſeruices, two ſmall pinneſſes. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were theſe, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candiſh, M. Iohn Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof ſome were Captaines, and other ſome Aſſiſtants for counſell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteuentura, Iſles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our courſe for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the Weſt India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Coteſa, a little Iland ſituate neere to the Iland of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreſhed our ſelues all that day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Iland of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon ſhot of the ſhoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuil, and the moſt part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea ſide: the riuer ran by the one ſide of our forte, and the other two ſides were inuironed with woods.

They land vpon the Iland of S. Iohn de Porto Rico.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinneſſe within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, ſome part whereof we fet three miles vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer reſiſtance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horſemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, ſtaying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but aſſoone as they ſaw ten of our ſhot marching towards them, they preſently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Maſter Candiſh, who had bene ſeparated from our fleete in a ſtorme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued at Coteſa, within the ſight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and diſcerned him at laſt to be one of our conſorts, for ioy of whoſe comming our ſhips diſcharged their ordinance, and ſaluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spaniſh horſemen ſhewed themſelues to vs vpon the other ſide of the riuer: who being ſeene, our Generall diſpatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horſmen of ours, mounted vpon Spaniſh horſes, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they ſhewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made ſignes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the ſands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great ſalutations to our men, but began according to their Spaniſh proud humors, to expoſtulate with them about their arriuall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithſtanding by our mens diſcreet anſwers were ſo cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furniſh our ſelues with water and victuales, and other neceſſaries, whereof we ſtood in neede, which we craued might be yeelded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwiſe our reſolution was to practiſe force, and to releeue our ſelues by the ſworde) the Spaniards in concluſion ſeeing our men ſo reſolute, yeelded to our requeſtes with large promiſes of all curteſie, and great fauour, and ſo our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinneſſe was finiſhed, and lanched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the ſpace of 4. miles, where in a plaine marſh they ſtayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promiſe, to furniſh vs with victuals: who keeping their olde cuſtome for periurie and breach of promiſe, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and ſo retired to our Fort, which the ſame day was fired alſo, and each man came aboord to be ready to ſet ſaile the next morning.

The 29. day wee ſet ſaile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs ſtung before vpon ſhoare with the Muſkitos: but the ſame night wee tooke a Spaniſh Frigat, which was forſaken by the Spaniards vpon the ſight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ranſomed for good round ſummes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Maſter Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southweſt ſide of Saint Iohns, to fetch ſalt, being thither conducted by a Spaniſh Pilot: as ſoone as hee arriued there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himſelfe vpon the ſandes immediatly, compaſſing one of their ſalte hils within the trench: who being ſeene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horſemen and footmen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durſt not come neere him to offer any reſiſtance, ſo that Maſter Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their ſalte aboord and laded his Fricat, and ſo returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The ſame day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hiſpaniola.

Iune.

The 1. day of Iune we anchored at Iſabella, on the North ſide of Hiſpaniola.

The 3. day of Iune, the Gouernour of Iſabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of ſundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboord our ſhippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly deſired to ſee the Gouernour aforeſayd, he thereupon ſent gentle commendations to our Generall, promiſing within few dayes to come to him in perſon, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforeſayd Gouernour accompanied with a luſty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their ſeruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea ſide, where our ſhips road at anker, who being ſeene, our Generall manned immediatly the moſt part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, euery man appointed, and furniſhed in the beſt ſort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spaniſh gouernour receiued him very courteouſly, and the Spaniſh Gentlemen ſaluted our Engliſh Gentlemen, and their inferiour ſort did alſo ſalute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewiſe their qualities, although at the firſt they ſeemed to ſtand in feare of vs, and of ſo many of our boates, whereof they deſired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courteſies that paſſed on both ſides were ſo great, that all feare and miſtruſt on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our Engliſh Generall and the Spaniſh Gouernour diſcourſed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the ſtate of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two banquetting houſes couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the ſeruaunts, and a ſumptuous banquet was brought in ſerued by vs all in plate, with the ſound of trumpets, and conſort of muſicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courteſie, cauſed a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horſe ready ſadled, and then ſingled out three of the beſt of them to bee hunted by horſemen after their maner, ſo that the paſtime grewe very pleaſant for the ſpace of three houres, wherein all three of the beaſts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was ſlaine with a muſket. After this ſport, many rare preſents and gifts were giuen and beſtowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horſes, mares, kine, buls, goates, ſwine, ſheepe, bull-hides, ſugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and ſuch like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hiſpaniola: but the wiſer ſort doe impute this great ſhew of friendſhip, and courteſie vſed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulneſſe that was amongſt vs, then to any heartie good will, or ſure friendly intertainement: for doubtleſſe if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curteſie at their handes, then Maſter Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint Iohn de Vllua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the ſtreights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankred at a ſmall Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderſtood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinneſſe were in very great danger to haue beene all caſt away, but by the helpe of God they eſcaped the hazard, and returned aboord the Admirall in ſafetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Iland we ſearched for ſalte-pondes, vpon the aduertiſment and information of a Portugall: who in deede abuſed our Generall and vs, deſeruing a halter for his hire, if it had ſo pleaſed vs.

They land on the Iles of Caycos.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

Guanima. Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde ſo much fiſh as would haue yeelded vs twentie pounds in London: this was our firſt landing in Florida.

They land in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnſkilfulneſſe of the Maſter whoſe name was Fernando, the Admirall ſtrooke on ground, and ſunke.

The 3. we ſent word of our arriuing at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

July.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundel was ſent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the ſame day were ſent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, ſome 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Maſter Iohn Arundell, Maſter Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Maſter Lane, Maſter Candiſh, Maſter Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinneſſe, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a ſhipboat, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ſhip-boate, paſſed ouer the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we firſt diſcouered the townes of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoc and Secotan, and alſo the great lake called by the Sauages Paquipe, with diuers other places, and ſo returned with that diſcouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we paſſed by water to Aquaſcogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was ſent to Aquaſcogok, to demaund a ſiluer cup which one of the Sauages had ſtollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promiſe, wee burnt, and ſpoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the diſcouery of Secotan, and the ſame day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we reſted.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

The 2. the Admirall was ſent to Weapomeiok.

August.

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was ſent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and ſet ſaile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spaniſh ſhip of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of cheſts, which fell aſunder, and ſunke at the ſhips ſide, aſſoone as euer he and his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then ſhipped in the prize, loſt ſight of the Tyger.

September.

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the ſame day came to anker at Falmouth.

October.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteouſly receiued by diuers of hs his worſhipfull friends.

The

The names of thoſe as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in *Virginia*, vnder the Gouernement of Maſter *Ralph Lane*.

MAſter Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.
Maſter Hariot.
Maſter Acton.
Maſter Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Maſter Maruyn.
Maſter Gardiner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Maſter Kendall.
Maſter Pridcox.
Robert Holecroft.
Riſe Courtney.
Maſter Hugh Rogers.
Maſter Thomas Haruie.
Maſter Snelling.
Maſter Anthony Ruſſe.
Maſter Allyne.
Maſter Michael Poliſon.
Iohn Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Gefferey Churchman.
William Farthow.
Iohn Taylor.
Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley.
Iohn Goſtigo.
Eraſmus Cleſs.
Edward Ketcheman.
Iohn Linſey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
Iohn Harris.
Francis Norris.
Matthew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wiſſe.
Robert Biſcombe.
William Backhouſe.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Ioſeph Borges.
Dougham Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Richard Gilbert.
Steuen Pomarie.
Iohn Brocke.
Bennet Harrie.
Iames Steuenſon.
Charles Steuenſon.
Chriſtopher Lowde.
Ieremie Man.
Iames Maſon.
Dauid Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randall Mayne.
Iames Skinner.
George Eſeuen.
Iohn Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Conſtable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Waſſe.
Iohn Feuer.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
Iohn Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
Iames Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
Iohn Euans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
Iohn Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
Iohn Anwike.
Chriſtopher Marſhall.
Dauid Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Silueſter Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An extract of Maſter *Ralph Lanes* letter to M. *Richard Hakluyt* Eſquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from *Virginia*.

IN the meane while you ſhall vnderſtand, that ſince Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as alſo before, we haue diſcouered the maine to be the goodlieſt ſoyle vnder the cope of heauen, ſo abounding with ſweete trees, that bring ſuch ſundry rich and pleaſant gummes, grapes of ſuch greatneſſe, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, ſo many ſorts of Apothecarie drugs, ſuch ſeuerall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like ſilke, the ſame gathered of a graſſe, as common there, as graſſe is here. And now within theſe few dayes we haue found here Maiz or or Guinie wheate, whoſe eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect ſugar, alſo Terra Samia, otherwiſe Terra ſigillata. Beſides that, it is the goodlieſt and moſt pleaſing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknowen greatneſſe, and very well peopled and towned, though ſauagely, and the climate ſo wholſome, that wee had not one ſicke ſince we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horſes and kine in ſome reaſonable proportion, I dare aſſure my ſelfe being inhabited with Engliſh, no realme in Chriſtendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities ſoeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the Eaſt partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all ſortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in roſens, pitch, frakenſence, corrans, ſugers, and ſuch like, theſe parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that poſſeſſe the land, they know no vſe of the ſame. And ſundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they Weſt or Eaſt Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are moſt curteous, and very deſirous to haue clothes, but eſpecially of courſe cloth rather then ſilke, courſe canuas they alſo like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, ſo it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me moſt heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

Your moſt aſſured friend RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the Engliſh men left in *Virginia* by Sir *Richard Greeneuill* vnder the charge of Maſter *Ralph Lane* Generall of the ſame, from the 17. of Auguſt 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: ſent and directed to Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

That I may proceede with order in this diſcourſe, I thinke it requiſite to diuide it into two parts. The firſt ſhall declare the particularities of ſuch parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and ſupply of things neceſſarie did inable vs to enter into the diſcouery of.

The ſecond part ſhall ſet downe the reaſons generally mouing vs to reſolue on our departure at the inſtant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common requeſt for paſſage with him, when the barkes, pinneſſes, and boates with the Maſters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey for the ſupply of ſuch, as for a further time meant to haue ſtayed there, were caryed away with tempeſt and foule weather: In the beginning whereof ſhall bee declared the conſpiracie of Pemiſapan, with the Sauages of the maine to haue cut vs off, &c.

2. parts of this diſcourſe.

The firſt part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of *Virginia*.

First therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that our diſcouerie of the ſame hath beene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the ſame hauing bene the place of our ſettlement or inhabitatiō) into the South, into the North, into the Northweſt, and into the Weſt.

The vttermoſt place to the Southward of any diſcouery was Secotan, being by eſtimation fourreſcore miles diſtant from Roanoak. The paſſage from thence was through a broad ſound within the mayne, the ſame being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and ſhoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to paſſe through the ſame, which boate could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for ſeuen dayes at the moſt: and as for our pinneſſe, beſides that ſhe drew too deep water for that ſhallow ſound, ſhe would not ſtirre for an oare: for theſe and other reaſons (winter alſo being at hand) we thought good wholly to leaue the diſcouery of thoſe parts vntill our ſtronger ſupply.

To the Northward our furtheſt diſcouery was to the Cheſepians, diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the paſſage to it was very ſhallow and moſt dangerous, by reaſon of the bredth of the ſound, and the little ſuccour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and ſoyle of the Cheſepians (being diſtant fifteene miles from the ſhoare) was for pleaſantnes of ſeate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of ſoyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, beſides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Saſſafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatſoeuer.

The excellencie of the ſeate of Cheſepiook.

There be ſundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the ſame, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opoſſians, which all came to viſite the Colonie of the Engliſh, which I had for a time appointed to be reſident there.

To the Northweſt the fartheſt place of our diſcouery was to Chawanook diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our paſſage thither lyeth through a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good ſhipping, but out of the chanell full of ſhoalds.

The Townes about the waters ſide ſituated by the way are theſe following: Paſſaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muſcamunge, & Metackwem: all theſe being vnder the iuriſdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okiſco: from Muſcamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iuriſdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to ſtraighten vntill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betweene Weſtminſter, and Lambeth.

Betweene Muſcamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee paſſe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is ſubiect to Chawanook.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

Chawanook it ſelfe is the greateſt Prouince & Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it ſelfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, beſides the forces of the Prouince it ſelfe.

An Iland in a Bay.

The King of the ſayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwiſe for a Sauage, a very graue and wiſe man, and of a very ſingular good diſcourſe in matters concerning the ſtate, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the diſpoſition of his owne men, but alſo of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him priſoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderſtanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the ſearches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March laſt paſt 1586. Amongſt other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoa vp his Riuer of Chawanook, and then deſcending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to paſſe ouer land Northeaſt to a certaine Kings countrey, whoſe Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greateſt ſtrength is an Iſland ſituate, as hee deſcribed vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Iſland very deepe.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

Out of this Bay hee ſignified vnto mee, that this King had ſo great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth ſo ordinarily take the ſame, as that not onely his owne ſkinnes that hee weareth, and the better ſort of his gentlemen and followers are full ſet with the ſayd Pearle, but alſo his beds, and houſes are garniſhed with them, and that hee hath ſuch quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to ſee.

He ſhewed me that the ſayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the ſame of the worſt ſort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the ſame pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongſt a number very orient and round, all which I loſt with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the ſayd King had great ſtore of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of ſhallow water, but the white Pearle his men fiſhed for in very deepe water.

It ſeemed to me by his ſpeach, that the ſayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for theſe white Pearle, and that was the reaſon that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to thoſe of the ſame countrey.

The king of Chawanook promiſed to giue me guids to go ouer land into that kings countrey whenſoeuer I would: but he aduiſed me to take good ſtore of men with me, and good ſtore of victuall, for he ſaid, that king would be loth to ſuffer any ſtrangers to enter into his Countrey, and eſpecially to meddle with the fiſhing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he ſayd would fight very well.

An enterpriſe of ſpeciall importance.

Hereupon I reſolued with my ſelfe, that if your ſupplie had come before the ende of April, and that you had ſent any ſtore of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reaſonable time, with a ſufficient number of men and victuals to haue found vs vntill the new corne were come in, I would haue ſent a ſmall barke with two pinneſſes about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he ſpake of, and to haue ſounded the barre if there were any, which ſhould haue ridden there in the ſayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the ſmall boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene aſſured ſhould haue beene of his beſt men, (for I had his beſt beloued ſonne priſoner with me) who alſo ſhould haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the reſt, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my deſcent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raiſed a ſconſe with a ſmall trench, and a palliſado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the reſt would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, ſpades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march vpon ſome conuenient plot would I haue raiſed another ſconſe according to the former, where I would haue left fifteene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raiſed my ſaide ſconſe vpon ſome Corne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it.

And ſo I would haue holden this courſe of inſconſing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Port hee ſpake of: which finding to bee worth the poſſeſſion, I would there haue raiſed a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our ſhipping alſo, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before ſpecified, could I at al times returne with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my ſconſe, very neere whereunto directly from the Weſt runneth a moſt notable Riuer, and in all thoſe parts moſt famous, called the Riuer of Moratoc. This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, ſalt and freſh, ſhewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath ſo violent a current from the Weſt and Southweſt, that it made me almoſt of opinion that with oares it would ſcarſe be nauigable: it paſſeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the ſpace of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Iſle of dogges, in ſome place more, and in ſome leſſe: the current runneth as ſtrong, being entred ſo high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remoue.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but alſo the Sauages of Moratoc themſelues doe report ſtrange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Moratoc it ſelfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as ſome of them ſay, and ſome ſay fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they ſay ſpringeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a moſt violent ſtreame: and further, that this huge rock ſtandeth ſo neere vnto a Sea, that many times in ſtormes (the winde comming outwardly from the ſea) the waues thereof are beaten into the ſaid freſh ſtreame, ſo that the freſh water for a certaine ſpace, groweth ſalt and brackiſh: I tooke a reſolution with my ſelfe, hauing diſmiſſed Menatonon vpon a ranſome agreed for, and ſent his ſonne into the Pinneſſe to Roanoak, to enter preſently ſo farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie perſons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntil we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Weſtward of the ſaid Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to eſcape ſtaruing in that diſcouerie before our returne, as euer men did, that miſſed the ſame.

For Pemiſapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choaniſts, and Mangoaks worde of my purpoſe touching them, I hauing bene inforced to make him priuie to the ſame, to bee ſerued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did neuer reſt to ſolicite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall aſſembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thouſand bowes, preparing to come vpō vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks alſo were ioyned in the ſame confederacie, who were able of themſelues to bring as many more to the enterpriſe: And true it was that at that time the aſſembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did ſo diſmay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie againſt vs of the Choaniſts and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemiſapan himſelfe, as Menatonon confeſſed vnto me, who ſent them continual word, that our purpoſe was fully bent to deſtroy them: on the other ſide he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Wingina changeth his name.

Conſpiracie of the Sauages againſt the Engliſh.

Hee in like ſort hauing ſent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to paſſe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he ſaide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themſelues with their * Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: inſomuch as hauing paſſed three dayes voyage vp the Riuer, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes: whereupon conſidering with my ſelfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, beſides caſualtie of contrary windes or ſtormes, and ſuſpecting treaſon of our owne Sauages in the diſcouerie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwiſe

* Their women.

then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, aduertiſed the whole company of the caſe wee ſtoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpoſe drawen foorth by them vpon vaine hope to be in the ende ſtarued, ſeeing all the Countrey fled before vs, and therefore while wee had thoſe two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were neceſſary for vs to get the other ſide of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I ſignified vnto them, as the ſafeſt way: neuertheleſſe I did referre it to the greateſt number of voyces, whether wee ſhould aduenture the ſpending of our whole victuall in ſome further viewe of that moſt goodly Riuer in hope to meete with ſome better happe, or otherwiſe to retire our ſelues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduiſed, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to ſet our courſe according to the deſires of the greateſt part. Their reſolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee ſhould not leaue the ſearch of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two Maſtiues, vpon the pottage of which with Saſſafras leaues (if the worſt fell out) the company would make ſhift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the fartheſt they hoped to croſſe the Sound and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would faſt rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had ſeene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This reſolution of theirs did not a little pleaſe mee, ſince it came of themſelues, although for miſtruſt of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

A marueilous Mineral in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

And that which made me moſt deſirous to haue ſome doings with the Mangoaks either in friendſhip or otherwiſe to haue had one or two of them priſoners, was, for that it is a thing moſt notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the ſaid Mangoaks haue recourſe and trafique vp that Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and moſt ſtrange Minerall, This Mine is ſo notorious amongſt them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the ſaid riuer, and alſo to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Weſtward, but alſo to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they ſay is Waſſador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Waſſador euery mettall whatſoeuer: they ſay it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reaſon is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very ſoft, and pale: they ſay that they take the ſaide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very ſwift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in ſhallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their deſcription as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a ſkinne ouer the hollow part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then ſuddenly chop downe the ſaid bowle with the ſkinne, and receiue into the ſame as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which preſently they caſt into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in fiue parts, at the firſt melting, two parts of mettall for three parts of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks haue ſo great ſtore, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houſes with great plates of the ſame: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks ſonne my priſoner, who alſo himſelfe had bene priſoner with the Mangoaks, and ſet downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himſelfe: for hee ſaid, it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the ſaid Mineral Countrey, and that they paſſed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the ſaid Countrey.

Vpon report of the premiſſes, which I was very inquiſitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Sauages that dwelt towards thoſe parts, and eſpecially of Menatonon himſelfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promiſed me guides of his owne men, who ſhould paſſe ouer with me, euen to the ſaid Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne riſing to Sunne ſetting, whereas by water it is ſeuen dayes with the ſooneſt:) Theſe things, I ſay, made me very deſirous by all meanes poſſible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get ſome of that their copper for an aſſay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their reſolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall ſpent, lying on ſhoare all night, wee could neuer ſee man, onely fires we might perceiue made alongſt the ſhoare where we were to paſſe, and vp into the Countrey, vntill the very laſt day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was alſo at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of ſome friendly conference with them, and making him to anſwere them, they preſently began a ſong, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo preſently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which worde was not ſo ſoone ſpoken by him, and the light horſeman ready to put to ſhoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongſt them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their ſhot to ſkoure the place for our hand weapons to lande vpon, which was preſently done, although the land was very high and ſteepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the ſhoare, and betooke themſelues to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and eaſily followed for a ſmal time after them, who had wooded themſelues we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the ſetting, and being then aſſured that the next day if wee would purſue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee ſhould be aſſured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cauſe to thinke of: therefore chooſing for the company a conuenient ground in ſafetie to lodge in for the night, making a ſtrong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the riſing of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if poſſibly we might recouer the mouth of the riuer, into the broad ſound, which at my firſt motion I found my whole company ready to aſſent vnto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had beſpoken for themſelues if that befell them which did, and I before did miſtruſt we ſhould hardly eſcape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuers mouth within foure or fiue miles of the ſame, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done againſt the ſame: we lodged vpon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Saſſafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer vſed before as I thinke. The broad ſound wee had to paſſe the next day all freſh and faſting: that day the winde blew ſo ſtrongly, and the billow ſo great, that there was no poſſibilitie of paſſage without ſinking of our boates. This was vpon Eaſter eue, which was faſted very truely. Vpon Eaſter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the ſound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde vs ſome fiſh, as God was pleaſed not vtterly to ſuffer vs to be loſt: for ſome of our company of the light horſemen were farre ſpent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

A conflict begun by the Sauages.

The great current of the Riuer of Moratico.

I haue ſet downe this Voyage ſomewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the moſt to the leaſt amongſt vs, to haue perfited this diſcouerie of the Mine: for that the diſcouery of a good Mine, by the goodneſſe of God, or a paſſage to the South-ſea, or ſome way to it, and nothing elſe can bring this Countrey in requeſt to be inhabited by our nation. And with the diſcouery of either of the two aboue ſhewed, it will bee the moſt ſweete and healthfulleſt climate, and therewithall the moſt fertile ſoyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Saſſafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandiſe and lading for ſhipping, which otherwiſe of themſelues will not be worth the fetching.

Prouided alſo, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which muſt be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue ſpent this Summer in the ſearch of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I ſhould haue had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courteſie, had not bene driuen away by ſtorme: the other if your ſupply of more men, and ſome other neceſſaries had come to vs in any conuenient ſufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiſeth great things, and by the opinion of of M. Hariots the head of it by the deſcription of the Countrey, either riſeth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the ſame, that openeth out into the South ſea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, ſeeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richeſt Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is ſaide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choanoak ſconſes being raiſed, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the firſt towne of the Mangoaks vp the Riuer of Moratico by the way, as alſo vpon the ſaid Riuer for the defence of our boats like ſconſes being ſet, in this courſe of proceeding you ſhall cleare your ſelfe from al thoſe dangers and broad ſhallow ſounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the leaſt, and ſo paſſe your diſcouery into that moſt notable countrey, and to the likelieſt parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwiſe can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though ſimply, yet truely ſet downe vnto you, what my labour with the reſt of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in ſome more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleaſed that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the firſt bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the laſt ſet ſome other courſe in theſe things, then the wiſedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a moſt ſtrange & vnlooked for ſtorme of all our prouiſion, with Barks, Maſter, Mariners, and ſundry alſo of mine owne company, al hauing bene ſo courteouſly ſupplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the ſame hauing bene moſt ſufficient to haue performed the greateſt part of the premiſſes, muſt euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for ſome his good purpoſe to my ſelfe yet vnknowen) to haue bene in the matter.

The ſecond part touching the conſpiracie of *Pemiſapan*, the diſcouery of the ſame, and at the laſt, of our requeſt to depart with Sir *Francis Drake* for *England*.

ENſenore a Sauage father to Pemiſapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongſt them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before oppoſed himſelfe in their conſultations againſt all matters propoſed againſt vs, which both the King and all the reſt of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to ſaue vs from hurt, as poyſonings and ſuch like, but alſo to doe vs very great good, and ſingularly in this.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

The King was aduiſed and of himſelfe diſpoſed, as a ready meane to haue aſſuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himſelfe alſo with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnſowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no poſſibilitie in common reaſon, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde haue bene preſerued from ſtaruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fiſh, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for ſeede to put into the ground.

In mine abſence on my voyage that I had made againſt the Chaoniſts, and Mangoaks, they had raiſed a bruite among themſelues, that I and my company were part ſlaine, and part ſtarued by the Chaoniſts, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be ſtarued, but the other falſe.

Neuertheleſſe vntill my returne it tooke ſuch effect in Pemiſapans breaſt, and in thoſe againſt vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but alſo (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in ſhew, of the Almightie God of heauen, and Ieſus Chriſt whom wee ſerue and worſhip, whom before they would acknowledge and confeſſe the only God) now they began to blaſpheme, and flatly to ſay, that our Lorde God was not God, ſince hee ſuffered vs to ſuſtaine much hunger, and alſo to be killed of the Renapoaks, for ſo they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince ſoeuer. Inſomuch as olde Enſenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his ſake haue no more credite for vs: and it came ſo farre that the king was reſolued to haue preſently gone away as is aforeſaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee ſawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertiſement that hee had receiued: that not onely my ſelfe, and my company were all ſafe, but alſo by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee beſides Manteo in that voyage, that is to ſay, Tetepano, his ſiſters husband Eracano, and Coſſine, that the Chanoiſts and Mangoaks (whoſe name and multitude beſides their valour is terrible to all the reſt of the prouinces) durſt not for the moſt part of them abide vs, and that thoſe that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon priſoner, and brought his ſonne that he beſt loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little aſſwage all deuiſes againſt vs: on the other ſide, it made Enſenores opinions to bee receiued againe with greater reſpects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed thoſe his former ſpeeches, both to the king and the reſt, that wee were the ſeruants of God, and that wee were not ſubiect to bee deſtroyed by them: but contrarywiſe, that they amongſt them that ſought our deſtruction, ſhould finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wiſeſt amongſt them, and of their old men, as alſo, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire ſhot at, and ſtroken by ſome men of ours, that by ſickneſſe had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All theſe ſpeeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee ſawe the ſmall troupe returned againe, and in that ſort from thoſe whoſe very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our ſide for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the reſt was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the ſauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the ſayd iourney, Menatonon ſent a meſſenger to viſite his ſonne the priſoner with me, and ſent me certaine pearle for a preſent, or rather, as Pemiſapan tolde mee, for the ranſome of his ſonne, and therefore I refuſed them: but the greateſt cauſe of his ſending then, was to ſignifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himſelfe ſeruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the ſayde Okisko ioyntly with this Menatonons meſſenger ſent foure and twentie of his principalleſt men to Roanoak to Pemiſapan, to ſignifie that they were ready to perfourme the ſame, and ſo had ſent thoſe his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his ſucceſſours were to acknowledge her Maieſtie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforeſayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the preſence of Pemiſapan his father, and all his Sauages in counſell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it ſeemed) change him in diſpoſition toward vs: Inſomuch as foorthwith Enſenore wanne this reſolution of him, that out of hand he ſhould goe about, and withall, to cauſe his men to ſet vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that preſent went in hande withall, and did ſo labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had ſowed a good quantitie of ground, ſo much as had bene ſufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God bleſſing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: beſides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our ſelues to ſowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could paiſe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their harueſt,) that then a newe ſupply out of England or els our owne ſtore would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane ſpace if the Sauages ſhould not helpe vs with Caſſaui, and Chyna, and that our weares ſhould faile vs, (as often they did,) we might very well ſtarue, notwithſtanding the growing corne, like the ſtaruing horſe in the ſtable, with the growing graſſe, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had eſcaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleaſed him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is ſaide, Enſenore our friend died, who was no ſooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemiſapan, as Oſacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wancheſe moſt principally, were in hand againe to put their old practiſes in vre againſt vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuiſes againſt vs renued, and new brought in queſtion. But that of ſtaruing vs, by their forbearing to ſow, was broken by Enſenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one inſtant to ſow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but alſo at Daſamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer againſt vs. Neuertheleſſe there wanted no ſtore of miſchieuous practiſes among them, and of all they reſolued principally of this following.

The beginning of their harueſt in Iuly.

Firſt that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages ſhould bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterpriſe the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok ſhould be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vſe to ſolemniſe in their Sauage maner for any great perſonage dead, and ſhould haue bene for Enſenore. At this inſtant alſo ſhould the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Cheſepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Daſamonquepeio, and there lying cloſe at the ſigne of fiers, which ſhould interchangeably be made on both ſides, when Pemiſapan with his troupe aboue named ſhould haue executed me, and ſome of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the reſt ſhould haue come ouer into the Iland, where they ment to haue diſpatched the reſt of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both diſmayed and diſperſed abroad in the Iſland, ſeeking of crabs and fiſh to liue withall. The maner of their enterpriſe was this.

The conſpiracie of Pemiſapan.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemiſapan, and very luſtie fellowes, The forme of the treaſon.

with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my perſon to ſee an order taken for the ſame, which they ment ſhould in this ſort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beſet my houſe, and put fire in the reedes that the ſame was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my ſelfe would haue come running out of a ſudden amazed in my ſhirt without armes, vpon the inſtant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The ſufficiencie of our men to deale againſt the Sauages, 10. to an hundreth.

The Sauages liue by fiſhing, and hunting, till harueſt.

The ſame order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: ſo for all the reſt of our better ſort, all our houſes at one inſtant being ſet on fire as afore is ſaide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and ſo bee the more eaſily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the beſt ſort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practiſe, that they ſhould not for any copper ſell vs any victuals whatſoeuer: beſides that in the night they ſhould ſende to haue our weares robbed, and alſo to cauſe them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King ſtood aſſured, that I muſt bee enforced for lacke of ſuſtenance there, to diſband my company into ſundry places to liue vpon ſhell fiſh, for ſo the Sauages themſelues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fiſhing and hunting, while their grounds be in ſowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew ſo extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fiſh, that I was enforced to ſende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to ſerue two turnes in one, that is to ſay, to feede himſelfe and his company, and alſo to keepe watch if any ſhipping came vpon the coaſt to warne vs of the ſame. I ſent M. Pridiox with the pinneſſe to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouoſt Marſhal to liue there, and alſo to wait for ſhipping: alſo I ſent euery weeke 16, or 20. of the reſt of the company to the maine ouer againſt vs, to liue of Caſada and oyſters.

In the meane while Pemiſapan went of purpoſe to Daſamonquepeio for three cauſes: The one to ſee his grounds there broken vp, and ſowed for a ſecond crop: the other to withdrawe himſelfe from my dayly ſending to him for ſupply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durſt hee in my preſence but by colour and with excuſes, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reaſon, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuſes.

My purpoſe was to haue relied my ſelfe with Menatonon, and the Chaoniſts, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the reſt, ſo are they more faithfull in their promiſes, and ſince my late being there had giuen many tokens of earneſt deſire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemiſapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeue ſuch tales of vs.

The third cauſe of his going to Daſamonquepeio was to diſpatch his meſſengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforeſaid: all which he did with great impreſt of copper in hand, making large promiſes to them of greater ſpoile.

The anſwere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was deuided into two parts. Firſt for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himſelfe, or any of his eſpeciall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himſelfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the reſt of the ſaid prouince who accepted of it: and in like ſort the Mandoags receiued the impreſt.

The day of their aſſembly aforeſaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of Iune: all which the premiſes were diſcouered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his ſonne my priſoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemiſapans requeſt: whereupon hee being perſwaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himſelfe, but alſo made him acquainted with all his practiſes. On the other ſide, the yong man finding himſelfe as well vſed at my hande, as I had meanes to ſhew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly diſcouered al vnto me, which alſo afterwards was reuealed vnto me by one of Pemiſapans owne men, that night before he was ſlaine.

Theſe miſchiefes being all inſtantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it ſtood mee in hand to ſtudy how to preuent them, and alſo to ſaue all others, which were at that time as aforeſaid ſo farre from me: whereupon I ſent to Pemiſapan to put ſuſpition out of his head, that I meant preſently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the ariuall of our Fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for ſo good aduenture,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fiſh for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as alſo to buy ſome foure dayes prouiſion to ſerue for my voyage.

He ſent me word that he would himſelfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whoſe time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the laſt of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their aſſembly at Roanoak, at his commandement ſent abroad vnto them, and I reſolued not to ſtay longer vpon his comming ouer, ſince he meant to come with ſo good company, but thought good to go and viſit him with ſuch as I had, which I reſolued to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to giue them in the Iſland a canuiſado, and at the inſtant to ſeize vpon all the canoas about the Iſland, to keepe him from aduertiſements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them; the occaſion was this. I had ſent the Maſter of the light horſeman, with a few with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the ſetting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from vs to Daſamonquepeio, but to ſuffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a Canoa going from the ſhore, and ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done ſo ſecretly but he was diſcouered from the ſhore; wherupon the cry aroſe: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villanous purpoſes againſt vs, held as good eſpiall vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The ſlaughter and ſurpriſe of the Sauages.

The allarme giuen, they tooke themſelues to their bowes, and we to our armes: ſome three or foure of them at the firſt were ſlaine with our ſhot; the reſt fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horſman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Cheſepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Daſamonquepeio: and being landed, ſent Pemiſapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the ſhore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Oſocon, who the night paſt was conueying away my priſoner, whom I had there preſent tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my ſelfe amidſt ſeuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common ſort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Chriſt our victory) and immediatly thoſe his chiefe men and himſelfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purpoſed for vs. The king himſelfe being ſhot thorow by the Colonell with a piſtoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the ſauing of Manteos friends, as others were buſie that none of the reſt ſhould eſcape, ſuddenly he ſtarted vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, inſomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way ſhot thwart the buttocks by mine Iriſh boy with my petronell. In the end an Iriſh man ſeruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouoſt, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in ſome doubt leaſt we had loſt both the king & my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemiſapans head in his hand.

Pemiſapan ſlaine.

This fell out the firſt of Iune 1586, and the eight of the ſame came aduertiſement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Iſland, that he had diſcouered a great fleet of three and twenty ſailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet diſcerne. He aduiſed me to ſtand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the ſayd moneth he himſelfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, & that ſame day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I muſt truely report of him from the firſt to the laſt; hee was the gentleman that neuer ſpared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any ſeruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a moſt bountifull and honourable offer for the ſupply of our neceſſities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but alſo of barks, pinneſſes, and boats; they alſo by him to be victualled, manned, and furniſhed to my contentation.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds moſt honourably to performe that which in writing and meſſage he had moſt curteouſly offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and conſent thereto.

With ſuch thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deſerued, but as I could both for my company and my ſelfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would deſire) craued at his hands that it would pleaſe him to take with him into England a number of weake and vnfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to ſupply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs ſo much ſhipping and victuall, as about Auguſt then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had diſcouered ſomewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouiſion in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it woulde pleaſe him withall to leaue ſome ſufficient Maſters not onely to cary vs into England, when time ſhould be, but alſo to ſearch the coaſt for ſome better harborow, if there were any, and eſpecially to helpe vs to ſome ſmall boats and oare-men.

Alſo for a ſupply of calieuers, handweapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and ſuch like.

He hauing receiued theſe my requeſts, according to his vſuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counſell; the reſolution was that I ſhould ſend ſuch of my officers of my company as I vſed in ſuch matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Maſter of the victuals, the Keeper of the ſtore, and the Vicetreaſurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke preſent order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatſoeuer, to the vttermoſt.

And further, he appointed for me two pinneſſes, and foure ſmall boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full aſſents of two of as ſufficient experimented Maſters as were any in his fleet, by iudgement of them that knew them, with very ſufficient gings to tary with me, and to imploy themſelues moſt earneſtly in the action, as I ſhould appoint them, vntill the terme which I promiſed of our returne into England againe. The names of one of thoſe Maſters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While theſe things were in hand, the prouiſion aforeſayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my ſayd Maſters being alſo gone aboord, my ſayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like ſort of my company with them (all which was diſpatched by the ſayd Generall the 12 of the ſayde moneth) the 13 of the ſame there aroſe ſuch an vnwoonted ſtorme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on ſhore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreſeene the woorſt himſelfe, then about my diſpatch putting himſelfe aboord: but in the end hauing driuen ſundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis alſo with all my prouiſions, my two Maſters, and my company aboord, ſhe was ſeene to be free from the ſame, and to put cleere to Sea.

This ſtorme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforeſayd, the Generall comming aſhore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ſhip of 170 tunne, called The Barke Bonner, with a ſufficient Maſter and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled ſufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouiſions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the reſt vnto my ſelfe, and aduiſed me to conſider with my company of our caſe, and to deliuer preſently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did aſſure me aſwell for his Captaines as for himſelfe, ſhould be moſt willingly performed.

Heereupon calling ſuch Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my ſelfe to the Generals offer; their whole requeſt was to me, that conſidering the caſe that we ſtood in, the weakneſſe of our company, the ſmall number of the ſame, the carying away of our firſt appointed barke, with thoſe two eſpeciall Maſters, with our principall prouiſions in the ſame, by the very hand of God as it ſeemed, ſtretched out to take vs from thence; conſidering alſo, that his ſecond offer, though moſt honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, inſomuch as there was no poſſibility for her with any ſafety to be brought into the harbour: ſeeing furthermore, our hope for ſupply with Sir Richard Greenuill, ſo vndoubtedly promiſed vs before Eaſter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, conſidering the doings in England for Flanders, and alſo for America, that therefore I would reſolue my ſelfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make requeſt to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleaſed to giue vs preſent paſſage with him. Which requeſt of ours by my ſelfe deliuered vnto him, hee moſt readily aſſented vnto: and ſo he ſending immediatly his pinneſſes vnto our Iſland for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was ſo boiſterous, & the pinneſſes ſo often on ground, that the moſt of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers caſt ouerboord, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieued with their long and dangerous abode in that miſerable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing beſtowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that ſtorme ſuſteined more perill of wracke then in all his former moſt honourable actions againſt the Spanyards, with praiſes vnto God for all, ſet ſaile the nineteenth of Iune 1586, and arriued in Portſmouth the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly the ſame yeere.

The

The third voyage made by a ſhip ſent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in *Virginia*, at the ſole charges of Sir *Walter Ralegh.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ſhip of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in moſt plentifull maner, for the ſupply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they ſet ſaile from England it was after Eaſter, ſo that our Colony halfe deſpaired of the comming of any ſupply: wherefore euery man prepared for himſelfe, determining reſolutely to ſpend the reſidue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they ſowed, planted, and ſet ſuch things as were neceſſary for their reliefe in ſo plentifull a maner as might haue ſufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus truſting to their owne harueſt, they paſſed the Summer till the tenth of Iune: at which time their corne which they had ſowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his proſperous returne from the ſacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Auguſtine, determined in his way homeward to viſit his countreymen the Engliſh Colony then remaining in Virginia. So paſſing along the coaſts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our Engliſh Colony inhabited: and hauing eſpied ſome of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their ſtate and welfare, and how things had paſt with them. They anſwered him that they liued all; but hitherto in ſome ſcarſity: and as yet could heare of no ſupply out of England: therefore they requeſted him that hee would leaue with them ſome two or three ſhips, that if in ſome reaſonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themſelues. Which hee agreed to. Whileſt ſome were then writing their letters to ſend into England, and ſome others making reports of the accidents of their trauels ech to other, ſome on land, ſome on boord, a great ſtorme aroſe, and droue the moſt of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ſhips at that inſtant were the chiefeſt of the Engliſh Colony: the reſt on land perceiuing this, haſted to thoſe three ſailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they ſhould be left behinde they left all things confuſedly, as if they had bene chaſed from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt ſo they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by ſome of them againſt the natiue inhabitants of that countrey.

Immediatly after the departing of our Engliſh Colony out of this paradiſe of the world, the ſhip abouementioned ſent and ſet forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arriued at Hatorask; who after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforeſayd prouiſion into England.

This ſhip arriued in Virginia.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforeſayd ſhippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three ſhippes well appointed for the ſame voyage, arriued there; who not finding the aforeſayd ſhippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our Engliſh Colony there ſeated, and left by him anno 1585, himſelfe trauelling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aſwell to ſee if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Maſter Lane his deputy, as alſo to diſcouer ſome places of the countrey: but after ſome time ſpent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited deſolate, yet vnwilling to looſe the poſſeſſion of the countrey which Engliſhmen had ſo long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue ſome men behinde to reteine poſſeſſion of the countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Iſle of Roanoak, furniſhed plentifully with all maner of prouiſion for two yeeres, and ſo departed for England.

Sir Richard Grinuils third voyage.

Fifteene men more left in Virginia.

Not long after he fell with the Iſles of Açores, on ſome of which Iſlands he landed, and ſpoiled the townes of all ſuch things as were worth cariage, where alſo he tooke diuers Spanyards. With theſe and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aſwell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A brieſe and true report of the new found land of *Virginia* : of the commodities there found, and to be raiſed, aſwell merchantable as others : Written by *Thomas Herios*, ſeruant to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in diſcouering a full tweluemoneth.

Rafe Lane *one of her Maieſties Eſquiers, and Gouernour of the Colony in* Virginia, *aboue mentioned, for the time there reſident, to the gentle Reader wiſheth all happineſſe in the Lord.*

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatiſe contained can little be furthered by the teſtimony of one as my ſelfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without deſert: neuertheleſſe, forſomuch as I haue bene requeſted by ſome my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the ſame, not onely for the ſatisfying of them, but alſo for the true information of any other whoſoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuerſally are ſo truely ſet downe is this Treatiſe by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no leſſe for his honeſty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well paſſe with the credit of trueth euen amongſt the moſt true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, ſo alſo (of the certaintie thereof aſſured by mine owne experience) with this my publique aſſertion I doe affirme the ſame. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwilliers of the enterpriſe for the inhabiting and planting in *Virginia*.

SInce the firſt vndertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of diſcouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at ſundry times to his great charge; as firſt in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this laſt yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports, with ſome ſlanderous and ſhamefull ſpeeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: eſpecially of that diſcouery which was made by the Colony tranſported by Sir Richard Grinuile in the yere 1585, being of all others the moſt principall, and as yet of moſt effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they ſtayed but ſixe weeks, and the others after were onely for ſupply and tranſportation, nothing more being diſcouered then had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwiſe would haue alſo fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, beſides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themſelues the dealers therein, as I hope by the ſequel of euents, to the ſhame of thoſe that haue auouched the contrary, ſhall be manifeſt, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increaſe in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the worthineſſe thereof already found, and as you ſhall vnderſtand hereafter to be requiſit. Touching which worthineſſe through cauſe of the diuerſity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of ſome that are well diſpoſed be ſetled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue beene in the diſcouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants ſpecially imployed: and hauing therefore ſeene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart ſo much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriouſly the enterpriſe is ſlandered, and that in publique maner at this preſent, chiefly for two reſpects.

Firſt, that ſome of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the ſtate thereof, may ſee that there is ſufficient cauſe why the chiefe enterpriſer with the fauour of her Maieſty, notwithſtanding ſuch reports, hath not onely ſince continued the action by ſending into the countrey againe, and replanting this laſt yeere a new Colony, but is alſo ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and proſecute the ſame.

Secondly, that you ſeeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon conſider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwiſe in furthering thereof.

And leaſt that the ſubſtance of my relation ſhould be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reaſon of their diuerſitie, I will firſt open the cauſe in a few words, wherefore they are ſo different, referring my ſelfe to your fauourable conſtructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good conſideration you ſhall finde cauſe.

Of our company that returned, ſome for their miſdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily puniſhed, who by reaſon of their bad natures, haue maliciouſly not onely ſpoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their ſakes ſlandered the countrey it ſelfe. The like alſo haue thoſe done which were of their conſort.

Some being ignorant of the ſtate thereof, notwithſtanding ſince their returne amongſt their friends & acquaintance, and alſo others, eſpecially if they were in company where they might not be gainſayd, would ſeeme to know ſo much as no men more, and make no men ſo great trauellers as themſelues. They ſtood ſo much, as it may ſeeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a tweluemoneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great diſgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue ſayd much, whether it were true or falſe. Of which ſome haue ſpoken of more then euer they ſaw, or otherwiſe knew to be there. Other ſome haue not bene aſhamed to make abſolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is moſt certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other ſome make difficulties of thoſe things they haue no ſkill of.

The cauſe of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Iſland where we were ſeated, or not farre, or at the leaſt wiſe in few places els, during the time of our abode in the countrey: or of that many, that after gold & ſiluer was not ſo ſoone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderſtanding, leſſe diſcretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requiſite.

Some alſo were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or ſuch as neuer (as I may ſay) had ſeene the world before. Becauſe there were not to be found any Engliſh cities, nor ſuch faire houſes, nor at their owne wiſh any of their old accuſtomed dainty food, nor any ſoft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miſerable, and their reports thereof according.

Becauſe my purpoſe was but in briefe to open the cauſe of the variety of ſuch ſpeeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and ſlanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countreymen beſides, as trifles that are not worthy of wiſe men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will paſſe to the commodities, the ſubſtance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatiſe whereof, for your more ready view and eaſier vnderſtanding, I will diuide into three ſpeciall parts. In the firſt I will make declaration of ſuch commodities there already found or to be raiſed, which will not onely ſerue the ordinary turnes of you which are and ſhall be the planters and inhabitants, but ſuch an ouerplus ſufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of ſkill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will inrich your ſelues the prouiders: thoſe that ſhall deale with you, the enterpriſers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to ſupply them with moſt things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of ſtrangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for diſtinction ſake, I call Merchantable.

In the ſecond I will ſet downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it ſelfe for victuall and ſuſtenance of mans life, ſuch as are vſually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as alſo by vs during the time we were there.

In the laſt part I will make mention generally of ſuch other commodities beſides, as I am able to remember, and as I ſhall thinke behoouefull for thoſe that ſhall inhabit, and plant there, to know of, which ſpecially concerne building, as alſo ſome other neceſſary vſes: with a briefe deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The firſt part of Merchantable commodities.

Silke of graſſe, or Graſſe ſilke. There is a kind of graſſe in the countrey, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good ſilke in forme of a thin glittering ſkin to be ſtript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Perſia, which is in the ſelfe ſame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made,

made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Perſia, it cannot in reaſon be otherwiſe, but that there will riſe in ſhort time great profit to the dealers therein, ſeeing there is ſo great vſe and vent thereof aſwel in our countrey as elſwhere. And by the meanes of ſowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithſtanding there is great ſtore thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which alſo by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme ſilke. In many of our iourneys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found ſuch plenty, as elſwhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet ſeeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nouriſh them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others, fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nouriſhing, and ſome of them carefully gathered & huſbanded in that ſort, as by men of ſkil is knowen to be neceſſary: there wil riſe as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Perſians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great ſtore in any one place together, by reaſon it is not planted but as the ſoile doth yeeld of it ſelfe: and howſoeuer the leafe and ſtemme or ſtalke do differ from ours, the ſtuffe by iudgement of men of ſkill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe ſhould finde otherwiſe, we haue that experience of the ſoile, as that there cannot be ſhewed any reaſon to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, ſeeing there is ſo much ground whereof ſome may well be applied to ſuch purpoſes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot eaſily vnderſtand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the ſea coaſt for the ſpace of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the iudgement of ſome that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richneſſe of ſuch a commodity is ſo well knowen, that I need not to ſay any thing thereof. The ſame earth doth alſo yeeld White copraſſe, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing ſo plentifully as the common Allum, which be alſo of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth ſo called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra ſigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by ſome of our Phyſicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the ſame kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vſe it very much for the cure of ſores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in ſome places of a blew ſort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are thoſe kindes of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great ſtore. In the very ſame Iſland where we were ſeated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or ſixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the ſame kinde, the whole Iſland being full.

Saſſafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of moſt pleaſant and ſweet ſmell, and of moſt rare vertues in phyſicke for the cure of many diſeaſes. It is found by experience to be far better and of more vſes then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the deſcription, the maner of vſing, and the manifold vertues therof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, tranſlated and entituled in Engliſh, The ioyfull newes from the Weſt Indies.

Cedar. A very ſweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if neſts of cheſts be there made, or timber thereof fitted for ſweet and fine bedſteds, tables, deſks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make vp fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the ſoile doth yeeld naturally, the one is ſmall and ſowre, of the ordinary bigneſſe as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himſelfe luſhious ſweet. When they are planted and huſbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raiſed.

Oile. There are two ſorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpoſe, a commodity of them may be raiſed, becauſe there are infinite ſtore. There are alſo three ſeuerall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which alſo by the experience and vſe of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and ſweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in ſome places there are many. Their fatneſſe, becauſe it is ſo liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many ſpeciall vſes.

Furres. All along the Sea coaſt there are great ſtore of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpoſe, wil yeeld good profit. We hope alſo of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in ſome places of the countrey there are ſtore, although there were but two ſkinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes alſo we haue vnderſtanding of, although for the time we ſaw none.

Deers skinnes dreſſed after the maner of Chamoes, or vndreſſed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thouſands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waſte or ſpoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, & in another place the ſmel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, beſides then by the relation of the people, that there are ſome in the country: good profit will riſe by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey ſpecially, one about foureſcore, & the other ſix ſcore miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water ſide the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, conſidering there the ſmall charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite ſtore of wood, the want of wood & deereneſſe thereof in England, and the neceſſity of ballaſting of ſhips.

Copper An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers ſmall plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderſtood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they ſay are mountaines and riuers that yeeld alſo white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our firſt arriuall in the countrey, I ſaw, with ſome others with me, two ſmall pieces of Siluer groſly beaten, about the weight of a teſtron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about foure ſcore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the ſame place or neere, where I after vnderſtood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforeſayd Copper we alſo found by triall to holde Siluer.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muſcles we found ſome Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet diſcouered thoſe places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of ſkill in ſuch matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thouſand: of which number he choſe ſo many as made a faire chaine, which for their likeneſſe and vniformity in roundneſſe, orientneſſe, and pideneſſe of many excellent colours, with equality in greatneſſe, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene preſented to her Maieſty, had we not by caſualty, and through extremity of a ſtorme loſt them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Fiue thouſand pearles gathered.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make ſpeciall mention, when we ſhall receiue it from ſuch men of ſkill in that kinde, that in taking reaſonable paines ſhal diſcouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now loſt, with other things by caſualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and vſed in England for blacke: the ſeed of an herbe called Waſebur, little ſmall roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for diuers ſorts of red: their goodneſſe for our Engliſh clothes remaine yet to be prooued. The inhabitants vſe them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere ſkinnes: and alſo for the dying of ruſhes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: hauing no other thing beſides that they account of, apt to vſe them for. If they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there ſhall finde apt vſes for them, as alſo for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of ſo great vent and vſes amongſt Engliſh Diers, which can not be yeelded ſufficiently in our owne countrey for ſpare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Iſlands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the ſame climate. So likewiſe of Madder.

We caried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not ſo well preſerued as was requiſite, and beſides the time of the yeere being paſt for their ſetting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we deſired. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing that they grow in the ſame climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reaſon may yet continue. So likewiſe for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted alſo Quinſes. Whereby may grow in reaſonable time, if the action be diligently proſecuted, no ſmall commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there alſo be raiſed, which I leaue to your diſcreet and gentle conſiderations: and many alſo may be there, which yet we haue not diſcouered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raiſed, and in ſhort time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue ſpecified. So likewiſe of thoſe commodities already ſet downe I might haue ſayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and beſt to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reaſonable ſpace of time they might be raiſed to profit, and in what proportion: but becauſe others then welwillers might be therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to thoſe that are well diſpoſed, I haue vttered, according to my promiſe and purpoſe, for this part ſufficient.

The ſecond part of ſuch commodities as *Virginia* is knowen to yeeld for victuall and ſuſtenance of mans life, vſually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as alſo by vs, during the time of our abode: and firſt of ſuch as are ſowed and husbanded.

PAgatowr, a kinde of graine ſo called by the inhabitants: the ſame in the Weſt Indies is called Mayz: Engliſh men call it Guiny-wheat or Turky-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bigneſſe of our ordinary Engliſh peaze, and not much different in forme and ſhape: but of diuers colours: ſome white, ſome red, ſome yellow, and ſome blew. All of them yeeld a very white and ſweet flowre: being vſed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the ſame in the countrey ſome Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be deſired. So likewiſe by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increaſe: of a thouſand, fifteene hundred, and ſome two thouſand folde. There are three ſorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen & twelue weeks at the moſt, ſometimes in tenne, after the time they are ſet, and are then of height in ſtalke about ſixe or ſeuen foot. The other ſort is ripe in fourteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the ſtalks ſome beare foure heads, ſome three, ſome one, and ſome two; euery head conteining fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen hundred graines, within a few more or leſſe. Of theſe graines, beſides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or ſeething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by vs Beanes, becauſe in greatneſſe and partly in ſhape they are like to the beanes in England, ſauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and ſome pide. The leafe alſo of the ſtemme is much different. In taſte they are altogether as good as our Engliſh peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in reſpect of the Beanes, for diſtinction ſake, becauſe they are much leſſe, although in forme they litle differ: but in goodneſſe of taſte much like, and are far better then our Engliſh peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are ſet. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be ſoft, and beginne to breake, as is vſed in England, either by themſelues, or mixtly together: ſometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: ſometime alſo, being whole ſodden, they bruiſe or punne them in a morter, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughiſh bread, which they vſe to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their ſeueral formes, called by vs Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, becauſe they are of the like formes as thoſe kinds in England. In Virginia ſuch of ſeuerall formes are of one taſte, and very good, and do alſo ſpring from one ſeed. There are of two ſorts: one is ripe in the ſpace of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of thoſe that I deſcribe it vnto, take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the ſeed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taſte: of the ſtalke by burning into aſhes they make a kinde of ſalt earth, wherewithall many vſe ſometimes to ſeaſon their broths: other ſalt they know not. We our ſelues vſed the leaues alſo for pot-herbs.

There is alſo another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about ſixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a ſpanne in breadth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the ſeeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforeſayd commodities for victuall are ſet or ſowed, ſometimes in grounds apart and ſeuerally by themſelues, but for the moſt part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dreſſing and preparing of the ground, becauſe I will note vnto you the fertility of the ſoile, I thinke good briefly to deſcribe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in ſort as followeth. A few dayes before they ſowe or ſet, the men with woodden inſtruments made almoſt in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with ſhort peckers or parers, becauſe they vſe them ſitting, of a foot long, and about fiue inches in breadth, doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to raiſe vp the weeds, graſſe, and olde ſtubbes of corne ſtalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being ſcrapt vp into many ſmall heaps, to ſaue them labour for carying them away, they burne into aſhes. And whereas ſome may thinke that they vſe the aſhes for to better the ground, I ſay that then they would either diſperſe the aſhes abroad, which wee obſerued they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take ſpeciall care to ſet their corne where the aſhes lie, which alſo wee finde they are careleſſe of. And this is all the huſbanding of their ground that they vſe.

Then their ſetting or ſowing is after this maner. Firſt for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch aſunder) & couer them with the molde againe: and ſo thorowout the whole plot making ſuch holes, and vſing them after ſuch maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes alſo in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard ſpare ground betweene euery hole: where according to diſcretion here and there, they ſet as many Beanes and Peaze; in diuers places alſo among the ſeeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta ſolis.

The ground being thus ſet according to the rate by vs experimented, an Engliſh acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the leaſt two hundred London buſhels, beſides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta ſolis; when as in England forty buſhels of our Wheat yeelded out of ſuch an acre is thought to be much.

I thought alſo good to note this vnto you, that you which ſhall inhabit, and plant there, may know how ſpecially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: beſides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increaſe is ſo much, that ſmall labor & paines is needful in reſpect of that which muſt be vſed for ours. For this I can aſſure you that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and huſband ſo much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with leſſe then foure and twenty houres labour, as ſhall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemoneth, if he haue nothing els but that which the ſame ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before ſpoken of: the ſayd ground being alſo but of fiue and twenty yards ſquare. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raiſed out of one and the ſelfeſame ground two harueſts or ofcomes: for they ſow or ſet, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midſt of March vntill the end of Iune: ſo that they alſo ſet when they haue eaten of their firſt croppe. In ſome places of the countrey notwithſtanding they haue two harueſts, as we haue heard, out of one and the ſame ground.

For Engliſh corne neuertheleſſe, whether to vſe or not to vſe it, you that inhabit may doe as you ſhall haue further cauſe to thinke beſt. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we haue ſeene proofe of, not being purpoſely ſowen, but fallen caſually in the worſt ſort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer ſeene heere in England. But of Wheat, becauſe it was muſty, and had taken ſalt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much haue I digreſſed, and I hope not vnneceſſarily: now will I returne againe to my courſe, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, apperteining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is ſowed apart by it ſelfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the Weſt Indies it hath diuers names, according to the ſeuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vſed: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into pouder, they vſe to take the fume or ſmoake thereof, by ſucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their ſtomacke and head; from whence it purgeth ſuperfluous fleame and other groſſe humours, and openeth all the pores and paſſages of the body: by which meanes the vſe thereof not onely preſerueth the body from obſtructions, but alſo (if any be, ſo that they haue not bene of too long continuance) in ſhort time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preſerued in health, and know not many grieuous diſeaſes, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

Tabacco.

This Vppowoc is of ſo precious eſtimation amongſt them, that they thinke their gods are maruellouſly delighted therewith: whereupon ſometime they make hallowed fires, and caſt ſome of the pouder therin for a ſacrifice: being in a ſtorme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they caſt ſome vp into the aire and into the water: ſo a weare for fiſh being newly ſet vp, they caſt ſome therein and into the aire: alſo after an eſcape of danger, they caſt ſome into the aire likewiſe: but all done with ſtrange geſtures, ſtamping, ſometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and ſtaring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall, and chattering ſtrange words and noiſes.

We our ſelues, during the time we were there, vſed to ſucke it after their maner, as alſo ſince our returne, and haue found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it ſelfe: the vſe of it by ſo many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and ſome learned Phyſicians alſo, is ſufficient witneſſe.

And theſe are all the commodities for ſuſtenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vſe to huſband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, ſome of the bigneſſe of Walnuts, ſome farre greater, which are found in moiſt and mariſh grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were faſtened with a ſtring. Being boiled or ſodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth theſe roots, Beads or Pater noſtri of Santa Helena.

Monardes parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okeepenauk are alſo of round ſhape, found in dry grounds: ſome are of the bigneſſe of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reaſon of their drineſſe they will neither roſt nor ſeethe. Their taſte is not ſo good as of the former roots: notwithſtanding for want of bread, and ſometimes for variety the inhabitants vſe to eat them with fiſh or fleſh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the houſholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaiſhucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bigneſſe of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taſte was not ſo good to our ſeeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not ſo much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithſtanding vſed to boile and eat many.

Tſinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the Eaſt Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the ſame kinde. Theſe roots grow many together in great cluſters, and do bring foorth a brier ſtalke, but the leafe in ſhape farre vnlike: which being ſupported by the trees it groweth neereſt vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the higheſt. From theſe roots while they be new or freſh, being chopt into ſmall pieces, and ſtampt, is ſtrained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and alſo being boiled, a very good ſpoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taſte, if it be tempered with oile. This Tſinaw is not of that ſort, which by ſome was cauſed to be brought into England for the China root; for it was diſcouered ſince, and is in vſe as is aforeſayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to ſerue for any vſe or purpoſe, although the roots in ſhape are very like.

Coſcuſhaw ſome of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the Weſt Indies call Caſſauy, whereupon alſo many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moiſt grounds. Being dreſſed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and alſo a good ſpoonmeat, and is vſed very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poiſon, & therefore heed muſt be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots muſt be firſt ſliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and ſtampt: loaues of the ſame to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be ſowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or ſpoonmeat very good in taſte and holeſome may be made thereof.

The iuice of Coſcuſhaw is poiſon.

Habaſcon is a root of hote taſte, almoſt of the forme and bigneſſe of a Parſnip: of it ſelfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are alſo Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of Fruits.

CHeſtnuts there are in diuers places great ſtore: ſome they vſe to eat raw, ſome they ſtampe and boile to make ſpoonmeat, and with ſome being ſodden, they make ſuch a maner of dough bread as they vſe of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite ſtore: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the ſame taſte and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker ſhelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard ſhell; but the kernel great, very oily and ſweet. Beſides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with ſtones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vſe to put into ſome ſorts of their ſpoonemeat; alſo among their ſodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleaſant taſte.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit; ſo called by vs chiefly for theſe reſpects: firſt in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the ſame bigneſſe: otherwiſe in taſte and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very ſweet: but whereas the chery is ſharpe ſweet, they are luſhious ſweet.

Mutaqueſunnauk, a kinde of pleaſant fruit almoſt of the ſhape and bigneſſe of Engliſh peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour aſwell within as without. They grow on a plant whoſe leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as ſharpe as needles. Some that haue beene in the Indies, where they haue ſeene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe deſcribe his plant right like vnto this of Metaqueſunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a baſtard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, ſeeing that alſo, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for ſuch matter we haue not ſo ſpecially obſerued.

There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruith bringeth foorth the Cochinillo.

Grapes there are of two ſorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as thoſe which we haue in our Engliſh gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, ſuch as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almoſt like vnto Capers, but ſomewhat greater, which grow together in cluſters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in ſhallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holeſome: otherwiſe if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely ſicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a ſeed almoſt like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in ſome places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were leſſe, which are alſo good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

There is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are fiue ſorts that grow on ſeuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the ſecond Oſamener, the third Pummuckoner. Theſe kinde of acornes they vſe to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almoſt after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vſed, they firſt water them vntill they be ſoft, and then being ſod, they make a good victuall, either to eat ſo ſimply, or els being alſo punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. Theſe be alſo the three kinds, of which I ſayd before the inhabitants vſed to make ſweet oile.

Another ſort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taſte like vnto Cheſnuts. They ſometime alſo make bread of this ſort.

The fift ſort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the firſt ſorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their ſeruants, or ſometime the chiefe themſelues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fiſh or fleſh

Of Beaſts.

Deere, in ſome places there are great ſtore: neere vnto the Sea coaſt they are of the ordinary bigneſſe of ours in England, and ſome leſſe: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the ſnags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies. Thoſe that we haue ſeene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in ſome places there are ſuch plenty that all the people of ſome townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the ſkinnes of thoſe which they vſually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of ſmall beaſts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our ſelues, but ſometime eat of ſuch as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels, which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vſe to take & eat many; ſo alſo sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this ſort: In ſome Iſlands or places where they are, being hunted for, alſoone as they haue ſpiall of a man, they preſently run away, and then being chaſed, they clime and get vp the next tree they can; from whence with arrowes they are ſhot downe ſtarke dead, or with thoſe wounds that they may after eaſily be killed. We ſometime ſhot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty ſeuerall ſorts of beaſts, which I haue heard of to be here and there diſperſed in the countrey, eſpecially in the maine: of which there are only twelue kinds that we haue yet diſcouered; and of thoſe that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants ſometime kill the Lion, and eat him: and we ſometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluiſh dogs, which I haue not ſet downe for good meat, leaſt that ſome would vnderſtand my iudgement therein to be more ſimple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taſte of thoſe kinds from ours, which by ſome of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great ſtore of Swannes and Geeſe. Of all ſorts of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescore and ſixe, of which number, beſides thoſe that be named, we haue taken, eaten, & haue the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of ſeuerall ſtrange ſorts of water fowle eight, and ſeuenteene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue ſeene and eaten of many more, which for want of leaſure there for the purpoſe, could not be pictured: and after we are better furniſhed and ſtored vpon further diſcouery with their ſtrange beaſts, fiſh, trees, plants, and herbs, they ſhalbe alſo publiſhed.

There are alſo Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vſed for meat, yet for other cauſes I thought good to mention.

Of Fiſh.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And alſo in the ſame moneths of Herrings, ſome of the ordinary bigneſſe of ours in England, but the moſt part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and ſome two foot in length and better: both theſe kinds of fiſh in thoſe moneths are moſt plentifull, and in beſt ſeaſon, which we found to be moſt delicate and pleaſant meat.

There are alſo Trouts, Porpoiſes, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other ſorts of excellent good fiſh, which we haue taken and eaten, whoſe names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue ſorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

In the gulfe of California they vſe the like fiſhing.

The inhabitants vſe to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very ſtrong: the other way, which is more ſtrange, is with poles made ſharpe at one end, by ſhooting them into the fiſh after the maner as Iriſh men caſt darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the ſhallowes for the purpoſe.

There are alſo in many places plenty of theſe kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, ſuch as we haue in England.

Oiſters, ſome very great, and ſome ſmall, ſome round, and ſome of a long ſhape: they are found both in ſalt water and brackiſh, and thoſe that we had out of ſalt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Alſo Muſcles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuiſes.

Seekanauk, a kinde of cruſty ſhel-fiſh, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a cruſty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in ſhallowes of waters, and ſometime on the ſhore.

There are many Tortoiſes both of land and ſea kinde, their backs and bellies are ſhelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, ſeeme ougly, as though they were members of a ſerpent or venimous beaſts: but notwithſtanding they are very good meat, as alſo their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all ſorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as alſo the inhabitants themſelues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are ſpecially worthy to be remembred.

The

The third and laſt part of ſuch other things as are behouefull for thoſe which ſhall plant and inhabite to know of, with a deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey

Of commodities for building and other neceſſary vſes

Those other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are ſuch as concerne building, & other mechanicall neceſſary vſes, as diuers ſorts of trees for houſe and ſhip-timber, and other vſes elſe: Alſo lime, ſtone, and bricke, leaſt that being not mentioned ſome might haue bene doubted of, or by ſome that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtore, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue ſaid before very many, ſome haue bene ſeene excellent faire timber of foure and fiue fadome, and aboue foureſcore foote ſtreight without bough.

Firre trees fit for maſts of ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees ſo called that are ſweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of ſtones, and ſhels: we haue knowen ſome ſo great being made in that ſort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, beſides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, ſtreight, ſoft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (beſides other vſes) to be fit alſo for maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweete wood good for ſeelings, cheſts, boxes, bedſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue alſo ſaid before. Some of our company which haue wandered in ſome places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for ſuch and other excellent vſes is alſo a wood of price and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vſe to make their bowes.

Holly, a neceſſary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fiſh after the Engliſh maner, although the inhabitants vſe onely reedes, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong as alſo flexible, doe ſerue for that turne very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and Aſhe, good for caſke-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as alſo for many things els.

Elme. Saſſafras trees.

Aſcopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taſte and ſpicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes deſcribeth to be Caſſia Lignea of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it ſo conuenient for the preſent to trouble you with particular relation: ſeeing that for timber and other neceſſary vſes I haue named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good vſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now for ſtone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coaſt where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of ſtones to be found (except a few ſmall pebbles about foure miles off) but ſuch as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In ſome of our voyages we haue ſeene diuers hard raggie ſtones, great pebbles, and a kinde of grey ſtone like vnto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all ſorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vſe of any ſtore whereupon they ſhould haue occaſion to ſeeke any. For if euery houſholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde ſhels, whet copper, and ſometimes other ſtones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vſe they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no marueile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-ſtones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntil there be diſcouery of ſufficient ſtore in ſome place or other conuenient, the want of you which are & ſhalbe the planters therein may be as well ſupplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and alſo by lime made of oyſter ſhels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vſe in the Iſles of Tenet and Shepy, and alſo in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyſter ſhels there is plentie ynough: for beſides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one ſhallow Sound along the coaſt, where for the ſpace of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the moſt part.

Thus much can I ſay furthermore of ſtones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the ſide of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge ſtones, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

It reſteth I ſpeake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leauing large diſcourſe thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely ſo farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in reſpect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they ſhall haue cauſe both to feare and loue vs, that ſhall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with looſe mantles made of deere ſkinnes, and aprons of the ſame round about their middles, all els naked, of ſuch a difference of ſtatures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or ſteele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: thoſe weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons alſo of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themſelues but targets made of barkes, and ſome armours made of ſticks wickered together with thread.

Iaques Cartier, voyage 2. chap. 8.

Their townes are but ſmall, and neere the Sea coaſt but fewe, ſome contayning but tenne or twelue houſes: ſome 20. the greateſt that we haue ſeene hath bene but of 30. houſes: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made faſt to ſtakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and cloſe one by another.

Their houſes are made of ſmall poles, made faſt at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vſed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in moſt townes couered with barkes, and in ſome with artificiall mats made of long ruſhes, from the tops of the houſes downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in ſome places they are but 12, and 16, yards long, and in other ſome we haue ſeene of foure and twentie.

In ſome places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other ſome two or three, in ſome ſixe, eight, and more: the greateſt Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue ſeuen or eight hundreth fighting men at the moſt. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are diſtant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongſt themſelues is either by ſudden ſurpriſing one an other moſt commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambuſhes, or ſome ſubtile deuiſes. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue ſome hope of defence, after the deliuery of euery arrow, in leaping behind ſome or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages againſt them ſo many maner of wayes, as by our diſcipline, our ſtrange weapōs and deuiſes elſe, eſpecially Ordinance great and ſmall, it may eaſily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in ſome places, the turning vp of their heeles againſt vs in running away was their beſt defence.

In reſpect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of ſkill and iudgement in the knowledge and vſe of our things, doe eſteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithſtanding, in their proper maner (conſidering the want of ſuch meanes as we haue,) they ſeeme very ingenious. For although they haue no ſuch tooles, nor any ſuch crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in thoſe things they doe, they ſhew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due conſideration ſhall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and ſpeede for doing or execution, by ſo much the more is it probable that they ſhould deſire our friendſhip and loue, and haue the greater reſpect for pleaſing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vſed, that they may in ſhort time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the eaſier and ſooner reformed.

They beleeue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different ſorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purpoſed to make the world, made firſt other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and inſtruments to be vſed in the creation and gouernment to folow, and after the Sunne, moone, and ſtarres as pettie gods, and the inſtruments of the other order more principal. Firſt (they ſay) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuerſitie of creatures that are viſible or inuiſible.

For mankinde they ſay a woman was made firſt, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought foorth children: And in ſuch ſort they ſay they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue paſſed ſince, they ſay they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other ſuch meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times paſt, but onely tradition from father to ſonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane ſhape, and therefore they repreſent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewaſowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houſes appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worſhip, pray, ſing, and make many times offring vnto them. In ſome Machicomuck we haue ſeene but one Kewas, in ſome two, and in other ſome three. The common ſort thinke them to be alſo gods.

They beleeue alſo the immortalitie of the ſoule, that after this life as ſoone as the ſoule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall bliſſe and happineſſe, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furtheſt parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne ſet, there to burne continually: the place they call Popoguſſo.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two ſtories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being ſeene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his ſoule had bene, that is to ſay, very neere entring into Popoguſſo, had not one of the gods ſaued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they ſhould do to auoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the ſame yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for ſtrange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the firſt, ſhewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his ſoule was aliue, & had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both ſides whereof grew moſt delicate and pleaſant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had ſeene before, or was able to expreſſe, and at length came to moſt braue and faire houſes, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and ſhew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleaſures of that place, which when he had done he ſhould after come againe.

What ſubtiltie ſoeuer be in the Wiroances and prieſtes, this opinion worketh ſo much in many of the common and ſimple ſort of people, that it maketh them haue great reſpect to their Gouernours, and alſo great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy bliſſe, although notwithſtanding there is puniſhment ordeined for malefactours, as ſtealers, whoremongers, and other ſorts of wicked doers, ſome puniſhed with death, ſome with forfeitures, ſome with beating, according to the greatneſſe of the facts.

And this is the ſumme of their Religion, which I learned by hauing ſpeciall familiaritie with ſome of their prieſts. Wherein they were not ſo ſure grounded, nor gaue ſuch credite to their traditions and ſtories, but through conuerſing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no ſmall admiration of ours, with earneſt deſire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expreſſe.

Moſt things they ſawe with vs, as Mathematicall inſtruments, ſea Compaſſes, the vertue of the load-ſtone in drawing yron, a perſpectiue glaſſe whereby was ſhewed many ſtrange ſights, burning glaſſes, wilde fireworkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, ſpring-clockes that ſeeme to goe of themſelues, and many other things that wee had were ſo ſtrange vnto them, and ſo farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reaſon and meanes how they ſhould be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leaſtwiſe they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue ſuch opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God ſo ſpecially loued, then from a people that were ſo ſimple, as they found themſelues to be in compariſon of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee ſpake of, concerning ſuch matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was ſet foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of ſaluation through Chriſt, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it ſelfe was not of any ſuch vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiſſe it, to holde it to their breaſtes and heads, and ſtroke ouer all their body with it, to ſhew their hungry deſire of that knowledge which was ſpoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as alſo in others whither hee ſometimes accompanied vs, to pray and ſing Pſalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the ſame effects which we by that meanes alſo expected.

Twiſe this Wiroans was ſo grieuouſly ſicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languiſhing, doubting of any helpe by his owne prieſtes, and thinking hee was in ſuch danger for offending vs and thereby our God, ſent for ſome of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would pleaſe him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in bliſſe, ſo likewiſe were the requeſts of many others in the like caſe.

On a time alſo when their corne began to wither by reaſon of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to paſſe by reaſon that in ſome thing they had diſpleaſed vs, many would come to vs and deſire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preſerue their Corne, promiſing that when it was ripe we alſo ſhould be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any ſtrange ſickneſſe, loſſes, hurts, or any other croſſe vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cauſe or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleaſing vs. One other rare and ſtrange accident, leauing others, wil I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any ſubtile deuiſe practiſed againſt vs, wee leauing it vnpuniſhed or not reuenged (becauſe we ſought by all meanes poſſible to win them by gentleneſſe) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery ſuch Towne, the people began to die very faſt, and many in ſhort ſpace, in ſome Townes about twentie, in ſome fourtie, and in one ſixe ſcore, which in trueth was very many in reſpect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vſed ſome practiſe againſt vs, & after ſuch time. The diſeaſe alſo was ſo ſtrange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldeſt men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing ſpecially obſerued by vs, as alſo by the naturall inhabitants themſelues. Inſomuch that when ſome of the inhabitants which were our friends, and eſpecially the Wiroans Wingina, had obſerued ſuch effects in foure or fiue Townes to followe their wicked practiſes, they were perſwaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and ſlay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderſtanding that any of their enemies had abuſed vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon ſome cauſe the matter ſhould ſo reſt: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like ſort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as alſo theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe ſo much at their requeſts in reſpect of the friendſhip we profeſſed them.

Whoſe entreaties although wee ſhewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not ſubiect himſelfe to any ſuch prayers and requeſts of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleaſure as he had ordeined: and that we to ſhewe our ſelues his true ſeruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and ſerue him in righteouſneſſe, but notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his diuine will and pleaſure, and as by his wiſedome he had ordeined to be beſt.

Yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddenly and ſhortly after according to their deſires, they thought neuertheleſſe it came to paſſe by our meanes, & that we in vſing ſuch ſpeeches vnto them, did but diſſemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, that although we ſatiſfied them not in promiſe, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their deſires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of vs, that ſome people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather becauſe that all the ſpace of their ſicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was ſpecially ſicke: they noted alſo that we had no women amongſt vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres paſt, then riſen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewiſe ſeeme to prophecie, that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as ſome thought the purpoſe was, by that which was already done. Thoſe that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuiſible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that ſort as they did, by ſhooting inuiſible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phiſitions (to excuſe their ignorance in curing the diſeaſe) would not be aſhamed to ſay, but earneſtly make the ſimple people beleeue, that the ſtrings of blood that they ſucked out of the ſicke bodies, were the ſtrings wherewithall the inuiſible bullets were tied and caſt. Some alſo thought that wee ſhot them our ſelues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee liſted, howe farre diſtant from vs ſoeuer it were. And other ſome ſaid, that it was the ſpeciall worke of God for our ſakes, as we our ſelues haue cauſe in ſome ſort to thinke no leſſe, whatſoeuer ſome doe, or may imagine to the contrary, ſpecially ſome Aſtrologers, knowing of the Eclipſe of the Sunne which we ſaw the ſame yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And alſo of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the ſaide ſickneſſe. But to exclude them from being the ſpeciall cauſes of ſo ſpeciall an accident, there are further reaſons then I thinke fit at this preſent to be alleadged. Theſe their opinions I haue ſet downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through diſcreete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and conſequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although ſome of our company towards the end of the yeere, ſhewed themſelues too fierce in ſlaying ſome of the people in ſome Townes, vpon cauſes that on our part might eaſily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it was on their part iuſtly deſerued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the moſt part concerning vs is the leſſe to be doubted. And whatſoeuer els they may be, by carefulneſſe of our ſelues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The beſt neuertheleſſe in this, as in all actions beſides, is to be endeuoured and hoped, and of the worſt that may happen notice to be taken with conſideration, and as much as may be eſchewed.

The concluſion.

Now I haue (as I hope) made relation not of ſo few and ſmall things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well diſpoſed) may bee ſufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtleſſe and in great reaſon is nothing to that which remaineth to be diſcouered, neither the ſoyle, nor commodities. As we haue reaſon ſo to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before ſpoken of, haue bene diſcouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coaſt, where was our abode and moſt of our trauailing: yet ſometimes as we made our iourneys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the ſoile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer graſſe, and as good as euer we ſaw any in England; in ſome places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beaſtes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houſes.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of thoſe which wee haue already diſcouered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in diſcouering the maine of the Weſt Indies. The maine alſo of this Countrey of Virginia, extending ſome wayes ſo many hundreds of leagues, as otherwiſe then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue moſt certaine knowledge of, where yet no Chriſtian prince hath any poſſeſſion or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our diſcouery haue not yet ſeene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being anſwerable to the Iland of Iapan, the land of China, Perſia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, becauſe I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne conſideration.

Whereby alſo the excellent temperature of the aire there at all ſeaſons, much warmer then in England, and neuer ſo vehemently hot, as ſometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

For the holſomneſſe thereof I neede to ſay but thus much: that for all the want of prouiſion, This want is hereafter to be ſupplied.

as firſt of Engliſh victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which ſome ſorts were very ſtrange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in ſuch ſort, as to haue brought vs into ſome grieuous and dangerous diſeaſes: Secondly the want of Engliſh meanes, for the taking of beaſtes, fiſh and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee ſo ſuddenly and eaſily prouided for vs, nor in ſo great number and quantities, nor of that choiſe as otherwiſe might haue bene to our better ſatiſfaction and contentment. Some want alſo we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our trauailes, which were moſt ſpecially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I ſay for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforeſaide cauſes. For all foure, eſpecially three, were feeble, weake, and ſickly perſons before euer they came thither, and thoſe that knew them, much marueled that they liued ſo long being in that caſe, or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is ſo temperate and holſome, the ſoyle ſo fertile, and yeelding ſuch commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage alſo thither to and fro being ſufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twiſe a yeere with eaſe, and at any ſeaſon thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh ſo liberall in large giuing and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances elſe: (The leaſt that he hath granted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his perſon) I hope there remaines no cauſe whereby the action ſhould be miſliked.

If that thoſe which ſhall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reaſonably prouided for the firſt yeere, as thoſe are which were tranſported the laſt, and being there, doe vſe but that diligence and care, that is requiſit, and as they may with eaſe: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, ſome more Engliſh ſorts of cattell alſo hereafter, as ſome haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and ſhall be (God willing) thither tranſported. So likewiſe, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and ſowed, as ſome haue bene already, and proue well: And in ſhort time alſo they may raiſe ſo much of thoſe ſorts of commodities which I haue ſpoken of, as ſhall both enrich themſelues, as alſo others that ſhall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought neceſſary to aduertiſe you of at this preſent: What elſe concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of ſuch as haue bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the firſt diſcouerers of the Countrey, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuil, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Maſter Ralph Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their gouernment: Of the Captaines and Maſters of the voyages made ſince for tranſportation, of the Gouernour and aſſiſtants of thoſe already tranſported, as of many perſons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a diſcourſe by it ſelfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the courſe of times: which when time ſhall be thought conuenient, ſhall be alſo publiſhed.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable constructions, expecting good ſucceſſe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to *Virginia* with three ſhips, in the yere 1587. Wherein was tranſported the ſecond Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perſeuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be ſent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouernour, and alſo appointed vnto him twelue Aſſiſtants, vnto whom hee gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour and Aſſiſtants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

OUr Fleete being in number three ſaile, viz. the Admirall a ſhippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinneſſe, departed the ſixe and twentieth of April from Porteſmouth, and the ſame day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Iſle of Wight, where wee ſtayed eight dayes.

May.

The fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the ſpace of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Maſter of our Admiral, lewdly forſooke our Fly-boate, leauing her diſtreſſed in the Bay of Portugal.

Iune.

The 19 we fell with “Dominica, and the ſame euening we ſayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat alſo fell with Dominica.

“One of the Iſles of the Indies inhabited with Sauages.

Circumſpection to be vſed in ſtrange places.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Iſland called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were ſet on land, ſtaying there till the 25 of the ſame moneth. At our firſt landing on this Iſland, ſome of our women, and men, by eating a ſmall fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a ſudden burning in their mouthes, and ſwelling of their tongues ſo bigge, that ſome of them could not ſpeake. Alſo a child by ſucking one of thoſe womens breaſts, had at that inſtant his mouth ſet on ſuch a burning, that it was ſtrange to ſee how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it ſelfe.

Alſo the firſt night of our being on this Iſland, we tooke fiue great Torteſes, ſome of them of ſuch bignes, that ſixteene of our ſtrongeſt men were tired with carying of one of them but from the ſea ſide to our cabbins. In this Iſland we found no watring place, but a ſtanding ponde, the water whereof was ſo euill, that many of our company fell ſicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but waſh their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did ſo burne and ſwell, that their eyes were ſhut vp, and could not ſee in fiue or ſixe dayes, or longer.

The ſecond day of our abode there, we ſent forth ſome of our men to ſearch the Iſland for freſh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouernour alſo, with ſixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Iſland, but could perceiue no ſigne of any men, or beaſtes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the diſcent of a hill, certaine potſheards of ſauage making, made of the earth of that Iſland: whereupon it was iudged, that this Iſland was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The ſame day at night, the reſt of our company very late returned to the Gouernour. The one company affirmed, that they had ſeene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houſes halfe a mile diſtant from the ſteepe, or toppe of the hill where they ſtayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very faire ſpring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the ſtinking water of the pond.

The ſame ſecond day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinneſſe, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Iſland, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being ſo directed by Ferdinando, who aſſured him he ſhould there find great plenty of ſheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune, we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The ſeuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinneſſe riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and preſently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay, where we ſpent three dayes vnprofitably in taking in freſh water, ſpending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

The firſt day we weyed anker at “Musketoes Bay, where were left behind two Iriſh men of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coaſt of S. Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with Roſſe Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promiſed wee ſhould take in ſalte, and had cauſed vs before, to make and prouide as many ſackes for that purpoſe, as we could. The Gouernour alſo, for that hee vnderſtood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the ſalt hils, appointed thirty ſhot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinneſſe, and to goe aland for ſalt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, ſent to the Gouernour, vſing great perſwaſions with him, not to take in ſalt there, ſaying that hee knew not well whether the ſame were the place or not: alſo, that if the Pinneſſe went into the Bay,

“Musketos Bay, is a harbour vpon the ſouth ſide of S. Iohns Iſland, where we take in freſh water.

ſhe could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any ſtorme ſhould riſe, the Admirall were in danger to bee caſt away. Whileſt he was thus perſwading, he cauſed the lead to be caſt, and hauing craftily brought the ſhippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he ſuddenly began to ſweare, and teare God in pieces, diſſembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: ſo we went off, and were diſappointed of our ſalt, by his meanes.

The next day ſayling along the Weſt end of S. Iohn, the Gouernour determined to go aland in S. Germans “Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to ſet at Virginia, which we knew might eaſily be had, for that they grow neere the ſhore, and the places where they grew, well knowen to the Gouernour, and ſome of the planters: but our Simon denied it, ſaying: he would come to an anker at Hiſpaniola, & there land the Gouernour, and ſome other of the Aſſiſtants, with the pinneſſe, to ſee if he could ſpeake with his friend Alanſon, of whom he hoped to be furniſhed both of cattel, and all ſuch things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing leſſe, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

“ A pleaſant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the weſt end of S. Iohns Iſland where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plātans, & Pines.

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we ſaw Hiſpaniola, and bare with the coaſt all that day, looking ſtill when the pinneſſe ſhould be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanſon was: but that day paſſed, and we ſaw no preparation for landing in Hiſpaniola.

The 4 of Iuly, ſayling along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet ſeene for the ſtaying there, we hauing knowledge that we were paſt the place where Alanſon dwelt, and were come with Iſabella: hereupon Ferdinando was aſked by the Gouernor, whether he meant to ſpeake with Alanſon, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promiſe, or not: but he anſwered that he was now paſt the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambaſſador certified him, that the king of Spaine had ſent for Alanſon into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpoſe to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left ſight of Hiſpaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The ſixt of Iuly we came to the Iſland Caycos, wherein Ferdinando ſayd were two ſalt pondes, aſſuring vs if they were drie, we might find ſalt to ſhift with, vntill the next ſupply: but it prooued as true as finding of ſheepe at Baque. In this Iſland, whileſt Ferdinando ſolaced himſelfe aſhore, with one of the company, in part of the Iſland, others ſpent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iſland, ſome to ſeeke the ſalt ponds, ſome fowling, ſome hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, that the firſt land that we ſaw next ſhould be Virginia.

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Iſland of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himſelfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coaſt, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all caſt away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: ſuch was the careleſnes, and ignorance of our Maſter.

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued ſafe at Hatoraſk, where our ſhip and pinneſſe ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinneſſe, accompanied with fortie of his beſt men, intending to paſſe vp to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde thoſe fifteene Engliſhmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to haue conference, concerning the ſtate of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had ſo done, to returne againe to the fleete, and paſſe along the coaſt, to the Bay of Cheſepiok, where we intended to make our ſeate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but aſſoone as we were put with our pinneſſe from the ſhip, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the ſailers in the pinneſſe, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Iſland, except the Gouernour, & two or three ſuch as he approued, ſaying that the Summer was farre ſpent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the ſaylers, both in the pinneſſe, and ſhippe, perſwaded by the Maſter, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but paſſed to Roanoak, and the ſame night at ſunne-ſet went aland on the Iſland, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any ſigne that they had bene there, ſauing onely wee found the bones of one of thoſe fifteene, which the Sauages had ſlaine long before.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Cheſepiok.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouernour with diuers of his company, walked to the

North ende of the Iſland, where Maſter Ralfe Lane had his forte, with ſundry neceſſary and decent dwelling houſes, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find ſome ſignes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort raſed downe, but all the houſes ſtanding vnhurt, ſauing that the neather roomes of them, and alſo of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers ſortes, and Deere within them, feeding on thoſe Melons: ſo wee returned to our company, without hope of euer ſeeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The ſame day order was giuen, that euery man ſhould be employed for the repayring of thoſe houſes, which wee found ſtanding, and alſo to make other newe Cottages, for ſuch as ſhould neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the reſt of our planters arriued all ſafe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Maſter of our Admirall Ferdinando grieued greatly at their ſafe comming: for hee purpoſely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and ſtole away from them in the night, hoping that the Maſter thereof, whoſe name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in ſo dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of ſo many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they ſhould ſurely be taken, or ſlaine: but God diſappointed his wicked pretenſes.

Edward Spicer.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Aſſiſtants was ſlaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpoſe to eſpie our company, and what number we were, or elſe to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Iſland. Theſe Sauages being ſecretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere aſleep, and ſo kill them, eſpied our man wading in the water alone, almoſt naked, without any weapon, ſaue only a ſmal forked ſticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and alſo being ſtrayed two miles from his company, and ſhot at him in the water, where they gaue him ſixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had ſlaine him with their wooden ſwords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iuly Maſter Stafford and twenty of our men paſſed by water to the Iſland of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred dwelling in that Iſland, of whom wee hoped to vnderſtand ſome newes of our fifteene men, but eſpecially to learne the diſpoſition of the people of the countrey towards vs, and to renew our old friendſhip with them. At our firſt landing they ſeemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our ſhot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, aſſoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and ſome of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, deſiring vs not to gather or ſpill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We anſwered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, ſhould be diminiſhed by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the firſt, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which anſwere ſeemed to pleaſe them well, wherefore they requeſted vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feaſted vs after their maner, and deſired vs earneſtly, that there might bee ſome token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Iſland. They told vs further, that for want of ſome ſuch badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Iſland by Maſter Lane his company, whereof they ſhewed vs one, which at that very inſtant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer ſince: but they ſayd, they knew our men miſtooke them, and hurt them in ſtead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excuſed.

Auguſt

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquaſcogoc, & Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of thoſe townes, that if they would accept our friendſhip, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings paſt on both partes, ſhould be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan anſwered, that they would gladly doe the beſt they could, and within ſeuen dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Gouernours of thoſe townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their anſwere. We alſo vnderſtood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Maſter Howe was ſlaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Daſamonguepeuk, with whom Wancheſe kept companie: and alſo we vnderſtood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Engliſhmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were ſuddenly ſet vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquaſcogoc, and Daſamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conueyed themſelues ſecretly behind the trees, neere the houſes where our men careleſly liued: and hauing perceiued that of thoſe fifteene they could ſee but eleuen only, two of thoſe Sauages appeared to the 11 Engliſhmen, calling to them by friendly ſignes, that but two of their chiefeſt men ſhould come vnarmed to ſpeake with thoſe two Sauages, who ſeemed alſo to bee vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefeſt of our Engliſhmen went gladly to them: but whileſt one of thoſe Sauages traiterouſly imbraced one of our men, the other with his ſworde of wood, which he had ſecretly hidden vnder his mantell, ſtrooke him on the head and ſlew him, and preſently the other eight and twenty Sauages ſhewed them ſelues: the other Engliſhman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages purſued with their bowes, and arrowes, ſo faſt, that the Engliſhmen were forced to take the houſe, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages forthwith ſet the ſame on fire: by meanes whereof our men were forced to take vp ſuch weapons as came firſt to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they ſkirmiſhed aboue an howre. In this ſkirmiſh another of our men was ſhotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and alſo one of the Sauages was ſhot into the ſide by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died preſently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themſelues, and ſo offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being ſome of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water ſide, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they eſpied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oyſters: theſe foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Iſland on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe ſufficiently diſpatched our buſineſſe at Croatoan, the ſame day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of Auguſt, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroanſes of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoc, Secota, and Daſamonguepeuk, ſeeing that the ſeuen dayes were paſt, within which they promiſed to come in, or to ſend their anſweres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly alſo informed by thoſe men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Daſamonquepeuk, were they which had ſlaine George Howe, and were alſo at the driuing of our eleuen Engliſhmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the ſame night about midnight, he paſſed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where thoſe Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himſelfe toward vs as a moſt faithfull Engliſhman.

The next day, being the 9 of Auguſt, in the morning ſo early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very ſecretly conueyed our ſelues through the woods, to that ſide, where we had their houſes betweene vs and the water: and hauing eſpied their fire, and ſome ſitting about it, we preſently ſet on them: the miſerable ſoules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing faſt by, where our men perceiuing them, ſhot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entred the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for thoſe Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, becauſe they vnderſtood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had ſlaine George Howe, and for haſte had left all their corne, Tabacco, and Pompions ſtanding in ſuch ſort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was ſo darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all ſo like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, ſhee had bene ſlaine in ſtead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew Maſter Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was ſaued. Finding our ſelues thus diſappointed of our purpoſe, we gathered al the corne, Peaſe, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leauing the reſt vnſpoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the miſtaking of theſe Sauages ſomewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, ſaying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promiſe in comming to the Gouernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that miſchance.

The 13 of Auguſt our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was
chriſtened

The names of all the men, women and children, which ſafely arriued in *Virginia*, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. *Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.*

IOhn White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Chriſtopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
Iohn Sampſon.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnſon.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.
William Willes.
Iohn Brooke.
Cutbert White.
Iohn Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
Iohn Cotſmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinſon.
Iohn Tydway.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Edmond Engliſh.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
Iohn Burden.
Iames Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earneſt.
Henry Iohnſon.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
Iohn Wright.
William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Biſhop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Pheuens.
Iohn Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenſon.
Martin Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.
Richard Shabedge.
Iames Laſie.
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Iones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Roſe Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

Iohn Sampſon.
Robert Ellis.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
Iohn Prat.
William Wythers.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Haruie.

Sauages.

Manteo. } That were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.
Towaye.

To the Worſhipful and my very friend Maſter *Richard Hakluyt*, much happineſſe in the Lord.

SIr, as well for the ſatiſfying of your earneſt requeſt, as the performance of my promiſe made vnto you at my laſt being with you in *England*, I haue ſent you (although in a homely ſtile, eſpecially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true diſcourſe of my laſt voyage into the Weſt *Indies*, and partes of *America* called *Virginia*, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you ſhall plainely perceiue by the ſequele of my diſcourſe. There were at the time aforeſaid three ſhips abſolutely determined to goe for the Weſt *Indies*, at the ſpeciall charges of M. *Iohn Wattes* of *London* Marchant. But when they were fully furniſhed, and in readineſſe to make their departure, a generall ſtay was commanded of all ſhips thorowout *England*. Which ſo ſoone as I heard, I preſently (as I thought it moſt requiſite) acquainted Sir *Walter Ralegh* therewith, deſiring him that as I had ſundry times afore bene chargeable and troubleſome vnto him, for the ſupplies and reliefes of the planters in *Virginia*: ſo likewiſe, that by his endeuour it would pleaſe him at that inſtant to procure licenſe for thoſe three ſhips to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in *Virginia* (if it were Gods pleaſure) might ſpeedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained licenſe of the Queenes Maieſtie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ſhips ſhould be bound vnto Sir *Walter Ralegh* or his aſſignes, in 3000 pounds, that thoſe 3 ſhips in conſideration of their releaſement ſhould take in, & tranſport a conuenient number of paſſengers, with their furnitures and neceſſaries to be landed in *Virginia*. Neuertheleſſe that order was not obſerued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforeſaid. But rather in contempt of the aforeſaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ſhips denied to haue any paſſengers, or any thing els tranſported in any of the ſaid ſhips, ſauing only my ſelfe & my cheſt; no not ſo much as a boy to attend vpõ me, although I made great ſute, & earneſt intreatie aſwell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the ſaid ſhips. Which croſſe and vnkind dealing, although it very much diſcontented me, notwithſtanding the ſcarſity of time was ſuch, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir *Walter Ralegh* with complaint: for the ſhips being then all in readineſſe to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouernors, Maſters, and ſailers, regarding very ſmally the good of their countreymen in *Virginia*; determined nothing leſſe then to touch at thoſe places, but wholly diſpoſed themſelues to ſeeke after purchaſe & ſpoiles, ſpending ſo much time therein, that ſommer was ſpent before we arriued at *Virginia*. And when we were come thither, the ſeaſon was ſo vnfit, & weather ſo foule, that we were conſtrained of force to forſake that coaſt, hauing not ſeene any of our planters, with loſſe of one of our ſhip-boates, and 7 of our chiefeſt men: and alſo with loſſe of 3 of our ankers and cables, and moſt of our caskes with freſh water left on ſhore, not poſſible to be had aboord. Which euils & vnfortunate euents (as wel to their owne loſſe as to the hinderance of the planters in *Virginia*) had not chanced, if the order ſet downe by Sir *Walter Ralegh* had bene obſerued, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the ſame might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceiue the ſucceſſe of my fift & laſt voiage to *Virginia*, which was no leſſe vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as luckleſſe to many, as ſiniſter to my ſelfe. But I would to God it had bene as proſperous to all, as noyſome to the planters; & as ioyfull to me, as diſcomfortable to them. Yet ſeeing it is not my firſt croſſed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wiſhes, I leaue off from proſecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were anſwerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my diſcomfortable company the planters in *Virginia*, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I moſt humbly beſeech to helpe & comfort them, according to his moſt holy will & their good deſire, I take my leaue: from my houſe at *Newtowne* in *Kylmore* the 4 of February, 1593.

Your moſt welwiſhing friend,

Iohn White.

The fift voyage of M. *Iohn VVhite* into the *VVeſt Indies* and parts of *America* called *Virginia*, in the yeere 1590.

The 20 of March the three ſhippes the Hopewell, the Iohn Euangeliſt, and the Little Iohn, put to Sea from Plymmouth with two ſmall Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were ſunke being towed at the ſhips ſtearnes by the Boatſwaines negligence.

On the 30 we ſaw a head vs that part of the coaſt of Barbary, lying Eaſt of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Aſaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our paſſing by, a Pinneſſe of London called the Mooneſhine.

April

chriſtened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Daſamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull ſeruice.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Aſſiſtants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the ſame was chriſtened there the Sonday following, and becauſe this child was the firſt Chriſtian borne in Virginia, ſhee was named Virginia. By this time our ſhips had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and freſh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters alſo prepared their letters and tokens to ſend backe into England.

Our two ſhips, the Lion and the Flyboat almoſt ready to depart, the 21 of Auguſt, there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt at Northeaſt, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to ſea, where he lay beating off and on ſixe dayes before he could come to vs againe, ſo that we feared he had bene caſt away, and the rather for that at the time that the ſtorme tooke them, the moſt and beſt of their ſailers were left aland.

At this time ſome controuerſies aroſe betweene the Gouernour and Aſſiſtants, about chooſing two out of the twelue Aſſiſtants, which ſhould goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refuſed, ſaue onely one, which all other thought not ſufficient: but at length by much perſwading of the Gouernour, Chriſtopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perſwaſion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, ſo that now the matter ſtood as at the firſt.

The next day, the 22 of Auguſt, the whole company both of the Aſſiſtants and planters came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requeſted him to returne himſelfe into England, for the better and ſooner obtaining of ſupplies, and other neceſſaries for them: but he refuſed it, and alleaged many ſufficient cauſes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not ſo ſuddenly returne backe againe without his great diſcredite, leauing the action, and ſo many whome hee partly had procured through his perſwaſions, to leaue their natiue countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that ſome enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not ſpare to ſlander falſly both him and the action, by ſaying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade ſo many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to ſtay himſelfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Alſo he alleaged, that ſeeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine preſently, he being then abſent, his ſtuffe and goods might be both ſpoiled, & moſt of them pilfered away in the cariage, ſo that at his returne he ſhould be either forced to prouide himſelfe of all ſuch things againe, or elſe at his comming againe to Virginia find himſelfe vtterly vnfurniſhed, whereof already he had found ſome proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himſelfe.

Their meaning to remoue 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Aſſiſtants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requeſts to the Gouernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the ſupply, and diſpatch of all ſuch things as there were to be done, promiſing to make him their bond vnder all their handes and ſeales for the ſafe preſeruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, ſo that if any part thereof were ſpoyled or loſt, they would ſee it reſtored to him, or his Aſſignes, whenſoeuer the ſame ſhould be miſſed and demanded: which bond, with a teſtimony vnder their hands and ſeales, they forthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the teſtimony I thought good to ſet downe.

May it pleaſe you, her Maieſties ſubiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by theſe preſents let you and euery of you to vnderſtand, that for the preſent and ſpeedy ſupply of certaine our knowen and apparant lackes and needes, moſt requiſite and neceſſary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & conſent, haue moſt earneſtly intreated, and vnceſſantly requeſted Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to paſſe into England, for the better and more aſſured help, and ſetting forward of the foreſayd ſupplies: and knowing aſſuredly that he both can beſt, and will labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refuſing it, for our ſakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at laſt, though much againſt his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs, and himſelfe in all our behalfes to paſſe into England, of whoſe knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe aſſure our ſelues by theſe preſents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of Auguſt 1587.

The Gouernour being at the laſt through their extreame intreating conſtrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes reſpite to prepare himſelfe for the ſame, departed from Roanoak the ſeuen and twentieth of Auguſt in the morning, and the ſame day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the ſame morning was newly come thither againe. The ſame day both the ſhips weyed anker, and ſet ſaile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capſtone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came ſo faſt about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof ſtrooke and hurt moſt of them ſo ſore, that ſome of them neuer recouered it: neuertheleſſe they aſſayed preſently againe to wey their anker, but being ſo weakened with the firſt ſling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the ſecond time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and moſt of them by this vnfortunate beginning ſo bruiſed, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leeſe their anker. Neuertheleſſe, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the ſeuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and ſawe Flores.

September.

The eighteenth, perceiuing of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former miſchance, were able to ſtand to their labour: and that the the Admirall meant not to make any haſte for England, but to linger about the Iſland of Tercera for purchaſe: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arriue ſhortly: but by that time we had continued our courſe homeward about twenty dayes, hauing had ſometimes ſcarſe and variable windes, our freſh water alſo by leaking almoſt conſumed, there aroſe a ſtorme at Northeaſt, which for ſixe dayes ceaſed not to blowe ſo exceeding, that we were driuen further in thoſe ſixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our ſaylers began to fall very ſicke and two of them dyed, the weather alſo continued ſo cloſe, that our Maſter ſometimes in foure dayes together could ſee neither ſunne nor ſtarre, and all the beuerage we could make, with ſtinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to periſh at Sea.

October.

The 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the ſame land at that day: about ſunne ſet we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinneſſe of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe aſhore, vntill the pinneſſe ſent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom we vnderſtood wee were in Smerwick in the Weſt parts of Ireland: they alſo releeued vs preſently with freſh water, wine, and other freſh meate.

Smerwick in the Weſt of Ireland

The 18 the Gouernour and the Maſter ryd to Dingen a Cuſhe, 5 miles diſtant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe of our ſicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatſwain, the Steward, and the Boatſwains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Maſters mate and two of our chiefe ſailers were brought ſicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

The firſt the Gouernour ſhipped himſelfe in a ſhip called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to ſea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The ſame day we ſet ſayle, and on the third day we fell with the North ſide of the lands end, and were ſhut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the ſame for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Gouernour landed in England at Martaſew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderſtood that our conſort the Admiral was come to Portſmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and alſo that Ferdinando the Maſter with all his company were not onely come home without any purchaſe, but alſo in ſuch weakneſſe by ſickneſſe, and death of their chiefeſt men, that they were ſcarſe able to bring their ſhip into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue periſhed there, if a ſmall barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are theſe, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and ſome other ſaylers, whoſe names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The

Aprill.

ON the firſt of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great ſhippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 ſhipboats to ſupply the loſſe of our Shallops.

On the 2 we ſet ſayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we ſaw Alegranza, the Eaſt Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chaſe to a double flyboat, the which, we alſo the ſame day fought with, and tooke her, with loſſe of three of their men ſlaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we ſaw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in freſh water on the Southſide thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our courſe for Dominica.

The laſt of Aprill we ſaw Dominica, and the ſame night we came to an anker on the Southſide thereof.

May.

THe firſt of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboord our ſhips in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we alſo the ſame day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the ſame day aboord without any reſiſtance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinneſſe departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take ſome Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the ſame night we had ſight of three ſmal Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadalupe and them on our ſtarboord.

The 3 we had ſight of S. Chriſtophers Iland, bearing Northeaſt and by Eaſt off vs.

On the 4 we ſayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the Eaſt ende of S. Iohns Iland; and the ſame day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we ſtayed but three houres, & from thence ſtood into the ſhore Northweſt, and hauing brought this Iland Southeaſt off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or ſwatch, called The paſſage, lying betwene the Virgines, and the Eaſt end of S. Iohn: here the Pinneſſe left vs and ſayled on the South ſide of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall ſayled along the Northſide of S. Iohn, ſo neere the ſhore that the Spaniards diſcerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coaſt as we ſailed by, for ſo their cuſtome is, when they ſee any men of warre on their coaſts.

The 7 we landed on the Northweſt end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana, and the ſame night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our ſtate, ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houſes inhabited of the Spaniards; theſe we burned & tooke from them a Pinneſſe, which they had drawen a ground and ſunke, and carried all her ſayles, maſtes, and rudders into the woods, becauſe we ſhould not take him away; we alſo chaſed the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and buſhes, ſo that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues diſtant from Mona, lying on the Southſide of Hiſpaniola neere the Eaſt end: betweene theſe two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take ſome of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thurſday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spaniſh Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other fiue daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforeſaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Caſiques ſonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they ſhortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballaſt.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangeliſt our Pinneſſe ſtaying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almoſt ſtarued on the ſhore, who made a fire to our ſhips as we paſſed by. Thoſe places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a deſolate and meere wilderneſſe, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

M. William Lane.

The 22 our Pinneſſe came alſo to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we vnderſtood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinneſſe, how he was ſet vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight & forſooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 The Iohn our Vizadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we ſhould attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitſunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at ten dayes end returned to our ſhips almoſt ſtarued for want of food. In ſundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkaſes of diuers men, who had periſhed (as wee thought) by famine in thoſe woods, being either ſtragled from their company, or landed there by ſome men of warre.

Iune.

ON the 14 of Iune we tooke a ſmal Spaniſh frigat which fell amongſt vs ſo ſuddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, ſo that he could not eſcape vs. This Frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who eſcaped all out of priſon at Santo Domingo, purpoſing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the Weſt parts of Hiſpaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

Spaniſh fugitiues.

The 17 being Wedneſday Captaine Lane was ſent to Yaguana with his Pinneſſe and a Frigat to take a ſhippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we vnderſtood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the ſhippe, with many paſſengers and Negroes in the ſame; which proued not ſo rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and ſpoyled her before we came. Neuertheleſſe her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafiſtula, Copper-pannes, and Caſaui.

Iuly.

Edward Spicer.

THe ſecond of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a ſmall Pinneſſe, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the ſame day we had ſight of a fleete of 14 ſaile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we preſently gaue chaſe, but they vpon the firſt ſight of vs fled, and ſeparating themſelues ſcattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our ſelues and ſo made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reaſon of the darkeneſſe we loſt ſight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the ſame night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spaniſh fleete, againſt whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with loſſe of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 ſlaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinneſſe, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

This fight was in ſight of the Iland of Nauaza.

The 3 of Iuly we ſpent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be ſailed with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we ſaw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in ſight on our ſtarboord.

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we ſaw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southſide of Cuba nigh vnto the Weſt end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the ſame day we gaue chaſe to a Frigat, but at night we loſt ſight of her, partly by the ſlow ſayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinneſſe, whom Captaine Cooke had ſent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our conſort the Moonelight and her Pinneſſe abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderſtood that the day before there paſſed by them 22 ſaile, ſome of them of the burden of 300 and ſome 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treaſure from the maine, bound for Hauana; from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very ſcarſe, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much peſtered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards ſauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choiſe on the Southſide of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had ſight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.

The 25 being S. Iames day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the Eaſt of Hauana, where we purpoſed to take freſh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were eſpied of three ſmall Pinnaſſes of S. Iohn de Vllua bound for Hauana, which were exceeding richly loaden, Theſe 3 Pinnaſſes came very boldly vp vnto vs, and ſo continued vntill they came within muſket ſhot of vs. And we ſuppoſed them to be Captaine Harps pinneſſe, and two ſmall Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we ſhewed our flag. But they preſently vpon the ſight of it turned about & made all the ſaile they could from vs toward the ſhore, & kept thẽſelues in ſo ſhallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of ſhot & pouder to no purpoſe. But if we had not ſo raſhly ſet out our flagge, wee might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chaſe brought vs ſo far to leeward as Hauana: wherfore not finding any of our conſorts at ẏ Matanças, we put ouer again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare Weſt off vs.

The 30 we loſt ſight of the coaſt of Florida, and ſtood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much ſwifter a farre off then in ſight of the coaſt. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the ſhore are none but eddie currents, ſetting to the South and Southweſt.

The ſtate of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 31 our three ſhips were clearely diſbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneſhine, but our prize being thus diſbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or conſort, and ſayled directly for England.

Auguſt.

ON the firſt of Auguſt the winde ſcanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great ſpouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ſhips.

The 3 we ſtoode againe in for the ſhore, and at midday we tooke the height of the ſame. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low ſandie Ilands Weſt of Wokokon. But the weather continued ſo exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coaſt: wherefore we ſtood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of Auguſt.

Sandie Ilands Weſt of Wokokon.

On munday the ſtorme ceaſed, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we ſtood in againe for the ſhore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the ſhore, where we went on land on the narrow ſandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes Weſt of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in ſome freſh water and caught great ſtore of fiſh in the ſhallow water. Betweene the maine (as we ſuppoſed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in moſt places.

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeaſt end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reaſon of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we waped our ankers, our boates were ſent to ſound ouer this breach; our ſhips riding on the ſide thereof at 5 fadome; and a ſhips length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and ſhallowing for the ſpace of two miles, ſo that ſometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two caſts with the lead 9, & then 8, next caſt 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the leaſt, 2 leagues off frō the ſhore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeaſt point of Croatoan, wheras goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

Great diuerſity of ſoūdings.

The 15 of Auguſt towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the ſhore. At our firſt cōming to anker on this ſhore we ſaw a great ſmoke riſe in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which ſmoake put vs in good hope that ſome of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a terce.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a ſhore, & Captain Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their cōpany with me, with intent to paſſe to the place at Raonoak where our countreymen were left. At our putting from the ſhip we commanded our Maſter gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to ſhoot them off with reaſonable ſpace betweene euery ſhot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde ſome of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off vnto the ſhore, in the Admirals boat

we

They land.

Freſh water found in ſandy hilles

we ſounded all the way and found from our ſhippe vntill we came within a mile of the ſhore nine, eight, and ſeuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ſhips and the ſhore we ſaw another great ſmoke to the Southweſt of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that ſecond ſmoke firſt: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we ſuppoſed it to be, ſo that we were very ſore tired before wee came to the ſmoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the ſmoke, we found no man nor ſigne that any had bene there lately, nor yet any freſh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our abſence had brought their caſke a ſhore for freſh water, ſo we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and cauſed ſome of thoſe ſaylers to digge in thoſe ſandie hilles for freſh water whereof we found very ſufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in ſafety.

Captaine Spicer drowned.

The next morning being the 17 of Auguſt, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then ſent his boat aſhore for freſh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ſhips which were then come to an anker within two miles of the ſhore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the ſhore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ſhip. The Admirals boat firſt paſſed the breach, but not without ſome danger of ſinking, for we had a ſea brake into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull ſtyrage of Captaine Cooke we came ſafe aſhore, ſauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and ſpoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeaſt and direct into the harbour ſo great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled aſhore, and moſt of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his maſt ſtanding vp, and was halfe paſſed ouer, but by the raſh and vndiſcreet ſtyrage of Ralph Skinner his Maſters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerſet them quite, the men kept the boat ſome in it, and ſome hanging on it, but the next ſea ſet the boat on ground, where it beat ſo, that ſome of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade aſhore, but the Sea ſtill beat them downe, ſo that they could neither ſtand nor ſwimme, and the boat twiſe or thriſe was turned the keele vpward; whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they ſunke, & were ſeene no more. But foure that could ſwimme a litle kept themſelues in deeper water and were ſaued by Captain Cookes meanes, who ſo ſoone as he ſaw their ouerſetting, ſtripped himſelfe, and foure other that could ſwimme very well, & with all haſte poſſible rowed vnto them, & ſaued foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefeſt were drowned, whoſe names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This miſchance did ſo much diſcomfort the ſaylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to ſeeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perſwaſion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and ſeeing the Captaine and me ſo reſolute, they ſeemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 perſons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was ſo exceeding darke, that we ouerſhot the place a quarter of a mile: there we eſpied towards the North end of the Iland yͤ light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we preſently rowed: when wee came right ouer againſt it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the ſhore, & ſounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwardes many familiar Engliſh tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no anſwere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and cõming to the fire, we found the graſſe & ſundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly ouer againſt Daſamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water ſide, round about the Northpoint of the Iland, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we ſaw in the ſand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 ſorts troaden yͤ night, and as we entred vp the ſandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiouſly carued theſe faire Romane letters C R O: which letters preſently we knew to ſignifie the place, where I ſhould find the planters ſeated, according to a ſecret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my laſt departure frõ them, which was, that in any wayes they ſhould not faile to write or carue on the trees or poſts of the dores the name of the place where they ſhould be ſeated; for at my cõming away they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they ſhould happen to be diſtreſſed in any of thoſe places, that then they ſhould carue ouer the letters or name, a Croſſe ✠ in this forme, but we found no ſuch ſigne of diſtreſſe. And hauing well conſidered of this, we paſſed toward the place where they were left in ſundry houſes, but we found the houſes taken downe, and the place very ſtrongly encloſed with a high paliſado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or poſtes at the right ſide of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any croſſe or ſigne of diſtreſſe; this done, we entred into the paliſado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron ſacker-ſhotte, and ſuch like heauie things, throwen here and there, almoſt ouergrowen with graſſe and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water ſide, towards the poynt of the Creeke to ſee if we could find any of their botes or Pinniſſe, but we could perceiue no ſigne of them, nor any of the laſt Falkons and ſmall Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, ſome of our Saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers cheſts had bene hidden, and long ſithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them ſpoyled and ſcattered about, but nothing left, of ſuch things as the Sauages knew any vſe of, vndefaced. Preſently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres paſt by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found fiue Cheſts, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the ſame cheſts three were my owne, and about the place many of my things ſpoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of ſome of my pictures and Mappes rotten and ſpoyled with rayne, and my armour almoſt eaten through with ruſt; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Daſamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and aſſoone as they were departed, digged vp euery place where they ſuſpected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieued me to ſee ſuch ſpoyle of my goods, yet on the other ſide I greatly ioyed that I had ſafely found a certaine token of their ſafe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had ſeene in this place ſo much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the ſhoare towards our Shippes, with as much ſpeede as wee could: For the weather beganne to ouercaſt, and very likely that a foule and ſtormie night would enſue. Therefore the ſame Euening with much danger and labour, we got our ſelues aboard, by which time the winde and ſeas were ſo greatly riſen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would ſcarcely holde vntill Morning; wherefore the Captaine cauſed the Boate to be manned with fiue luſty men, who could ſwimme all well, and ſent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard ſixe of our men, who had filled our caſke with freſh water: the Boate the ſame night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caſke ready filled they left behinde, vnpoſſible to bee had aboard without danger of caſting away both men and Boates; for this night prooued very ſtormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my ſelfe, with the Maſter and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and alſo to leaue that Caſke with freſh water on ſhoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capſton, but when the anchor was almoſt apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we loſt another Anchor, wherewith we droue ſo faſt into the ſhoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor; which came ſo faſt home that the Shippe was almoſt aground by Kenricks mounts: ſo that wee were forced to let ſlippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, cloſer by the ſhoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of ſome dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without ſome loſſe; for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals ſcarſe, and our caſke and freſh water loſt: it was therefore determined that we ſhould goe for Saint Iohn or ſome other Iland to the Southward for freſh water. And it was further purpoſed, that if wee could any wayes ſupply our wants of victuals and other neceſſaries, either at Hiſpaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee ſhould continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to viſit our countrymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earneſt petitions) thereunto agreed, ſo that it reſted onely to knowe what the Maſter of the Moone-light our conſort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alledged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the ſame night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall ſet his courſe for Trynidad, which courſe we kept two dayes.

They leaue the coaſt of Virginia.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was ſette on foule weather euery way: but this ſtorme brought the winde Weſt and Northweſt, and blewe ſo forcibly, that wee were able to beare no ſayle, but our fore-courſe halfe maſt high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due courſe for England, for that wee were dryuen to change our firſt determination for Tryniدad, and ſtoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purpoſed to take in freſh water, and alſo there hoped to meete with ſome Engliſh men of warre about thoſe Ilands, at whoſe hands wee might obtaine ſome ſupply of our wants. And thus continuing our courſe for the Açores, ſometimes with calmes, and ſometimes with very ſcarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeaſt, and blew ſo exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we iudged our ſelues to be about twentie leagues to the Weſt of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the ſtorme ceaſed, and fayre weather enſued.

On Thurſday the ſeuenteenth wee ſaw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reaſon the winde ſhifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, ſtanding in againe with Cueruo, we eſcryed a ſayle ahead vs, to whom we gaue chaſe: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make ſure purchaſe of him; but we vnderſtood at our ſpeaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our conſort, in the Indies. We learned alſo of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinniſſe had fought with the reſt of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for ſuccour, and ſome of them ran themſelues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of ſome others ſo much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderſtood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought; in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was ſlaine, and the Captaines right arme ſtrooken off, with foure other of his men ſlaine, and ſixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spaniſh ſhippes, which was ſo ſore ſhot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treaſure, ſhe ſunke; ſo that we loſt thirteene Pipes of ſiluer which ſunke with her, beſides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spaniſh ſhippe being pearced with nine ſhotte vnder water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to purſue: but ſome of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they ſaw aboue water neere the ſhoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to reſcue the two Ships; Wherefore they gaue ouer their chaſe, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

13. Pipes of ſiluer.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a ſmall village on the North ſide of Flores, where we found ryding 5. Engliſh men of warre, of whom wee vnderſtood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of theſe fiue was the Moonelight our conſort, who vpon the firſt ſight of our comming into Flores, ſet ſayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Roſe, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, ſtood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ſhips, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-ſure, the Foreſight, with many other good merchants ſhips of warre, as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of ſir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ſhips and pinniſſes, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the Weſt Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we ſpake with the Swift-ſure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines deſired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ſhips ſtood for Faial. But the Generall with the reſt of the Fleete were ſeparated from vs, making two fleetes, for the ſurer meeting with the Spaniſh fleete.

On Wedneſday the 23. we ſaw Gratioſa, where the Admiral and the reſt of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counſel, in which was determined that the whole fleete ſhould go for the mayne, and ſpred themſelues on the coaſts of Spaine and Portugal, ſo farre as conueniently they might, for the ſurer meeting of the Spaniſh fleete in thoſe parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with ſome other of the fleete ankred, other ſome plyed vp and downe betweene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Antony ſhot off a piece and weyed, ſhewing his light: after whom the whole fleete ſtood to the Eaſt, the winde at Northeaſt by Eaſt.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who ſtood to the Eaſt. But our ſhippe accompanied with a Flyboate ſtoode in againe with S. George, where we purpoſed to take in more freſh water, and ſome other freſh victuals.

On Wedneſday the 30. of September, ſeeing the winde hang ſo Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpoſe to water there, and the next day framed our due courſe for England.

October.

The 2. of October in the Morning we ſaw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we ſaw Vſhant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in ſafetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.

CERTAINE VOYAGES TO FLORIDA, AND the later and more perfect diſcoueries thereof, to wit, of all the Seacoaſts, Riuers, Bayes, Hauens, Iſles, and maine landes farre vp into the Countrey, and a report of ſome colonies and fortes there planted and diſplanted, with a deſcription of the gouernment, diſpoſition and qualitie of the naturall inhabitants, and a declaration of the temperature of the climate, and of the manifolde good commodities found in thoſe regions.

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN King of *France*, Francis the firſt.

The relation of *Iohn de Verrazzano* a Florentine, of the land by him diſcouered in the name of his Maieſtie. Written in *Diepe* the eight of Iuly, 1524.

I Wrote not to your Maieſty, moſt Chriſtian king, ſince the time we ſuffered the tempeſt in the North partes, of the ſucceſſe of the foure Shippes, which your Maieſtie ſent forth to diſcouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maieſtie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by theſe preſents I will giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with the two ſhips, the Norman and the Dolphin (in ſuch euill caſe as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our courſe along by the coaſt of Spaine, which your Maieſtie ſhall vnderſtand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make diſcouerie of new Countries, to proſecute the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpoſe at this preſent to recount vnto your Maieſtie, to make manifeſt the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17. of January the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the diſhabited rocke by the iſle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ſhip-munition very well prouided & furniſhed for 8. moneths: And ſayling Weſtwards with a faire Eaſterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were ouertaken with as ſharpe and terrible a tempeſt as euer any saylers ſuffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull aſſiſtance of Almighty God, and the goodneſſe of our ſhippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were deliuered, and with a proſperous winde followed our courſe Weſt and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues more, where we diſcouered a new land, neuer before ſeene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at the firſt ſight it ſeemed ſomewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceiued by the great fires that we ſaw by the Sea coaſt, that it was inhabited: and ſaw that the lande ſtretched to the Southwards. In ſeeking ſome conuenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we ſayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and ſeeing the land to runne ſtill to the Southwards, we reſolued to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our ſelues troubled with the like difficultie. At length being in deſpaire to finde any Port, wee caſt anchor vpon the coaſt, and ſent our Boate to ſhore, where we ſaw great ſtore of people which came to the Sea ſide; and ſeeing vs approch, they fled away, and ſometimes would ſtand ſtill and

The Iſle of Madêra.

They diſcouer land.

looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and aſſured with ſignes that we made them, ſome of them came hard to the Sea ſide, ſeeming to reioyce very much at the ſight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, ſhape and whiteneſſe, ſhewed vs by ſundry ſignes where we might moſt commodiouſly come aland with our Boat, offering vs alſo of their victuals to eate. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maieſtie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: Theſe people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine ſkins of beaſts like vnto Marterns, which they faſten vnto a narrow girdle made of graſſe very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of diuers other beaſtes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour ruſſet, and not much vnlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane ſtature, and commonly ſomewhat bigger then we: broad breaſted, ſtrong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well faſhioned, and they are diſfigured in nothing, ſauing that they haue ſomewhat broade viſages, and yet not all of them: for we ſaw many of them wel fauoured, hauing blacke and great eyes, with a chearefull and ſteady looke, not ſtrong of body, yet ſharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in thoſe two laſt qualities they are like to the people of the Eaſt partes of the world, and eſpecially to them of the vttermoſt parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of liuing, nor their particular cuſtoms, by reaſon of the ſhort abode we made on the ſhore, our company being but ſmall, and our ſhip ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from theſe wee found another people, whoſe liuing wee thinke to be like vnto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare vnto your Maieſtie) ſhewing at this preſent the ſituation and nature of the foreſayd land. The ſhoare is all couered with ſmall ſand, and ſo aſcendeth vpwards for the ſpace of 15. foote, riſing in forme of litle hils about 50. paces broad. And ſayling forwards, we found certaine ſmall Riuers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, waſhing the ſhoare on both ſides as the coaſt lyeth. And beyond this we ſaw the open Countrey riſing in height aboue the ſandie ſhoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, ſome very thicke, and ſome thinne, repleniſhed with diuers ſorts of trees, as pleaſant and delectable to behold, as is poſſible to imagine. And your Maieſty may not thinke that theſe are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deſerts of Tartary, and the Northerne coaſts full of fruitleſſe trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypreſſe trees, and many other ſortes of trees vnknowen in Europe, which yeeld moſt ſweete ſauours farre from the ſhoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cauſe aforeſaid, and not for any difficulty to paſſe through the woods, ſeeing they are not ſo thicke but that a man may paſſe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the Eaſt world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs or ſpicery, and other riches of golde, ſeeing the colour of the land doth ſo much argue it. And the land is full of many beaſtes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewiſe of Lakes and Pooles of freſh water, with great plentie of Fowles, conuenient for all kinde of pleaſant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholeſome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in thoſe Regions, and thoſe that doe commonly reigne in thoſe coaſts, are the Northweſt and Weſt windes in the ſummer ſeaſon, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the ſkie cleere and faire with very litle raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and miſtie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is diſſolued and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boyſterous, the waues gentle: and although all the ſhore be ſomewhat ſholde and without harborough, yet is it not dangerous to the ſaylers, being free from rocks and deepe, ſo that within 4. or 5. foote of the ſhore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth ſtill increaſing in ſuch vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ſhip being ſhaken in a tempeſt, can neuer periſh there by breaking of her cables, which we haue proued by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is vſuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppreſſed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooued at all. We departed from this place, ſtil running along the coaſt, which we found to trend toward the Eaſt, & we ſaw euery where very great fires, by reaſon of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coaſt, partly becauſe it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we ſent our boat aſhoare with 25. men: where by reaſon of great and continuall waues that beat againſt the ſhoare, being an open Coaſt, without ſuccour, none of our men could poſſibly goe aſhoare without looſing our boate. Wee ſaw there many people which came vnto the ſhoare, making diuers ſignes of friendſhip, and ſhewing that they were content we ſhould come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maieſtie ſhal vn-

34. Degrees.

The coaſt trendeth to the Eaſt in 34. degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

derſtand by the ſucceſſe. To the intent we might ſend them of our things, which the Indians commonly deſire and eſteeme, as ſheetes of paper, glaſſes, bels, and ſuch like trifles; we ſent a young man one of our Mariners aſhoare, who ſwimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the ſhore, not truſting them, caſt the things vpon the ſhoare: but ſeeking afterwards to returne, he was with ſuch violence of the waues beaten vpon the ſhore, that he was ſo bruiſed that he lay there almoſt dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the ſea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the firſt diſmaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteouſly: likewiſe did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then ſetting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil againſt the ſunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marueiling at the whiteneſſe of his fleſh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue roſted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The young man hauing recouered his ſtrength, and hauing ſtayed a while with them, ſhewed them by ſignes that he was deſirous to returne to the ſhip: and they with great loue clapping him faſt about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the ſea, and to put him in more aſſurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and ſtood there, beholding him vntill he was entred into the boate. This yong man obſerued, as we did alſo, that theſe are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their fleſh very ſhining, of meane ſtature, handſome viſage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle ſtrength, but of prompt wit: farther we obſerued not.

They run 50. leagues farther.

Departing from hence, following the ſhore which trended ſomewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues ſpace we came to another land which ſhewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might haue ſome knowledge thereof, wee ſent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2. leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They ſaw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres olde, which ſeeing our company, hid themſelues in the graſſe for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her ſhoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres olde. The young woman was laden likewiſe with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made ſignes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Aſſoone as they ſaw vs to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them ſuch victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman diſdained them all, & threw them diſdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall ſtature, they could not poſſibly, for the great outcries that ſhe made, bring her to the ſea: and eſpecially hauing great woods to paſſe thorow, and being farre from the ſhip, we purpoſed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found thoſe folkes to be more white then thoſe that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they ſewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were truſſed vp after the ſame maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulſe, whereof they haue great ſtore, differing in colour and taſte from ours; of good and pleaſant taſte. Moreouer they liue by fiſhing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fiſh, & other beaſts. The beaſts in theſe parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reaſon they are continually chaſed and hunted. We ſaw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or ſtone, or any other kind of metall (becauſe that in all this countrey for the ſpace of 200. leagues which we ranne, we neuer ſaw one ſtone of any ſort:) they helpe themſelues with fire, burning ſo much of the tree as is ſufficient for the hollowneſſe of the boat; the like they doe in making the ſterne & the forepart, vntill it be fit to ſaile vpon the ſea. The land is in ſituation, goodnes and faireneſſe like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers ſorts of trees: but not ſo ſweete, becauſe the country is more Northerly and colde.

Wilde hempe.

They ran along the coaſt 200. leagues.
They make hollow their Canoas with fire.

We ſaw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by huſbandmen they were dreſſed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes ſeene the fruit thereof dryed, which was ſweete and pleaſant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe eſteeme the ſame, becauſe that in euery place where they growe, they take away the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

Vines like thoſe of Lombardie.

We found alſo roſes, violets, lilies, and many ſorts of herbes, and ſweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, becauſe they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many ſignes that we ſaw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together.

100. Leagues ſayling.

A mighty riuer.

We doe beleeue alſo by many coniectures and ſignes, that many of them ſleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open ſky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the reſt whoſe countreys we paſſed, liue all after one maner. Hauing made our aboade three dayes in this country, and ryding on the coaſt for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the ſhore betweene the North and the Eaſt, ſayling onely in the day-time, and riding at anker by night. In the ſpace of 100. leagues ſayling we found a very pleaſant place ſituated amongſt certaine litle ſteepe hils: from amidſt the which hils there ran downe into the ſea an exceeding great ſtreme of water, which wͭin the mouth was very deepe, & from the ſea to the mouth of the ſame with yͤ tide which we found to riſe 8. foote, any great ſhip laden may paſſe vp.

People clad with feathers of diuers colours.

But becauſe we rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture our ſelues without knowledge of the place: and we paſſed vp with our boat onely into the ſayd Riuer, and ſaw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almoſt like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great ſhowts of admiration; ſhewing vs where we might come to land moſt ſafely with our boat. We entred vp the ſaid riuer into the land about halfe a league, where it made a moſt pleaſant lake about 3. leagues in compaſſe: on the which they rowed from the one ſide to the other to the number of 30. of their ſmall boats, wherein were many people which paſſed from one ſhore to the other to come and ſee vs. And behold vpon the ſudden (as it is woont to fall out in ſayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the ſea, we were inforced to returne to our ſhip, leauing this lande to our great diſcontentment, for the great commodity and pleaſantneſſe thereof, which we ſuppoſe is not without ſome riches, all the hils ſhewing minerall matters in them. We weyed anker, and ſayled toward the Eaſt, for ſo the coaſt trended, and ſo alwayes for 50. leagues being in the ſight thereof, we diſcouered an Iland in forme of a triangle, diſtant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bigneſſe of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was full of hils couered with trees, well peopled, for we ſaw fires all along the coaſt: wee gaue it the name of your Maieſties mother, not ſtaying there by reaſon of the weather being contrary.

The pleaſantnes and riches of the land.

The coaſt trendeth to the Eaſt.

The deſcription of Claudia Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne: Claudia was mother of king Francis.

A paſſing good hauen.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues diſtant from the Iland, where we found a paſſing good hauen, wherein being entred, we found about 20. ſmall boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ſhip, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they ſtayed and beheld the artificialneſſe of our ſhip, our ſhape & apparel: then they all made a loud ſhowt together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had ſomething animated them, vſing their geſtures, they came ſo neere vs, that we caſt them certaine bels and glaſſes, and many toyes, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ſhip. There were amongſt theſe people 2. kings of ſo goodly ſtature and ſhape as is poſſible to declare: the eldeſt was about 40. yeeres of age, the ſecond was a yong man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a Harts ſkin wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaſke: his head was bare with the hayre tyed vp behind with diuers knots: about his necke he had a large chaine, garniſhed with diuers ſtones of ſundry colours: the yong man was almoſt apparelled after yͤ ſame maner. This is the goodlieſt people, & of the faireſt conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of braſſe, ſome of them incline more to whiteneſſe: others are of yellow colour, of comely viſage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of ſweete and pleaſant countenance, imitating much the old faſhion. I write not to your Maieſtie of the other parts of their body, hauing al ſuch proportion as apperteineth to any handſome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handſome and well fauoured, of pleaſant countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked ſaue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres ſkin branched or embrodered as the men vſe: there are alſo of them which weare on their armes very rich ſkinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both ſides their breſtes: others vſe other kinde of dreſſing themſelues like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, theſe are of the elder ſort: and when they are maried, they weare diuers toyes, according to the vſage of the people of the Eaſt, aſwell men as women.

Copper more eſteemed then golde.

Among whom we ſaw many plates of wrought copper, which they eſteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the baſeſt: they make moſt account of Azure and Red. The things that they eſteeme moſt of all thoſe which we gaue them, were bels, chriſtal of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not deſire cloth of ſilke or of golde, much leſſe of any other ſort, neither cared they for things made of ſteele and yron, which wee often ſhewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely aſked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glaſſes, which when they beheld, they ſuddenly laught and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall, for they giue that which they haue: wee became great friends with theſe, and one day we entred into the Hauen with our ſhip, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reaſon of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their ſmall boats vnto the ſhip with their faces all bepainted with diuers colours, ſhewing vs that it was a ſigne of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made ſignes vnto vs where we might ſafeſt ride in the Hauen for the ſafegard of our ſhip keeping ſtill our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee beſtowed 15 dayes in prouiding our ſelues many neceſſary things, whither euery day the people repaired to ſee our ſhip bringing their wiues with them, whereof they were very ielous: and they themſelues entring abord the ſhip & ſtaying there a good ſpace, cauſed their wiues to ſtay in their boats, and for all the intreatie we could make, offring to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would ſuffer them to come abord our ſhip. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleaſure to ſee vs, they all ſtayed on the ſhore 200 paces from vs, ſending a ſmall boat to giue vs intelligence of their comming, ſaying they would come to ſee our ſhip: this they did in token of ſafety, and aſſoone as they had anſwere from vs, they came immediatly, and hauing ſtaied a while to behold it, they wondred at hearing the cries and noyſes of the mariners. The queene and her maids ſtayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long ſpace in our ſhip vttering diuers conceits with geſtures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ſhip, demanding the property of euery thing particularly. He tooke likewiſe great pleaſure in beholding our apparell, and in taſting our meats, & ſo courteouſly taking his leaue departed. And ſometimes our men ſtaying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ſhip for diuers neceſſaries (as it is the vſe of ſeamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to ſee what we did, & aſked of vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring vs of their prouiſion: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much ſport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleaſant as is poſſible to declare, very apt for any kind of huſbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of ſuch fruitfulneſſe, that any ſeed being ſowen therein, wil bring forth moſt excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found ſo great and thicke, that any army were it neuer ſo great might haue hid it ſelfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipreſſe trees, and other ſortes vnknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damſon trees, and nut trees, and many other ſorts of fruit differing from ours: there are beaſts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, & other kinds which they take with their nets & bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vſe are made with great cunning, and inſtead of yron, they head them with flint, with iaſper ſtone & hard marble & other ſharp ſtones which they vſe in ſtead of yron to cut trees, & to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10. or 12. men may ſit commodiouſly: their oares are ſhort and broad at the end, and they vſe them in the ſea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great ſpeedines as they liſt themſelues. We ſaw their houſes made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compaſſe, made with halfe circles of timber, ſeparate one from another without any order of building, couered with mattes of ſtraw wrought cunningly together, which ſaue them from the wind and raine; and if they had the order of building and perfect ſkil of workmanſhip as we haue, there were no doubt but that they would alſo make eftſoones great & ſtately buildings. For all the ſea coaſts are ful of cleare and gliſtering ſtones, & alablaſter, and therefore it is full of good hauens and harboroughs for ſhips. They mooue the foreſaid houſes from one place to another according to the commodity of the place & ſeaſon wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking off the mattes, they haue other houſes builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one houſe in great number: in ſome of them we ſaw 25 or 30 perſons. They feed as the other doe aforeſaid of pulſe which grow in that Countrey with better order of huſbandry then in the others. They obſerue in their ſowing the courſe of the Moone and the riſing of certaine ſtarres, and diuers other cuſtomes ſpoken of by antiquity. Moreouer they liue by hunting and fiſhing. They liue long, & are ſeldome ſicke, and if they chance to fall ſicke at any time they heale themſelues with fire without any phiſician, and they ſay that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduerſitie: and in their miſerie, the kinred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vſe mourning mixt with ſinging, which continueth for a long ſpace.

This

Moſt pleaſant and fruitful lands.

The faſhion of their houſes.

The coaſt full of good hauens.

Their curing with Tabacco and perfumes.

This is aſmuch as we could learne of them. This land is ſituated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. terces: but ſomewhat more colde by accidentall cauſes and not of nature, (as I will declare vnto your highneſſe elſewhere) deſcribing at this preſent the ſituation of the foreſaid Countrey, which lieth Eaſt and Weſt, I ſay that the mouth of the Hauen lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the Eaſt and the North, it ſtretcheth twelue leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compaſſe, wherein are fiue ſmall Iſlands very fruitfull and pleaſant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Iſlandes any great Nauie may ride ſafe without any feare of tempeſt or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Hauen on both ſides there are moſt pleaſant hils, with many riuers of moſt cleare water falling into the Sea.

41 degrees & 2. terces.

The deſcription of a notable hauen in 41. deg and 2. terces.

In the middeſt of this entrance there is a rocke of free ſtone growing by nature apt to build any Caſtle or Fortreſſe there, for the keeping of the hauen. The fift of May being furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, we departed from the ſaid coaſt keeping along in the ſight thereof, and wee ſailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner: but the land ſomewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a ſhew of minerall matter, wee ſought not to land there in any place, becauſe the weather ſerued our turne for ſailing: but wee ſuppoſe that it was like the former, the coaſt ranne Eaſtward for the ſpace of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipreſſes and ſuch like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former ſeemed to be courteous and gentle: ſo much were theſe full of rudeneſſe and ill maners, and ſo barbarous that by no ſignes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themſelues with Beares ſkinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beaſts ſkinnes. Their food, as farre as we could perceiue, repairing often vnto their dwellings, we ſuppoſe to be by hunting & fiſhing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither ſaw we any kind or ſigne of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrenneſſe thereof, apt to beare fruit or ſeed. If at any time we deſired by exchange to haue any of their cõmodities, they vſed to come to the ſea ſhore vpon certaine craggy rocks, and we ſtanding in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleaſed them to giue vs, crying continually that we ſhould not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fiſhookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courteſie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people ſhewed all ſignes of diſcourteſie and diſdaine, as were poſſible for any creature to inuent. We were in diſpight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on ſhore they ſhot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, ſauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue ſome minerall matter in them, becauſe wee ſaw many of them haue beadſtones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence keeping our courſe Northeaſt along the coaſt, which we found more pleaſant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coaſt for the ſpace of fiftie leagues, we diſcouered 32 Iſlands lying al neere the land, being ſmall and pleaſant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we ſuppoſe they are of the ſame maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeaſt for the ſpace of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times paſt was diſcouered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Hauing now ſpent all our prouiſion and victuals, and hauing diſcouered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furniſhed with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

150 leagues. A ſhew of minerall.

The coaſt running Eaſtward 50. leagues. Here the people begin to be more ſauage.

Beades of copper.

32 pleaſant Iſlands.

They ran almoſt to 50. degrees.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderſtand neither by ſignes nor geſture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any firſt cauſe or moouer, neither that they worſhip the heauen or ſtars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much leſſe whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they vſed any kind of ſacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houſes of prayer. We ſuppoſe that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very eaſie to be perſwaded: and all that they ſee vs Chriſtians doe in our diuine ſeruice, they did the ſame with the like imitation as they ſaw vs to doe it.

A notable

A notable hiſtorie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into *Florida*: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulneſſe of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, ſauing the laſt, by *Monſieur Laudonniere*, who remained there himſelfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter:

Tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by M.
RICHARD HAKLVYT.

To the right honourable Sir *VValter Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her Maieſties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant generall of the County of *Cornewall*, *R. H.* wiſheth true felicitie.

SIR, after that this hiſtorie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and publiſhed in *France* vnder your Name by my learned friend M. *Martine Baſanier* of *Paris*, I was eaſily enduced to turne it into Engliſh, vnderſtanding that the ſame was no leſſe gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie perſons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the tranſlation thereof, ſince no hiſtory hitherto ſet forth hath more affinitie, reſemblance or conformitie with yours of *Virginia*, then this of *Florida*. But calling to minde that you had ſpent more yeeres in *France* then I, and vnderſtand the French better then my ſelfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeuour, not for any priuate eaſe or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a ſingular and eſpeciall care you had of thoſe which are to be employed in your owne like enterpriſe, whom, by the reading of this my tranſlation, you would haue forewarned and admoniſhed aswell to beware of the groſſe negligence in prouiding of ſufficiency of victuals, the ſecuritie, diſorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniences that thereupon enſued, that by others miſhaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as alſo might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large deſcribed and ſo neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and ſtirred vp vnto the diligent obſeruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are ſo cheerefully entred. Many ſpeciall poynts concerning the commodities of theſe partes, the accidents of the French mens gouernment therein, the cauſes of their good or bad ſucceſſe, with the occaſions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the ſurpriſe of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which becauſe they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it ſhall be needleſſe to recken vp againe. And that the rather, becauſe the ſame with diuers other things of chiefeſt importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no ſmal charges by the ſkilfull painter *Iames Morgues*, ſometime liuing in the *Black-fryers* in *London* (whom *Monſieur Chaſtillion* then Admirall of *France* ſent thither with *Laudonniere* for that purpoſe) which was an eye-witneſſe of the goodneſſe and fertility of thoſe regions, and hath put downe in writing many ſingularities which are not mentioned in this treatiſe: which ſince he hath publiſhed together with the purtraitures. Theſe foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your ſelfe, and that for diuers iuſt conſiderations. Firſt, for that as I haue ſayd before, they were dedicated vnto you in French: ſecondly becauſe now foure times alſo you haue attempted the like vpon the ſelfe ſame coaſt neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue perſed as farre vp into the maine and diſcouered no leſſe ſecrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting: laſtly conſidering you are now alſo ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine *Stafford* and good newes which he brought you of the ſafe arriual of your laſt Colony in their wiſhed hauen) to proſecute this action more throughly then euer. And here to ſpeake ſomewhat of this your enterpriſe, I affirme, that if the ſame may ſpeedily and effectually be purſued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers reſpects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiſer ſort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular cōmodities whereof are wel knowen vnto your ſelfe and ſome few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement cōmitted to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers,

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

The chiefe things worthie obſeruation in Florida are drawen in colours by Iames Morgues painter ſometime liuing in the Black fryers in London.

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

which remained there about a tweluemonth with your worſhipful Lieutenant M. *Ralph Lane*, in the diligent ſearch of the ſecrets of thoſe Countreys, Touching the ſpeedy and effectuall purſuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purſe to haue it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you ſhall drawe the ſame before it be long to be profitable and gainful aſwel to thoſe of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of *England* that ſhall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine ſecret commodities already diſcouered by your ſeruants, & partly by breeding of diuers ſorts of beaſts in thoſe large and ample regions, and planting of ſuch things in that warme climat as wil beſt proſper there, and our realme ſtandeth moſt in need of. And this I find to haue bin the courſe that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their diſcoueries & conqueſts. For the Spaniards at their firſt entrance into *Hiſpaniola* foūd neither ſuger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for paſture they ſent kine & buls and ſundry ſorts of other profitable beaſts thither, & tranſported the plants of ſuger-canes, and ſet the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with ſuger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandiſe of that Iſland. The Portugals alſo at their firſt footing in *Madera*, as *Iohn Barros* writes in his firſt Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Iſland by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own induſtry with the beſt wines and ſugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vſed in the Iſles of the *Açores* by ſowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in *S. Thomas* vnder the Equinoctial, and in *Braſil*, and ſundry other places. And if our men will follow their ſteps, by your wiſe direction I doubt not but in due time they ſhall reape no leſſe commoditie and benefit. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maieſty, which hath Chriſtned and giuen the name to your *Virginia*, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, ſeeing their goſſips not fully able to bring vp their children themſelues, are wont to contribute to their honeſt education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reaſonable hope of goodneſſe in them. And if *Elizabeth Queene* of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, after her husband *Ferdinando* and ſhe had emptied their cofers and exhauſted their treaſures in ſubduing the kingdome of *Granada* and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of *Spayne*, was neuertheleſſe ſo zealous of Gods honour, that (as *Fernandus Columbus* the ſonne of *Chriſtopher Columbus* recordeth in *the hiſtory of the deedes of his father*) ſhe layd part of her owne iewels, which ſhe had in great account, to gage, to furniſh his father foorth vpon his firſt voyage, before any foot of land of all the *Weſt Indies* was diſcouered; what may we expect of our moſt magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of *England*, into whoſe lappe the Lord hath moſt plentifully throwne his treaſures, what may wee, I ſay, hope of her forwardneſſe and bounty in aduancing of this your moſt honourable enterpriſe, being farre more certaine then that of *Columbus*, at that time eſpecially, and tending no leſſe to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very laſt wordes of the relation of *Newe Mexico* extant nowe in Engliſh, the maine land, where your laſt Colonie meane to ſeate themſelues, is repleniſhed with many thouſands of Indians, *Which are of better wittes then thoſe of* Mexico *and* Peru, *as hath bene found by thoſe that haue had ſome triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will eaſily embrace the Goſpell, forſaking their idolatrie, wherein at this preſent for the moſt part they are wrapped and intangled.* A wiſe Philoſopher noting the ſundry deſires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will ſeeke to fill his bellie with graſſe, if a Storke bee caſt in ſhee will ſeeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will ſeeke to ſtart an Hare: So ſundry men entring into theſe diſcoueries propoſe vnto themſelues ſeuerall endes. Some ſeeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by ſeeing of the worlde, the moſt part worldly and tranſitorie gaine, and that often times by diſhoneſt and vnlawfull meanes, the feweſt number the glorie of God and the ſauing of the ſoules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet becauſe diuers honeſt and well diſpoſed perſons are entred already into this your buſineſſe, and that I know you meane hereafter to ſende ſome ſuch good Churchmen thither, as may truely ſay with the Apoſtle to the Sauages, *Wee ſeeke not yours but you*: I conceiue great comfort of the ſucceſſe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whoſe power is wont to bee perfected in weakeneſſe, will bleſſe the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde ſayd vnto *Ioſue*, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conqueſt of the land of promiſe, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterpriſes as this, with leſſer meanes then thoſe which God in his mercie hath bountifully beſtowed vpon you, to the ſinguler good, as I aſſure my ſelfe, of this

our

Meanes to raiſe benefit in new diſcoueries vſed by the Spaniards & Portugals.

Kine, ſuger-canes and ginger tranſported into Hiſpaniola and Madera, &c.

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

The great zeale of Elizabeth Queene of Caſtile and Aragon in aduancing of new diſcoueries tending to Gods glory.

The aptneſſe of the people in the maine of Virginia to embrace Chriſtianitie.

Seneca.

2. Cor. 12. 14.

Ioſue 1. 6.

our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples domeſticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conqueſt of *Ireland* newly dedicated vnto your ſelfe. Read you not that *Richard Strangbow* the decayed earle of *Chepſtow* in Monmuthſhire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, paſſed ouer into that Iſland in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his priuate friends had in ſhort ſpace ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe, that he opened the way for king *Henry* the ſecond to the ſpeedy ſubiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of *England?* The like conqueſt of *Braſilia*, and annexing the ſame to the kingdome of *Portugall* was firſt begun by meane and priuate men, as *Don Antonio de Caſtillio*, Ambaſſadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their diſcoueries, aſſured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of *Virginia*, and the large extenſion therof, eſpecially to the Weſt, ſhould make you thinke that the ſubduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conqueſt of *Ireland*, firſt I anſwere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. *Iohn Dauis* to the Northweſt (toward which his diſcouery your ſelfe haue thriſe contributed with the forwardeſt) hath ſhewed a great part to be maine ſea, where before was thought to be maine land, ſo for my part I am fully perſwaded by *Ortelius* late reformation of *Culuacan* and the gulfe of *California*, that the land on the backe part of *Virginia* extendeth nothing ſo far weſtward as is put downe in the Maps of thoſe parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in *Virginia*, then one thouſand were able then to do in *Ireland* againſt that armed and warlike nation in thoſe daies. I ſay further, that theſe two yeres laſt experience hath plainly ſhewed, that we may ſpare 10000. able men without any miſſe. And theſe are as many as the kingdome of *Portugal* had euer in all their garriſons of the *Açores*, *Madera*, *Arguin*, *Cape verde*, *Guinea*, *Braſill*, *Mozambique*, *Melinde*, *Zocotora*, *Ormus*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Malaca*, the *Malucos*, and *Macao* vpon the coaſt of *China*. Yea this I ſay by the cõfeſſion of ſinguler expert men of their own nation (whoſe names I ſuppreſſe for certain cauſes) which haue bene perſonally in the *Eaſt Indies*, & haue aſſured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thouſand natural borne *Portugals* (their ſlaues excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforeſaid territories. Which alſo this preſent yeere I ſaw confirmed in a ſecrete extract of the particular eſtate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office ſubiect to the ſame, with the ſeueral penſions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are ſo farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle vp and down in ſwarms for lack of honeſt intertainment, I ſee no fitter place to employ ſome part of the better ſort of them trained vp thus long in ſeruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of *Virginia* againſt ſuch ſtubborne Sauages as ſhal refuſe obedience to her Maieſtie. And doubtleſſe many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this preſent treatie they ſhal vnderſtand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining ſo neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodneſſe wherof you haue bin contented to ſuffer to come to light. In the meane ſeaſon I humbly commend my ſelfe and this my tranſlation vnto you, and your ſelfe, and all thoſe which vnder you haue taken this enterpriſe in hand to the grace and good bleſſing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finiſh the good worke which in theſe our dayes he hath begun by your moſt Chriſtian and charitable endeuour. From *London* the 1. of May 1587.

The good ſucceſſe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepſtow.

The happy late diſcouerie to the Northweſt of Captaine Dauis.

The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thouſand of their naturall ſubiects in all their new conquered dominions.

Your L. humble at commandement, R. HAKLVYT.

The Preface of M. *Rene Laudonniere.*

THere are two things, which according to mine opinion haue bene the principall cauſes, in conſideration whereof aſwell they of ancient times, as thoſe of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The firſt hath beene the naturall deſire which wee haue to ſearch out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at eaſe: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to ſearch out and bring from thence ſuch things as are there to be found, and are in greateſt eſtimation and in moſt requeſt in our Countreys. The ſecond cauſe hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their natiue ſoyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes paſſing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermoſt regions. After this ſort the North climate, a fruitfull father

Planting of Colonies.

When force of armes is to be vſed.

of ſo many nations hath oftentimes ſent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys : ſo that moſt of the nations of *Europe* drawe their originall from theſe parts. Contrariwiſe the more Southerne regions, becauſe they bee too barren by reaſon of their inſupportable heate which raigneth in them, neede not any ſuch ſending forth of their inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes conſtrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All *Africke*, *Spaine*, and *Italie* can alſo teſtifie the ſame, which neuer ſo abounded with people that they had neede to ſend them abroad to inhabite elſewhere : as on the contrary *Scythia*, *Norway*, *Gotland*, and *France* haue done. The poſterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in *Italy*, *Spaine* & *Africke*, but alſo in fruitful and faire *Aſia*, Neuertheleſſe I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto theſe two chiefe cauſes aforeſaid, (as being moſt curious to plant not onely their enſignes and victories, but alſo their lawes, cuſtomes, & religion in thoſe prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their ſoueraigne Senate ſent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurniſhing of their own Countrey of the forces which ſhould haue preſerued the ſame in her perfection : a thing which hindred them much more, then aduanced them to the poſſeſſion of the vniuerſal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aſpire. For it came to paſſe that their Colonies here and there being miſerably ſacked by ſtrange people did vtterly ruine and ouerthrow their Empire. The brinks of the riuer of *Rhene* are yet red, thoſe of *Danubius* are no leſſe bloody, and our *France* became fat with their blood which they loſt. Theſe are the effects and rewards of al ſuch as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to ſubdue ſtrange people: effects, I ſay, contrary to the profit which thoſe ſhall receiue, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to ſay, to the generall policie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another aſwell by trafficke and ciuill conuerſations, as alſo by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their endeuours ſo much tending vnto their profit.

Two conditions required in conqueſts of Countreys newly diſcouered.

Nota.

For this cauſe princes haue ſent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuity, to plant themſelues in ſtrange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God : an end ſo much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannicall and cruell gouernement: and ſo they haue alwayes thriued in their enterpriſes, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof wee may gather that ſometimes it is good, yea very expedient to ſend forth men to diſcouer the pleaſure and commoditie of ſtrange Countreys: But ſo, that the Countrey out of which theſe companies are to paſſe remaine not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in ſuch ſort that the company ſent forth be of ſo iuſt & ſufficient number, that it may not be defeited by ſtrangers, which euery foote endeuour nothing elſe but to ſurpriſe the ſame vpon the ſudden. As within theſe few daies paſt the French haue proued to my great griefe, being able by no means poſſible to withſtand the ſame, conſidering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Chriſtian alliance fought againſt vs : which thing I purpoſe to diſcouer in this preſent hiſtorie with ſo euident trueth, that the kings Maieſty my ſoueraigne prince ſhall in part be ſatisfied of the diligence which I haue vſed in his ſeruice, and mine aduerſaries ſhall find themſelues ſo diſcouered in their falſe reports, that they ſhall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefely ſet downe the ſituation and deſcription of the land whereunto we haue ſailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto ſixty fiue, to the ende that thoſe things may the more eaſily be borne away, which I meane to deſcribe in this diſcourſe.

The deſcription of the *VVeſt Indies* in generall, but chiefly and particularly of *Florida*.

America vnknowen to all antiquity.

That part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the woꝛld, oꝛ America, oꝛ rather the West India, was vnknowen vnto our anceſtours by reaſon of the great diſtance thereof. In like maner all the Weſterne Iſlands and foꝛtunate Iſles were not diſcouered but by thoſe of our age. Howbeit there haue bin ſome which haue ſaid that they were diſcouerd in the time of Auguſtus Cæſar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the ſixt booke of his Æneidos, when he ſaith, There is a land beyond the ſtarres, and the courſe of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of heauen ſuſtaineth the pole vpon his ſhoulders : neuertheleſſe it is eaſie to iudge that hee meaneth not to ſpeake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yet aboue a thouſand yeeres after. Chriſtopher Colon did firſt light vpon this land in the yeere 1592. And fiue yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Caſtile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well ſeene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Aſtronomie: whereby hee diſcouered in his time many lands vnknowen vnto the ancient Geographers. This Countrey is named by ſome, the land of Breſill, and the lande of Parots. It ſtretcheth it ſelfe, according vnto Poſtell, from the one Pole to the other, ſauing at the ſtreight of Magelan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will diuide it for the better vnderſtanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke or the North is called new France, becauſe that in the yeere 1524. Iohn Verrazzano a Florentine was ſent by King Francis the firſt, and by Madam the Regent his mother vnto theſe newe Regions, where he went on land, and diſcouered all the coaſt which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftieth degree, and farther vnto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Enſignes and Armes of the king of France : ſo that the Spaniardes themſelues which were there afterwarde, haue named this Countrey Terra Franceſca. The ſame then extendeth it ſelfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North : and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Eaſterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama, which ſeparateth it from the Iſle of Canada, whither Iaques Carthier ſayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador ſtretching towarde Groenland. In the Weſterne part there are many knowen Countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Aſtatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, becauſe it was diſcouered on Palme-ſunday, which the Spaniardes call Paſcha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether vnknowen.

Chriſtopher Colon or Columbe.

Americus Veſpucius of whō America tooke the name.

The firſt generall part of America.

Cabota in the yeere 1597 had diſcouered all this tract for the crowne of England.

The ſecond part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the ſame is ſituated the Citie of Themiſtitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adioyned vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the moſt famous and renoumed are Hiſpaniola and Iſabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforeſayd, haue not in Longitude paſt ſeuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, vnto three hundreth and ten : it is alſo long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it ſelfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue ſayde before, vnto the ſtreight of Magelan. It is made in faſhion like to an egge, and is very well knowen vpon all ſides. The part where it is largeſt hath threeſcore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, becauſe it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

The ſecond generall part of America.

The third generall part of America.

Villegaignon.

New France is almoſt as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the moſt knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at ſundry times, inſomuch that nowe it is the beſt knowen Countrey which is in all this part of newe France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande ſtretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South : it hath right ouer againſt it fiue and twentie leagues diſtant the Iſle of Cuba otherwiſe called Iſabella, toward the Eaſt the Iſles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the Weſt the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyſt, and is ſandie towards the Sea ſhore. There groweth in thoſe partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which haue no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiſkes, and Cheſnut trees, which are more wilde then thoſe in France. There is great ſtore of Cedars, Cypreſſes, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are alſo Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but ſuch as is not very good. There are Raſpaſſes, and a little berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Haſez, whereof in neceſſitie they make bread. There is alſo there the tree called Eſqume, which is very good againſt the Pockes and other contagious diſeaſes. The Beaſtes beſt knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards,

Florida with an ample deſcription thereof.

The trees of Florida.

Theſe are perhaps thoſe which the Sauages call Tunas.

The beaſts of Florida.

Ounces, Luſerns, diuers ſortes of Wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beaſt that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoues, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geeſe, Malards, Cormorants, Hernſhawes, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite ſort of all wilde foule. There is ſuch abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in ſwimming men are aſſayled by them: of Serpents there are many ſorts. There is found among the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Siluer, which is gotten out of the ſhippes that are loſt vpon the coaſt, as I haue vnderſtood by the Sauages themſelues. They vſe traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeue it, is, that on the coaſt towarde the Cape, where commonly the ſhippes are caſt away, there is more ſtore of Siluer then toward the North. Neuertheleſſe they ſay, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is alſo in this Countrey great ſtore of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleaſure in painting of their ſkins, know very well how to vſe the ſame. The men are of an Oliue colour, of great ſtature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuities with the ſkinne of a Stagge well dreſſed. The moſt part of them haue their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire deuiſes: the painting whereof can neuer bee taken away, becauſe the ſame is pricked into their fleſh. Their haire is very blacke, and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they truſſe it vp after a faſhion that becommeth them very well. They are great diſſemblers and traitours, valiant of their perſons & fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the ſtring of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stags ſkin, which they know how to dreſſe as well as any man in France, and with as different ſorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fiſhes and ſtone, which they worke very finely and handſomly. They exerciſe their youg men to runne well, and they make a game among themſelues, which he winneth that hath the longeſt breath. They alſo exerciſe themſelues much in ſhooting. They play at the ball in this maner: they ſet vp a tree in the middeſt of a place which is eight or nine fathom high, in the top whereof there is ſet a ſquare mat made of reedes or Bulruſhes, which whoſoeuer hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleaſure in hunting and fiſhing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one againſt the other, which is not executed but by ſurpriſe, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut of their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houſes. They ſaue the women and children and nouriſh them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they aſſemble all their ſubiects, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheare, they daunce & ſing, likewiſe they make the moſt ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haires of their enemies in their hands: and in dauncing they ſing praiſes to the Sunne, aſcribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, ſauing of that which they ſee, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their Prieſts to whom they giue great credit, becauſe they are great magicians great ſoothſayers, and callers vpon diuels. Theſe Prieſts ſerue them in ſtead of Phyſitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the ſicke diſeaſed which for the moſt part are ſick of the pocks, for they loue women & maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and ſome of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the firſt is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the firſt wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the buſineſſe at home. They keepe not houſe with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greateſt paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and ſticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may ſeeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry alſo ſometimes fiſh. which they cauſe to be dreſſed in the ſmoke. In neceſſitie they eat a thouſand rifraffes, euen to the ſwallowing downe of coales, and putting ſand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth firſt. with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewiſe their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterpriſe in hand, but firſt they aſſemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they

The foule of Florida.

Crocodiles.

Gold and ſiluer.

The mountaines of Apalatcy.

Store of dyes and colours.

The diſpoſition and maners of the Floridians.

The wearing of their haire.

Their exerciſe and paſtime.

Running for games.

Shooting.

Playing at the Ball.

Hunting.

Fiſhing.

Their formes of warre.

Their triumphes after the victorie.

They worſhip the Sunne and Moone.

Their Prieſts are both Magicians and Phyſitions.

Their marriages.

The painefulneſſe of the women.

Many Hermaphrodites which haue the nature of both ſexes.

Their foode and prouiſion for warre.

Their dreſſing their fleſh and fiſh ouer the ſmoke.

Their order in marching to the warre.

Their conſultations.

they take very good aduiſement before they growe to a reſolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common houſe, whither their King repaireth, and ſetteth him downe vpon a ſeate which is higher then the ſeates of the other: where all of them one after another come and ſalute him: and the moſt ancient begin their ſalutations, lifting vp both their handes twiſe as high as their face, ſaying, Ha, he, ya, and the reſt anſwer ha, ha. Aſſoone as they haue done their ſalutation, euery man ſitteth him downe vpon the ſeates which are round about in the houſe. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Iawas, that is to ſay, their Prieſtes, and the moſt ancient men, and asketh them their aduiſe. Afterward he commaundeth Caſſine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this Caſſine very hotte: he drinketh firſt, then he cauſeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the ſame boule, which holdeth well a quart meaſure of Paris. They make ſo great account of this drinke, that no man may taſte thereof in this aſſembly, vnleſſe hee hath made proofe of his valure in the warre. Moreouer this drinke hath ſuch a vertue, that aſſoone as they haue drunke it, they become all in a ſweate, which ſweate being paſt, it taketh away hunger and thirſt for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very ſolemnly, and vpon his graue they ſet the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the ſayde graue they ſticke many arrowes, and weepe and faſt three dayes together without ceaſſing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the ſpace of ſixe Moones (ſo they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thriſe a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his houſe, and afterward they ſet it on fire, ſo that nothing is euer more after to be ſeene. The like is done with the goods of the Prieſtes, and beſides they burie the bodies of the Prieſts in their houſes, and then they ſet them on fire. They ſowe their Maiz twiſe a yere, to wit, in March and in Iune, and all in one and the ſame ſoyle. The ſayd Maiz from the time that it is ſowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth reſt. They haue alſo faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would ſowe, they ſet the weedes on fire, which grewe vp the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an inſtrument of wood which is faſhioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be ſowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to aſſemble his ſubiects euery day to labour, during which labour the King cauſeth ſtore of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we haue ſpoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common houſe, where it is diſtributed to euery man according to his qualitie. They ſowe no more but that which they thinke will ſerue their turnes for ſixe moneths, & that very ſcarcely. For during the Winter they retire themſelues for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of Maſte, of Fiſh which they take, of Oiſters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beaſtes which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dreſſed in the ſmoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the fleſh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and were it not that it ſauoureth too much like Muſke we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a cuſtome among them, that when they finde themſelues ſicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cauſe our ſelues to be let blood, their Phyſitions ſucke them vntill they make the blood follow.

Their ſaluting of their kings.

The drinking of Caſſine before they goe to battell.

The honor exhibited vnto men of valure aboue other.

The excellencie of Caſſine.

Their maner of the buriall of Kings.

Their cutting of more then halfe their haire.

The buriall of their Prieſts.

Sowing twiſe in 6. moneths.

Faire pumpions.

Goodly beanes.

Inſtruments wherewith they till their ground.

The bringing of all the crop into a common houſe.

Their prouiſion of corne for 6. moneths onely.

Their maner of liuing in the Winter.

The dreſſing of their meate in the ſmoake.

Their maner of curing diſeaſes.

The women are likewiſe of good proportion and tall, and of the ſame colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not ſo much of an Oliue colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cauſe that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of anointings of oyle which they vſe among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and becauſe of the Sunne which ſhineth hote vpon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is ſo great, that they can ſwimme ouer the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their armes. They climbe vp alſo very nimbly vpon the higheſt trees in the Countrey.

Their womens diſpoſitions and maners.

Oile in Florida.

Women great ſwimmers.

Beholde in briefe the deſcription of the Countrey, with the nature and cuſtomes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the diſcourſe of my hiſtorie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to vnderſtand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

The firſt voyage of Iohn Ribault to Florida 1562.

The courſe of the Spaniards not altogether neceſſary.

Cape Francois in 30. degrees.

A pillar ſet vp

Prayer and thankes to God.

Preſents giuen to Ribault.

Their fiſhweares like thoſe of Virginia.

MY Lord Admirall of Chaſtillon, a noble man more deſirous of the publique then of his priuate benefite, vnderſtanding the pleaſure of the King his prince, which was to diſcouer new and ſtrange Countreys, cauſed veſſels fit for this purpoſe to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee leuied meete for ſuch an enterpriſe: Among whom hee choſe Captaine Iohn Ribault, a man in trueth expert in ſea cauſes: which hauing receiued his charge, ſet himſelfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings ſhippes, but ſo well furniſhed with Gentlemen, (of whoſe number I my ſelfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue ſome notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Hauing therefore ſayled two moneths, neuer holding the vſuall courſe of the Spaniards, hee arriued in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, becauſe the coaſt is all flatte, but onely riſing by reaſon of the high woods, which at his arriuall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is diſtant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coaſting from this place towards the North, he diſcouered a very faire and great Riuer, which gaue him occaſion to caſt anker that hee might ſearch the ſame the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinuille and diuers other ſouldiers of his ſhippe, he was no ſooner arriued on the brinke of the ſhoare, but ſtraight hee perceiued many Indians men and women, which came of purpoſe to that place to receiue the Frenchmen with all gentleneſſe and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the preſents of Chamois ſkinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following cauſed a pillar of hard ſtone to be planted within the ſayde Riuer, and not farre from the mouth of the ſame vpon a little ſandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carued and engraued. This being done hee embarked himſelfe againe, to the ende alwayes to diſcouer the coaſt toward the North which was his chiefe deſire. After he had ſayled a certaine time he croſſed ouer to the other ſide of the riuer, and then in the preſence of certaine Indians, which of purpoſe did attend him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to giue thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation vnto theſe ſtrange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentiue to hearken vnto them, thinking in my iudgement, that wee worſhipped the Sunne, becauſe wee alwayes had our eyes lifted vp toward heauen, roſe all vp and came to ſalute the Captaine Iohn Ribault, promiſing to ſhew him their King, which roſe not vp as they did, but remained ſtill ſitting vpon greene leaues of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and ſate downe by him, and heard him make a long diſcourſe, but with no great pleaſure, becauſe hee could not vnderſtand his language, and much leſſe his meaning. The King gaue our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernſhawes feathers died in red, and a baſket made of Palme-boughes after the Indian faſhion, and wrought very artificially, and a great ſkinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of diuers wilde beaſts ſo liuely drawen and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to ſhew himſelfe not vnthankfull, gaue him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glaſſe, and certaine kniues: whereupon the King ſhewed himſelfe to be very glad and fully contented. Hauing ſpent the moſt part of the day with theſe Indians, the Captaine imbarked himſelfe to paſſe ouer to the other ſide of the Riuer, whereat the king ſeemed to bee very ſorie. Neuertheleſſe being not able to ſtay vs, hee commaunded that with all diligence they ſhould take fiſh for vs: which they did with all ſpeede. For being entred into their Weares or incloſures made of reedes and framed in the faſhion of a Labyrinth or Maſe, they loaded vs with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaiſe, Turbuts, and maruellous ſtore of other ſortes of fiſhes altogether different from ours.

They paſſe ouer the riuer.

Goodly Mulberries white and red.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other ſhore. But before we came to the ſhore, we were ſaluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought vs many litle baſkets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered themſelues to beare vs on ſhoare, where being landed we perceiued their King ſitting vpon a place dreſſed with boughes, and vnder a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees ſomewhat diſtant from the waters ſide. He was accompanied with two of his ſonnes which were exceeding faire and ſtrong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in maruellous good order. His two ſonnes receiued our Captaine very graciouſly: but the king their father, repreſenting I wot not what kinde of grauitie, did nothing but ſhake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to ſalute him, and without any other mouing of himſelfe he retained ſo conſtant a kind of grauitie, that hee made it ſeeme vnto vs that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to iudge of this mans behauiour, thought he was ielous becauſe wee went firſt vnto the other king, or elſe that he was not well pleaſed with the Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to thinke, our Captaine ſhewed him by ſignes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to ſeeke him, to let him vnderſtand the amitie which he was deſirous to haue with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets couered as it were with ſiluer and guilt, which hee preſented him withall, and gaue his ſonnes certaine other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very louingly to intreate both our Captaine and vs. And after theſe gentle intertainments, wee went our ſelues into the woods, hoping there to diſcouer ſome ſingularities: where were great ſtore of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of ſilkewormes. Following our way wee diſcouered a faire and great medowe, diuided notwithſtanding with diuers Mariſhes, which conſtrained vs by reaſon of the water, which enuironed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Riuers ſide. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his houſe, wee entred into our Boates and ſayled towarde our ſhippes: where after we arriued, we called this Riuer The Riuer of May, becauſe we diſcouered it the firſt day of the ſayde moneth.

Great ſtore of ſilkewormes.

The riuer of May.

Soone after we returned to our ſhippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoyſed our ſailes to diſcouer the coaſt farther forward, along the which wee diſcouered another faire Riuer, which the Captaine himſelfe was minded to ſearch out, and hauing ſearched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, becauſe it is very like vnto the Riuer of Seine in France. From this Riuer wee retired toward our ſhippes, where being arriued, we trimmed our ſailes to ſaile further toward the North, and to deſcry the ſingularities of the coaſt. But wee had not ſayled any great way before wee diſcouered another very faire Riuer, which cauſed vs to caſt anker ouer againſt it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to ſearch it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no leſſe affable then the reſt, afterwarde we named this Riuer Somme. From thence wee ſayled about ſixe leagues, after wee diſcouered another Riuer, which after wee had viewed was named by vs by the name of Loyre. And conſequently we there diſcouered fiue others: whereof the firſt was named Cherente, the ſecond Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well diſcouered with ſuch things as were in them, by this time in leſſe then the ſpace of threeſcore leagues wee had found out many ſingularities along nine Riuers. Neuertheleſſe not fully ſatiſfied wee ſayled yet further towarde the North, following the courſe that might bring vs to the Riuer of Iordan one of the faireſt Riuers of the North, and holding our wonted courſe, great fogges and tempeſts came vpon vs, which conſtrained vs to leaue the coaſt to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cauſe that we loſt the ſight of our Pinneſſes a whole day and a night vntill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme, wee diſcouered a Riuer which wee called Belle a veoir. After wee had ſayled three or foure leagues, wee began to eſpie our Pinneſſes which came ſtraight toward vs, and at their arriuall they reported to the Captaine, that while the foule weather and fogges endured, they harboured themſelues in a mightie Riuer which in bigneſſe and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding ioyfull, for his chiefe deſire was to finde out an Hauen to harbour his ſhippes, and there to refreſh our ſelues for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arriued athwart the ſayde Riuer, (which becauſe of the faireneſſe and largeneſſe thereof wee named Port Royall) wee ſtrooke our ſailes and caſt anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is ſuch, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greateſt ſhippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Hauing caſt anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on ſhoare, and hee himſelfe went firſt on land: where we found the place as pleaſant as was poſſible, for it was all couered ouer with mightie high Oakes and infinite ſtore of Cedars, and with Lentiſkes growing vnderneath them, ſmelling ſo ſweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to ſeeme exceeding pleaſant. As we paſſed thorow theſe woods we ſaw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forreſts, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bigneſſe. Wee heard alſo within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Luſernes, of Leopards, & diuers other ſortes of Beaſtes vnknowen vnto vs. Being delighted with this place, we ſet our ſelues to fiſhing with nets, & we caught ſuch a number of fiſh, that it was wonderfull. And amongſt other wee tooke a certaine kind of fiſh which we call Sallicoques, which were no leſſe then Creuiſes, ſo that two draughts of the net were ſufficient to feede all the companie of our two ſhips for a whole day. The Riuer at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no leſſe then 3. French leagues broad: it is diuided into two great armes, whereof the one runneth toward the Weſt, the other towards the North: And I beleeue in my iudgement that the arme which ſtretcheth towarde the North runneth vp into the Countrey as farre as the Riuer Iordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and vnderſtoode by thoſe of our

The riuer of Seine.

The Riuer of Somme.

The Riuer of Loyre.

The Riuers of Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande.

The riuer Belle a veoir.

The Riuer of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

Turkeycocks. Partridges gray and red.

Fiſh in abundance.

The Riuer 3. leagues at the mouth.

A paſſage by a riuer into the Sea.

Store of rare ſimples.

Ribault ſaileth 12. leagues vp the Riuer.

Cape Lucerne.

Chamois. Pearles.

Store of pearles and ſiluer.

A Pillar of free ſtone wherein the Armes of France were grauen, ſet vp in an Iland in the riuer of Port Royal.

The Riuer of Liborne.

The Ile of Cedars.

company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. Theſe two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middeſt of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great Riuer, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all ſortes of ſtrange beaſts. There are Simples growing there of ſo rare properties, and in ſo great quantitie, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On euery ſide there is nothing to be ſeene but Palmetrees, and other ſortes of trees bearing bloſſoms and fruite of very rare ſhape and very good ſmell. But ſeeing the euening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne vnto the ſhippes, wee prayed him to ſuffer vs to paſſe the night in this place. In our abſence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners aduertiſed the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the ſhippes further vp within the Riuer, to auoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy vs, by reaſon of our being ſo neere to the mouth of the Riuer: and for this cauſe the Captaine ſent for vs. Being come to our ſhippes, wee ſayled three leagues further vp within the Riuer, and there we caſt anker. A little while after, Iohn Ribault accompanied with a good number of ſouldiers imbarked himſelfe, deſirous to ſayle further vp into the arme that runneth toward the Weſt, and to ſearch the commodities of the place. Hauing ſayled twelue leagues at the leaſt, we perceiued a troope of Indians, which aſſoone as euer they eſpied the Pinneſſes, were ſo afrayd that they fled into the woods leauing behind them a yong Lucerne which they were a turning vpon a ſpit: for which cauſe the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding forth on our way, we found another arme of the Riuer, which ranne toward the Eaſt, vp which the Captaine determined to ſayle and to leaue the great current. A little while after they began to eſpie diuers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that wee were ſuch as deſired their friendſhip, were diſmayed at the firſt, but ſoone after were emboldened, for the Captaine cauſed ſtore of marchandiſe to bee ſhewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well vnto them: and then they made a ſigne that we ſhould come on lande, which wee would not refuſe. At our comming on ſhoare diuers of them came to ſalute our Generall according to their barbarous faſhion. Some of them gaue him ſkins of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaues, ſome preſented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend vs in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not ſtay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gaue preſents to each of them: wherewith hee pleaſed them ſo well before hee went thence, that his ſuddaine departure was nothing pleaſant vnto them. For knowing him to bee ſo liberall, they would haue wiſhed him to haue ſtayed a little longer, ſeeking by all meanes to giue him occaſion to ſtay, ſhewing him by ſignes that he ſhould ſtay but that day onely, and that they deſired to aduertiſe a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Siluer alſo, all which things ſhould bee giuen vnto him at the Kings arriuall: ſaying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houſes, and ſhewe him there a thouſand pleaſures in ſhooting, and ſeeing the Stagge killed, therefore they prayed him not to denie them their requeſt. Notwithſtanding wee returned to our ſhippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinneſſe a pillar of hard ſtone faſhioned like a columne, wherein the Armes of the king of France were grauen, to plant the ſame in the faireſt place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked our ſelues, and ſayled three leagues towards the Weſt: where we diſcouered a little riuer, vp which we ſayled ſo long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland ſeparated from the firme land, where wee went on ſhore: and by commandement of the Captaine, becauſe it was exceeding faire and pleaſant, there wee planted the Pillar vpon a hillock open round about to the view, and inuironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and ſweete water. In which Iland wee ſawe two Stagges of exceeding bigneſſe, in reſpect of thoſe which we had ſeene before, which we might eaſily haue killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden vs, mooued with the ſingular faireneſſe and bigneſſe of them. But before our departure we named the little riuer which enuironed this Ile, The Riuer of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our ſelues to ſearch another Ile not farre diſtant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the faireſt that were ſeene in this Countrey. For this cauſe wee called it The Ile of Cedars: ſo wee returned into our Pinneſſe to go towards our ſhippes.

A few dayes afterward Iohn Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the Riuer which runneth toward the Weſt, and to carrie with him good ſtore of ſouldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former courſe ſo farre forth, that at the laſt wee came to the ſelfe ſame place where at the firſt we found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permiſſion of the king, which thinking that they were more fauoured thē the reſt, thought themſelues very happy to ſtay with vs. But theſe two Indians ſeeing we made no ſhew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middeſt of the current, began to be ſomewhat offended, and would by force haue lept into the water, for they are ſo good ſwimmers that immediatly they would haue gotten into the forreſtes. Neuertheleſſe being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and ſought by all meanes to appeaſe them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much eſteemed, which things they diſdained to take, and gaue backe againe whatſoeuer was giuen them, thinking that ſuch giftes ſhould haue altogether bound them, and that in reſtoring them they ſhould be reſtored vnto their libertie. In fine, perceiuing that all that they did auayled them nothing, they prayed vs to giue them thoſe things which they had reſtored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to ſing, agreeing ſo ſweetely together, that in hearing their ſong it ſeemed that they lamented the abſence of their friendes. They continued their ſongs all night without ceaſing: all which time we were conſtrained to ly at anker by reaſon of the tyde that was againſt vs, but we hoyſed ſayle the next day very early in the morning, and returned to our ſhips. Aſſoone as we were come to our ſhips, euery one ſought to gratifie theſe 2 Indians, & to ſhew them the beſt countenance that was poſſible: to the intent that by ſuch courteſies they might perceiue the good deſire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they refuſed it, and made vs vnderſtand that they were accuſtomed to waſh their face and to ſtay vntill the Sunne were ſet before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neuertheleſſe in the end they were conſtrained to forget their ſuperſtitions, and to apply themſelues to our nature, which was ſomewhat ſtrange vnto them at the firſt. They became therfore more iocunde, euery houre made vs a 1000 diſcourſes, being merueilous ſory that we could not vnderſtand them. A few daies after they began to beare ſo good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather haue periſhed with hunger & thirſt, then haue taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I ſought to learne ſome Indian words, & began to aſke them queſtions, ſhewing thē the thing whereof I deſired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the deſire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aſke them euery thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phraſes of the Indian ſpeech, I was able to vnderſtand the greateſt part of their diſcourſes. Euery day they did nothing but ſpeak vnto me of the deſire that they had to vſe me wel, if we returned vnto their houſes, and cauſe me to receiue all the pleaſures that they could deuiſe, aſwell in hunting as in ſeeing their very ſtrange and ſuperſtitious ceremonies at a certaine feaſt which they call Toya. Which feaſt they obſerue as ſtraightly as we obſerue the Sunday. They gaue me to vnderſtand, that they would bring me to ſee the greateſt Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They ſaid vnto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and incloſed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can iudge, this place whereof they ſpake vnto me, was a very faire citie. For they ſaid vnto me that within the incloſure there was great ſtore of houſes which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like vnto themſelues, which made none account of gold, of ſiluer, nor of pearles, ſeeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to ſhew thē al the parts of heauē, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And ſtraightway one of them ſtretching out his hand ſhewed me yͭ they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the riuer of Iordan. And now I remember, that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine ſlaues to work in their mines) ſtole away by ſubtilty the inhabitants of this riuer, to the number of 40, thinking to cary thē into their new Spaine. But they loſt their labour: for in deſpite they died al for hunger, ſauing one that was brought to the Emperor, which a litle while after he cauſed to be baptiſed, and gaue him his own name & called him Charles of Chiquola, becauſe he ſpake ſo much of this Lorde of Chiquola whoſe ſubiect hee was. Alſo, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his a bode within a very great incloſed citie. Beſides this proof, thoſe which were left in the firſt voyage haue certified me, that the Indians ſhewed thē by euident ſignes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great incloſure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had ſtaied a while in our ſhips, they began to be ſory, and ſtil demanded of me whē they ſhould returne. I made them vnderſtand that the Captaines will was to ſend them home againe, but that firſt he would beſtow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was deliuered vnto them. But ſeeing he would not giue them licence to depart, they reſolued with

them

Two Indians taken away.

The dolefull ſongs of the Indians.

The Indians eat not before the ſun be ſet.

Laudonniere putting downe in writing the words and phraſes of the Indians ſpeech.

The feaſt of Toya.

This ſeemeth to be La grand Copal.

The 2 Indians eſcape away.

The benefite of planting.

themſelues to ſteale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to saue themſelues. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leauing behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had giuen them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, ſhewing well hereby that they were not void of reaſon. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, conſidering they had not bene vſed otherwiſe then well: and that therefore they would not eſtrange themſelues from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the ſingular faireneſs of this riuer, deſired by all meanes to encourage ſome of his men to dwell there, well foreſeeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings ſeruice, and the releife of the Common wealth of France. Therfore proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the ankers to bee weighed and to ſet things in order to returne vnto the opening of the riuer, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might paſſe out to accompliſh the reſt of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the riuer, he made them caſt anker, whereupon we ſtayed without diſcouering any thing all the reſt of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ſhip ſhould come vp vpon the decke, ſaying that he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto them. They all came vp, and immediatly the Captaine began to ſpeake vnto them in this maner.

The Oration of Iohn Ribault to his company.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great conſequence this our enterprize is, and alſo how acceptable it is vnto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one deſiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to aduertiſe you all of the exceeding good happe which ſhould fall to them, which, as men of value and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our firſt diſcouerie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which ſhould be, as I aſſure my ſelfe, the greateſt occaſion that euer could happen vnto them, to ariſe vnto the title and degree of honour. And for this cauſe I was deſirous to propoſe vnto you and ſet downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deſerue, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey haue had the courage to enterprize a thing of ſuch importance, which euen kings themſelues vnderſtanding to be men aſpiring to ſo high degree of magnanimitie and increaſe of their maieſties, doe not diſdaine ſo wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight & of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for euer. Howbeit, I would not haue you perſwade your ſelues, as many doe, that you ſhall neuer haue ſuch good fortune, as not being knowen neither to the king nor the Princes of the Realme, and beſides deſcending of ſo poore a ſtocke, that few or none of your parents, hauing euer made profeſſion of armes, haue bene knowen vnto the great eſtates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I my ſelfe haue applyed all my induſtry to follow them, and haue hazarded my life in ſo many dangers for the ſeruice of my prince, yet could I neuer attaine therunto (not that I did not deſerue this title and degree of gouernment) as I haue ſeene it happen to many others, onely becauſe they deſcende of a noble race, ſince more regard is had of their birth then of their vertue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded, ther would more be found worthy to deſerue the title, & by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make ſufficient anſwere to ſuch propoſitions and ſuch things as you may obiect againſt me, laying before you the infinite examples which we haue of the Romans; which concerning the point of honour were the firſt that triumphed ouer the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their ſo valiant enterprizes, not for the greatneſſe of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph? If we haue recourſe vnto their anceſters, wee ſhall finde that their parents were of ſo meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they liued very baſely. As the father of *Ælius Pertinax*, which was a poore artiſan, his Grandfather likewiſe was a bond man, as the hiſtoriographers do witnes: and neuertheleſſe, being moued with a valiant courage, he was nothing diſmayed for all this, but rather deſirous to aſpire vnto high things, he began with a braue ſtomacke to learne feates of armes, and profited ſo wel therein, that from ſtep to ſtep he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he deſpiſed not his parents: but contrariwiſe, & in remembrance of them, he cauſed his fathers ſhop to be couered with a fine wrought marble, to ſerue for an example to mē deſcended of baſe & poore linages, to giue them occaſion to aſpire vnto high things notwithſtanding the meanneſſe of their anceſters. I wil not paſſe ouer in ſilence the excellencie & proweſſe of the valiant & renowned *Agathocles* the ſonne of a ſimple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible eſtate of his father, he ſo applied himſelfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the fauour of armes he came to be king of *Sicilie*: and for all this title he refuſed not to be counted the ſonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memorie of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he ſhould be ſerued at the Table in veſſels

Ælius Pertinax deſcending from baſe parentage became Emperour of Rome.

Agathocles a potters ſonne became king of Sicilie.

of gold and ſiluer and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not vnto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I ſhal ſpeake of our time, I will lay before you onely *Ruſten Baſſha*, which may be a ſufficient example to all men: which though he were the ſonne of a poore heard-man, did ſo apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought vp in the ſeruice of the great Turke, he ſeemed to aſpire to great and high matters, in ſuch ſort that growing in yeres he increaſed alſo in courage, ſo far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought ſo many worthy examples to moue you to plant here? Conſidering alſo that hereby you ſhalbe regiſtred for euer as the firſt that inhabited this ſtrang countrey. I pray you therfore all to aduiſe your ſelues thereof, and to declare your mindes freely vnto mee, proteſting that I will ſo well imprint your names in the kings eares, and the other princes, that your renowme ſhall hereafter ſhine vnquenchable through our Realme of *France*. He had ſcarcely ended his Oration, but the greateſt part of our ſouldiers replyed: that a greater pleaſure could neuer betide them, perceiuing well the acceptable ſeruice which by this meanes they ſhoulde doe vnto their Prince: beſides that this thing ſhould be for the increaſe of their honours: therfore they beſought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finiſh, and to leaue them munition neceſſarie for their defence, ſhewing as it ſeemed that they were diſpleaſed, that it was ſo long in doing. Whereupon Iohn Ribault being as glad as might be to ſee his men ſo well willing, determined the next day to ſearch the moſt fit and conuenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himſelfe very earely in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were deſirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Hauing ſayled vp the great riuer on the North ſide, in coaſting an Iſle which ended with a ſharpe point toward the mouth of the riuer, hauing ſailed a while, he diſcouered a ſmall riuer, which entred into the Iſlande, which hee would not faile to ſearch out. Which done, & finding the ſame deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, ioyning vpon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and ſeeing the place fit to build a Fortreſſe in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he reſolued incontinent to cauſe the bignes of the fortification to be meaſured out. And conſidering that there ſtayed but ſixe and twentie there, he cauſed the Fort to be made in length but ſixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The meaſure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we ſent vnto the ſhippes for men, and to bring ſhouels, pickaxes and other inſtruments neceſſarie to make the fortification. We trauailed ſo diligently, that in a ſhort ſpace the Fort was made in ſome ſort defenciable. In which meane time Iohn Ribault cauſed victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furniſhed them with all ſuch things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leaue of them. But before his departure he vſed this ſpeech vnto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

Ruſten Baſſha of an heardmans ſonne through his valure became the great Turkes ſonne in law.

The ſouldiers anſwere to Ribaults Oration.

The length and bredth of the Fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

A Fort built in Port Roial by Ribault.

Captaine *Albert*, I haue to requeſt you in the preſence of al theſe men, that you would quit your ſelfe ſo wiſely in your charge, and gouerne ſo modeſtly your ſmall companie which I leaue you, which with ſo good cheere remaineth vnder your obedience, that I neuer haue occaſion but to commend you, and to recount vnto the king (as I am deſirous) the faithfull ſeruice which before vs all you vndertake to doe him in his new *France*: And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beſeech you alſo to eſteeme of Captaine *Albert* as if hee were my ſelfe that ſtayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true ſouldier oweth vnto his Generall and Captaine, liuing as brethren one with another, without all diſſention: and in ſo doing God wil aſſiſt you and bleſſe your enterpriſes. Hauing ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaues of each of them, and ſayled toward our ſhippes, calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the Riuer by the name Chenonceau. The next day wee determined to depart from this place being as well contented as was poſſible that we had ſo happily ended our buſines, with good hope, if occaſion would permitte, to diſcouer perfectly the riuer of Iordan. For this cauſe we hoyſed our ſayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to ſhoote off our Ordinance to giue a farewel vnto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee ſailed toward the North: and then we named this riuer Porte Royal, becauſe of the largenes and excellent faires of the ſame. After that we had ſailed about 15 leagues from thence, we eſpied a riuer, whereupon wee ſent our pinneſſe thither to diſcouer it. At their returne they brought vs word that they found not paſt halfe a fathom water in the mouth therof. Which whē we vnderſtood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Baſe or Shallow riuer. As we ſtil went on ſounding we found

Ribaults ſpeech to Captaine Albert.

His ſpeech to the ſouldiers.

The aforeſaide Fort was called Charles-fort.

Port Royall.

The riuer Baſe, 15 leagues Northwarde of Port Royall not paſt fiue or ſixe fathome water, although we were ſixe good leagues from the ſhoare: at length we found not paſt three fathomes, which gaue vs occaſion greatly to muſe. And without making any farther way we ſtrook our ſayles, partly becauſe we wanted water, & partly becauſe the night approched: during which time Captaine Iohn Ribault bethought with himſelfe wether it were beſt for him to paſſe any farther, becauſe of the eminent dangers which euery houre we ſaw before our eyes: or whither he ſhould content himſelfe with that which he had certainely diſcouered, & alſo left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to reſolue with himſelfe, he referred it vntil the next day. The morning being come he propoſed to all the company what was beſt to be done, to the end that with good aduiſement euery man might deliuer his opinion. Some made anſwere, that according to their iudgement he had occaſion fully to content himſelfe, conſidering that he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had diſcouered more in ſixe weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conqueſt of their New Spaine: and that he ſhould do the king very great ſeruice, if he did bring him newes in ſo ſhort a time of his happy diſcouerie. Other ſhewed vnto him the loſſe and ſpoile of his victuals, and on the other ſide the inconuenience that might happen by the ſhallow water that they found continually along the coaſt. Which things being well and at large debated, we reſolued to leaue the coaſt, forſaking the North, to take our way toward the Eaſt, which is the right way and courſe to our France, where we happily arriued the twentieth day of Iuly, the yere 1562.

Shallow water.

Their arriuall in France 1562. the 20 of Iuly.

The ſtate and condition of thoſe which were left behind in *Charles-fort*.

OUr men after our departure neuer reſted, but night and day did fortifie themſelues, being in good hope that after their fort was finiſhed, they would begin to diſcouer farther vp within the riuer. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groues, that they eſpied on the ſudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himſelfe ſo neere vpon them, was much diſmayed, but our men began to draw neere vnto him and to vſe him ſo courteouſly, that he became aſſured and followed them to Charles-fort, where euery man ſought to doe him pleaſure. Captaine Albert was very ioyfull of his comming, which after he had giuen him a ſhirt and ſome other trifles, he aſked him of his dwelling: the Indian anſwered him that it was farther vp within the riuer, and that he was vaſſal of king Auduſta: he alſo ſhewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian deſired leaue to depart, becauſe it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to ſaile toward Auduſta, where being arriued, by reaſon of the honeſt entertaynment which he had giuen to the Indian, he was ſo courteouſly receiued, that the king talked with him of nothing elſe but of the deſire which he had to become his friend: giuing him beſides to vnderſtand, that he being his friend and allie, he ſhould haue the amitie of foure other kings, which in might & authoritie were able to do much for his ſake: Beſides all this, in his neceſſitie they might be able to ſuccour him with victuals. One of theſe kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreouer, that they would be very glad, when they ſhould vnderſtand the newes of his comming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchſafe to viſit them. The Captaine willingly conſented vnto him, for the deſire that he had to purchaſe friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very early, and firſt arriued at the houſe of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houſes, except the houſe of king Stalame. He receiued of each of them all the amiable courteſies that might be: they ſhewed themſelues to be as affectioned friends vnto him as was poſſible, and offered vnto him a thouſand ſmall preſents. After that he had remained by the ſpace of certaine daies with theſe ſtrange kings, he determined to take his leaue: and being come backe to the houſe of Auduſta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their Pinneſſe: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the diſtance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they ſailed vp the riuer they entred into a great current, which they followed ſo farre till they came at the laſt to the houſe of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he ſought to make them the beſt cheere he could deuiſe. He preſented immediatly vnto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a ſigne and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He preſented him with Chamoys ſkinnes. The Captaine ſeeing the beſt part of the day was now paſt, tooke his leaue of king Stalame to returne to Charles-fort, where hee arriued the day following. By this time the friendſhip was growne ſo great betweene our men and king Auduſta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in ſuch ſort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feaſts of Toya, which are ceremonies moſt ſtrange to recite, he ſent Ambaſſadours to our men to

King Auduſta.

Note.

Mayon.
Hoya.
Touppa.
Stalame.

The countrey of king Stalame 15 leagues Northward of Charles-fort.

Chamoys ſkinnes.

The feaſt of Toya largely deſcribed.

requeſt them on his behalfe to be there preſent. Whereunto they agreed moſt willingly for the deſire that they had to vnderſtand what this might be. They imbarked themſelues therefore and ſailed towards the kings houſe, which was already come forth on the way towards thē, to receiue them courteouſly, to bid them welcome & bring them to his houſe, where he ſought to intreat them the beſt he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themſelues to celebrate the feaſt the morrow after, and the king brought them to ſee the place, wherein the feaſt ſhould be kept: where they ſaw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open proſpect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were choſen to celebrate the feaſt, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diuers colours, put themſelues on the way to go frō the kings houſe toward the place of Toya: whereunto when they were come they ſet themſelues in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in geſture were differing from the reſt: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing & ſinging in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middeſt of the round circuit, being followed of others which anſwered them again. After that they had ſung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like vnbridled horſes, through the middeſt of the thickeſt woods. And then the Indian women continued all the reſt of the day in teares as ſad & woful as was poſſible: & in ſuch rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced ſo cruelly with ſharpe ſhels of Muſkles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Auduſta had gathered all our men into his houſe, while the feaſt was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he ſaw them laugh. This he did, becauſe the Indians are very angry when they are ſeene in their ceremonies. Notwithſtanding one of our men made ſuch ſhift that by ſubtile meanes he gatte out of the houſe of Auduſta, and ſecretly went and hid himſelfe behinde a very thicke buſh, where at his pleaſure, he might eaſily diſcry the ceremonies of the feaſt. They three that began the feaſt are named Iawas: and they are as it were three Prieſtes of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly becauſe that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly alſo becauſe they be ſo ſubtile magicians that any thing that is loſt is ſtraightway recouered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for theſe things, but alſo becauſe they heale diſeaſes by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and ſkill they haue. Thoſe that ran ſo through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cheerefull courage in the middeſt of the faire place, and to cheere vp their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reaſon of their too great age, or by reaſon of their naturall indiſpoſition and feebleneſſe were not called to the feaſt. When all theſe dances were ended, they fell on eating with ſuch a greedineſſe, that they ſeemed rather to deuoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feaſt, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians ſent for them all thither, ſhewing themſelues very glad of their preſence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their abſence: which boy made him vnderſtand by ſignes, that the Iawas had made inuocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might ſpeake with him and demand diuers ſtrange things of him, which for feare of the Iawas he durſt not vtter. They haue alſo many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearſe for feare of moleſting the reader with a matter of ſo ſmall importance.

The Indians trimming of themſelues with rich feathers.

Iawas are their Prieſtes.

Magicians.

Phyſitions

Inuocations of the Iawas or Prieſts vnto Toya.

When the feaſt therefore was finiſhed our men returned vnto Charles-fort: where hauing remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe ſhort, which forced them to haue recourſe vnto their neighbours, and to pray them to ſuccour them in their neceſſitie: which gaue them part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more vnto themſelues then would ſerue to ſow their fieldes. They tolde them farther that for this cauſe it was needefull for them to retire themſelues into the woods, to liue of Maſt and rootes vntill the time of harueſt, being as ſorry as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gaue them alſo counſell to goe toward the countreys of King Couexis a man of might and renowme in this prouince, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all ſeaſons and repleniſhed with ſuch quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely ſuccour they might be able to liue a very long time. But before they ſhould come into his territories, they were to repayre vnto a king called Ouade the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no leſſe wealthy, and withall is very liberall and which would be very ioyfull if he might but once ſee them. Our men perceiuing the good relation which the Indians made them of thoſe two kings reſolued to go thither: for they felt already the neceſſity which oppreſſed them. Therfore they made requeſt vnto king Maccou, that it would pleaſe him to giue them one of his ſubiects to guide thē the right way thither: whereupon he condi-

Their victuals faile them.

The Indians maner of liuing in the Winter time of Maſt and roots.

King Couexis mightie and renowned.

King Ouade.

King Maccou.

Ouades countrey in the riuer Belle.

Tapiſtrie of feathers.

White couerlets edged with red fringe.

The liberalitie of king Ouade.

Ouades countrey twenty fiue leagues Southward from Charles fort.

The fort ſet on fire by caſualtie.

The fort reedified by the Sauages in the ſpace of 12 houres.

Crocodiles.

Cypreſſes.

Their ſecond iourney to the countrey of Ouade.

condeſcended very willingly, knowing that without his fauour they ſhould haue much ado to bring their interprize to paſſe. Wherefore after they had giuen order for all things neceſſary for the voyage, they put themſelues to Sea, and ſailed ſo farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ouade, which they found to be in the riuer Belle. Being there arriued they perceiued a company of Indians, which aſſoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Aſſoone as they were come neere them, their guides ſhewed them by ſignes that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men ſet forward to ſalute him. And then two of his ſonnes which were with him, being goodly and ſtrong men ſaluted them againe in very good ſort, and vſed very friendly intertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleaſure and contentment which he had to ſee them in that place, proteſting that he would become ſo loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour againſt all them that would offer to be their enemies. After theſe ſpeeches he led them toward his houſe, where he ſought to entreate them very courteouſly. His houſe was hanged about with Tapiſtrie of feathers of diuers colours the height of a pike. Moreouer the place where the king tooke his reſt was couered with white Couerlettes embroydered with deuiſes of very wittie and fine workemanſhip, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They aduertiſed the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (hauing heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beſeech him to ſuccour them with victuals in their great want and neceſſitie: and that in ſo doing, he ſhould binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders againſt all his enemies. This good Indian aſſoone ready to doe them pleaſure, as they were to demand it, commanded his ſubiects that they ſhould fill our Pinneſſe with mil and beanes. Afterward he cauſed them to bring him ſixe pieces of his Tapiſtry made like litle couerlets, & gaue them to our men with ſo liberal a minde, as they eaſily perceiued the deſire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all theſe gifts our men gaue him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himſelfe greatly ſatiſfied. This being done, our men tooke their leaue of the king, which for their farewell, ſayd nothing els but that they ſhould returne if they wanted victuals, & that they might aſſure themſelues of him, that they ſhould neuer want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themſelues, and ſayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be ſome fiue and twenty leagues diſtant. But as ſoone as our men thought themſelues at their eaſe, & free from the dangers whereinto they had expoſed themſelues night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, euen as they were aſleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with ſuch furie, being increaſed by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was conſumed in an inſtant, without being able to ſaue any thing, ſauing a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all ſuccours, found themſelues in ſuch extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely ſearcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which neuer forſaketh thoſe that ſeeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audulta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the miſfortune, were very ſory for it. And then they vttered vnto their ſubiects the ſpeedy diligence which they were to vſe in building another houſe, ſhewing vnto them that the Frenchmen were their louing friends, & that they had made it euident vnto them by the gifts and preſents which they had receiued: proteſting that whoſoeuer put not his helping hand vnto the worke with all his might, ſhould be eſteemed as vnprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Sauages feare aboue all things. This was the occaſion that euery man began to endeuour himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that in leſſe then 12 houres, they had begun and finiſhed a houſe which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they receiued of our men. Within a ſmall while after this miſchance, their victuals began to waxe ſhort: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themſelues againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the king Ouade and Couexis his brother. Wherefore they reſolued to ſend thither ſome of their company the next day following: which with an Indian Canoa ſayled vp into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire & great riuer of freſh water, which they failed not to ſearch out: they found therein a great number of Crocodils, which in greatnes paſſe thoſe of the riuer Nilus: moreouer, al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypreſſes. After they had ſtayed a ſmal while in this place, they purpoſed to follow their iourney, helping thẽſelues ſo wel with the tydes, that without putting themſelues in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the countrey of Ouade: of whom they were moſt courteouſly receiued. They aduertiſed him of the occaſion,

caſion wherefore they came againe to viſite him, and told him of the miſchance, which happened vnto them ſince their laſt voyages: how they had not onely loſt their houſhold ſtuffe by caſualtie of fire, but alſo their victuals which he had giuen them ſo bountifully: that for this cauſe they were ſo bolde as to come once againe vnto him, to beſeech him to vouchſafe to ſuccour them in ſuch neede and neceſſitie.

After that the king had vnderſtood their caſe, he ſent meſſengers vnto his brother Couexis, to requeſt him vpon his behalfe to ſend him ſome of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king cauſed to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would haue taken their leaue of him, finding themſelues more then ſatiſfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not ſuffer them, but retained them, and ſought to make them the beſt cheere hee could deuiſe. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to ſhewe them the place where his corne grewe, and ſaide vnto them that they ſhould not want as long as all that mil did laſt. Afterward he gaue them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, & two ſtones of fine Chriſtal, and certaine ſiluer oare. Our men forgot not to giue him certaine trifles in recompence of theſe preſentes, and required of him the place whence the ſiluer oare and the Chriſtall came. He made them anſwere, that it came ten dayes iourney from his habitation vp within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the ſame at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being ioyfull to vnderſtand ſo good newes, and to haue come to the knowledge of that which they moſt deſired, they tooke their leaue of the king, and returned by the ſame ſaw, by which they came.

Exceeding faire pearles, fine Chriſtall, ſiluer ore.

The place where chriſtall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes iourney from the riuer Belle.

Note.

Behold therefore how our men behaued themſelues very well hitherto, although they had endured many great miſhaps. But miſfortune or rather the iuſt iudgement of God would haue it, that thoſe which could not bee ouercome by fire nor water, ſhould be vndone by their owne ſelues. This is the common faſhion of men, which cannot continue in one ſtate, and had rather to ouerthrow themſelues, then not to attempt ſome new thing dayly. We haue infinite examples in the ancient hiſtories, eſpecially of the Romanes, vnto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from their countrey and abſent from their countreymen, haue alſo added this preſent example. They entred therefore into partialities and diſſentions, which began about a ſouldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a ſmal fault: which captaine alſo vſing to threathen the reſt of his ſouldiers which ſtaied behind vnder his obedience, and peraduenture (as it is to be preſumed) were not ſo obedient to him as they ſhould haue bene, was the cauſe that they fell into a mutinie, becauſe that many times he put his threatnings in execution: whervpon they ſo chaſed him, that at the laſt they put him to death. And the principall occaſion that moued them thereunto was, becauſe he degraded another ſouldier named La Chere (which he had baniſhed) and becauſe he had not performed his promiſe: for hee had promiſed to ſend him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but ſaid on the contrary, that he would be glad to heare of his death. He ſaid moreouer, that he would chaſtiſe others alſo, & vſed ſo euil ſounding ſpeeches, that honeſtie forbiddeth me to repeat thẽ. The ſouldiers ſeeing his madnes to increaſe from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, reſolued to kil him. Hauing executed their purpoſe, they went to ſeeke the ſouldier that was baniſhed, which was in a ſmall Iſland diſtant frõ Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almoſt half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they aſſembled themſelues together to chooſe one to be gouernour ouer them, whoſe name was Nicolas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe ſo well to quite himſelfe of his charge, that all rancour and diſſention ceaſed among them, and they liued peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a ſmal Pinneſſe, with hope to return into France, if no ſuccours came vnto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any ſkill, notwithſtanding neceſſitie, which is the maiſtreſſe of all ſciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finiſhed, they thought of nothing elſe ſauing how to furniſh it with all things neceſſarie to vndertake the voyage. But they wanted thoſe things that of all other were moſt needefull, as cordage and ſayles, without which the enterpriſe coulde not come to effect. Hauing no meanes to recouer theſe things, they were in worſe caſe then at the firſt, and almoſt ready to fall into deſpayre. But that good God, which neuer forſaketh the afflicted, did ſuccour them in their neceſſitie.

Mutiny againſt the captaine, and the cauſes thereof.

Captaine Albert ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

Nicolas Barre, choſen captain

A new Brigandine built in Florida.

As they were in theſe perplexities, king Auduſta and Maccou came to them, accompained with two hundred Indians at the leaſt, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and ſhewed the king in what neede of cordage they ſtood: who promiſed them to returne within two dayes, and to bring ſo much as ſhould ſuffice to furniſh the Pinneſſe with tackling. Our men being pleaſed with theſe good newes & promiſes, beſtowed vpon them certaine cutting hookes and ſhirtes. After their departure our men ſought all meanes to recouer roſen in the woodes, wherein they cut the Pine trees round about, out of which they drew ſufficient reaſonable quantitie to bray the veſſell. Alſo they gathered a kind of moſſe which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to ſerue to calke the ſame withall. There now wanted nothing but ſayles, which they made of their owne ſhirtes and of their ſheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with ſo good ſtore of cordage, that there was found ſufficient for tackling of the ſmall Pinneſſe. Our men as glad as might be, vſed great liberalitie towards them, and at their leauing of the countrey, left them all the marchandiſe that remained, leauing them thereby ſo fully ſatiſfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the worlde. They went forward therefore to finiſh the Brigandine, & vſed ſo ſpeedie diligence, that within a ſhort time afterward they made it ready furniſhed with all things. In the meane ſeaſon the winde came ſo fit for their purpoſe that it ſeemed to inuite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had ſet all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too exceſſiue ioy, which they had conceiued for their returning into France, or rather depriued of all foreſight & conſideration, without regarding the inconſtancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themſelues to ſea, and with ſo ſlender victuals, that the end of their interpriſe became vnluckily and vnfortunate.

Roſen to bray ſhips.
Moſſe to calke ſhips.
Cordage for tackle.

They put to the ſea without ſufficient victuals.

For after they had ſayled the third part of their way, they were ſurprized with calmes which did ſo much hinder them, that in three weekes they ſailed not aboue fiue and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals conſumed, and became ſo ſhort, that euery man was conſtrained to eate not paſt twelue graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelue peaſon. Yea, and this felicitie laſted not long: for their victuals failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more aſſured refuge but their ſhooes and leather ierkins which they did eat. Touching their beuerage, ſome of them dranke the ſea water, others did drink their owne vrine: and they remained in ſuch deſperate neceſſitie a very long ſpace, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beſide this extreme famine, which did ſo grieuouſly oppreſſe them, they fell euery minute of an houre out of all hope euer to ſee France againe, inſomuch that they were conſtrained to caſt the water continually out, that on al ſides entred into their Barke. And euery day they fared worſe and worſe: for after they had eaten vp their ſhooes and their leather ierkins, there aroſe ſo boyſtrous a winde and ſo contrary to their courſe, that in the turning of a hande, the waues filled their veſſell halfe full of water and bruſed it vpon the one ſide. Being now more out of hope thē euer to eſcape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for caſting out of the water which now was almoſt ready to drowne them. And as men reſolued to die, euery one fell downe backewarde, and gaue themſelues ouer altogether vnto the will of the waues. When as one of them a little hauing taken heart vnto him declared vnto them how litle way they had to ſayle, aſſuring them, that if the winde held, they ſhould ſee land within three dayes. This man did ſo incourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinneſſe they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the ſea water. When the time of his promiſe was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, ſeeing they could not diſcry any land. Wherefore in this extreme deſpaire certaine among them made this motion, that it was better that one man ſhould dye, then that ſo many men ſhould periſh: they agreed therefore that one ſhould die to ſuſtaine the others. Which thing was executed in the perſon of La Chere, of whom we haue ſpoken heretofore, whoſe fleſh was deuided equally among his fellowes: a thing ſo pitifull to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

Their victuals vtterly conſumed.

They drinke their vrine for want of freſh water.

Extreme famine.

After ſo long time and tedious trauels, God of his goodneſſe vſing his accuſtomed fauour, changed their ſorow into ioy, and ſhewed vnto them the ſight of land. Whereof they were ſo exceeding glad, that the pleaſure cauſed them to remaine a long time as men without ſence: whereby they let the Pinneſſe flote this and that way without holding any right way or courſe. But a ſmall Engliſh barke boarded the veſſell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the firſt voyage into Florida, who eaſily knew them, and ſpake vnto them, and afterward gaue them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recouered their naturall courages, and declared

The French ſuccoured by an Engliſh Barke.

vnto him at large all their nauigation. The Engliſhmen conſulted a long while what were beſt to be done, and in fine they reſolued to put on land thoſe that were moſt feeble, and to cary the reſt vnto the Queene of England, which purpoſed at that time to ſend into Florida. Thus you ſee in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the diſcourſe of mine owne voyage.

It ſeemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.

The ſecond voyage vnto *Florida*, made and written by Captaine *Laudonniere*, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.

After our arriuall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our firſt voyage (which was the twentieth of Iuly 1562) we found the ciuil warres begun, which was in part the cauſe why our men were not ſuccoured, as Captaine Iohn Ribault had promiſed them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his ſouldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we haue ſufficiently diſcourſed, and as it may more at large be vnderſtood by thoſe men which were there in perſon. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral De Chaſtillon ſhewed vnto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida, & that it were pity to ſuffer them to periſh. In which reſpect, the king was content he ſhould cauſe 3 ſhips to be furniſhed, the one of ſixe ſcore tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to ſeeke them out, and to ſuccour them.

The ciuill warres the cauſe why the Frenchmen were not ſupplied, which were left behinde in their firſt voyage.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull ſeruice which I had done, aſwell vnto his Maieſtie as to his predeceſſors kings of France, aduertiſed the king how able I was to doe him ſeruice in this voyage, which was the cauſe that he made me chiefe Captaine ouer theſe 3 ſhippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gaineſay, but rather thinking my ſelfe happy to haue bene choſen out among ſuch an infinite number of others, which in my iudgement were very well able to haue quitted themſelues in this charge, I embarked my ſelfe at New Hauen the 22 of Aprill 1564, and ſayled ſo, that we fell neere vnto the coaſt of England: and then I turned towards the South, to ſayle directly to the fortunate Iſlands, at this preſent called the Canaries, one of which called the Iſle Saluage (becauſe as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the firſt that our ſhips paſſed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Iſle of Teneriffa, otherwiſe called the Pike, becauſe that in the middeſt thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riſeth vp like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go vp but from the middeſt of May vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, by reaſon of the ouer great colde which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull ſtrange thing, conſidering that it is not paſt 27 degrees and an half diſtant from the Equator. We ſaw it all couered ouer with ſnow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Iſle being heretofore purſued by the Spaniards, retired themſelues into this mountaine, where for a ſpace they made warre with them, and would not ſubmit themſelues to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they diſdained ſo much the loſſe of their Iſland. For thoſe which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkaſes there, ſo that not ſo much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithſtanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to liue in that place according to their nature, or for want of ſuch things as were neceſſary for the commoditie of their liuelyhood, did all die there. After I had furniſhed my ſelfe with ſome freſh water, very good and excellent, which ſprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my courſe toward the Weſt, wherein the windes fauoured me ſo well, that 15 dayes after our ſhips arriued ſafe and ſound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Iſle of Martinino, one of the firſt of them, the next day we arriued at Dominica, twelue leagues diſtant from the former.

Laudonniers ſecond voyage to Florida, with three ſhips the 22 of Aprill 1564.

The Iſle of Teneriffa, or the Pike.

The Iſle of Martinino. Dominica an Iſland.

Dominica is one of the fayreſt Iſlands of the Weſt, full of hilles, and of very good ſmell. Whoſe ſingularities deſiring to know as we paſſed, and ſeeking alſo to refreſh our ſelues with freſh water, I made the Mariners caſt anker, after wee had ſayled about halfe along the coaſt thereof. As ſoone as we had caſt anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) ſayled toward vs in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas. As they approched vnto our Barke, there was one of them which being in ſome miſdoubt of vs, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much ſpeede as he could poſſibly. Which our men per-

Ananas a fruite of great excellencie.

ceiued and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, & brought him vnto me. But the poore fellow became ſo aſtonied in beholding vs, that he knew not which way to behaue himſelfe, becauſe that (as afterward I vnderſtood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he ſhewed vs, had cut of his ſtones. At length this poore Indian was ſecure of vs, and diſcourſed vnto vs of many things, whereof we receiued very ſmall pleaſure, becauſe we vnderſtood not his minde but by his ſignes. Then he deſired me to giue him leaue to depart, and promiſed me that he would bring me a thouſand preſents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would haue patience vntill the next day, when I purpoſed to goe on land, where I ſuffered him to depart after I had giuen him a ſhirte, and certaine ſmall trifles, wherewith he departed very well contented from vs.

The place where we went on ſhore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle riuer of ſweet and excellent good water: by which riuer we ſtayed certaine dayes to diſcouer the things which were worthy to be ſeene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which aboue all things beſought vs that none of our men ſhould come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwiſe that we ſhould giue them great cauſe of ielouſie, and that in ſo doing, wee ſhould not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered vs very liberally, receiuing in recompence certaine things of ſmall value. This notwithſtanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men deſirous to ſee ſome new things in theſe ſtrange countries, walked through the woods: and following ſtill the litle riuers ſide, they ſpied two ſerpents of exceeding bignes, which went ſide by ſide ouerthwart the way. My ſouldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the ſerpents nothing at all aſtonied at theſe geſtures glanced into the buſhes with fearful hyſſings: yet, for all that, my men drew their ſwords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 great foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more vndiſcreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any deſcretion: and not therewithall contented they wẽt toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were ſo much offended, that without regarding any thing they ruſhed vpon them and diſcharged their ſhot, ſo that they hit one of my men named Martine Chaueau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken priſoner: for thoſe of his company had inough to doe to ſaue themſelues without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monſieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant being aduertiſed, ſent vnto me to know whether I thought good that he ſhould lay an ambuſh for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether hee ſhould go directly to their dwellings to know the trueth. I ſent vnto him after good deliberation hereupon, that he ſhould not attempt any thing, and that for diuers occaſions: but contrariwiſe that he ſhould embarke himſelf with al diligence, & conſequently al they that were on land: which he did with ſpeed. But as he ſayled towards our ſhips he perceiued along the ſhore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part diſcharged ſtore of ſhot againſt them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to ſurpriſe them: for which cauſe he quite forſooke them, and came vnto our ſhip. Where ſtaying vntill the next day morning we ſet ſayle following our wonted courſe, and keeping the ſame, we diſcouered diuerſe Iſles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Iſles of S. Chriſtopher, and of the Saintes, of Monſerrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we paſſed between Anguilla and Anegada, ſayling toward New France. Where we arriued 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thurſeday the 22 of Iune about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle riuer which is 30 degrees diſtant from the Equator, and 10 lagues aboue Cape François drawing toward the South, and about thirtie leagues aboue the Riuer of May. After wee had ſtrooken ſayle and caſt anker athwart the Riuer, I determined to goe on ſhore to diſcouer the ſame. Therefore being accompanied with Monſieur Ottigni, with Monſieur de Arlac mine Enſigne, & a certaine number of Gentlemen and ſouldiers, I embarked my ſelfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the euening. And being arriued at the mouth of the riuer, I cauſed the chanell to be ſounded, which was found to be very ſhallow, although that farther within the ſame the water was there found reaſonable deepe, which ſeparateth it ſelfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other toward the North. Hauing thus ſearched the Riuer, I went on land to ſpeake with the Indians which waited for vs vpon the ſhore, which at our comming on land, came before vs, crying with a loude voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonaſſou, which is as much to ſay, as brother, friend, or ſome ſuch like thing. After they had made very much of vs, they

His arriual in Florida the 22 of Iune 1564. Cape Francois being between the riuer of Dolphins and the riuer of May, maketh the diſtance 30 leagues about, which is but 10 leagues ouer land.

they ſhewed vs their Paracouſſy, that is to ſay, their King and Gouernour, to whom I preſented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleaſed. And for mine owne part, I prayſe God continually, for the great loue which I haue found in theſe Sauages, which were ſory for nothing, but that the night approched, and made vs retire vnto our ſhips.

The great loue and courteſie of the Floridians.

For though they endeuoured by al meanes to make vs tary with them, and ſhewed by ſignes the deſire that they had to preſent vs with ſome rare things, yet neuertheleſſe for many iuſt and reaſonable occaſions I would not ſtay on ſhore all night: but excuſing my ſelfe for all their offers, I embarked my ſelfe againe and returned toward my ſhips. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this Riuer, the riuer of Dolphines, becauſe that at mine arriuall, I ſaw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (becauſe that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for vs to inhabit, and to build a fort) I gaue commandement to weigh anker, & to hoiſe our ſailes to ſaile toward the riuer of May, where we arriued two dayes after, & caſt anker. Afterward going on land, with ſome number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the ſingularities of this place, we eſpyed the Paracouſſy of the countrey, which came towards vs (this was the very ſame that we ſaw in the voyage of Captaine Iohn Ribault) which hauing eſpied vs, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being ſo ioyful that he could not containe himſelfe, he came to meet vs, accompanied then with two of his ſonnes, as faire and mightie perſons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to ſay, friend, friend: yea, and knowing thoſe which were there in the firſt voyage, they went principally to them to vſe this ſpeech vnto them. There was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which ſtil made very much of vs, and by euident ſignes made vs vnderſtand how glad they were of our arriuall. This good entertainment paſt, the Paracouſſy prayed me to goe ſee the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Iohn Ribault (as we haue declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

The riuer of Dolphins, called Seloy by the Sauages.

Their arriuall at the riuer of May.

Hauing yeelded vnto him and being come to the place where it was ſet vp, wee found the ſame crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then when they came thither they kiſſed the ſame with great reuerence and beſought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendſhip with vs. This done, the Paracouſſy tooke me by the hand, as if he had deſire to make me vnderſtand ſome great ſecret, & by ſignes ſhewed me very well vp within the riuer the limits of his dominion, and ſaid that he was called Paracouſſy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children haue the ſelfe ſame title of Paracouſſy: The eldeſt is named Athore, a man, I dare ſay, perfect in beautie, wiſedome, and honeſt ſobrietie, ſhewing by his modeſt grauitie that he deſerueth the name which he beareth, beſids that he is gentle and tractable. After we had ſoiourned a certaine ſpace with them, the Paracouſſy prayed one of his ſonnes to preſent vnto me a wedge of ſiluer, which hee did & that with a good wil: in recompence whereof I gaue him a cutting hooke and ſome other better preſent: wherewith he ſeemed to be very well pleaſed. Afterward we tooke our leaue of them, becauſe the night approched, & then returned to lodge in our ſhippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my ſelfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of ſouldiers to returne toward the Paracouſſy of the riuer of May, which of purpoſe waited for vs in the ſame place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him vnder the ſhadow of an arbour accompanied with foureſcore Indians at the leaſt, and apparelled at that time after the Indian faſhion, to wit, with a great Harts ſkinne dreſſed like Chamois, and painted with deuices of ſtrange and diuers colours, but of ſo liuely a portrature, and repreſenting antiquity, with rules ſo iuſtly compaſſed, that there is no Painter ſo exquiſite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall diſpoſition of this ſtrange people is ſo perfect and well guided, that without any ayd and fauour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea euen of thoſe which by their induſtry are able to aſpire vnto things moſt abſolute.

The pillar ſet vp before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Laurell and inuironed with ſmall paniers full of corne, worſhipped by the Sauages.

Paracouſſy Satourioua.

A wedge of ſiluer.

Then I aduertiſed Paracouſſy Satourioua, that my deſire was to diſcouer farther vp into the riuer, but that this ſhould be with ſuch diligence that I would come againe vnto him very ſpeedily: wherewith he was content, promiſing to ſtay for me in the place where he was: and for an earneſt of his promiſe, he offered me his goodly ſkinne, which I refuſed then, and promiſed to receiue it of him at my returne. For my part I gaue him certaine ſmall trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendſhip.

Departing from thence, I had not ſayled three leagues vp the riuer, ſtill being followed by the Indians, which coaſted me a long the riuer, crying ſtill, Amy, Amy, that is to ſay friende, friende: but I diſcouered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were ſowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an houſe built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are ſuch numbers of Corniſh choughes in this Countrey, which continually deuoure and ſpoyle the mill, that the Indians are conſtrained to keepe and watch it, otherwiſe they ſhould be deceiued of their harueſt. I reſted my ſelfe in this place for certaine houres, & commanded Monſieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to ſearch out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone awhile, they came vnto a Mariſh of Reeds, where finding their way to beſtopped, they reſted vnder the ſhadow of a mightie Bay tree to refreſh themſelues a little and to reſolue which way to take. Then they diſcouered, as it were on the ſuddaine, fiue Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which ſeemed ſomewhat to diſtruſt our men, vntill they ſaid vnto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonaſſou, to the end that vnderſtanding their ſpeech they might come vnto vs more boldely, which they did incontinently. But becauſe they ſawe, that the foure that went laſt, bare vp the traine of the ſkinne wherewith he that went formoſt was apparrelled, our men imagined that the foremoſt muſt needes bee ſome man of greater qualitie then the reſt, ſeeing that withal they called him Paracouſſy, Paracouſſy, wherfore ſome of our company went towards him, and vſing him courteouſly ſhewed him, Monſieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian faſhion, to the ende that by ſuch ſignes the Sauages might thinke the Frenchmen had compained with ſuch as they at other times.

Croſſes.

Monſieur de Ottigni.

The curteſie of the Floridians to the French.

The Indian Paracouſſy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he beſought the Frenchmen very earneſtly to come and ſee his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and ſtraight for pledge of better amitie, he gaue vnto my Lieutenant Ottigni, the very ſkinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Mariſhes, ouer which the Paracouſſy, Monſieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne vpon the Indians ſhouldiers: and the reſt which could not paſſe becauſe of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them foorth vntill they came vnto the Paracouſſyes dwelling: out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receiue our men gallantly, and to feaſt them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great veſſell of earth, made after a ſtrange faſhion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This veſſell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little veſſell of wood, and preſented thereof to euery one to drinke, obſeruing in doing the ſame, a certaine order and reuerence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gaue drinke. Our thirſt well quenched by this meanes, and our men beeing ſufficiently refreſhed, the Paracouſſy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldeſt men that liued vpon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, vſing this ſpeech, Amy, Amy, that is to ſay, friende, friende, whereat the olde ſier ſhewed himſelfe very glad.

Men of exceeding olde age.

Afterward they queſtioned with him concerning the courſe of his age: whereunto he made anſwere, ſhewing that he was the firſt liuing originall, from whence fiue generations were deſcended, as he ſhewed vnto them by another olde man that ſate directly ouer againſt him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which ſeemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a liuing body: for his ſinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared ſo cleerely thorow his ſkinne, that a man might eaſily tell them, and diſcerne them one from another. Alſo his age was ſo great, that the good man had loſt his ſight, and could not ſpeake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monſieur de Ottigni hauing ſeene ſo ſtrange a thing, turned to the yoonger of theſe two olde men, praying him to vouchſafe to anſwere him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and ſtriking twiſe vpon his thigh, and laying his hand vpon two of them, he ſhewed him by ſignes, that theſe two were his ſonnes: againe ſmiting vpon their thighes, he ſhewed him others not ſo olde, which were the children of the two firſt, which he continued in the ſame maner vntill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father aliue more olde then himſelfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was poſſible, yet it was tolde them, that they might yet liue thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the courſe of nature: although the younger of them both was not leſſe then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Egles to be giuen to our men, which he had bred vp for his pleaſure in his houſe. Hee cauſed alſo little Paniers made of Palme leaues full of Gourds red and blew to bee deliuered vnto them. For recompence of which preſents he was ſatiſfied with French toyes.

Sauages in Florida of 250. yeres olde.
Egles in Florida.

These two olde men cauſed our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracouſſy which had brought them thither. And hauing taken leaue of the Paracouſſy, they came and ſought me out in the place where I ſtayed, and rehearſed vnto mee all that they had ſeene, praying mee alſo that I would rewarde their guide, which ſo frankely and heartily had receiued them into his houſe, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determined to ſearch out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing elſe but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of ſo ſoueraigne odour, that Baulme ſmelleth nothing like in compariſon. The trees were enuironed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in ſuch quantitie, that the number would ſuffice to make the place habitable. Beſides this fertilitie of the ſoyle for Vines, a man may ſee Eſquine wreathed about the ſhrubs in great quantitie. Touching the pleaſure of the place, the Sea may bee ſeene plaine and open from it, and more then ſixe great leagues off, neere the Riuer Belle, a man may beholde the medowes diuided aſunder into Iles and Iſlets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is ſo pleaſant, that thoſe which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humour.

Cedars, Palmes, Bayes exceeding ſweete. Abundance of grapes. Eſquine a drugge excellent againſt the pockes.

After I had ſtayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to ſayle towards the mouth of the Riuer, where wee found the Paracouſſy, which according to his promiſe waited for vs. Wherefore to content him, we went on ſhore, and did him that reuerence that on our part was requiſite. Then hee gaue me the ſkinne ſo richly painted, and I recompenſed him with ſomewhat of our marchandiſe. I forgat not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of ſiluer came which he had giuen me before: whereunto he made me a very ſudden anſwere, which notwithſtanding I vnderſtood not, which he well perceiued. And then he ſhewed me by euident ſignes that all of it came from a place more within the Riuer by certaine dayes iourneyes from this place, and declared vnto vs that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of this place, named by them Thimogoa, their moſt ancient and naturall enemies, as hee largely declared. Whereupon when I ſawe with what affection hee ſpake when hee pronounced Thimogoa, I vnderſtoode what he would ſay. And to bring my ſelfe more into his fauour, I promiſed him to accompany him with all my force, if hee would fight againſt them: which thing pleaſed him in ſuch ſorte, that from thenceforth hee promiſed himſelfe the victorie of them, and aſſured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a ſhort ſpace, would cauſe ſtore of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furniſh themſelues with ſuch ſtore of arrowes, that nothing ſhould bee wanting to giue battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earneſtly not to faile of my promiſe, and in ſo doing, hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Siluer in ſuch good quantitie, that mine affaires ſhoulde take effect according to mine owne and his deſire.

Siluer certaine dayes iourney vp within the riuer of May.
Thimogoa mortall enemies to Satourioua.

The matter thus fully reſolued vpon, I tooke my leaue of him to returne vnto my ſhippes, where after wee had reſted our ſelues all the night following, wee hoyſed ſayles the next day very early in the morning, and ſayled towarde the Riuer of Seine, diſtant from the Riuer of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our courſe towarde the North, wee arriued at the mouth of Somme, which is not paſt ſixe leagues diſtant from the Riuer of Seine: where wee caſt Anker, and went on ſhoare to diſcouer that place as wee had done the reſt. There wee were graciouſly and courteouſly receiued of the Paracouſſy of the Countrey, which is one of the talleſt men and beſt proportioned that may bee founde. His wife ſate by him, which beſides her Indian beautie, wherewith ſhee was greatly endewed, had ſo vertuous a countenance and modeſt grauitie, that there was not one amongſt vs but did greatly commend her.; ſhee had in her traine fiue of her daughters of ſo good grace and ſo well brought vp, that I eaſily perſwaded my ſelfe that their mother was their Miſtreſſe, and had taught them well and ſtraightly to preſerue their honeſtie. After that the Paracouſſy had receiued vs as I haue ſayd, hee commaunded his wife to preſent mee with a certaine number of

The riuer of Seine.
The riuer of Somme.
The courteſie of the Paracouſſy of the riuer of Somme.

bullets of ſiluer, for his owne part hee preſented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done vnto Captaine Iohn Ribault in our firſt voyage, which is a ſigne of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with thoſe which they honour with ſuch a kinde of preſent. In our diſcourſing with one another, wee entred into ſpeach as touching the exerciſe of armes. Then the Paracouſſy cauſed a corſelet to be ſet on end, and prayed me to make a proofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this proofe pleaſed him very little; for aſſoone as hee knew that our Harguebuzes did eaſily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he ſeemed to be ſorie, muſing with himſelfe how this thing might bee done. Neuertheleſſe, going about to diſſemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, hee began to fall into another matter, and prayed vs very earneſtly to ſtay with him that night in his houſe or lodging, affirming that no greater happineſſe could come vnto him then our long abode, which he deſired to recompence with a thouſand preſents.

Laudonnieres conſultation with his company where it might be beſt for them to plant.

Neuertheleſſe wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leaue of him to returne to our ſhippes: where ſoone after I cauſed all my companie to bee aſſembled, with the Maſters and Pilots of my ſhippes, to conſult together of the place whereof wee ſhould make choiſe to plant our habitation. Firſt I let them vnderſtand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a mariſh Countrey, and therefore vnprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleaſure to vs, if peraduenture we would inhabite there. On the other ſide if wee paſſed further toward the North to ſeeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor conuenient: at the leaſt if wee ſhould giue credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Hauen were one of the faireſt of the Weſt Indies: but that in this caſe the queſtion was not ſo much of the beautie of the place, as of things neceſſary to ſuſtaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for vs to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Hauens, faire, deepe and pleaſant to the view. In conſideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it ſeemed good vnto them, to ſeate our ſelues about the Riuer of May: ſeeing alſo that in our firſt voyage wee found the ſame onely among all the reſt to abounde in Maiz and corne, beſides the Golde and Siluer that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of ſome happie diſcouerie in time to come.

Gold and ſiluer found at the riuer of May.

June the 29.

After I had propoſed theſe things, euery one gaue his opinion thereof: and in fine all reſolued, namely thoſe which had beene with me in the firſt voyage, that it was expedient to ſeate themſelues rather on the Riuer of May then on any other, vntill they might heare newes out of France. This poynt being thus agreed vpon, wee ſayled toward the Riuer, and vſed ſuch diligence, that with the fauour of the windes wee arriued there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thurſday the 29. of the moneth of Iune. Hauing caſt anker, I embarked all my ſtuffe and the ſouldiers of my companie, to ſayle right toward the opening of the Riuer: wherein we entred a good way vp, and found a Creeke of a reaſonable bigneſſe, which inuited vs to refreſh our ſelues a little, while wee repoſed our ſelues there. Afterward wee went on ſhoare to ſeeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceiued from the Creeke.

But becauſe wee found it not very commodious for vs to inhabite there: wee determined to returne vnto the place which wee had diſcouered before, when wee had ſayled vp the Riuer. This place is ioyning to a mountaine, and it ſeemed vnto vs more fit and commodious to build a fortreſſe, then that where we were laſt. Therefore we tooke our way towards the fortreſſe being guided therein by the young Paracouſſy which had ledde vs before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine couered with high Pinetrees diſtant a little from the other: vnder which wee perceiued an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidſt the plaine, athwart the which we paſſed: then wee diſcouered a little hill adioyning vnto a great vale very greene and in forme flat: wherein were the faireſt medowes of the world, and graſſe to feede cattel. Moreouer it is inuironed with a great number of brookes of freſh water, & high woods, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine eaſe, I named it at the requeſt of our ſouldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon hauing gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall ſtature, which alſo was an Hermaphrodite, who came before vs with a great veſſell full of cleere fountaine water, wherwith ſhe greatly refreſhed vs. For we were exceeding faint by reaſon of the ardent heate which moleſted vs as we paſſed through thoſe high woods. And I beleeue that without the ſuccour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great deſire which we had

The Vale of Laudonniere.

An Hermaphrodite.

had to make vs reſolute of our ſelues, we had taken vp our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreſhed by this meane, wee gathered our ſpirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had choſen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that inſtant neere the riuers brinke we ſtrowed a number of boughes and leaues, to take our reſt on them the night following, which wee found exceeding ſweete, becauſe of the paine which before we had taken in our trauell.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be ſounded, that being aſſembled we might giue God thankes for our fauourable and happie arriuall. There wee ſang a Pſalme of thankeſgiuing vnto God, beſeeching him that it would pleaſe him of his grace to continue his accuſtomed goodneſſe toward vs his poore ſeruaunts, and ayde vs in all our enterpriſes, that all might turne to his glory and the aduancement of our King. The prayer ended, euery man began to take courage.

They began their planting with prayer to God.

Afterward hauing meaſured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indeuoured our ſelues of all ſides, ſome to bring earth, ſome to cut fagots, and others to raiſe and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a ſhouell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did haſten with ſuch cheerfulneſſe, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane ſpace the Paracouſſy Satouriona our neereſt neighbour, & on whoſe ground wee built our Fort, came vſually accompanyed with his two ſonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe vs all courteſie. And I likewiſe for my part beſtowed diuers of our trifles frankely on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more deſirous of our friendſhip, in ſuch ſort, that as the dayes increaſed, ſo our amitie and friendſhip increaſed alſo.

After that our Fort was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things neceſſarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracouſſy to command his ſubiects to make vs a couering of Palme leaues, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might vnfraight my ſhippes, and put vnder couerture thoſe things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracouſſy commaunded in my preſence all the Indians of his companie to dreſſe the next day morning ſo good a number of Palme leaues, that the Grange was couered in leſſe then two dayes: ſo that buſineſſe was finiſhed. For in the ſpace of thoſe two dayes, the Indians neuer ceaſſed from working, ſome in fetching Palme leaues, others in interlacing of them: in ſuch ſort that their Kings commandement was executed as he deſired.

In Florida they couer their houſes with Palme leaues

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The ſide towarde the Weſt, which was toward the lande, was incloſed with a little trench and raiſed with turues made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other ſide which was toward the Riuer, was incloſed with a Palliſado of plankes of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South ſide there was a kinde of baſtion within which I cauſed an houſe for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and ſand, ſauing about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made. In the middeſt I cauſed a great Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the middeſt whereof on the one ſide drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an houſe on the other ſide toward the North, which I cauſed to bee raiſed ſomewhat too high: for within a ſhort while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high ſtages in this Countrey, by reaſon of the windes whereunto it is ſubiect. One of the ſides that incloſed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached vnto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other ſide towardes the Riuer was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all couered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the middeſt of the great place, and the other was towarde the Riuer. A good diſtance from the Fort I built an Ouen to auoyde the danger againſt fire, becauſe the houſes are of Palme leaues, which will ſoone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, ſo that with much adoe a man ſhall haue leaſure to quench them. Loe here in briefe the deſcription of our Fortreſſe, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

The forme of the Fort Caroline.

The Weſt ſide.

The South ſide.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Nota.

Caroline.

After wee were furniſhed with that which was moſt neceſſarie, I would not loſe a minute of an houre, without imploying of the ſame in ſome vertuous exerciſe: therefore I charged Monſieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honeſtie and vertue, to ſearch vp within the Riuer, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracouſſy Satouriona had ſpoken to vs ſo often at our comming on ſhoare. For execution hereof the Paracouſly gaue him two Indians for his guides, which taking vpon them to lead him in this voyage, ſeemed to goe vnto a wedding, ſo deſirous they were to fight with their enemies.

The firſt voyage twentie leagues.

Ten leagues further.

Mayrra a king rich in golde and ſiluer.

Being imbarked they hoiſed ſayle, and hauing ſayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which ſtill looked on this ſide and that ſide to eſpie ſome of their enemies, diſcouered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and ſpake nothing elſe but to haſten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine ſeemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in ſuch a rage, that hee would haue leapt into the water to haue fought with them alone. Neuertheleſſe Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gaue the others reſpite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the ſhoare, and ſo to eſcape into the woods. Againe, the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre vpon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to liue in peace one with another if it were poſſible, hoping by this meane to diſcouer dayly ſome new thing, & eſpecially the certaine courſe of the Riuer. For this purpoſe he cauſed the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towarde the Canoas which were on the Riuers ſide. Being come vnto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing cauſed the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to vnderſtand by this ſigne, that thoſe of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus aſſured of vs, they called to our men to come neere vnto them: which they did incontinently and ſet foote on lande, and ſpake freely vnto them, with diuers ceremonies ouer long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by ſignes if they had any Golde or Siluer among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would ſend one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might haue ſome. Ottigni ſeeing them ſo willing, deliuered them one of his men which ſeemed very reſolute, to vndertake this voyage: this fellow ſtayed with them vntill tenne of the clocke the next morning, ſo that Captaine Ottigny ſomewhat offended with his long ſtay, ſayled ten great leagues further vp the Riuer: although he knew not which way he ſhould goe, yet he went ſo farre vp that hee eſpied the Boate wherein his ſouldier was: which reported vnto him, that the Indians would haue carried him three great dayes iourney further, & told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Siluer, dwelt in thoſe quarters, and that for ſmall quantitie of marchandiſe enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himſelfe himſelfe without his leaue, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the ſouldier with the Indians to enfourme himſelfe more and more of ſuch things as he might diſcouer more at leaſure.

The ſecond voyage.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I diſpatched Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant alſo to returne againe into this Countrey, and to ſeeke out the ſouldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they ſayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Riuers ſide, which were expreſly ſent vnto that place to deſcry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to ſurpriſe them, as they did vſually.

King Molloua.

Olata Ouae Vtina a great king.

Fiue or ſixe pound weight of ſiluer.

When they perceiued Captaine Vaſſeur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere vnto the Barke, and ſhewed him by ſignes that the Souldier which they ſought was not in that place, but was at that preſent in the houſe of King Molloua which was vaſſall vnto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Vtina: and that if the Captaine would ſayle thitherward, hee ſhould come thither very quickly: wherwith he was content, and cauſed his men to rowe to that part which the Indians ſhewed him: whereat they were ſo glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arriuall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not paſt halfe a league. While king Molloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vaſſeur and his men, the ſouldier came in with fiue or ſixe pounds weight of ſiluer which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

Fortie kings vaſſals to Vtina.

This King cauſed bread to bee made, and fiſh to bee dreſſed after the Indian faſhion to feaſt our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a diſcourſe of diuers other Kings his friends & allies, reckoning vp to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Cadecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Aequera, Moquoſo: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee aſſured vs to bee the vaſſals of the moſt renowmed Olata Ouae Vtina, This done, hee went about likewiſe to diſcouer the enemies of Ouae Vtina, in which number hee placed as the firſt the Paracouſſy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the riuer of May, which hath vnder his obeyſance thirtie other Paracouſſies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly eſteemed in thoſe partes: then hee named three others no leſſe puiſſant then Satourioua, whereof the firſt dwelt two dayes iourney from his lord Olata Ouae Vtina, and ordinarily made warre vpon him, whoſe name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the priſoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like vnto a ſeale, and ſo imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houſtaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere vnto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantitie of a kinde of ſlate ſtone, wherewith they made wedges to cleaue their wood. The occaſion which (as he ſayd) mooued Potanou to wage warre againſt Olata Ouae Vtina, was the feare that he had, leſt he and his companions ſhould get of that hard ſtone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

King Potanou.

An exceeding rich place.

Beſides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vaſſeur, that the kings allies the vaſſals of the great Olata, armed their breſts, armes, thighes, legs, & foreheads with large plates of gold and ſiluer: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were diſcharged vpon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken againſt them. Hereupon Captaine Vaſſeur inquired whether the Kings Onatheaqua and Houſtaqua were like vnto vs. For by the deſcription that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the reſt, ſauing that they painted their faces with blacke, and that the reſt as Molloua, painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vaſſeur, and my Sergeant promiſed him, that one day I ſhould march with my forces into thoſe Countreys, and that ioyning my ſelfe with his Lord Olata, I would ſubdue the inhabitants of the higheſt of thoſe mountaines. Hee was very glad of this ſpeach, and anſwered that the leaſt of theſe Kings which hee had named, ſhould preſent vnto the Generall of theſe ſuccours the height of two foot of gold and ſiluer, which by force of armes they had already gotten of thoſe two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houſtaqua.

Large plates of gold and ſiluer.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and ſome with red.

The good cheere being done, and the diſcourſes ended, my men imbarked themſelues againe, with intention to bring mee thoſe good newes vnto the Fort Caroline. But after they had ſayled a very long while downe the Riuer, and were come within three leagues of vs, the tyde was ſo ſtrong againſt them, that they were conſtrained to goe on lande, and to retire themſelues becauſe of the night, vnto the dwelling of a certaine Paracouſſy named Molona, which ſhewed himſelfe very glad of their arriuall: for hee deſired to know ſome newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occaſion but for to inuade them. Which Captaine Vaſſeur perceiuing, diſſembled ſo wel, that he made him beleeue that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to ſubdue them, and to deſtroy them with the edge of the ſword without mercy, but that their purpoſe had not ſuch ſucceſſe as they deſired, becauſe that the people of Thimogoa being aduertiſed of this enterpriſe, retired into the woods, and ſaued themſelues by flight: that neuertheleſſe they had taken ſome as they were fleeing away, which carried no newes thereof vnto their fellowes.

The Parocouſſy was ſo glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and aſked Vaſſeur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would ſhew him by ſignes howe all things paſſed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his ſword in his hand, ſaying, that with the point thereof he had thruſt through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no leſſe for their partes. And that if fortune had ſo fauoured them, that they had not beene diſcouered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie moſt glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupou the Paracouſſy ſhewed himſelfe ſo well ſatiſfied, that he could not deuiſe how to gratifie our men, which hee cauſed to come into his houſe to feaſt them more honourably: and hauing made Captaine Vaſſeur to ſit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians eſteeme for the chiefeſt honour) and then vnderneath him two of his ſonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the reſt to place themſelues as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good cuſtome, to preſent their drinke Caſſine to the Paracouſſy, and then to certaine of his chiefeſt friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it ſet the cup aſide, and drew out a little dagger ſtucke vp in the roofe of the houſe, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and ſmote an Indian which ſate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian ſtirring not at all for the blowe, which he ſeemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the ſame in his former place, and began againe to giue vs drinke, as hee did before: but he had not long continued, and had ſcarce giuen three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned vnto him which hee had ſtrocken before, to whom he gaue a very ſore blow on the ſide, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and ſet himſelfe downe among the reſt. A little while after he that had bene ſtricken fell downe backwards, ſtretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld vp the latter gaſpe. And then the younger ſonne of the Paracouſſy apparelled in a long white ſkinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was ſo ſtricken, and began to ſigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her ſonnes were, at the firſt ſhee vſed infinite numbers of outcries, then one while lifting vp her eyes to heauen, another while falling downe vnto the ground, ſhee cryed ſo dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would haue moued the moſt hard and ſtony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this ſufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyrles, which did neuer leaue weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, and with the ſaddeſt geſtures they could deuiſe, carried him away into another houſe a little way off from the great hall of the Paracouſſy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the ſpace of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceaſſed not to drinke Caſſine, but with ſuch ſilence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

Vaſſeur being grieued that he vnderſtood not theſe ceremonies, demanded of the Paracouſſy what theſe things meant: which anſwered him ſlowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without ſaying any more. Being more diſpleaſed then he was before with ſo ſleight an anſwere, he turned vnto another Indian the Paracouſſyes brother, who was a Paracouſſy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like anſwere as hee did at the firſt, praying him to aſke no more of theſe matters, and to haue patience for that time. The ſubtill old Paracouſſy prayed him within a while after, to ſhew him his ſword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would haue beheld the faſhion of his weapons: but he ſoone perceiued that it was to another ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, beheld it a long while on euery place, to ſee if he could finde any blood vpon it, which might ſhew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies haue bene defeated, with ſome blood vpon them, for a token of their victories. But ſeeing no ſigne thereof vpon it, he was vpon the point to ſay vnto him, that he had killed none of the men of Thimogoa: when as Vaſſeur preuenting that which hee might obiect, declared and ſhewed vnto him by ſignes, the maner of his enterpriſe, adding, that by reaſon of the two Indians which he had ſlaine, his ſword was ſo bloudy, that hee was inforced to waſh and make it cleane a long while in the Riuer: which the olde man beleeued to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

King Malica.

Vaſſeur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to go into the roome whither they had carried the Indian: there they found the Paracouſſy ſitting vpon tapiſtries made of ſmall reedes, which was at meate after the Indian faſhion, and the Indian that was ſmitten hard by him, lying vpon the ſelfe ſame tapiſtry, about whom ſtoode the wife of the Paracouſſy, with all the young damſels which before bewailed him in the hall: which did nothing elſe but warme a great deale of moſſe in ſtead of napkins to rub the Indians ſide. Hereupon our men asked the Paracouſſy againe for what occaſion the Indian was ſo perſecuted in his preſence: hee anſwered, that this was nothing elſe but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and perſecutions of the Paracouſſies their anceſtours executed by their enemie Thimogoa: alleaging moreouer, that as often as he himſelfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, whithout they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home ſome priſoner, hee vſed for a perpetuall memorie of all his predeceſſors, to beate the beſt beloued of all his children with the ſelfe ſame weapons wherewith they had bene killed in times paſt: to the ende that by renewing of the wound their death ſhould be lamented afreſh. Now whē they were thus informed of thoſe ceremonies, they thanked the Paracouſſy for their good intertainement which they had receiued, & ſo ſetting ſaile came to me vnto the fort: where

Tapiſtry made of ſmall reeds.

They lappe moſſe about their woundes and vſe it in ſtead of napkins.

A ceremonie to call to mind the death of their anceſters ſlaine by their enemies.

they declared all vnto me as I haue recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth of July our ſhippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arriuall in Florida, the Paracouſſy Satourioua ſent certaine Indians vnto mee to knowe whether I would ſtande to my promiſe which I had made him at my firſt arriuall in that Countrey, which was that I would ſhewe my ſelfe friend to his friendes, and enemie vnto his enemies, and alſo to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he ſhould ſee it expedient, and ſhould finde a fit occaſion to goe to warre. Now ſeeing he reſted vpon this promiſe, he prayed mee not to deferre the ſame: ſeeing alſo that making accompt thereof, hee had taken ſuch good order for the execution of his enterpriſe, that he was ready, and was furniſhed with all things that were neceſſary for the voyage: I made him anſwere, that for his amitie I would not purchaſe the enmitie of the other, and that albeit I would, yet notwithſtanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoued mee at that preſent to make prouiſion of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other ſide, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterpriſe would require time: Moreouer, that the Paracouſſy Satourioua might holde himſelfe ready to depart within two moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promiſe to him.

The returne of their ſhips toward France the 28. of July.

The Indians caried this anſwere to their Paracouſſy, which was litle pleaſed with it, becauſe hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aſwell becauſe all his victuals were ready, as alſo becauſe tenne other Paracouſſies were aſſembled with him for the performance of this enterpriſe. The ceremonie which this Sauage vſed before hee embarked his armie deſerueth not to be forgotten. For when hee was ſet downe by the Riuers ſide, being compaſſed about with ten other Paracouſſies, hee commaunded water to be brought him ſpeedily. This done, looking vp into heauen, he fell to diſcourſe of diuers things with geſtures that ſhewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while ſhake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked vpon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the ſpace of halfe an houre, hee ſprinkled with his hand a little of the water which hee helde in a veſſell vpon the heads of the Paracouſſies, and caſt the reſt as it were in a rage and deſpite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpoſe. This done, hee cried out thriſe, He Thimogoa, and was followed with fiue hundreth Indians at the leaſt, which were there aſſembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly, ſignified nothing elſe, but that Satourioua beſought the Sunne to graunt vnto him ſo happy a victory, that hee might ſhed his enemies blood, as he had ſhed that water at his pleaſure. Moreouer, that the Paracouſſies which were ſprinckled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

The ceremonie which they vſe before they goe to warre.

Satourioua followed with fiue hundreth Indians.

The Paracouſſy Satourioua had no ſooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himſelfe, and vſed ſuch diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes ſet, he arriued on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward cauſing them all to goe on land, hee aſſembled his counſell, wherein it was agreed that fiue of the Paracouſsies ſhould ſaile vp the Riuer with halfe of the troupes, and by the breake of the day ſhould approche vnto the dwelling of their enemie: for his owne part, that hee would take his iourney through the woods and forreſts as ſecretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither, as well they that went by water as hee which went by land ſhould not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all in pieces, except the women and little children.

Conſultation before they aſſault their enemies.

These things which were thus agreed vpon, were executed with as great fury as was poſſible: which when they had done, they tooke the heades of their enemies which they had ſlaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their ſkulles: they tooke alſo foure and twentie priſoners, which they led away, and retired themſelues immediatly vnto their Boates which wayted for them. Being come thither, they beganne to ſinge praiſes vnto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the ſkins of thoſe heads on the end of their iauelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracouſſy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they deuided their priſoners equally to each of the Paracouſſies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which ſtraightway diſpatched an Indian his ſubiect, to carry newes before of the victory to them which ſtayed at home to guard their houſes, which immediatly beganne to weepe. But aſſoone as night was come, they neuer left dancing and playing a thouſand gambols in honour of the feaſt.

How they vſe their enemies which they take in warre.

King Omoloa.

The next day the Paracouſſy Satourioua came home, who before hee entred into his lodging

cauſed

Their maner of triumph.

cauſed all the hairie ſkuls of his enemies to bee ſet vp before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, ſhewing by this glorious ſpectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straightway beganne lamentation and mournings, which aſſoone as the night beganne were turned into pleaſures and dances.

After that I was aduertiſed of theſe things, I ſent a Souldier vnto Satourioua, praying him to ſende mee two of his priſoners: which hee denied mee, ſaying that hee was nothing beholding vnto mee, and that I had broken my promiſe, againſt the oath which I had ſworne vnto him at my arriuall. Which when I vnderſtoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with ſpeede, I deuiſed howe I might be reuenged of this Sauage, and to make him know how dearely this bolde brauado of his ſhould coſt him: therefore I commanded my Sergeant to prouide mee twentie Souldiers to goe with mee to the houſe of Satourioua: Where after I was come and entered into the hall without any maner of ſalutation, I went and ſate mee downe by him, and ſtayed a long while without ſpeaking any worde vnto him, or ſhewing him any ſigne of friendſhip, which thing put him deepely in his dumpes: beſides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had giuen expreſſe commaundement to ſuffer no Indian to goe foorth: hauing ſtoode ſtill about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the priſoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them preſently to bee brought vnto me.

Whereunto the Paracouſſy angry at the heart, and aſtonied wonderfully, ſtoode a long while without making any anſwere, notwithſtanding at laſt hee anſwered me very ſtoutly, that being afraide to ſee vs comming thither in ſuch warrelike maner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe; Then I ſeemed to make as though I vnderſtood not what he ſaide, and aſked for his priſoners againe, and for ſome of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his ſonne Athore to ſeeke out the priſoners, and to cauſe them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

Athore.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracouſſy, they humbly ſaluted mee, and lifting vp their hands before me, they would haue fallen downe proſtrate as it were at my feet: but I would not ſuffer them, and ſoone after ledde them away with me vnto my owne Fort. The Paracouſſy being wonderfully offended with this brauado, bethought himſelfe by all meanes how hee might be reuenged of vs. But to giue vs no ſuſpition thereof, and the better to couer his intention, hee ſent his meſſengers oftentimes vnto vs bringing alwayes with them ſome kinde of preſents. Among others one day hee ſent three Indians, which brought vs two baſkets full of great Pumpions, much more excellent then thoſe which we haue in France, and promiſed me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I ſhould neuer want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and ſignified vnto them the great deſire which I had, aſwell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subiects, to make a peace betweene him and thoſe of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not chooſe but turne to their great benefite, ſeeing that being allied with the Kings of thoſe parts, hee had an open paſſage againſt Onatheaqua his ancient enemie, which otherwiſe he could not ſet vpon. Moreouer that Olata Ouae Vtina was ſo mightie a Paracouſſy, that Satourioua was not able to withſtand his forces: but being agreed together they might eaſily ouerthrow all their enemies, and might paſſe the confines of the fartheſt Riuers that were towards the South. The meſſengers prayed mee to haue patience vntill the morowe, at what time they would come againe vnto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, aduertiſing me that Paracouſſy Satourioua was the gladdeſt man in the world to treate of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he beſought mee to be diligent therein, promiſing to obſerue and performe whatſoeuer I ſhould agree vpon with thoſe of Thimogoa: which things the meſſengers alſo rehearſed vnto the priſoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I reſolued within two dayes to ſende backe againe the priſoners to Olata Ouae Vtina, whoſe ſubiects they were: but before I embarked them, I gaue them certaine ſmall trifles, which were little kniues or tablets of glaſſe, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very liuely, for which they gaue me very great thankes, as alſo for the honeſt entertainment which was giuen them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themſelues, with Captaine Vaſſeur, and with Monſieur de Arlac mine Enſigne, which I had ſent of purpoſe to remaine a certaine time with Ouae Vtina, hoping that the fauour of this great Paracouſſy would ſerue my turne greatly to make my diſcoueries in time to come. I ſent with him alſo one of my Sergeants, and ſixe gallant Souldiers.

Excellent Pumpions.

Thus things paſſed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracouſſy Satourioua againſt mee did ſtill continue, vntil that on the nine and twentieth of Auguſt a lightning from heauen fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeue to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the ſtrange ſignes which haue bene ſeene in times paſt, and whereof the hiſtories haue neuer written. For although the medowes were at that ſeaſon all greene, and halfe couered ouer with water, neuertheleſſe the lightning in one inſtant conſumed aboue fiue hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their paſtime in the medowes, which thing continued for three dayes ſpace, which cauſed vs not a little to muſe, not being able to iudge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houſes, and abandoned their places for feare of vs: another while wee thought that they had diſcouered ſome ſhippes in the Sea, and that according to their cuſtome they had kindled many fires here and there, to ſignifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neuertheleſſe being not aſſured, I determined to ſende to Paracouſſy Serranay to knowe the trueth thereof. But euen as I was vpon the point to ſende one by boate to diſcouer the matter, ſixe Indians came vnto mee from Paracouſſy Allimacany, which at their firſt entrie made vnto mee a long diſcourſe, and a very large and ample oration (after they had preſented mee with certaine baſkets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the louing amitie which Allimacany deſired to continue with mee, and that hee looked from day to day when it would pleaſe mee to employ him in my ſeruice. Therefore conſidering the ſeruiceable affection that hee bare vnto mee, hee found it very ſtrange, that I thus diſcharged mine Ordinance againſt his dwelling, which had burnt vp an infinite ſight of greene medowes, and conſumed euen downe vnto the bottome of the water, and came ſo neere vnto his manſion, that hee thought hee ſawe the fire in his houſe: wherefore hee beſought mee moſt humbly to commaund my men that they would not ſhoote any more towards his lodging, otherwiſe that hereafter he ſhould be conſtrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himſelfe into ſome place further off from vs.

A wonderfull lightning the 29. of Auguſt.

King Serranay.

King Allimacany.

The Sauages thinke the lightning to be diſcharging of the Chriſtians Ordinance.

Hauing vnderſtood the fooliſh opinion of this man, which notwithſtanding coulde not chooſe but bee very profitable for vs, I diſſembled what I thought thereof for that time, and anſwered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made vnto mee of the obedience of their Paracouſſy did pleaſe mee right well, becauſe that before hee had not behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort towards mee, eſpecially when I ſummoned him to ſende mee the priſoners of great Olata Ouae Vtina which he detained, whereof notwithſtanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cauſe wherefore I had diſcharged mine Ordinance againſt him: not that I meant to reach vnto his houſe (as I might haue done eaſily, if it had pleaſed me) but that I was content to ſhoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: aſſuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordinance ſhould be diſcharged againſt him hereafter: and beſides that I would become his faithfull protectour againſt his greateſt enemies.

Laudonniere vſed the preſent occaſion to his profite.

The Indians contented with mine anſwere returned to aſſure their Paracouſſy, which notwithſtanding the aſſurance withdrewe himſelfe from his dwelling twentie or fiue and twentie leagues off, and that for the ſpace of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguiſhed. But for two dayes after there followed ſuch an exceſſiue heate in the aire, that the Riuer neere vnto which we planted our habitation, became ſo hoat, that I thinke it was almoſt ready to ſeeth. For there died ſo great abundance of fiſh, and that of ſo many diuers ſorts, that in the mouth of the Riuer onely there were founde dead ynough to haue loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there iſſued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diſeaſes amongſt vs, inſomuch that moſt of my men fell ſicke, and almoſt ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithſtanding it pleaſed our mercifull God ſo to prouide by his prouidence, that all our men recouered their health without the loſſe of any one of them.

A wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fiſh dead in the Riuer with this heat.

Monſieur de Arlac, Captaine Vaſſeur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September, to cary backe the priſoners vnto Vtina, ſailed ſo farre vp the Riuer, that they diſcouered a place called Mayarqua diſtant from our Fort about foureſcore leagues, where the Indians gaue them good entertainement, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Paracouſſy Vtina, which after hee had feaſted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monſieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to ſtay a while with him, to ayde and aſſiſt him in battaile againſt one of his enemies called Potanou, whereunto Monſieur de Arlac conſented willingly. And becauſe hee knew not how long he might haue occaſion to ſtay in theſe parts, hee ſent mee Captaine Vaſſeur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely fiue Souldiers with him.

The thirde voyage the tenth of September.

Mayarqua a place 80. leagues vp the Riuer of May.

King Potanou.

Now becauſe the cuſtome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by ſurpriſe, Vtina reſolued to

The Indians maner of war.

Two hundreth Indians.

A village incloſed with trees.

Vtina getteth the victory of Potanou by the helpe of the French.

Siluer, and gold, and painted ſkinnes.

take his enemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day: to bring this to paſſe, hee made his men to trauaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred perſons, ſo well aduiſed, that they prayed our French-ſhot to be in the fore-front, to the ende (as they ſaide) that the noyſe of their pieces might aſtoniſh their enemies: notwithſtanding they coulde not march ſo ſecretly, but that thoſe of the village of Potanou, diſtant from the dwelling of Vtina about fiue and twentie leagues, were ware of them: which ſuddenly employed and beſtowed all their endeuour to defend their village encloſed all with trees, and iſſued out in great companies: but finding themſelues charged with ſhotte, (a thing wherewith they neuer had bene acquainted) alſo beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their ſkirmiſh, with a ſhot of an Harquebuſe which ſtrooke him in the forehead, diſcharged by the hande of Monſieur de Arlac, they left the place: and the Indians of Vtina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children priſoners. Thus Paracouſſy Vtina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which ſlew many of his enemies, and loſt in this conflict one of their companions, wherewith Vtina was very much grieued. Eight or tenne dayes after, I ſent Captaine Vaſſeur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monſieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine preſents from Vtina, as ſome ſiluer, a ſmall quantitie of golde, painted ſkinnes, and other things, with a thouſand thankes, which the Paracouſſy gaue me, which promiſed that if in any enterpriſe of importance I ſhould haue neede of his men, he would furniſh mee with three hundreth and aboue.

La Roquettes conſpiracie.

Monſieur de Geure.

Gieures meſſage to Laudonniere in the Souldiers name.

His anſwere.

A dangerous practiſe againſt the Captaine and his Lieutenant.

While I thus trauailed to purchaſe friends, & to practiſe one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were ſuborned vnder hand by one named la Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the ſecrets of Art-magicke he had diſcouered a Mine of golde and ſiluer farre vp within the Riuer, whereby (vpon the loſſe of his life,) euery Souldier ſhould receiue in ready Bullion the value of tenne thouſand Crownes, beſide and aboue fifteene hundred thouſand which ſhould be reſerued for the Kings Maieſtie: wherefore they allied themſelues with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whoſe name was Le Genre, in whom notwithſtanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding deſirous to enrich himſelfe in thoſe parts, and ſeeking to be reuenged, becauſe I would not giue him the carriage of the Paquet into France, ſecretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already ſuborned by La Roquette, that I would depriue them of this great gaine, in that I did ſet them dayly on worke, not ſending them on euery ſide to diſcouer the Countreys: therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee vnderſtand ſo much, to ſeeke meanes to diſpatch mee out of the way, and to chooſe another Captaine in my place, if I would not giue them victuals according to their diſordinate appetite. Hee alſo brought mee word hereof himſelfe, making a large diſcourſe vnto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all beſought mee that I would conduct them to the Countreys where the Mine was: I made him anſwere that all could not goe thither, and that it was neceſſary before their departure to ſettle our Fortreſſe in ſuch eſtate, that thoſe which were to ſtay at home behind ſhould remaine in ſecuritie againſt the Indians which might ſurpriſe them. Furthermore, that their maner of proceeding ſeemed ſtrange vnto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Maieſtie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their firſt arriuall, in as much as they ſhewed themſelues much more giuen vnto couetouſneſſe, then vnto the ſeruice of their Prince: But ſeeing mine anſwere tended vnto none other ende but to make our Fortreſſe ſtrong and defenſible, they determined to trauaile in the worke, and made an enſigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare vpon the rampart when they went to woorke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themſelues to worke the better. But as I perceiued afterwards, and that by the confeſſion of Genre ſent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, theſe gentle Souldiers did the ſame for none other ende, but to haue killed mee, and my Lieutenant alſo, if by chance I had giuen them any hard ſpeeches.

Laudonniers ſickneſſe.

Laudonniers Apothecarie.

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppiſes to finiſh the building of my Fort, (and that according to my vſuall maner, I marched firſt to giue encouragement vnto my Souldiers) I chafed my ſelfe in ſuch ſort, that I fell into a ſore and grieuous ſickeneſſe, whereof I thought I ſhould haue died: During which ſickeneſſe, I called Le Genre often vnto mee, as one that I truſted aboue all others, and of whoſe conſpiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while aſſembling his complices, ſometime in his chamber and ſometime in the woods to conſult with them, hee ſpake vnto them to chooſe another Captaine beſides mee, to the intent to put mee to death: but being not able by open force to execute his miſchieuous intention, hee gate him vnto mine Apothecarie, praying him inſtantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receiue one or two dayes after, ſome drugge that ſhould make mee pitch ouer the pearch, or at the leaſt that hee would giue him a little Arſenike or quicke Siluer, which hee himſelfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecary denied him, as did in like maner Maſter S. which was Maſter of the fire-workes. Thus wholly diſappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others reſolued to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder vnderneath my bed, and by a traine to ſet it on fire.

The Maſter of the fire-workes.

Vpon theſe practiſes a Gentleman which I had diſpatched to returne into France, being about to take his leaue of me, aduertiſed me, that Gieure had giuen him a booke full of all kinde of lewde inuectiues and ſlanders againſt me, againſt Monſieur de Ottigny, and againſt the principal of my company: vpon which occaſion I aſſembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arriued in the roade, and were come into our Riuer. In their preſence I cauſed the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the vntruths that were written againſt mee. Gieure, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he liued for a while after with the Sauages by my permiſſion,) writ vnto mee often, and in many of his letters confeſſed vnto mee, that he had deſerued death, condemning himſelfe ſo farre foorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

Captaine Bourdet arriued in Florida the 4. of September.

The ſeuenth or eighth day of Nouember, after I had cauſed ſufficient prouiſion of ſuch victuals as were needefull to bee made, I ſent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and another towarde King Vtina, to diſcouer euery day more and more of the Countrey: where hee was the ſpace of fiue or ſixe moneths, during which hee diſcouered many ſmall villages, and among others one named Hoſtaqua, the King whereof being deſirous of my friendſhip, ſent vnto mee a quiuer made of a Luſerns ſkinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or fiue ſkinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Siluer weying about a pounde weight. In recompence of which preſents I ſent him two whole ſutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

The 4. voyage the 7. of Nouember.

Hoſtaqua a village.

After theſe things therefore in this ſort paſſed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leaue mee and to returne into France. Then I requeſted him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him ſome ſixe or ſeuen Souldiers, whom I coulde not truſt by any meanes: which hee did for my ſake, and would not charge himſelfe with Gieure, which offered him a great ſumme of money, if it would pleaſe him to carry him into France: hee tranſported him onely to the other ſide of the Riuer. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France, ſuborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, ſtole away my Barkes in maner following. Theſe Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had ſuch Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Iſles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne to deuiſe howe they might ſteale away my Barkes, and conſulted that when I ſhould command them to goe vnto the village of Sarauahi diſtant about a league and an halfe from our Fort, and ſituated vpon an arme of the Riuer, (whither according to my maner I ſent them dayly to ſeeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houſes) they would returne no more, but would furniſh themſelues with victuals as well as they might poſſibly: and then would embarke themſelues all in one veſſell, and would goe their way: as in deede they did. And that which was worſe, two Flemiſh Carpenters, which the ſaide Bourdet had left mee, ſtole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the ſhip-boate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not purſue them: ſo that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as vnluckily for mee as was poſſible. For I was ready to imbarke my ſelfe with all ſpeede, to diſcouer as farre vp our Riuer, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Mariners, (as I vnderſtood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a paſſenger of the Spaniards neere the Iſle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and ſiluer, which they ſeazed vpon. And hauing this bootie they lay a while at Sea, vntill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cauſe, that oppreſſed with famine they came vnto Hauana the principall Towne of the Iſle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that miſchiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I ſaw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre, and ſuſpecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to ſearch thoſe Riuers for ſome newes of theſe Mariners. The boate diſpatched within a day and a night, by reaſon that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready ſawed to their hands, as commonly I cauſed my Sawyers to prouide it, I ſent men to ſeeke ſome newes of my thieues: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cauſe two great Barkes to be built, eche of which might be thirtie fiue, or thirtie ſixe foote long in the keele,

One of his Barks ſtolne away by his Mariners.

The village of Sarauahi.

Another of his Barks ſtolne away by two Carpenters.

One of theſe Mariners named Francis Jean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniards, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill neceſſary here

The thirde ſedition.

By Peru the French meane the coaſt of Carthagena and Nombre de Dios.

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I ſet my workemen about, when ambition and auarice, the mother of all miſchiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or fiue ſouldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from hence forward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steuen le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the ſedition) beganne to practiſe with the beſt of my troupe, ſhewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honeſt parentage, as they were, to moyle themſelues thus with abiect and baſe worke, ſeeing they had the beſt occaſion of the worlde offered them to make themſelues all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and to furniſh them with good men: and then to ſaile vnto Peru, and the other Iſles of the Antilles, where euery Souldier might eaſily enrich himſelfe with tenne thouſand Crownes. And if their enterpriſe ſhould bee miſliked withall in France, they ſhould bee alwayes able, by reaſon of the great wealth that they ſhould gaine, to retire themſelues into Italy, vntill the heate were ouerpaſſed, and that in the meane ſeaſon ſome warre would fall out, which would cauſe all this to be quite forgotten.

The captaines charge at his ſetting forth.

This word of riches ſounded ſo well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes conſulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threeſcore and ſixe: which to colour their great deſire which they had to goe on ſtealing, they cauſed a requeſt to bee preſented vnto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, contayning in ſum a declaration of the ſmall ſtore of victuals that was left to maintaine vs, vntil the time that ſhippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it neceſſary to ſende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Iſles adioyning, which they beſought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them anſwere, that when the Barkes were finiſhed, I would take ſuch good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandiſe, without ſparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: ſeeing alſo that wee had ynough to ſerue vs for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that vnder pretence of ſearching victuals, they would enterpriſe ſomewhat againſt the King of Spaines Subiects, which in time to come might iuſtly bee layde to my charge, conſidering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expreſly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subiects, nor any thing whereof he might conceiue any ielouſie.

Laudonniere kept 15. dayes priſoner by his owne ſouldiers.

They made as though they were content with this anſwere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working vpon our Fort, and on my Barkes, I fell ſicke. Then my ſeditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, ſuppoſing that they had found good occaſion to execute their rebellious enterpriſe, beganne to practiſe afreſh their former deſignes, handling their buſineſſe ſo well, during my ſickneſſe, that they openly vowed that they would ſeaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Fort, yea, and force mee alſo, if I woulde not conſent vnto their wicked deſire. My Lieutenant being hereof aduertiſed, came and tolde mee that he ſuſpected ſome euill practiſe: and the next day in the morning I was ſaluted at my gate with men in complet harneſſe, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a ſhrewde tricke: then I ſent to ſeeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I moſt truſted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a requeſt vnto me: But I tolde them that this was not the faſhion to preſent a requeſt vnto a Captaine in this maner, and therefore they ſhould ſend ſome few vnto me to ſignifie vnto mee what they would haue. Hereupon the fiue chiefe authours of the ſedition armed with Corſlets, their Piſtolles in their handes already bent, preſt into my chamber, ſaying vnto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to ſeeke their aduenture. Then I warned them to bee well aduiſed what they meant to doe: but they foorthwith replyed, that they were fully aduiſed already, and that I muſt graunt them this requeſt. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will ſende Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant, which will make anſwere and giue mee an accompt of euery thing that ſhall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of euery chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaſpheming the Name of God, they anſwered that they muſt goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I ſhould deliuer them the armour which I had in my cuſtodie, for feare leaſt I might vſe them to their diſaduantage (being ſo villanouſly abuſed by them:) wherein notwithſtanding I would not yeeld vnto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my houſe, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which ſpake againſt their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried mee very ſicke, as I was, priſoner into a ſhippe which rode at ancker in the middeſt of the Riuer, wherein I was the ſpace of fifteene dayes, attended vpon with one man onely without permiſſion for any of my ſeruants to come to viſite mee: from euery one of whom, as alſo from the reſt that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they ſent mee a paſſeport to ſigne, telling me plainely after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the ſhippe. Thus was I conſtrained to ſigne their Paſſe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honeſt and ſkilfull Pilot. When the barks were finiſhed, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, aſmuch as they needed, and choſe one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Enſigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vaſſeur to deliuer them the flag of his ſhip. Then hauing determined to ſaile vnto a place of the Antilles, called Leauguaue, belonging vnto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Chriſtmaſſe night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Maſſe was ſayd after midnight, and to murder all thoſe that they found there, they ſet ſaile the eight of December. But becauſe the greateſt part of them by this time repented them of their enterpriſe, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themſelues, when they came foorth of the mouth of the riuer, the two barks diuided themſelues; the one kept along the coaſt vnto Cuba, to double the Cape more eaſily, and the other went right foorth to paſſe athwart the Iſles of Lucaya: by reaſon whereof they mette not vntill ſixe weeks after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coaſt, wherein one of the chiefe conſpiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere vnto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Caſſaui, which is a kinde of bread made of roots, and yet neuertheleſſe is very white, and good to eat, and ſome little Wine, which was not without ſome loſſe of their men: for in one aſſault that the inhabitants of Archaha made vpon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steuen Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, beſides two more that were ſlaine in the place, namely Nicolas Maſter and Doublet: yet neuertheleſſe they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their ſtuffe that was in their owne Barke, becauſe it was of greater burthen and better of ſaile then their owne. Afterward they ſailed right vnto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leauguaue, where they went on land to calke and bray their ſhip which had a great leake. In this meane while they reſolued to ſaile to Baracou, which is a village of the Iſle of Iamaica: where at their arriuall they found a Carauel of fifty or threeſcore tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the ſpace of fiue or ſixe dayes, they embarked themſelues in it, leauing their ſecond ſhip: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the gouernour of Iamaica was taken, with great ſtore of riches, aſwell of golde and ſiluer as of merchandiſe and wine, and many other things; wherewith our ſeditious companions not content, determined to ſeeke more in their carauell, and their gouernour of Iamaica alſo. After they were come to Iamaica, they miſſed of another carauel which did ſaue it ſelfe in the hauen. The gouernour being fine and ſubtile, ſeeing himſelfe brought vnto the place which he deſired and where he commanded, obtained ſo much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and ſend them to his wife into the village, to aduertiſe her that ſhe ſhould make prouiſion of victuals to ſend vnto him. But in ſtead of writing vnto his wife, he ſpake vnto the boyes ſecretly that with all diligence ſhe ſhould ſend the veſſels that were in the hauens neere that place to ſuccour and reſcue him. Which ſhe did ſo cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our ſeditious companions were at the hauens mouth (which reacheth aboue two leagues vp within the land) there came out of the hauen a malgualire which maketh ſaile both forward and backward, and then two great ſhippes, which might be ech of them of foureſcore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good ſtore of ordinance, and well furniſhed with men: at whoſe comming our mutinous fellowes were ſurpriſed, being not able to ſee them when they came, aſwell becauſe of the darkneſſe of the weather, as alſo by reaſon of the length of the hauen, conſidering alſo they miſtruſted nothing. True it is that fiue or ſix & twenty that were in the brigantine diſcouered theſe ſhips when they were nere them, which ſeeing themſelues preſſed for want of leaſure to weigh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it aduertiſed the reſt: whereupon the Spanyards ſeeing themſelues deſcried, diſcharged a volley of canon ſhot againſt the French men, which they followed by the ſpace of three leagues, and recouered their own ſhips: the brigantine which eſcaped away, paſſed in the ſight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony ſituate in the Iſle of Cuba, & from thence paſſed within the ſight of Hauana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elſwhere we haue declared) deſired nothing more then to returne to me: wherefore theſe men agreed together (if peraduenture the wind ſerued them well) to paſſe the chanell of Bahama, while their ſeditious companions were aſleepe: which they did accompliſh with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that in the morning toward

the

Trenchant a ſkilful pilot.

Caſſaui, bread made of roots.

Baracou a village in the Iſle of Iamaica.

The cape of Tiburon.

The gouernour of Iamaica taken.

Malgualire a kinde of veſſell that will ſaile forward and backward.

The Cape of S. Antony in Cuba.

Hauana.

The chanell of Bahama.

King Patica.

The returne of part of Laudonnieres ſeditious ſouldiers.

the breake of the day about the fiue and twentieth of March they arriued vpon the coaſt of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaited the Iudges: but they played not this pranke vntill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Iudge, another preſented my perſon: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your cauſes as good as it pleaſeth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cauſe you not to be hanged, I will neuer take him for an honeſt man: others thought that my choler being paſſed, I would eaſily forget this matter. Their ſaile was no ſooner deſcried vpon our coaſt, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues diſtant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, ſent an Indian to aduertiſe me that he had deſcried a ſhippe vpon the coaſt, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppreſſed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the riuer of May, when at the firſt bluſh we thought they had beene ſhippes come from France; which gaue vs occaſion of great ioy: but after I had cauſed her to be better viewed, I was aduertiſed that they were our ſeditious companions that were returned. Therefore I ſent them word by Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant, that they ſhould bring vp their brigantine before the fortreſſe: which they promiſed to doe. Now there was not aboue two leagues diſtance from the mouth of the riuer where they caſt anker vnto the fortreſſe. The next day I ſent the ſame Captaine and Sergeant with thirty ſouldiers, becauſe I ſaw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and becauſe certaine of them had ſworne at their departure, that they would neuer come againe within the fort, I was well pleaſed they ſhould keepe their oth. For this purpoſe I waited for them at the riuers mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on ſhore; whom I cauſed immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to puniſh the reſt, conſidering that they were ſuborned, and becauſe my councell expreſly aſſembled for this purpoſe had concluded that theſe foure only ſhould die, to ſerue for an example to the reſt. In the ſame place I made an Oration vnto them in this maner.

Laudonnieres oration to his mutinous ſouldiers.

MY friends, you know the cauſe why our king ſent vs vnto this countrey; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the cõmandement of God, in ſuch ſort, that we ought neither to ſpare our goods nor liues to do thoſe things that concerne his ſeruice: ye know, or at leaſt you cannot be ignorant, that beſides this general and naturall obligation, you haue this alſo ioyned thereunto, that in receiuing of him reaſonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow thoſe whom he hath eſtabliſhed ouer you to be your gouernours, and to command you in his name, hauing for this purpoſe giuen him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes reuoke for any faire apparance which you haue to doe the contrary: for this is reaſon, that ſeeing you liue vpon his charges on this condition, (this is reaſon I ſay) that you ſhould be faithfull vnto him. Notwithſtanding you haue had more regard vnto your vnbridled affections then vnto vertue, which inuited you to the obſeruance of your oth, in ſuch ſort that being become contemners of all honeſty, you haue paſſed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to eſcape the iuſtice of men, you could not auoid the iudgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be auoided hath led you, and in ſpight of you hath made you to arriue in this place, to make you confeſſe how true his iudgements are, and that he neuer ſuffereth ſo foule a fault to eſcape vnpuniſhed.

The ſentence of death.

Execution.

The continuation of the hiſtory.

After that I had vſed vnto them theſe or the like ſpeeches, following that which wee had agreed vpon in councell, in reſpect of the crimes which they had committed, aſwel againſt the kings Maieſty as againſt mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they ſhould be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no ſtarting hole, nor meanes at all to ſaue themſelues from this arreſt, they tooke themſelues vnto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raiſe a mutiny among my ſouldiers, ſayd thus vnto them: What, brethren and companions, will you ſuffer vs to die ſo ſhamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I ſayd vnto him, that they were not companions of authours of ſedition and rebels vnto the kings ſeruice. Hereupon the ſouldiers beſought me not to hang them, but rather let them be ſhot thorow, & then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged vpon certaine gibbets along the hauens mouth: which I cauſed preſently to be put in execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous ſouldiers, without which I had alwayes liued peaceably, and enioyed the good deſire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But becauſe I haue ſpoken of nothing but their accidentes and aduentures which happened vnto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne to the matters from which I digreſſed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. Firſt I began to conſider, to the end I might confirme and make my ſelfe more conſtant in mine affliction, that theſe murmurers could not ground their ſedition vpon want of victuals: for from the time of our arriuall, euery ſouldier dayly vnto this day, and beſides vntill the eight and twentieth of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my ſelfe that all new conqueſts by ſea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are eaſie to be raiſed, aſwell in reſpect of the diſtance of place, as in reſpect of the hope that the ſouldiers haue to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient hiſtories and alſo by the troubles which lately happened vnto Chriſtopher Columbus, after his firſt diſcouery, to Francis Pizarro, & Diego de Almagro in Peru, & to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thouſand other things came vnto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Ottigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to ſeeke me in the ſhip, where I was priſoner, and caried me from thence in a barke aſſoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come vnto the fort, I cauſed all my company that remained, to be aſſembled in the midſt of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared vnto them the faults which they that had forſaken vs had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witneſſe thereof when need ſhould require. Forthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troups; and preſcribed them an order, according whereunto they were to gouerne themſelues from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greateſt part of the ſouldiers, of whom I had the beſt opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promiſed mee all with one accord to obey mee moſt humbly, and to doe whatſoeuer I ſhould command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings ſeruice; wherein aſſuredly they neuer after failed: ſo that I dare ſay, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as euer was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne vnto the fort, I aſſembled my men together againe, to declare vnto them that our fort was not yet finiſhed, and that it was needfull that all of vs ſhould put thereto our helping hands, to aſſure our ſelues againſt the Indians: wherein hauing willingly agreed vnto mee, they raiſed it all with turfes from the gate vnto the riuer which is on the Weſt ſide. This done, I ſet my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the ſame bigneſſe that the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they ſhould prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: ſo that the barke was finiſhed in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another leſſer then the firſt, the better to diſcouer vp the riuer. In this meane ſpace the Indians viſited me, and brought me dayly certaine preſents, as Fiſh, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompenſed them with certaine Hatchets, Kniues, Beads of glaſſe, Combes, and Looking-glaſſes. Two Indians came vnto me one day to ſalute me on the behalfe of their King, whoſe name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort ſome forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the houſe of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the houſe of King Mathiaca another man whoſe name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceiued that theſe might be ſome Chriſtians. Wherefore I ſent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Chriſtian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought vnto mee, and that I would make them double recompenſe. They, which loue rewards, tooke ſo much paine, that the two men, whereof we haue ſpoken, were brought vnto the fort vnto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long vnto their hammes as the Sauages vſe to do, and were Spanyards borne, yet ſo well accuſtomed to the faſhion of the countrey, that at the firſt ſight they found our maner of apparell ſtrange. After that I had queſtioned of certaine matters with them, I cauſed them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not looſe, but lapped it vp in a linnen cloth, ſaying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a teſtimony of the miſery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of fiue and twenty crownes, which he gaue vnto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they anſwered me that fifteene yeeres paſt, three ſhippes, in one of which they were, were caſt away ouer againſt a place named Calos vpon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recouered the greateſt part of the riches which were in the ſayd ſhippes, trauelling in ſuch ſort that the greateſt part of the people was ſaued, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women married, remaining there yet, and their children alſo, with this king of Calos. I deſired to learne what this king was. They anſwered me, that he was the goodlieſt and the talleſt Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warrier, and hauing many ſubiects vnder his obedience. They tolde me moreouer, that he had great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, ſo farre forth

New cõqueſts ſubiect to rebellions and mutinies.

Laudonniere ſetteth things in order after his returne out of priſon to the fort.

Reparation of the Weſt ſide of the fort.

King Marracou.

King Onathaqua.

King Mathiaca.

Two Spanyards brought vnto Laudonniere by the Sauages.

Calos a place vpon ẏ Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.

The King of Calos.

Great quãtitie of golde and ſiluer.

Plates of gold as broad as a ſawcer.

One of theſe Spanyards names was Martin Gomes.

King Oathcaqua or Houthca.

Sarrope an Iſland.

Abundance of Dates.

A root of great price to make bread of.

The greateſt victory among the Floridians.

The ſituation of Calos.

Cannaueral in 28 degrees.

that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the leaſt as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully perſwaded themſelues that they could cauſe me to recouer, if I were able to march thither with an hundred ſhot, beſides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had alſo great ſtore thereof. They further alſo aduertiſed me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a ſawcer, and in ſuch number, that the weight did hinder them to dance at their eaſe; and that the men ware the like alſo. The greateſt part of theſe riches was had, as they ſayd, out of the Spaniſh ſhippes, which commonly were caſt away in this ſtraight; and the reſt by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reuerence of his ſubiects; and that hee made them beleeue that his ſorceries and charmes were the cauſes that made the earth bring foorth her fruit: and that hee might the eaſier perſwade them that it was ſo, he retired himſelfe once or twiſe a yeere to a certaine houſe, accompanied with two or three of his moſt familiar friends, where hee vſed certaine inchantments; and if any man intruded himſelfe to goe to ſee what they did in this place, the king immediatly cauſed him to be put to death. Moreouer, they tolde me, that euery yeere in the time of harueſt, this Sauage king ſacrificed one man, which was kept expreſly for this purpoſe, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempeſt were caſt away vpon that coaſt. One of theſe two declared vnto me, that hee had ſerued him a long time for a meſſenger; and that often times by his commandement he had viſited a king named Oathcaqua, diſtant from Calos foure or fiue dayes iourney, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the mid way there was an Iland ſituate in a great lake of freſh water, named Sarrope, about fiue leagues in bigneſſe, abounding with many ſorts of fruits, ſpecially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not ſo great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, ſo good to make bread of, that it is vnpoſſible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cauſe that the inhabitants of the Iſle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Beſides that, they are taken for the moſt warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good proofe when the king of Calos, hauing made alliance with Oathcaqua, was depriued of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promiſed to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this ſort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people caried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, vnto king Calos, to giue her vnto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Iſle aduertiſed of the matter, layed an ambuſh for him in a place where he ſhould paſſe, and ſo behaued themſelues, that Oathcaqua was diſcomfited, the betrothed yoong ſpouſe taken, and all the damoſels that accompanied her; which they caried vnto their Iſle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they eſteeme to be the greateſt victory: for afterward they marry theſe virgins, and loue them aboue all meaſure. The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, euen vntill the time that he was ſent vnto me. The place of Calos is ſituate vpon a riuer which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the Southweſt: and the dwelling of Oathcaqua is on this ſide the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaueral, which is in 28 degrees.

The Floridians great traitours and diſſemblers.

About the fiue and twentieth of Ianuary Paracouſſy Satourioüa my neighbour ſent me certaine preſents by two of his ſubiects, to perſwade me to ioyne with him, and to make warre vpon Ouac Vtina which was my friend: and further beſought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Vtina; for whom if it had not bene, he had often times ſet vpon him, and defeited him. He beſought me heerein by diuers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a moneths ſpace ſent meſſengers vnto mee to this end and purpoſe: but I would not grant vnto them that they ſhould make warre vpon him; yea rather contrariwiſe I endeuoured to make them friends; wherein they condeſcended vnto me, ſo farre foorth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would ſet downe: whereupon the two Spanyards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any caſe I ſhould not truſt vnto them, becauſe that when they ſhewed good countenance and the beſt cheere vnto men, then was the time that they would ſurpriſe and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greateſt traitours and moſt deepe diſſemblers of the world. Beſides I neuer truſted them but vpon good ground, as one that had diſcouered a thouſand of their crafts and ſubtilties, aſwell by experience as by reading of the hiſtories of late yeres. Our two barks were not ſo ſoone finiſhed, but I ſent Captaine Vaſſeur to diſcouer along the coaſt lying toward the North, and commanded him to ſaile vnto a riuer, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where thoſe of the yere 1562 inhabited.

habited. I ſent him two ſutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, kniues, and other ſmall trifles, the better to inſinuate my ſelfe into his friendſhip. And the better to win him, I ſent in the barke with captaine Vaſſeur a ſouldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the firſt voyage, hoping that king Auduſta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in thoſe parts when Nicolas Maſſon and thoſe of the firſt voyage imbarked themſelues to returne into France. They vnderſtood at their arriuall there, that a barke paſſing that way had caried away the ſame ſouldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Auduſta ſent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two ſtags, ſome ſkinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of ſmall value, becauſe they were burnt: and ſent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters, he would giue me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would ſpare me as much as I would haue. In the meane while there came vnto our fort a flocke of ſtocke-doues in ſo great number, and that for the ſpace of ſeuen weeks together, that euery day wee killed with harquebuſh ſhot two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Captaine Vaſſeur was returned, I cauſed the two barks to be furniſhed againe with ſouldiers & mariners, and ſent them to cary a preſent from me vnto the widow of king Hiocaia, whoſe dwelling was diſtant from our fort about twelue legues Northward. She courteouſly receiued our men, ſent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with certaine baſkets full of the leaues of Caſſine, wherwith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the moſt plentifull of mill that is in all the coaſt, and the moſt pleaſant. It is thought that the queene is the moſt beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make moſt account: yea, and her ſubiects honour her ſo much, that almoſt continually they beare her on their ſhoulders, and will not ſuffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, ſhe ſent to viſit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to ſay, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furniſhed with victuals vntill the time that our ſhips might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I ſent my two barks to diſcouer along the riuer, and vp toward the head thereof, which went ſo far vp that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they diſcouered the entrance of a lake, vpon the one ſide whereof no land can be ſeene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the higheſt trees in the countrey to ſee land, and notwithſtanding could not diſcerne any: which was the cauſe that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to ſee the Iſland of Edelano ſituated in the midſt of the riuer, as faire a place as any that may be ſeene thorow the world: for in the ſpace of ſome three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may ſee an exceeding rich countrey, and maruellouſly peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go vnto the riuers ſide a man muſt paſſe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both ſides wherof great tres are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together ſo artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpoſe, as faire I ſay, as any in all chriſtendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, & laſtly they came vnto Coya: where leauing their barks in a litle creeke of the riuer with men to guard them, they went to viſit Vtina, which receiued them very courteouſly: and when they departed from his houſe, he intreated them ſo earneſtly, that ſixe of my men remained with him; of which number there was one gentleman, named Groutald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to diſcouer the countrey, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came vnto me to the fort, and tolde me that he neuer ſaw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he reported vnto me that he had ſeene a place named Hoſtaqua, and that the king thereof was ſo mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thouſand Sauages to the field; with whom if I would ioyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the reſt of the inhabitants vnto our obedience: beſides that this king knew the paſſages vnto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men deſired ſo greatly to atteine vnto, and where the enemy of Hoſtaqua made his abode; which was eaſie to be ſubdued, if ſo be wee would enter into league together. This king ſent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foot whereof there runneth a ſtreame of golde or copper, as the Sauages thinke, out of which they dig vp the ſand with an hollow and drie cane of reed vntill the cane be full; afterward they ſhake it, and finde that there are many ſmall graines of copper and ſiluer among this ſand: which giueth them to vnderſtand, that ſome rich mine muſt needs be in the mountaine. And becauſe the mountaine was not paſt fiue or ſixe dayes iourney from our fort, lying toward the Northweſt, I determined aſſoone as our

ſupply

Nicolas Maſſon otherwiſe called Nicolas Barre.

King Auduſtas great humanity.

Pearles burned.

Peter Martyr writeth cap. 1. decad. 7. that the like flocks of pigeons are in the Iſles of the Lucayos.

The widow of King Hiocaia, or Hihouhacara.

This queenes name was Nia Cubacani.

The fiſt voyage vp the riuer of May.

Mathiaqua.

The diſcouery of a mighty lake, on the one ſide whereof no land can be ſeene.

The Iſle of Edelano.

An excellent worke of nature.

Eneguape.
Chilily.
Patica.
Coya.

The king of Hoſtaqua or Oſtaca able to bring three or foure thouſand Sauages to the field.

The mountaine of Apalatci.

There is a mine of golde or rich coper in the mountaine of Apalatci.

Peter Gamby ſlaine.

The village of Edelano.

Gold & ſiluer.

Vtina ſendeth to Laudonniere for his helpe.

A good note.

Three hundred Indians.

A lake three leagues diſtāt from the village of Potanou.

Iawa ſignifieth their Prieſt or Magician.

Potanou accompanied with two thouſand Indians.

ſupply ſhould come out of France, to remooue our habitation vnto ſome riuer more toward the North, that I might be nerer thereunto. One of my ſouldiers whoſe name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long ſpace before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the laſt came to the village of Edelano, where hauing gotten together a certaine quantity of golde and ſiluer, and purpoſing to returne vnto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a veſſell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians vſe to fiſh withal, and to row vpon the riuers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him & bring him the merchandiſe and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanouſly executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to ſeethe fiſh. The Paracouſſy Vtina ſent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my ſhot, to inuade his enemy Potanou, and ſent me word, that this enemy once vanquiſhed, he would make me paſſage, yea, and would conduct me vnto the mountaines in ſuch ſort, that no man ſhould be able to hinder me. Then I aſſembled my men to demand their aduice, as I was woont to do in all mine enterpriſes. The greater part was of opinion, that I ſhould do well to ſend ſuccour vnto this Paracouſſy, becauſe it would be hard for me to diſcouer any further vp into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were imployed in their conqueſts, did alwayes enter into alliance with ſome one king to ruine another. Notwithſtanding, becauſe I did alwayes miſtruſt the Indians, and that the more after the laſt aduertiſement that the Spanyards had giuen me, I doubted leſt the ſmall number which Vtina demanded might incurre ſome danger; wherefore I ſent him thirty ſhot vnder the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which ſtayed not aboue two dayes with Vtina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the cuſtome of the countrey are caried by women and yoong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Vtina ſetting forward with three hundred of his ſubiects, hauing ech of them their bowe and quiuer full of arrowes, cauſed our thirty ſhot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, vntill that the night approching, and hauing not gone paſt halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themſelues: they ſeparated themſelues by fire and fire, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whoſe guard they ordeined a certeine number of thoſe archers, in whom he put moſt confidence. Aſſoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Vtina requeſted my Lieutenant to grant him foure or fiue of his men to go and diſcouer the countrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceiued vpon a lake, diſtant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fiſhed in a canoa. Now the cuſtome is that when they fiſh in this lake, they haue alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fiſhers. Our men being hereof aduertiſed by thoſe of the company, durſt not paſſe any further, for feare of falling into ſome ambuſh: wherefore they returned towards Vtina, which ſuddenly ſent them backe with a greater company to ſurpriſe the fiſhers, before they might retire and aduertiſe their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute ſo politikely, but that two of them eſcaped; the third alſo did the beſt he could to ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming, in which meane while he was ſtayed with ſhot of arrowes, and they drew him ſtarke dead vnto the banks ſide, where our Indians ſlayed off the ſkinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reſeruing his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Vtina fearing leaſt Potanou aduertiſed by the fiſhers which were eſcaped, ſhould put himſelfe in armes to withſtand him valiantly, aſked counſell of his Iawa, which is aſmuch to ſay in their language as his Magician, whether it were beſt to goe any further. Then this Magician made certeine ſignes, hidious and fearefull to beholde, and vſed certeine words; which being ended, he ſayd vnto his king, that it was not beſt to paſſe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thouſand Indians at the leaſt ſtayed in ſuch and ſuch a place for him, to bidde him battell: and beſides this, that all the ſayd Indians were furniſhed with cords to binde the priſoners which they made full account to take.

The prediction of the Magician found true.

This relation cauſed Vtina to be vnwilling to paſſe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as euer he might be, becauſe hee had taken ſo great paines without doing of any thing of account, ſayd vnto him, that hee would neuer thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himſelfe: and that if he would not doe it, at the leaſt, that he would giue him a guide to conduct him and his ſmall company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Heereupon Vtina was aſhamed, and ſeeing the good affection of Monſieur de Ottigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named: where the ſkirmiſh beganne, which laſted three long houres: wherein without doubt Vtina had beene defeated, vnleſſe our harquebuſiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and ſlaine a great number of the ſouldiers of Potanou, vpon which occaſion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Vtina being content for the preſent, cauſed his people to retire and returne homeward to the great diſcontentment of Monſieur de Ottigny, which deſired nothing more, then to purſue his victorie. After he was come home to his houſe he ſent meſſengers to eighteene or twentie villages of other kings his vaſſals, and ſummoned them to be preſent at the feaſts and dances which he purpoſed to celebrate becauſe of his victorie. In the meane while Monſieur de Ottigny refreſhed himſelfe for two dayes: and then taking his leaue of the Paracouſſi, and leauing him twelue of his men to ſee that Potanou, bethinking himſelfe of his late loſſe, ſhould not come to burne the houſes of Vtina, he ſet forward on his way to come vnto me vnto our Fort, where he vp and told me how euery thing had paſſed: and withall that he had promiſed the twelue ſouldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Vtina, being aduertiſed of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to viſite me with preſents and to enquire how things had paſſed, praying me all to receiue them into my fauour, and to become enemie to Vtina, which notwithſtanding I would not grant them for many reaſons that mooued me.

Vtina hath 18 or 20 kings to his vaſſals.

The Indians are wont to leaue their houſes and to retire themſelues into the woods, the ſpace of three moneths, to wit Ianuary, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can ſee one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themſelues, liuing vpon that which they take in hunting. This was the cauſe that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good prouiſion thereof, while my men had ſtore, vntill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the vttermoſt, we hoped to haue had ſuccour out of France) I ſhould haue beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cauſe that the ſouldiers tooke no great care to looke well vnto their victuals, although I deuided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reſeruing vnto my ſelfe any more then the leaſt ſouldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of ſuccour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, conſtrained to eate the rootes of the earth and certaine ſorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Sauages were returned by this time vnto their villages, yet they ſuccoured vs with nothing but certaine fiſh, without which aſſuredly wee had periſhed with famine. Beſides they had giuen vs before the greateſt part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandiſe. This famine held vs from the beginning of May vntill the middeſt of Iune. During which time the poore ſouldiers and handicraftſmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after another in Centinel vnto the clift of an hill, ſituate very neere vnto the Fort, to ſee if they might diſcouer any French ſhip. In fine being fruſtrated of their hope, they aſſembled altogether, & came to beſeech me to take ſome order that they might returne into France, conſidering that if we let paſſe the ſeaſon to embarke our ſelues, we were neuer like to ſee our countrey, where it could not be choſen but that ſome troubles were fallen out, ſeeing they had broken their promiſe made vnto vs, and that no ſuccour was come from thence. Therupon it was conſulted and reſolued by all the company, that the barke Breton ſhould be trimmed vp, wherof Captaine Vaſſeur had charge. But becauſe the ſhip was not bigge enough to receiue vs all, ſome thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous ſouldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men ſhould hazard themſelues to paſſe therein into France. The reſt being better aduiſed ſaid that it ſhould be farre better to build a faire ſhippe vpon the keele of the Galiote which I had cauſed to be made, promiſing to labour couragiouſly thervpon. Then I enquired of my ſhipwrights to knowe in what ſpace they could make this ſhippe readie. They aſſured the whole company that being furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, they would make it readie by the 8 of Auguſt. Immediatly I diſpoſed of the time to worke vpon it, I gaue charge to Monſieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cauſe timber neceſſary for the finiſhing of both the veſſels to be brought, and to Monſieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make plankes, and to cauſe the ſawiers which he carried with him to ſaw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cauſe fifteene or ſixteene men to labour in making coales: and to Maſter Hance keeper of the Artillery, & to the gunner to gather ſtore of roſen to bray the veſſels: wherein he vſed ſuch diligence, that in leſſe then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogs-heads of the ſame together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recouer victuals to ſuſtaine vs while our worke endured: which I vndertooke to doe with yͤ reſt of my cōpany & the Mariners of the ſhip. To this end I embarked my ſelfe making vp

A cuſtome of the Indians to leaue their houſes for 3 or 4 moneths and to liue in the woods.

They looke for ſuccour out of France by the end of Aprill at the vttermoſt.

Extreme famine for ſixe weekes ſpace.

Promiſe broken.

Two hogs-heads of roſen.

the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, hauing with vs no prouiſion at all of victuals: whereby it may eaſily be gathered how ſimply thoſe of our Fort were prouided. True it is that certaine ſouldiers being better huſbandes then the reſt, and hauing made ſome prouiſion of maſt, ſolde a little meaſure thereof for fifteene and twentie ſous vnto their companions. During our voyage we liued of nothing elſe but raſpices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the riuer ſides: wherein after we had ſayled a long time in vaine, I was conſtrained to returne to the Fort: where the ſouldiers beginning to be wearie of working, becauſe of the extreme famine which did conſume them, aſſembled themſelues and declared vnto me, that ſeeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the ſauing of their liues, to ſeaze vpon the perſon of one of the Kings of the Countrie: aſſuring thẽſelues that one being taken, the ſubiects would not ſuffer our men to want victuals. I made them anſwere that this enterpriſe was not raſhly to be attempted: But that wee ought to haue good regarde vnto the conſequence that might inſue thereof. Hereupon they replyed vnto me, that ſeeing the time was paſt of our ſuccour from France, & that we were reſolued to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to conſtraine the Sauages to furniſh vs with victuals; which for the preſent I would not grant vnto them, but promiſed them aſſuredly that I would ſend to aduertiſe the Indians that they ſhould bring me victuals for exchange of marchandiſe and apparell: which they alſo did for the ſpace of certaine daies, during which they brought of their maſt and of their fiſh: which theſe Indians being traiterous, & miſchieuous of nature, and knowing our exceeding ſtrange famine, ſold vs at ſo deere a price, that for leſſe then nothing they had gotten from vs al the reſt of our marchandiſe which remained. And which was worſe, fearing to be forced by vs and ſeeing that they had gotten all from vs, they came no neerer to our Fort then the ſhot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fiſh in their little boats, to which our poore ſouldiers were conſtrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I haue ſeene) to giue away the very ſhirts from their backs to get one fiſh. If at any time they ſhewed vnto the Sauages the exceſſiue price which they tooke, theſe villaines would anſwere them roughly & churliſhly: if thou make ſo great account of thy marchandiſe, eat it, and we will eat our fiſh: then fell they out a laughing and mocked vs with open throat. Whereupon our ſouldiers vtterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their fooliſh arrogancie. Notwithſtanding conſidering the inportance hereof, I tooke paines to appeaſe the impatient ſouldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into queſtion with the Sauages, & it ſuffiſed me to delay the time. Wherefore I deuiſed to ſend vnto Vtina to pray him to deale ſo farre foorth with his ſubiects, as to ſuccour me with maſt and maiz: which he did very ſparingly, ſending me 12 or 15 baſkets of maſt, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the riuer, and are as big as cheries: yea & this was not but by giuing of them in exchange twiſe as much marchandiſe and apparell as they were worth. For the ſubiectes of Vtina perceiued euidently the neceſſitie wherein we were, & began to vſe the like ſpeech vnto vs, as the others did: as it is commonly ſeene that neede altereth mens affections. While theſe things were in doing, a certain breathing ſpace preſented it ſelfe: for Vtina gaue me to vnderſtand that there was a king his ſubiect whoſe name was Aſtina, which he determined to take priſoner, and to chaſtiſe him for his diſobedience: that for this cauſe, if I would giue him aide with a certaine number of my ſouldiers, he would bring them to the village of Aſtina, where there was meanes to recouer maſt and maiz. In the meane ſeaſon he excuſed himſelfe vnto me becauſe he had ſent me no more maiz, and ſent me word that the little ſtore that he had left, was ſcarſely ſufficient for his ſeede-corne. Now being ſomewhat relieued, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to ſend him the men which he deſired of me, which neuertheleſſe were very euill intreated: for he deceiued them, and in ſtead of leading them againſt Aſtina, he cauſed them to march againſt his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterpriſe with Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant was determined to be reuenged of Vtina and to cut him in pieces & his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing againſt my wil, without all doubt they would haue put their enterpriſe in execution. Therfore they would not paſſe any further without aduertiſing me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe vnto the Fort, angry & pricked deepely to the quicke for being ſo mocked, they made their cõplaints vnto me, declaring vnto me that they were almoſt dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the reſt of the ſouldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, & reſolued, aſſembling themſelues againe together, to let me vnderſtand that they did perſiſt in their firſt deliberation, which was, to puniſh the boldneſſe and maliciouſnes of the Sauages, which they could no longer endure, & were determined to take one of their kings priſoner: which thing I was enforced to grant vnto them, to yͤ end to auoid

a greater

The vile nature of the Indians.

A cruell anſwere of the Sauages.

Pinocke a certaine kinde of fruit as bigge as cheries.

Aſtina a king.

a greater miſchiefe, and the ſedition which I foreſaw would enſue, if I had made refuſall thereof. For, ſayd they, what occaſion haue you to deny vs, conſidering the neceſſitie wherein we are, and the ſmall account that they make of vs. Shall it not be lawfull for vs to puniſh them for the wrongs which they doe vnto vs, beſides that we know apparantly how little they reſpect vs? Is not this ſufficient although there were no neceſſitie at all, ſince they thus delude vs, and haue broken promiſe with vs? After I had therefore reſolued with them to ſeaze on the perſon of Vtina, which beſides that he had giuen vs occaſion hereof, was alſo moſt able to help vs to recouer victuals, I departed with fiftie of my beſt ſouldiers all embarked in two Barkes & we arriued in the dominions of Vtina, diſtant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on ſhore we drew towards his village ſituated 6 great leagues from the riuer, where we tooke him priſoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, hauing firſt ſignified vnto his Father in law and his chiefe ſubiects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any deſire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieue my neceſſitie and want of victuals which oppreſſed me, and that in caſe they would helpe me to ſome, I would find meanes to ſet him againe at libertie: that in the meane ſpace I would retire my ſelfe into my Barkes (for I feared leaſt they would there aſſemble themſelues together, and that ſome miſchiefe might thereof inſue) where I would ſtay for him two dayes to receiue his anſwere: notwithſtanding that my meaning was not to haue any thing without exchange of marchandiſe. This they promiſed they would doe. And in very deede the very ſame euening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came vnto the Riuers brinke, and cryed vnto me to enter into the barke, to ſee her huſband and her ſonne, which I held both priſoners. I diſcouered the next day fiue or ſixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere vnto the riuer ſide, and came to me to ſignifie vnto me how that during the abſence of their king, their enemie Potanou being thereof aduertiſed, was entred into their village, and had ſet all on fire. They prayed me that I would ſuccour them: neuertheleſſe in the meane while they had one part of their troope in ambuſh, with intent to ſet vpon me if I had come on land, which was eaſie for mee to diſcerne. For ſeeing that I refuſed ſo to doe, they greatly doubted that they were diſcouered, and ſought by all meanes to remooue out of my minde that euill opinion which I had conceiued of them. They brought mee therefore fiſh in their little boates and of their meale of Maſt, they made alſo of their drinke which they call caſſine, which they ſent to Vtina and me.

Vtina taken priſoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his ſouldiers.

Fiue or ſixe hundred Indians.

The deepe diſſembling of the Indians.

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king priſoner, yet neuertheleſſe I could not get any great quantitie of victuals for the preſent: the reaſon was, becauſe they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they meaſured my will according to their cuſtome, whereby they put to death all the men priſoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they aſſembled themſelues in the great houſe, and hauing called all the people together they propoſed the election of a new King, at which time the Father in lawe of Vtina ſet one of the kings young ſonnes vpon the Royall throne: and tooke ſuch paynes that euery man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to haue bene the cauſe of great troubles among them. For there was a kinſman of the kings neere adioyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the ſubiects: notwithſtanding this enterpriſe could not take effect, foraſmuch as by a common conſent of the chiefe, it was conſulted and concluded, that the ſonne was more meete to ſucceede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Vtina with me, to whom I had giuen ſome of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewiſe done vnto his ſonne. But his ſubiects which before had an opinion that I would haue killed him, being aduertiſed of the good entertainment which I vſed towards him, ſent two men which walked along the riuer, and came to viſite him, and brought vs ſome victuals. Theſe two men at their comming were receiued by me with all courteſie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While theſe things thus paſſed, there arriued from all quarters many Sauages of the countries adioyning, which came to ſee Vtina, and ſought by all meanes to perſwade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do ſo, they would take order that I ſhould want no victuals. There was alſo a King my neighbour whoſe name was Saturioüa, a ſubtill and craftie man, and one that ſhewed by proofe that he was greatly practiſed in affaires. This King ſent ordinarily meſſengers vnto me, to pray me to deliuer Vtina vnto him: and to win me the more eaſily, he ſent twiſe ſeuen or eight baſkets of Maiz or of Maſt, thinking by this way to allure me, & to make me come to cōpoſition with him: in the end notwithſtanding when he ſaw he loſt his time, he ceaſed to viſite me with ambaſſages & victuals: & in the meane while I was not able with ẏ ſame ſtore of victuals which I had, ſo well to proportion out the trauaile vpon the ſhips which we built to returne into

The Indians kill all the men priſoners that they take in warre.

The election of a new king.

The hatred among the Sauage kings of Florida.

Note.

Rootes.

Eſquine.

New corne by the end of May in Florida.

The village of Enecaque.

A little greene fruite that groweth in the riuers as big as cheries.

The Ile of Edelano.

Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maiz.

The village Athore.

Nia Cubacani a Queene.

France, but that in the end we were conſtrained to indure extreme famine, which continued among vs all the moneth of May: for in this latter ſeaſon, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Maſt was to be found in the villages, becauſe they had employed all for to ſowe their fields, inſomuch that we were conſtrayned to eate rootes, which the moſt part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to vs from other places: ſome tooke the wood of Eſquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harquebuſies to ſeeke to kill ſome foule. Yea this miſerie was ſo great, that one was found that gathered vp among the filth of my houſe, all the fiſh bones that he could finde, which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among vs, for our bones eftſoones beganne to cleaue ſo neere vnto the ſkinne, that the moſt part of the ſouldiers had their ſkinnes peirced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in ſuch ſort that my greateſt feare was, leaſt the Indians would riſe vp againſt vs, conſidering that it would haue bene very hard for vs to haue defended our ſelues in ſuch extreme decay of all our forces, beſides the ſcarſitie of all victuals, which fayled vs all at once. For the very riuer had not ſuch plentie of fiſh as it was wont, and it ſeemed that the land and water did fight againſt vs. Now as we were thus vpon termes of diſpayre, about the end of the moneth of May, and the beginning of Iune, I was aduertiſed by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey vp aboue the riuer, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was moſt forward of all. This cauſed me to take vpon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went vp the riuer to a place called Enecaque: where I met the ſiſter of Vtina in a village where ſhe made vs very good cheere and ſent vs fiſh. We found that which was tolde vs to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one ſhrewde turne happened vnto me. For the moſt part of my ſouldiers fell ſicke with eating more of it then their weakened ſtomackes could digeſt. We had alſo beene the ſpace of foure dayes ſince we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, ſauing little pinockes, and a little fiſh, which we got of the fiſhers which wee met ſometimes along the riuer. And yet this was ſo little that certaine ſouldiers eate priuily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purpoſed to go into yͤ Ile of Edelano to take the king which had cauſed one of my men to be ſlaine, as I haue mentioned before: but being aduertiſed of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke vp the riuer, he feared that I went foorth with a purpoſe to be reuenged of the euill turne which he played: ſo that when I came thither, I found the houſes emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: & I could not by any meanes keepe my ſouldiers, being angry becauſe they had loſt one of their companions, from ſetting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I paſſed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could poſſibly: which with great diligence I conueied to our Fort to ſuccour my poore men, which I had left in great neceſſitie. They therefore ſeeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that ſide of the riuer where they thought I would come on land: for hunger ſo pinched them to the heart, that they could not ſtay vntill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well ſhewed aſſoone as I was come, and that I had diſtributed that little maiz among them, which I had giuen to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the huſke. But ſeeing my ſelfe in this extreme neede, I tooke paines day by day to ſeeke ſome villages where there was ſome food. And as I trauailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two ſonnes of king Emola, and by one whoſe name was Caſti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cauſe of this murder was, becauſe they could not refraine thẽſelues as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was preſently aduertiſed by an Indian which a little before had brought me a preſent frõ Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Vpon receipt of this aduertiſement, I ſent my Sergeant with a number of ſouldiers which found nothing elſe but the 2 dead corpſes, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, becauſe the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they ſhould be puniſhed for ſuch a foule fact. As theſe things thus paſſed, & that by this time we had almoſt driuen out the moneth of May, two ſubiects of king Vtina came vnto me with an Hermaphrodite, which ſhewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greateſt part of their quarters. Whereupon Vtina ſignified vnto me that in caſe I would carrie him home to his houſe, he would take ſuch good order that I ſhould haue plentie of maiz & beanes: and withall, that the field which he had cauſed to be ſowen for me, ſhould be reſerued to my vſe. I conſulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the aduice of all my company, that it was beſt to grant him his requeſt, ſaying, that he had meanes to ſuccour vs with food ſufficient to ſerue our turnes for our embarkement, and that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I cauſed the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherin I ſailed to Patica, a place diſtant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not ſhew themſelues, albeit Vtina ſhewed himſelfe vnto them, for as much as they imagined that I ſhould be conſtrained to let him go. But ſeeing no body to ſhew themſelues, I was conſtrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the ſtate of the countrie, to whom I deliuered the young ſonne of Vtina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Vtina, vnto his father in law and his wife, to aduertiſe them that if they would haue their king againe, they ſhould bring me victuals vnto the ſide of the little riuer whither I was gone. At my mans comming euery one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himſelfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of theſe newes came preſently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gaue vnto my ſouldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which preſently I diſcouered, and therefore ſtood diligently vpon my gard. Wherefore perceiuing they could not haue their purpoſe, and that they were already diſcouered, they ſent to aduertiſe me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was conſtrained to returne and to carry backe Vtina home, where I had much adoe to ſaue him from the rage of my ſouldiers: which perceiuing the maliciouſnes of the Indians, went about to haue murdered him. Moreouer it ſeemed they were content that they had gotten the ſonne, & that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this ſide, I deuiſed to ſend my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to diuers places, and cōtinued ſo doing 15 daies after, when as Vtina beſought me again to ſend him vnto his village, aſſuring himſelfe that his ſubiects would not ſticke to giue me victuals: and that in caſe they refuſed ſo to do, he was content that I ſhould do what I thought good with him. I vndertooke this voyage the ſecond time with the two barkes furniſhed as before. At my comming vnto the little riuer, we found his ſubiects there, which failed not to come thither with ſome quantitie of bread, beanes, and fiſh, to giue my ſouldiers. Neuertheleſſe returning againe to their former practiſe they ſought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the impriſonment of their king, if they might haue gotten the victorie of me. But after that they ſawe the ſmall meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would giue them their king with certaine of my ſouldiers, they would conduct them vnto the village, and that the ſubiects ſeeing him, would be more willing to giue vs victuals. Which thing notwithſtanding I would not grant vnto them (miſtruſting their ſubtiltie, which was not ſo couert, but that one might eſpie day at a little hole) vntill they had firſt giuen me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they ſhould bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gaue mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they ſhould eſcape away, as I knew well they were inſtructed to doe. Foure dayes were ſpent in theſe conferences, at the end whereof they declared vnto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promiſe: and that the vttermoſt that they could doe for the preſent, was to cauſe ech ſubiect to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe ſo on condition that I would ſend them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him aboue all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: becauſe I knew them to be very ſubtill and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our diſaduantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the ſmall riuer whereinto we were accuſtomed to enter to approch as neere as we could vnto the village of Vtina, being ſixe French leagues diſtant from thence. There he went on ſhore, put his men in good array, and drew ſtreight towards the great houſe that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were aſſembled, which cauſed very great ſtore of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they ſpent notwithſtanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together to ſet vpon vs in our retreit. They vſed therefore many meanes to holde vs ſtill in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (ſeeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, vntill ſuch time as they had brought the victuals vnto the boats, according to the agreement paſſed betweene vs) they ſignified vnto him that the women and young children were affraide out of all meaſure to ſee fire in their matches ſo neere their harquebuſes: and that therefore they moſt earneſtly beſought them to put them out, that they might more eaſily get people ynough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leaue their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their ſeruants ſhould carrie them. This ſecond requeſt was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an eaſie matter to ſmel out their intention. But while theſe things were thus in handling, Vtina by no meanes

Patica a village.

Deſire of reuenge rooted in the ſauages.

A neceſſarie admonition.

The Floridians ſubtilties.

was to be ſeene, but hid and kept himſelfe ſecret in a little houſe apart, where certaine choſen men of mine went to ſee him ſhewing themſelues agreeued with him for the long delayes of his ſubiects: whereunto he anſwered, that his ſubiects were ſo much incenſed againſt vs, that by no meanes poſſible he was able to keepe them in ſuch obedience as he willingly would haue done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre againſt Monſieur de Ottigny. That he alſo called to minde, that euen while he was priſoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Country to obtaine ſome victuals, he ſaw along the high wayes arrowes ſticke vp, at the endes whereof long haires were faſtened, which was a certaine ſigne of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine alſo carried with him to the fort.

A certaine ſigne of warre.

He ſaid further that in reſpect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his ſubiects were determined to cut downe the trees, and cauſe them to fall athwart the little riuer where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their eaſe, and that if it thus fell out, he aſſured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the ſuſpition of warre was, that as my meſſengers departed from Vtina, they heard the voyce of one of my men, which during the voyage had alwayes beene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would neuer render, vntill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out a maine becauſe two Indians would haue carried him into the woods to haue cut his throat: whereupon he was ſuccoured and deliuered. Theſe admonitions being well vnderſtoode, after ripe deliberation thereof Monſieur de Ottigny reſolued to retire himſelfe the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly. Wherefore he ſet his ſouldiers in order, and deliuered to ech of them a ſacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to preuent the enterpriſe of the ſauages.

An alley of 3 or 4 hundred paces long.

There is at the comming forth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is couered on both ſides with great trees. My Lieutenant diſpoſed his men in this alley and ſet them in ſuch order as they deſired to march: for he was well aſſured that if there were any ambuſh, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he cauſed Monſieur de Arlac mine Enſigne to march ſomewhat before with 8 harquebuſiers to diſcouer whether there were any danger: beſides he commanded one of my Sergeants & Corporals to march on the out ſide of the alley with foure harquebuſiers while he himſelfe conducted the reſt of his company through it.

A ſkirmiſh betwene the Sauages and the French.

Now as he ſuſpected, ſo it fell out: for Monſieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which ſaluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, & with ſuch furie that it was eaſie to ſee with what deſire they ſought to charge vs. Howbeit they were ſo well ſuſtained in the firſt aſſault which mine Enſigne gaue them, that they which fell downe dead, did ſomewhat abate the choler of thoſe which remained aliue. This done my Lieutenant haſted to gaine ground in ſuch ſort as I haue already ſaid.

A ſecond freſh charge of Sauages.

After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afreſh with a newe troope of Sauages which were in number about 300, which aſſayled him before, while the reſt of the former ſet vpon him behind. This ſecond aſſault was ſo valiantly ſuſtayned, that I may iuſtly ſay that Monſieur de Ottigny ſo well diſcharged his dutie, as was poſſible for a good Captaine to doe. And ſo it ſtood them vpon: for he had to deale with ſuch kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe ſo well to behaue themſelues in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not preuented their practiſe, he had beene in danger to haue bene defeated.

The Floridians maner of fight.

Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had ſhot, they retyred themſelues and gaue place to the reſt that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foot ſo quicke and readie, that aſſoone as euer they ſaw the harquebuze layde to the cheeke, ſo ſoone were they on the ground, and eftſoone vp to anſwere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceiued we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare ſo much, becauſe of our ſwords and daggers.

The Floridians chiefe feare.

This conflict continued and laſted from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himſelfe to cauſe his men to breake the arrowes which they found in the way, & ſo to depriue the Sauages of the meanes to beginne againe, without all doubt he ſhould haue had very much to do: for by this meane they lacked arrowes, and ſo were conſtrained to retire themſelues. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made ſignes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cauſe but to be reuenged on the ſouldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come vnto his boates tooke a reuiew of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called Iames Sale, and the others name was Meſureur.

Two ſlaine.

He found moreouer 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he cauſed to be brought vnto the boates.

Two & twenty wounded.

All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he deuided equally among them. For aſſoone as the conflict began, euery man was conſtrained to leaue his ſacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and cauſed euery man diligently to trauell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring vs victuals. But ſeeing the time conſume away, I began to ſuſpect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was aſſured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope fruſtrate on that ſide, I made my prayer vnto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had ſhewed vnto my poore ſouldiers which were eſcaped: Afterward I thought vpon new meanes to obtaine victuals, aſwell for our returne into France, as to driue out the time vntill our embarking. I was aduertiſed by certaine of our company, which vſually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi ſituated on the other ſide of the riuer, and two leagues diſtant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fieldes wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in thoſe partes in great abundance. Wherefore I cauſed my boates to be made ready, and ſent my Sergeant thither with certaine ſouldieurs, which vſed ſuch diligence, that wee had good ſtore of mill. I ſent alſo to the riuer which the Sauages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the Riuer of Somme, where Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant arriued with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great aſſembly of the Lords of the countrey, among whome was Athore the ſonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there aſſembled to make merrie: becauſe that in this place are the faireſt maids and women of all the countrey. Captaine Vaſſeur in my name gaue certaine ſmall trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Whereupon the boates were foorthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could deuiſe. The Queene ſent me two ſmall Mats ſo artificially wrought as it was vnpoſſible to make better. Nowe finding our ſelues by this meane ſufficiently furniſhed with victuals, we began each of vs in his place, to trauaile and vſe ſuch diligence, as the deſire to ſee our natiue countrey might mooue vs. But becauſe two of our Carpenters were ſlaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) Iohn de Hais, maſter Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired vnto me, and tolde me that by reaſon of want of men hee was not able to make me vp the ſhip againſt the time that he had promiſed me: which ſpeech cauſed ſuch a mutinie among the ſouldiers that very hardly he eſcaped killing: howbeit I appeaſed them aſwell as I could, and determined to worke no more from thencefoorth vpon the ſhippe, but to content our ſelues to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houſes that were without the Fort, and cauſed coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewiſe the ſouldiers beate downe the palliſade which was toward the waters ſide, neither was I euer able to keepe them from doing it. I had alſo determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to ſet it on fire, for feare leaſt ſome new-come gueſt ſhould haue enioyed and poſſeſſed it. In the meane while there was none of vs to whom it was not an extreme griefe to leaue a countrey, wherein wee had endured ſo great trauailes and neceſſities, to diſcouer that which we muſt forſake through our owne countreymens default. For if wee had bene ſuccoured in time & place, & according to the promiſe that was made vnto vs, the warre which was between vs and Vtina, had not fallen out, neither ſhould wee haue had occaſion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aſwell with merchandiſe and apparel, as with promiſe of greater matters, and with whom I ſo behaued my ſelf, that although ſometimes I was conſtrained to take victuals in ſome few villages, yet I loſt not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually ſuccoured and ayded me with whatſoeuer they were able to afford. Yea this was the principall ſcope of all my purpoſes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might aduance our enterpriſe, and principally while I diſcouered the commodities of the countrey, and ſought to ſtrengthen my ſelfe therein. I leaue it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leaue a place abounding in riches (as we were thoroughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing ſeruice vnto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wiues, children, parents, and friends, and paſſed the perils of the ſea, and were therein arriued, as in a plentifull treaſure of all our hearts deſire. As ech of vs were much tormented in minde with theſe or ſuch like cogitations, the third of Auguſt I deſcried foure ſayles in the ſea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I ſent immediately one of them which were with me to aduertiſe thoſe of the Fort thereof, which were ſo glad of thoſe newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to ſee them laugh and leape for ioy. After theſe ſhips had caſt anker, we deſcried that they ſent one of their ſhip boates to land: whereupon I cauſed one of mine to be armed with diligence, to ſend to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while, fearing leſt they were Spaniards, I ſet my ſouldiers in order and in readineſſe, attending the returne of

Prayer and thanks vnto God for their deliuerance.

The village Sarauahi.

The village Emoloa.

The riuer of Iracana called by Ribault yͤ riuer of Somme.

Courteſie and liberalitie the beſt meanes to deale with the ſauages.

Moſt artificiall mattes.

The beating downe of the houſes without the fort, & the Paliſade.

The cauſe why the French loſt Florida.

Eight kings Laudonniers friends and allies.

The principall ſcope of planters in ſtrange countreys.

Florida a rich countrey.

Aug. 1565.

Captaine

M. Iohn Hawkins yͤ Engliſh Generall.

Sheepe and poultrie caried into Florida.

An aduantage wiſely taken.

The French miſtruſted that the Engliſhmen would plant in Florida.

Siluer found in Florida.

Note.

The great importance of this enterpriſe.

Captaine Vaſſeur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Engliſhmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whoſe name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their ſeruice, which on the behalfe of Maſter Iohn Hawkins their Generall came to requeſt mee that I would ſuffer them to take freſh water, whereof they ſtood in great neede, ſignifying vnto me that they had bene aboue fifteene dayes on the coaſt to get ſome. Hee brought vnto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreſhed me, foraſmuch as for ſeuen moneths ſpace I neuer taſted a drop of wine: neuertheleſſe it was all diuided among the greateſt part of my ſouldiers. This Martine Atinas had guided the Engliſhmen vnto our coaſt, where with he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall ſent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his requeſt, hee ſignified the ſame vnto the Generall, which the next day following cauſed one of his ſmall ſhippes to enter into the riuer, and came to ſee me in a great ſhipboate, accompanied with gentlemen honourably apparelled, yet vnarmed. He ſent for great ſtore of bread and wine, to diſtribute thereof to euery one: On my part I made him the beſt cheere I could poſſibly, and cauſed certaine ſheepe and poultry to be killed, which vntill this preſent I had carefully preſerued hoping to ſtore the countrey withall. For notwithſtanding all the neceſſities and ſickneſſe that happened vnto me, I would not ſuffer ſo much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a ſhort time I had gathered together aboue an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes paſſed, while the Engliſh General remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to ſee him, and aſked me whether he were my brother: I tolde them he was ſo, and ſignified vnto them, that he was come to ſee me and ayde me with ſo great ſtore of victuals, that from thence forward I ſhould haue no neede to take any thing of them. The bruite hereof incontinently was ſpread ouer ouer all the countrey, in ſuch ſort as Ambaſſadours came vnto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their maſters deſired to make alliance with me: and euen they, which before ſought to make warre againſt me, came to offer their friendſhip and ſeruice vnto me: Whereupon I receiued them and gratified them with certaine preſents. The General immediatly vnderſtood the deſire & vrgent occaſion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to tranſport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithſtanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occaſion he made ſo large an offer. For I knewe not how the caſe ſtood betweene the French and the Engliſh: and although hee promiſed me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I ſtood in doubt leaſt he would attempt ſomewhat in Florida in the name of his miſtreſſe. Wherefore I flatly refuſed his offer: whereupon there aroſe a great mutinie among my ſouldiers, which ſayd that I ſought to deſtroy them all, and that the Brigandine, whereof I ſpake before, was not ſufficient to tranſport them, conſidering the ſeaſon of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increaſed more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ſhips, he told certaine gentlemen and ſouldiers which went to ſee him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I ſay vnto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we ſhould be able to paſſe ſafely in thoſe veſſels which we had: and that in caſe we ſhould enterpriſe the ſame, we ſhould no doubt be in great ieopardy: notwithſtanding, if I were ſo contented, he would tranſport part of my men in his ſhips, and that he would leaue me a ſmall ſhip to tranſport the reſt. The ſouldiers were no ſooner come home, but they ſignified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently conſented together that in caſe I would not accept the ſame, they would embarke themſelues with him and forſake mee, ſo that he would receiue them according to his promiſe. They therefore aſſembled themſelues all together and came to ſeeke me in my chamber, and ſignified vnto me their intention, whereunto I promiſed to anſwere within one houre after. In which meane ſpace I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, anſwered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuſe this offer, nor contemne the occaſion which preſented it ſelfe, and that they could not thinke euill of it in France, if being forſaken, as we were, we aided our ſelues with ſuch means as God had ſent vs. After ſundry debatings of this matter, in concluſion I gaue mine aduiſe, that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ſhip which he was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the beſt of my ſtuffe, and the ſiluer which I had gathered in the countrey. Wherupon notwithſtanding it was determined that I ſhould keepe the ſiluer, for feare leſt the Queene of England ſeeing the ſame, ſhould the rather bee encouraged to ſet footing there, as before ſhe had deſired: that it was far better to carie it into France to giue encouragement vnto our Princes not to leaue off an enterpriſe of ſo great importance for our common wealth, and that ſeeing wee were reſolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwiſe we ſhould be conſtrained to leaue behind vs, or to hide it in the ground by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of our men, being not able to embarke the ſame. This point being thus concluded and reſolued on, I went my ſelfe vnto the Engliſh Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vaſſeur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in ſuch affaires and knowing ſufficiently how to driue ſuch a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ſhip which the Generall would ſell, whom we drew to ſuch reaſon, that he was content to ſtand to mine owne mens iudgement, who eſteemed it to be worth ſeuen hundreth crowns, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earneſt of the ſumme, two baſtards, two mynions, one thouſand of iron, & one thouſand of powder. This bargaine thus made, he conſidered the neceſſity wherin we were, hauing for all our ſuſtenance but mill and water: whereupon being moued with pitie, he offred to relieue me with 20 barels of meale, ſixe pipes of beanes, one hogſhead of ſalt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreouer foraſmuch as he ſawe my ſouldiers goe barefoote, hee offred me beſides fifty paires of ſhoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of mine hand for the ſame, for which vntill this preſent I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he beſtowed vpon my ſelfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of vineger, a barell of Oliues, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barell of white Biſcuit. Beſides he gaue diuers preſents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: ſo that I may ſay that we receiued as many courteſies of the Generall, as it was poſſible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtleſſe he hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deſeruing to be eſteemed aſmuch of vs all as if he had ſaued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure I ſpared no paine to haſten my men to make biſcuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caſke to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we vſed, in reſpect of the great deſire we had to depart, wherein we continued ſo well, that the fifteenth day of Auguſt the biſcuit, the greateſt part of our water, & all the ſouldiers ſtuffe was brought aboord: ſo that from that day forward wee did nothing but ſtay for good windes to driue vs into France: which had freed vs from an infinite number of miſchiefes which afterward wee ſuffred, if they had come as we deſired: but it was not Gods good pleaſure, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Being thus in a readineſſe to ſet ſayle, we bethought our ſelues that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the end that if this voyage ſhould be taken in hand againe they might declare vnto their Kings the greatneſſe of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodneſſe of our Countrey, and the maner of liuing of the Frenchmen: and that they might alſo learne our language, to ſerue our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke ſo good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodlieſt perſons of all the countrey, if our intentions had ſucceeded as I hoped they would haue done. In the meane ſeaſon the Kings my neighbours came often to ſee and viſite me: which, after that they vnderſtood that I would returne into France, demanded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it ſhould be in ſhort time. I ſignified vnto them that within tenne Moones (ſo they call their Moneths) I would viſite them againe with ſuch force, that I would be able to make them Conquerours ouer all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leaue them my houſe, that I would forbid my ſouldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodgings, and that I would leaue them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre againſt their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant vnto them, to the end I might alwaies remaine their friend vntill my laſt departure.

The great humanity and bounty of Maſter Iohn Hawkins to the French.

The departure of the Engliſh Generall.

Auguſt 15.

The Floridians meaſure their moneths by the reuolutions of the Moone.

The third voyage of the Frenchmen made by Captaine *Iohn Ribault* vnto *Florida*.

AS I was thus occupied in theſe conferences, the winde and the tide ſerued well to ſet ſayle, which was the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, at which inſtant Captaine Vaſſeur which commanded in one of my ſhippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to deſcry certaine ſayles at ſea, whereof they aduertiſed mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe to diſcrie and know what they were. I ſent alſo to the Centinels, which I cauſed to be kept on a little knappe, to cauſe certaine men to climbe vp to the toppe of the higheſt trees the better to diſcouer them. They deſcried the great boate of the ſhippes, which as yet they could not perfectly diſcerne, which as farre as they could iudge, ſeemed to chaſe my boate, which by this time was paſſed the barre of the riuer: ſo that we could not poſſibly iudge whether they were enemies which would haue caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to iudge the trueth thereof. Upon this doubt I put my men in order and in ſuch

The arriual of Captaine Iohn Ribault at the Fort the 28 of Auguſt 1565.

Note.

ſuch array as though they had beene enemies: and indeede I had great occaſion to miſtruſt the ſame: for my boate came vnto their ſhip about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and ſent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they ſhould be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I ſaw ſeuen boates (among which mine owne was one) full of ſouldiers enter into the riuer, hauing euery man his harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of anſwere, notwithſtanding all the demandes that were made vnto them, inſomuch as one of my ſouldiers was conſtrained to beſtowe a ſhot at them without doing hurt neuertheleſſe to any of them, by reaſon of the diſtance between him and the boates. The report hereof being made vnto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend our ſelues, if they had bene enemies, as in trueth wee thought them to haue bene: likewiſe I cauſed the two ſmall field-pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in ſuch ſort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to haue diſcharged the ſame vpon them.

False reports of Laudonniere to the Admirall of France.

Afterward I vnderſtood that the cauſe why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the falſe reports which had bene made vnto my Lord Admirall by thoſe which were returned into France in the firſt ſhippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly ſuffer that any other ſaue my ſelfe ſhould enter in thither to gouerne there. Thus we ſee how the good name of the moſt honeſt is oftentimes aſſayled by ſuch, as hauing no meanes to win themſelues credit by vertuous and laudable endeuours, thinke by debaſing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neuertheleſſe is one of the moſt notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in gouernment.

The danger of backbiting.

For it is very hard, yea vtterly vnpoſſible, that in gouerning of a company of men gathered out of diuers places and ſundry Nations, and namely ſuch as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I ſay, vnpoſſible, but there will be alwayes ſome of euill conditions and hard to be ruled, which eaſily conceiue an hatred againſt him, which by admonitions and light corrections endeuoureth to reduce them to the diſcipline of warre. For they ſeeke nothing elſe, but for a ſmall occaſion grounded vpon a light pretext to ſound into the eares of great Lords that which miſchieuouſly they haue contriued againſt thoſe, whoſe execution of iuſtice is odious vnto them. And albeit I will not place my ſelfe in the ranke of great and renowmed Captaines, ſuch as liued in times paſſed, yet we may iudge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters haue beene vnto commonwealths.

Alcibiades baniſhed by backbiters.

I will onely take Alcibiades for witneſſe in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was caſt into baniſhment, whereupon his citizens felt the ſmart of an infinite number of miſchiefes: inſomuch as in the end they were conſtrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good ſeruices, and rather beleeuing a falſe report, then hauing had regard vnto ſo many notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieued. But that I looſe not my ſelfe in digreſſing ſo farre in this my iuſtification, I will returne againe to my firſt courſe.

Laudonnieres receiuing of Captaine Ribault.

Being therfore aduertiſed that it was Captaine Ribault, I went foorth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any meanes, I cauſed him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my ſhot, whereunto he anſwered with his. Afterward being come on ſhore and receiued honourably with ioy, I brought him to my lodging, reioycing not a little becauſe that in this company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the beſt ſorte that I was able, with ſuch victuals as I could get in the countrey, and that ſmall ſtore which I had left me, with that which I had of the Engliſh General. Howbeit I marueiled not a little when as all of them with one voice began to vtter vnto me theſe or the like ſpeeches. My Captaine, we praiſe God that we haue found you aliue, and chiefly becauſe we know, that the reports which haue bene made of you, are falſe. Theſe ſpeeches mooued me in ſuch ſort, that I would needes out of hand know more, miſtruſting ſome euill. Wherefore hauing accoſted Captaine Iohn Ribault, & going both of vs aſide together out of the Fort, he ſignified vnto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to ſtay with him my ſelfe and my company, and aſſured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replyed that out of this place I would do him all ſeruice: that for the preſent I could not nor ought not accept this offer, ſince he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before poſſeſſed, that I could haue no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would neuer like of it, and that he would hardly giue me that counſaile, if in good earneſt I ſhould demand his aduiſe therin. He made me anſwere, that he would not command me, that we ſhould be companions, & that he would build another fortreſſe, & that he would leaue mine owne vnto me. This notwithſtanding I fully aduertiſed him that I could not receiue a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France:

and farther that though I ſhould ſtay there, yet it muſt needes be that one of vs both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather haue it caſt in my teeth to be the poreſt begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured ſo much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by ſome great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in theſe reſpects I prayed him very hartily to deliuer me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written vnto me, which he performed.

The contents of thoſe letters were theſe.

Letters of the Lord Admirall vnto Laudonniere.

CAptaine *Laudonniere*, becauſe ſome of them which are returned from *Florida* ſpeake indifferently of the Countrey, the King deſireth your preſence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may reſolue to beſtow great coſt thereon, or wholly to leaue it: and therfore I ſend Captaine *Iohn Ribault* to bee gouernour there, to whom you ſhall deliuer whatſoeuer you haue in charge, and informe him of all things you haue diſcouered. And in a poſtſcript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I ſend for you, it is for any euill opinion or miſtruſt that I haue of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and aſſure your ſelfe that during my life you ſhall find me your good Maſter.

CHASTILLON.

Accuſations againſt him.

Laudonnieres anſwere thereunto.

Now after I had long diſcourſed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accoſted mee,
and told me of an infinite number of falſe reports which had bene made of mee to my great hinderance:
and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very euill that 1.
I had caried a woman with mee: likewiſe that ſome bodie had tolde him that I went about to 2.
counterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too cruell vnto the men that went with 3. 4.
mee: that I ſought to be aduanced by other meanes then by my Lord Admirall: and that I had 5.
written to many Lords of the Court, which I ought not to haue done. Whereunto I anſwered,
that the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken vp in an Inne, to ouerſee my 1.
houſhold buſineſſe, to looke to an infinite ſort of diuers beaſts, as ſheepe and poultrie which I
caried ouer with me to ſtore the countrey withall: that it was not meete to put a man to attend
this buſineſſe: likewiſe, conſidering the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee thought
it ſhould not offend any body to take a woman with me, aſwell to help my ſouldiers in their ſickeneſſes,
as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how neceſſary her ſeruice was for vs,
ech one at that time might eaſily perceiue: That all my men thought ſo well of her, that at one
inſtant there were ſixe or ſeuen which did demand her of me in mariage; as in very deede one of
them had her after our returne. Touching that which was ſayd that I playd the King, theſe reports 2.
were made, becauſe I would not beare with any thing which was againſt the duety of my
charge, and the Kings ſeruice. Moreouer, that in ſuch enterpriſes it is neceſſary for a Gouernour
to make himſelfe knowen and obeyed, for feare leaſt euery body would become a maſter, perceiuing
themſelues far from greater forces. And that if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather 3.
proceeded of their diſobedience, then of my nature leſſe ſubiect to cruelty then they were to rebellion.
For the two laſt points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the 4.
aduice & commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to ſend part of
ſuch things as I ſhould find in the countrey vnto the Lords of the Counſel: to the end that being
mooued by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this enterpriſe:
that hauing bene ſo ſmall time in the countrey, continually hindred with building of
fortreſſes, and vnlading of my ſhips, I was not able to come by any newe or rare things to ſend
them, whereupon I thought it beſt to content them in the meane while with letters, vntill ſuch
time as I might haue longer ſpace to ſearch out the Countrey, and might recouer ſomething to
ſende them: the diſtribution of which letters I meant not otherwiſe but to referre to my Lord
Admirals good pleaſure: that if the bearer had forgot himſelfe ſo farre, as that he had broken the
couering of the letters, and preſented them himſelfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement.
And that I neuer honoured noble man ſo much, nor did to any man more willing and faithfull 5.
ſeruice then to my Lord Admirall, nor euer ſought aduancement but by his meanes. You ſee
how things paſſed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what
people theſe were: to whom I ſignified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arriued in this
countrey, and erected the pillar which ſtood at the entrie of the riuer. Some of them knew him:
for in trueth he was eaſie to be knowen by reaſon of the great bearde which he ware. He receiued
many preſents of them which were of the villages neere adioyning, among whom there were
ſome

ſome that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Caſti came to viſit him and welcome him with diuers gifts according to their manner. I aduertiſed them that hee was ſent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was ſent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might ſtand with his good pleaſure, to cauſe the merchandiſe that hee had brought with him to be deliuered them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they had promiſed to conduct me, and that in caſe they performed not their promiſe, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In thoſe mountaines, as they ſayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to ſay as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very inſtant I ſhewed to Captaine Ribault, which cauſed his gold-finer to make an aſſay thereof, which reported vnto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of theſe conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the falſe reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault cauſed his victuals to be brought on ſhore, and beſtowed the moſt part thereof in the houſe which my Lieutenant had built about two hundred paſes without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewiſe to the intent that the meale might bee nerer to the bake-houſe, which I had built of purpoſe in that place, the better to auoide the danger of the fire, as I ſayd before. But loe howe oftentimes miſfortune doth ſearch and purſue vs, euen then when we thinke to be at reſt! loe ſee what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought vp three of his ſmall ſhips into the riuer, which was the fourth of September! Sixe great Spaniſh ſhips arriued in the rode, where four of our greateſt ſhips remained, which caſt anker, aſſuring our men of good amity. They aſked how the chiefe captaines of the enterpriſe did, & called them all by their names and ſurnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwiſe but theſe men before they went out of Spaine muſt needs be informed of the enterpriſe & of thoſe that were to execute the ſame. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which truſted them neuer a deale, had hoyſed their ſayles by night, being ready to cut the ſtrings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiuing that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleaſure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too ſmal to make head againſt them, becauſe that the moſt part of their men were on ſhore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and ſet ſaile. The Spaniards ſeeing themſelues diſcouered, ſent them certaine volleis of their great ordinance, made ſaile after them, and chaſed them all day long: but our men got way of them ſtill toward the ſea. And the Spaniards ſeeing they could not reach them, by reaſon that the French ſhips were better of ſaile then theirs, and alſo becauſe they would not leaue the coaſt, turned backe and went on ſhore in the riuer Seloy, which we cal the riuer of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues diſtant from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themſelues better of ſaile then they, followed them to deſcry what they did, which after they had done, they returned vnto the riuer of May, where captaine Ribault hauing deſcried them, embarked himſelfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the riuer he met with the boat of captaine Couſets ſhip, wherin there was a good number of men which made relation vnto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ſhip named the Trinitie had kept the ſea, and that ſhe was not returned with them. They told him moreouer that they had ſeen three Spaniſh ſhips enter into the riuer of Dolphins, & the other three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their ſouldiers, their victuals & munition on land. After he vnderſtood theſe newes hee returned to the fortreſſe, and came to my chamber where I was ſick, and there in the preſence of the captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Viſty, Yonuille, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was neceſſary for the kings ſeruice, to embarke himſelfe with all his forces, and with the three ſhips that were in the rode to ſeeke the Spaniſh fleete, whereupon he aſked our aduiſe. I firſt replyed, and ſhewed vnto him the conſequence of ſuch an enterpriſe, aduertiſing him among other things of the perilous flawes of windes that riſe on this coaſt, and that if it chanced that hee were driuen from the ſhore, it would be very hard for him to recouer it againe, that in the meane while they which ſhould ſtay in the Forte ſhould be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared vnto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any ſuch enterpriſe in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, & do their beſt indeuour to fortifie themſelues: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ſhip) were returned, there would be much more likelyhood to enterpriſe this voyage. This notwithſtanding he reſolued to vndertake it, and that which more is, after he vnderſtoode by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arriued vpon the handling of theſe matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on ſhore, which had

taken

Fiue Indian kings.

The moūtans of Apalatcy wherein are mines of perfect gold. Sieroa Pira red mettall.

Perfect gold.

Good meanes to auoid the danger of fire.

September 4.

The Spaniards vndermining and ſurpriſing of the French.

The riuer Seloy or the riuer of Dolphins but 8 or 10 leagues ouer land from the fort: but it is thirty doubling the Cape by ſea.

Dangerous flawes of wind on the coaſt of Florida in September.

King Emola.

taken poſſeſſion of the houſes of Seloy, in the moſt part whereof they had placed their Negros, which they had brought to labour, and alſo lodged themſelues and had caſt diuers trenches about them. Thus for the conſiderations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would encampe themſelues there to moleſt vs, and in the ende to chaſe vs out of the Countrey, he reſolued and continued in his embarkment, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that all ſouldiers that were vnder his charge ſhould preſently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two enſignes ſhould march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieutenant, mine enſigne, and my ſergeant, and to let all my good ſouldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, becauſe my ſelfe being ſicke, there was no man to ſtay in the fort. Thereupon he anſwered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane ſpace Monſieur de Lys ſhould ſtay behind to looke to all things. Then I ſhewed vnto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good aduiſement what hee did, for feare leaſt ſome inconuenience might enſue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no leſſe, then to continue this enterpriſe, and that in the letter which he had receiued from my Lord Admirall, there was a poſtſcript, which hee ſhewed mee written in theſe wordes: Captaine *Iohn Ribault*, as I was encloſing vp this letter, I receiued a certaine aduice, that *Don Pedro Melendes* departeth from *Spaine* to goe to the coaſt of *Newe France*: ſee you that you ſuffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more then he would that you ſhould encroch vpon him. You ſee (quoth he) the charge that I haue, and I leaue it vnto your ſelfe to iudge, if you could do any leſſe in this caſe, conſidering the certaine aduertiſement that we haue, that they are already on lande, and will inuade vs. This ſtopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obſtinate in this enterpriſe, and hauing regard rather vnto his particular opinion then vnto the aduertiſments which I had giuen him, and the inconueniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himſelfe the eight of September, and tooke nine enſigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to thoſe that know what warres meane, if when an enſigne marcheth, any ſouldier that hath any courage in him will ſtay behind, to forſake his enſigne: Thus no man of commandement ſtayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whoſe name ſtraight after his arriuall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterpriſe, was vnto the tenth of the moneth with mee, and would not haue gone aborde, if it had not beene for the inſtant requeſtes that Captaine Ribault made vnto him, which ſtaid two dayes in the rode attending vntill La Grange was come vnto him: Who being come abord, they ſet ſayle altogether, and from that time forward I neuer ſaw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there roſe ſo great a tempeſt accompanied with ſuch ſtormes, that the Indians themſelues aſſured me that it was the worſt weather that euer was ſeene on the coaſt: whereupon two or three dayes after, fearing leaſt our ſhips might be in ſome diſtreſſe, I ſent for Monſieur du Lys vnto mee, to take order to aſſemble the reſt of our people to declare vnto them what neede wee had to fortifie our ſelues: which was done accordingly: and then I gaue them to vnderſtand the neceſſity and inconueniences whereinto we were like to fall, aſwel by the abſence of our ſhips, as by the neereneſſe of the Spanyards, at whoſe hands we could looke for no leſſe then an open and ſufficient proclamed war, ſeeing they had taken land and fortified themſelues ſo neere vnto vs. And if any miſfortune were fallen vnto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with our ſelues that wee were to endure many great miſeries, being in ſo ſmall number, and ſo many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus euery one promiſed mee to take paines: and therefore conſidering that their proportion of victuals was ſmall, and that ſo continuing, they would not bee able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arriuall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted vnto mee as vnto a common ſouldier, neither was I able to giue ſo much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deſerued it: for I was ſo farre from hauing meanes to doe ſo, that the Captaine himſelfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the reſt of the meale was, which was left me of the biſcuits which I cauſed to bee made to returne into France: ſo that if I ſhoulde ſay that I receiued more fauour at the handes of the Engliſhmen beeing Strangers vnto mee, I ſhoulde ſay but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our ſelues and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water ſide, where I cauſed threeſcore foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Paliſſado with the plankes which I cauſed to bee taken of the Shippe which I had builded. Neuertheleſſe notwithſtanding all our diligence and trauaile, wee were neuer able fully to repaire it by reaſon of the ſtormes, which commonly did vs ſo great annoy, that wee could not finiſh our incloſure. Perceiuing my ſelfe in ſuch extremitie

A village and riuer both of that name.

An aduertiſment of my Lord Admiral to Captaine Ribault.

Captaine Ribaults embarkment Sept. 8.

The tenth of September.

A mighty tempeſt the tenth of Sept.

Laudonniere hardly vſed by Ribault.

Laudonniere and his company begin to fortifie themſelues.

A muſter of the men left in the fort by Ribault.

Foureſcore and fiue left in the fort with Laudonniere.

The Spanyards diſcryed the 20 of September.

The Spanyards enter the fort.

Francis Iean a traitour to his nation.

Don Pedro Melendes captaine of the Spanyards.

Laudonniers eſcape.

I tooke a muſter of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to ſee if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or ten of them whereof not paſt two or three had euer drawen ſword out of a ſcabbard, as I thinke. Let them which haue bene bold to ſay, that I had men ynough left me, ſo that I had meanes to defend my ſelfe, giue eare a little now vnto mee, and if they haue eyes in their heads, let them ſee what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong ſtriplings, which ſerued Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among thoſe that were without the fort, and which were of the foreſaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threeſcore yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Croſſe-bow maker, two Shoomakers, and foure or fiue men that had their wiues, a player on the Virginals, two ſeruants of Monſieur du Lys, one of Monſieur de Beauhaire, one of Monſieur de la Grange, and about foureſcore and fiue or ſixe in all, counting aſwel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe ſo ſufficient to defend themſelues, and ſo couragious as they haue eſteemed them to be: and for my part I leaue it to others conſideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde haue left them with me to haue borrowed my men, if they had bene ſuch. Thoſe that were left me of mine owne company were about ſixteene or ſeuenteene that coulde beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the reſt were ſicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had againſt Vtina. This view being thus taken, wee ſet our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the ſouldiers might haue one night free. Then wee bethought our ſelues of thoſe which might bee moſt ſufficient, among whome wee choſe two, one of whom was named Monſieur Saint Cler, and the other Monſieur de la Vigne, to whom we deliuered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch, becauſe of the foule and foggie weather. I deliuered them alſo a ſandglaſſe or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceaſed not, for all the foule weather nor my ſickneſſe which I had, to ouerſee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he vſed all endeuour, although it rayned without ceaſing. When the day was therefore come, and that hee ſaw that it rayned ſtill worſe then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels ſo too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes woulde not haue come in ſuch a ſtrange time, hee let them depart, and to ſay the trueth, hee went himſelfe vnto his lodging. In the meane while one which had ſomething to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went vp vnto the rampart perceiued a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter alſo: Which aſſoone as euer I vnderſtoode, forthwith I iſſued out, with my target and ſword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middeſt of the Court, where I beganne to crie vpon my ſouldiers. Some of them which were of the forward ſort went toward the breach, which was on the Southſide, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulſed and ſlaine. By the ſelfe ſame place two enſignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other enſignes alſo entred on the other ſide toward the Weſt, where there was another breach: and thoſe which were lodged in this quarter, & which ſhewed themſelues, were likewiſe defeated. As I went to ſuccour them which were defending the breach on the ſouthweſt ſide, I encountred by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulſed our men and were now entred, which draue me backe vnto the court of the fort: being there I eſpied with them one called Francis Iean, which was one of the Mariners which ſtole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spanyards thither. Aſſoone as he ſawe me, he began to ſay, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whoſe name, as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: theſe made certain puſhes at me with their pikes which lighted on my target. But perceiuing that I was not able to withſtand ſo great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their enſignes planted on the ramparts, & that I had neuer a man about me, ſauing one only whoſe name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was ſet vp, I had bin taken: but the Spanyards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I ſaued my ſelfe by the breach which was on the Weſt ſide neere vnto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were eſcaped, of which number there were three or foure which were ſore hurt. Then ſpake I thus vnto them: Sirs, ſince it hath pleaſed God that this miſchance is happened vnto vs, we muſt needs take the paines to get ouer the marſhes vnto the ſhips which are at the mouth of the riuer. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the reſt followed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reaſon of my ſickneſſe which I had, I ſent two of my men which were with me, which could ſwim well, vnto the ſhips, to aduertiſe them of that which had happened, and to ſend them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get vnto the ſhips to certifie them thereof: ſo I was conſtrained to ſtand in the water vp to the ſhoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would neuer forſake me. The next day morning, being ſcarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the ſouldier which was with mee, whoſe name was Iohn du Chemin: for I felt my ſelfe ſo feeble, that I was afraid I ſhould die ſuddenly: and in truth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and ſo held me vp, it had not bene poſſible to ſaue me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my iudgement was one of theirs which I had ſent, which were ouer againſt the ſhips and called for the ſhip boat, which was ſo in deed: and becauſe thoſe of the ſhips had vnderſtanding of the taking of the fort by one called Iohn de Hais, maſter Carpenter, which fled vnto them in a ſhallop, they had ſet ſaile to run along the coaſt to ſee if they might ſaue any: wherin doubtleſſe they did very well their endeuour. They went ſtraight to the place where the two men were which I had ſent, and which called them. Aſſoone as they had receiued them in and vnderſtood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull caſe. Fiue or ſixe of them tooke me and caried me into the ſhallop: for I was not able by any means to go one foot. After I was brought into the ſhallop ſome of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would haue caried me preſently to their ſhips to giue me a little Aqua vitæ. Howbeit I would not goe thither, vntill I had firſt gone with the boat along the reeds, to ſeeke out the poore ſoules which were ſcattered abroad, where we gathered vp 18 or 20 of them. The laſt that I took in was the nephew of the Treaſurer le Beau. After we were al come to the ſhips, I comforted them as well as I could, and ſent back the boat againe with ſpeed to ſee if they could find yet any more. Vpon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine Iames Ribault which was in his ſhip about two muſkets ſhot diſtant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Iean came vnto his ſhip, where hee ſtaied a long ſpace, whereat they greatly marueiled, conſidering hee was the cauſe of this enterpriſe, how hee would let him eſcape. After I was come into the ſhip called the Greyhound, captaine Iames Ribault & captaine Valuot came to ſee me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now foraſmuch as I found the ſhip vnfurniſhed of Captaine, Pilot, Maſter, and Maſters-mate, I gaue aduice to chooſe out one of the moſt able men among al the mariners, & that by their owne voices. I tooke alſo ſixe men out of another ſmall ſhip, which we had ſunke becauſe it wanted ballaſt and could not be ſaued. Thus I increaſed the furniture of the ſhip wherein I was my ſelfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Maſters-mate in the foreſaid ſmall ſhip, Maſter of mine. And becauſe I lacked a pilot, I prayed Iames Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ſhip, which I ſhould name vnto him, to ſerue me for a Pilot: he promiſed to giue me them, which neuertheleſſe he did not at the inſtant when wee were ready to depart, notwithſtanding all the ſpeech I vſed to him, in declaring that it was for the kings ſeruice. I was conſtrained to leaue the ſhip behind me which I had bought of the Engliſh Captaine, becauſe I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine Iames Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordnance onely, which was all diſmounted, whereof I gaue nine pieces to Iames Ribault to carrie into France, the other fiue I put into my ſhip. The 25 of September wee ſet ſailes to returne into France, and Captaine Iames Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next vntill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but becauſe his ſhip was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left vs the ſame day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marueilous flawes of wind. And about the eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we diſcried the Iſle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly vpon our approching to the land we had a mightie guſt of wind which came from the Northeaſt, which cauſed vs to beare againſt it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeaſt, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our paſſage we had none other foode ſauing biſcuit and water. About the tenth or eleuenth of Nouember, after we had ſailed a long time, and ſuppoſing we were not farre from land, I cauſed my men to ſound, where they found threeſcore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all reioyced, and praiſed God becauſe we had ſailed ſo proſperouſly. Immediatly after I cauſed them to ſet ſaile again and ſo we continued our way: but foraſmuch as we had borne too much toward the Northeaſt we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and where as many ſhips are caſt away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We ſailed all the night, ſuppoſing wee had bene ſhot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceiued of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked vpon the hatches, I diſcried land round about me, whereat wee were aſtonied. Immediatly I cauſed them to ſtrike ſaile and ſound: we found we had not vnder vs paſt 8 fathoms of water, whereupon

Iohn du Chemin a faithfull ſeruant.

The diligence of the Mariners to ſaue them that eſcaped out of the fort.

Among theſe was Iaques Morgues painter ſometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London.

Francis Iean cauſe of this enterpriſe.

The bad dealing of Iames Ribault.

Our returne into France the 25. of September 1565.

October 28.

Nouember 10

The chanel of Saint George.

I commanded them to ſtay till breake of day: which being come, and ſeeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approch vnto it. Being neere thereunto I made them caſt anker, & ſent the boat on ſhore to vnderſtand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a prouince of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a ſickeneſſe tooke mee whereof I thought I ſhould haue dyed. In the meane while I cauſed the ſhip to be brought into the bay of a ſmall towne called Swanſey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my ſelfe and part of my company that was with me: and becauſe there were no victuals in the ſhip, I bought two Oxen, and ſalted them, and a tunne of Beere, which I deliuered into his hands which had charge of the ſhip, praying him to cary it into France, which he promiſed me to doe: for mine owne part I purpoſed with my men to paſſe by land, and after I had taken leaue of my Mariners, I departed from Swanſey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, vnderſtanding what I was, ſtayed me with him for the ſpace of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure moued with pitie to ſee me goe on foot, eſpecially being ſo weake as I was, gaue me a litle Hackny. Thus I paſſed on my iourney firſt to Briſtoll, & then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monſieur de Foix, which for the preſent was the kings Ambaſſador, and holpe me with mony in my neceſſitie. From thence I paſſed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to ſoiourne there: incontinently, & with all the haſt I could poſſibly make, I gate me thither with part of my cōpany. Thus briefly you ſee the diſcourſe of all that happened in New France ſince the time it pleaſed the kings Maieſty to ſend his ſubiects thither to diſcouer thoſe parts. The indifferent and vnpaſſionate readers may eaſily weigh the truth of my doings, and be vpright iudges of the endeuor which I there vſed. For mine owne part I wil not accuſe nor excuſe any: it ſufficeth mee to haue followed the truth of the hiſtory, whereof many are able to beare witneſſe, which were there preſent. I will plainly ſay one thing, That the long delay that Captaine *Iohn Ribault* vſed in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he ſpent in rouing along the coaſt of *Florida*, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cauſe of the loſſe that we ſuſteined. For he diſcouered the coaſt the 14 of Auguſt, and ſpent the time in going from riuer to riuer, which had bene ſufficient for him to haue diſcharged his ſhips in, and for me to haue embarked my ſelfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was vpon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he ſhould haue had more regard vnto his charge, then to the deuiſes of his owne braine, which ſometimes hee printed in his head ſo deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which alſo turned to his vtter vndoing: for hee was no ſooner departed from vs, but a tempeſt tooke him, which in fine wrackt him vpon the coaſt, where all his ſhippes were caſt away, and he with much adoe eſcaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly maſſacred him and all his company.

Laudonniers arriuall in Swanſey Bay in Glamorgan ſhire in South-Wales.

The curteſie of one Maſter Morgan.

Briſtoll. London. Monſieur de Foix Ambaſſadour for the French king in England. The concluſion.

The cauſes why the French loſt Florida.

The French Fleete caſt away on the coaſt of Florida.

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into *Florida*, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Gourgues*, in the yeere, 1567.

Captaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere vnto Bourdeaux incited with a deſire of reuenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borowed of his friends and ſold part of his owne goods to ſet forth and furniſh three ſhips of indifferent burthen with all things neceſſary, hauing in them an hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, and foureſcore choſen Mariners vnder Captaine Cazenoue his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Maſter ouer the Mariners. He ſet forth the 22 of Auguſt 1567. And hauing endured contrary winds and ſtormes for a ſeaſon, at length hee arriued and went on ſhore in the Iſle of Cuba. From thence he paſſed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues diſtant from Florida, where the captaine diſcloſed vnto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leaue him being ſo neere the enemie, ſo well furniſhed, and in ſuch a cauſe: which they all ſware vnto him, and that with ſuch courage that they would not ſtay the full Moone to paſſe the chanell of Bahama, but ſpeedily diſcouered Florida, where the Spanyards ſaluted them with two Canon ſhot from their fort, ſuppoſing that they had beene of their nation, and Gourgues ſaluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour, that hee might ſurpriſe them at more aduantage, yet ſailing by them, & making as though he went to ſome other place vntil he had ſailed out of ſight of the place, ſo that about euening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the Riuer Tacatacouru, which the Frenchmen called Seine, becauſe they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiuing the ſhore to bee couered with Sauages

The chanell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Iſles of Lucayos.

The Frenchmens landing at the Riuer Tacatacouru.

with their bowes and arrowes, (beſides the ſigne of peace and amitie which he made them from his ſhips) he ſent his Trumpetter, to aſſure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his meſſage ſo well (by reaſon he had bene there before vnder Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greateſt of all the other kings, a kidde and other meat to refreſh vs, beſides the offer of his friendſhip and amitie. Afterward they retired danſing in ſigne of ioy, to aduertiſe all the kings Satouriouaes kinſmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane ſpace our generall went about to ſound the chanel of the riuer to bring in his ſhips, and the better to traffike and deale with the Sauages, of whom the chiefe the next day in the morning preſented themſelues, namely the great king Satourioua, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinſmen and allies, with their accuſtomed weapons. Then ſent they to intreate the French general to come on ſhore, which he cauſed his men to do with their ſwords and harquebuſies, which he made them leaue behind them, in token of mutuall aſſurance, leauing his men but their ſwords only, after that the Sauages complaining thereof had left and likewiſe ſent away their weapons at the requeſt of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, cauſed him to ſit on his right hand in a ſeat of wood of lentiſque couered with moſſe made of purpoſe like vnto his owne. Then two of the eldeſt of the company pulled vp the brambles & other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all ſate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to ſpeake, Satourioua preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards ſince their comming into the Countrey and maſſacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall deſire if we would aſſiſt them throughly to reuenge ſo ſhamefull a treaſon, aſwell as their owne particular griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giuing them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine preſents of daggers, kniues, looking glaſſes, hatchets, rings, belles, and ſuch other things, trifles vnto vs, but precious vnto theſe kings: which moreouer, ſeeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a ſhirt of him to weare onely on their feſtiuall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after that they had receiued, and Satourioua had giuen in recompenſe to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of ſiluer graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere ſkinnes dreſſed after their manner, they retired themſelues danſing and very iocond, with promiſe to keep all things ſecret, and to bring vnto the ſayd place good companies of their ſubiects all well armed to be auenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane ſpace Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhauen, which being but a yong ſtripling eſcaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the reſt of the French, & was afterward brought vp with Satourioua, which at that time beſtowed him on our generall, whoſe aduiſe ſtoode him in great ſteade: Whereupon he ſent to diſcouer the fort and the eſtate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had giuen him for this purpoſe and for aſſurance of Eſtampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he ſent to diſcry the ſtate of the enemies. Moreouer he gaue him a ſonne of his ſtarke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loued beſt of all the reſt, of eighteene yeeres olde, apparelled with the moſſe of trees, which for 3 dayes ſpace were in the ſhips, vntil our men returned from diſcrying the ſtate of the enemie, and the kings had furniſhed their preparation at their rende-uous. Their marching being concluded, and the Sauages rende-vous being appointed them beyond the riuer Salinacani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great ſolemnitie their drinke called Caſſine, made of the iuice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath ſuch force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirſt for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he drank thereof for company. Afterward they lift vp their handes and ſware all that they would neuer forſake him. Olotocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the riuer of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reaſon of the raine and places full of water which they muſt needes paſſe, which hindred their paſſage, they were diſtreſſed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their Bark of prouiſion being not arriued, which was to come vnto him from the ſhips, the ouerſight and charge whereof he had left vnto Burdelois with the reſt of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred ſtrong, deuided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified vpon the riuer of May, the great fort eſpecially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them: vpon the moſt dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer towarde the Riuers mouth,

Eight ſauage kings.

The kings ſeate.

Complaints of the Sauages againſt the Spanyards.

Two chaines of ſiluer giuen to Gourgues.

Peter de Bré had liued aboue two yeeres with Satourioua.

Three pledges deliuered to Gourgues by Satourioua.

The riuer of Salinacani, called Somme by the French.

The riuer of Sarauahi.

The eſtate of the Spanyards in Florida.

The riuer of Saracary, or Sarauahi.

The aſſault and taking of the firſt Fort.

The valure of Olotocara.

The aſſault and taking of the ſecond fort.

The Sauages great ſwimmers.

The Spaniards of the ſecond Fort all ſlaine.

Note.

A notable Spaniſh ſubtiltie.

they had made two ſmaller Forts, which were defended, the riuer paſſing betweene them, with ſixe ſcore ſouldiers, good ſtore of artillery and other munition, which they had in the ſame. From Saracary vnto theſe ſmal forts was two leagues ſpace, which he found very painful, becauſe of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the riuer Catacouru with 10. ſhot, to view the firſt fort, and to aſſault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, becauſe of the foule weather, and darkneſſe of the night. King Helicopile ſeeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpoſe there, aſſured him to guide him a more eaſie way, though it were farther about. Inſomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within ſight of the fort, where he diſcerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had ſounded the ſmall riuer that falleth downe thereby, hee ſtayed vntill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might paſſe ouer there, vnto a place where he had ſeene a litle groue between the riuer & the fort (that he might not be ſeene to paſſe and ſet his ſouldiers in array) cauſing them to faſten their flaſks to their Morions, & to hold vp their ſwords and kaliuers in their hands, for feare leaſt the water, which reached vp to their girdles, ſhould not wet them: where they found ſuch abundance of great oyſters, and ſhels which were ſo ſharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others loſt their ſhoes. Notwithſtanding aſſoone as they were paſſed ouer, with a French courage they prepared themſelues to the aſſault on the ſunday eue next after Eaſter day, in Aprill 1568. Inſomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gaue twenty ſhot to his Lieutenant Cazenoue, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate: and then he aſſaulted the Fort on another ſide, after he had made a ſhort ſpeech vnto his men of the ſtrange treaſons which the Spanyards had plaid their companions. But being diſcried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being vpon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, theſe be French men, diſcharged twiſe vpō them a coluerine, wheron the Armes of France were grauen, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moued with rage, lept on the platforme, and thruſt him through the bodie with his pike and ſlew him. Whereupon Gourgues aduanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenoue cry, that the Spaniards which iſſued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and ſo hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threeſcore there eſcaped not a man, ſauing only fifteene reſerued vnto the ſame death which they had put the French vnto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meane while ceaſed not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the aſſailants: although to anſwere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the firſt Fort. Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore ſhot went abord the barke which met him there to good purpoſe to paſſe into the wood neere vnto the Fort, out of which he ſuppoſed the Spanyards would iſſue to ſaue themſelues thorow the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not paſt one league diſtant from yͤ ſame. Afterward the Sauages not ſtaying for the returne of the bark, lept al into the water holding vp their bowes & arrowes in one hand, & ſwimming with the other, ſo that the Spaniards ſeing both yͤ ſhores couered with ſo great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulſed by the Sauages, toward whō they would haue retired, they were ſooner then they would bereft of their liues. To conclude they al there ended their dayes ſauing 15 of thoſe which were reſerued to be executed for the example of others. Wherupon Captaine Gourgues hauing cauſed al that he found in the ſecond fort to be tranſported vnto the firſt, where he ment to ſtrengthen himſelfe to take reſolution againſt the great Fort, the ſtate whereof hee did not vnderſtand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the priſoners aſſured him that they might be there very neere 300 wel furniſhed vnder a braue Gouernor, which had fortified there, attending farther ſuccours. Thus hauing obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and paſſages vnto it, and hauing prepared eight good lathers, and raiſed all the Countrey againſt the Spanyard, that he neither might haue newes, nor ſuccours, nor retract on any ſide, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Gouernour ſent a Spanyard diſguiſed like a Sauage to ſpie out the ſtate of the French. And though he were diſcouered by Olotocara, yet he vſed all the cunning he could poſſibly to perſwade them that he was one of the ſecond fort, out of which hauing eſcaped, and ſeeing none but ſauages on euery ſide, he hoped more in yͤ Frenchmens then their mercy, vnto whom he came to yeeld himſelf diſguiſed like a ſauage, for feare leſt if he ſhould haue bin knowen, he ſhould haue bin maſſacred by thoſe Barbarians: but the ſpie being brought face to face with the ſergeant of the the band, & conuicted to be one of the great fort, was reſerued vntil an other time: after that he had aſſured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and threeſcore Spaniardes which remained in the great fort, were greatly aſtonied. Whereupon Gourgues being reſolued to ſet vpon them, while they were thus amazed, and leauing his Standrad-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene ſhot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the Riuer, he cauſed the Sauages to depart by night to lye in ambuſh within the woods on both ſides of the riuer, then he departed in the Morning, leading the Sergeant and the ſpy faſt bound along with him, to ſhew him that in deede, which they had only made him vnderſtand before in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a reſolute Sauage which neuer left the Captaine, ſaid vnto him, that he had ſerued him faithfully, and done whatſoeuer hee had commaunded him, that he was aſſured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neuertheleſſe he would not faile, though it were to ſaue his life: but he prayed him to giue that vnto his wife, if hee eſcaped not, which he had meant to beſtow on him, that ſhee might bury the ſame with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome vnto the village of the ſoules or ſpirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues anſwered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the loue toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he deſired rather to honour him aliue then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the diſcouerie of the Fort, the Spanyards were no niggards of their Canon ſhotte, nor of two double Coluerines, which being mounted vpon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the Riuer, which made captaine Gorgues to get to the hill couered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forreſt or wood continueth and ſtretcheth foorth beyond it: ſo that he had ſufficient couerture to approch thereunto without offence. He purpoſed alſo to remaine there vntill the Morning, wherein hee was reſolued to aſſault the Spaniards by ſcaling their walles on the ſide toward the hill, where the Trench ſeemed not ſufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were beſieged, which ſhould ſhew themſelues to defend the rampart while the reſt were comming vp. But the Gouernour haſtened his vnhappy deſtinie, cauſing threeſcore ſhotte to ſallie foorth, which paſſing through the Trenches, aduaunced forward to deſcrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie vnder the conduct of Cazenoue, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were iſſued foorth, cut off their repaſſage, while Gorgues commanded the reſt to charge them in the Front, but not to diſcharge but neere at hand, and ſo that they might be ſure to hitte them, that afterward with more eaſe they might cut them in pieces with their ſwordes. So that turning their backs aſſoone as they were charged, and compaſſed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all ſlaine vpon the place. Whereat the reſt that were beſieged were ſo aſtonied, that they knew none other meane to ſaue their liues, but by fleeing into the Woodes adioyning, where neuertheleſſe being incountred againe by the arrowes of the Sauages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe ſtarke dead) ſome were conſtrayned to turne backe, chooſing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which purſued them: aſſuring themſelues, that none of them could finde any fauour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and ſo out of meaſure cruelly intreated, ſauing thoſe which were reſerued to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well prouided of all neceſſaries: namely of fiue double Coluerines, and foure Mynions, with diuers other ſmall pieces of all ſorts, and eighteene groſſe cakes of gunnepowder, all ſorts of weapons, which Gourgues cauſed with ſpeede to be imbarked, ſauing the powder and other moueables, by reaſon it was all conſumed with fire through the negligence of a Sauage, which in ſeething of his fiſh, ſet fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidden by the Spanyardes, to haue feaſted the French at the firſt aſſault, thus blowing vp the ſtore houſe, and the other houſes buylt of Pine trees. The reſt of the Spaniards being led away priſoners with the others, after that the Generall had ſhewed them the wrong which they had done without occaſion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughs of the ſame trees, whereon the French hung: of which number fiue were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiuing himſelfe in the like miſerable eſtate, co feſſed his fault, and the iuſt iudgement which God had brought vpon him. But in ſtead of the w ting which Pedro Melendes had hanged ouer them, importing theſe wordes in Spaniſh, I doe not this as vnto French men, but as vnto Lutherans, Gourgues cauſed to be imprinted with a ſearing iron in a table of Firrewood, I doe not this as vnto Spaniardes, nor as vnto Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward conſidering he had not men inough to keepe his Forts which he had wonne, much leſſe to ſtore them, fearing alſo leſt the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adioyning ſhould renew his forces, or the Sauages ſhould preuaile againſt the French men, vnleſſe his Maieſtie would ſend thither, hee reſolued to raze them. And indeede, after he had aſſembled, and in the ende perſwaded all the Sauage kings ſo to doe, they

cauſed

The cauſe why the Floridians bury their goods with them.

Note.

The ſlaughter of the Spaniards of the third Fort.

The taking of the third Fort.

The writings hanged ouer the French, and Spaniards ſlaine in Florida, cauſed their ſubiects to runne thither with ſuch affection, that they ouerthrew all the three Forts flatte euen with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that hee might returne to his Shippes which were left in the Riuer of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fifteene leagues diſtant from thence, he ſent Cazenoue and the artillery by water: afterward with foure ſcore harquebuſiers, armed with corſlets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reaſon of the ſmall confidence he was to haue in ſo many Sauages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes couered with Sauages, which came to honour him with preſents and prayſes, as the deliuerer of all the countreis round about adioyning. An old woman among the reſt ſayd vnto him, that now ſhe cared not any more to dye, ſince ſhe had ſeene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chaſed out. Briefly being arriued, and finding his ſhips ſet in order, and euery thing ready to ſet ſayle, hee counſelled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them againſt all Nations: which they all promiſed, ſhedding teares becauſe of his departure, Olocotara eſpecially: for appeaſing of whom he promiſed them to returne within twelue Moones, (ſo they count the yeeres) and that his king would ſend them an army, and ſtore of kniues for preſents, and all other things neceſſary. So that after he had taken his leaue of them, and aſſimbled his men, he thanked God of all his ſucceſſe ſince his ſetting forth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568. all things were made ready, the Rendez-vous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to ſet ſayle ſo proſperouſly, that in ſeuenteene dayes they ranne eleuen hundred leagues: continuing which courſe they arriued at Rochel the firſt of Iune, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the Riuer of May, hauing loſt but a ſmall Pinneſſe and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were ſlaine in the aſſaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he receiued of thoſe of Rochel, hee ſayled to Burdeaux to informe Monſieur Monluc of the things aboue mentioned, albeit hee was aduertiſed of eighteene Pinneſſes, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being aſſured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de Bois, the ſame day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not eaſily be taken, offered a great ſumme of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreouer king Charles to doe iuſtice on him as of the authour of ſo bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendſhippe. In ſo much as comming to Paris to preſent himſelfe vnto the King, to ſignifie vnto him the ſucceſſe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to ſubdue this whole Countrey vnto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainement and anſwere ſo contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was conſtrayned to hide himſelfe a long ſpace in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570 And without the aſſiſtance of Preſident Marigny, in whoſe houſe he remayned certaine dayes, and of the Receiuer of Vacquieulx, which alwayes was his faithfull friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieued not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, conſidering the ſeruices which hee had done aſwell vnto him as to his predeceſſours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marſan in Guyenne, and imployed for the ſeruice of the moſt Chriſtian Kings in all the Armies made ſince theſe twentie fiue or thirtie yeeres: at laſt he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere vnto Siene, with thirtie Souldyers ſuſtayned the brunt of a part of the Spaniſh Armie, by which beeing taken in the aſſault, and hauing all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and ſingular fauour which the Spanyard is woont to ſhewe vs. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkes, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Conſtantinople, it was ſhortly afterwarde recouered by Romeguas, commaunder ouer the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coaſt of Africa, whence hee tooke his courſe to Breſil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing deſirous to repayre the honour of France, he ſet vpon Florida with ſuch ſucceſſe as you haue heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no leſſe valiant Captaine then ſkilfull Mariner, hee hath made himſelfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable vnto the Queene of England for the deſert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of ſuch as knew him.

The three Forts razed.

Great honour done by the Sauages to Gourgues.

Kniues in great eſtimation.

The third of May.

The arriuall of Gourgues at Rochel, the firſt of Iune.

Che-de Bois.

The birth, life and death of captaine Gourgues.

The relation of *Pedro Morales* a Spaniard, which ſir *Francis Drake* brought from *Saint Auguſtines* in *Florida*, where he had remayned ſixe yeeres, touching the ſtate of thoſe partes, taken from his mouth by Maſter *Richard Hakluyt* 1586.

Three ſcore leagues vp to the Northweſt from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chryſtall Mines, named Apalatci.

The riuer of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S.Helena Northward, which is able to receiue any Fleete of ſhips of great burden.

Wateri a goodly riuer.

Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two riuers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oriſtou,	Kings and Riuers to the South of Saint Helena.
Ahoia,	
Ahoiaue,	
Iſamacon,	
Icoſa or Dicoſa	

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the ſubiects of Potanou.

The greateſt number of Spaniards that haue bene in Florida this ſixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

There is a great City ſixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northweſtward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the ſight of it, ſome of them.

La grand Copal a rich citie.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to diſcouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the paſſage to a ſea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that riuer which the French called Port-royal.

He ſaith alſo that he hath ſeene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the countrey Weſtward from S.Helena. Theſe hils ſeeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Sauages aduertiſed Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Maſter Lane had aduertiſement of.

The relation of *Nicholas Burgoignon*, aliâs *Holy*, whom ſir *Francis Drake* brought from *Saint Auguſtine* alſo in *Florida*, where he had remayned ſixe yeeres, in mine and *Maſter Heriots* hearing.

This Nicholas Burgoignon ſayth, that betweene S.Auguſtine and S Helen there is a Caſique whoſe name is Caſicôla, which is lord of ten thouſand Indians, and another caſique whoſe name is Dicaſca, and another called Touppekyn toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moſcita toward the South likewiſe. Beſides theſe he acknowledgeth Oriſtou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Iſamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northweſtward from S.Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in theſe mountains there is great ſtore of Chriſtal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thouſand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that ſlew Ribault, & is now gouerner of Florida, weareth. He ſaith alſo, that to make paſſage vnto theſe mountaines, it is needefull to haue ſtore of Hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and ſtore of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which ſhine ſo bright in the day in ſome places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Alſo corſlets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz, are neceſſary to bee had againſt the arrowes of the Sauages.

He ſayth farther, that a Tunne of the ſaſſafras of Florida is ſolde in Spaine for ſixtie ducates: and that they haue there great ſtore of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peaſon, and that there are great ſtore of pearles,

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make moſt account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make bawdricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne coſts, to diſcouer theſe mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare leſt the Engliſh or French would enter into the ſame action, once knowen.

All the Spaniards would paſſe vp by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of golde and Chryſtall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues vp Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their noſtrels and eares. They found alſo Oxen, but leſſe then ours.

Oxen.

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the ſea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues diſtant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ſhips may ride ſafely. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Chriſtmaſſe laſt 1585. the Spaniards ſent a barke with fortie men to diſcouer where we were ſeated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all theſe things.

The Spaniards of S. Auguſtine haue ſlaine three hundred of the ſubiects of Potanou. One Potaſſi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French hiſtory calleth Olata Outina. Calauai is another caſique which they knowe.

SVNDRY VOYAGES MADE FROM *Nueua Galicia,* and *Nueua Viſcaia* in new *Spaine,* to the 15. Prouinces of new *Mexico,* and to *Quiuira* and *Cibola,* all ſituate on the backeſide of *Guaſtecan, Florida,* and *Virginia,* as farre as 37. degrees of Northerly latitude: with a deſcription of the riuers, lakes, cities, townes, nations, fertile ſoyle, and temperate ayre in thoſe partes; and moſt certaine notice of many exceeding rich ſiluer-mines, and other principall commodities.

A diſcourſe of the famous Coſmographer *Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius,* concerning the three voyages of Frier *Marco de Niça, Francis Vaſquez de Coronado,* and *Ferdinando Alorchon* next following: taken out of his third volume of Nauigations and Voyages.

THe right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoça being ſent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueua Eſpanna, and hauing vnderſtood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had ſent many ſhips along the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna to diſcouer countries, and to find out the Iſles of the Malucos, began himſelfe to deſire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez ſaid that he was general and diſcouerer of the South ſea, and that it belonged to him to ſetforth thoſe voyages. On the other ſide, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that diſcouery, as being viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine vnto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane ſeaſon hauing obteined knowledge of the voiage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Naruaez that eſcaped, as you may reade in the relation of Aluaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; ſent Frier Marco de Niça with a Negro of the ſaid Dorantez to diſcouer that country. Which Frier Marco de Niça being returned, & hauing informed his lordſhip of all his diſcouery, he ſent captain Francis Vaſquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horſebacke and Indians on foot: likewiſe he ſent a fleete by ſea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be ſeene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine *Francis Vaſques de Coronado,* written to a Secretary of the right noble *Don Antonio de Mendoça,* viceroy of of *Nueua Eſpanna.* Dated in *Culiacan,* the 8. of March 1539.

HE ſaith that Frier Marcus de Niça arriued in the Prouince of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled vnto the mountaines for feare of the Chriſtians, and that for his ſake they came all downe to ſee him, with great ioy & boldneſſe. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbour-prouinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houſes built of ſtone, and are very good, and in them they haue great ſtore of gold, which is as it were loſt, becauſe they know not what vſe to put it to. The people weare Emeralds and other precious iewels vpon their bodies: they are valiant, hauing very

Store of golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones in Topira.

ſtrong armour made of ſiluer, faſhioned after diuers ſhapes of beaſts. They worſhip for their gods ſuch things as they haue in their houſes, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and ſing ſongs vnto them in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they were willing to become Chriſtians, and the Emperors ſubiects, for they were without a gouernour; with condition that no man ſhould hurt them: and that they would change their golde for ſuch things as they wanted. Commandement was giuen, that they ſhould bee receiued without doing them any diſpleaſure. Neere vnto this countrey there is another Prouince heretofore diſcouered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very hardly reduced to Chriſtianitie, and they are valiant and ſtoute. Their houſes are couered with ſtraw. They ſeeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine ſeaſons to their ſacrifices into a valley ſituate in that Prouince, which is inhabited with people, eſteemed by thoſe of the countrey as ſaints and prieſts, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without houſes: and they eate ſuch things as they of the countrey giue them of almes. They goe naked, and are tanned in the ſmoke, and tye their priuie member with a ſtring vnto their knee, and the women likewiſe goe ſtarke naked. They haue certain temples couered with ſtrawe, with ſmall round windowes full of the ſkuls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim whereof is compaſſed with the figure of a ſerpent made of gold and ſiluer, and with another mixture of vnknowen metals: and this ſerpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley from time to time caſt lots, whoſe lucke it ſhal be to be ſacrificed, and they make him great cheere, on whom the lotte falleth, and with great ioy they crowne him with flowers vpon a bed prepared in the ſayd ditch all full of flowres and ſweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great ſtore of dry wood on both ſides of him, and ſet it on fire on eyther part, and ſo he dyeth. Where he continueth ſo quietly without being bound, as though hee did ſomething, wherein he tooke great pleaſure. And they ſay that hee is a Saint, and doe worſhippe him for that yeere, and ſing prayſes, and Hymnes vnto him, and afterward ſet vp his head with the reſt in order within thoſe windowes. Alſo they ſacrifice their priſoners, whom they burne in another deeper ditch, and not with the foreſayde ceremonies. The Spanyardes which are in Xaliſco write, that hauing good aſſiſtance, they hope that thoſe people will become Chriſtians. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull, and hath great ſtore of good and wholeſome waters.

A Letter of *Francis Vazquez de Coronado*, Gouernour of *Nueua Galicia*, to the lord *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Viceroy of *Nueua Eſpanna*.

Dated in *Saint Michael* of *Culiacan* the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard paſſage from *Saint Michael* of *Culiacan* to *Topira*. The deſcription of that Prouince, and of another neere vnto the ſame, very rich in gold and precious ſtones. The number of the people which *Vazquez* caried with him in his iourney thither; and how greatly Frier *Marcus* of *Niça* is honoured by the Indians of *Petatlan*.

BY the helpe of God I meane to ſet forward from this City of S. Michael of Culiacan toward Topira the 10. of Aprill: neither can I any ſooner ſet forward, becauſe the powder and match which your Lordſhip ſendeth mee, cannot be brought thither before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compoſtella. Beſides this, I am to paſſe many leagues ouer mightie high mountaines, which reach vp to the ſkyes, and ouer a Riuer, which at this preſent is ſo bigge and ſwolne, that it can in no place be waded ouer. And if I depart at the time aforeſayde, they ſay wee may wade ouer it. They tolde mee that from hence to Topira was not aboue 50. leagues; and I haue learned ſince that it is aboue foure ſcore leagues. I doe not remember that I hatte written to your Lordſhippe the information which I haue of Topira: and though I had written thereof vnto you, yet becauſe that ſince that time I haue learned ſomething more, I thinke it meete to ſignifie the ſame vnto your Lordſhip in theſe my letters. It may pleaſe your honour therefore to vnderſtand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very populous Prouince, lying betweene two riuers, and that there are aboue 50. inhabited townes therein. And that beyond the ſame there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great ſtore of victuals of Maiz, French peaſon, Ari or Pepper, Melons, and Gourds, and great ſtore of Hennes of the countrey. The people weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and are ſerued commonly in golde and ſiluer, wherewith they couer their houſes: and the chiefe men weare great chaines of

Topira.

Another greater Prouince.

golde

Theſe may ſeeme to be the Pintados mentioned by Frier Marco de Niza in his 2. Chap.

golde well wrought, about their necks, and are apparelled with paynted garments, and haue ſtore of wilde kine; and they ſay they enter not into their countrey, becauſe themſelues haue no great ſtore of people: theſe Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I ſay, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere vnto them. I meane to ſet forward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150. horſemen, and twelue ſpare horſes, and 200. footmen, croſſebow-men, and gunners. I take alſo with mee liue hogs, ſheepe, and all ſuch things as I can get for money: aſſure your Lordſhip that I meane not to returne to Mexico, vntil I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the ſtate of that place is: and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will ſtay there, vntill I haue aduertiſed your Lordſhip, that you may command what you will haue done: and if it fall out ſo vnluckily, that there be nothing of importance, I will ſeeke to diſcouer 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be ſomething found in which your Lordſhip may imploy all theſe gentlemen, and thoſe which ſhall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuſe but ſtay there: and the waters, the ſeaſons, and diſpoſition of the countrey, and other accidents wil direct mee what is beſt to be done. Frier Marco de Niça entred a good way into the country, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February laſt paſt: when I departed from them, I left them with aboue 100. Indians of Pecatlan, and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, ſhewing him all the courteſies they could poſſibly. I cannot ſend you, nor deſcribe vnto you his entrance among them better then I haue done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compoſtella, and I ſignified vnto you all things to the full from the citie of S. Michael: and though there be but the tenth part of thoſe things, it is a great matter. Herewithall I haue ſent your Lordſhip a Letter, which I receiued from the ſaid father: the Indians tell me, that all the people of the countrey doe greatly reuerence him: and I beleeue he may trauel many leagues farther in that ſort. He ſaith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to me thereof: I will not goe thither without informing your Lordſhip of my iourney. I hope in God, that by one way or other wee ſhall diſcouer ſome good thing.

A Letter written by the moſt honourable Lord *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Vice-roy of *Nueua Eſpanna*, to the Emperors Maieſtie.

Of certaine Noblemen which ſought to diſcouer the end of the firme land of *Nueua Eſpanna* toward the North. The arriuall of *Vazquez de Coronado* with Frier *Marco* at *S. Michael* of *Culiacan*, with commiſſion to the Gouernors of thoſe partes, to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them ſlaues any more.

IN the ſhips that went laſt from hence (whereof Michael de Vſnago was Admiral) I wrote vnto your Maieſtie, how I had ſent two Franciſcan Friers to diſcouer the end of this firme land, which ſtretcheth to the North. And becauſe their iourney fell out to greater purpoſe then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to call to mind how often I wrote vnto your Highneſſe, that I deſired to know the ende of this Prouince of Nueua Eſpanna, becauſe it is ſo great a countrey, and that we haue yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this deſire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400 horſemen, and 14000. Indians footemen borne in theſe Indias, being the beſt men, & the beſt furniſhed, which haue bene ſeene in theſe parts: and he did ſo litle with them, that the moſt part of them were conſumed in the enterprize, & could not enter nor diſcouer any more then already was diſcouered. After this the ſaide Nunno Guzman beeing Gouernour of Nueua Galicia, ſent Captaines and Horſemen foorth diuers times, which ſped no better then he had done. Likewiſe the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez ſent a captaine with 2. ſhips to diſcouer the coaſt: which 2. ſhips and the captaine periſhed. After that he ſent againe 2. other ſhips, one of the which was diuided from her conſort, and the Maſter and certaine mariners ſlue the captaine, & vſurped ouer the ſhip. After this they came to an Iſland, where the Maſter with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the country ſlew them, and tooke their boat: and the ſhip with thoſe that were in it, returned to the coaſt of Nueua Galicia, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ſhip, the Marques had knowledge of the countrey which they had diſcouered: and then, either for the diſcontentment which hee had with the biſhop of Saint Domingo, and with the Iudges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather becauſe of his ſo proſperous ſucceſſe in all things here in Nueua Eſpanna, without ſeeking any far-

This was the Port of Santa Cruz in the Iſle of California.

ther intelligence of the ſtate of that Iſland, he ſet forward on that voyage with 3. Ships, and with certaine footemen and horſemen, not throughly furniſhed with things neceſſary; which fell out ſo contrary to his expectation, that the moſt part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ſhips, and a Countrey very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee neuer finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it ſeemed, that God miraculouſly did hide it from him: and ſo he returned home without atchieuing ought elſe of moment. After this, hauing heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of thoſe who were in the voyage of Panphilo Naruaez, I often was in hand with him, ſuppoſing that he was able to doe your Maieſtie great ſeruice, to imploy him with fortie or fiftie horſes, to ſearch out the ſecret of thoſe parts. and hauing prouided all things neceſſary for his iourney, and ſpent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterpriſe was giuen ouer. Yet of the things which were prouided for that purpoſe, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the foreſayde voyage of Naruaez with Dorantez, and certaine ſlaues which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in thoſe North partes, whome I ſent with Frier Marco de Niça, and his companion a Franciſcan Frier, becauſe they had bene long trauelled, and exerciſed in thoſe partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conſcience; for whom I obtained leaue of their ſuperiours: and ſo they went with Francis Vazquez de Coronado, gouernour of Nueua Galicia vnto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the laſt Prouince ſubdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues diſtant from this Citie of Mexico. Aſſoone as the gouernour, and the Friers were come vnto that Citie, hee ſent certaine of thoſe Indians which I had giuen him, home into their Countrey, to ſignifie, and declare to the people of the ſame. That they were to vnderſtand, that your Maieſtie had commaunded they ſhould not hereafter bee made ſlaues, and that they ſhould not be afrayd any more, but might returne vnto their houſes, and liue peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the euil dealings which were vſed toward them) and that your Maieſtie would cauſe them to be chaſtened, which were the cauſes of their vexation. With theſe Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400. men; which comming before the gouernour ſaid vnto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they deſired to ſee and know thoſe men which did them ſo great a pleaſure as to ſuffer them to returne to their houſes, and to ſow Maiz for their ſuſtenance: for by the ſpace of many yeres they were driuen to flee into the mountaines, hiding themſelues like wild beaſts, for feare leſt they ſhould be made ſlaues, and that they and all the reſt of their people were ready to doe whatſoeuer ſhould bee commaunded them. Whom the gouernour comforted with good wordes, and gaue them victuals, and ſtayed them with him three or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the ſigne of the Croſſe, and to learne the name of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, and they with great diligence ſought to learne the ſame. After theſe dayes hee ſent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giuing them apparel, beades, kniues, and other ſuch like things, which I had giuen him for ſuch purpoſes. The ſayde Indians departed very well pleaſed, and ſaid, that whenſoeuer hee would ſend for them, they and many others would come to doe whatſoeuer he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other ſlaues, and Indians which I had giuen him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And becauſe I had likewiſe aduertiſement of a certaine Prouince called Topira ſituate in the mountaines; and had appoynted the gouernour Vazquez de Coronado, that he ſhould vſe meanes to learne the ſtate thereof; he ſuppoſing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himſelfe to goe and ſearch it, hauing agreed with the ſayd Frier, that he ſhould returne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coraçones, beeing 120. leagues diſtant from Culiacan. The gouernour trauelling into this Prouince (as I haue written in my former letters) found great ſcarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines ſo craggy, that he could finde no way to paſſe forward, and was inforced to returne home to Saint Michael: ſo that aſwell in chuſing of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it ſeemeth vnto all men, that God would ſhut vp the gate to all thoſe, which by ſtrengh of humane force haue gone about to attempt this enterpriſe, and hath reueiled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And ſo the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who becauſe he found his entrance ſo well prepared, was very well receiued; and becauſe he wrote the whole ſucceſſe of his voyage, according to the inſtruction which I had giuen him to vndertake the ſame, I wil not write any more at large, but ſend your Maieſtie this copy of all ſuch things as he obſerued in the ſame.

Valle de los Corazones mentioned by Vazquez de Coronado cap. 1.

A relation of the reuerend father Frier *Marco de Niça*, touching his diſcouery of the kingdome of *Ceuola* or *Cibola*, ſituate about 30.degrees of latitude, to the North of *Nueua Eſpanna*.

Chap.1.

Frier *Marco de Niça* departeth from *Saint Michael* in the Prouince of *Culiacan*, ſtanding in 24.degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of *Petatlan*, receiueth many courteſies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Iſlands, and of a great countrey inhabited with ciuil people; he commeth to *Vacupa*: where during his aboad, he heard newes of *Ceuola*, and of the ſtate of the 7.Cities, and of other prouinces, & of the rich Iſlands of perles, which extend northward vpon the coaſt.

I Frier Marco de Niça of the order of S.Francis, for the execution of the inſtruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy and captaine Generall for the Emperors Maieſtie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S.Michael in the prouince of Culiacan on Friday the 7.of March, in the yeere 1539. hauing for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of thoſe Indians which the ſayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpoſe: whom Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia deliuered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is ſome 50.leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, ſhewing themſelues to bee exceeding glad, becauſe they were certified by the Indians which had bin ſet free, whom the ſaid gouernour had ſent before to aduertiſe them of their libertie, that none of them from thence forth ſhould be made ſlaues, and that no man ſhould inuade them, nor vſe them badly; ſignifying vnto them, that the Emperors Maieſty had willed and commanded that it ſhould be ſo. With the foreſaid company I went on my voyage vntill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and prouiſion of victuals, with roſes, flowres, and other ſuch things, and bowers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houſes. In this towne of Petatlan I reſted 3.dayes, becauſe my companion Honoratus fell ſo ſicke, that I was conſtrained to leaue him there behinde.

Petatlan a towne.

Then, according to my ſaid inſtruction, I followed my iourney as the holy Ghoſt did leade me, without any merit of mine, hauing in my company the ſaid Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin ſet at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gaue me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowers of trees, giuing me ſuch victuals as they had, although they were but ſmall: becauſe (as they ſaid) it had not rained there in 3 yeres, and becauſe the Indians of this countrey ſought meanes rather to hide themſelues, then to ſowe corne, for feare of the Chriſtians of the towne of S.Michael, which were wone to make in-roades euen to that place, and to warre vpon them, and to cary them away captiues. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30.leagus from that part of Petatlan, I ſaw nothing worthy the noting, ſaue that there came to ſeeke me certaine Indians from the Iſland, where Fernando Cortez the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an iſland, & not firme land, as ſome ſuppoſe it to be. They came to yͤ firme land vpon certaine rafts of wood: and from the maine to the iſland is but halfe a league by ſea, litle more or leſſe. Likewiſe certaine Indians of another iſland greater then this came to viſit me, which iſland is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30.other ſmal iſlands, which were inhabited, but had ſmal ſtore of victuals, ſauing 2.which haue Maiz or corne of the country. Theſe Indians had about their necks many great ſhels which were mother of Pearle. I ſhewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a ſhew, and they told me that there were in the Iſlands great ſtore of them, and thoſe very great: howbeit I ſaw none of them. I followed my voyage through a deſert of 4.dayes iourney, hauing in my company both the Indians of the iſlands, & thoſe of the mountaines which I had paſſed, and at the end of this deſert I found other Indians which marueiled to ſee me, becauſe they had no knowledge of any Chriſtians, hauing no traffike nor conuerſation with thoſe Indians which I had paſſed, in regard of the great deſert which was between them. Theſe Indians interteined me exceeding courteouſly, & gaue me great ſtore of victuals, & ſought to touch my garmēts, and called me Hayota, which in their language ſignifieth A man come from heauen. Theſe Indians I aduertiſed by my interpreter, according to my inſtructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heauen, & of the Emperor. In theſe countries & in all places els by all wayes and meanes

The iſland of Saint Iago.

A great iſland, and 30.ſmall iſlands, which ſeeme to be the new iſlands of California rich in pearles.

A deſert foure daies iourney.

poſſible, I ſought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of ciuilitie and vnderſtanding, then thoſe which I had found; and I could heare no newes of any ſuch: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or fiue dayes iourney within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I ſhewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were veſſelles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round greene ſtones hanging at their noſtrilles, and at their eares, and that they haue certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they ſcrape off their ſweat, and that the walles of their Temples are couered therewith, and that they vſe it in all their houſhold veſſels. And becauſe this Valley is diſtant from the Sea-coaſt, and my inſtruction was not to leaue the Coaſt, I determined to leaue the diſcouery thereof vntill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiouſly.

This was the valley of Coracones.

Thus I trauelled three dayes iourney through Townes inhabited by the ſayde people, of whome I was receiued as I was of thoſe which I had paſſed, and came vnto a Towne of reaſonable bigneſſe, called Vacupa, where they ſhewed mee great courteſies, and gaue mee great ſtore of good victuals, becauſe the ſoyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues diſtant from the Sea. And becauſe I was ſo farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Paſſion Sunday, I determined to ſtay there vntill Eaſter, to informe my ſelfe of the Iſlandes, whereof I ſayde before that I had information. And ſo I ſent certaine Indians to the Sea by three ſeuerall wayes, whom I commaunded to bring mee ſome Indians of the Sea-coaſt and of ſome of thoſe Iſlandes, that I might receiue information of them: and I ſent Stephan Dorantez the Negro another way, whom I commaunded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threeſcore leagues, to ſee if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee ſought to diſcouer, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee ſhould goe no further, but ſhould returne in perſon, or ſhould ſende mee certaine Indians with that token which wee were agreed vpon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee ſhould ſende mee a white Croſſe of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueua Eſpanna, hee ſhould ſend mee a great croſſe. So the ſayde Stephan departed from mee on Paſſion-ſunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the meſſengers of Stephan returned vnto me with a great Croſſe as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I ſhould forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gaue him information of a very mighty Prouince, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the ſayd Prouince, and that he had ſent me one of the ſaid Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes iourney from the Towne where Stephan was, vnto the firſt Citie of the ſayde Prouince, which is called Ceuola. Hee affirmed alſo that there are ſeuen great Cities in this Prouince, all vnder one Lord, the houſes whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great, and the leaſt of them with one lofte aboue head; and ſome of two and of three loftes, and the houſe of the Lorde of the Prouince of foure; and that all of them ioyne one vnto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houſes there are many Turqueſ-ſtones cunningly wrought, whereof hee ſayth they haue there great plentie: alſo that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Prouinces, all which (hee ſayth) are much greater then theſe ſeuen cities. I gaue credite to his ſpeach, becauſe I found him to bee a man of good vnderſtanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both becauſe I thought hee would ſtay for mee, and alſo to attend the returne of my meſſengers which I had ſent vnto the Sea, who returned vnto me vpon Eaſter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coaſt, and of two of the Iſlands. Of whom I vnderſtoode, that the Iſlandes aboue mentioned were ſcarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare ſhelles of Pearles vpon their foreheads, and they ſay that they haue great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Iſlandes, lying one neere vnto another: they ſay that the people on the Sea-coaſt haue ſmall ſtore of victuals, as alſo thoſe of the Iſlandes, and that they traffique one with the other vpon raftes. This coaſt ſtretcheth Northward as is to bee ſeene. Theſe Indians of the Coaſt brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dreſſed, which were ſo large, that they couered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the ſame to looke out before: they are ſo ſtrong, that a Croſſebow (as I ſuppoſe) will not pierce them.

Vacupa a towne 40. leagues from the Bay of California.

From Vacupa to Ceuola are 32. dayes iourney.

Great pearles and much gold in the Iſles of California, which are 34. in number.

Chap. 2.

He hath new information of the ſeuen Cities by certaine Indians called *Pintados*, and of three other kingdomes called *Marata*, *Acus*, and *Totonteac*, being Countreys very rich in Turqueſes and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through thoſe countries, he taketh poſſeſſion thereof for the Emperors Maieſtie, and of the Indians is much honoured and ſerued with victuals.

The ſame day came three Indians of thoſe which I called Pintados, becauſe I ſaw their faces, breaſts and armes painted. Theſe dwel farther vp into the countrey towards the Eaſt, and ſome of them border vpon the ſeuen cities, which ſayd they came to ſee mee, becauſe they had heard of me: and among other things, they gaue me information of the ſeuen cities, and of the other Prouinces, which the Indian that Stephan ſent me had tolde mee of, almoſt in the very ſame maner that Stephan had ſent mee worde; and ſo I ſent backe the people of the ſea-coaſt: and two Indians of the Iſlandes ſayde they would goe with mee ſeuen or eight dayes.

So with theſe and with the three Pintados aboue mentioned, I departed from Vacupa vpon Eaſter tueſday, the ſame way that Stephan went, from whom I receiued new meſſengers with a Croſſe of the bigneſſe of the firſt which he ſent me: which haſtened mee forward, and aſſured me that the land which I ſought for, was the greateſt and beſt countrey in all thoſe partes. The ſayd meſſengers told mee particularly without fayling in any one poynt, all that which the firſt meſſenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gaue mee more plaine information thereof. So I trauelled that day being Eaſter tueſday, and two dayes more, the very ſame way that Stephan had gone: at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might trauell in thirtie dayes to the citie of Ceuola, which is the firſt of the ſeuen. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatneſſe of the houſes, and of the faſhion of them, as the firſt meſſengers had informed me. Alſo they told me, that beſides theſe ſeuen Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. I enquired of them wherefore they trauelled ſo farre from their houſes? They ſaid that they went for Turqueſes, and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all theſe there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewiſe I enquired how, and by what meanes they obteined theſe things? They tolde me, by their ſeruice, and by the ſweat of their browes, and that they went vnto the firſt citie of the Prouince which is called Ceuola, and that they ſerued them in tilling their ground, and in other buſineſſes, and that they giue them Hydes of oxen, which they haue in thoſe places, and turqueſes for their ſeruice, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueſes hanging at their eares and at their noſtrils. They ſay alſo, that of theſe turqueſes they make fine workes vpon the principall gates of the houſes of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of Ceuola weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long ſtring hanging downe at the ſame, and that the ſleeues of theſe gownes are as broad beneath as aboue. They ſay, they gyrd themſelues with gyrdles of turqueſes, and that ouer theſe coates ſome weare good apparel, others hides of kine very well dreſſed, which they take to bee the beſt apparell of that countrey, whereof they haue there great quantitie. Likewiſe the women goe apparelled, and couered downe to the foote. Theſe Indians gaue me very good intertainment, and curiouſly enquired the day of my departure from Vacupa, that at my returne they might prouide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine ſicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and ſought to touch my apparell, and gaue mee certaine Cow-hydes ſo well trimmed and dreſſed, that by them a man might coniecture that they were wrought by ciuile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from Ceuola.

Another village.

The next day I followed my iourney, and carrying with mee the Pintados, I came to another Village where I was well receiued by the people of the ſame: who likewiſe ſought to touch my garments, and gaue mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforeſayde, as I had receiued of thoſe which mette mee before: and alſo tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez foure or fiue dayes iourney. And here I found a great croſſe, which Stephan had left me for a ſigne, that the newes of the good Countrey increaſed, and left worde, that with all haſte they ſhould ſende mee away, and that hee would ſtay for mee at the ende of the firſt Deſert that he mette with. Heere I ſet vp two Croſſes, and tooke poſſeſſion according to mine inſtruction, becauſe that the Countrey ſeemed better vnto mee then that which I had paſſed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of poſſeſſion as farre as that place.

In this maner I trauailed fiue dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hoſpitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueſes, and Oxe-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I vnderſtood, that after two dayes iourney I ſhould finde a deſert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I haſtened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, becauſe in that place hee had left worde that hee would ſtay for mee. Before I came to the deſert, I mette with a very pleaſant Towne, by reaſon of great ſtore of waters conueighed thither to water the ſame. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and ſome couered with Oxe-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to ſay, with Turqueſes hanging at their noſtrilles and eares: which Turqueſes they call Cacona. Amongſt others, the Lord of this Village came vnto me, and two of his brethren very well appareled in Cotton, who alſo were in Caconados, each of them hauing his collar of Turqueſes about his necke: and they preſented vnto mee many wilde beaſtes, as Conies, Quailes, Maiz, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueſes, and dreſſed Oxe-hydes, and very faire veſſels to drinke in, and other things; whereof I would receiue no whit. And hauing my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called çaragoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of ſuch Cloth there was great ſtore in Totonteac, and that the people of that Countrey wore the ſame. Whereat I laughed, and ſayde that it was nothing elſe but ſuch apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replyed: We would haue thee thinke that we vnderſtand, that that apparell which thou weareſt, and that which we weare are of diuers ſortes. Vnderſtand thou, that in Ceuola all the houſes are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totonteac there are certaine litle beaſts, from whom they take that thing wherewith ſuch apparell as thou weareſt, is made. I prayed them to informe mee more playnely of this matter. And they tolde mee that the ſayde beaſtes were about the bigneſſe of the two braches or ſpaniels which Stephan caryed with him, and they ſay that there is great ſtore of that cattell in Totonteac.

A pleaſant village.

Store of woollen cloth and ſheepe in Totonteac.

Chap. 3.

He entreth into a deſert, and the Indians ſuffer him to want nothing neceſſary. Following his Voyage, he commeth into a fertile valley, and hath certaine knowledge giuen him (as he had before) of the ſtate of *Ceuola*, and of *Totonteac*; and that the coaſt of the ſea in 35. degrees trendeth much to the Weſtward: and alſo of the kingdomes of *Marat* and *Acus*.

The next day I entred into the Deſert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a riuers ſide; and at night I found bowers and victuals in like ſort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes trauell: all which time the wilderneſſe continueth.

A deſert of foure dayes iourney.

At the ende of theſe foure dayes, I entred into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the firſt Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueſes hanging at their noſtrils and eares, and ſome had collars of turqueſes like thoſe which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Deſert, and his two brethren wore; ſauing that they ware them but ſingle about their neckes; and theſe people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and ſkinnes of Oxen: and the women weare of the ſayd Turqueſes at their noſtrils and eares, and very good waſt-coats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Ceuola, as in Nueua Eſpanna of Temiſtitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde vs particularly the maner of their houſes, lodgings, ſtreetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as thoſe which were furniſhed from thence with things neceſſary for the ſeruice of their houſholde, as thoſe alſo had done, which I already had paſſed. I tolde them it was impoſſible that the houſes ſhould be made in ſuch ſort as they informed mee, and they for my better vnderſtanding tooke earth or aſhes, and powred water thereupon, and ſhewed me how they layd ſtones vpon it, and how the buylding grewe vp, as they continued laying ſtones thereon, vntill it mounted aloft. I aſked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount vp vnto thoſe loftes: whereat they laughed, and ſhewed mee a Ladder in as good ſort as I my ſelfe was able to deſcribe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it ouer their heads, and ſaid that the lofts were ſo high one aboue another. Likewiſe heere I had in-

A very populous valley.

Collars of Turqueſes two or three times double.

formation of the woollen cloth of Totonteac, where they ſay are houſes like thoſe of Ceuola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Prouince, and hath no gouernour.

Here I vnderſtood that the coaſt of the ſea trended much toward the Weſt: for vnto the entrance of this firſt deſert which I paſſed, the coaſt ſtill ſtretched Northward: and becauſe the trending of the coaſt is a thing of great importance, I was deſirous to knowe and ſee it: and I ſaw plainely, that in 35. degrees the coaſt ſtretcheth to the Weſt, whereat I reioyced no leſſe, then of the good newes within land, and ſo I returned backe to proceede on my iourney.

This graduation is miſtaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the leaſt.

Through the foreſayd valley I trauailed fiue dayes iourney, which is inhabited with goodly people, and ſo aboundeth with victuals, that it ſufficeth to feede aboue three thouſand horſemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all theſe villages, I found very ample report of Ceuola, whereof they made ſuch particular relation vnto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their liuing. Here I found a man borne in Ceuola, who told me that he came thither, hauing eſcaped from the gouernour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of theſe ſeuen Cities liueth and abideth in one of thoſe townes called Ahacus, and in the reſt he appoynteth lieu-tenants vnder him. This towneſman of Ceuola is a white man of a good complexion, ſomewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacitie then the inhabitants of this valley, or then thoſe which I had left behind me. Hee ſayde that hee would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Ceuola was a great Citie, inhabited with great ſtore of people, and hauing many Streetes and Market-places: and that in ſome partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houſes of fiue ſtories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie aſſemble themſelues at certaine dayes of the yeere. He ſayeth that the houſes are of Lyme and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and ſmall pillars of the principall houſes are of Turqueſes, and all the veſſels wherein they are ſerued, and the other ornaments of their houſes were of golde: and that the other ſixe Cities are built like vnto this, whereof ſome are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chiefeſt of them. Hee ſayth that toward the Southeaſt there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were woont to be many, and thoſe great Cities, which were all built of houſes of Stone, with diuers lofts; and that theſe haue and doe wage warre with the Lord of the ſeuen cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the moſt part waſted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre againſt the other.

Ahacus.

Marata lieth toward the Southeaſt.

Likewiſe he ſaith, that the kingdome called Totanteac lyeth toward the Weſt, which he ſaith is a very mightie Prouince, repleniſhed with infinite ſtore of people and riches: and that in the ſayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer ſorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of thoſe beaſtes which they deſcribed before vnto me; and that they are a very ciuile people. Moreouer hee tolde me, that there is another great Prouince and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aſpiration, which is the principall of the ſeuen cities: and Acus without an aſpiration is a kingdome and Prouince of it ſelfe. He told me alſo, that the apparel which they weare in Ceuola is after the ſame maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie vpon beddes rayſed a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies ouer them, which couer the ſayde Beds: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Ceuola and farther alſo, if I would take him with me. The like relation was giuen vnto me in this towne by many others, but not ſo particularly. I trauelled three dayes iourney through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainement. In this valley I ſaw aboue a thouſand Oxe-hides moſt excellently trimmed and dreſſed. And here alſo I ſaw farre greater ſtore of Turqueſes and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had paſſed; and they ſay, that all commeth from the city of Ceuola, whereof they haue great knowledge, as alſo of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totonteac.

Totonteac lyeth Weſt.

Chap. 4.

Of a very great beaſt with one horne vpon his fore-head; and of the courteſies which the Indians ſhewed Frier *Marcus* of *Niça*, in his Voyage. Alſo how cruelly *Stephan Dorantez* and his companions were vſed vpon their arriuall at *Ceuola*, by the Lorde thereof.

A mightie beaſt with one horne.

HEre they ſhewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe, and tolde me that it was the ſkin of a beaſt which had but one horne vpon his forehead, & that this horne bendeth toward his breaſt, and that out of the ſame goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath ſo great ſtrength, that it will breake any thing how ſtrong ſo euer it be, if he runne againſt it, and that there are great ſtore of theſe beaſts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-ſkin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had meſſengers from Stephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to the fartheſt part of the deſert, and that he was very ioyfull, becauſe the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatneſſe of the countrey, and ſent me word, that ſince his departure from me, hee neuer had found the Indians in any lye; for euen vnto that very place he had found al in ſuch maner as they had informed him, & hoped that he ſhould find the like at his arriuall in the valley which he was going vnto, as he had found in the villages before paſſed. I ſet vp croſſes, and vſed thoſe acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my inſtructions. The inhabitants requeſted me to ſtay here three or foure daies, becauſe that from this place there were foure dayes iourney vnto the deſert, and from the firſt entrance into the ſame deſert vnto the citie of Ceuola are 15 great dayes iourney more; alſo that they would prouide victuals for me and other neceſſaries for that voyage. Likewiſe they told me, that with Stephan the Negro were gone aboue 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like ſort many of them would go with me to ſerue me, becauſe they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to ſet things in order with ſpeede, and ſo I reſted there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my ſelfe of Ceuola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians vnto mee, and examined them ſeuerally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the ſtreetes, of the greatneſſe of the houſes, and of the ſtrength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the reſt before had told me. After three dayes many aſſembled themſelues to go with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well apparelled, and with chaines of turqueſes, which ſome of them weare fiue or ſixe times double, and other people to cary things neceſſary for them and me, and ſo ſet forward on my voyage.

Fifteene daies iourney from the end of the deſert to Ceuola or Ciuola.

Thus I entred into the ſecond deſert on the 9 of May, and trauelled the firſt day by a very broad and beaten way, & we came to diner vnto a water, where the Indians had made prouiſion for me: and at night we came to another water, where I found a houſe which they had fully made vp for me, and another houſe ſtood made where Stephan lodged when he paſſed that way, and many old cottages and many ſignes of fire which the people had made that trauelled to Ceuola by this way. In this ſort I trauelled 12 dayes iourney being alway well prouided of victuals, of wild beaſts, Hares, and Partridges of the ſame colour and taſt with thoſe of Spaine although they are not ſo big, for they be ſomewhat leſſe.

The ſecond deſert entred the 9. of May.

Twelue dayes iourney.

Here met vs an Indian the ſonne of one of the chiefe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, hauing his face and body all couered with ſweat, and ſhewing exceeding ſadneſſe in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes iourney before Stephan came to Ceuola he ſent his great Mace made of a gourd by his meſſengers, as he was alwayes woont to ſend them before him, that hee might knowe in what ſort hee came vnto them, which gourd had a ſtring of belles vpon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded ſafe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Ceuola before the Magiſtrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they deliuered him the ſayde great gourd, who tooke the ſame in his hands, and after he had ſpyed the belles, in a great rage and fury hee caſt it to the ground, and willed the meſſengers to get them packing with ſpeed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they ſhould will them in no caſe to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The meſſengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had paſſed, who anſwered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to the citie of Ceuola: where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but ſhut him into a great houſe which ſtoode without the citie, and ſtraightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueſes, and other things which he had receiued of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giuing him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a thirſt, and went out of the houſe to drinke at a riuer that was neere at hand, and within a little while after he ſaw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and ſlew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian ſaw theſe things, he hid himſelfe on the banks of the riuer, and afterward croſſed the high way of the deſert. The Indians that went with me hearing theſe newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought theſe heauie and bad newes would coſt mee my life, neither did I feare ſo much the loſſe of mine owne life, as that I ſhould not bee able to returne to giue information of the greatneſſe of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified: and ſtreight way I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me ful of merchandiſe for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor giue any thing to any man, and began to diuide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and ſo they did. And going on our way, within a dayes iourney of Ceuola wee met two other Indians of thoſe which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places: and alſoone as they came to vs, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. Theſe wounded Indians I aſked for Stephan, and they agreeing in all poynts with the firſt Indian ſayd, that after they had put him into the foreſayd great houſe without giuing him meat or drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when the Sunne was a lance high, Stephan went out of the houſe, and ſome of the chiefe men with him, and ſuddenly came ſtore of people from the citie, whom alſoone as hee ſawe he began to run away and we likewiſe, and forthwith they ſhot at vs and wounded vs, and certaine dead men fell vpon vs, and ſo we lay till night and durſt not ſtirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and ſaw many men and women keeping watch and ward vpon the walles thereof, and after this we could not ſee Stephan any more, and wee thinke they haue ſhot him to death, as they haue done all the reſt which went with him, ſo that none are eſcaped but we onely.

Chap. 5.

The ſituation and greatneſſe of the Citie of *Ceuola*, and how frier *Marcus* tooke poſſeſſion thereof and of other prouinces, calling the ſame *The new kingdome of S. Francis*, and how after his departure from thence being preſerued by God in ſo dangerous a voyage, he arriued at *Compoſtella* in *Nueua Galicia*.

HAuing conſidered the former report of the Indians, and the euill meanes which I had to proſecute my voyage as I deſired, I thought it not good wilfully to looſe my life as Stephan did; and ſo I told them, that God would puniſh thoſe of Ceuola, and that the Viceroy when he ſhould vnderſtand what had happened, would ſend many Chriſtians to chaſtiſe them: but they would not beleeue me, for they ſayde that no man was able to withſtand the power of Ceuola. And herewithall I left them, and went aſide two or three ſtones caſt, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called Marcus, who wept and ſayde vnto me: Father, theſe men haue conſulted to kill vs, for they ſay, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are ſlaine, and that neither man nor woman of them ſhall remaine vnſlaine. Then againe I deuided among them certaine other things which I had, to appeaſe them, whereupon they were ſomewhat pacified, albeit they ſtill ſhewed great griefe for the people which were ſlaine. I requeſted ſome of them to goe to Ceuola, to ſee if any other Indian were eſcaped, with intent that they might learne ſome newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I ſaw this, I ſayd vnto them, that I purpoſed to ſee the citie of Ceuola, whatſoeuer came of it. They ſayde that none of them would goe with me. At the laſt when they ſawe mee reſolute, two of the chiefe of them ſayde they would goe with me; with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within ſight of Ceuola, which is ſituate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh ſhew to bee a faire citie, and is better ſeated then any that I haue ſeene in theſe partes. The houſes are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of ſtone with diuers ſtories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could diſcerne from a mountaine, whither I aſcended to viewe the citie. The people are ſomewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they haue Emralds and other iewels, although they eſteeme none ſo much as turqueſes, wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houſes, and their apparell and veſſels, and they vſe them in ſtead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of oxe hides, and this is their moſt commendable and honourable apparell. They vſe veſſels of gold and ſiluer, for they haue no other mettall, whereof there is greater vſe and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the ſame for turqueſes in the prouince of the Pintados, where there are ſayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine ſo particular inſtruction. Diuers times I was tempted to goe thither, becauſe I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered vnto God the firſt day that I began my iourney: in the ende I began to bee afraid, conſidering in what danger I ſhould put my ſelfe, and that if I ſhould dye, the knowledge of this Countrey ſhould be loſt, which in my iudgement is the greateſt and the beſt that hitherto hath beene diſcouered: and when I tolde the chiefe men, what a goodly citie Ceuola ſeemed vnto mee, they

Moſt rich mines of gold and ſiluer in the prouince of the Pintados.

anſwered me that it was the leaſt of the ſeuen cities, and that Totonteac is the greateſt and beſt of them all, becauſe it hath ſo many houſes and people, that there is no ende of them. Hauing ſeene the diſpoſition and ſituation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nueuo reyno de ſan Franciſco: in which place I made a great heape of ſtones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the toppe thereof I ſet vp a ſmall ſlender croſſe becauſe I wanted meanes to make a greater, and ſayd that I ſet vp that croſſe and heape in the name of the moſt honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueua Eſpanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of poſſeſſion, according to mine inſtruction. Which poſſeſſion I ſayd that I tooke in that place of all the ſeuen cities, & of the kingdomes of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, and went vntill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the ſpeede that I could make, whome I ouertooke in two dayes trauell, and went in their company till I had paſſed the deſert, where I was not made ſo much of as before: for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were ſlaine at Ceuola, and with feare I haſtened from the people of this valley, and trauelled tenne leagues the firſt day, and ſo I went daily eight or ten leagues, without ſtaying vntill I had paſſed the ſecond deſert. And though I were in feare, yet I determined to go to the great plaine, whereof I ſaid before, that I had information, being ſituate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I vnderſtoode, that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes iourney toward the Eaſt, but I durſt not enter into it, conſidering, that if hereafter wee ſhoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the ſeuen cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better diſcouer the ſame, without putting my ſelfe in hazard, and leaue it for this time, that I might giue relation of the things which I had now ſeene. At the entrance of this plaine I ſawe but ſeuen Townes onely of a reaſonable bigneſſe, which were a farre off in a lowe valley beeing very greene and a moſt fruitfull ſoyle, out of which ranne many Riuers. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into veſſels and thinne plates, wherewith they ſtrike and take off their ſweat, and that they are people that will not ſuffer thoſe of the other ſide of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cauſe thereof. Here I ſet vp two croſſes, and tooke poſſeſſion of the plaine and valley in like ſort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haſte as I coulde make, vntill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the prouince of Culiacan, thinking there to haue found Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my iourney till I came to the Citie of Compoſtella, where I found him. I write not here many other paticularities, becauſe they are impertinent to this matter: I only report that which I haue ſeene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I trauelled, and of thoſe which I had information of.

Totonteac the greateſt and moſt populous prouince.

He returneth.

A deſert.

A valley.

A ſecond deſert.

Compoſtella in 21. degrees of latitude.

The relation of *Francis Vazquez de Coronado*, Captaine generall of the people which were ſent in the name of the Emperours maieſtie to the Countrey of *Cibola* newly diſcouered, which he ſent to *Don Antonio de Mendoça* Viceroy of *Mexico*, of ſuch things as happened in his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from *Culiacan* forward, and of ſuch things as hee found in the Countrey which he paſſed.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from *Culiacan*, and after diuers troubles in his voyage, arriueth at the valley of the people called *Los Caracones*, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee ſendeth to the valley called *The valley of the Lord*: he is informed of the greatneſſe of the valley of the people called *Caracones*, and of the nature of thoſe people, and of certaine Iſlands lying along that coaſt.

The 22. of the moneth of Aprill laſt paſt I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in ſuch order as I mentioned vnto your Lordſhip, and according to the ſucceſſe I aſſured my ſelfe, by all likelihood that I ſhall not bring all mine armie together in this enterpriſe: becauſe the troubles haue bene ſo great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be ſufficient to performe this enterpriſe, & if it ſhould bee performed in ſo ſhort a time, it would be to the great loſſe of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordſhip, I was foure-

ſcore

This was but 200. leagues from Mexico.

ſcore dayes in trauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and thoſe Gentlemen my companions which were horſemen, carried on our backs and on our horſes, a little victuall, ſo that from henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight: and all this notwithſtanding, and though wee put our ſelues to ſuch a ſmall proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that poſſibly wee could take, wee were driuen to our ſhifts. And no maruayle, becauſe the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuſes downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the paſſage of Riuers, the greater part of our corne was ſpoyled. And becauſe I ſend your Lordſhip our voyage drawen in a Mappe, I will ſpeake no more thereof in this my letter.

Frier Marcus of Niza.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs ſo well of in his relation, I ſent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horſes, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, becauſe hee might examine all things, againſt mine arriuall: who trauailed foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, ſauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderſtoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly diſinhabited and voyd of people. And becauſe it was labour loſt, I would not write vnto your Lordſhip thereof.

It grieued the whole company, that a thing ſo highly commended, and whereof the father had made ſo great bragges, ſhould be found ſo contrary, and it made them ſuſpect that all the reſt would fall out in like ſort. Which when I perceiued I ſought to encourage them the beſt I coulde, telling them that your Lordſhippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing caſt away, and that wee ſhould fixe our cogitation vpon thoſe ſeuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there ſhould bee the ende of our enterpriſe: and with this reſolution and purpoſe wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not paſſable but one by one, or elſe wee muſt force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had ſayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father ſayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one ſmall hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee paſſed without great danger of breaking the horſes neckes: and the way was ſuch, that of the cattell which your Lordſhip ſent vs for the prouiſion of our armie wee loſt a great part in the voyage through the roughneſſe of the rockes. The lambes and ſheepe loſt their hoofes in the way: and of thoſe which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the Riuer of Lachimi, becauſe they could not keepe company with vs, and becauſe they might come ſoftly after vs, foure men on horſebacke remained with them which are nowe come vnto vs, and haue brought vs not paſt foure and twentie lambes, and foure ſheepe, for all the reſt were dead with trauailing through that rough paſſage, although they trauailed but two leagues a day, and reſted themſelues euery day.

The riuer of Lachimi.

The valley of the people called Caracones.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my ſelfe, ſaue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for ſeeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was conſtrained to leaue them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more ſtore of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had paſſed, and great ſtore of tillage. But I vnderſtood that there was ſtore thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not diſturbe with force, but ſent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure ſome, and to giue the ſayde Maiz to the Indians our friendes which wee brought with vs, and to ſome others that had loſt their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals ſo farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleaſed God that wee gate ſome ſmall quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releiued and ſome Spanyards.

Valle del Sennor.

The valley de los Caracones diſtant fiue dayes iourney from the Weſterne ſea.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, ſome tenne or twelue of our horſes were dead through wearineſſe: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewiſe ſome of our Negros and ſome of our Indians dyed here; which was no ſmall want vnto vs for the performance of our enterpriſe. They tolde me that this valley of the Coracones is fiue dayes iourney from the Weſterne Sea. I ſent for the Indians of the Sea coaſt to vnderſtand their eſtate, and while I ſtayed for them the horſes reſted: and I ſtayed there foure dayes, in which ſpace the Indians of the Sea coaſt came vnto mee: which told mee, that two dayes ſayling from their coaſt of the Sea, there were ſeuen or eight Iſlands right ouer againſt them, well inhabited with people, but badly furniſhed with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had ſeene a Shippe paſſe by not farre from the ſhore; which I wote not what to thinke whither it were one of thoſe that went to diſcouer the Countrey, or elſe a Ship of the Portugals.

Seuen or eight Iſles, which are the Iſles of California.

A ſhip ſeene on the ſea coaſt.

Chap. 2.

They come to *Chichilticale*: after they had reſted themſelues two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to trauaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleaſant, and a riuer called *Rio del Lino*, they fight with the Indians being aſſaulted by them, and with victorie vanquiſhing their citie, they relieued themſelues of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coaſt as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I ſtill found my ſelfe the farther off: in ſuch ſort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found my ſelfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall ſayd that it was onely but fiue leagues diſtance, and that hee had ſeene the ſame. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we ſaw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordſhip.

Chichilticale ten dayes iourney from the ſea.

The Indians of Chichilticale ſay, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fiſh, and other things that they carry, they goe trauerſing, and are tenne dayes iourney in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians giue me ſhould be true. The ſea returneth toward the Weſt right ouer againſt the Coracones the ſpace of tenne or twelue leagues, Where I found that your Lordſhips ſhips were ſeene, which went to diſcouer the hauen of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça ſayd to bee in fiue and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what griefe of mind I haue ſuſtained: becauſe I am in doubt that ſome miſhappe is fallen vnto them: and if they follow the coaſt, as they ſayde they would, as long as their victuals laſt which they carry with them, whereof I left them ſtore in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into ſome miſfortune, I hope well in God that by this they haue made ſome good diſcouerie, and that in this reſpect their long ſtaying out may be pardoned.

This Chichilticale is indeede but in 28. deg.

I reſted my ſelfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I ſhould haue ſtayed longer, in reſpect that here wee found our horſes ſo tyred: but becauſe wee wanted victuals, wee had no leaſure to reſt any longer: I entred the confines of the deſert Countrey on Saint Iohns eeue, and to refreſh our former trauailes, the firſt dayes we founde no graſſe, but worſer way of mountaines and badde paſſages, then wee had paſſed alreadie: and the horſes being tired, were greatly moleſted therewith: ſo that in this laſt deſert wee loſt more horſes then wee had loſt before: and ſome of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whoſe name was Spinoſa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I ſent before mee one dayes iourney the maſter of the fielde Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fifteene horſes to diſcouer the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himſelfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordſhip repoſed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part: for as I haue enformed your Lordſhip, it is moſt wicked way, at leaſt thirtie leagues and more, becauſe they are inacceſſible mountaines.

The 23. of Iune.

Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas

But after wee had paſſed theſe thirtie leagues, wee found freſh riuers, and graſſe like that of Caſtile, and ſpecially of that ſort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from thoſe of Spayne in the leafe: and there was Flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne riuer which therefore wee called El Rio del Lino, that is to ſay, the riuer of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes trauaile, but afterward foure Indians came out vnto vs in peaceable maner, ſaying that they were ſent euen to that deſert place to ſignifie vnto vs that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete vs on the way with victuals: and the maſter of the fielde gaue them a croſſe, willing them to ſignifie to thoſe of their citie that they ſhould not feare, and they ſhould rather let the people ſtay in their houſes, becauſe I came onely in the name of his maieſtie to defend and ayd them.

A goodly and fruitfull countrey found.

Rio del Lino.

And this done, Fernando Aluarado returned to aduertiſe mee, that certaine Indians were come vnto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them ſtayed for my comming with the maſter of the fielde. Whereupon I went vnto them and gaue them beades and certaine ſhort clokes,

willing

A wiſe forecaſt.

The treaſon of the Indians.

Great forecaſt and diligence of the Campemaſter.

willing them to returne vnto their citie, and bid them to ſtay quiet in their houſes, and feare nothing. And this done I ſent the maſter of the field to ſearch whether there were any bad paſſage which the Indians might keepe againſt vs, and that hee ſhould take and defend it vntill the next day that I ſhoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad paſſage, where wee might haue ſuſtayned very great harme: wherefore there hee ſeated himſelfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that paſſage to defend it, and finding it taken, they aſſaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they aſſaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the maſter of the fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreate ſounded on a certaine ſmall trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very ſame night the maſter of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the beſt order that I could I departed in ſo great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee ſhould ſtay one day longer without foode, wee ſhould all periſh for hunger, eſpecially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two buſhels of corne: wherefore it behooued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and their made fires, and were anſwered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderſtanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

They arriue at the citie of Cibola.

The arrogancie of the people of Cibola.

Aſſoone as I came within ſight of this citie of Granada, I ſent Don Garcias Lopez Campemaſter, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo ſomewhat before with certaine horſemen to ſeeke the Indians and to aduertiſe them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maieſtie had giuen vs in charge: which meſſage was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made ſmall account thereof; becauſe we ſeemed very few in their eyes, and that they might deſtroy vs without any difficultie: and they ſtrooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

Commandement to vſe gentleneſſe to the Sauages.

In the meane ſpace I arriued with all the reſt of the horſemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great ſort of the Indians which beganne to ſhoote at vs with their arrowes: and becauſe I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might ſet vpon them, in any wiſe to prouoke them, ſaying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to ſet vpon ſo fewe people. On the other ſide the Indians perceiuing that wee ſtirred not, tooke great ſtomacke and courage vnto them: inſomuch that they came hard to our horſes heeles to ſhoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon ſeeing that it was now time to ſtay no longer, and that the friers alſo were of the ſame opinion, I ſet vpon them without any danger: for ſuddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could ſhift: and ſome of the Indians were ſlaine, and more had beene if I would haue ſuffered them to haue bene purſued.

There were 800 men within the towne. Gomara, Hiſt. gen. cap. 213.

They defend the wals with ſtones like thoſe of Hochelaga.

But conſidering that hereof wee might reape but ſmall profite, becauſe the Indians that were without, were fewe, and thoſe which were retired into the citie, with them which ſtayed within at the firſt were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had ſo great neede, I aſſembled my people, and deuided them as I thought beſt to aſſault the citie, and I compaſſed it about: and becauſe the famine which wee ſuſtained ſuffered no delay, my ſelfe with certaine of theſe gentlemen and ſouldiers put our ſelues on foote, and commaunded that the croſſebowes and harquebuſiers ſhoulde giue the aſſault, and ſhoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I aſſaulted the walles on one ſide, where they tolde me there was a ſcaling ladder ſet vp, and that there was one gate: but the croſſebowmen ſuddenly brake the ſtrings of their bowes, and the harquebuſiers did nothing at all: for they came thither ſo weake and feeble, that ſcarcely they coulde ſtand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the miſchiefe they could: ſo that twiſe they ſtroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great ſtones, which they caſt downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuertheleſſe my companie tooke mee vp with two ſmall wounds in the face, and an arrowe ſticking in my foote, and many blowes with ſtones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the ſecond time that they ſtrooke mee to the ground had not ſuccoured mee with ſtriding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleaſed God that the Indians yeelded themſelues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and ſuch ſtore of Maiz was found therein, as our neceſſitie required. The Maſter of the fielde, and Don Pedro de Touar, and Fernando de Aluarado, and Paul de Melgoſa Captaines of the footemen eſcaped with certaine knocks with ſtones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the ſhot of an arrowe, and one Torres a towneſman of Panuco was ſhot into the face with another, and two footemen more had two ſmall woundes with arrowes. And becauſe my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded then the reſt, not that I did more then they, or put my ſelfe forwarder then the reſt, for all theſe Gentlemen and ſouldiers carried themſelues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recouered I thanke God, although ſomewhat bruiſed with ſtones. Likewiſe in the ſkirmiſh which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other ſouldiers were hurt, and three horſes ſlaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonſo Manrique, and ſeuen or eight other horſes were wounded; but both the men and horſes are whole and ſound.

Chap. 3.

Of the ſituation and ſtate of the ſeuen cities called the Kingdome of *Cibola*, and of the cuſtomes and qualities of thoſe people, and of the beaſts which are fonnd there.

IT remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the ſeuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordſhip. And to bee briefe, I can aſſure your honour, he ſayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, ſauing onely the names of the cities, and great houſes of ſtone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueſes, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houſes of three or foure or fiue loftes high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers in ſtead of ſtaires, and certaine cellers vnder the ground very good and paued, which are made for winter, they are in maner like ſtooues: and the lathers which they haue for their houſes are all in a maner mooueable and portable, which are taken away and ſet downe when they pleaſe, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their ſteppes, as ours be. The ſeuen cities are ſeuen ſmall townes, all made with theſe kinde of houſes that I ſpeake of: and they ſtand all within foure leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well becauſe it is ſomewhat like vnto it, as alſo in remembrance of your lordſhip. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may bee ſome two hundred houſes, all compaſſed with walles, and I thinke that with the reſt of the houſes which are not ſo walled, they may be together fiue hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the ſeuen, & it is ſomwhat bigger then this, and another of the ſame bigneſſe that this is of, and the other foure are ſomewhat leſſe: and I ſend them all painted vnto your lordſhip with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne ſeeme vnto me of a reaſonable ſtature, and wittie, yet they ſeeme not to bee ſuch as they ſhould bee, of that iudgement and wit to builde theſe houſes in ſuch ſort as they are. For the moſt part they goe all naked, except their priuie partes which are couered: and they haue painted mantles like thoſe which I ſend vnto your lordſhip. They haue no cotton wooll growing, becauſe the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may ſee by the ſhewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houſes certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like thoſe of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and conditioned: And they haue Turqueſes I thinke good quantitie, which with the reſt of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conueyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth vnder fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes aboue ſixtie, ſauing two or three olde folkes, who ſtayed behinde to gouerne all the reſt of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emralds, and certaine ſmall ſtones broken which are in colour ſomewhat like Granates very bad, and other ſtones of Chriſtall, which I gaue one of my ſeruaunts to lay vp to ſend them to your lordſhip, and hee hath loſt them as hee telleth me. Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all theſe ſeuen cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeue them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then thoſe of Mexico. The ſeaſon which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for ſometime it is hotte, and ſometime it raineth: but hitherto I neuer ſawe it raine, but once there fell a little ſhowre with winde, as they are woont to fall in Spaine.

Excellent houſes foure or fiue loftes high.

Cibola is a prouince conteining ſeuen townes.

Fiue hundred houſes in Granada.

A painter neceſſarie in a new diſcouery.

Painted mantles.

Store of Turqueſes.

Emralds. Granates. Chriſtall.

Excellent and very great Guinie cocks.

Gomara hiſt. gen. Cap. 213. ſaith that the colde is by reaſon of the high mountaines.

A wood of Cedars.
Excellent graſſe.

Deere, hares, and conies.

Very good ſalte.
The Weſterne ſea within 150. leagues from Cibola.
Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkeſpicks, mightie ſheep, wilde goates.
Wilde Bores.
Deere.
Ounces.
Stagges.
They trauaile 8. dayes iourney toward the North ſea.
Oxe hides dreſſed and painted very cunningly.

The ſnow and cold are woont to be great, for ſo ſay the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely ſo to bee, both in reſpect of the maner of the Countrey, and by the faſhion of their houſes, and their furres and other things which this people haue to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no ſide mountainous: albeit there are ſome hillie and bad paſſages. There are ſmall ſtore of Foules: the cauſe whereof is the colde, and becauſe the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great ſtore of wood, becauſe they haue wood for their fuell ſufficient foure leagues off from a wood of ſmall Cedars. There is moſt excellent graſſe within a quarter of a league hence, for our horſes as well to feede them in paſture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee ſtoode in great neede, becauſe our horſes came hither ſo weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey haue, is Maiz, whereof they they haue great ſtore, and alſo ſmall white Peaſe: and Veniſon, which by all likelyhood they feede vpon, (though they ſay no) for wee found many ſkinnes of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the beſt cakes that euer I ſawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the fineſt order and way to grinde that wee euer ſawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They haue moſt excellent ſalte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Weſterne Sea, neither can I tell your lordſhip to which wee bee neereſt: But in reaſon they ſhould ſeeme to bee neereſt to the Weſterne Sea: and at the leaſt I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea ſhould bee much further off. Your lordſhip may ſee howe broad the land is here. Here are many ſorts of beaſts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkeſpicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horſe, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue ſeene their hornes ſo bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatneſſe. Here are alſo wilde goates whoſe heads likewiſe I haue ſeene, and the pawes of Beares, and the ſkins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are ſome bigger then that beaſt which your lordſhip beſtowed vpon me, which once belonged to Iohn Melaz. They trauell eight dayes iourney vnto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine ſkinnes well dreſſed, and they dreſſe them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for ſo they ſay themſelues.

Chap. 4.

Of the ſtate and qualities of the kingdomes of *Totonteac*, *Marata*, and *Acus*, quite contrary to the relation of Frier *Marcus*. The conference which they haue with the Indians of the citie of *Granada* which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres paſt foreſeene the comming of the Chriſtians into their countrey. The relation which they haue of other ſeuen cities, whereof *Tucano* is the principall, and how he ſent to diſcouer them. A preſent of diuers things had in theſe countreys ſent vnto the Viceroy *Mendoça* by *Vaſques de Coronado*.

Totonteac is an hotte lake.
Tadouac ſeemeth becauſe it is a lake, and endeth in ac to haue ſome affinitie herewith.
Other townes neere a riuer.

The kingdome of Totonteac ſo much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which ſayde that there were ſuch wonderfull things there, and ſuch great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians ſay is an hotte lake; about which are fiue or ſixe houſes; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely ſmall citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I ſay that this is a towne. For Acus with an aſpiration nor without, is no word of the countrey. And becauſe I geſſe that they would deriue Acucu of Acus, I ſay that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is conuerted. Beyond this towne they ſay there are other ſmall townes which are neere to a riuer which I haue ſeene and haue had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordſhip: neuertheleſſe I muſt ſay the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordſhip from Culiacan, I am nowe to aduertiſe your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee aſſured, that if all the riches and the treaſures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the ſeruice of his Maieſtie and of your lordſhippe, then I haue done in comming hither whither you haue ſent mee, my ſelfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our ſhoulders and vpon our horſes three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I ceaſe to mention, neither purpoſe I to depart vnto the death, if it pleaſe his Maieſtie and your lordſhip that it ſhall be ſo.

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians of theſe people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueſes and badde mantles, and I receiued them in his Maieſties name with all the good ſpeaches that I could deuiſe, certifying them of the purpoſe of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Maieſtie, and by the commaundement of your Lordſhip, that they and all the reſt of the people of this prouince ſhould become Chriſtians, and ſhould knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receiue his Maieſtie for their King, and earthly Soueraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houſes, and ſuddenly the next day they ſet in order all their goods and ſubſtance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leauing their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I ſawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recouered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I ſayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there ſome fewe of them, to whom I ſayde that they ſhould not bee afrayd, and that they ſhould call their gouernour vnto mee: howbeit, foraſmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any gouernour: for I ſawe not there any chiefe houſe, whereby any preeminence of one ouer another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which ſayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reaſoned that ſmall while that hee ſtayed with mee, and hee ſayd that within three dayes after, hee and the reſt of the chiefe of that towne would come and viſite mee, and giue order what courſe ſhould bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and ſome Turqueſes. I aduiſed them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wiues and children to their houſes, and to become Chriſtians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours maieſtie for their King and lorde. And euen to this preſent they keepe in thoſe ſtrong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they haue. I commaunded them that they ſhould paint mee out a cloth of all the beaſtes which they knowe in their countrey: And ſuch badde painters as they are, foorthwith they painted mee two clothes, one of their beaſtes, another of their birdes and fiſhes. They ſay that they will bring their children, that our religious men may inſtruct them, and that they deſire to knowe our lawe: And they aſſure vs, that aboue fiftie yeeres paſt it was prophecied among them, that a certaine people like vs ſhould come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they ſhould ſubdue all that countrey.

Turqueſes. Mantles.

The Indians flee to the hils with their wiues, children and goods.

A citie greater then Granada.

Two tables painted by the Indians, one of beaſts, another of birdes and fiſhes.

An old propheſie that thoſe parts ſhould be ſubdued by Chriſtians.

That which theſe Indians worſhip as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they ſay it cauſeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reaſon, but that their anceſters did ſo. I haue ſought by all meanes poſſible to learne of the inhabitants of theſe townes, whether they haue any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of ſeuen cities which are farre diſtant from this place, which are like vnto theſe, though they haue not houſes like vnto theſe, but they are of earth, and ſmall: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of theſe townes whereof they haue knowledge, they ſay is called Tucano: and they gaue mee no perfect knowledge of the reſt. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of neceſſitie I muſt ſpeedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they ſhall ſoone finde themſelues deceiued. I ſent Don Pedro de Touar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horſemen to ſee this towne: And I would not haue diſpatched this packet vnto your lordſhip, vntill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelue or fifteene dayes I might haue had newes from him: for hee will ſtay in this iourney thirtie dayes at leaſt. And hauing examined that the knowledge hereof is of ſmall importance, and that the colde and the waters approch: I thought it my duety to doe according as your lordſhip gaue mee charge in your inſtructions, which is, that immediatly vpon mine arriuall here, I ſhould ſignifie ſo much vnto your lordſhip, and ſo I doe, ſending withall the bare relation of that which I haue ſeene. I haue determined to ſend round about the countrey from hence to haue knowledge of all things, and rather to ſuffer all extremitie, then to leaue this enterpriſe to ſerue his maieſtie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, vntill your lordſhip ſend mee order what I ſhall doe. Wee haue great want of paſture: and your lordſhip alſo ſhal vnderſtand, that amongall thoſe which are here, there is not one pound of raiſins, nor ſuger, nor oyle, nor any wine, ſaue only one pinte which is ſaued to ſay Maſſe: for all is ſpent & ſpilt by the way. Now your lordſhip may prouide vs what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to ſend vs cattell, your lordſhip muſt vnderſtand that they will bee a ſommer in comming vnto vs: for they will not be able to come vnto vs any ſooner. I would haue ſent your lordſhippe with this diſpatch many muſters of things which are in this countrey: but the way is ſo long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe ſo: neuertheleſſe I ſend you twelue ſmall mantles, ſuch as the people of the countrey are woont to weare, and a certaine

They worſhip the water.

Seuen cities farre from Granada.

Tucano

The Spaniards victualling in diſcoueries.

A garment excellently imbroidered with needle worke.

An oxe-hide. Certaine Turqueſes.

The death of Stephan the Negro.

Acucu.

Gold and ſiluer found in Cibola.

garment alſo, which ſeemeth vnto me to bee well made: I kept the ſame, becauſe it ſeemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, becauſe I beleeue that no man euer ſawe any needle worke in theſe Indies, except it were ſince the Spaniards inhabited the ſame. I ſend your Lordſhippe alſo two clothes painted with the beaſts of this countrey, although as I haue ſayde, the picture bee very rudely done, becauſe the painter ſpent but one day in drawing of the ſame. I haue ſeene other pictures on the walles of the houſes of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I ſend your honour one Ox-hide, certaine Turqueſes, and two earerings of the ſame, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets ſet with theſe Turqueſes, and two ſmall baſkets made of wicker, whereof the Indians haue great ſtore. I ſend your lordſhip alſo two rolles which the women in theſe parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee vſe to doe in Spaine. And one of theſe Indian women with one of theſe rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the ſame with her hande vp a lather. I ſend you alſo a muſter of the weapons wherewith theſe people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as theſe conquerours ſay, haue neuer beene ſeene. I can ſay nothing vnto your lordſhippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them ſo carefully from vs, that hitherto I haue not ſeene any of them, ſauing onely two olde women, and theſe had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requeſted the Indians to giue me one of theſe robes, which they ware, to ſend your honour the the ſame, ſeeing they would not ſhewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which aree theſe, which I ſend you as it were painted: they haue two pendents like the women of Spaine, which hang ſomewhat ouer their ſhoulders. The death of the Negro is moſt certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, becauſe the Indians of Chichilticale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like vnto the Chriſtians: becauſe the Chriſtians kill no women: and hee killed women; and alſo he touched their women, which the Indians loue more then themſelues; therefore they determined to kill him: But they did it not after ſuch ſort as was reported, for they killed none of the reſt of thoſe that came with him: neither ſlewe they the young lad which was with him of the prouince of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in ſafe cuſtodie vntill nowe. And when I ſought to haue him, they excuſed themſelues two or three dayes to giue him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and ſometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in concluſion, when I tolde them that I ſhould bee very angry if they did not giue him mee, they gaue him vnto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well ſpeake their language, yet hee vnderſtandeth the ſame very well. In this place there is found ſome quantitie of golde and ſiluer, which thoſe which are ſkilfull in minerall matters eſteeme to be very good. To this houre I could neuer learne of theſe people from whence they haue it: And I ſee they refuſe to tell mee the trueth in all things, imagining, as I haue ſayde, that in ſhort time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they ſhall no longer excuſe themſelues. I beſeech your lordſhip to certifie his Maieſtie of the ſucceſſe of this voyage. For ſeeing wee haue no more then that which is aforeſayd, and vntill ſuch time as it pleaſe God that wee finde that which wee deſire, I meane not to write my ſelfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preſerue your Excellencie.

From the Prouince of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of Auguſt 1540.
Francis Vaſques de Coronado kiſſeth the hands of your Excellencie.

The reſt of this voyage to *Acuco*, *Tiguex*, *Cicuic*, and *Quiuira*, and vnto the Weſterne Ocean, is thus written in the generall hiſtorie of the Weſt *Indies* by *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, *Chap. 214.*

Acuco. The Weſterne ſea diſcouered. Tiguex. Axa and Quiuira.

BEcauſe they would not returne to Mexico without doing ſomething, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to paſſe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to Acuco, a towne vpon an exceeding ſtrong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horſemen went vnto the Sea: and Francis Vaſques went to Tiguex, which ſtandeth on the banke of a great riuer. There they had newes of Axa and Quiuira. There they ſayde was a King whoſe name was Tatarrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed vpon a payre of beades, which worſhipped a Croſſe of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heauen. This newes did greatly reioyce and cheere vp the armie: although ſome thought it to bee falſe, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in ſo rich a countrey as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horſes dead, which put the armie in feare. In their iourney they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they aſſaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horſes, and the inhabitants drewe into their towne Francis de Ouando wounded or dead, to eate and ſacrifice him as they thought, or peraduenture to ſee more perfectly, what maner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any ſigne of ſacrificing men. Our people layde ſiege vnto the towne, but could not take it in more then fiue and fortie dayes ſpace. The townesmen that were beſieged, dranke ſnowe in ſtead of water: and ſeeing themſelues forlorne they made a fire, wherein they caſt their mantles, feathers, Turqueſes and precious things, that thoſe ſtrangers might not enioy them. They iſſued out in a ſquadron with their women and children in the middeſt, to make way by force, and to ſaue themſelues, but fewe eſcaped the edge of our ſwordes and the horſes, and a certaine riuer which was neere the towne. Seuen Spaniards were ſlaine in this conflict, and foureſcore were wounded, and many horſes: whereby a man may ſee of what force reſolution is in neceſſitie. Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themſelues, vntill our men ſet fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes iourney to Cicuic, which is a ſmall towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the firſt day they killed foureſcore, which ſufficed the armie with fleſh. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which after their accompt, is almoſt three hundred leagues diſtant, through mighty plaines, and ſandie heathes ſo ſmooth, and weariſome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxe-dung for want of ſtones and trees, that they might not loſe themſelues at their returne: for three horſes were loſt on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his cõpanie on hunting. All that way & plaines are as full of crookbacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of ſheepe: but there is no people but ſuch as keepe thoſe cattell. They were a great ſuccour for the hunger and want of bread which our people ſtoode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great ſhowre of haile, as bigge as Orenges, which cauſed many teares, weakeneſſe, and vowes. At length they came to Quiuira and found Tatarrax, whome they ſought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a iewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards ſeeing the falſe report of ſo famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without ſeeing either croſſe or ſhewe of Chriſtianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vaſquez fell from his horſe in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which ſome tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, becauſe hee peopled not the countrey.

A towne burnt.

Another towne aſſaulted.

Mantles. Turqueſes. Feathers. Precious things.

Melons. Cotton. Large mantles.

Cicuic foure dayes iourney from Tiguex.

Quiuira.

Heapes of oxe dung made for markes to know the way.

The Spaniards returne to Tiguex, and ſo to Mexico 1542.

The Spaniards would haue inhabited the countrey.

Quiuira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much graſſe, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themſelues with oxe-hides and deeres ſkinnes. They ſawe ſhippes on the ſea coaſt, which bare Alcatrarzes or Pellicanes of golde and ſiluer in their prows, and were laden with marchandiſes, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, becauſe they ſhewed our men by ſignes that they had ſayled thirtie dayes.

Ships ſeene on the ſea coaſt of Quiuira, which were 30. dayes in ſayling thither.

Frier Iohn de Padilla ſtayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quiuira, with ſome dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis: Hee tooke with him horſes and mules with prouiſion. Hee tooke ſheepe and hennes of Caſtile, and ornaments to ſay Maſſe withall. The people of Quiuira ſlewe the Friers, and the Portugall eſcaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he eſcaped death, yet could hee not free himſelfe out of captiuitie: for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captiue, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee trauailed, hee bleſſed the people with a croſſe, whereunto they offered much, and whereſoeuer hee came, they gaue him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arriued at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed vp in a lace, and reported ſtrange things of the lands, riuers and mountaines that he had paſſed.

Andrew de Campo trauailed from Quiuira to Panuco.

It grieued Don Antonio de Mendoça very much that the army returned home: for hee had ſpent aboue threeſcore thouſand peſos of golde in the enterpriſe, and ought a great part thereof ſtill. Many ſought to haue dwelt there; but Francis Vaſquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not conſent, ſaying, that they could not maintaine nor defend

The cauſe why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

A garment excellently imbroidered with needle worke.

An oxe-hide. Certaine Turqueſes.

The death of Stephan the Negro.

Acucu.

Gold and ſiluer found in Cibola.

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Acuco. The Weſterne ſea diſcouered. Tiguex. Axa and Quiuira.

BEcauſe they would not returne to Mexico without doing ſomething, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to paſſe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to Acuco, a towne vpon an exceeding ſtrong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horſemen went vnto the Sea: and Francis Vaſques went to Tiguex, which ſtandeth on the banke of a great riuer. There they had newes of Axa and Quiuira. There they ſayde was a King whoſe name was Tatarrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed vpon a payre of beades, which worſhipped a Croſſe of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heauen. This newes did greatly reioyce and cheere vp the armie: although ſome thought it to bee falſe, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in ſo rich a countrey

trey as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horſes dead, which put the armie in feare. In their iourney they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they aſſaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horſes, and the inhabitants drewe into their towne Francis de Ouando wounded or dead, to eate and ſacrifice him as they thought, or peraduenture to ſee more perfectly, what maner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any ſigne of ſacrificing men. Our people layde ſiege vnto the towne, but could not take it in more then fiue and fortie dayes ſpace. The townesmen that were beſieged, dranke ſnowe in ſtead of water: and ſeeing themſelues forlorne they made a fire, wherein they caſt their mantles, feathers, Turqueſes and precious things, that thoſe ſtrangers might not enioy them. They iſſued out in a ſquadron with their women and children in the middeſt, to make way by force, and to ſaue themſelues, but fewe eſcaped the edge of our ſwordes and the horſes, and a certaine riuer which was neere the towne. Seuen Spaniards were ſlaine in this conflict, and foureſcore were wounded, and many horſes: whereby a man may ſee of what force reſolution is in neceſſitie. Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themſelues, vntill our men ſet fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes iourney to Cicuic, which is a ſmall towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the firſt day they killed foureſcore, which ſufficed the armie with fleſh. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which after their accompt, is almoſt three hundred leagues diſtant, through mighty plaines, and ſandie heathes ſo ſmooth, and weariſome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxe-dung for want of ſtones and trees, that they might not loſe themſelues at their returne: for three horſes were loſt on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his cõpanie on hunting. All that way & plaines are as full of crookbacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of ſheepe: but there is no people but ſuch as keepe thoſe cattell. They were a great ſuccour for the hunger and want of bread which our people ſtoode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great ſhowre of haile, as bigge as Orenges, which cauſed many teares, weakeneſſe, and vowes. At length they came to Quiuira and found Tatarrax, whome they ſought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a iewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards ſeeing the falſe report of ſo famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without ſeeing either croſſe or ſhewe of Chriſtianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vaſquez fell from his horſe in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which ſome tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, becauſe hee peopled not the countrey.

A towne burnt.
Another town aſſaulted.

Mantles.
Turqueſes.
Feathers.
Precious things.

Melons.
Cotton.
Large mantles.
Cicuic foure dayes iourney from Tiguex.
Quiuira.
Heapes of oxe dung made for markes to know the way.

The Spaniards returne to Tiguex, and ſo to Mexico 1542.
The Spaniards would haue inhabited the countrey.

Quiuira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much graſſe, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themſelues with oxe-hides and deeres ſkinnes. They ſawe ſhippes on the ſea coaſt, which bare Alcatrarzes or Pellicanes of golde and ſiluer in their prows, and were laden with marchandiſes, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, becauſe they ſhewed our men by ſignes that they had ſayled thirtie dayes.

Ships ſeene on the ſea coaſt of Quiuira, which were 30. dayes in ſayling thither.

Frier Iohn de Padilla ſtayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quiuira, with ſome dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis: Hee tooke with him horſes and mules with prouiſion. Hee tooke ſheepe and hennes of Caſtile, and ornaments to ſay Maſſe withall. The people of Quiuira ſlewe the Friers, and the Portugall eſcaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he eſcaped death, yet could hee not free himſelfe out of captiuitie: for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captiue, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee trauailed, hee bleſſed the people with a croſſe, whereunto they offered much, and whereſoeuer hee came, they gaue him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arriued at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed vp in a lace, and reported ſtrange things of the lands, riuers and mountaines that he had paſſed.

Andrew de Campo trauailed from Quiuira to Panuco.

It grieued Don Antonio de Mendoça very much that the army returned home: for hee had ſpent aboue threeſcore thouſand peſos of golde in the enterpriſe, and ought a great part thereof ſtill. Many ſought to haue dwelt there; but Francis Vaſquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not conſent, ſaying, that they could not maintaine nor defend

The cauſe why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

themſelues in ſo poore a countrey, and ſo farre from ſuccour. They trauailed aboue nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

The foreſayd *Francis Lopez de Gomara* in his generall hiſtorie of the Weſt *Indies*, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and ſtrange beaſts neuer ſeene nor heard of in our knowen world of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*: which ſomewhat reſembling our oxen, hauing high bunches on their backes like thoſe on the backes of Camels, are therefore called by him *Vacas corcobadas*, that is to ſay, Crooke-backed oxen, being very deformed & terrible in ſhewe, and fierce by nature: which notwithſtanding for foode, apparell, and other neceſſarie vſes, are moſt ſeruiceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of thoſe countreys. He reporteth alſo in the ſame chapter of certaine ſtrange ſheepe as bigge as horſes, and of dogs which vſe to carie burthens of 50. pound weight pound weight vpon their backes.

Theſe are much like the people that Captain Frobiſher brought into England from Meta incognita.

ALl the way betweene Cicuic and Quiuira is a moſt plaine ſoyle, without trees and ſtones, and hath but fewe and ſmall townes. The men clothe and ſhooe themſelues with lether; and the women which are eſteemed for their long lockes, couer their heads and ſecrets with the ſame. They haue no bread of any kinde of graine, as they ſay: which I account a very great matter. Their chiefeſt foode is fleſh, and that oftentimes they eate rawe, either of cuſtome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Oxe, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the ancient writers ſay that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it alſo colde diſſolued in water. They ſeeth not the fleſh for lacke of pots, but roſt it, or to ſay more properly, warme it at a fire of Oxe-dung: when they eate, they chawe their meate but little, and rauen vp much, and holding the fleſh with their teeth, they cut it with raſors of ſtone, which ſeemeth to be great beſtialitie: but ſuch is their maner of liuing and faſhion. They goe together in companies, and mooue from one place to another, as the wilde Moores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the ſeaſons, and the paſture after their Oxen.

The deſcription of the oxen of Quiuira.

Theſe Oxen are of the bigneſſe and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not ſo great. They haue a great bunch vpon their fore ſhoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part: and it is like wooll. They haue as it were an horſe-mane vpon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downeward. They haue great tuffes of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it ſeemeth that they haue beardes, becauſe of the great ſtore of haire hanging downe at their chinnes and throates. The males haue very long tailes, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: ſo that in ſome reſpect they reſemble the Lion, and in ſome other the Camell. They puſh with their hornes, they runne, they ouertake and kill an horſe when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beaſt of countenance and forme of bodie. The horſes fledde from them, either becauſe of their deformed ſhape, or elſe becauſe they had neuer ſeene them. Their maſters haue no other riches nor ſubſtance: of them they eat, they drinke, they apparel, they ſhooe themſelues: and of their hides they make many things, as houſes, ſhooes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their ſinewes and haire, threed: of their hornes, mawes, and bladders, veſſels: of their dung, fire: and of their calues-ſkinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee ſhort, they make ſo many things of them as they haue neede of, or as many as ſuffice them in the vſe of this life.

Sheepe as big as horſes.

There are alſo in this countrey other beaſtes as big as horſes, which becauſe they haue hornes and fine wool, they cal them ſheepe, and they ſay that euery horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

Mightie dogs carrying 50. pound weight.

There are alſo great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in ſackes when they goe on hunting, or when they remooue from place to place with their flockes and heards.

EL

EL VIAIE QVE HIZO ANTONIO de ESPEIO en el anno de ochenta y tres : el qual con ſus companneros deſcubrieron vna tierra en que hallaron quinze Prouincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de caſas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien puſieron por nombre El nueuo Mexico, por parecerſe en muchas coſas al viejo. Eſta à la parte del Norte, y ſe cree que por ella, y por poblado, ſe puede venir haſta llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador.

Del Nueuo Mexico, y de ſu deſcubrimiento, y lo que del ſe ſabe.

YA dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, ſe auian deſcubierto quinze Prouincias, aquien los inuentores llamaron El nueuo Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueua Eſpanna, y prometi de dar noticia del deſcubrimiento, como lo hare con la mayor breuedad que ſea poſſible, porque ſi vuiera de poner diffuſamente todo lo que vieron y ſupieron, fuera meneſter hazer dello nueua hiſtoria, La ſubſtancia dello es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y vno, teniendo noticia vn Religioſo de la Orden de ſant Franciſco, que ſe llamaua fray Auguſtin Ruyz, que moraua en el valle de ſant Bartholome, por relation de ciertos Indios Conchos que ſe comunicauan con otros ſus conuezinos llamados Paſſaguates: que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando ſiempre por tierra) auia ciertas poblaciones grandes, y nunca ſabidas de nueſtros Eſpannoles, ni deſcubiertas, con zelo de caridad, y de ſaluacion de las almas, pidio licencia al Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueua Eſpanna, y a ſus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprender ſu lengua, y ſabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el ſanto Euangelio. Alcançada la licentia de los ſobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de ſu meſma Orden, ſe partio con ocho ſoldados, que de voluntad le quiſieron acompannar, a poner en execucion ſu Chriſtiano y zeloſo intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia, que ſe llamaua de los Tiguas, diſtante de las minas de ſancta Barbola (de donde començaron la jornada) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta ocaſion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre vno de ſus dos companneros. El qual, los ſoldados que yuan cō el, viendo, y ſintiēdo el ſucceſſo, y temiēdo que del ſe podria ſeguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de comū conſentimiento de boluerſe a las minas de donde auian ſalido, con conſideracion de que la gente que yua era muy poca para reſiſtir a los ſucceſſos que ſe podian offrecer en tanta diſtancia de la viuienda de los Eſpannoles, y tan lexos del neceſſario ſocorro. Los dos Religioſos que hauian quedado, no ſolo no vinieron en ſu parecer, mas antes viendo la ocaſion para poner en execucion ſu buen deſſeo, y tanta mies madura para la meſa de Dios, viendo que no podian perſuadir a los ſoldados a paſſar adelante en el deſcubrimiento, ſe quedaron ellos en la dicha Prouincia con tres muchachos Indios, y vn meſtizo, que auian lleuado conſigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedaſſen ſolos, eſtauan alli ſeguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratauan. Llegados los ocho ſoldados adonde deſſeauā, embiaron luego la nueua al dicho Virey delo ſuccedido a la ciudad de Mexico, que diſta de las dichas minas de ſanta Barbora ciento y ſeſenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religioſos de ſant Franciſco la quedada de ſus hermanos : y timiendo no los mataſſen viendo los ſolos, començaron a mouer los animos de algunos ſoldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioſo de la meſma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornaſſen à la dicha Prouincia, a ſacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religioſos, y proſeguir con la empreſa començada.

Nueuo Mexico.

Auguſtin Ruys.

Tiguas.

Fray Bernardino Beltran.

En eſta a ſazon eſtaua en las dichas minas por cierta ocaſion vn vezino de la ciudad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Eſpejo, hombre rico, y de mucho animo y induſtria, y zeloſo del ſeruicio de la maieſtad del Rey Don Philippe nueſtro ſennor, natural de Cordoua. El qual como entendieſſe el deſſeo delos dichos religioſos, y la importancia del negocio, ſe offrecio a la jornada, y a gaſtar enella parte de ſu hazienda, y a rieſgar ſu vida, ſiendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna perſona que repreſentaſſe a ſu maieſtad, la qual procurandola los dichos religioſos, le fue dada por el Capitan Iuā de Ontiueros Alcalde mayor por ſu mageſtad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que ſon en la gouuernacion de la Nueua Vizcaya,

Antonio de Eſpejo morio en la Hauana 1589.

Nueua Bizcaya.

Vizcaya, ſetenta leguas de las dichas minas de ſanta Barbora, aſſi para que el pudieſſe yr, como para que iuntaſſe la gente y ſoldados pue pudieſſe, para que le acompannaſſen, y ayudaſſen a conſeguir ſu Chriſtiano intento.

El dicho Antonio de Eſpejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos dias iuntò los ſoldados y baſtimentos neceſſarios para hazer la iornada, gaſtando en ello buena parte de ſu hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de ſant Bartholome a los diez. de Nouiembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, lleuando para lo que ſe offrecieſſe ciento y quinze cauallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y baſtimentos, y alguna gente de ſeruicio.

Conchos Indios.

Endereço ſu camino hazia el Norte, y a dos jornadas topo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherias o poblaciones de caſas pagicas. Los quales como lo ſupieſſen, y tuuieſſen dello relacion muy de atras, los ſalieron a recebir con mueſtras de alegria. La comida deſtos, y de los de la Prouincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que matan, y lo ay todo en grandiſſima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabaças, y melones, y en abundancia: y ay muchos rios que crian mucha cantidad de peſcado muy bueno, y de diuerſas ſuertes: andan caſi todos deſnudos, y las armas que vſan ſon arco y flecha, y viuen debaxo de gouierno, y ſennorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adoraſſen à nadie, por lo qual facilmente conſintieron en que les puſieſſen los Chriſtianos cruzes, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, deſpues de auer ſido informados de los nueſtros de la ſignificacion dellas, que ſe hizo por interpretes que lleuauan, por cuyo medio ſupieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, acompannandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas eſtauan pobladas de gente de ſu nacion, y los ſalian a recebir de paz, por auiſo que embiauan los Caciques de vnos pueblos a otros.

Paſſaguates Indios.

Muchas minas de plata.

Toboſos Indios.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Paſſaguates, los quales viuiã al modo que los ya dichos Conchos ſus conuezinos, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quatro jornadas, con los auiſos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha: hallaron los nueſtros en eſte camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Vna jornada deſtas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Toboſos, los quales en viendo el raſtro de los nueſtros, ſe huyeron a las ſierras, dexando ſus caſas y pueblos deſiertos. Supoſe deſpues que algunos annos antes auian acudido por alli ciertos ſoldados que yuan en buſca de minas, y auian lleuado cautiuos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temeroſos y abiſpados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fueſſen a llamar, aſſegurandolos de que no les ſeria hecho ningun mal, y dioſe tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, aquien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yuan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual ſe boluieron todos a ſoſſegar, y conſintierõ les puſieſſen Cruzes, y declaraſſen el myſterio dellas, moſtrando recebir dello gran contentamiento, en cuya demoſtracion los fueron acompannando, como lo auian hecho ſus vezinos, haſta que los metieron en tierra poblada de otra nacion differente, que diſtauan de la ſuya coſa de doze leguas: vſan arco, y flecha, y andan deſnudos.

Proſigueſe del deſcubrimiento del Nueuo Mexico.

Iumanos Indios.

LA nacion haſta donde los dicho Toboſos los guiaron ſe llamaua Iumanos, a quien por otro nombre llaman los Eſpannoles Patarabueyes: tienen vna Prouincia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las caſas eran con açoteas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los roſtros rayados, y los braços, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que haſta alli auian viſto, y tenian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantidad de peſcado, a cauſa de tener grandes rios qne vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquiuir, el qual entra en la propria mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agua ſalada que ſe quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y ſe haze muy buena ſal. Es gente bellicoſa, y moſtraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nueſtros aſſentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cauallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, ſino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho eſte mal recado, deſpoblaron el lugar, y ſe ſubieron a vna ſierra que eſtaua cerca, adonde fue luego por la mannana el Capitan con otros cinco ſoldados bien armados con vn interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de ſu meſma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a ſu pueblo y caſas, y perſuadiendolos a que dieſſen auiſo a ſus vezinos

Rio del Norte.

Buena ſal.

de que no eran hombres: que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yuan a tomar ſus haziendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con ſu prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas ſartas de quentas de vidrio que lleuaua para eſte effecto, y ſombreros, y otras ninnerias: con eſte, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, ſe fueron muchos dellos en compannia de los nueſtros algunos dias, caminando ſiempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, por toda la qual hauia muchos pueblos de Indios deſta nacion, que duraron por eſpacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales auiſados los vnos Caciques de los otros ſalian a recebir a los nueſtros ſin arcos, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadiuas, en eſpecial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en eſto las de Flandes. Es gente toda veſtida, y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbre de nueſtra ſancta Fee, porque ſennalauan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en ſu lengua Apalito, y le conocen por ſennor, de cuya larga mano, y miſericordia confieſſan auer recibido la vida, y el ſer natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos, y las mugeres y ninnos, a que el Religioſo, que diximos que yua con el dicho Capitan y ſoldados, los ſantiguaſſe, y echaſſe la benedicion: el qual como les preguntaſſe de quien auian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: reſpondieron, que de tres Chriſtianos, y vn negro, que auian paſſado por alli, y detenidoſe algunos dias en ſu tierra, que ſegun las ſennas que dieron, eran Aluar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Caſtillo Maldonado, y vn negro, que todos ellos auian eſcapado de la armada con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y deſpues de auer ſido muchos dias eſclauos, vinieron a dar a eſtos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y ſanando con el tocamento ſolo de ſus manos muchos enfermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda eſta Prouincia quedo de paz, y muy ſoſſegada, en cuya demonſtracion fueron acompannando y ſiruiendo a los nueſtros algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

Rio grande.

12 Iornadas.

Apalito.

A pocos dias toparon con vna gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los ſalieron a recebir por nueua que tuuieron de ſus vezinos, y les ſacaron muchas coſas muy curioſas de pluma de differentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodon barretadas de azul y blanco, como las que traen de la China, para reſcatarlas, y trocarlas por otras coſas. Yuan todos, aſſi hombres como mugeres, y ninnos veſtidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nunca pudieron los nueſtros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que intendieſſe ſu lengua, aunque por ſennas tratauan con ellos, à los quales como les moſtraſſen algunas piedras de metal rico, y les preguntaſſen ſi hauia de aquello en ſu tierra: Reſpondieró por las meſmas ſennas que cinco dias de camino de alli hazia el Poniente, auia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiarian para alla, y ſe lo moſtrarian, como lo cumplieron deſpues, acompannandolos por eſpacio de veynte y dos leguas, todas pobladas de gente de ſu meſma nació: a quien immediatamente ſe ſeguia por el meſmo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la paſſada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos preſentes, eſpecialmente de peſcado que hauia infinito, a cauſa de vnas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli hauia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Eſtuuieron entre eſtos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a ſu modo, con particular ſignification de alegria: no ſe ſupo como ſe llamaua eſta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que ſe extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre eſtos hallaron vn Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y ſennalo, *que quinze iornadas de alli hazia el Poniente hauia vna laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grandes pueblos, y caſas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien veſtida, y la tierra de muchos baſtimentos*, el qual ſe offrecio de lleuarlos alla, y holgaran los nueſtros dello, y ſolo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, pro proſeguir el intento con que auian començado la jornada, que era yr al Norte a dar ſocorro a los Religioſos arriba dichos.

Otra Prouincia.

Metal rico.

Otra prouincia.
Lagunas grandes.

Laguna muy ancha.

En eſta Prouincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que hauia muy buen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras coſas particulares, y de prouecho.

Muchos Metales ricos.

Deſta Prouincia fueron ſiguiendo ſu derrota por eſpacio de quinze dias, ſin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grãdes pinales de pinnas y pinnones, como los de Caſtilla: al cabo de los quales auiendo caminado a ſu parecer ochenta leguas, toparon vna pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en ſus caſas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien aderçados como los de Flandes, y mucha ſal blanca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hoſpedaje dos dias que alli eſtuuieron, deſpues delos quales los acompannaron como doze leguas a vnas poblaciones grandes, caminando ſiempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, haſta llegar a la tierra que llaman el Nueuo Mexico.

Sal blanca.
Rio Turbio del Norte.
Nueuo Mexico.

Caſas de quatro altos. Eſtufas.

Suelas de vaca.

Cuero de vaca.

Eſtaua toda la ribera del dicho rio llena de grandiſſimas alamedas de alamos blancos, y en partes tomauan quatro leguas de ancho, y anſi meſmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Caſtilla. Auiendo caminado dos dias por eſtas alamedas, y noguerales, toparó diez pueblos que eſtauã aſſentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, ſin otros que ſe moſtrauan mas deſuiados, en los quales les parecio auia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron paſſauan en numero de diez mil animas. En eſta Prouincia los regalaró mucho cõ recebimientos, y con lleuarlos a ſus pueblos, donde les dauan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras coſas, y todo con gran voluntad. Aqui hallaron caſas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos apoſentos, y en las mas dellas auia eſtufas para tiempo de inuierno. Andauan veſtidos de algodon, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, aſſi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les cauſo mas eſtranneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andauan calçados con çapatos y botas de buen cuero con ſuelas de vaca, coſa que haſta alli nunca la auian viſto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compueſto, y ſin coſa ſobre la cabeça. En todos eſtos pueblos auia Caciques que los gouernauan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar ſus mandamientos, los quales van por el pueblo, diziendo à vozes la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra. En eſta Prouincia hallaron los nueſtros muchos Idolos que adorauan, y en eſpecial que tenian en cada caſa vn templo para el Demonio, donde le lleuauan de ordinario de comer, y otra coſa, que de la manera que entre los Chriſtianos tenemos en los caminos cruzes; aſſi tienen ellos vnas como capillas altas, donde dizẽ, deſcanſa, y ſe recrea el Demonio, quando va de vn pueblo a otro: las quales eſtan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las ſementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a vn lado dellas vn portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y paſſan la ſieſta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y eſtan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales. Las armas que vſan ſon arcos muy fuertes, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que paſſan vna cota, y macanas, que ſon vnos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que baſtan a partir por medio vn hombre, y anſi meſmo vnas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudio.

Proſigueſe del Nueuo Mexico, y de las coſas que en el ſe vieron.

Tiguas. Poala.

Metales muy buenos.

Deſpues de auer eſtado en eſta Prouincia quatro dias, y a poca diſtancia toparon con otra, que ſe llamaua la Prouincia de los Tiguas, en la qual auia diez y ſeys pueblos: en el vno de los quales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que auian muerto los indios à los dichos dos padres fray Franciſco Lopez, y fray Auguſtin, a quien yuan a buſcar, y juntamente a tres muchachos, y vn meſtizo. Quando los deſte pueblo, y ſus conuezinos vieron a los nueſtros, remordiendo les la propria conſciencia, y temiendoſe que yuan a caſtigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los oſaron eſperar, antes dexando ſus caſas deſiertas ſe ſubieron a las ſierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, aunque lo procuraron con alagos y mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y caſas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas ſuertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No ſe pudo entender claramente que tanta gente fueſſe la deſta Prouincia, por cauſa de auerſe (como ya dixe) ſubido a la ſierra.

Nueua Vizcaya. Nota diligentiſſime.

Otra prouincia.

Minas ricas.

Auiendo hallado muertos a los que buſcauan, entraron en conſulta ſobre ſi ſe boluerian à la Nueua Vizcaya, de donde hauian ſalido, o paſſarian adelante: en lo qual vuo diuerſos pareceres: pero como alli entendieſſen, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Prouincia, y muy diſtante de alli hauian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandoſe alli tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Eſpejo de conſentimiento del Religioſo ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de ſus ſoldados, y companneros, de proſeguir con el deſcubrimiento haſta ver en que paraua, para poder dar dello noticia cierta y clara a ſu Mageſtad, como teſtigos de viſta: y aſſi conformes determinaron que quedandoſe alli el Real, fueſſen el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de ſu deſſeo, que lo puſieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a ſu parecer paſſaua en numero de quarenta mil animas: era tierra muy fertil y baſtecida, cuyos confines eſtan immediatamente juntos con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros ſe viſten, y de algodon: ſiguiendo en la manera del gouierno el orden que guarden ſus conuezinos: ay ſennales de muchas minas ricas, y aſſi hallauan metales dellas en algunas caſas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos: recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Viſto eſto, y la diſpoſicion de la tierra, ſe boluieron al real de donde auian ſalido, a dar noticia a ſus companneros de todo lo ſobredicho.

Llegados al Real (como eſta dicho) tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, llamada los Quires, que eſtaua el rio del Norte arriba ſeys leguas de diſtancia, y como ſe partieſſen para alla, y llegaſſen vna legua della, les ſalieron a recebir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que ſe fueſſen con ellos a ſus pueblos, que como lo hizieſſen, fueron muy bien recebidos y regalados. Vieron ſolamente cinco pueblos en eſta Prouincia, en los quales auia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron paſſaua de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como ſus vezinos. Hallaron en vno deſtos pueblos vna Vrraca en vna jaula, como ſe vſa en Caſtilla, y tiraſoles, como los que ſe traen de la China, pintados en ellos el ſol y la luna, y muchas eſtrellas. Donde como tomaſſen la altura, ſe hallaron en treynta y ſiete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Quires

Salieron deſta Prouincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Prouincia, llamada los Cunames, donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande ſe llamaua Cia, que era tan grande que tenia ocho plaças, cuyas caſas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que hauian viſto en las Prouincias atras: parecioles que la gente que vieron paſſauan de veynte mil animas: hizieron preſente a los nueſtros de muchas mantas curioſas, y de coſas de comer muy bien guiſadas, y juzgaron ſer la gente mas curioſa, y de mayor policia, de quantas haſta alli hauian viſto, y de mejor gouierno: monſtraronles ricos metales, y vnas ſierras alli cerca de donde los ſacauan. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, que ſtaua hazia el Nordueſte, que ſe determinaron de yr a ella.

Cunames Indios.
Cia.
Ricos metales.

Como vuieſſen andado como ſeys leguas, toparon con la dicha Prouincia, que ſe llamaua de los Amejes, en la qual hauia ſiete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a ſu entender mas de treynta mil animas. Vno deſtos ſiete pueblos dixeron era muy grande y hermoſo, que le dexaron de yr a ver, aſſi por eſtar detras de vna ſierra, como por temor de algun ruyn ſucceſſo, ſi a caſo ſe diuidian los vnos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Prouincia ſu vezina, y tan abaſtada como ella, y de tan buen gouierno,

Amejes.

A quinze leguas deſta Prouincia, caminando ſiempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron vn pueblo grande llamado Acoma, era de mas de ſeys mil animas, y eſtaua aſſẽtado ſobre vno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta eſtados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada ſino por vna eſcalera que eſtaua hecha en la propria penna, coſa que admiro mucho a los nueſtros: toda el agua que en el pueblo auia era de ciſternas,

15 Leguas.
Acoma.

Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Eſpannoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas, y gran cantidad de baſtimentos. Tienen ſus ſembrados dos leguas de alli, y ſacan el agua para regarlos de vn rio pequenno que eſta cerca, en cuya ribera vieron muy grandes roſales como los de aca de Caſtilla. Ay muchas ſierras con ſennales de metales, aunque no ſubieron a verlo, por ſer los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicoſos. Eſtuuieron los nueſtros en eſte lugar tres dias, en vno de los quales los naturales les hizieron vn bayle muy ſolenne, ſaliendo a el con galanos veſtidos, y con juegos muy ingenioſos, con que holgaron en ſe eſtremo.

Metales.

Veynte y quartro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente, dieron con vna Prouincia, que ſe nombra en lengua de los naturales Zuny, y la llaman los Eſpannoles Cibola, ay en ella grã cantidad de Indios, en la qual eſtuuo Franciſco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruzes pueſtas, y otras ſennales de Chriſtianidad que ſiempre ſe eſtauan en pie. Hallaron anſi meſmo tres Indios Chriſtianos que ſe auian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaſpar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales tenian caſi oluidada ſu meſma lengua, y ſabian muy bien la delos naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron ſe entendieron facilmente. De quien ſupieron que ſeſenta jornadas de alli auia vna laguna, o lago muy grande, en cuyas riberas eſtauan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras dello: y que como el ſobredicho Franciſco Vazquez Coronado tuuieſſe noticia muy cierta dello, hauia ſalido deſta Prouincia de Cibola para yr alla, y auiendo andado doze jornadas le falto el agua, y ſe determino de boluer, como lo hizo, con determinacion de tornar otra vez mas de propoſito a ello, que deſpues no lo puſo en execució, porque la muerte le atajo los paſſos y penſamientos.

24 leguas.
Zuny o Cibola.
60 Iornadas.
Lago muy grande
mucho oro.

Proſigue del Nueuo Mexico.

A La nueua de la riqueza dicha, quiſo acudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Eſpejo, y aunque eran de ſu parecer algunos de ſus companneros, la mayor parte, y el Religioſo fue

de

Nueua Viſcaia.

28 Leguas.
Otra Prouincia

Zaguato o Ahuato pueblo.

de contrario : diziendo,era ya tiempo de bolverſe à la nueua Viſcaya de donde hauian ſalido, a dar cuenta de lo que auian viſto: que lo puſieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte,dexando al Capitan con nueue companneros que le quiſieron ſeguir : el qual, deſpues de hauerſe certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello auia muy buenos,ſalio con los dichos ſus companneros deſta prouincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, deſpues de hauer andado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande, en la qual les parecio hauia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como ſupieſſen ſu llegada, les embiaron vn recado, diziendo, que ſi no querian que los mataſſen,no ſe acercaſſen mas a ſus pueblos : a lo qual reſpondio el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yuan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que aſſi les rogauan no ſe puſieſſen en lleuar adelante ſu intento, dando al menſajero algunas coſas de las que lleuaua : el qual ſupo tan bien abonar a los nueſtros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entraſſen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la prouincia de *Cibola* ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Vna legua antes que llegaſſen al primer pueblo, les ſalieron a recebir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de baſtimentos , a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas coſas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ſer de mucho, y las eſtimaron mas que ſi fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que ſe llamaua Zaguato, ſalio a recebirlos gran muchedumbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demoſtracion de plazer y regozijo, que echauan mucha harina de maiz por el ſuelo, para que la piſaſſen los cauallos : con eſta fieſta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hoſpedados, y regalados, que ſe lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales ſombreros, y quentas de vidrio, y otras muchas coſas que lleuaua para ſemejantes offrecimientos.

Metales ricos,
La laguna grande arriba dicha.

Deſpacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Prouincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los hueſpedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteſes, y no les hazian mal : lo qual fue baſtante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de preſentes para los nueſtros, y de que los importunaſſen,fueſſen con ellos a holgarſe a ſus pueblos, que lo hizieron,aunque ſiempre con recado de lo que podia ſucceder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan vſo de vna cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cauallos eran muy brauos, y les auian dicho que los querian matar, ſeria neceſſario hazer vn fuerte de calicanto donde meter los para euitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dentro de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nueſtros querian con vna preſteza increyble. Demas deſto, diziendo el Capitan que ſe queria yr, le traxeron vn preſente de 40. mil mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas coſas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que moſtrauan tener mucha plata. Hallaron entre eſtos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundantia de oro.

45 Leguas.
Riquiſſimos metales.

Rio grandiſſimo.
Mar del Norte.

Fiado el Capitan deſta gente, y de ſus buenos animos, acordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de ſus companneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que ſe boluieſſen a la prouincia de *Zuny* con el bagaje, y de yrſe el con los quatro que quedauan a la ligera en deſcubrimẽto de cierta noticia que tenia de vnas minas muy ricas. Lo qual pueſto por obra ſe partio con las guias que lleuaua, y como vuieſſe caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y ſaco con ſus proprias manos riquiſſimos metales, y de mucha plata: y las minas,que eran de vna veta muy ancha,eſtauan en vna ſierra adonde ſe podia ſubir con facilidad, a cauſa de hauer para ello camino abierto. Cerca de las auia algunos pueblos de Indios ſerranos que les hizieron amiſtad, y los ſalieron a recebir con Cruzes en las cabeças, y otras ſennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas hauia muchas parras de vuas muy buenas, y grandes nogueraIes, y mucho lino como lo de Caſtilla, y dixeron por ſennas que detras de aquellas ſierras eſtaua vno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho,pero no ſe pudo entender que tan cerca,aunque hizieron demonſtracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de vna y orta banda ay muchos pueblos tan grandes, que en ſu comparacion aquellos en que eſtaua eran barrios.

Zuni,
o Cibola.

Deſpues de hauer tomado toda eſta relaciõ, ſe partio el dicho Capitan para la Prouincia de *Zuny*, adonde hauia mandado yr a los dichos companneros : y como llegaſſe a ella con ſalud, hauiendo ydo por muy buen camino, hallo con ella a ſus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los ſoldados que ſe auian determinado de boluer, como ya diximos, que aun no ſe auian partido, por ciertas ocaſiones : a los quales los naturales hauian hecho muy buen tratamiento, y dadoles todo lo neceſſario muy complidamente, haziendo deſpues lo meſmo çon el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien ſalieron a recebir con demonſtracion de alegria, y dieron muchos baſtimentos para la jornada que hauian de hazer, rogandoles que boluiſſen con breuedad, y traxeſſen muchos Caſtillas (que aſſi llaman a los Eſpannoles) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazer con comodidad auian ſembrado aquel anno mas trigo y ſemillas, que en todos los paſſados.

En eſte tiempo ſe retificaron en ſu primera determinacion el dicho religioſo, y los ſoldados arriba dichos, y acordaron de boluerſe a la prouincia de donde auian ſalido con el deſignio que queda dicho, a quien ſe junto Gregorio Hernandez que auia ſido Alferez en la jornada: los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con ſolos ocho ſoldados, ſe reſoluio de ſeguir lo començado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puſo por obra. Y hauiendo caminado como ſeſenta leguas hazia la prouincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la parte del Oriente, hallaron vna prouincia que ſe llamaua los Hubates, donde los Indios los recibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de alli hauia vnas minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y ſacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los quales ſe boluieron al pueblo de donde auian ſalido. Iuzgaron eſta prouincia por de haſta veynte y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien veſtidos de mantas de algodon pintadas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las caſas de los pueblos ſon de quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra prouincia que eſtaua vna jornada de alli, que ſe llamaua de los Tamos, en que hauia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegaſſen no les quiſieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en ſus pueblos: por lo qual, y por el peligro en que eſtauan, y eſtar algunos ſoldados enfermos, y ſer tan pocos (como hauemos dicho) ſe determinaron de yrſe ſaliendo para tierra de Chriſtianos, y lo puſieron en execucion a principio de Iulio del anno de ochenta y tres, ſiendo guiados por vn Indio que ſe fue con ellos, y los lleuo por camino differente del que a la venida hauian traydo, por vn rio abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por auer gran muchedumbre dellas en toda ſu ribera, por donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente: de aqui ſalieron al rio de los Conchos por donde auian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholome de donde hauian ſalido para dar principio al deſcubrimiento: y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho fray Bernardino Beltran, y ſus companneros auian llegado a ſaluamento al dicho pueblo muchos dias hauía, y que de alli ſe auian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en eſte pueblo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Eſpejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, la qual embio luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a ſu Mageſtad, y a los ſennores, de ſu Real Conſejo de las Indias, para que ordenaſſen lo que fueſſen ſeruidos, que lo han ya hecho con mucho cuydado. Nueſtro Sennor ſe ſirua de ayudar eſte negocio, de modo que tantas almas redemidas con ſu ſangre no ſe condenen, de cuyos buenos ingenios (en que exceden a los de Mexico y Peru, ſegun ſe entendio de los que los trataron) ſe puede preſumir, abraçaran con facilidad la ley Euangelica, dexando la idolatria, que agora la mayor parte dellos tiene: que lo haga Dios como puede para honra y gloria ſuya, y augmento de la ſancta fe Catholica.

Seſenta leguas.

Hubates Indios.

Minas muy ricas. 25000.

Tamos. 40000.

They returne.

Iulio. 1583.

Rio de las vacas.

Ciento y veynte leguas.

Rio de los Conchos.

Guadiana.

Nota.

A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the firſt made by frier *Auguſtin Ruyz* a Franciſcan, in the yeere 1581: the ſecond by *Antonio de Eſpejo* in the yere 1583: who together with his company diſcouered a land wherin they found fifteene prouinces all full of townes, conteining houſes of foure and fiue ſtories high, which they named *New Mexico*; for that in many reſpects it reſembleth the prouince of *Olde Mexico*. This land is ſituate to the North of *Nueua Eſpanna*, and ſtretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may trauell euen to *Terra de Labrador*. Taken out of the hiſtory of *China* written by Frier *Iuan Gonzalez de Mendoça*, and printed in *Madrid* 1586.

I Haue now declared in the title of this preſent diſcourſe, that in the yeere 1583 there were diſcouered fifteene prouinces, which the diſcouerers called New Mexico, ſituate on the firme land of Nueua Eſpanna, and I promiſed to giue notice of the ſayd diſcouery, which I will do with as much breuity as is poſſible: for if I ſhould record at large all particulars which they ſaw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full hiſtory. The ſubſtance thereof is as followeth.

In the yere of our Lord 1581 a certaine Franciſcan frier called Auguſtin Ruiz which dwelt in the valley of S. Bartholomew, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called Conchos,

The firſt voyage made by Frier Auguſtin Ruiz to the prouince de los Tiguas.

which had dealings and conuerſation with other of their neighbours called Paſſaguates; that toward the North, trauelling alwayes by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto knowen nor diſcouered by our Spanyards: mooued with a zeale of charity, and a deſire to ſaue ſoules, craued licence of the Conde of Corunna as the Viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna, and of his superiours, to go to the ſayd townes, and to endeuour to learne their language, and hauing learned the ſame, to baptize them, and to preach the holy Goſpel vnto them. After he had obteined licence of the parties aforeſayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight souldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Chriſtian and zealous intent. Who after certeine dayes trauell came vnto a countrey called The prouince de los Tiguas diſtant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their iourney, 250 leagues towards the North: in which prouince the inhabitants, vpon a certaine occaſion, ſlew one of the ſayd friers two companions. The ſouldiers that went with him ſeeing this miſhap, and perceiuing the ſucceſſe, and likewiſe fearing, that thereof might happen ſome greater danger, determined with a common conſent to return vnto the mines from whence they departed: conſidering that their company was too ſmall to reſiſt the dangers that might happen, being ſo farre diſtant from the dwellings of the Spanyards, and from all neceſſary ſuccour. But the two friers which remained aliue did not onely refuſe their determination, but rather ſeeing fit occaſion to put their good deſire in execution, and ſo great a harueſt ripe for the Lords table, becauſe they could not perſuade the ſouldiers to proceed any further in that diſcouery, remained behinde in the ſayd prouince with three Indian boyes, and one Meſtiço whom they had caried with them; thinking that although they remained alone, yet ſhould they be there in ſecuritie, by reaſon of the great affability and loue which the people of that place ſhewed vnto them.

The chiefe of theſe 8 ſouldiers was Franciſco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of theſe prouinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands.

The prouince de los Tiguas diſtant 250 legues Northward from the mines of Santa Barbara.

The eight ſouldiers being returned to their wiſhed home, immediatly ſent newes of all that had paſſed to the Viceroy vnto the city of Mexico, which is diſtant from the ſayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

The mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues diſtant from Mexico.

The friers of Sant Francis were very much agrieued at the ſtaying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing leaſt the Sauages would kill them ſeeing them left alone, they began to mooue the minds of certaine ſouldiers to make another voyage to the ſayd prouince in the company of another frier of the foreſayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliuer the aforeſayd two religious men out of danger, and to proſecute their former enterpriſe.

The ſecond voyage.

At the ſame time there was at the foreſayd mines vpon ſome occaſion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Eſpejo, a rich man, and of great courage and induſtry, and very zealous in the ſeruice of king Philip his ſoueraine, and was borne in Cordoua. Who vnderſtanding the deſire of the foreſayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himſelfe to go on that voyage, and alſo to ſpend part of his ſubſtance, and to aduenture his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the ſame purpoſe from ſome perſon ſufficiently authorized by his Maieſtie. Which licence at the ſayd friers procurement was granted vnto him by the gouernour Iuan de Ontiueros the kings Alcalde mayór or chiefe Iuſtice in the townes called Las quatro Cienegas ſituate within the iuriſdiction of Nueua Biſcaya ſeuenty leagues from the ſayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the ſayd voyage, and alſo to aſſemble ſuch people and ſouldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Chriſtian intent.

Las quatro Cienegas in the prouince of Nueua Biſcaya 70 leagues frō the mines of Santa Barbara.

The ſayd Antonio de Eſpejo was ſo earneſt in this matter, that in very few dayes he had gathered a company of ſouldiers, and made prouiſion of things neceſſary for his voyage, ſpending therein a good part of his ſubſtance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582; taking with him (for whatſoeuer ſhould happen) 115 horſes and mules, with great ſtore of weapons, munition, and victuals, and ſome Indians to ſerue him in his iourney.

Antonio de Eſpejo his ſetting forth frō the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582.

Directing his courſe toward the North, after two dayes iourney he met with great ſtore of the foreſayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages couered with ſtraw. Who, ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood of his approch, hauing newes thereof long before, came foorth to receiue him with ſhewes of great ioy. The food of this people and of all the reſt of that prouince, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all which they haue great abundance. Alſo they haue great ſtore of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentifull: and there are many riuers full of excellent fiſh of diuers ſorts. They goe almoſt naked, and the weapons that they vſe are bowes & arrowes, and liue vnder the gouernment and lordſhip of Caçiques like thoſe of Mexico: they found no idols among them, neither could they vnderſtand that they worſhipped any thing; whereupon they eaſily conſented that the Spa-

Indians called Conchos.

Many riuers.

nyards ſhould ſet vp croſſes, and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the ſignification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them; by whoſe meanes they vnderſtood of other townes, whither the ſayd Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company aboue foure & twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation: and at all places where they came they were peaceably receiued by aduice that was ſent by the Caçiques from one towne to another.

Hauing paſſed the foure and twenty leagues aforeſayd, they came vnto another nation of Indians called Paſſaguates, who liue after the maner of the foreſayd Conchos their borderers, and did vnto them as the others had done, conducting them forward other foure dayes iourney, with aduice of the Caçiques, as before. The Spanyards found in this iourney many mines of ſiluer, which according to the iudgement of ſkilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

Paſſaguates.

Very great and rich ſiluer mines.

A dayes iourney from thence they met with another nation called Toboſos, who ſo ſoone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde vnto the mountaines, leauing their townes and houſes deſolate. Afterward wee vnderſtood that certeine yeeres paſt there came vnto that place certaine ſouldiers to ſeeke mines, who caried away captiue certaine of the people of the countrey, which cauſed the reſt of them to be ſo ſhey and fearefull. The captaine ſent meſſengers to call them backe againe, aſſuring them that they ſhould not ſuſtaine any harme, and handled the matter ſo diſcreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gaue them gifts, vſing them kindly, and declaring vnto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man: whereupon they were all quieted, and were content they ſhould ſet vp croſſes, and declare the myſtery of the ſame, making ſhew that they were highly pleaſed therewith. For prooſe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, vntill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was diſtant from theirs ſome 12 leagues. They vſe bowes and arrowes and go naked.

Toboſos.

The nation vnto which the ſayd Toboſos conducted them, is called Iumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patarabueyes: their prouince is very great, conteining many townes and great ſtore of people: their houſes are flat-roofed, and built of lime and ſtone, and the ſtreets of their townes are placed in good order. All the men and women haue their faces, armes and legges raced and pounced: they are a people of great ſtature, and of better gouernment, then the reſt which they had ſeene in their former iourneyes; and are well prouided of victuals, and furniſhed with plenty of wilde beaſts, fowles and fiſhes, by reaſon of mighey riuers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as Guadalquiuir, which falleth into the North ſea or bay of Mexico. Here are alſo many lakes of ſalt water, which at a certeine time of the yere wareth hard, and becommeth very good ſalt. They are a warlike people, and ſoone made ſhew thereof: for the firſt night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they ſlew fiue horſes, and wounded fiue other very ſore, nor would not haue left one of them aliue, if they had not beene defended by our guard. Hauing done this miſchiefe, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew themſelues to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morning, taking with him fiue ſouldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their owne nation, and with good perſuaſions appeaſed them, cauſing them to deſcend to their towne and houſes, and perſuading them to giue aduice vnto their neighbours, that they were men that would hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained eaſily by his wiſedome, and by giuing vnto the Caçiques certeine bracelets of glaſſe beads, with hats and other trifles, which he caried with him for the ſame purpoſe: ſo by this meanes, and by the good interteinment which they gaue them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for certeine dayes, alwayes trauelling along the banke of the great riuer aboueſayd; along the which there were many townes of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the ſpace of twelue dayes trauel, all which time the Caçiques hauing receiued aduice from one to another, came forth to interteine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, with other preſents and gifts, eſpecially hides and chamoiſ-ſkins very well dreſſed, ſo that thoſe of Flanders do nothing exceed them. Theſe people are all clothed, and ſeemed to haue ſome light of our holy faith; for they made ſignes of God, looking vp towards heauen, and call him in their language Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whoſe bountifull hand and mercy they confeſſe that they haue receiued their life and being, and theſe worldly goods. Many of them with their wiues and children came vnto the frier (which the captaine and ſouldiers brought with them) that hee might croſſe and bleſſe them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had receiued that knowledge of God, they anſwered, from three Chriſtians, & one Negro which paſſed that way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the ſignes which they made, were

Iumanos or Patarabueyes.

Rio turbioſo del Norte.

Rio del Norte.

Apalito.

Pamphilo de Naruaez entred into Florida 1527.

Rio del Norte.

Aluaro Nunnez, Cabeça de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Caſtillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which eſcaped of the company which Pamphilo de Naruaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captiues and ſlaues, eſcaped and came to theſe townes, by whom God ſhewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many ſicke perſons, by reaſon whereof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this prouince remained in great peace and ſecurity; in token whereof, they accompanied and ſerued our men certaine dayes, trauelling along by the great riuer aforeſayd.

Another prouince.

Very great quantity of ſiluer.

Within few dayes after they came vnto another great prouince of Indians, from whence they came forth to receiue them, vpon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things made of feathers of diuers colours, and many mantles of cotton ſtraked with blew and white, like thoſe that are brought from China, to barter & trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and children were clad in chamois ſkinnes very good and wel dreſſed. Our people could neuer vnderſtand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by ſignes; and hauing ſhewed vnto them certaine ſtones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any ſuch in their countrey: they anſwered by the ſame ſignes, that fiue dayes iourney Weſtward from thence there was great quantity therof, and that they would conduct them thither, and ſhew it vnto them; as afterward they performed their promiſe, & bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the ſame nation.

Another prouince.

Great lakes.

A mighty lake.

Rich metals.

Next vnto the foreſayd prouince they came vnto another further vp the great riuer aforeſayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well receiued, and welcomed with many preſents, eſpecially of fiſh, whereof they haue exceeding great ſtore, by reaſon of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in the foreſayd plenty. They ſtayed among theſe people three dayes; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their faſhion, with ſignification of ſpeciall ioy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they vnderſtood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among theſe people they found an Indian of the foreſayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and ſhewed them by ſignes, that fifteene dayes iourney from thence toward the Weſt there was a very broad lake, and nere vnto it very great townes, and in them houſes of three or foure ſtories high, and that the people were well apparelled, and the countrey full of victuals and prouiſion. This Concho offered himſelfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company reioyced, but left off the enterpriſe, onely to accompliſh their intent for which they vndertooke the voyage, which was to go Northward to giue ayd vnto the two friers aforeſayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this prouince was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich ſoile, and had great ſtore of wilde beaſts, and wilde-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

Woods of pine trees.

New Mexico.

Woods of poplar and walnut trees.

Vines.

From this prouince they folowed their iourney for the ſpace of fifteene dayes without meeting any people all that while, paſſing thorow great woods and groues of pine trees bearing ſuch fruit as thoſe of Caſtile: at the end whereof, hauing trauelled, to their iudgement, foureſcore leagues, they came vnto a ſmall hamlet or village of fewe people, in whoſe poore cottages couered with ſtraw they found many deeres-ſkinnes as well dreſſed as thoſe of Flanders, with great ſtore of excellent white ſalt. They gaue our men good entertainment for the ſpace of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelue leagues, vnto certaine great townes, alwayes trauelling by the riuer called Rio del Norte aboueſayd, till ſuch time as they came vnto the countrey called by them New Mexico. Here all along the ſhore of the ſayd riuer grew mighty woods of poplar being in ſome places foure leagues broad, and great ſtore of walnut trees, and vines like thoſe of Caſtillia.

Houſes of 4 ſtories high.

Hauing trauelled two dayes thorow the ſaid woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten townes ſituate on both ſides of the ſayd riuer, beſides others which they might ſee further out of the way, wherein there ſeemed to be great ſtore of people, and thoſe which they ſaw were aboue ten thouſand perſons. In this prouince they receiued them very courteouſly, and brought them to their townes, whereas they gaue them great plenty of victuals and hennes of the countrey, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houſes of foure ſtories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in moſt of them were Stooues for the Winter ſeaſon. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-ſkinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the ſtrangeſt thing of all was to ſee both men and women weare ſhooes and boots with good ſoles of neats leather, a thing which they neuer ſawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dreſſed, wearing nothing els vpon their heads. In all theſe townes they had Caçiques which gouerned their people like the Caçiques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandements, who goe thorow the townes proclaiming with a loud voice the pleaſure of the Caçiques, commanding the ſame to be put in execution. In this prouince our men found many idols which they worſhipped, and particularly they had in euery houſe an Oratory for the diuell, whereinto they ordinarily cary him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an vſe among the Chriſtians to erect croſſes vpon the high wayes, ſo haue this people certaine high chapels, in which they ſay the diuell vſeth to take his eaſe, and to recreat himſelfe as he trauelleth from one towne to another; which chapels are maruellouſly well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, whereof they haue great plenty, they erect on the one ſide a little cottage or ſhed ſtanding vpon foure ſtuddes, vnder which the labourers do eat, and paſſe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much giuen to labour, and doe continually occupy themſelues therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and forreſts of Pine trees. The weapons that they vſe are ſtrong bowes and arrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of male, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yard long, ſo beſet with ſharpe flints, that they are ſufficient to cleaue a man aſunder in the midſt: they vſe alſo a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

These high mountaines are a cauſe of the coldnes of the countrey.

Hauing remained foure dayes in this prouince, not farre off they came to another called The prouince of Tiguas conteining ſixteene townes, in one whereof, called Poala, they vnderſtood that the inhabitants had ſlaine the two fathers aforeſayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Auguſtus Ruyz, whom they went to ſeeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the meſtiço. So ſoone as the people of this towne and their neighbours ſaw our men there, their owne conſciences accuſing them, and fearing that our men came to puniſh them, and to be auenged of the death of the foreſaid fathers, they durſt not abide their comming, but leauing their houſes deſolate they fled to the mountaines next adioyning, frō whence they could neuer cauſe them to deſcend, although our men attempted the ſame by diuers deuiſes and entiſements. They found in the townes and houſes good ſtore of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many ſorts of metals, whereof ſome ſeemed to be very good. They could not perfectly vnderſtand what numbers of people this prouince might conteine, by reaſon they were fled into the mountaines, as I haue ſayd before.

The prouince of Tiguas. Poala.

Very rich and good metall.

Hauing found thoſe to be ſlaine which they went to ſeeke, they entred into conſultation, whether they ſhould returne to Nueua Biſcaya, from whence they came, or ſhould proceed further in their iourney; whereabout there were diuers opinions: howbeit, vnderſtanding there, that toward the Orient or Eaſt parts of that prouince, and very far diſtant from thence, there were great and rich townes: and finding themſelues ſo far on the way, the ſayd captaine Antonio de Eſpeio with the conſent of the foreſayd frier called Frier Bernardine Beltran, and the greater part of his ſouldiers and companions determined to proceed on the diſcouery, till ſuch time as they did ſee to what end it would come; to the end they might giue certeine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Maieſty, as eye-witneſſes of the ſame. And ſo with one accord they determined, that while the army lay ſtill there, the captaine and two more of his company ſhould proſecute their deſire, which they did accordingly. And within two dayes iourney they came vnto another prouince, where they found eleuen townes, and much people in them, which in their iudgement were aboue forty thouſand perſons. The countrey was very fertile and plentifull, whoſe confines bordered vpon the territories of Cibola, where there are great ſtore of kine, with whoſe hides and with cotton they apparell themſelues, imitating in the forme of their gouernment their next neighbours. In this place are ſignes of very rich mines, ſome quantity of the metals whereof they found in the houſes of the Indians; which Indians haue and doe worſhip idols. They receiued our men peaceably, and gaue them victuals. Hauing ſeene thus much, and the diſpoſition of the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they departed, to informe their companions of the things aboue mentioned.

This draweth toward Virginia.

Another prouince.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another prouince called Los Quires, which ſtood ſixe leagues higher vp the riuer called Rio del Norte. And in their iourney thitherward, being arriued within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians to receiue them in peace, requeſting them to beare them company to their townes: which they did, and were maruellous well interteined and cheriſhed. In this prouince they found fiue townes only, wherein were great ſtore of people, and thoſe which they ſaw were aboue 14000 ſoules, who worſhip idols as their neighbours do. In one of theſe townes they found a pie in a cage after the maner of Caſtile, and certaine ſhadowes or canopies like vnto thoſe which are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many Starres. Where hauing taken the height of the pole-ſtarre, they found themſelues to be in 37 degrees and ½ of Northerly latitude.

Quires bordering vpon Rio del Norte.

Seuen & thirty degrees and a halfe.

They departed out of this prouince, and keeping ſtill the ſame NORTHERLY courſe, foureteene leagues from thence they found another prouince called The Cunames, where they ſaw other fiue townes, the greateſt whereof was called Cia, being ſo large, that it conteined eight market-places, the houſes whereof being plaiſtered and painted with diuers colours, were better then any which they had ſeene in the prouinces before mentioned: the people which they heere ſaw, they eſteemed to be aboue twenty thouſand perſons. They preſented to our men many curious mantles, and victuals excellently well dreſſed; ſo that our men deemed this nation to be more curious, and of greater ciuility, and better gouernment, then any other that hitherto they had ſeene. They ſhewed them rich metals, and the mountaines alſo not farre off whereout they digged them. Heere our people heard of another prouince ſtanding toward the Northweſt, whereunto they purpoſed to goe.

Cunames, or Punames.

Cia a great city.

Rich metals.

Hauing trauelled about ſixe leagues, they came to the ſayd prouince, the people whereof were called Ameies, wherin were ſeuen very great townes, conteining, to their iudgement, aboue thirty thouſand ſoules. They reported that one of the ſeuen townes was very great and faire, which our men would not go to ſee, both becauſe it ſtood behinde a mountaine, and alſo for feare of ſome miſhappe, if in caſe they ſhould be ſeparated one from another. This people are like vnto their neighbours of the former prouince, being as well prouided of all neceſſaries as they, and of as good gouernment.

Ameies, or Ameies.

About fifteene leagues from this prouince, trauelling alwayes toward the Weſt, they found a great towne called Acoma, conteining aboue ſixe thouſand perſons, and ſituate vpon an high rocke which was aboue fifty paces hie, hauing no other entrance but by a ladder or paire of ſtaires hewen into the ſame rocke, whereat our people maruelled not a little: all the water of this towne was kept in ciſternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to viſit the Spanyards, bringing them many mantles, and chamois-ſkinnes excellently dreſſed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a ſmall riuer nere thereunto, to water the ſame, on the brinks whereof they ſaw many great banks of Roſes like thoſe of Caſtile. Here are many mountaines that beare ſhewes of mettals, but they went not to ſee them, becauſe the Indians dwelling vpon them are many in number, and very warlike. Our men remained in this place three dayes, vpon one of the which the inhabitants made before them a very ſolemne dance, comming foorth in the ſame with gallant apparell, vſing very witty ſports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

Acome or Acoman a towne conteining about 6000 perſons.

Signes of metals.

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the Weſt, they came to a certaine prouince called by the inhabitants themſelues Zuny, & by the Spanyards Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians; in which prouince Franciſco Vazquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many croſſes and other tokens of Chriſtianity, which remained as yet ſtanding. Heere alſo they found three Indian Chriſtians which had remained there euer ſince the ſaid iourny, whoſe names were Andrew de Culiacan, Gaſpar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara, who had almoſt forgotten their owne language, but could ſpeake that countrey ſpeech very well; howbeit after ſome ſmall conference with our men, they eaſily vnderſtood one another. By theſe three Indians they were informed, that threeſcore dayes iourney from this place there was a very mighty lake, vpon the bankes whereof ſtood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the ſame had plenty of golde, an euident argument whereof was their wearing of golden bracelets & earrings: and alſo that after the ſayd Francis Vaſquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee departed out of this prouince of Cibola to goe thither, and that hauing proceeded twelue dayes iourney, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with intention to make a ſecond voyage thither at his better opportunity; which afterward he performed not, being preuented of his determined iourney by death.

Zuny or Sunne.

Vaſquez de Coronado was here 1540 & 1541.

A mighty lake 60 daies iourney from Cibola.

Plenty of golde.

Upon the newes of theſe riches the ſayd Captaine Antony de Eſpeio was deſirous to go thither; and though ſome of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier were of the contrary, ſaying that it was now high time to returne home vnto New Biſcay from whence they came, to giue account of that which they had ſeene: which the ſayd greater part within few dayes put in execution, leauing the captaine with nine companions onely that willingly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himſelfe of the riches aboueſayd, and of the great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this prouince of Cibola with his companions; and trauelling directly toward the Weſt, after hee had paſſed 28 leagues, he foūd another very great prouince, which by eſtimation conteined aboue 50000 ſoules: the inhabitants whereof aſſoone as they vnderſtood of their approch, ſent them word, vpon paine of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine anſwered, that their comming

Another mightie prouince Weſtward of Cibola 28 leagues, called Mohotze.

was in no wiſe to hurt them, as they ſhould well perceiue, and therefore requeſted them not to moleſt him in his intended voyage, and withall gaue to the meſſenger a reward of ſuch things as they brought with them: who thereupon made ſo good report of our people, and ſo appeaſed the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free acceſſe vnto their townes, and ſo they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the prouince of Cibola aforeſaid, and the three Mexican Indians before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the firſt towne, there came forth to meete them aboue 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with ſome things of ſmall value, which they made great accompt of, and eſteemed more precious then gold. As they approched neere vnto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among the reſt their Caçiques, with ſo great demonſtration of ioy and gladnes, that they caſt much meale of Maiz vpon the ground for the horſes to tread vpon: with this triumph they entred the towne, where they were very wel lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in part requite, giuing to the chiefeſt among them hats, and beads of glaſſe, with many ſuch trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpoſe. The ſaid Caçiques preſently gaue notice to the whole prouince of the arriual of theſe new gueſts, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and ſuch as offered them no harme: which was occaſion ſufficient to make them all come laden with preſents vnto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they yeelded vnto, though alwayes with great foreſight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine vſed a certaine policie, making the Caçiques beleeue, that foraſmuch as his horſes were very fierce (for they had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was neceſſary to make a Fort of lime and ſtone to incloſe them, for the auoyding of ſuch inconueniences as otherwiſe might happen vnto the Indians by them. This tale was ſo ſtedfaſtly beleeued by the Caçiques, that in fiue houres they aſſembled ſuch ſtore of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the ſaid Fort which our men required.

Zaguato, or Ahuato a towne.

A witty policie to be vſed by the Engliſh in like caſes.

Moreouer, when the Captaine ſaide that he would depart, they brought vnto him a preſent of 40000. mantles of cotton, both white and of other colours, and great ſtore of hand-towels, with taſſels at the corners, with diuers other things, and among the reſt rich metals, which ſeemed to holde much ſiluer. Among theſe Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforeſaide, whoſe report agreed wholly with the relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake.

Rich metals.

Great abundance of gold.

The Captaine repoſing great confidence in this people & in their good diſpoſition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leaue there fiue of his companions with the reſt of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the prouince of Zuni, while himſelfe with the foure other which remained ſhould ride in poſt to diſcouer certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this his purpoſe in execution he departed with his guides, and hauing traueiled due-weſt 45. leagues he came vnto the ſaid Mines, and tooke out of the ſame with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of ſiluer: and the mines which were of a very broad veine were in a mountaine whereon they might eaſily aſcend, by reaſon of an open way that led vp to the ſame. Neere vnto theſe mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling vpon the mountaines, who ſhewed them friendſhip, & came forth to receiue them with croſſes on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two riuers of a reaſonable bigneſſe, vpon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groues of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Caſtile: and they ſhewed our men by ſignes, that behinde thoſe mountaines there was a riuer aboue 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was; howbeit the Indians made demonſtration that it ran towards the North ſea, and that vpon both ſides thereof ſtood many townes of ſo great bigneſſe, that in compariſon thereof thoſe wherein they dwelt were but ſmall hamlets.

Exceeding rich Mines of ſiluer.

A mighty Riuer of eight leagues broad running toward the North ſea. Perhaps this Riuer may fall into the Cheſepiouk bay, or into the great lake of Tadoac.

After he had receiued all this information, the ſaid Captaine returned toward the prouince of Zuni, whither he had ſent his ſaid companions: and being arriued there in ſafety, hauing trauailed vpon a very good way, he found in the ſame place his 5. companions, & the ſaid father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the ſouldiers which were determined to returne, as is aforeſaid, but vpō certaine occaſions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had moſt friendly intreated, & furniſhed with all things neceſſary in abundance, as afterward likewiſe they vſed the Captaine, and thoſe that came with him, comming foorth to meete them with ſhew of great ioy, and giuing them great ſtore of victuals to ſerue them in their iourney homewards, and requeſting them to returne againe with ſpeed, and to bring many Caſtilians with them (for ſo they call the Spaniards) to whom they promiſed food ſufficient. For the better performance whereof they ſowed that yeere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

Zuni.

60. leagues.

Hubates.

Very rich Mines.

Houſes of 4. and fiue ſtories high.

Tamos.

Their returne.

Rio de las vacas.

120. leagues.

Guadiana.

At this preſent the Frier and ſouldiers aforeſaid reſolued themſelues in their former determination, & agreed to returne vnto the prouince from whence they came with intention before mentioned, to ſeek the two Friers that were ſlaine, to whom alſo Gregorio Hernandez who had bene ſtandard-bearer in the iourney, ioyned himſelfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. ſouldiers, determined to proſecute his former attempt, & to paſſe vp higher the ſaide riuer called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And hauing traueiled about 60. leagues toward the prouince of the Quires aforeſaid, 12 leagues frō thence toward the Orient or Eaſt they found a prouince of Indians called Hubates, who receiued them peaceably, and gaue them great ſtore of victuals, informing them alſo of very rich Mines which they found, whereout they got gliſtering & good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This prouince contained by their eſtimation 25000. perſons all very well apparelled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-ſkins very well dreſſed. They haue many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houſes of their townes are of 4. and 5. ſtories high. Here they had notice of another prouince diſtant about one dayes iourney frō thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing aboue 40000. ſoules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither giue them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cauſe, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and becauſe ſome of the ſouldiers were not well at eaſe, and for that they were ſo fewe (as we haue ſaid) they determined to depart thence, and to returne toward the land of the Chriſtians, which they put in execution in the beginning of Iuly 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a riuer, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to ſay, The riuer of oxen, in reſpect of the great multitudes of oxen or kine that fed vpon the bankes thereof, by the which they traueiled for the ſpace of 120. leagues, ſtill meeting with ſtore of the ſaid cattell. From hence they went forward to the riuer of Conchos by which they entered, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they firſt entered into their diſcouerie. Vpon their cōming thither they found that the ſaid Frier Bernardin Beltran and his company were ſafely arriued at the ſaid towne many dayes before, & were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In this towne the foreſaid captaine Antony de Eſpeio made moſt certaine relation of all that is aforeſaid, which relation preſently hee ſent vnto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueua Eſpanna, who ſent the ſame to his Maieſtie, & to the Lords of his royal counſel of the Indies, to the end they might take ſuch order as they thought beſt, which they haue already performed with great care and circumſpection.

Almighty God vouchſafe his aſſiſtance in this buſines, that ſuch numbers of ſoules redeemed by his blood may not vtterly periſh, of whoſe good capacitie, wherein they exceed thoſe of Mexico and Peru (as we be giuen to vnderſtand by thoſe that haue delt with them) we may boldly preſume that they will eaſily embrace the Goſpel, and abandon ſuch idolatrie as now the moſt of them doe liue in: which Almightie God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increaſe of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of *Bartholomew Cano* from *Mexico* the 30. of May 1590. to *Francis Hernandes* of *Siuil*, concerning the ſpeedy building of two ſtrong Forts in *S. Iohn de Vllua*, and in *Vera Cruz*, as alſo touching a notable new and rich diſcouery of *Cibola* or *New Mexico* 400. leagues Northweſt of *Mexico*.

The marches of Villa Manrique Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania.

IT may pleaſe you Sir, to be aduertiſed that I haue receiued your letters, whereby I vnderſtand that our ſhip with the treaſure is ſafely ariued, God be praiſed therefore. The frigate arriued here in ſafetie which brought the letters of Aduiſe from the King to the Viceroy. She arriued in S. Iohn de Vllua the 29. of May, & departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Maieſtie writeth vnto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete ſhall depart from hence, and what courſe they ſhall take, not as they had wont for to do; by reaſon that there are great ſtore of men of war abroad at the ſea, which meane to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God ſende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very ſore with men of warre on this coaſt. His Maieſtie hath ſent expreſſe cōmandement vnto the Marques of Villa Manrique his coſen, Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania, that immediatly vpon ſight of his letters he ſhal cōmand to be builded in S. Iohn de Vllua, & in Vera Cruz two ſtrong Forts for the defence of theſe countries, of his Maieſties charges: And that there ſhalbe gariſons in both the Forts for the defence of the ſhips which ride there, and for the ſtrength of the countrey.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. ſouldiers Spaniards, vnder the cōduct of Rodorigo del Rio the gouernour of Nueua Biſua Biſcaia which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexico to the Northweſt, and ſtandeth vp in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and ſiluer Mines: and the King of the countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become ſubiect to his Maieſtie. There were certaine Spaniards ſent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambaſſage; It is thought that they are ſlaine, for we can here no newes of them.

500. Spaniards ſent to conquet the great citie of Cibola which is 400. leagues from Mexico North weſtward.

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this inſtant is, that there is a Iudge of the city of Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inſcenſia lately maried. Alſo the kings Atturney of Guadalajara maried his daughter of 8. yeres old with a boy of 12. yeres old. But the Viceroy ſaith that he hath a warrant from his Maieſtie, that if any Iudge whatſoeuer dwelling in that kingdome of Guadalajara ſhould mary any ſonne in that iuriſdiction, that then the ſaid Viceroy is to depriue him of his office. And therefore he went about to depriue the Iudge & the kings Attourney of their offices. Whereupon the people of that prouince would not thereunto conſent, nor ſuffer them to be diſmiſſed of their offices, nor to be arreſted, nor caried priſoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had intelligence thereof, & that the Countrey did reſiſt his commandement, and would not ſuffer them to be apprehended, he ſent certaine Captaines with ſouldiers to goe and apprehend the Iudge, the kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withſtood the viceroies forces, & put themſelues in defence; and are vp in armes againſt the viceroy: yet they do not rebel againſt the king, but ſay: God ſaue king Philip, and wil ſubmit themſelues to his Maieſtie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is vp in armes, and are all in a mutinie againſt vs of Mexico. I beſeech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qualified in time: or elſe all Noua Spania wil be vtterly ſpoiled. I write this thing, becauſe it is publiquely knowen in all places. And thus I reſt, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

A dangerous rebellion in Guadalajara a prouince of Noua Hiſpania.

Bartholomew Cano.

THE FIRST AND SECOND DISCOuery of the gulfe of *California*, and of the Sea-coaſt on the Northweſt or back ſide of *America*, lying to the Weſt of *New Mexico, Cibola* and *Quiuira*, together with *Sir Francis Drakes* landing and taking poſſeſſion vpon *Noua Albion* in the behalfe of the Crowne of *England*, and the notable voyage of *Francis Gaule*; Wherein amongſt many other memorable matters is ſet downe the huge bredth of the Ocean ſea from *China* and *Iapan* to the Northweſt parts of *America*, in the 38. and 40. degrees.

A relation of the diſcouery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble *Fernando Cortez* Marques of the *Vally*, made with three ſhips; The one called *Santa Agneda* of 120. tunnes, the other the *Trinitie* of 35. tunnes, and the thirde *S. Thomas* of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worſhipfull knight *Francis de Vlloa* borne in the Citie of *Merida*. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by *M. Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſio*.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vlloa a captaine of *Cortez* departeth with a Fleet from the port of *Acapulco*, and goeth to diſcouer vnknowen lands, he paſſeth by the coaſt of *Sacatula* and *Motin*, and by tempeſt runneth to the riuer of *Guajanal*, frō whence he croſſeth ouer to the hauen of *Santa Cruz*, along the coaſt whereof he diſcouereth 3. ſmal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he diſcouereth the riuer called *Rio de ſan Pedro y ſan Pablo*, and not far diſtant from thence two other riuers as big or greater then that of *Guadalquiuir* which runneth by *Siuil*, together with their head-ſprings.

WE imbarked our ſelues in the hauen of Acapulco on the 8. of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1539, calling vpon almighty God to guide vs with his holy hand vnto ſuch places where he might be ſerued, and his holy faith aduanced. And we ſailed from the ſaid port by the coaſt of Sacatula and Motin, which is ſweete and pleaſant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and riuers which paſſe through thoſe countreis, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of them. So ſailing along we came to the hauen of S. Iago in the prouince of Colima: but before we arriued there, the maine maſt of our ſhip called Santa Agueda was broken by a ſtorme of winde

Acapulco in 17. degrees of latitude.

The coaſt of Sacatula and Motin.

S. Iago de Colima.

that tooke vs, ſo as the ſhip was forced to ſaile without her maſt vntil we arriued in the ſaid hauen. From the port of Acapulco to this hauen of Colima wee were ſayling the ſpace of 20. dayes. Here wee ſtayed to mende our maſt and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the ſpace of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the ſaide hauen the 23. of Auguſt, and ſayling by the Iſles of Xaliſco the 27. or 28. of the ſaide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempeſt wherein wee thought we ſhould haue periſhed, and being toſſed and weather-beaten, wee came as farre as the riuer of Guajaual in the Prouince of Culiacan. In this ſtorme wee loſt the pinneſſe called Sant Thomas, and becauſe wee had loſt her wee croſſed ouer to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were ſo beaten in the former tempeſt, the pilot of the Barke ſignified vnto vs, that he perceiued ſhe beganne to leake, and that already ſhe had receiued in much water, inſomuch that ſhe beganne to founder; whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that wee might meete together in a knowen hauen, if by chance the tempeſt ſhould ſeparate vs, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arriued in this place of Santa Cruz, wee ſtayed there fiue dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had loſt: Whereupon the Captaine reſolued to follow on our voyage; wherefore we ſet ſaile the 12. of September, and as wee ſailed wee ſaw along the coaſt of the ſaide hauen 3. Iſlands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking there coulde be no great good found in any of them. Theſe Iſlands ſeemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Maſters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leeſe time without any profit. So ſailing ouer the gulfe of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entred into the ſame a ſmall Iſland in the mouth of the Riuer, being 4. or 5. miles diſtant from the maine. On both ſides of this Riuer wee beheld goodly and pleaſant great plaines full of many greene and beautifull trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleaſant to beholde. From this Riuer wee ſailed ſtill along the coaſt the ſpace of 15. leagues, in which courſe wee found two other Riuers in our iudgement as great or greater then Guadalquiuir the Riuer of Siuilia in Spaine. All the coaſt by theſe Riuers is plaine as the other which we had paſſed, with many woods: likewiſe within the lande appeared great mountaines couered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From theſe Riuers we ſailed 18. leagues, and found very pleaſant plaines, and certaine great lakes whoſe mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Captaine thought good throughly to diſcouer what thoſe lakes were, and to ſearch whether there were any good hauen for his ſhips to ride in, or to harbour themſelues, if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe; and ſo hee commaunded a boat to be hoiſed out into the Sea, with a Maſter and fiue or ſixe men to view them, and to ſound the depth, and botom of them: who went thither, and found the coaſt very ſholde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely becauſe the ſhore was ſo ſhallow, for otherwiſe the land was very pleaſant. Here at euening we ſaw on the ſhore 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforeſaide two Riuers are two leagues diſtant the one from the other, little more or leſſe, and are great, as I haue ſaide, and being in the laſt of them we went vp to the ſhip-top, and ſaw many lakes, and one among the reſt exceeding great, and wee ſuppoſed that they had their ſprings out of this great lake, as other Riuers alſo haue from other lakes, for wee ſawe the courſe of them ſeuerally each by themſelues, hauing goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of theſe Riuers might be diſcerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many ſmall ſtakes ſet vp for markes: the ſhore here is plaine and ſandie, and the countrey very pleaſant.

The Iſles of Xaliſco.

Guajaual.

Santa Cruz in the point of California.

Three Iſlands.

Rio de ſan Pedro y ſan Pablo.

Two great riuers.

Certaine great lakes.

Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coaſt from the two aforeſaid great Riuers, they diſcouer three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come vnto *Cabo Roxo*, and take poſſeſſion of thoſe countreys for the Emperours Maieſty. A diſcourſe of the faire hauens that are on thoſe coaſtes, and of very many Iſlands which they ſaw, before they came to the Cape called *Capo de las Plaias*.

This day wee ſailed along the coaſt the ſpace of 16. leagues, and in the midſt of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, hauing certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleaſure. The night following we road in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and hauing ſailed 3. or 4. leagues we ſaw 3. mouthes of lakes which entered into the land, where they became like ſtanding pooles. Wee road a league diſtance from theſe mouthes in 6. fadome water, to ſee what they were, and ſent our boat with certaine men, to ſee if there were any entry for our ſhips: for halfe a league from ſhore we had not

The coaſt runneth Northward.

not paſt one or two fadome water. Here our men ſaw 7. or 8. Indians, and found ſundry ſorts of greene herbes ſomewhat differing from thoſe of Nueua Eſpanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within land they ſaw great and ſmall hils extending themſelues a great way, and being very faire and pleaſant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage ſayling alwayes in ſight of the plaine coaſt toward the Northweſt, in 10. or 15. fadome water. And hauing ſailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coaſt within the land of about 5. leagues ouer, from whence the coaſt trended Northweſt, and this day we ſailed about 16. leagues. All this coaſt is plaine, and not ſo pleaſant as that which we had paſſed; here are certaine ſmall hilles, but not ſo high as thoſe which we had found before. Thus we ſailed all night Northweſt, and vntil the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white ſand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of 27. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. This cape we called Capo Roxo. All the coaſt is plaine and faire and cleane ſand, and we ſaw within land ſome few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines & woods 3. or 4. leagues diſtant from the ſaid cape: and here likewiſe appeared a mouth of a riuer, which (as far as we could diſcerne) made certaine lakes vp within the land: frõ the mouth whereof for the ſpace of a league into the ſea it ſeemed to be very ſholde, becauſe the ſea did breake very much. Here we ſaw within the land 3. or 4 riuers. In this ſort we ſailed on our voiage to the Northward, & becauſe we had not good weather we road that night in a great hauen lying in our way, where on the ſhore wee ſaw certaine plaines, and vp within the land certaine hilles not very high: and continuing our courſe toward the North about 3. leagues from this hauen, we found an Iland of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the ſaid hauen. And ſailing forward we found an hauen which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northermoſt mouth, which hath 10. or 12. fadome water & ſo decreaſeth till it come to 5. fadome, where we anckered in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a ſtrange thing to beholde, for there are ſo many entrances & mouths of ſtreames and hauens, that we were all aſtonied at the ſight thereof; and theſe hauens are ſo excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to be ſeene in the world, wherein we found great ſtore of fiſh. Here wee anckered, and the Captaine went on ſhore, and tooke poſſeſſion, vſing all ſuch ceremonies as thereunto belong. Here alſo wee found certaine weares to catch fiſh made by the Indians, and certaine ſmall cottages, wherein were diuers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as thoſe in Spaine. Here by cõmandement of the Captaine a Croſſe was erected vpon an hill, and it was ſet vp by Francis Preciado. In this place we ſaw the Countrey full of freſh and greene graſſe, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and vp within the Countrey wee ſaw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey ſeemed very goodly and delightſome to all of vs, in regard of the greenneſſe and beautie thereof, and we iudged it to be very populous within the land. From this hauen we departed and kept our way toward the Northweſt with good weather, and began to finde hard by the ſea-ſhore exceeding high mountaines ſpotted with white, and in them we ſaw many fowles which had their neſtes in certaine holes of thoſe rocks, and ſailed 10. leagues vntil night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our courſe Northweſt with good weather: and from that day forward we began to ſee on the Weſterne ſhore (whereon the foreſaid hauen of S. Cruz ſtandeth) certaine Iſlands or high lands, whereat we reioyced not a little. And ſo ſayling forward we met with an Iſland about two leagues in bigneſſe, and on the Eaſt ſhore hauing ſtill the maine land and Iſlands in ſight, we ſailed 15. leagues vntil the euening, alwayes finding hard by the ſea-coaſt exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing ſtill more plainely vnto vs on the Weſterne ſhore. Whereupon wee began to be of diuers opinions, ſome thinking that this coaſt of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it ioyned with the continent of Nueua Eſpanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing elſe but Iſlands, which were to the Weſtward. And in this ſort we proceeded forward, hauing the land on both ſides of vs, ſo farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we ſailed ſome 15. leagues, and called this Cape Capo de las Plaias.

Capo Roxo.

The coaſt runneth Northward.

Fiſhing weares like thoſe of Virginia.

An Iſland.

Some take the land of California to be nothing but Iſlands.

Chap. 3.

Of the Streight which they diſcouered on the coaſt of *Capo de las Plaias* and of the pleaſant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called *Los diamantes*. Of the wonderfull whiteneſſe of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof; and of the multitude of Iſlands and lands, which extend themſelues Northward from the hauen of *Santa Cruz*.

The day folowing we ſailed vntil night with ſo good weather, that we ran about 20. leagues. All this coaſt along the ſhore is full of little hilles without graſſe or trees: and that night we

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A Streight of 12.leagues broad, of exceeding depth.

The Streight here runneth Northward.

Small rockes called Los Diamantes.

anckered in 20.fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage beginning to ſaile before breake of day Northweſtward, and we came into the midſt of a Streight or mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Ilands in the midſt thereof being 4.leagues diſtant the one from the other: and here we diſcerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, & it ſeemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This ſtreight (as far as we could perceiue) was very deep, for we could finde no botome; and here we ſaw the land ſtretching afarre off from the one ſhore to the other, and on the Weſterne ſhore of the hauen of S.Cruz, the land was more high with very bare mountaines. The day following we paſſed on our way toward the North, and ſailed ſome 15.leagues, and in the midſt of our way we found a circuit or bay of 6.leagues into the land with many coues or creeks, and the next day following continuing our courſe we ſailed ſome 10.leagues, and the coaſt in this dayes iourney was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the ſhore, and that night we were conſtrained to ſtay by reaſon of the contrary winde. The next morning before breake of day we ſailed ſtill along the coaſt to the Northweſt vntil euening, and ranne about ſome 15.leagues. All along this ſhore wee ſawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with ſome few trees, & the ſea ſhore was all ſandy. In the midſt of this dayes courſe we found certaine ſmall rockes in the ſea 4.leagues diſtant from the maine, where the ſaid land maketh a great point into the ſea, and here we ſtayed the reſt of the night, where we had a very great ſhower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and ſailed vntill night by a compaſſe or turning, ſome 8.or 9.leagues, and ſaw within land a few mountaines hauing no trees vpon them, but the Sunne ſhining alwayes very cleare, as farre as wee could deſcry, they were very great, on the Weſterne ſhore of the hauen of Santa Cruz. Here we ſtayed all night becauſe we found very ſhallow water and ſawe the ſea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, ſo that we all beganne to marueile thereat. The day following wee went forward againe along the coaſt Northweſtward, and ſailed eight leagues, and ſaw another land which ſtretched Northweſt, and was full of high mountaines. And ſtill continuing this courſe we ſearched very diligently to ſee if there were any paſſage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee ſawe no land. And thus ſayling wee alwayes found more ſhallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very muddie, and came at length into fiue fadome water; and ſeeing this, wee determined to paſſe ouer to the land which wee had ſeene on the other ſide, and here likewiſe wee found as little depth and leſſe, whereupon we rode all night in fiue fadome water, and wee perceiued the Sea to runne with ſo great a rage into the land, that it was a thing much to be marueiled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe; during which time wee found 11.fadome water, and the flood and ebbe continued from ſixe to ſixe houres.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went vp to the ſhippes top, and ſawe all the lande full of ſand in a great round compaſſe, and ioyning it ſelfe with the other ſhore, and it was ſo low, that whereas wee were a league from the ſame wee could not well diſcerne it, and it ſeemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were diuers opinions amongſt vs, and ſome thought that that current entered into thoſe lakes, and alſo that ſome great Riuer there might be the cauſe thereof. And when we could perceiue no paſſage through, nor could diſcerne the countrey to be inhabited, the Captaine accompanied with certaine of vs went to take poſſeſſion thereof. The ſame day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coaſt from the ſide of Nueua Eſpanna, though alwayes we had in ſight the firme land on the one ſide of vs, and the other Iſlands on our left hande, on the ſide of the port of Santa Cruz ſituate on the Weſterne ſhore: for on that ſide there are ſo many Iſlands and lands, ſo farre as we could deſcry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the ſaid hauen of Santa Cruz, and from the coaſt of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both ſides of vs, and that ſo great a countrey, that I ſuppoſe if it ſhould ſo continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many yeeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and caſt ancker vntil the flood increaſed, which was in the afternoone, and then wee ſet ſaile likewiſe with contrary winde vntill midnight, and then caſt ancker.

The next day wee departed, ſhaping our courſe along the coaſt Southweſt, vntill midnight with little winde, and wee ſawe within the land high mountaines with ſome openings, and wee made way ſome three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our courſe but a little while, for we ſailed not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and ſawe the lande full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee deſcried a plaine countrey, and ſaw in the night certaine fires.

Chap.

Chap. 4.

They land vpon an Iſland to diſcouer the ſame, and there they ſee many fires, which iſſue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fiſhes. Here they take an Indian, and can not vnderſtand his language. Running along they diſcouer another Iſland, and take poſſeſſion therof for the Emperours Maieſtie, and a great hauen in the firme land, which they call *Ancon de Sant Andres*, or *The hauen of S. Andrew.*

The next day following our courſe we ſaw a great hauen with an Iſland in the ſea, within a croſſe-bow ſhoote of the firme land, and in this Iſland and on the firme land were ſeene many ſmokes by the iudgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee ſhould goe on land to know the certainty of theſe ſmokes and fires, himſelfe taking ten or twelue of vs with a boate in his company: and going on ſhore in the Iſland, we found that the ſmokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout aſcended into the aire certaine cinders and aſhes which mounted vp to the middle region of the aire, in ſuch great quantitie, that we could not eſteeme leſſe then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the cauſing of euery of thoſe ſmokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

Burning mountaines.

In this Iſland were ſuch abundance of Seales, as it was wonderful. Here we ſtayed that day, and killed a great number of theſe Seals, with whom we had ſome trouble: for they were ſo many, and ayded one another ſo well, that it was ſtrange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing ſome of them with ſtaues, they aſſembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themſelues vp aſſayled vs with their feete in a ſquadron, and ouerthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe thoſe which they had in their hands, they and the others eſcaped vs and went into the ſea; howbeit wee killed good ſtore of them, which were ſo fatte as it was wonderfull: and when we opened ſome of them to haue their liuers, we found certaine ſmall blacke ſtones in their bodies, whereat wee much marueiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to ſayle withall: whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on ſhore with nine or ten in his company, to ſee whether there were any people there, or any ſigne of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land ſeuen or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fiſhing, and had a raft of canes; who ſo ſoone as they eſpied vs ranne away and betooke themſelues to flight, but being purſued by vs, in the end we tooke one of them, whoſe language was ſo ſtrange that wee could by no meanes vnderſtand him; his clothing was nothing at all; for he was ſtarke naked. Theſe people caried their water in bottels made of beaſts ſkins, they fiſhed with hookes of bone, and wee found good ſtore of their fiſhes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

Abundance of Seales.

A raft of canes

Bottles of beaſts ſkins and fiſhhooks of bone.

The Indian which we had taken ſeeing himſelfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giuing him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it ſeemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared vnto them how we had done him no harme at all, ſhewing them the things which we had giuen him: whereupon they alſo determined to come vnto vs to our boate, but becauſe it was now night, and that our ſhippes were farre from vs, we forced not to ſtay for them, eſpecially becauſe it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the ſea-coaſt high and bare mountaines with certaine graſſe in ſome places like vnto our broomes, or like vnto woods of roſemary.

The next day wee ſayled neere to the coaſt on the ſame ſide, with very ſcarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we ſaw on the ſhore fiue or ſixe fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without graſſe, hauing certaine caues in them: the next day alſo, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morow after we followed our courſe along the ſayd coaſt, and paſſed betweene a great Iſland full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land; where we ſaw a very great hauen in the firme land in which wee ankered to ſee what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and ſome of vs went on land the ſame day to ſee if there were any people and freſh water, and wee found certaine ſmall cottages couered with drie graſſe, with certaine little ſtaues layd ouerthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very baren, by certaine ſmall and ſtreight pathes, and found a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke poſſeſſion for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Maieſtie, and after this we returned to our ſhip, and that night we ſawe foure or fiue fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, becauſe hee had ſeene theſe fires, to goe on ſhore, and ſo with our

Ancon de S. Andres, or The hauen of S. Andrew in 32 degrees.

Two Indians of exceeding huge ſtature.

two boates we went fifteene or twenty of vs vnto certaine crooked ſtrands two leagues from the place where our ſhips rode, and where we had ſeene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge ſtature, ſo that they cauſed vs greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as ſoone as they ſaw vs leap on ſhore they ran away, and wee followed them vnto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers couered with boughs, and there we found great and ſmall ſteps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fiſhes which wee found there. The countrey toward the ſea ſide ſeemed but barren, for we ſaw neither trees nor greene graſſe there, yet were there certaine ſmal pathes not well beaten, and along the ſea-coaſt we ſaw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine ſmall Iſlands neere vnto the maine we ſaw Seale-fiſhes. This hauen is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

Ancon de Sant Andres.

Chap. 5.

They diſcouer a mountainous Iſland very great, and neere vnto it certaine other Iſlands with a goodly greene and pleaſant countrey. They haue ſight of certaine Indians in *Canoas* of canes, whoſe language ſounded like the Flemiſh tongue, with whome they could not haue any traffique.

A great Iſland

The next day we proceeded on our voyage, ſayling betweene the maine and an Iſland, which we ſuppoſe to be in circuit about a hundreth or eighty leagues, ſayling ſometimes within one, and ſometimes within two leagues of the maine. The ſoile of this Iſland is of certaine mountaines not very ſteepe with caues in them, and as farre as wee could deſcrie by the coaſt, there appeared no ſigne of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, conſidering that we were to returne to the port of Santa Cruz; for it was ſuppoſed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Çuliacan vntil the returning backe vnto the ſaid hauen, was all firme land, and alſo becauſe wee had the firme land alwayes on our right hand and it goeth round circle-wiſe vnto the ſayd hauen; but many thought and hoped that we ſhould finde ſome mouth or out-let, whereby wee might paſſe through vnto the other coaſt. What our ſucceſſe was we will declare in the relation following.

They returne from the bottome of the gulf of California.

The next day being Thurſday wee ſayled with ſcant winde, for it was almoſt calme, and paſſed beyond that great Iſland, hauing firme land alwayes on our right hand, and coaſting (as I ſayd) very neere vnto it. The next day likewiſe we ſayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and paſſed neere vnto the ſhore by certaine round baies, and certaine points which the land made, which was pleaſant to behold being ſomewhat greene, and there ſeemed to be ſome creeke there. This Friday at night wee ſayled altogether with a freſh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Iſland on our left hand, which was ſomewhat big, as farre as we could diſcerne. There was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which ſtretched farre into the ſea. The firme land ſeemed to bee much freſher and pleaſanter then thoſe lands which we had paſſed, hauing many bankes and hilles of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

Another Iſlād

The countrey (as farre as wee could diſcerne) was ſo pleaſant and delightfull, that wee all deſired to goe on ſhore, and to ſearch vp into it two or three dayes iourney, to ſee whether it were inhabited or not. Wee ſaw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we ſailed continually with a proſperous and freſh gale, and the wind was ſo great that we drew our bonet to our maine ſayle, and ſayled ſo till the morning.

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our ſelues altogether incloſed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compaſſed vs before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Iſland of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Iſland in the midſt of the ſea there lay a ſmall Iſlet, and alſo betweene the ſayd maine and the Iſland there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a paſſage whereby afterwad we paſſed through. This maine was much more freſh and greene then the other which wee had paſſed, and had certaine plaines and points of mountaines of pleaſant view, and full of greene graſſe. Here all this night we ſawe two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we ſaw a Canoa or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee ſtood ſtill vntill it came neere vnto vs in the ſhip, and they began to ſpeake in their language which no man vnderſtood, whoſe pronuntiation was like to the Flemings, and being called they returned with great haſte vnto the ſhore; and we were very ſory becauſe our boate had not followed them.

Here happened vnto vs a very ſtrange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the ſhore in certaine of theſe creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we ſawe fiue Canoas iſſue foorth, which came toward vs: whereupon wee ſtayed to ſee what they would doe. (In the meane while our Admirall came vp vnto vs, which was neere the ſhore,) for ſhe alſo had ſeene them, and ſo being come together we caſt anker, expecting what thoſe Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded vs to make ready our boate, and to furniſh the ſame with oares and men, to trie if we could by any meanes take ſome of them, that we might come to ſome knowledge of them, and that wee might giue them ſome of our trifles, and ſpecially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendſhip. The Indians with their fiue Canoas approched within one or two ſtones caſt of vs, and then began to ſpeake very loude vnto vs in a very ſtrange language, alwayes ſtanding vpon their guard to retire themſelues with ſpeede. When our Captaine ſaw this, and that they would not come neere vs, but rather retired, he commanded ſixe mariners to get into the boate from the ſterne of the ſhip, and himſelfe alſo went with them with all poſſible haſte toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the ſhore with ſo great celeritie, that they ſeemed to flie in thoſe little Canoas of canes. Neuertheleſſe our men vſed ſuch diligence that one of the Canoas was boorded & taken; but the Indian in the Canoa ſeeing himſelfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but ſeeing himſelfe within their reach, he ducked with his head vnder their boate, and ſo deceiued them, and then roſe vp againe, and with their oares and with ſtaues they gaue him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would ſerue them; for as they were about to lay handes vpon him hee ſtill diued vnder water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the ſhore: and as he roſe vp aboue the water, hee called to his felowes which ſtood on the ſhore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and ſo they purſued him, and ſtrooke him ſometimes being very neere the ſhore, and he alwayes went calling the reſt of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a ſhort while after three other Canoas came foorth to ſuccour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee ſhould come on ſhore: theſe Indians were of great ſtature and ſauage, fat alſo and well ſet, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiuing this, leaſt they ſhould wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded vs immediately to ſet ſayle, and ſo foorthwith wee departed.

This day the wind changed, and we returned to anker in the foreſayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Iland, and wee which were in the ſhip called The Trinitie lay neere vnto the maine, and before breake of day wee departed with a freſh gale. And before we diſembogued out of that chanell we ſaw certaine graſſe very high and greene vpon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went vp into the top, and ſaw the mouth of a riuer which ranne through that greene countrey into the ſea. But becauſe our Admirall was vnder all her ſayles farre from vs, we could not tell them of this riuer, where wee would haue taken water, whereof we had ſome neede, and becauſe it was a very good hauen to goe on ſhore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our courſe. On munday we departed from this hauen which is like vnto a lake, for on all ſides we were compaſſed with land, hauing the continent before, behinde vs, and on our right ſide, and the Iland on our left ſide, and we paſſed foorth at thoſe mouthes before mentioned, which ſhewed an out-let into the open ſea. Thus wee ſayled along ſtill viewing the ſituation of the countrey, reioycing all of vs at the ſight thereof, for it alwayes pleaſed vs more and more, ſtill appearing more greene and pleaſant, and the graſſe which wee found neere vnto the ſhore was freſh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our iudgements) not paſt a ſpanne long. Likewiſe the hilles which wee ſaw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleaſant proſpect, eſpecially becauſe we iudged, that there were many valleys and vales betweene them.

Port Belen a very good hauen.

Chap. 6.

They diſcouer a very great bay with foure ſmall Ilands in it, whereof they take poſſeſſion. As they ſayle along and diſcouer diuers Ilands they come at length to the port of *Santa Cruz*, where not being able to get any knowledge of thoſe Indians although they lay in waite for them at a place called *The well of Grijalua*, they departed thence. They haue a perilous and long tempeſt, which ceaſed after they had ſeene a light on their ſhrowdes.

AT our comming out of theſe openings, we began to ſee a Bay with a very great hauen, in circuite, with diuers ſmall hilles [illegible]

A great hauen

In this bay and ſtrond were two ſmall Iſlands neere vnto the ſhore, one of the which was like vnto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almoſt as big as the former. Theſe Iſlands ſerued vs onely to content our ſight, for we paſſed by them without ſtaying, hauing but a ſlacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our courſe with the foreſayd ſlacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, ſo that we were conſtrained to anker at the ſayd point of the ſayd hauen; and on Tewesday at breake of day we ſet ſayle, but made but little away all the day, becauſe the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this hauen; but about midnight wee began to haue a freſh gale, and on Wedneſday in the morning wee were ſeuen leagues diſtant from that point. This countrey ſhewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the reſt, with certaine ſmall woody hilles, and within the other point which was before deſcribed, the ſituation ſeemed to be more pleaſant and delightſome then the reſt which we had paſſed. And at the vttermoſt end of the point were two ſmall Iſlets. The ſayd Wedneſday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we ſayled by euening betweene ſeuen and eight leagues, and came ouer againſt a land not very high, where wee ſaw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into euery of which a riuer ſeemed to fall, becauſe the ſoyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then thoſe which we had found before. Here the Captaine with fiue or ſixe men went on ſhore, and taking poſſeſſion paſſed vp one of thoſe riuers, and found the footing of many Indians vpon the ſand. On the bankes of that riuer they ſaw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found alſo in the wood three or foure beaſts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The ſame night wee ſet ſayle with the winde off the land, which blew ſo freſhly, that it made vs to ſtrike our foreſayle; and on the ſixteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere vnto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thurſday we made little way, becauſe the winde ceaſed, but it roſe againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the ſayd point being ſixe or ſeuen leagues off. The land ſeemed to bee very mountainous with certaine ſharpe points not greatly clad with graſſe, but ſomewhat bare. On our left hand wee ſaw two Iſlands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not ſo much, and it ſeemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were ſory, becauſe we were alwaies in good hope to find ſome out-let into the maine Ocean in ſome place of that land, and that the ſame port was the ſame out-let, and alſo that by the ſayd coaſt we might returne to the foreſayd hauen of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, becauſe we had not certainely ſought out the ſecret, whether that were a ſtreit or a riuer, which wee had left behind vs vnſearched at the bottome of this great ſea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we ſayled with a ſcant winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we ſaw before and behinde foure or fiue great and ſmall Iſlands. The land was very mountainous, part whereof was couered with graſſe, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere vnto the hauen of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be diuided in the very nooke by ſome ſtreite or great riuer which parteth it from the maine, which becauſe we had not throughly diſcouered, all of vs that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieued. And this maine land ſtretcheth ſo farre in length, that I cannot well expreſſe it: for from the hauen of Acapulco, which ſtandeth in ſeuenteene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coaſt of the firme land on our right hand, vntill we came to the great current of the white & red ſea; and here (as I haue ſaid) we knew not the ſecret of this current, whether it were cauſed by a riuer or by a ſtreit: and ſo ſuppoſing that the coaſt which wee had on our right hand was cloſed vp without paſſage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes deſcending Southward by our degrees, vntill wee returned vnto the ſayd hauen of Santa Cruz, finding ſtill along the coaſt a goodly and pleaſant countrey, and ſtill ſeeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in freſh water at the hauen of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Weſterne coaſt, and to ſee what it was, if it pleaſed God. Here we reſted our ſelues, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pichaias: and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and ſtayed there eight daies to take in wood and water reſting our ſelues all that while, that our men might ſtrengthen and refreſh themſelues. Our captaine determined to diuide amongſt vs certain garments of taffata, with clokes and ſaies, and a piece of taffata, and likewiſe ordained, that wee ſhould goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of vs went out of our ſhip by night, and

A bay with 4 or 5 Iſlands.

This current is in 32 degrees, and the ſea is white and red.

This returne is mentioned cap. 5.

They arriue at the hauen of Santa Cruz.

lay in ambuſh in a place which is called The well of Grijalua, where we ſtayed vntill noone betweene certaine ſecret wayes, and could neuer ſee or deſcrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ſhips, with two maſtiue-dogs which we caried with vs to catch the Indians with more eaſe: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to ſpie what wee did: but becauſe wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, theſe Indians iſſued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges ſaw them not: wherefore by reaſon of the thicknes of the wilde thiſtles, and of the thornes and bryars, and becauſe we were weary, we could neuer ouertake them: they left behinde them certaine ſtaues ſo finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, conſidering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

The Spaniards vſe maſtiues to take the Indians.

Reade more of theſe ſtaues cap. 10.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wedneſday, we ſet ſayle out of this hauen of Santa Cruz with little winde, and in ſayling downe the chanell our ſhippe called the Trinitie came on ground vpon certaine ſholdes: this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could vſe wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were conſtrained to vnderprop her, and to ſtay the next tide: and when the tide began to increaſe wee vſed all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieued; for wee thought wee ſhould haue loſt her there, although wee ceaſed not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capſten. In the ende it pleaſed God about midnight at a full ſea with the great force which wee vſed to recouer her, that wee drew her off the ſand, for which we gaue God moſt hearty thankes, and rode at anker all the reſt of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or miſhap. When day was come, wee ſet forward with a freſh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prowes to the maine ſea, to ſee whether it would pleaſe God to let vs diſcouer the ſecret of this point. But whether it pleaſed not his great goodneſſe, or whether it were for our ſinnes, wee ſpent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the poynt, by reaſon of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darkeneſſe euery night: alſo the windes grew ſo raging and tempeſtuous, that they made vs all to quake, and to pray continually vnto God to ayde vs. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded vs with all ſpeede to caſt anker, and in this ſorte we paſſed our troubles: and whereas wee rode in no ſecuritie, he cauſed vs foorthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind ſhould driue vs. And in this ſorte wee ſpent thoſe eight dayes, turning backe by night the ſame way that wee had gone by day, and ſometimes making good in the night that which we had loſt in the day, not without great deſire of all the company to haue a winde which might ſet vs forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miſeries which wee indured by reaſon of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reaſon of the toyle which we had in weighing and caſting of our ankers, as neede required.

And on one of theſe nights, which was very darke and tempeſtuous with winde and raine, becauſe we thought we ſhould haue periſhed, being very neere the ſhore, we prayed vnto God that he would vouchſafe to ayde and ſaue vs, without calling our ſinnes to remembrance. And ſtraightway wee ſaw vpon the ſhrowdes of the Trinity as it were a candle, which of it ſelfe ſhined, and gaue a light, whereat all the company greatly reioyced, in ſuch ſort that wee ceaſed not to giue thankes vnto God. Whereupon we aſſured our ſelues, that of his mercie hee would guide and ſaue vs, and would not ſuffer vs to periſh, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners ſayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo which appeared on the ſhrowdes, and they ſaluted it with their ſongs and prayers. Theſe ſtormes tooke vs betweene the Iſles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Iſle called Iſla de perlas lying ouer againſt the point of California ſuppoſed to be firme land.

Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they diſcouer a pleaſant Countrey, and in their iudgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coaſt very deepe. They went to diſcouer or viewe the Iſle of perles. And by a current one of their ſhips is ſeparated from the other, and with great ioy after three dayes they had ſight again of her, and following their voyage they diſcouer certaine great, greene, and pleaſant plaines.

WE began to ſayle along the coaſt the ſeuenth or eight of Nouember, the land alwayes ſhewing very greene with graſſe pleaſant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the ſhore,

Nouember.

From hence forward they ſaile on the weſterne or backſide of California

California.

Iſla de perlas.

and vp within the countrey many pleaſant hils repleniſhed with wood, and certaine valleys, ſo that wee were delighted aboue meaſure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly view of the countrey: & euery night we ſaw fires, which ſhewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage vntill the tenth of the ſayd moneth of Nouember, hauing alwayes the coaſt of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we ſailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightſome and pleaſant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as alſo in that it ſhewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which riuers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hilles full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues diſtant from California little more or leſſe, alwayes toward the Southweſt, ſeeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no leſſe: and we ſuppoſed that there muſt needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of diuers opinions. The ſea is ſo deepe on all this coaſt that we could ſcarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greateſt part of the coaſt there are hilles of very white ſand, and it ſeemeth to be a dangerous coaſt, becauſe of the great and ſwift tides which goe there, for the ſand ſheweth ſo much for the ſpace of ten or twelue leagues, for ſo the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increaſed, and wee had ſight of the Iſle of pearles, which on this ſide of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all couered ouer with trees, and ſheweth much fairer then on the other ſide, and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of Nouember to the fifteenth we ſayled not aboue tenne leagues, becauſe we had contrary winds, and great ſhowres: and beſides this we had another miſchance which did not a little grieue vs: for wee loſt company of the ſhip called The Trinitie, and could neuer ſee her for the ſpace of three dayes, whereupon wee ſuſpected that ſhee was returned home vnto New Spaine, or that ſhe was ſeuered from our company; wherefore we were grieued out of meaſure to ſee our ſelues ſo left alone, and the Captaine of all others was moſt ſad, though he ceaſed not to encourage vs to proceede on our voyage, ſaying that notwithſtanding all this wee ought not to leaue off this enterpriſe which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we ſhould deſerue the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all anſwered him, that wee would not haue him thinke that any of vs would euer be diſcouraged, but that we would follow him vntill hee ſhould thinke it reaſonable that we ſhould not proceede any further in the enterpriſe, and that we were in danger of periſhing, and that vntill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perſwaded him that after he had ſeene any great difficulty to proceede any further, he ſhould doe well to returne backe to make relation of our ſucceſſe to the R. H. lord the Marques de valle. Hereupon he made an Oration vnto vs, wherein he told vs, that he could not beleeue, much leſſe could imagine, wherefore the ſhippe called the Trinitie ſhould returne into Newe Spaine, nor why ſhe ſhould willingly depart from vs, and goe vnto any other place, and that he thought by all reaſon, that ſome current had caried her out of our ſight, and that through contrary weather and tempeſts ſhe could not fetch vs vp, and that notwithſtanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an inſtruction, that if by chance we were ſeparated one from the other, wee were to take this courſe to meete againe together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to ſeeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the ſea, and that therefore we ſhould doe well to returne to ſeeke her vp. This ſentence pleaſed vs all, and ſo returning to ſeeke her, we eſpied her two leagues diſtant from vs, comming toward vs with a freſh gale of winde, whereat we greatly reioyced.

A current.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, becauſe the weather ſeemed very contrary, and the Captaine chid them for their negligence in ſayling, becauſe they had in ſuch ſort loſt our company; and they excuſed themſelues, that they could doe no leſſe, becauſe a current had caried them away aboue three leagues, whereby they could neuer reach vnto vs. The next day being the ſixteenth of Nouember wee ſet forward, but ſayled very little, for the North and Northweſt winds were againſt vs. Here we diſcouered certaine plaines, in my iudgement very great and greene, and right before vs we could not diſcerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marueiled to ſee ſo great a countrey. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the ſhore whereon the ſea did breake, who ſtayed to beholde vs a great while, and oftentimes hee lifted vp himſelfe to view vs the better, & then returned backe along the coaſt: we vſed al diligence to ſee whether he would come out further from the ſhore, to giue him chace, and to trie whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed vs without comming neere vnto vs, and returned to the ſhore with his Canoa. Here we ſaw in the euening but one fire, and wiſt not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, becauſe they would not haue vs know that there were people there, or that it was ſo indeede. From the ſaid 16 day of Nouember untill the 24 of the ſame moneth we could not proceede on our way aboue 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our ſelues diſtant from the Laguges of the port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 day being munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Countrey, and all along the coaſt we ſaw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midſt like unto halfe plaines, the ſaid plaine ſtill appearing up into the Countrey, with pleaſant champions, becauſe the graſſe which grew there was very beautifull, ſhort, and greene, and good paſture for cattell. Howbeit becauſe we rode ſo farre off, we could not perfectly iudge what kind of graſſe it was, but it ſhewed very ſhort and greene, and without thornes. Theſe plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which ſeemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the reſt ſhewed to be al plaines without any thiſtles or weedes, but full of graſſe good for cattel very green and faire, as I haue ſaid.

They are 70 leagues from the port of Santa Cruz.

Chap. 8.

One of their ſhips by tempeſt was ſeparated from the other, and afterward meeting with her conſort ſhe reporteth that the land ſtretcheth to the Weſt by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of diuers iudgements touching the ſtate of this coaſt inhabited by *Chichimecas*. They enter into an hauen to take in freſh water, and are ſuddenly aſſayled by two ſquadrons of Indians. They defend themſelues valiantly, and the Captaine with ſome of his ſouldiers are grieuouſly wounded.

The 26 of this moneth being Wedneſday at night the North wind tooke us, which ſtill increaſed more and more ſo greatly that it put us to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boiſterous; and this night againe we loſt the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforeſaid (and we had ſight of her on munday the 24) wherewith we were all of us greatly agrieued, both Captaines, Souldiers and Mariners, becauſe we ſaw we were left alone, and our ſhip call Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieued us more then the trouble which we had with the boiſterouſneſſe of the Sea, imagining that if we ſhould leeſe the Trinity, or if any miſhap ſhould fall unto us, we ſhould not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne deſire. This ſaid 24 day being munday we ſaw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the Northweſt, and it ſeemed that the land ſtretched on ſtill forward, whereat we exceedingly reioyced, becauſe we iudged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee ſhould meete with ſome ſpeciall good thing. Whereupon we deſired that it would pleaſe God to ſend us good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, ſo that in 26 dayes we ſayled not aboue 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, ſometimes riding at anker and ſometimes ſayling, and ſeeking the remedies and benefite of the ſhore to auoide perils. In this Countrey which we diſcouered the 26 day we alwayes ſaw (as I haue ſaid) along the ſhore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midſt wherof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our iudgement) was aboue 12 leagues in compaſſe, and the ſea-coaſt reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we ſaw our ſhip called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues diſtant from us, which ſo ſoone as ſhe ſaw us, ſet ſaile, and we came together and reioyced greatly. They brought us great quantity of gray fiſhes, and of another kinde: for at the point of thoſe mountaines they found a fiſhing which was very wonderfull, for they ſuffered themſelues to be taken by hand: and they were ſo great that euery one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fiſh in. They found alſo on the ſaid point a fountaine of freſh water which deſcended from thoſe hilles, and they told us that at the ſame place they had found a narrow paſſage, whereby the Sea entered into the ſaid lake. They comforted us much with the report of theſe things, and in telling us that the lande trended to the Weſt; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the ſame opinion, that we ſhould finde a good Countrey. This night we ſet ſaile to goe to that point to take in freſh water which we wanted, and to ſee this lake, and to put ſome men on ſhore: and after midnight the winde came upon us ſo forcibly at the North that we could not ſtay there: whereupon wee were conſtrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the ſame way backe againe unto the ſhore with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way ſhort of the place from whence we were driuen: and there we rode untill Thurſday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we moſt thought it would haue ceaſed, it beganne to increaſe againe, which grieued us not a little ſeeing the weather ſo contrary, hoping alwayes that it would ceaſe, and that ſome winde would blow from the ſhore, whereby we might recouer the point of land to take in

Land running towards the Northweſt.

Note.

A wonderfull fiſhing place like Newfound land.

freſh water, and to ſearch whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the ſaide moneth till the 29, driuing vp and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little vntill we had gotten vnder the ſhelter of thoſe mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the ſayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from thoſe wooddy mountaines, which we had ſeene in the Sea. We ſtayed in this place at our eaſe all the Sunday, and Iuan Caſtilio the chiefe Pilot went that day in the bote on ſhore with ſeuen in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or fiue Indians Chichimecas of great ſtature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chaſed. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-ſhore, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he ſaw about fifteene Indians of great ſtature alſo, with their bowes and arrowes which called vnto him with a loude and ſtrong voice, making ſignes with their bowes; but the Pilot made no account of their geſture, but rather returned to the ſhippes, and declared what had paſſed betweene him and the Indians. The ſame day the Captaine commaunded that our caske ſhould be made readie againſt the next morning to take in water, for in both the ſhippes there were about fiue and twentie buttes emptie. The firſt of December, and the ſecond day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on ſhore with ſome dozen ſouldiers, and the greateſt part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leauing in the ſhippes as many as were needefull, and as ſoone as wee were come on ſhore at the watering place the Captaine cauſed the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheads of the ſhippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two vpon the ſhore for the ſpace of one or two croſſebow ſhoots, and afterwarde we went vp to certaine of thoſe mountaines, to view the diſpoſition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our iudgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caues, and ſo ſtonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come vnto the top we found certaine ſmall hilles full of woods, and cliffes that were not ſo craggie, although very troubleſome to climbe vp; and while we looked from theſe little hilles, we could not diſcerne any more mountaines, but rather iudged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not ſuffer vs to goe any further, becauſe in thoſe places we had ſeene certaine Indians which ſeemed to be ſpies, and warning vs thereof he commanded vs to retire vnto the ſhore, where we were to take in water, and to diſpatch our buſineſſe quickly, and appointed vs to make certaine pits, that our buts might more eaſily be filled with water. And ſetting our Guardes or Centinels, we beganne to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine ſouldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he deſcryed a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the ſpace of a league, and there is a good fiſhing place round about: and the lake was ſo great, that it ſeemed vnto vs to be very neere 30 leagues in compaſſe, for we could not diſcerne the end thereof. Then we came downe with no leſſe trouble then wee had mounted vp vnto the hill, by reaſon of the ſteepeneſſe of the place, and ſome tumbled downe with no ſmall laughter of the reſt. And being come ſomewhat late to our watering place (for it was then paſt noone) we ſet our ſelues to dinner, alwayes appointing ſome of our company in Centinell, vntill we were called to dinner, and when ſome were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the reſt ſuſpecting no danger of aſſalt of Indians, both becauſe the place ſeemed not to be fit for it, as alſo for that we had ſet our Centinels at the paſſages; two ſquadrons of Indians came vpon vs very ſecretly and couertly, for one came by the great valley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had aſcended to ſee the lake, and all of them came ſo couertly, that our Centinels could neither ſee nor heare them; and wee had not perceiued them, if a ſouldier by chance lifting vp his eyes had not ſayde, Arme, Arme, my maiſters, for many Indians come vpon vs. When we heard this the Captaine leapt vp in a great rage, becauſe the guards were changed out of their place: and with his ſword and target, being followed by a ſouldier, whoſe name was Haro, and afterward by the reſt, he and the ſaid ſouldier went toward a little gate of certaine ſtones, whither the reſt of vs were to follow him: for if the Indians had gotten that place from vs, we ſhould haue incurred great danger, and the greateſt part of vs had like to haue beene ſlaine, and none could haue eſcaped but ſuch as by chance could haue leapt into the boates, and the tide went ſo high, that none could be ſaued but ſuch as were moſt excellent ſwimmers. But at length the Captaine beſtirred himſelfe very nimbly, vſing all celeritie that was poſſible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the reſt of the ſouldiers gate vp after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themſelues to the Indians and made head againſt them, and the Indians aſſailed them with ſuch numbers of ſtones,

arrowes,

A fiſhing place and a lake of 30 leagues compaſſe.

A ſudden aſſalt of the Indians with ſtones, arrowes and ſtaues.

arrowes, & iauelins (which was a very ſtrange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and beſides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull vnto him. While they thus ſtood to withſtand their aſſalt, they ſtrooke Haro which was on the other ſide ſo forcibly with a ſtone, that they threw him flat vpon the ground: and by and by another ſtone lighted vpon him which ſhiuered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and ſhot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and ſtrooke a ſouldier called Grauiello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane ſpace Francis Preciado, and certaine other ſouldiers came vp and ioyned himſelfe with the reſt on the left hand of the Captaine, ſaying vnto him, Sir, withdrawe your ſelfe, for you be wounded, but be you not diſmayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt vs. In this wiſe we beganne to ruſh in among them vpon the ſide of a rocke alwayes gayning ground of them, which greatly incouraged our mindes, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a ſmall woody hill, where we ſheltered our ſelues, whereas before they ſhot vpon vs from aloft, for they were on the higher ground vnder couert in ſafetie, & then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly vpon them with our targets on our armes, and our ſwords in our hands. On the other ſide, to approch and ſeeke to ouertake them was a vaine thing, ſeeing they were as ſwift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten vp on foot, and hauing clapt a woollen cloth vpon his head, which had bled extremely, he ioyned himſelfe vnto vs, of whom we receiued no ſmall aide. In the meane ſpace the Indians fortified themſelues on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little moleſt vs, & we likewiſe fortified our ſelues vpon an hillocke, whereby we deſcended into their Fort, and there was a ſmall valley betweene them & vs, which was not very deepe from the vpper part. There we were 6 ſouldiers & two Negroes with the Captaine, & all of vs were of opinion that it was not good to paſſe that place, leaſt yͤ Indians being many might deſtroy vs all, for the reſt of our ſouldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head againſt the other ſquadron of the Indians, kept them frō hurting thoſe which tooke in water on the ſtrand and from breaking the buts of water, and being but few, we concluded to ſtay here, and ſo we ſtood ſtill fortifying our ſelues as well as we could, eſpecially conſidering that we had no ſuccour on any ſide; for Berecillo our Maſtiue-dogge which ſhould haue aided vs was grieuouſly wounded with 3 arrowes, ſo that by no meanes we could get him from vs: this maſtiue was wounded in the firſt aſſalt when the Indians came vpon vs, who behaued himſelfe very wel, & greatly aided vs; for he ſet vpon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, & made them run away, leauing many arrowes behind them: but at length (as I haue ſaid) he was ſo wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from vs to ſet any more vpon the Indians, & the other two maſtiues did vs more harme then good: for when they went againſt them, they ſhot at them with their bowes, and we receiued hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was ſo ſwolne, that we lapped it vp in a wollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus ſtood ſtill, one part of them beganne to dance, ſing, and ſhout, and then they began all to lade themſelues with ſtones, and to put their arrowes into their bowes, and to come downe toward vs verie reſolutely to aſſalt vs, and with great out-cries they beganne to fling ſtones and to ſhoot their arrowes. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and ſaid: Sir, theſe Indians know or thinke, that we be affeard of them, & in trueth it is a great falt to giue them this incouragement, it were better for vs reſolutely to ſet vpon them with theſe dogs, & to aſſalt them on this hill, that they may know vs to be no daſtards, for they be but Indians and dare not ſtande vs; and if we can get their Fort vpon the hill, God will giue vs victory in all the reſt. The Captaine anſwered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was beſt ſo to doe, although for any further purſuit vp the hill, he thought we were to take another courſe. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his ſword in his hand, ranne vnto the other ſide of the valley, which on that part was not very ſteepe, crying S. Iago, vpon them my maſters, and after him leapt Haro, Tereça, Spinoſa, and a Croſſebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine, though very lame, with a Negro and a ſouldier which accompanied him, incouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we draue them to the place where they had fortified themſelues, and from whence they deſcended, and we tooke another hill ouer againſt them within a darts caſt of them. And hauing breathed our ſelues a little, the Captaine came vnto vs, and ſaid, Go too my maſters, vpon them before they ſtrengthen themſelues on this hill, for now we ſee plainely that they be affeard of vs, ſeeing we chaſe thē continually from their Forts: & ſuddenly 3 or 4 of vs went toward them well couered with targets, vnto the foot of their Fort where they were aſſembled, and the reſt of our company followed vs: the Indians

The Spaniards vſe maſtiues in their warres againſt the Indians. Reade more hereof cap. 12.

beganne to make head againſt vs, and toſſing many ſtones vpon vs, and ſhoot many arrowes, and we with our ſwords in our hands ruſhed vpon them in ſuch ſort, that they ſeeing how furiouſly we ſet vpon them, abandoned the fort, and came downe the hill as ſwift as Deere, and fled vnto another hill ouer againſt vs, where the other ſquadron of the Indians ſtood, of whom they were reſcued, and they began to talke among themſelues, but in a low voyce, and ioyned together 6 and 6 and 8 & 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themſelues, and we ſtood quietly beholding what they did.

Chap. 9.

After the ſkirmiſh the Captaine being wounded, and the reſt of the ſouldiers ſeeing the Indians depart, returned vnto their ſhips. The next day taking in freſh water at the ſaide place he ſent mariners to ſound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called *Baya de Sant Abad*, and indured a dangerous ſtorme at ſea. And afterward comming neere the ſhore to take freſh water in the ſaid hauen, they ſee certaine peaceable Indians.

BY this time it was late and the night approched, and the Indians ſeeing this, within a ſhort while after determined to get them packing, and ech of them or the greateſt part tooke firebrands in their hands, & got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine ſaw this he cõmanded vs to returne aboord our boats, it being now darke night, thanking vs all for the good ſeruice we had done him. And being not able to ſtand vpon his legge, he leaned with his arme vpon Francis Preciado; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboord, by reaſon of the great tide and roughneſſe of the ſea, ſo that our boats were filled with euery waue. Thus very weary, wet, & ſome wounded (as is aforeſaid) each man returned vnto his ſhip, where our beds which we found, and our refreſhing, & the cheere we had at ſupper did not greatly comfort vs in regard of our former trauels. We paſſed that night in this ſort, and the next day being Tueſday the Captaine found himſelfe greatly payned with his wounds, & chiefly with that on his leg, becauſe it was greatly ſwolne with his going vpon it. We lacked 12 buts to fill with water, and the barrels in both the ſhips, and the Captaine would haue gone out to cauſe them to be filled, but we would not ſuffer him, and therefore we left off the buſineſſe for that day. But he appointed that the croſſebowes ſhould be made readie, and two ſpeciall good harquebuzes, & the next day being Wedneſday very early, he commanded Iuan Caſtilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the boats and with all the ſouldiers and mariners that he could make, hauing the day before commanded the Trinitie to go as neere the ſhore as ſhe might, & to make ready ſome of her ordinance, that if the Indians ſhould ſhew themſelues, they might affright them, & doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherfore on the Wedneſday al we that were ſouldiers, ſauing the wounded perſons, went on ſhore with certaine mariners in the beſt order that we could, and tooke the firſt hill, where we had fortified our ſelues, ſtanding all vpon our guard vntill the water was filled, and vntill we were called, during which time not one Indian ſhewed himſelfe. Thus we went aboord when we thought good our ſelues, at leaſt without any ſuſpicion of the Indians, although the tide of the Sea went ſo high ẏ it put vs to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waues it beat into our boats. This was on the Wedneſday the 3 of December. And to auoide loſſe of time the Captaine commanded Iuan Caſtilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he ſhould thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to ſee whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ſhips. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinity, went and ſounded the mouth, & on the ſhalloweſt place of the barre without they found 3 fadome depth, and farther in 4, & vp higher 5, alwayes increaſing vnto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the ſaid lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their ſounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went ouer to the ſoutheaſt point, & there they ſaw a great boat or raft which they indeuoured to take to carrie vnto their ſhips. In ẏ meane while they eſpied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and ſee, and being come neere they ſaw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them diſtant from the cottages one or two croſſebowes ſhot, and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie; and while they beheld thoſe cottages, they ſaw many Indians deſcending downe a ſmall hill in warlike manner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they determined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ſhips, and they were not gone from the ſea-ſhore ſcarſe a ſtones caſt, but the Indians were come vpon them to ſhoot at them with their arrowes, and becauſe they were vnarmed, they would not fight with them, hauing gone on ſhore for no other purpoſe, but to ſound the mouth and enterance of that lake. On Thurſday the 4 of December we ſet ſaile with a freſh gale of winde, and ſayled ſome 8 or 10 leagues, and came vnto certaine mouthes or inlets, which ſeemed to all of vs

A ſpecial good hauen.

as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and came into an hauen which we called Baya del Abad all incloſed and compaſſed with land, being one of the faireſt hauens that hath beene ſeene: and about the ſame, eſpecially on both ſides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we diſcryed certaine riuers on that part which ſeemed greene, & therefore we returned backe, going out at that mouth wherby we came in, alwayes hauing contrary wind: yet the Pilots vſed their beſt indeuour to make way: and we ſaw before vs certaine wooddy hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we ſaw from the Friday the 5 of the ſaid moneth, vntill the Tueſday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to theſe woods they ſeemed very pleaſant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towardes the ſea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we ſaw theſe woods. From the day before, which was the Conception of our Lady, we ſaw many great ſmokes, whereat we much maruelled, being of diuerſe opinions among our ſelues, whether thoſe ſmokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Ouer againſt theſe woods there fell euery night ſuch a dew, that euery morning when we roſe, the decke of the ſhip was ſo wet, that vntill the ſunne was of a good height, we alwaies made the decke durtie with going vpon it. We rode ouer againſt theſe woods from the Tueſday morning when we ſet ſaile, vntill Thurſday about midnight, when a cruell Northweſt winde tooke vs, which, whither we would or no, inforced vs to way our anker; and it was ſo great, that the ſhip Santa Agueda began to returne backe, vntill her cable broke, and the ſhip hulled, and ſuddenly with a great guſt the trinket and the mizen were rent aſunder, the Northweſt winde ſtill growing more and more: within a ſhort while after the maine ſaile was rent with a mighty flaw of winde, ſo that we were inforced, both ſouldiers, captaine, and all of vs, to doe our beſt indeuor to mend our ſailes; and the Trinitie was driuen to do the like, for ſhe going round vpon her anker, when ſhe came a-head of it, her cable broke, ſo that there we loſt two ankers, each ſhip one. We went backe to ſeeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the ſame, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to reach it by reaſon of contrary windes, we rode vnder the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almoſt voide of graſſe, neere vnto a ſtrand full of ſandie hilles. Neere vnto this road wee found a fiſhing-place vnder a point of land, where hauing let downe our lead to ſee what ground was there, a fiſh caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the ſounding-lead crying and ſhewing his fellowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as ſoone as he had got it aboue the water, tooke the fiſh, and looſed the cord of the ſounding-lead, and threw it againe into the ſea, to ſee whether there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of vs made a ſhout for ioy; thus drawing the fiſh the rope of the ſounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fiſh which was very faire. Here we ſtayed from Friday when we arriued there, vntill the Munday, when as it ſeemed good to our Captaine, that we ſhould repaire to the watering place, from whence we were ſome ſixe leagues diſtant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and ſpent, becauſe he knew not whither we ſhould from thenceforth finde any water, or no; and though we ſhould finde water, it was doubtfull whither we ſhould be able to take it by reaſon of the great tide that goeth vpon that coaſt. We drewe neere to that place on Munday at night, when as we ſawe certaine fires of the Indians. And on Tueſday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie ſhould come as neere our ſhip & to the ſhore as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe vs with their great ordinance: and hauing made 3 or 4 bourds to draw neere the ſhore, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the ſea-ſide; who ſtood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking alſo how our bwoy floated vpon the water; and when our boat returned to the ſhip, two of them leapt into the ſea, and ſwamme vnto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and tyed to the ſayd bwoy a very faire and ſhining ſea-oyſter of pearles, and then returned to the ſhore, neere to the watering-place.

Baya del Abad is 100 leagues from the point of California.

Many great ſmokes, of which alſo Francis Gualle maketh mention.

A fiſhing place

Great tides vpō this coaſt.

Chap. 10

They giue vnto the Indians many trifles which ſtand vpon the ſhore to ſee them, and ſeeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a *Chichimeco*, who could not vnderſtand their language. They go to take freſh water. *Francis Preciado* ſpendeth the time with them with many ſignes, and trucking and being afeard of their great multitude, retireth himſelfe wiſely with his companions, returning with ſafety to the ſhips.

When the Captaine and we beheld this, we iudged theſe Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain

heades

beades to truck, and went to ſpeake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of the Admirall that he ſhould parley with them. And the Captaine came vnto the boy, and laid certaine things vpon it for exchange, & made ſignes vnto the Sauages to come and take them; and an Indian made ſignes vnto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they vnderſtood them not, but ſignified that they ſhould go aſide. Whereupon the Captaine departed a ſmal diſtance from that place with his boat. And they made ſignes againe that he ſhould get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the ſaide Indians leapt into the water, came vnto the boy, and tooke thoſe beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came vnto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gaue a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and ſent him away, running with all haſte on the ſhore, and made ſignes vnto vs that they had ſent word vnto their lord what things we had giuen them, and that he wauld come thither. Within a while after the ſaid Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make ſignes vnto vs, that his Lord was comming. And while we ſtayed here, we ſaw on the ſhore ten or twelue Indians aſſemble themſelues, which came vnto the other Indians, and by and by we ſaw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who aſſembled themſelues all together. And againe they began to make ſignes vnto vs, to come foorthwith to our boates, and ſhewed vs many Oyſters of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making ſignes that they would giue them vs. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded vs to make readie our boate, and went aboord it with the ſaid mariners, and rowed to a certaine ſtone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the ſea neere vnto the ſhore. And hither came firſt 2 or 3 Indians, and layd downe one of thoſe Oyſters, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or ſparrowes feathers painted red; they layd downe alſo certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the meane while we ſawe continually Indians aſſemble to the ſhore by tenne and tenne, and ſo by little and little they came in ſquadrons; and one of them aſſoone as hee ſawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backward with ſo great nimbleneſſe, that doubtleſſe he ſeemed to all of vs a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no ſmall pleaſure while we beheld him fetching thoſe gambols: but the reſt of the Indians which ſtood at the mouth of the freſh water ranne toward him, and cryed vnto him, forbidding him to vſe thoſe geſtures, becauſe we were come thither in peaceable ſort, and by this meanes he came with the reſt to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there aſſembled aboue a hundred of them all in order, with certaine ſtaues with cordes to fling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chichimeco-interpreter borne in the Iſle of California, was come vnto vs, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to ſtrippe himſelfe, and to ſwimme and laye vpon the ſaid rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made ſignes that he ſhould goe away; and ſo they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to ſpeake vnto them, but they could not vnderſtand him, ſo that we aſſuredly beleeue, that they vnderſtand not the language of the Iſle of California. This day being Tueſday vntill night the Indians ſtayed at this watering place, taking ſome of our beades, and giuing vnto vs their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wedneſday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes ſhould be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians ſhould take the hill, which ſtood ouer the watering place, we might be landed in good order: which was put in execution: for we went on ſhore with as many as could goe, ſauing thoſe that had charge to take in the water, and ſuch as were to ſtay on ſhip-boord, which in all were about fourteene or fifteene perſons, in as good order as we could deuiſe: for we were foure croſſebowes, two harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the moſt part of vs carryed very good ſlings, and euery one eighteene riuer-ſtones, which weapon the Captaine inuented, becauſe the Indians at the firſt had handled vs very ſhrewdly with the multitude of ſtones which they flang at vs: we had nothing to defende vs ſauing our targets, and to ſeeke to winne the fortes from whence they indamaged vs; he therefore thought with theſe ſlings, that we might offend them, and we likewiſe thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we threw very well with them, and much farther then we thought we could haue done: for the ſlings being made of hempe, we flung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the ſayd Wedneſday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine cragges or rockes hanging ouer the ſame, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which the water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not paſt a fadome broad. So ſtanding all in order, other foure or fiue Indians came thither, who as ſoone as they ſawe vs to be come on ſhore, and to haue gotten the toppe of the watering place, they retired vnto a ſmall hill on the other ſide, for the valley was betweene them and vs: neither ſtayed they long before they beganne to aſſemble themſelues as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themſelues on this high hill, where they made ſignes vnto vs. And Francis Preciado craued licenſe of the Generall to parley with theſe Indians, and to giue them ſome trifles; wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went vnto a plaine place, vnder the hill where the Indians ſtood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his ſword and target, hauing onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a ſkarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fiſhinghooks and comfits. And he began to goe vp the hill, and to ſhew them diuerſe of his marchandiſe. The Indians as ſoone as he had layd thoſe things on the ground, and gone ſomewhat aſide, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them vp, for it ſeemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried thoſe trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to giue vnto him in the ſaid place, an oyſter of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making ſignes to Preciado that he ſhould come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a ſtring of belles, and a great fiſhhooke, and certaine beades; and they taking the ſame, layd there againe another oyſter of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beads, two fiſhhookes, and more comfits, and the Indians came to take them vp, and approched much neerer vnto him, then at other times, and ſo neere that a man might haue touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 more came downe, vnto whom Francis Preciado made ſignes, that they ſhould come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and hauing layd them downe came ſomewhat lower, and there with ſignes, together with them which came firſt, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches & apparell of him, and aboue all things a red hat pleaſed them highly, which the ſaid Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it vnto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made ſignes vnto him to knowe whether he would haue a harlot, ſignifying with their fingers thoſe villanies and diſhoneſt actions, and among the reſt they ſet before him an Indian of great ſtature dyed wholly with black, with certaine ſhels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and ſpeaking by ſignes to Francis Preciado touching the foreſaid act of fornication, thruſting their finger through a hole, they ſaid vnto him, that if hee would haue a woman, they would bring him one; and he anſwered, that he liked well of it, and that therfore they ſhould bring him one. In the meane ſpace on the other ſide where the Generall ſtood with his company, another ſquadron of Indians ſhewed themſelues, whereupon the Generall and his company made a ſtirre, and put themſelues in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from them, to ioyne with the Generall & his company: and here the Indians which came laſt began to make ſignes that we ſhould lay downe ſomething to truck, and that they would giue vs ſome of their ſhels of mother of pearle, which they brought vpon certaine ſmall ſtickes, and herewithall they came very neere vnto vs, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado ſaid vnto the Captaine, that if it pleaſed him, hee would cauſe all the Indians to come together and to ſtay vpon that high hill; and he anſwered, that it was beſt to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and ſtayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made ſignes vnto them to call the reſt, and to come all together, becauſe hee would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the firſt; and they anſwered that he ſhould doe ſo, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would haue them, and ſo they did, for they cauſed them to come vnto them, which they did, and Francis likewiſe went alone towards them, in which meane ſpace the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming vnto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandiſe of traffique, and afterwards made ſignes vnto them to ſtay there, becauſe hee would goe to the ſhips to bring them other things, and ſo he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, ſauing the Generall and three or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had giuen other trifles to Preciado to carry vnto the Indians, and when he was gone a little from him, he called him backe againe, and all this while the Indians ſtood ſtill, and being come vnto him, wee went faire and ſoftly to our boates, and got into them at our eaſe, without any thronging, and thence we came aboord our ſhip.

Truck & traffique with the Indians for mother of pearle, and other things.

The Indians ſeing vs thus gone aboord came downe to the ſtrand where the brooke of water was, and called vnto vs to come forth with our boates, and to come on ſhore, and to bring our beades, and that they would giue vs of their mother of pearles: but we being now ſet at dinner made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to ſhoot arrowes at the ſhip, and although they fell neere vs, yet they did not reach vs. In the meane ſeaſon certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wey the anker, whereupon the Indians ſeeing them comming towards them, & bringing them nothing, they beganne in ſcorne to ſhew them their buttockes, making ſignes that they ſhould kiſſe their bums: and theſe ſeemed to be thoſe that came laſt. The Generall ſeeing this, commanded a muſket to be once or twiſe ſhot off, and that they ſhould take their iuſt ayme. They ſeeing theſe ſhot to be made readie, ſome of them roſe and went to ſhoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance ſpeedily to be ſhot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were diſcharged, and we perceiued that we had ſlaine one of them, for we aſſuredly ſaw him lye dead vpon the ſhore; and I thinke ſome of the reſt were wounded. They hearing this noyſe, and ſeeing him dead ranne away as faſt as euer they could, ſome along the ſhore, and ſome through the vallies, dragging the dead Indian with them, after which time none of them appeared, ſaue ten or twelue, which peeped vp with their heads among thoſe rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was diſcharged aloft againſt the place where they were, after which time we neuer ſaw any more of them.

Chap. 11.

At the point of the Trinitie they ſpend three dayes in fiſhing, and in other paſtime: after which ſetting ſayle they diſcouer pleaſant countries, and mountaines voide of graſſe, and an Iland afterward called *Iſla de los Cedros*, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they ſuffer ſharpe colde and raine, and to ſaue themſelues they returne thither.

IMmediatly we ſet ſaile to ioyne with the ſhip Santa Agueda, which was aboue halfe a league in the high ſea from vs, and this was on the Wedneſday the ſeuenteenth of December. Being come together becauſe the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which wee called Punta de la Trinidad, and here wee ſtayed fiſhing, and ſolacing our ſelues two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great ſtore of raine. Afterward we beganne to ſayle very ſlowly, and at night we rode ouer againſt thoſe mountaines where we had left our ankers, and vpon knowledge of the place we receiued great contentment ſeeing we had ſailed ſome fiue and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any maruell that wee ſo reioyced, becauſe that the feare which we had of contrary windes cauſed vs to be ſo well apayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Natiuitie of our Lord, which was on the Thurſday the fiue and twentieth of the ſaid moneth, God of his mercy beganne to ſhewe vs fauour in giuing vs a freſh winde almoſt in the poope, which carried vs beyond thoſe mountaines, for the ſpace of tenne or twelue leagues, finding the coaſt alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coaſted along, and betweene theſe mountaines, there was a great ſpace of plaine ground, which we might eaſily diſcerne with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Chriſtmas day to ſaile ſlowly with certaine ſmall land-windes, and ſayled from morning to night about ſeuen or eight leagues, which wee eſteemed no ſmall matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his fauour toward vs, and thanking him for his holy Natiuitie, and all the dayes of this feaſt the Frier ſayd maſſe in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached vnto vs, which gaue vs no ſmall comfort, by incouraging vs in the ſeruice of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27 of the ſaid moneth we ankored neere vnto a point which ſeemed to be plaine land all along the ſhore, and within the countrey were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne ouerthwart the countrey, and continued along with certaine ſmall hilles ſharpe on the toppe, and certaine little vallies are betweene thoſe mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the ſame both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuſe but be a good countrey, and to haue great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and ſiluer; for there was great likelihood that there is ſtore thereof. This night we ſaw a fire farre within the lande towards thoſe mountaines, which made vs thinke that the countrey was throughly inhabited. The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the ſaid moneth, at breake of day we ſet ſayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had ſayled three or foure leagues, where we met with a point which ſtretched towarde the Weſt, the pleaſant ſituation whereof delighted vs much. From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our courſe vntill Thurſday being Newyeares day of the yeere 1540, and we ran ſome 40 leagues, paſſing by certaine inlets and bayes, and certaine high mountains couered with graſſe in colour like roſemary: but toward the ſea-ſide very

Great apparance of gold and ſiluer.

January 1540

Fourty leagues

very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine cragges ſomewhat of a red colour, and beyond theſe appeared certaine white mountaines, and ſo all the countrey ſhewed vnto a point which appeared beyond thoſe burnt white and red mountaines which haue neither any graſſe nor tree vpon them, whereat we maruelled not a little. This Newyeares day we ſawe neere the maine two ſmall Ilands, and reioyced greatly to ſee them; for we ſtood in great feare, that contrary windes would driue vs as farre backe in one day, as we had ſayled in tenne, which if they had taken vs, we could not haue withſtood them. Wee ranne from the firſt of Ianuary vntill Munday which were fiue dayes, and the land alwayes ſtretched Northweſt from the mountaines aforeſaid.

Two ſmall Iſlets neere the maine.

And on the Sunday we ſaw a farre off a-head of vs a high land ſomewhat ſeuered from the maine ſhore, and all of vs beganne to diſpute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northweſt, for that way the Pilots hoped to diſcouer a better countrey: and the ſaid Munday the fift of Ianuarie we came to this high land beforeſaid, and it was two Ilands the one a ſmall one and the other a great one: we coaſted theſe two Ilands ſome ſixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high ſlender trees; and the great Iland was twentie leagues in compaſſe. We coaſted it 6 leagues in length without ſeeing or diſcouering any other things, but we ſaw before vs high land which ſtretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Munday at night. From Thurſday being Newyeares day vntill the next Munday we ſayled about 35 leagues. And in this courſe we felt great cold, which grieued vs much, eſpecially being aſſailed by two or three windie ſhowers, which pinched vs much with colde. We rode ouer againſt this land two or three nights, hauing it neere vnto vs, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another ſouldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie. On Tueſday being Twelfe day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had deſcryed the day before, ſeeming to vs very pleaſant for it ſhewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bigneſſe, and we ſaw many vallies, out of which certaine ſmall miſts aroſe, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered, that they roſe out of certaine riuers. The ſame morning, to our great comfort we ſaw great ſmokes, though we were aboue foure leagues diſtant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approch neere vnto them, nor to ſeeke nor ſerch what the matter was, and perchance becauſe he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboord the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and ſtay there two or three dayes, as well to paſſe the time, as to giue order for things that were needefull. In this countrey the winter and raine ſeemed to be like that of Caſtile. We rode al night two or three leagues diſtance from ſhore, and toward euening we ſaw fiue or ſixe fires, whereat we all reioyced, but did not maruell thereat, becauſe the ſituation of that countrey ſhewed to be habitable, being faire, pleaſant, and all greene, and likewiſe becauſe the Iland which we had left behind vs being (as I haue ſaid) twenty leagues in circuit, made ſhewe that it was well peopled. On the Wedneſday we were 3 or 4 leagues at ſea from the land, and began to ſee two fires more, & therfore we aſſured our ſelues that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we ſayled, we alwayes found it more ciuill. And for the ſpace of fifty leagues before we came hither we alwayes found ſwimming on the ſea certaine flotes of weedes of a ſhips length, and of the breadth of two ſhips, being round and full of gourds, and vnder theſe weedes were many fiſhes, and on ſome of them were ſtore of fowles like vnto white ſea-meawes. We ſuppoſed that theſe floting weeds did grow vpon ſome rocke vnder the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We ſailed from the 7 of Ianuary vntill the 9 ſtill with contrary windes; and on Fryday about noone there roſe a North and Northeaſtern winde, which forced vs to returne vnder the ſhelter of that Iland which we left behind vs, from whence we had ſayled aboue twentie leagues. And that Friday at night ſomewhat late wee had ſayled backe aboue twelue leagues of the ſame, and becauſe it was night wee ſtayed in the ſea, where we and our ſhippes were not a little troubled, ſo that all that night none of vs ſlept a winke, but watched euery one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gate vnder the ſhelter of the ſaid Iland, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that ſide where we ankored, we found high and cloſed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all aſhes and burned, and in other places ſkorched and as blacke as coales, and like the ruſt of yron, and in other places whitiſh, and here and there ſmall blacke hilles, whereat we maruelled exceedingly, conſidering that when we paſſed by, it ſeemed vnto vs an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we ſaw not a ſticke growing on this ſide.

Iſla de los Cedros mentioned in the 13 chap.

The land trendeth here Northweſt 35 leagues.

Floting weeds for 50 leagues.

Thirtie degrees of Northerly latitude.

Twentie leagues beyond the Il of Cedars.

All of vs ſuppoſed that on the other ſide toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we ſawe, although (as I haue ſayde) wee ſayled foure or fiue leagues diſtant from the ſame.

We ſtayed here vnder the ſhelter of theſe mountaines Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, alwayes hauing the Northren winde ſo ſtrong, that we thinke if it had caught vs in the ſea, wee ſhould haue bene caſt away.

Chap. 12.

They enuiron and land vpon the Iland of Cedars, to diſcouer the ſame, and to ſeeke water and wood. They are aſſailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with ſtones: but at length getting the vpper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther vp into the Iland they find diuerſe things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

ON Friday the 13 of Ianuary the Captaine commanded vs to hoiſe out our boates, and to goe on ſhore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the ſhore for the ſpace of a good halfe league and entered into a valley: for (as I ſaid) all this country was full of high and bare hils, of ſuch qualitie as I mentioned before: and in this and other ſmall valleys we found ſome water which was brackiſh, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of ſhrubs like vnto broome; likewiſe we found the footings of Indians both ſmall and great, whereat we much maruelled that in ſo rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could diſcerne) there ſhould be people. Here we ſtayed all day, making foure or fiue pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in ſmall quantitie we refuſed not; and ſo the euening being come, we returned to our boates, and ſo came vnto our ſhips which rode a good league from the ſhore. The next day being Wedneſday the fourteenth of the ſaid moneth our Generall commanded vs to ſet ſaile, and we ſailed about the ſaid Iland on the ſame ſide which we coaſted when we came from Nueua Eſpanna: for when we arriued on the coaſt we ſaw fiue or ſixe fires; wherefore he deſired to ſee and learne whether it were inhabited; and at the fartheſt ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before vs a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine ſmall oares, and came very neere vs to ſee what we were: whereupon we tolde our Generall, that it were beſt to ſend ſome of vs out with our boates to take theſe Indians or ſome one of them to giue them ſomething that they might thinke vs to be good people: but hee would not conſent thereto, becauſe he minded not to ſtay, hauing then a prety gale of winde, whereby he might ſaile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take ſome others to ſpeake with them, and giue them what we would to carry on ſhore; and as we ſayled neere the land, we ſaw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bigneſſe of the trees and Cypreſſes of Caſtile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beaſts and conies, and ſaw a peece of pinetree-wood, whereof we gathered, that there was ſtore of them in that countrey. Thus ſayling neere vnto the ſhore, we ſawe another Canoa comming toward vs with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere vs, and as we looked forward, we ſawe toward a point which was very neere before vs, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the ſea, that they might deſcry vs without comming ouer neere vs. Likewiſe betweene certaine hilles which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we ſaw a ſmall troope of ſome twentie of them together, ſo that all of vs reioyced greatly to behold them. On this ſide the land ſhewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the ſea, and likewiſe all thoſe coaſts of hils ſhewed greene, and were couered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at euening we rode neere the ſhore hard vpon the ſaid point, to ſee if we could ſpeake with thoſe Indians, and likewiſe to ſee if we could get freſh water, which now we wanted, and ſtill as ſoone as we were come to an anker, we ſaw the Indians ſhew themſelues on land neere vnto their lodgings, comming likewiſe to deſcry vs in a Canoa, by ſixe and ſeuen at a time, whereat we maruelled, becauſe we neuer thought that one of thoſe Canoas would hold ſo many men. In this wiſe we ſtayed looking ſtill what would be the ſucceſſe, and in the place where we rode we were two ſmall leagues diſtant from the ſhore, where we found theſe Indians in their Canoas: whereupon wee maruelled not a little to ſee ſo great an alteration in ſo ſmall a diſtance of countrey, as well becauſe we ſtill diſcouered pleaſant land with trees (whereas on the other ſide of the iſle there were none) as alſo becauſe it was ſo well peopled with Indians, which had ſo many Canoas made of wood, as we might diſcerne, and not raftes or Balſas, for ſo they call thoſe floats which are made all flat with canes.

A Balſa is a flat raft made of canes.

The next day being Thurſday the fifteenth of the ſaid moneth about breake of day foure or fiue Indians ſhewed themſelues at the head of that point, who as ſoone as they had ſpyed vs retired behind the point, and hid themſelues among the buſhes vpon certaine ſmall hilles that were there, from whence they iſſued forth, and couered all the greene hils and mountaines, which were along that coaſt; whereupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the cõmoditie of the water and the defence againſt ill weather, and the benefite of fiſhing. At ſun-riſing we ſaw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going vp vnto the hilles in ſmall troopes, and from thence they ſtood and beheld vs. Immediatly we ſaw fiue or ſixe Canoas come out into the ſea a good diſtance from vs, and thoſe which were in them ſtood often on their tip-toes, to view and deſcry vs the better. On the other ſide we ſtirred not at all for all theſe their geſtures, but ſtood ſtill riding at anker; and the Generall ſeemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Maſters mate to conueigh him to our other ſhippe called The Trinitie. Things paſſed in this ſort, when about ten of the clocke we ſaw three Canoas lanch farre into the ſea to fiſh very neere vnto vs, whereat we tooke great pleaſure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinitie and commanded the boat & men to be made readie, as well ſouldiers as mariners, and that we ſhould goe on ſhore to ſee if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of thoſe Indians to vnderſtand their language if it were poſſible: and ſo all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinitie which by this time with the other ſhip had a ſmall gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we diſcouered the lodgings and houſes of the Indians, & ſaw neere the waters ſide thoſe fiue or ſixe Canoas which at the firſt came out to view vs, drawen on ſhore, and ouer againſt this place the ſhips caſt anker in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land; whereat we maruelled much to find ſo great depth of water ſo neere the ſhore. Being gone abord our botes, we made toward the ſhore ouer againſt a village of the Indians, who as ſoone as they ſaw vs about to come on land, left an hill whereon they ſtood to behold what we did, & came downe to the ſhore, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came againſt vs they cauſed their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, & then came directly towards vs, threatning vs with certaine great ſtaues which they carried in their handes ſome 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wreſt: but perceiuing that for all this we ceaſed not to come neere the ſea ſhore to come on land, they began to charge vs with ſtones and to fling cruelly at vs, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they ſmote the Generall with two ſtones. In the meane while the other bote landed a little beneath, whereupon when they ſaw that they were forced to diuide themſelues to keepe the reſt of our company from comming on land, they began to be diſcouraged, and did not aſſaile the Generals boate ſo fiercely, who began to cauſe his people to goe on ſhore with no ſmall trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as ſoone as they leapt out of the boat they ſunke downe, becauſe they could finde no faſt footing; and thus ſwimming or otherwiſe as they could, firſt a ſouldier called Spinoſa got on land, and next to him the General, and then ſome of the reſt, and began to make head againſt the Indians, and they came haſtily with thoſe ſtaues in their hands, for other kinds of weapons we ſaw none, ſauing bowes and arrowes of pine-tree. After a ſhort combate they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinoſa. In the meane while thoſe of the other boat were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reaſon of the multitude of ſtones which continually rained downe vpon them, and they ſtroke Terazzo on the head a very ſhrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of vs had beene wounded, and in great diſtreſſe, although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on ſhore with ſwimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, ſome of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after thoſe of the other bote were come on land, the Indians betooke themſelues to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had ſent their women, children and goods: on the other ſide we purſued them, & one of thoſe Indians which came to aſſaile the Generals boat, was ſlaine vpon the ſtrand, & two or three others were wounded, and ſome ſaid more. While we purſued them in this maner our maſtiue dogge Berecillo ouertooke one of them not farre from vs (who becauſe we were ſo wet could not run very faſt) and pulled him downe, hauing bitten him cruelly, and doubtleſſe he had held him till we had come, vnleſſe it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a ſtaffe which he had in his hands gaue the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any ſtaying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Berecillo was faine to leaue him for paine, neither had he ſcarſe taken the dogge off on him, but the Indian got vp, and fled ſo haſtily towarde the mountaine, that within a ſhort while hee ouertooke his fellowe which had ſaued him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him luſtily to his heeles, and thus they came vnto their fellowes which deſcended not downe to the ſhore being about ſome twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or ſixtie.

A village of the Indians.

A ſkirmiſh of the Indians fighting with ſtones.

The great vſe of targets againſt arrowes and ſtones.

The vſe of maſtiues in the warre againſt Indians.

After we had breathed our ſelues a while, we viewed their houſes where they ſtood, which were certaine cottages couered with ſhrubs like broome and roſemary, with certaine ſtakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed vs to march all together without diſperſing of our ſelues, a little way vp thoſe mountaines, to ſee if there were any water and wood, becauſe we ſtood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we ſaw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as ſoone as they ſaw vs purſue them ouertooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leauing their ſtuffe in this place. We went vnto this booty, and found good ſtore of freſh-fiſh, and dried fiſh, and certaine bags containing aboue 28 pound weight full of dried fiſh ground to powder, and many ſeal-ſkins, the moſt part dreſſed with a faire white graine vpon them, and others very badly dreſſed. There were alſo their inſtruments to fiſh withall, as hookes made of the prickes of certaine ſhrubs and trees. Here we tooke the ſaid ſkins without leauing any one in the place, and then we returned to the ſea, becauſe it was now night, or at leaſt very late, and found our botes waiting for vs.

Seale-ſkins well dreſſed with a white graine.

Chap. 13.

A deſcription of the *Canoas* of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coaſting the ſame to find freſh water they found ſome, and deſiring to take thereof they went on ſhore, and were diuerſly moleſted with the weapons of the Indians. They chriſten an old Indian, and returne vnto their ſhips.

The Canoas which they had were certaine thicke trunkes of Cedars, ſome of them of the thickneſſe of two men, and three fadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid along, and faſtened together, they ſhoue them into the ſea, neither were they plained to any purpoſe, for we found no kind of edge-toole, ſauing that there were certaine ſharp ſtones, which we found vpon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we ſuppoſed that they did cut & flea thoſe ſeales. And neere the ſhore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made of the ſkins of thoſe ſeales, contayning ech of them aboue a great paile of water. The next day our Generall commanded vs ſo ſet ſaile, whereupon ſailing with a freſh gale about 2 leagues from the ſhore of this Iland, trending about the ſame to ſee the end thereof, and alſo to approch neere the firme land, to informe our ſelues of the ſtate thereof, becauſe we had ſeene 5 or 6 fires, we compaſſed the ſame about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or 3 good actions, namely, we returned to our right courſe, and ſearched whether any riuer fell out of the coaſt of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any ſtore of Indians did ſhew themſelues or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of Ianuary at euening, and ſeeking to double the point of the Iland, ſo fierce and contrary a Northren winde encountered vs, that it draue vs backe that night ouer againſt the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we ſtayed all Saturday, what time we loſt the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday-night being the 18 we ſaw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compaſſe that Iland, if it pleaſed God to ſend vs good weather.

On Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday (which was the twentieth of the ſaid moneth of Ianuarie) wee ſailed with ſcarſe and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Iland, which we called Iſla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, becauſe that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of theſe Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be. This day the Trinitie deſcryed a village or towne of the Indians, and found water; for on Sunday night we had newly loſt her, and had no ſight of her vntill Tueſday, whenas we found her riding neere the ſhore, not farre from thoſe cottages of the Indians. And as ſoone as we had deſcryed her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we eſpied three Canoas of Indians which came hard aboord the ſaid ſhip called The Trinitie, ſo that they touched almoſt the ſide of the ſhip, and gaue them of their fiſh, and our people on the other ſide gaue them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had ſpoken with them, the Indians went backe to the ſhore, and at the ſame inſtant we came vp vnto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all ſaluted vs, ſaying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had paſſed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we receiued great contentment. They told vs moreouer, that they had found freſh water, whereby they increaſed our great ioy, becauſe we ſtood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

Iſla de los Cedros, or The Ile of Cedars in 28 deg. and a quarter.

While we thus rode at ankor, we ſaw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the ſea from their cottages, and they went vnto a fiſhing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this ſea among certaine rockes, the greateſt part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 fa-

Theſe weighty deepe and high weedes are deſcribed in the end of this treatiſe.

done depth; and with great celeritie they caught ſeuen or eight fiſhes, and returned with them vnto the Trinity, and gaue them vnto them, and they in recompenſe gaue the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians ſtayed at the ſterne of the ſhip, viewing the ſame aboue three houres ſpace, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, whereat they tooke great pleaſure; and we which were in the Admirall ſtirred not a whit all this while, to giue them the more aſſurance, that they ſhould not flie away, but ſhould ſee, that we ment to doe them no harme, & that we were good people. As ſoone as we were come to anker, & beheld all that had paſſed betweene the Indians and thoſe of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the ſhore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the General commanded the boat which was without to be brought vnto him: and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went into it, and ſo we went aboord the Trinity. The Indians ſeeing people comming out of the other ſhip into the Trinitie, ſent two Canoas vnto the ſterne of the ſhip, and brought vs a bottle of water, and we gaue vnto them certain beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but euening approching the aire grew ſomewhat cold. The Indians returned on ſhore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ſhip. The next day being Wedneſday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of vs to take the bote and goe aſhore, to ſee if we could find any brooke or well of freſh water in the houſes of the Indians, becauſe he thought it vnpoſſible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewiſe went out in our company, becauſe the day before ſeeing the Indians came to the ſterne of the ſhippe and parlying with vs, he thought he might haue ſpoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like ſort many mariners and ſouldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the ſhore, ſomewhat aboue the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceiued that wee would come on land, whereupon they ſent away their women & children with certaine of them, who caried their goods vp into certaine exceeding ſteepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward vs, which were excellently well made, and of a good ſtature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 baſtonadoes much thicker then the wriſt of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long ſtaues like iauelins with very ſharpe points, and approched very neere vs being nowe come on ſhore. And beginning by ſignes very fiercely to braue vs, they came ſo neere vs, that almoſt they ſtrooke with one of thoſe ſtaues one of our ſouldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to withdraw himſelfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane ſeaſon the General and frier Raimund ſtept foorth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, becauſe they had taken vp ſtones in their hands, fearing that they would do them ſome miſchiefe. Then began both of them to ſpeake vnto them by ſignes & words, to be quiet, ſignifying, that they ment them no harme, but only were come to take water; and the frier ſhewed them a drinking-cup; but nothing would ſerue to make them leaue that bragging, and flinging of ſtones: and the General continuing ſtill in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere vnto them, and that by ſignes they ſhould all ſhew them, that they meant in no wiſe to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other ſide refuſing vtterly to take knowledge of theſe things they ſtill inſulted more and more: whereupon Francis Preciado counſelled the General to giue him leaue to kill one of them, becauſe all the reſt would flee away, wherby at our eaſe we might take water: but he replied that he would not haue it ſo, but willed them to looze the two maſtiues Berecillo and Achillo: wherefore the dogs were let looſe, and as ſoone as they ſaw them, they vaniſhed immediately, betaking them to their heeles, and running vp thoſe cliffes like goates. Alſo others which came from the mountains to ſuccour them, betooke themſelues to flight. The dogs ouertooke two of them, and bit them a little, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they ſeemed as fierce as wild & vntamed beaſts, for 3 or 4 of vs held either of them, to cheriſh & pacifie them, and to ſeeke to giue them ſome thing: but we auailed not, for they bit vs by the hands, and ſtooped downe to take vp ſtones for to ſtrike vs with them. We led them a while in this maner, & came vnto their lodgings, where the Generall gaue a charge, that no man ſhould touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to ſee that this order were obſerued, in not taking any thing frō them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, becauſe the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a caue ſo extreamly aged as it was wonderful, which could neither ſee nor go, becauſe he was ſo lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund ſayd, it were good (ſeeing he was ſo aged) to make him a Chriſtian; whereupon we chriſtened him. The captaine gaue the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, ſuffred them to depart at their pleaſure, and in this ſort faire and ſoftly they returned to the reſt of their fellowes in the mountaine. We tooke the matter of

The great vſe of maſtiues in purſuit of the Indians.

that village which was but a ſmall quantity, and then the Generall commanded vs to returne to our ſhip, becauſe we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repaſt we ſayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we ſaw a very great valley, and thoſe of the Trinitie ſayd, that they had ſeene there good ſtore of water, and ſufficient for vs; wherefore wee ankered neere vnto that valley. And the Generall went on ſhore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and paſſing vp that valley a croſſebow-ſhot, we found a very ſmall brooke of water, which neuertheles ſupplied our neceſſity for we filled two buts thereof that euening, leauing our veſſels to take it with on ſhore vntill the next morning; and we reioyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was freſh, and the water which we had taken vp before was ſomewhat brackiſh, and did vs great hurt both in our bodies and in our taſte.

Chap. 14.

They take poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Cedars for the Emperours Maieſtie, and departing from thence they are greatly toſſed with a tempeſt of the ſea, and returne to the Iſland, as to a ſafe harbour.

The next day being the two and twentieth of Ianuary very early the General commanded vs to go on ſhore, and that we ſhould haue our dinner brought vs, and ſhould take in the reſt of our water, which we did, and filled 17 buts without ſeeing any Indian at al. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 veſſels which were not yet filled, a great winde at Northweſt tooke vs, whereupon they made ſignes to vs from the ſhips, that with all haſte wee ſhould come on boord againe, for the wind grew ſtill higher, and higher, and the Maſters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open ſea. Therefore being come aboord againe not without great trouble, we returned backe ouer againſt the village of the Indians,* where we had ſlaine the Indian, and becauſe the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not caſt anker, but hulled vnder the ſhelter of this Iſland, which (as I haue ſaid) is called The Iſle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Iſles of S. Stephan, the greateſt & chiefeſt of them, where the General tooke poſſeſſion. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a freſh gale of wind from the Southeaſt, which was very fauourable for our voyage, & the longer it continued, the more it increaſed: ſo that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the ſaid moneth we ſailed 18 great leagues. While wee were thus on our way, the wind grew ſo contrary and ſo tempeſtuous, that to our great griefe we were conſtrained to coaſt about with our ſhips, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our ſuccour the ſecond time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foreſayd Indian was ſlaine, and here we ſtayed Munday, Tewſday, and Wedneſday, during which time the Northweſt and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to ſtirre from thence vntill we ſaw good weather, and well ſetled for our voyage: for in this climate theſe winds doe raigne ſo greatly, that we feared they would ſtay vs longer there then we would; and we were ſo weary of ſtaying, that euery day ſeemed a moneth vnto vs. Vnder this ſhelter we rode Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday vntill noone, which was the laſt of Ianuary in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow ſoftly at Southweſt, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we ſhould doe well to put ouer to the maine land, where with ſome wind off the ſhore we might by the grace of God ſaile ſomewhat farther. Thus we hoiſed our ſailes, and ſailed vntil euening three or foure leagues, for the wind ſcanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there aroſe a contrary winde, and we were inforced of neceſſitie to retire the third time to the ſame ſhelter of the Iſle of Cedars, where we ſtayed from the firſt of February vntil Shroueſunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two buts of water which we had ſpent. During the ſpace of theſe eight dayes we ſought to make ſayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Iſle, we found the wind ſo boyſtrous and contrary, and the ſea ſo growen, that of force we were conſtrained to returne vnder the ſuccour of the Iſland, and often times wee were in great feare that we ſhould not be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our iourney, we imployed our ſelues in catching a few fiſhes for the Lent. From Shroueſunday being the 8 of February, on which day we ſet ſayle, we ſayled with a very ſcant wind, or rather a calme, vntill Shrouetewſday, on which we came within kenne of the firme land, from whence we were put backe theſe twenty leagues (for in theſe two dayes and a halfe wee ſayled ſome 20 ſmall leagues) and we lay in ſight of the ſeyd poynt of the firme land. And on the Tewſday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe vs with a proſperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

Cap. 12.

Iſla de los Cedros is the greateſt of the 3 Iſles of S. Stephan.

Read cap. 11. about the end.

February.

On Shroueſunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had ſo great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ſhips which was not wet, and a very colde ayre. On Aſhwedneſday at ſun-riſing we ſtrooke ſaile neere a point which we fel ſomewhat ſhort withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we ſaw fiue or ſixe fires, and at the riſing of the ſunne being ſo neere the ſhore that we might well deſcrie and viewe it at our pleaſure we ſawe it to bee very pleaſant, for wee deſcried as farre as wee could diſcerne with our eyes faire valleys, and ſmall hilles, with greene ſhrubs very pleaſant to behold, although there grew no trees there. The ſituation ſhewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calme, to our no ſmall griefe: and the father frier Raimund ſayd vs a drie maſſe, and gaue vs aſhes, preaching vnto vs according to the time and ſtate wherein we were: with which ſermon we were greatly comforted. After noonetide we had contrary wind, which ſtill was our enemie in all our iourney, at the leaſt from the point of the port of *Santa Cruz*. Here we were conſtrained to anker in fiue fadome water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleaſant it was, and neere vnto the ſea wee iudged that wee ſaw a valley of white ground. At euening ſo great a tempeſt came vpon vs of winde and raine, that it was ſo fearefull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot bee expreſſed; for it had like to haue driuen vs vpon the ſhore, and the chiefe Pilot caſt out another great anker into the ſea, yet all would not ſerue, for both theſe ankers could not ſtay the ſhip. Whereupon all of vs cryed to God for mercy, attending to ſee how he would diſpoſe of vs; who of his great goodneſſe, while we were in this danger, vouchſafed a little to ſlake the tempeſt, and with great ſpeede the chiefe Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capſten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the ſouldiers to helpe to turne the capſten, which they were nothing ſlow to performe: and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the ſea was ſo boiſterous, that it forced the capſten in ſuch ſorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the ſame, and it ſtrooke a Negro of the Generals ſuch a blowe, that it caſt him downe along vpon the decke, and did the like vnto another mariner and one of the barres ſtrooke our fire-furnace ſo violently, that it caſt it ouer-boord into the ſea. Yet for all theſe troubles wee weighed our ankers, and ſet ſayle, and albeit we had great tempeſts at ſea, yet made wee no account thereof in reſpect of the ioy which we conceiued to ſee our ſelues freed of the perill of being caſt on that ſhore with our ſhips, eſpecially ſeeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could haue eſcaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

A great bay in the firme land.

The point of Santa Cruz otherwiſe called Punta de Balenas

Wee ſayled vp and downe the ſea all Thurſday, and vntill Friday in the morning being the fourteenth day of February, and the waues of the ſea continually came raking ouer our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy againſt the contrary windes, notwithſtanding the Generall was very obſtinate to haue vs keepe out at ſea, although it were very tempeſtuous, leaſt we ſhould be driuen to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie preuailed: for the windes were ſo boyſterous and ſo contrary, that they could not be worſe, and the ſea went ſtill higher, and ſwelled more and more, and that in ſuch ſorte, that we greatly feared wee ſhould all periſh. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our beſt courſe to returne to the Iſle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reaſon of the ſelfe ſame contrary windes, for wee tooke this Iſland for our father and mother, although we receiued no other benefite thereby ſaue this onely, namely, to repaire thither in theſe neceſſities, and to furniſh our ſelues with water, and with ſome ſmall quantitie of fiſh.

Being therefore arriued at this Iſland, and riding vnder the ſhelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very ſtrongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fewel, and greatly deſired, that the windes would bee more fauourable for proceeding on our iourney. And though we rode vnder the ſhelter of the Iſle, yet felt wee the great fury of thoſe windes, and the rage of the ſea, and our ſhips neuer ceaſed rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February wee found the cable of our Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great griefe, we were conſtrained to ſet ſayle, to fall downe lower the ſpace of a league, and the Trinitie came and rode in our company.

Chap.

Chap. 15.

They goe on land in the iſle of Cedars, and take diuers wilde beaſts, and refreſh and ſolace themſelues. They are ſtrangely toſſed with the Northweſt winde, and ſeeking often to depart they are forced, for the auoiding of many miſchiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

The two and twentieth of February being the ſecond Sonday in Lent, the General went on ſhore with the greateſt part of his people and the friers, neere vnto a valley which they ſawe before them. And hearing maſſe on land, certaine ſouldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the ſaid valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whoſe haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for ſhe had foure dugs like vnto a cowe full of milke, which made vs much to maruelle. And after we had flayed off her ſkinne, the fleſh ſeemed more like the fleſh of a goate, then of a deere. We killed likewiſe a gray conie, in ſhape like vnto thoſe of Nueua Eſpanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the ſhelter aboue, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eate the kernels of them. On Munday the 23 of the ſaid moneth, we rode at anker, taking our pleaſure and paſtime with fiſhing. And the Northweſt winde began to blow, which waxed ſo great a little before midnight, as it was wonderfull: ſo that although we were vnder the ſhelter of the Iſland, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was ſo furious, and the ſea became ſo raging and boiſterous, that it greatly ſhook our ſhips, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to ſay the trueth) we had very much neede: for hauing ſpent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and loſt two of our beſt ankers. This furious winde continued vntill the next day being Tewſday the 24 when as we went on ſhore with the friers, who ſayd vs maſſe, recommending our ſelues to God, beſeeching him to vouchſafe to ſuccour and help vs with ſome good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the aduancement of his ſeruice. And ſtill the winds were ſo high and outragious, that the deuill ſeemed to be looſed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots cauſed all the maſts to be let downe, leaſt they ſhould be ſhaken with the wind, and tooke off all the ſhrowds, and likewiſe cauſed the cabbens in the ſterne to be taken away, that the winds might haue more free paſſage, for the ſafetie of the ſhips; yet for al this they ceaſed not to be in great trouble. On Tewſday the ſecond of March, about midnight or ſomewhat after, riding vnder the Iſland in this diſtreſſe, there came a guſt of Northweſt winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to ſlip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene caſt away, if God of his mercy had not prouided for vs, together with the diligence which the Pilots vſed, in hoiſing the ſailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to ſea, and rode by another anker vntill day, when the men of both the ſhips went with their boats to ſeeke the anker vntill noone, which at length they found and recouered, not without great paines & diligence which they vſed in dragging for it, for they were till noone in ſeeking the ſame, and had much adoe to recouer it. After this we ſet vp our ſhrowdes, and all things neceſſary to ſaile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleaſed God, and not to ſtay alwayes in that place, as loſt and forlorne. Thus on the Wedneſday two or three houres after dinner wee ſet ſaile, with a ſcarce winde at Southeaſt, which was fauourable for our courſe and very ſcant; and our Pilots & all the reſt of vs were in no ſmal feare, that it would not continue long. We began therfore to ſet forward, although we ſeemed to ſee before our eies, that at the end of the Iſland we ſhould meete with contrary winde at North and Northweſt. This day about euening when our ſhips had diſcouered the point of this Iſle of Cedars, wee began to perceiue thoſe contrary windes, and the ſea to goe ſo loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the more the winds increaſed, ſo that they put vs to great diſtreſſe, ſayling alwayes with the ſheates of our maineſaile and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we looſed the ties of all the ſailes, to ſaue them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it beſt to returne backe, and that by no means we ſhould runne farre into the ſea, becauſe we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counſel, turning backe almoſt to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a little grieued, becauſe we could not proſecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ſhips. The 8 of March being Munday about noone the Generall commanded vs to ſet ſaile, for a ſmall gale of winde blew from the Weſt, which was the wind whereof we had moſt need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great deſire which we had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to ſet ſaile, & to paſſe toward the point of the Iſland, and to ſhape our courſe toward the coaſt of the firme land, to view the ſituation thereof. And as we paſſed the Iſland, and were betwixt it and the maine, the Northweſt being a contrary wind began to blow, which increaſed ſo by degrees, that we were conſtrained to let fall the bonets of our ſailes, to ſaue them, ſtriking them very low. And the Trinitie ſeeing this bad weather returned forthwith vnto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral caſt about all night in the ſea, vntill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot conſidering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we ſhould continue at ſea any longer, reſolued that wee ſhould retire our ſelues againe to that ſhelter, where we rode at anker vntill Thurſday. And on Friday about noone we ſet ſaile againe with a ſcarce winde, & in comming forth vnto the point of the Iſland, we met againe with contrary winde at Northweſt: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of march, we came in ſight thereof, in viewing of the which we all reioyced, and we ſouldiers would very willingly haue gone on ſhore. This night fel great ſtore of raine like the raine in Caſtilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, & we tooke great pleaſure in beholding the ſituation of that firme land, becauſe it was greene, and becauſe we had diſcouered a pleaſant valley and plaines of good largenes, which ſeemed to bee enuironed with a garland of mountains. At length for feare of miſfortunes, ſeeing the ſea ſo high, we durſt not ſtay here or approch neere the land, & becauſe we had great want of cables and ankers, we were again conſtrained to put to ſea; and being in the ſame, and finding the ſaid contrary windes, the Pilots iudged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our ſelues to our wonted ſhelter. And thus we returned, but ſomewhat aboue the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the cõpany, conſidering what troubles we indured, & could not get forward; ſo that this was ſuch a corraſiue, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anker wee had a mighty gale of wind at Northweſt, which was our aduerſary and capital enemie, and when day was ſhut in, it ſtill grew greater and greater, ſo that the ſhips rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which ſhe had, and ſeeing her ſelfe thus forlorne, ſhe turned vp and downe in the ſea vntill day, and came & rode neere vs, by one anker which ſhee had left. This day all of vs went to ſeeke theſe loſt ankers, and for all the diligence which wee vſed, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anker all day vntil night, when the Trinitie againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut aſunder: wherupon the General commanded that ſhe ſhould ride no longer at anker, but that ſhee ſhould turne vp and downe, as ſhe had done before in ſight of vs, which ſhe did al day long, and at night ſhe came to an anker ouer againſt a freſh water ſomewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palme-ſunday we went on ſhore with the fathers, which read the paſſion vnto vs and ſaid maſſe, and we went in proceſſion with branches in our hands. And ſo being comforted, becauſe we had receiued that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ſhips.

The firme land very green and pleaſant with goodly valleys and plaines.

Chap. 16.

Returning to the Iſle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ſhips in euil caſe, they conclude, that the ſhip called *Santa Agueda* or *Santa Agatha* ſhould returne vnto *Nueua Eſpanna*. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of *California*: with the deſcription of a weede, which groweth among the Iſlands of thoſe ſeas.

HEre we continued vntill the Wedneſday before Eaſter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee conſulted together, that becauſe the ſhips were ill conditioned, and wanted neceſſary furniture to proceede any further, it were beſt for vs to returne backe to New Spaine, as alſo becauſe our clothes were conſumed: but the Generall ſeemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was reſolued, that ſeeing both the ſhips could not proceede forward, as well becauſe they had loſt their neceſſary furnitures, as alſo that the Santa Agatha had neede of calking, becauſe ſhe receiued much water, and was the worſt furniſhed of the twaine, that ſhee ſhould returne backe to aduertize the Marques of our ſucceſſe in this voyage, and what hindred our proceeding, and in what caſe wee ſtoode, and howe wee were bereft of our neceſſary furniture. And becauſe the Trinitie was the ſwifter ſhip, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it ſhould be prouided in the beſt maner that might be, & that the General ſhould proceed on his iourney in her with ſuch cõpanie as he ſhould make choiſe of, and that the reſt ſhould returne at their good leiſure. Wherefore vpon this determination we went vnder a point of this Iſland, becauſe it was a fit place to carene the ſhip: & in recouering the ſame we ſpent Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, vntil Eaſter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the ſhore, and in a valley we found very excellent freſh water, wherof we made no ſmal account, & here ſtayed all the Eaſter-holidayes, to ſet our ſelues about the furniſhing vp of the Trinity: and after the worke was taken in hand by the two Maſters which were very ſufficient calkers (one of which was Iuan Caſtiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finiſhed the ſame ſo well in fiue dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceiue how any droppe of water could enter into any of the ſeames. Afterward they mended the other ſhip from Saturday till Munday, during which time all thoſe were ſhriuen that had not confeſſed, and receiued the communion, and it was reſolued by charge of the confeſſors, that all thoſe ſeale-ſkins which they had taken from the Indians ſhould bee reſtored againe; and the Generall gaue charge to Francis Preciado to reſtore them all, charging him on his conſcience ſo to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and deliuered them into the hands of the fathers, to bee kept vntill they returned to the place, where they were to reſtore them. After this maner on Munday before noone we tooke our leaues of the Generall Francis Vlloa, and of the people that ſtayed with him, who at our departure ſhed no ſmall number of teares, and we choſe for our captaine in the Santa Agueda maſter Iuan Caſtiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ſhip, as of vs all, and ſet ſaile the ſame day being the fift of April, hauing our boat tied at our ſterne, till we came ouer againſt the cottages, whence wee had taken the ſeale-ſkins. From the countrey of the Chriſtians and the port of Colima we were now diſtant ſome three hundreth leagues, which is the firſt port where wee determined to touch at. And hauing ſailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Iuan Caſtiliano commanded vs to ſalute them with three pieces of great Ordinance, and ſhe anſwered vs with other three, and afterward we anſwered one another with two ſhot apiece.

The Santa Agueda returneth for Newſpaine the 5. of April

The Iſle of Cedars 300 leagues from Colima.

The ſixt of April.

We ſailed on Munday & * Tewſday til noon with contrary wind in ſight of the Iſland, and at noone we had a freſh gale in the poupe, which brought vs ouer againſt the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away thoſe ſeal-ſkins; & there certain ſouldiers & mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on ſhore with the boat, carying the ſkins with them, & flung them into the ſayd cottages out of which they were taken, and ſo returned to their ſhip. This day the weather calmed, wereupon we were driuen to caſt anker, fearing that we ſhould forthwith be diſtreſſes for want of victuals, if we ſhould ſtay there any long time: but God which is the true helper prouided better for vs then we deſerued or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the Wedneſday following before ten of the clocke wee had a fauourable gale of winde from the Southeaſt, which put vs into the ſea; whither being driuen, wee had the wind at Northweſt ſo good and conſtant, that in ſixe dayes it brought vs to the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which ſo great bleſſing of God we gaue vnto him infinite thankes. And here we began to allow our ſelues a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very ſparingly for feare leſt our victuals would faile vs. Before we came to this point of the hauen of Santa Cruz by ſixe or ſeuen leagues we ſaw on ſhore between certaine valleys diuers great ſmokes. And hauing paſſed the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch foorth into the maine Ocean: yet although we ran a ſwift courſe, aboue 500 whales came athwart of vs in 2 or 3 ſkulles within one houres ſpace, which were ſo huge, as it was wonderfull, and ſome of them came ſo neere vnto the ſhip, that they ſwam vnder the ſame from one ſide to another, whereupon we were in great feare, leſt they ſhould doe vs ſome hurt, but they could not becauſe the ſhip had a proſperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receiue no harme, although they touched and ſtrooke the ſame.

The 7 of April

They ſail from the Iſle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruz or California in ſixe daies

Punta de Balenas

Read more of theſe weeds cap. 13.

Among theſe Iſlands are ſuch abundance of thoſe weedes, that if at any time wee were inforced to ſayle ouer them they hindred the courſe of our ſhips. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe vnder the water, their tops reaching foure or fiue fadome aboue the water. They are of the colour of yellow ware, & their ſtalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is ſet foorth, and no maruell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is moſt excellent.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him.

After this ſhip the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Vlloa, and returned backe the 5 of April, ſhe arriued in the port of Sant Iago de buena eſperança the 18 of the ſaid moneth, and after ſhe had ſtayed there foure or fiue dayes, ſhe departed for Acapulco: howbeit vntil this preſent ſeuenteenth of May in the yeere 1540, I haue heard no tidings nor newes of her.

Sant Iago de Buena eſperança in 19 degrees.

Moreouer after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueua Eſpanna, the General Francis Vlloa in the ſhip called the Trinitie proceeding on his dicouery coaſted the land vntill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno ſtanding in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newſpaine, becauſe he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

Cabo del Enganno in 30 degrees & a halfe

The relation of the nauigation and diſcouery which Captaine *Fernando Alarchon* made by the order of the right honourable Lord *Don Antonio de Mendoça* Vizeroy of *New Spaine*, dated in *Colima*, an hauen of *New Spaine*.

Chap. 1.

Fernando Alarchon after he had ſuffered a ſtorme, arriued with his Fleete at the hauen of *Saint Iago*, and from thence at the hauen of *Aguaiaual*: he was in great perill in ſeeking to diſcouer a Bay, and getting out of the ſame he diſcouered a riuer on the coaſt with a great current, entring into the ſame, and coaſting along he diſcried a great many of Indians with their weapons: with ſignes hee hath traffique with them, and fearing ſome great danger returneth to his ſhips.

On Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere 1540. I ſet ſaile with two ſhips, the one called Saint Peter being Admirall, and the other Saint Catherine, and wee ſet forward meaning to goe to the hauen of Saint Iago of good hope: but before we arriued there wee had a terrible ſtorme, wherewith they which were in the ſhip called Saint Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, caſt ouer boord nine pieces of Ordinance, two ankers and one cable, and many other things as needfull for the enterpriſe wherein we went, as the ſhippe it ſelfe. Aſſoone as we were arriued at the hauen of Saint Iago I repaired my loſſe which I had receiued, prouided my ſelfe of things neceſſary, and tooke aboord my people which looked for my comming, and directed my courſe toward the hauen of Aguaiauall. And being there arriued I underſtood that the Generall Francis Vazquez de Coronado was departed with all his people: whereupon taking the ſhip called Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your Lordſhips order. Afterward I followed my courſe along the coaſt without departing from the ſame, to ſee if I could find any token, or any Indian which could giue me knowledge of him: and in ſailing ſo neere the ſhore I diſcouered other very good hauens, for the ſhips whereof Captaine Francis de Vllua was Generall for the Marqueſſe de Valle neither ſawe nor found them. And when we were come to the flats and ſhoalds from whence the foreſaid fleete returned, it ſeemed aſwell to me as to the reſt, that we had the firme land before vs, and that thoſe ſhoalds were ſo perilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be conſidered whither with our ſkiffes we could enter in among them: and the Pilotes and the reſt of the company would haue had vs done as Captaine Vllua did, and haue returned backe againe. But becauſe your Lordſhip commanded mee, that I ſhould bring you the ſecret of that gulfe, I reſolued, that although I had knowen I ſhould haue loſt the ſhippes, I would not haue ceaſed for any thing to haue ſeene the head thereof: and therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote maior, and Dominico del Caſtello that eche of them ſhould take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among thoſe ſhoalds, to ſee if they could find out the chanell whereby the ſhippes might enter in: to whom it ſeemed that the ſhips might ſaile vp higher (although with great trauell and danger) and in this ſort I and he began to follow our way which they had taken, and within a ſhort while after wee found our ſelues faſt on the ſands with all our three ſhips, in ſuch ſort that one could not helpe another, neither could the boates ſuccour vs, becauſe the current was ſo great that it was impoſſible for one of vs to come vnto another: whereupon we were in ſuch great ieopardie that the decke of the Admirall was oftentimes vnder water, and if a great ſurge of the ſea had not come & driuen our ſhip right vp, and gaue her leaue as it were to breath a while, we had there bin drowned: and likewiſe the other two ſhippes found themſelues in very great hazard, yet becauſe they were leſſer and drewe leſſe water, their danger was not ſo great as ours. Nowe it pleaſed God vpon the returne of the flood that the ſhippes came on flote, and ſo wee went forward. And although the company would haue returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forwarde, and to purſue our attempted voyage: and we paſſed forward with much adoe, turning our ſtemmes now this way, now that way, to ſeeke to find the chanel. And it pleaſed God that after this ſort we came to the very bottome of the Bay: where wee found a very mightie riuer, which ranne with ſo great fury of a ſtreame, that we could hardly ſaile againſt it. In this ſort I determined as wel as I could to go vp this riuer, and with two boates, leauing the third with the ſhips, and twenty men, my ſelfe being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treaſurer of this fleet, and Gaſpar de Caſtilleia comptroller, and with certaine ſmall pieces of artillerie I began to ſaile vp the riuer, and charged

The hauen of Saint Iago.

The hauen of Aguaiaual.

These ſhoalds are the bottoms of mar Bermejo, or the Bay of California.

The bottome of the Bay of California.

They goe vp thee riuer of Buena guia the 26. of Auguſt.

all my company,that none of them ſhould ſtirre nor vſe any ſigne, but he whom I appoynted, although wee found Indians. The ſame day, which was Thurſday the ſixe and twentieth of Auguſt,following our voyage with drawing the boats with halſers we went about ſome 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way vpwart, I ſaw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere vnto the water, who aſſoone as they ſaw vs, ten or twelue of them roſe vp furiouſly, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haſte carried out of their cottages ſuch things as they had, and layd them vnder certaine ſhrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approched, making great ſignes vnto vs that we ſhould goe backe againe,vſing great threatnings againſt vs, one while running on this ſide and an other while on that ſide. I ſeeing them in ſuch a rage, cauſed our boates to lanch from the ſhore into the middes of the riuer, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and ſet my people in as good order as I could,charging them that no man ſhould ſpeake,nor make any ſigne nor motion, nor ſtirre out of his place, nor ſhould not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor ſhould ſhewe no token of warre: And by this meanes the Indians came euery foote neere the riuers ſide to ſee vs: and I gate by little and little toward them where the riuer ſeemed to be deepeſt. In this meane ſpace there were aboue two hundred and fiftie Indians aſſembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warrelike ſort in ſuch maner as thoſe of New Spayne doe vſe: and perceiuing that I drewe toward the ſhore, they came with great cryes toward vs with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners diſplayed. And I went vnto the ſtemme of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to ſpeake vnto them, and when he ſpake, they neither vnderſtood him, nor he them, although becauſe they ſawe him to be after their faſhion, they ſtayed themſelues: and ſeeing this I drewe neerer the ſhore, and they with great cryes came to keepe mee from the ſhore of the riuer, making ſignes that I ſhould not come any farther, putting ſtakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people ſtill flocked together. Which when I had conſidered I beganne to make them ſignes of peace, and taking my ſword and target, I caſt them downe in the boate and ſet my feete vpon them, giuing them to vnderſtand with this and other tokens that I deſired not to haue warre with them, and that they ſhould doe the like. Alſo I tooke a banner and caſt it downe, and I cauſed my company that were with mee to ſit downe likewiſe, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to giue them ſome of them: yet for all this none of them ſtirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themſelues: and ſuddenly one came out from among them with a ſtaffe wherein certayne ſhelles were ſet, and entred into the water to giue them vnto mee, and I tooke them, and made ſignes vnto him that hee ſhould come neere me, which when he had done, I imbraced him, and gaue him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them vnto his fellowes, began to looke vpon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me,to whom I made ſignes to lay downe their banners,and to leaue their weapons: which they did incontinently,then I made ſignes that they ſhould lay them altogether, and ſhould goe aſide from them, which likewiſe they did: and they cauſed thoſe Indians which newly came thither to leaue them, and to lay them together with the reſt. After this I called them vnto me, and to all them which came I gaue ſome ſmal trifle, vſing them gently, and by this time they were ſo many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not ſtay any longer in ſafety among them, and I made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould withdraw themſelues, and that they ſhould ſtand al vpon the ſide of an hill which was there betweene a plaine & the riuer, and that they ſhould not preſſe to me aboue ten at a time. And immediatly the moſt ancient among them called vnto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do ſo: and ſome ten or twelue of them came where I was: whereupon ſeeing my ſelfe in ſome ſecuritie, I determined to goe on land the more to put them out of feare: and for my more ſecuritie, I made ſignes vnto them, to ſit downe on the ground which they did: but when they ſaw that ten or twelue of my companions came a ſhore after me, they begam to be angry, and I made ſignes vnto them that we would be friends, and that they ſhould not feare, & herewithal they were pacified, and ſate down as they did before, and I went vnto them, & imbraced them, giuing them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to ſpeake vnto them, for I greatly deſired to vnderſtand their maner of ſpeech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a ſigne vnto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and a loafe of Mizquiqui, and they made ſignes vnto mee that they deſired to ſee an harquebuſe ſhotte off, which I cauſed

He carried an interpreter with him.

A very good courſe taken to appeaſe vnknowen Sauages.

to be diſcharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not mooued at all, but rather cried out vpon the reſt, becauſe they were afrayd: and through the ſpeach of one of theſe olde men, they began to riſe vp from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I ſought to appeaſe, I would haue giuen him a ſilken girdle of diuers colours, and hee in a great rage bitte his nether lippe cruelly, and gaue mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the the breſt, and turned in a great furie to ſpeake vnto his company. After that I ſaw them aduance their banners, I determined to returne my ſelfe gently to my boates, and with a ſmall gale of wind I ſet ſayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleaſed to goe any farther. In the meane ſpace the Indians came following vs along the ſhore of the riuer, making ſignes that I ſhould come on land, and that they would giue mee food to eate; ſome of them ſucking their fingers, and others entred into the water with certaine cakes of Maiz to giue me them in my boate.

Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and ſtature of the Indians, A relation of many others with whom he had by ſignes traffique, victuals and many courteſies.

IN this ſort we went vp two leagues, and I arriued neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made ſignes vnto me, crying that I ſhould go thither, ſhewing me the ſame with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate. But I would not goe thither, ſeeing the place was apt for ſome ambuſh, but followed on my voyage, within a while after iſſued out from thence aboue a thouſand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children ſhewed themſelues, toward whom I would not goe, but becauſe the Sunne was almoſt ſet, I rode in the middeſt of the riuer. Theſe Indians came decked after ſundry faſhions; ſome came with a painting that couered their face all ouer, ſome had their faces halfe couered, but all beſmouched with cole, and euery one as it liked him beſt. Others carried viſards before them of the ſame colour which had the ſhape of faces. They weare on their heads a piece of a Deeres ſkinne two ſpannes broad ſet after the maner of a helmet, and vpon it certaine ſmall ſticks with ſome ſortes of fethers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three ſorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well feitured, and without any groſſeneſſe. They haue holes bored in their noſtrels whereat certaine pendents hang: and others weare ſhelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and ſhelles. All of them both great and ſmall weare a girdle about their waſte made of diuerſe colours, and in the middle is faſtened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewiſe on the brawne of their armes they weare a ſtreit ſtring, which they wind ſo often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones faſtened to their armes, werewith they ſtrike off the ſweate, and at the other certaine ſmall pipes of canes. They carry alſo certaine little long bagges about an hand broade tyed to their left arme, which ſerue them alſo in ſtead of braſers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beuerage. They haue their bodies traced with coles, their haire cut before, and behind it hangs downe to their waſt. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of fethers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among theſe Indians three or foure men in womens apparell, Nowe the next day being Saturday very early I went forward on my way vp the riuer, ſetting on ſhore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking foorth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both ſides of the riuer with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their comming, aſwell to ſee what they woulde haue, as alſo to try whether our interpreter could vnderſtand them. When they came ouer againſt vs they leapt into the riuer on both ſides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they ſpake, our interpreter vnderſtoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a ſigne vnto them that they ſhould lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and ſome did not, and thoſe which did, I willed to come neere me and gaue them ſome things which we had to trucke withall, which when the others perceiued, that they might likewiſe haue their part, they layd away their weapons likewiſe. I iudging my ſelfe to be in ſecuritie leaped on ſhore with them, and ſtoode in the the middeſt of them, who vnderſtanding that I came not to fight with them, began to giue ſome of thoſe ſhels and beades, and ſome brought me certaine ſkinnes well dreſſed, and others Maiz and a roll of the ſame naughtily grinded, ſo that none of them came vnto me that brought mee not ſomething, and before they

Good forecaſt.

Indians beſmouched with cole.

Pipes and bagges of Tabacco.

Shels and beades.

gaue it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a ſigne with their bodies and armes, and afterward they approched to giue me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to ſet I put off from the ſhore, and rode in the middeſt of the riuer. The next morning before breake of day on both ſides of the riuer wee heard greater cryes and of more Indians, which leaped into the riuer to ſwimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of thoſe wreathes which I ſpake of before. I ſhewed vnto them Wheate and Beanes, and other ſeedes, to ſee whether they had any of thoſe kindes: but they ſhewed mee that they had no knowledge of them, and wondred at all of them, and by ſignes I came to vnderſtand that the thing which they moſt eſteemed and reuerenced was the Sunne: and I ſignified vnto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marueiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and ſhewed me more fauour then they did before: and when I aſked them for food, they brought me ſuch abundance that I was inforced twiſe to call for the boates to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang vp into the ayre one part vnto the Sunne, and afterward turned towards me to giue mee the other part: and ſo I was alwayes better ſerued and eſteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats vp the riuer, as alſo in giuing me food to eat: and they ſhewed me ſo great loue, that when I ſtayed they would haue carried vs in their armes vnto their houſes: and in no kind of thing they would breake my commandement: and for my ſuretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my ſight: and they were ſo carefull to doe ſo, that if any man came newly thither with them, ſuddenly they would goe and meete him to cauſe him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I ſhewed them that I tooke great pleaſure in their ſo doing: and to ſome of the chiefe of them I gaue certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I ſhould haue giuen ſomewhat to euery one of them in particular, all the ſmall wares in New Spayne would not haue ſufficed. Sometimes it fell out (ſuch was the great loue and good wil which they ſhewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leaue them behind him, if by negligence, or becauſe he vnderſtood them not at the firſt warning, he had not layd them away, they would runne vnto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my preſence. Afterward they tooke the rope ſo louingly, and with ſtriuing one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the riuer being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with that occupation, it would haue beene impoſſible for vs to haue gotten vp the riuer ſo againſt the ſtreame. When I perceiued that they vnderſtood mee in all things, and that I likewiſe vnderſtoode them, I thought good to try by ſome way or other to make a good entrance to find ſome good iſſue to obtaine my deſire: And I cauſed certaine croſſes to be made of certaine ſmall ſticks and paper, and among others when I gaue any thing I gaue them theſe as things of moſt price and kiſſed them, making ſignes vnto them that they ſhould honour them and make great account of them, and that they ſhould weare them at their necks: giuing them to vnderſtand that this ſigne was from heauen, and they tooke them and kiſſed them, and lifted them vp aloft, and ſeemed greatly to reioyce thereat when they did ſo, and ſometime I tooke them into my boate, ſhewing them great good will, and ſometime I gaue them of thoſe trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to ſuch iſſue, that I had not paper and ſtickes ynough to make croſſes. In this maner that day I was very well accompanied, vntill that when night approched I ſought to lanch out into the riuer, and went to ride in the middeſt of the ſtreame, and they came to aſke leaue of me to depart, ſaying that they would returne the next day with victuals to viſite me, and ſo by litle and little they departed, ſo that there ſtayed not aboue fiftie which made fires ouer againſt vs, and ſtayed there al night calling vs, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and ſwamme vnto vs aſking for the rope, and we gaue it them with a good will, thanking God for the good prouiſion which hee gaue vs to go vp the riuer: for the Indians were ſo many, that if they had gone about to let our paſſage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might haue done it.

A notable policie.

Swarmes of people.

An exceeding great current of the riuer.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians vnderſtanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many queſtions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Captaine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was ſent of the Sunne vnto them, and they would haue receiued him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they haue many informations of that countrey.

IN this maner we ſailed vntil Tueſday at night, going as we were wont, cauſing mine interpreter to ſpeak vnto the people to ſee if peraduēture any of them could vnderſtand him, I perceiued that one anſwered him, whereupon I cauſed the boates to be ſtayed, and called him, which hee vnderſtoode, charging mine interpreter that hee ſhould not ſpeake nor anſwere him any thing elſe, but onely that which I ſaid vnto him: and I ſaw as I ſtood ſtill that that Indian began to ſpeake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter vnderſtood, that he which came to the boate ſayd vnto them, that he deſired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heauen: And at this ſpeech an infinite number of people came together, which marueiled to ſee mee ſpeake: and this Indian turned on this ſide and on that ſide to ſpeake vnto them in another language which mine interpreter vnderſtood not. Whereas he aſked me what we were, I anſwered that we were Chriſtians, and that we came from farre to ſee them: and anſwering to the queſtion, who had ſent me, I ſaid, I was ſent by the Sunne, pointing vnto him by ſignes as at the firſt, becauſe they ſhould not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to aſke mee, how the Sunne had ſent me, ſeeing hee went aloft in the ſkie and neuer ſtoode ſtill, and ſeeing theſe many yeeres neither he nor their olde men had euer ſeene ſuch as we were, of whome they euer had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sunne till that houre had neuer ſent any other. I anſwered him that it was true that the Sunne made his courſe aloft in the ſkie, and did neuer ſtand ſtill, yet neuertheleſſe that they might well perceiue that at his going downe and riſing in the morning hee came neere vnto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they euer ſawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee ſent into other partes, and that nowe hee had ſent me to viſite and view the ſame riuer, and the people that dwelt neere the ſame, that I ſhould ſpeake vnto them, and ſhoulde ioyne with them in friendſhippe, and ſhould giue them things which they had not, and that I ſhould charge them that they ſhould not make warre one againſt another. Whereunto he anſwered, that I ſhould tell him the cauſe why the Sunne had not ſent mee no ſooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had beene ſlaine. I tolde him the cauſe hereof was, becauſe at that time I was but a child. Then he aſked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with vs perforce hauing taken him in the war, or whether he came with vs of his own accord. He anſwered him that he was with vs of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none ſaue him onely that vnderſtood vs, and wherefore wee vnderſtood not all other men, ſeeing we were the children of the Sunne: he anſwered, that the Sunne alſo had begotten him, and giuen him a language to vnderſtand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that becauſe he had many other buſineſſes, and becauſe I was but yong hee ſent me no ſooner. And he turning vnto me ſayd ſuddenly: Comeſt thou therefore hither to bee our Lord, and that wee ſhould ſerue thee? I ſuppoſing that I ſhould not pleaſe him if I ſhould haue ſaid yea, anſwered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to giue them ſuch things as I had. He aſked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinſman or his ſonne: I anſwered him that I was his ſonne. He proceeded to aſke me whether the reſt that were with me were alſo the children of the Sunne, I anſwered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought vp. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and ſayd, ſeeing thou doeſt vs ſo much good, and wilt not haue vs to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receiue thee for our Lord, and alwayes ſerue thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leaue vs: and ſuddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the child of the Sunne, and that therefore they ſhould all chuſe me for their Lord. Thoſe Indians hearing this, were aſtonied beyond meaſure, and came neerer ſtill more and more to behold me. That Indian alſo aſked mee other queſtions, which to auoyd tediouſneſſe I doe not recite: and in this wiſe we paſſed the day, and ſeeing the night approch, I began by all meanes I could deuiſe to get this fellow into our boat with vs: and he refuſing to goe with vs, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other ſide of the riuer, and vpon this condition hee entred into our boate, and there I made very much of him, and gaue him the beſt entertaynement I could, putting him alwayes in ſecuritie, and when I iudged him to be out of all ſuſpition, I thought it good to aſke him ſomewhat of that countrey. And among the firſt things that I aſked him this was one, whether hee had euer ſeene any men like vs, or had heard any report of them. Hee anſwered mee no, ſauing that hee had ſometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with beardes like vs, and that hee knewe nothing elſe. I aſked him alſo whether hee knewe a place called Ceuola, and a Riuer called Totonteac, and hee anſwered mee no. Whereupon perceiuing that hee coulde not giue mee any

A wiſe deuiſe.

Newes of bearded and white men.

The Sunne worſhipped as God.

knowledge of Francis Vazquez nor of his company, I determined to aſke him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne to enquire of him, whether they helde that there was one God, creator of heauen and earth, or that they worſhipped any other Idol. And hee anſwered mee no: but that they eſteemed and reuerenced the Sunne aboue all other things, becauſe it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they caſt a little vp into the ayre vnto him. I aſked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee ſayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heauen, and that hee was called Ieſus Chriſt, and I went no farther in diuinitie with him. I aſked him whether they had any warre, and for what occaſion. Hee anſwered that they had warre, and that very great, and vpon exceeding ſmall occaſions: for when they had no cauſe to make warre, they aſſembled together, and ſome of them ſayd, let vs goe to make warre in ſuch a place, and then all of them ſet forward with their weapons. I aſked them who commanded the armie: he anſwered the eldeſt and moſt valiant, and that when they ſayd they ſhould proceede no farther, that ſuddenly they retired from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with thoſe men which they killed in battell: he anſwered me that they tooke out the hearts of ſome of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they ſhould haue bin now at warre: and becauſe I commanded them that they ſhould not war, and that they ſhould ceaſe from armes, therefore as long as I ſhould not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre againſt others, & they ſaid among themſelues, that ſeeing I was come vnto them, they had giuen ouer their intention of making warre, & that they had a good mind to liue in peace. He complained of certaine people which dwelt behind in a mountaine which made great war vpon them, and ſlew many of them: I anſwered him, that from henceforward they ſhould not need to feare any more, becauſe I had cõmanded them to be quiet, & if they would not obey my commandement, I would chaſten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them ſeeing we were ſo few, and they ſo many in number. And becauſe it was now late, and that I ſaw that by this time he was weary to ſtay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I diſmiſſed him very well content.

Certaine warlike people behind a mountaine.

Chap. 4.

Of *Naguachato* and other chiefe men of thoſe Indians they receiue great ſtore of victuals, they cauſe them to ſet vp a croſſe in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worſhip it, They haue newes of many people, of their diuers languages, and cuſtomes in matrimony, how they puniſh adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the ſickneſſes which they are ſubiect vnto.

The next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called Naguachato, and wiſhed me to come on land becauſe he had great ſtore of victuals to giue me. And becauſe I ſaw my ſelfe in ſecuritie I did ſo without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that Maiz, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and vſing many geſtures with his body and armes, came neere vnto me, and cauſing me to turne me vnto that people, and hee himſelfe alſo turning vnto them ſayd vnto them, Sagueyca, and all the people anſwered with a great voyce, Hu, and hee offred to the Sunne a little of euery thing that he had there, and likewiſe a little more vnto me (although afterward he gaue me all the reſt) and did the like to all that were with me: & calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gaue them thanks, telling them that becauſe my boats were litle I had not brought many things to giue them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boates vnto my ſhips which I had beneath at the riuers mouth, I would giue them many things. They anſwered that they would do ſo, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I ſought to inſtruct them what the ſigne of the croſſe meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, wherof I cauſed a great croſſe to be made, and commanded al thoſe that were with mee that when it was made they ſhould worſhip it, and beſeech the Lord to grant his grace that that ſo great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I told them by mine interpreter that I left them that ſigne, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they ſhould keepe it for me carefully vntill I returned, and that euery morning at the Sunne riſing they ſhould kneele before it. And they tooke it incontinently, & without ſuffring it to touch the ground they carried it to ſet it vp in the middeſt of their houſes, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worſhippe it becauſe it would preſerue them from euill. They aſked me how deep they ſhould ſet it in the ground, & I ſhewed them.

Great ſtore of people followed the ſame, and they that ſtayed behinde inquired of mee, how they ſhould ioyne their hands, and how they ſhould kneele to worſhip the ſame; and they ſeemed to haue great deſire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my iourney vp the Riuer, and all the company on both ſides of the ſhoare accompanied me with great good will, and ſerued me in drawing of our boates, and in halling vs off the ſands, whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the riuer ſo ſhoald, that we had no water for our boats. As wee thus went on our way, ſome of the Indians which I had left behind me, came after vs to pray mee that I would throughly inſtruct them, how they ſhould ioyne their hands in the worſhipping of the croſſe: others ſhewed me whether they were well ſet in ſuch & ſuch ſort, ſo that they would not let me be quiet. Neere vnto the other ſide of the riuer was greater ſtore of people, which called vnto me very often, that I would receiue the victuals which they had brought me. And becauſe I perceiued that one enuied the other, becauſe I would not leaue them diſcontented, I did ſo. And here came before me another old man like vnto the former with the like ceremonyes & offrings: and I ſought to learne ſomething of him as I had done of the other. This man ſaid likewiſe to the reſt of the people, This is our lord. Now you ſee how long ago our anceſters told vs, that there were bearded & white people in the world, and we laughed them to ſcorne. I which am old and the reſt which are here, haue neuer ſeene any ſuch people as theſe. And if you wil not beleeue me, behold theſe people which be in this riuer: let vs giue them therefore meate, ſeeing they giue vs of their victuals: let vs willingly ſerue this lord, which wiſheth vs ſo well, and forbiddeth vs to make warre, and imbraceth all of vs: and they haue mouth, handes and eyes as we haue, and ſpeake as we doe. I gaue theſe likewiſe another croſſe as I had done to the others beneath, and ſaid vnto them the ſelfe ſame words; which they liſtened vnto with a better will, & vſed greater diligence to learne that which I ſaid. Afterward as I paſſed farther vp the riuer, I found another people, whom mine interpreter vnderſtood not a whit: wherefore I ſhewed them by ſignes the ſelfeſame ceremonies of worſhipping the croſſe, which I had taught the reſt. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farther vp the riuer I ſhould find people which would vnderſtand mine interpreter: and being now late, ſome of thoſe men called me to giue me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to ſhew me pleaſure. I deſired to know what people liued on the banks of this riuer: and I vnderſtood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and theſe were bordering vpon the riuer, beſides others not farre off, and that there were beſides theſe 23. languages, other people alſo which hee knewe not, aboue the riuer. I aſked him whether euery people were liuing in one towne together: and he anſwered me, No: but that they had many houſes ſtanding ſcattered in the fieldes, and that euery people had their Countrey ſeuerall and diſtinguiſhed, and that in euery habitation there were great ſtore of people. He ſhewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great ſtore of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre vpon them: which being without a gouernour, and dwelling in that deſert place, where ſmall ſtore of Maiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres ſkinnes, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cutte with raſors, and ſewed with needles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houſes of ſtone. I aſked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which ware a garment like a little Mantle, which clad her from the waſte downe to the ground, of a Deeres ſkin well dreſſed. Then I aſked him whether the people which dwelt on the riuers ſide, dwelt alwayes there, or els ſometime went to dwell in ſome other place: he anſwered mee, that in the ſummer ſeaſon they aboade there, and ſowed there; and after they had gathered in their croppe they went their way, and dwelt in other houſes which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the riuer. And hee ſhewed me by ſignes that the houſes were of wood compaſſed with earth without, and I vnderſtood that they made a round houſe, wherein the men and women liued all together. I aſked him whether their women were common or no: he tolde me no, and that hee which was married, was to haue but one wife only. I deſired to know what order they kept in marying: and he told me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and ſaid, I haue a daughter to marry: is there any man here that wil haue her? And if there were any that would haue her, he anſwered that he would haue her: and ſo the mariage was made. And that the father of him which would haue her, brought ſome thing to giue the yong woman; and from that houre forward the mariage was taken to be finiſhed, and that they ſang & danced: and that when night came, the parents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might ſee them. And I learned that brethren, and ſiſters, and kinſfolks married not together: and that maydes before they were married conuerſed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houſes and

Theſe people are greatly inclined to learne the Chriſtian faith.

The riuer in diuers places full of ſhelfes.

Another olde man.

Their anceſters told them that there were bearded and white men in the world.

Another nation.

People of 23. languages dwelling along this riuer.

Acuco as Gomara writeth is on a ſtrong mountaine.

Great houſes of ſtone.

Round houſes

Dancing and ſinging at mariages of the Sauages.

in

They burne their dead.

Pipes to drinke Tabacco with.

Maiz, gourds, Mill.

Grindeſtones, earthenpots, good fiſh.

This riuer o-uerfloweth his banks at certaine ſeaſons.

in their poſſeſſions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before ſhe were maried, her huſband forſooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that thoſe women which fell into this fault, were accompted naughty packs. And that if after they were maried, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might haue more then one wife, but very ſecretly. They tolde mee that they burned thoſe which dyed; and ſuch as remayned widowes, ſtayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I deſired to know what they thought of ſuch as were dead. Hee told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither puniſhment nor glory. The greateſt ſickneſſe that this people dye of, is vomiting of blood by the mouth: and they haue Phyſicions which cure them with charmes and blowing which they make. The apparell of theſe people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themſelues, like as the people of New Spaine vſe Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any gouernour, and found that they had none, but that euery family had their ſeuerall gouernour. Theſe people haue beſides their Maiz certaine gourds, and another corne like vnto Mill: they haue grindſtones & earthen pots, wherein they boyle thoſe gourds, and fiſh of the riuer, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he ſaid that thoſe which we ſhould find farther on our way, were their enemies, and therefore I ſent him backe very well contented. Not long after I eſpied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I ſtayed to know what they would haue; and they told me that they had ſet vp the croſſe which I had giuen them, in the midſt of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wit, that when the riuer did ouerflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to giue them leaue to remoue it, and to ſet it in another place where the riuer could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they haue relation of the ſtate of *Cenola*, and of the conditions and cuſtomes of theſe people, and of their gouernour: and likewiſe of the countreys not farre diſtant from thence, whereof one was called *Quicoma*, and the other *Coama*: of the people of *Quicoma*, and of the other Indians not farre diſtant they receiue courteſie.

Colde and raine.

Cenola 40 dayes iourney from thence by the riuer.

Turqueſes in Cenola.

Thus ſayling, I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I cauſed to come with me in my boat. And becauſe it was cold, & my people were wet, I leapt on ſhore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we ſtood thus warming our ſelues, an Indian came and ſtrooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood, out of which I ſaw two companies of men come wᵗ their weapons, & he told me that they came to ſet vpon vs: & becauſe I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, & the Indians which were with me ſwam into the water, and ſaued themſelues on the other ſide of the riuer. In the meane ſeaſon I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of yᵉ wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore theſe others at their approch without ſaying any word leapt into the water: and did ſo, becauſe they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, becauſe they brought none with them, becauſe they vnderſtood my wil & pleaſure, that they ſhould cary none. I inquired the ſame things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, becauſe I vnderſtood that among ſome people one man vſed to haue many wiues, and among others but one. Now I vnderſtood by him, that he had bin at *Cenola*, and that it was a moneths iourney from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that riuer a man might eaſily trauel thither in xl. daies, and that the occaſion that moued him to goe thither, was only to ſee *Cenola*, becauſe it was a great thing, & had very hie houſes of ſtone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech ſide: that the houſes were compaſſed about with a wall conteining the height of a man & an halfe, and that aloft & beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they vſed the ſame weapons, that others vſed, which we had ſeene, that is to ſay, bowes & arrowes, maces, ſtaues & bucklers: and that they had one gouernor, & that they were apparelled with mantles, and with oxe-hides, & that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their gouernour ware a long ſhirt very fine girded vnto him, and ouer the ſame diuers mantles: and that the women ware very long garments, and that they were white, and went all couered: and that euery day many Indians wayted at the gate of their gouernor to ſerue him, & that they did weare many Azure or blew ſtones, which were digged out of a rocke of ſtone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were maried, and that when their gouernors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewiſe all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and ſee them eate, and that they eate with napkins, and that they haue bathes. On thurſday morning

ning at breake of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the riuer, and with greater deſire to ſerue vs, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others had done vnto me, hauing vnderſtood what I was: & I gaue them croſſes, with the ſelf ſame order which I did vnto the former. And going farther vp the riuer, I came to a country where I found better gouernment: for the inhabitants are wholy obedient vnto one only. But returning againe to conferre with mine interpreter touching the dwellings of thoſe of Ceuola, he tolde me, that the lord of that country had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter ſaw certaine diſhes caried in the firſt and later ſeruice, whereupon he told me that the lord of Ceuola had alſo ſuch as thoſe were, but that they were greene, and that none other had of them ſauing their gouernour, and that they were 4. which he had gotten together with that dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king cauſed him afterward to be killed, as he heard ſay.

This was the Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza.

I aſked him whether he knew of any towne that was neere vnto that place: he tolde me that aboue the riuer he knew ſome, & that among the reſt there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another of a towne called Coama: and that they had great ſtore of people vnder them.

Quicoma.
Coama.

And after he had giuen me this information, he craued leaue of me to returne vnto his companions. From hence I began againe to ſet ſaile, and within a dayes ſayling I found a towne diſpeopled: where aſſoone as I was entred, by chance there arriued there 500. Indians with their bowes & arrowes, and with them was that principall Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with them certaine conies & yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them, I gaue them licenſe to returne to their houſes.

Conies and yucas.

As I paſſed further by the deſert, I came to certain cotages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel vnderſtood, and he ſaid vnto thoſe men: Brethren, you ſee here that lord; let vs giue him ſuch as we haue, ſeeing he dooth vs pleaſure, and hath paſſed through ſo many diſcourteous people, to come to viſit vs. And hauing thus ſaid, he offred to the Sunne, and then to me in like ſort as the reſt had done. Theſe had certaine great bags & well made of the ſkins of fiſhes called Sea-bremes. And I vnderſtood that this was a towne belonging vnto the lord of Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their harueſt in ſummer; and among them I found one which vnderſtood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very eaſily I gaue them the like inſtruction of the croſſe which I had giuen to others behind. Theſe people had cotton, but they were not very carefull to vſe the ſame: becauſe there was none among them that knew the arte of weauing, & to make apparel thereof.

Cotton.

They aſked me how they ſhould ſet vp their croſſe when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were beſt to make an houſe about it, that it might not be wet, & whether they ſhould hang any thing vpō the armes therof.

A mountaine.

I ſaid no; & that it ſufficed to ſet it in a place where it might be ſeene of all men, vntil I returned: and leſt peraduenture any men of warre ſhould come that way, they offred mee more men to goe with me, ſaying that they were naughty men which I ſhould finde aboue; but I would haue none: neuertheleſſe 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere vnto thoſe which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels ſet vpon their guarde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great ſquadron of people ſitting vnder an exceeding great arbour, & another part of them without: and when I ſaw that they roſe not vp, I paſſed along on my voyage: when they beheld this, an old man roſe vp which ſaid vnto me, Sir, why doe you not receiue victuals to eate of vs, ſeeing you haue taken food of others? I anſwered, that I tooke nothing but that which was giuen me, & that I went to none but to ſuch as requeſted me. Here without any ſtay they brought me victuals, ſaying vnto me, that becauſe I entred not into their houſes, and ſtayed all day and all night in the riuer, and becauſe I was the ſonne of the Sunne, all men were to receiue me for their lord. I made them ſignes to ſit down, and called that old man which mine interpreter vnderſtood, and aſked him whoſe that countrey was, and whether the lord thereof were there, he ſaid, yea: and I called him to me; and when he was come, I imbraced him, ſhewing him great loue: & when I ſaw that all of them tooke great pleaſure at the friendly interteinment which I gaue him, I put a ſhirt vpon him, and gaue him other trifles, and willed mine interpreter to vſe the like ſpeaches to that lord which he had done to the reſt; and that done, I gaue him a croſſe, which he receiued with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a great way with me, vntill I was called vnto from the other ſide of the riuer, where the former old man ſtood with much people: to whom I gaue another croſſe, vſing the like ſpeach to them which I had vnto the reſt, to wit, how they ſhould vſe it. Then following my way, I mette with another great company of people, with whom came that very ſame olde man whom mine interpreter vnderſtood; and when I ſaw their lord which he ſhewed vnto me, I prayed him to come with me into my boat, which he did very willingly, and ſo I went ſtill vp the riuer, and the olde man came and ſhewed me who were the chiefe lords: and I ſpake vnto them alwayes with great courteſie, & all of them ſhewed that they reioiced much thereat, & ſpake very wel of my comming thither. At night I withdrew my ſelfe into the midſt of the riuer, & aſked him many things concerning that country: and I found him as willing & wel diſpoſed to ſhew them me, as I was deſirous to know them. I aſked him of Ceuola: and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, & that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed: and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I aſked him whether they had ſiluer & gold, and he beholding certain bels, ſaid they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he anſwered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a riuer called Totonteac, he anſwered me no, but of another exceeding mighty riuer, wherein there were ſuch huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worſhip the Sunne neither more nor leſſe then thoſe which I had paſſed: and when they offer vnto him the fruits of the earth, they ſay: Receiue hereof, for thou haſt created them, and that they loued him much, becauſe he warmed them; and that when he brake not foorth, they were acolde. Herein reaſoning with him, he began ſomewhat to complaine, ſaying vnto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne vſeth theſe termes with vs, becauſe he giueth vs not clothes, nor people to ſpin nor to weaue them, nor other things which he giueth to many other, and he complayned that thoſe of that country would not ſuffer them to come there, and would not giue them of their corne. I told him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well ſatiſfied.

Ceuola a goodly thing.

Gold and ſiluer in a mountaine neere Ceuola.

A mighty riuer.

This riuer ſeemeth to bee Northward by the colde.

Chap. 6.

They are aduertiſed by the Indians, wherefore the lorde of *Cenola* killed the Negro, which went with Frier *Marco*, and of many other things: And of an old woman called *Guatazaca*, which liueth in a lake and eateth no food. The deſcription of a beaſt, of the ſkinne whereof they make targets. The ſuſpition that they conceiue of them, that they are of thoſe Chriſtians which were ſeene at *Cenola*, and how they cunningly ſaue themſelues.

The next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were woont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. ſorts of people, which had lyen all night neere the riuers ſide, wayting for me: and they tooke Maiz & other corne in their mouth, and ſprinkled me therewith, ſaying that that was the faſhion which they vſed when they ſacrificed vnto the Sunne: afterward they gaue me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gaue me many white peaſon. I gaue them a croſſe as I had done to the reſt: and in the meane ſeaſon that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, ſaying, this is the lord, the ſonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, & to ſet mine apparell handſomely which I ware vpon my backe. And ſo great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them told me what things had paſſed, & did paſſe among them, & what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I aſked them wherefore they imparted vnto me all their ſecrets, and that old man anſwered mee: Thou art our lord, & we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After theſe things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the ſtate of Ceuola, & whether he knewe that thoſe of this country had euer ſeene people like vnto vs: he anſwered me no, ſauing one Negro which ware about his legs & armes certain things which did ring. Your lordſhip is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bels, & feathers on his armes & legs, & that he caried plates of diuers colours, and that it was not much aboue a yeere agoe ſince he came into thoſe parts. I demanded vpon what occaſion he was killed; and he anſwered me, That the lord of Ceuola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he anſwered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great ſtore of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men conſulted together, and reſolued to kil him, that he might not giue newes vnto theſe his brethren, where they dwelt, & that for this cauſe they ſlew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were diuided among all thoſe chiefe lords, that they might know aſſuredly that he was dead; and alſo that he had a dogge like mine, which he likewiſe killed a great while after. I aſked him whether they of Ceuola had any enemies, and he ſaid they had. And he reckoned vnto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like thoſe aboue mentioned: howbeit he told me that I ſhould find going vp the riuer a people that had no warre neither with their neighbors, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. ſorts of trees bearing moſt excellent fruite to eate: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worſhipped of them: and that ſhee remayned

The Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza ſlaine.

The cauſe wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was ſlaine.

They of Ceuola haue 14. or 15. lords their enemies.

An olde woman called Guatazaca in a lake greatly worſhipped.

mayned in a litle houſe which was there, and that ſhe neuer did eate any thing: and that there they made things which did ſound, and that many mantles, feathers and Maiz were giuen vnto her. I aſked what her name was, and he tolde me that ſhe was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lords which in their life & death, vſed the like orders which they of Ceuola did, which had their dwelling in the ſummer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houſes of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had ſeene all theſe things, ſauing the old woman. And when againe I began to aſke him more queſtions, he would not anſwere me, ſaying that he was wearie of me: and many of thoſe Indians comming about me, they ſaid among themſelus: Let vs marke him well, that we may knowe him when he commeth backe againe. The Monday following, the riuer was beſet with people like to them, and I began to requeſt the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which told me he thought I would ſoone forget them: and here he reckoned vp vnto me a great number of lords, and people at the leaſt 200. And diſcourſing with him of their armour, he ſaid that ſome of them had certaine very large targets of lether, aboue two fingers thicke. I aſked him of what beaſts ſkinne they made them: and he deſcribed vnto me a very great beaſt, like vnto an Oxe, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head ſeuen handfuls long, the forehead of three ſpannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fiſt, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew ſharpe poynts, an handfull long, the forfeete and hinderfeete aboue ſeuen handfuls bigge, with a wrethed tayle, but very great; and holding vp his armes aboue his head, he ſaid the beaſt was higher then that. After this hee gaue mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the ſea ſide. I ſpent this day in giuing croſſes to thoſe people as I had done vnto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on ſhore, & fell in conference with another which that day had often called him; and here both of them vſed many geſtures in their ſpeach, moouing their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I ſent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere vnto them, and liſten what they ſaid; and within a while I called him, and aſked him whereof they talked, and he ſayd, that he which made thoſe geſtures ſaid vnto the other, that in Ceuola there were others like vnto vs with beards, and that they ſaid they were Chriſtians, and that both of them ſayd that we were all of one company, and that it were a good deede to kill vs, that thoſe others might haue no knowledge of vs, leſt they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had anſwered him, this is the ſonne of the Sunne, & our lord, he doth vs good, and wil not enter into our houſes, although we requeſt him thereunto: he will take away nothing of ours, he wil meddle with none of our women, and that to be ſhort, he had ſpoken many other things in my commendation and fauour: and for all this the other ſtedfaſtly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man ſaid, Let vs goe vnto him, and aſke him whether he be a Chriſtian as the other be, or els the ſonne of the Sunne: and the old man came vnto me, and ſayd: In the countrey of Ceuola whereof you ſpake vnto me doe other men like vnto you dwell. Then I began to make as though I wondred, and anſwered him, that it was impoſſible; and they aſſured me that it was true, and that two men had ſeene them which came from thence, which reported that they had things which did ſhoote fire, and ſwords as we had. I aſked them whether they had ſeene them with their owne eyes: and they anſwered no; but that certaine of their companions had ſeene them. Then he aſked mee whether I were the ſonne of the Sunne, I anſwered him yea. They ſaid that thoſe Chriſtians of Ceuola ſaid ſo likewiſe. And I anſwered them that it might well be. Then they aſked mee if thoſe Chriſtians of Ceuola came to ioyne themſelues with me, whether I would ioyne with them: and I anſwered them, that they needed not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the ſonnes of the Sunne as they ſaid, they muſt needes be my brethren, and would vſe towards all men the like loue and courteſie which I vſed: whereupon hereat they ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſatiſfied.

Antonio d'Eſpejo ſpeaketh of ſuch a great lake.

200. Kindes of people.

This might be the crooke backed oxe of Quiuira.

The ſea ſide.

The Sauages treaſons to be taken heede of.

Certaine newes of the Spanyards at Ceuola.

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes iourney diſtant from *Ceuola*, and that there be Chriſtians there, which make warre againſt the lords of that countrey. Of the Sodomie which thoſe Indians vſe with foure yong men, appoynted for that ſeruice, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not ſend newes of their being there to them of *Ceuola*, they went backe againe downe the riuer to their ſhips.

Then I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Ceuola, which they ſpake of, was diſtant from that riuer: and that man anſwered, that there was the ſpace of tenne dayes iourney without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the reſt of the way, becauſe there were people to be found. Vpon this aduertiſement I was deſirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my ſouldiers, among whom I found

Ceuola tenne dayes diſtant from this place.

A deſert of ten dayes iourney.

none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordſhips name, onely one Negro ſlaue though with an euil wil offred himſelfe vnto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of thoſe two Indians which they told me of, and herewithall we went on our way vp the riuer againſt the ſtreame in ſuch ſort as we had done before. Here that olde man ſhewed me as a ſtrange thing a ſonne of his clad in womans apparel, exerciſing their office: I aſked him how many there were of theſe among them, and he told me there were foure; & that when any of them died, there was a ſearch made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the firſt ſonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging vnto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, ſaying, that ſeeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he ſhould weare their apparel: theſe yong men may not haue carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie, may company with them. Theſe men receiue no kind of reward for this inceſtuous act of the people of that countrey, becauſe they haue libertie to take whatſoeuer they find in any houſe for their food. I ſaw likewiſe certaine women which liued diſhoneſtly among men: and I aſked the old man whether they were married, who anſwered me noe, but they were common women, which liued apart from the married women. I came at length after theſe diſcourſes to pray them to ſend for thoſe Indians, which they ſaid had bin at Ceuola, & they told me that they were eight dayes iourney diſtant from that place, but that notwithſtanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had ſpoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to ſee the kingdome of Ceuola, and that they told him that he were not beſt to goe any farther, for he ſhould find there a fierce nation like vs, and of the ſame qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Ceuola, becauſe they had killed a Negro of their company, ſaying, Wherefore haue yee killed him? what did he to you? did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong? and ſuch like ſpeach. And they ſaid moreouer, that theſe people were called Chriſtians, which dwelt in a great houſe, & that many of them had oxen like thoſe of Ceuola, and other litle blacke beaſts with wooll and hornes, & that ſome of them had beaſts which they rode vpō, which ran very ſwiftly; & that one day before their departure, from ſunne riſing vntill ſunne ſetting theſe Chriſtians were all day in comming thither, & all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, & that theſe two met with two Chriſtians, which aſked them whence they were, & whether they had fields ſowen with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gaue each of them a litle cap, and they gaue them another to cary to their other companions, which they promiſed to do, & departed quickly. When I vnderſtood this, I ſpoke againe with my company, to ſee if any one of them would go thither, but I found them vnwilling as at the firſt, and they laid againſt me greater incōueniences. Then I called the old man to ſee if he would giue me any people to goe with me, & victuals to trauel through that wildernes, but he laid before me many inconueniences & dangers, which I might incurre in that voyage, ſhewing me the danger that there was in paſſing by a lord of Cumana, which threatned to make warre vpon them, becauſe his people had entred into the others countrey to take a ſtagge, and that I ſhould not therefore depart thence without ſeeing him puniſhed. And when I replied that in any wiſe I muſt needes goe to Ceuola, he willed me to ſurceaſe from that purpoſe, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, & that therefore they could not leaue their countrey naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betweene them, and that then I might haue their company to Ceuola. And vpon this point we grew to ſuch variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would haue gone out of the boat, but I ſtayed him, and with gentle ſpeeches began to pacifie him, ſeeing that it imported mee much to haue him my friend: but for all my courteſies which I ſhewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he ſtil remained obſtinate. In this meane while I ſent a man away vnto my ſhips to giue them knowledge of the iourney that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe againe, becauſe I had determined, that ſeeing I ſaw no meanes to be able to go to Ceuola, & becauſe I would ſtay no longer among thoſe people, becauſe they ſhould not diſcouer me, and likewiſe becauſe I meant in perſon to viſit my ſhips, with determination to returne againe vp the riuer, carying with me other companions, & leaue there ſome which I had ſicke, and telling the olde man and the reſt that I would returne, and leauing them ſatiſfied the beſt I could (although they alwayes ſaid that I went away for feare) I returned downe the riuer: and that way which I had gone againſt the ſtreame vp the riuer in 15. dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, becauſe the ſtreame was great and very ſwift. In this wiſe going downe the riuer, much people came to the banks, ſaying, Sir, wherefore doe you leaue vs? what diſcourteſie hath bin done vnto you? did you not ſay that you would remayne continually with vs,

Oxen of Ceuola.

A deſert.

Cumana.

He returneth in 2. dayes and an halfe to his ſhips.

and be our Lord: And turne backe againe: if any man aboue the riuer hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and ſuch like words ful of loue and kindnes.

Chap. 8.

When they came to their ſhippes the Captaine named that coaſt *La Campanna de la Cruz*, and builded a Chapel vnto our Lady, and called the riuer *El Rio de Buena Guia*, and returned vp the ſame againe: when he came to *Quicona* and *Coama* the Lords of thoſe places vſed him very courteouſly.

Vpon mine arriuall at my ſhips I found all my people in health, although very heauie for my long ſtay, and becauſe the current had fretted fower of their cables, and that they had loſt two ankers which were recouered. After we had brought our ſhips together, I cauſed them to bring thē into a good harbour, & to giue the carena to the ſhippe called Sanct Peter, & to mend all things that were needfull. And here aſſembling all my company together, I opened vnto them what knowledge I had receiued of Francis Vaſquez; and how it might be that in thoſe ſixteene dayes ſpace which I was in ſayling vp the riuer he might peraduenture haue ſome knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne vp the riuer once againe to try if I could finde any meanes to ioyne my ſelfe with him: and although ſome ſpake againſt my determination, I cauſed al my boates to bee made ready, becauſe the ſhips had no need of them. I cauſed one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other ſeedes, with hennes & cockes of Caſtile, and departed vp the riuer, leauing order that in that prouince called Campanna de la Cruz they ſhould build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they ſhould call this riuer Rio de Buena Guia becauſe that is your Lordſhips Deuiſe: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on tueſday the fourteenth of September, & on wedneſday I came vnto the firſt dwellings of the firſt Indians, which came running to hinder my paſſage, ſuppoſing that we had bene other people, for we caried with vs a fifer, & a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell then I went in before, when they ſaw me firſt of all: and when they knew me they ſtayed, though I could not grow vnto perfect friendſhip with them, whereupon I gaue them ſome of thoſe ſeedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they ſhould ſow them: and after I had ſayled 3 leagues, my firſt interpretour came euen to my boat to ſeeke me with great ioy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, becauſe he ſhould beare me companie againe, conſidering howe much it did importe me to haue him with me. He excuſed himſelfe becauſe he ſtayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gaue me. I aſked him what people theſe were, and whether they had any Lord: hee anſwered me, yea; and named three or foure vnto me, of foure or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houſes painted within, and that they had trafficke with thoſe of Ceuola, and that in two moones hee came into the countrey. He told me moreouer many other names of Lords, and other people, which I haue written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my ſelfe vnto your Lorſhip. But I thought good to deliuer this briefe relation to Auguſtine Guerriero in this hauen of Colima, that he might ſend it ouerland to your Lordſhippe, to whom I haue many other things to imparte.

Marke what things the Spaniardes carry with them in newe diſcoueries.

Rio de buena Guia.

Parrats in theſe parts.

Two moones to Ceuola.

Another booke written of the particulars of that countrey.

But to returne to my iourney, I arriued at Quicama, where the Indians came forth with great ioy and gladnes to receiue me, aduertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him fiue or ſixe thouſand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with ſome two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and ſo he came towards me, going before the reſt with great authoritie, and before him and on each ſide of him were certaine which made the people ſtande aſide, making him way to paſſe. Hee ware a garment cloſe before and behind and open on both ſides, faſtened with buttons, wrought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very ſoft and well made, being of the ſkinnes of certaine delicate fiſhes called Sea breams. Aſſoone as he was come to the waters ſide his ſeruants tooke him vp in their armes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and receiued him with great ioy, ſhewing vnto him much kindneſſe: vpon which intertainment his people ſtanding by and beholding the ſame ſeemed not a litle to reioyce. This Lord turning himſelfe to his people willed them to conſider my courteſie, and that he being of his owne accord come vnto me with a ſtrange people, they might ſee how good a man I was, and with how great loue I had entertained him, and that therefore they ſhould take me for their Lord, and that all of them ſhould become

Quicama.

my ſeruants, and doe whatſoeuer I would command them. There I cauſed him to ſit downe, and to eat certaine conſerues of ſugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the fauour which he had done me in vouchſafing to come to ſee mee, recommending vnto him the worſhipping of the croſſe, and all ſuch other things as I had recommended to the reſt of the Indians; namely that they ſhould liue in peace, and ſhould leaue off warres, and ſhould continue alwayes good friendes together: he anſwered, that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forward he would command his people that they ſhould giue food to all ſtrangers that paſſed through his kingdome, and that they ſhould doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation ſhould come to inuade him, he ſaid he would tell them howe I had commanded that they ſhould liue in peace, and if they refuſed the ſame, he would defend himſelfe, and promiſed me, that he would neuer goe to ſeeke warre, if others came not to inuade him. Then I gaue him certaine trifles, as well of the ſeedes which I brought, as of the hens of Caſtile, wherewith he was not a litle pleaſed. And at my departure I caryed certaine of his people with me, to make friendſhip betweene them and thoſe other people which dwelt aboue the Riuer: and here the interpreter came vnto me, to craue leaue to returne home; and I gaue him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly ſatiſfied.

Coama. The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, ſeeing me clad in other apparel, but the old man which was there as ſoone as he knew me leapt into the water, ſaying vnto me; Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very ioyfull & pleaſant declaring vnto me the great courteſies which that people had ſhewed him, ſaying that they had ſtrouen together who ſhould haue him to his houſe, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the riſing of the Sunne to hold vp their hands and kneele before the Croſſe. I gaue them of my ſeedes, and thanked them hartily for the good entertainement which they had ſhewed my man, and they beſought me that I would leaue him with them, which I granted them vntill my return, and he ſtayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward vp the Riuer, taking that olde Cumana. man in my companie, which told mee, that two Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Chriſtians, & that he had anſwered them that he knew none ſuch, but that he knew one which was Treaſon of the ſauages. the ſonne of the Sunne, and that they had perſwaded him to ioyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wiſhed him to lend me two Indians, and I would ſend word by them, that I would come vnto them and was deſirous of their friendſhip, but if that they on the contrary would haue warre, I would make ſuch a warre with them, that ſhould diſpleaſe them. And ſo I paſſed through all that people, and ſome came and aſked me, why I had not giuen them Croſſes as well as the reſt, and ſo I gaue them ſome.

Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and ſee the people worſhip the Croſſe which they had giuen them. The Captaine cauſeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee ſendeth a Croſſe to the Lord of *Cumana*, and going down the Riuer with the ſtreame, he arriueth at his ſhips, Of the error of the Pilots of *Cortez* as touching the ſituation of this Coaſt.

The next day I went on land to ſee certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding vp their hands and kneeling before a Croſſe which I had giuen them. When I came thither I did the like my ſelf; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Prouinces as he knew. And when euening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee anſwered that hee would not goe with mee becauſe I would wearie him with aſking him queſtions of ſo many matters: I told him that I would requeſt him nothing elſe but that he would ſet me downe in a charte as much as he knew concerning that Riuer, and what maner of people thoſe were which dwelt vpon the banckes thereof on both ſides: which he did willingly. And then he requeſted me that I would deſcribe my countrey vnto him, as he had done his vnto me. And for to content him, I cauſed a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entred betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this Riuer paſſeth with a ſtreight chanel, and the boats went vp againſt the ſtreame very hardly An Inchanter. for want of men to draw the ſame. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the ſame place, there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the reſt an enchanter, who enquired which way we would paſſe; & they telling him that we meant to paſſe by the Riuer, he ſet certaine canes on both ſides thereof, through which wee paſſed, without receiuing any kinde of demage which they intended againſt vs. Thus going forward I came vnto the houſe of the olde man which was in my company, and here I cauſed a very high Croſſe to be ſet vp, wherupon I engraued certaine letters to ſignifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of the generall Vaſquez de Coronado ſhould come thither, they might haue knowledge of my being there. At length ſeeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I ſought for, I determined to returne backe vnto my ſhips. And being ready to depart there arriued two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were ſent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himſelfe, becauſe he was farre from that place, but deſired me to ſignifie vnto him what my pleaſure was. I told them, that I wiſhed that he would alwayes imbrace peace, and that I was comming to ſee that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the Riuer I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane ſeaſon they ſhould giue that Croſſe vnto their Lorde, which they promiſed me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Croſſe with certaine feathers which were on the ſame. Of theſe I ſought to vnderſtand what people dwelt vpward vpon the bankes of the Riuer, which gaue me knowledge of many people, and told me that the Riuer went farre more vp into the land then I had yet ſeene, but that they knew not the head thereof, becauſe it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Riuers fell into the ſame.

This Riuer ran much farther vp then he had trauelled.

Hauing learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the Riuer, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I ſpake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone aboue 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cauſe was of my departure, and whē I would returne; to whom I anſwered, that I would returne ſhortly. Thus ſayling downe the ſtreame, a woman leapt into the water crying vnto vs to ſtay for her, and ſhee came into our boate, and crept vnder a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I vnderſtood that ſhee did this, becauſe her huſband had taken vnto him another wife, by whom hee had children, ſaying that ſhe ment not to dwell any longer with him, ſeeing he had taken another wife. Thus ſhee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and ſo I came into my ſhips, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coaſting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to ſee if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vaſquez and his companie; of whom I could haue no other knowledge, but ſuch as I learned in the aforeſaide Riuer. I bring with me many actes of taking poſſeſſion of all that Coaſt. And by the ſituation of the Riuer and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Maſters and Pilots of the Marqueſſe tooke is falſe, & that they were deceiued by 2 degrees, and I haue ſayled beyond them aboue 4 degrees. I ſayled vp the Riuer 85 leagues, where I ſaw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things, whereof when it ſhall pleaſe God to giue mee leaue to kiſſe your Lordſhips hands, I will deliuer you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my ſelfe to haue had very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Caſtilia, and Auguſtine Ghenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came vpon mee, which was there with the reſt of his fleet, and commanded me to ſtrike ſayle, which ſeeming a ſtrange thing vnto me, and not vnderſtanding in what ſtate things were in Nueua Eſpanna, I went about to defend my ſelfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Caſtilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other ſide of the hauen where the ſaide fleete road, and I gaue vnto him this relation (and to auoyd ſtriffe I determined to ſayle away by night) which relation I caryed about me briefly written; for I alwayes had a purpoſe to ſend the ſame, as ſoone as I ſhould touch vpon Nueua Eſpanna, to aduertize your Lordſhip of my proceedings.

He ſayled 85 leagues vp the Riuer.

The port of Colima.

An extract of a Spaniſh letter written from *Pueblo de los Angeles* in *Nueua Eſpanna* in October 1597, touching the diſcouerie of the rich Iſles of *California*, being diſtant eight dayes ſayling from the maine.

WE haue ſeene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles ſituate eighteene leagues frō Mexico, making mention of the Iſlands of California ſituate two or three hundreth leagues frō the maine land of Nueua Eſpanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither haue bene ſent before that time ſome people to conquer them: which with loſſe of ſome twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel viſited and found thoſe Iſlands or countreys to be very rich of gold and ſiluer mynes, and of very fayre Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie vpon one fathome and an halfe paſſing in beautie the pearles of the Iſland Margarita: the report thereof cauſed the Vice-roy of Mexico to ſend a citizen of Mexico with two hundreth men to conquer the ſame. Therein alſo was affirmed that within eight dayes they could ſayle thither from the mayne.

The courſe which Sir *Francis Drake* held from the hauen of *Guatulco* in the South ſea on the backe ſide of *Nueua Eſpanna*, to the North-weſt of *California* as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the ſaid Coaſt to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed, and ſtaying there many weekes, and diſcouering many excellent things in the countrey and great ſhewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the ſame, hee tooke poſſeſſion thereof in the behalfe of her Maieſtie, and named it *Noua Albion.*

WEe kept our courſe from the Iſle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ſhip) along the Coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, vntill we came to the Hauen and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but ſeuenteene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to ſtand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Aſſoone as we were entred this Hauen we landed, and went preſently to the towne, and to the Towne houſe, where we found a Iudge ſitting in iudgement, he being aſſociate with three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conſpired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges, and priſoners we tooke, and brought them a ſhippeboord, and cauſed the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Towneſmen to auoid, that we might ſafely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ranſaked the Towne, and in one houſe we found a pot of the quantitie of a buſhell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ſhip.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spaniſh gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and ſearching him, he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and ſo let him goe.

The Portugal Pilote ſet on land.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, ſet aſhore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Iſland of Cape Verde, out of a ſhip of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and hauing ſet them a ſhoore, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himſelfe both in reſpect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as alſo of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, ſufficiently ſatiſfied, and reuenged: and ſuppoſing that her Maieſtie at his returne would reſt contented with this ſeruice, purpoſed to continue no longer vpon the Spaniſh coaſtes, but began to conſider and to conſult of the beſt way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two ſpeciall cauſes: the one, leaſt the Spaniards ſhould there waite, and attend for him in great number and ſtrength, whoſe handes he being left but one ſhip, could not poſſibly eſcape. The other cauſe was the dangerous ſituation of the mouth of the Streights of the South ſide, with continuall ſtormes raining and bluſtring, as he found by experience, beſides the ſhoals and ſands vpon the coaſt, wherefore he thought it not a good courſe to aduenture that way: he reſolued therefore to auoide theſe hazards, to goe forward to the Iſlands of the Malucos, and therehence to ſaile the courſe of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Vpon this reſolution, he began to thinke of his beſt way for the Malucos, and finding himſelfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee ſawe that of neceſſitie hee muſt bee enforced to take a Spaniſh courſe, namely to ſaile ſomewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore ſet ſaile, and ſayled 800 leagues at the leaſt for a good winde, and thus much we ſayled from the 16 of April after our olde ſtile till the third of Iune.

Sir Francis Drake ſayled on the backe ſide of America to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude.

The fift day of Iune being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being ſpeedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre ſo colde, that our men being pinched with the ſame, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increaſed vpon vs, whereupon we thought it beſt for that time to ſeeke land, and did ſo, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towardes the line. In which height it pleaſed God to ſend vs into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the ſame.

38 degrees.

In this Bay wee ankered the ſeuenteenth of Iune, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houſes cloſe by the waters ſide, ſhewed themſelues vnto vs, and ſent a preſent to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accuſtomed humanitie) curteouſly intreated them, and liberally beſtowed on them neceſſarie things to couer their nakedneſſe, whereupon they ſuppoſed vs to be gods, and would not be perſwaded to the contrary: the preſents which they ſent vnto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

A deſcription of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

Their houſes are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermoſt brimmes of the circle clifts of wood ſet vpon them, ioyning cloſe together at the toppe like a ſpire ſteeple, which by reaſon of that cloſeneſſe are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with ruſhes ſtrawed on it, and lying about the houſe, they haue the fire in the middeſt. The men goe naked, the women take bulruſhes and kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their looſe garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing alſo about their ſhoulders a ſkinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. Theſe women are very obedient and ſeruiceable to their huſbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and viſited vs the ſecond time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for preſents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they ſtayed themſelues, where one appointed for ſpeaker weaired himſelfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill and came downe with their preſents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themſelues lamentably, tearing their fleſh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a ſacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exerciſe they were attentiue and ſeemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs they reſtored againe vnto vs thoſe things which before we had beſtowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being ſpread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongſt them the king himſelf, a man of a goodly ſtature, and comely perſonage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whoſe comming were ſent two Ambaſſadours to our Generall, to ſignifie that their king was comming, in doing of which meſſage, their ſpeech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by ſignes requeſted our Generall to ſend ſomething by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing ſatiſfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to vs with a princely Maieſtie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, ſo did they ſtriue to behaue themſelues in their actions with comelineſſe.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly perſonage, who bare the ſcepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a leſſe and a bigger, with three chaines of a merueilous length: the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony ſubſtance and few be the perſons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number alſo the perſons are ſtinted, as ſome ten, ſome twelue, &c. Next vnto him which bare the ſcepter, was the king himſelfe, with his Guarde about his perſon, clad with Conie ſkinnes, and other ſkinnes: after them followed the naked common ſort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, ſome with white, ſome with blacke, and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a preſent, not ſo much as their children, but they alſo brought their preſents.

Theſe are like chaines of Eſurnoy in Canada and Hochelage.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making againſt their approching, a very warlike ſhewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general ſalutation being made, there was preſently a generall ſilence. Then he that bare the ſcepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they aſſigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other ſpake to him in ſecret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who deſcending to the foote of the hill, ſet themſelues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the ſcepter bearer began a ſong, obſeruing his meaſures in a dance, and that with a ſtately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and euery degree of perſons following, did in like maner ſing and dance, ſauing onely the women which daunced and kept ſilence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark where they continued their ſong and daunce a reaſonable time. When they had ſatiſfied themſelues, they made ſignes to our Generall to ſit downe, to whom the king, and diuers others made ſeueral orations, or rather ſupplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making ſignes that they would reſigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his ſubiects. In which to perſwade vs the better, the king and the reſt, The king reſignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

Great riches in Noua Albion.

with one conſent and with great reuerence, ioyfully ſinging a ſong, did ſet the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it ſeemed a ſigne of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, becauſe hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vſe of her Maieſtie, he tooke the ſcepter, crowne and dignitie of the ſaid Countrey in his hands, wiſhing that the riches & treaſure thereof might ſo conueniently be tranſported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the ſame.

The common ſort of the people leauing the king and his Guarde with our Generall, ſcattered themſelues together with their ſacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery perſon; and ſuch as pleaſed their fancie, (which were the yongeſt) they incloſing them about offred their ſacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, ſcratching, and tearing the fleſh from their faces with their nayles, whereof iſſued abundance of blood. But wee vſed ſignes to them of diſliking this, and ſtayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worſhippe. They ſhewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaiſters, and ointments agreeing to the ſtate of their griefes, beſeeching God to cure their deſeaſes. Euery thirde day they brought their ſacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderſtoode our meaning, that we had no pleaſure in them: yet they could not be long abſent from vs, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure ſeemed ſo grieuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into ſorrow. They intreated vs, that being abſent wee would remember them, and by ſtelth prouided a ſacrifice, which we miſliked.

Great heards of Deere.

Our neceſſarie buſineſſe being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thouſand in a companie, being moſt large and fat of body.

Abundance of ſtrange conies.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a ſtrange kinde of Conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either ſide a bagge, into the which ſhee gathereth her meate when ſhe hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their ſkinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two cauſes: the one in reſpect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the ſea: and the other, becauſe it might haue ſome affinitie with our Countrey in name, which ſometime was ſo called.

Golde and ſiluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken vp, wherein there is not ſome ſpeciall likelihood of gold or ſiluer.

At our departure hence our Generall ſet vp a monument of our being there; as alſo of her Maieſties right and title to the ſame, namely a plate nailed vpon a faire great poſte, whereupon was ingrauen her Maieſties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the Prouince and people into her Maieſties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peice of ſixe pence of current Engliſh money vnder the plate, where vnder was alſo written the name of our Generall.

It ſeemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither did euer diſcouer the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

The true and perfect deſcription of a voyage performed and done by *Franciſco de Gualle* a Spaniſh Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of *New Spaine*, from the Hauen of *Acapulco* in *New Spaine*, to the Iſlands of the *Luçones* or *Philippinas*, vnto the Hauen of *Manilla*, & from thence to the Hauen of *Macao* in *China*, and from *Macao* backe againe to *Acapulco*, accompliſhed in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

Chap. 1.

The tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee ſet ſayle out of the Hauen of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our courſe towards the Iſlands of the Luçones, or Philippinas Weſt Southweſt, turning in that maner for the ſpace of twentie fiue leagues, til wee came vnder ſixteene degrees, that ſo wee might ſhunne the calmes by ſayling cloſe by the ſhoare. From thence forward we held our courſe Weſt for the ſpace of 30 leagues, & being there, we ran Weſt, and Weſt & by South, for the ſpace of 1800 leagues, to the Iſland called

Iſla del Enganno, which is the furtheſt Iland lying in the South parts of yͤ Ilands called De los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rouers, or Iſlas de las Velas, vnder 13. degrees and ½. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, vpon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth right with the Iland of Terçera. From thence we helde our courſe Weſtward for the ſpace of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Eſpirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghoſt, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the firſt Iland of thoſe that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with ſome mines of brimſtone in the middle thereof. From the point aforeſayde, wee ſailed Weſt for the ſpace of eighteene leagues to the point or entrie of the chanell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point or entrie lieth ſcarce vnder 12. degrees. All the coaſt that ſtretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito ſanto, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the ſayde point lyeth a hauen of indifferent greatneſſe, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of woolues, hauing a ſmall Iland in the mouth thereof: and within the chanell about halfe a league from the ende of the ſayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, & when you paſſe by the point in the middle of the chanell, then you haue fiue and twentie fathom deepe, with browne ſand: there we found ſo great a ſtreame running Weſtward, that it made the water to caſt a ſkum as if it had beene a ſande, whereby it put vs in feare, but caſting out our lead, wee found fiue and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforeſayd entrie of the chanell North, and North and by Eaſt about tenne leagues, lyeth the Iland of Catanduanes, about a league diſtant from the lande of Luçon, on the furtheſt point Eaſtward, and from the ſame entrie of the chanell towards the Weſt and Southweſt, lyeth the Iland Capuli about ſixe leagues from thence, ſtretching Weſtſouthweſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt, being fiue leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee paſt by it, it lay Northward from vs vnder twelue degrees and ¾. and ſomewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforeſayd Iland of Capuli Northweſtward lie the three Ilands of the hauen of Bollon in the Iland of Luçones, ſtretching North and South about foure leagues, diſtant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furtheſt Southward lieth vnder thirteene degrees: In this chanell it is twentie fathom deepe, with white ſand, and a great ſtreame, running Southeaſt: we paſſed through the middle of the chanell. From this chanell wee helde our courſe Southweſt, and Southweſt and by Weſt, for the ſpace of twentie leagues, vntill wee came to the Weſt ende of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth Eaſt and Weſt thirteene leagues. This point or hooke lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ¾. In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the ſame courſe on the Northſide of all the Ilands, at the depth of of 22. fathom with white ſand.

From the aforeſayd Weſt point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is Eaſt and Weſt to ſayle about the length of a league or a league and an halfe: we put into that chanell, holding our courſe South, and South and by Weſt about three leagues, vntill we were out of the chanell at ſixteene fathom deepe, with halfe white and reddiſh ſande in the chanell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ½. and there the ſtreames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas ſtretcheth Northweſt and Southeaſt, and is lowe lande, whereof the Northweſt point is about three leagues from the coaſt of Luçon, but you cannot paſſe betweene them with any ſhippe, but with ſmall foiſts and barkes of the countrey. This ſhallowe chanell lieth vnder twelue degrees: and running thorow the aforeſaid chanell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I ſayd before, we ſayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Maſbate, which ſtretcheth Eaſt and Weſt 8. leagues long, being in bredth 4. leagues, and lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ¼. in the middle thereof, and is ſomewhat high land.

The Iſle of Maſbate.

From the ſayd chanell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt for thirteene leagues, leauing the Iland Maſbate on the Southſide, and the Iland Buryas on the North ſide: at the ende of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, vnder twelue degrees and ⅔. when we had ſayled the aforeſayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South ſide wee left the Iland called Rebuiam, which ſtretcheth Northweſt, and Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt, and Southeaſt and by South, for the ſpace of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth vnder twelue degrees and ⅔. and there you finde 35. fathom deepe, with white ſand.

From the aforeſayd Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonſilla, which is a ſmall Iland in forme of a ſugar loafe: the ſecond Crymara, being ſomewhat great in length, reaching Eaſt and Weſt about two leagues: the third Icaa, or the Ile of Goates, hauing certaine houels. By all theſe Ilandes aforeſayd you may paſſe with all ſortes of ſhippes, whereof the foremoſt lyeth Southward vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. From the Iland of Bantonſilla, or ſmall Banton, wee helde our courſe Northweſt for the ſpace of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene the Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South ſide vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. (which are two ſmall Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North ſide vnder twelue degrees, and $\frac{2}{3}$. which is a great Iland, ſtretching Weſt northweſt, and Eaſtſoutheaſt, hauing in length 12.& in bredth 7. leagues. On the North ſide with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and ſmall chanell, running ſomewhat crooked, which is altogether full of ſhallowes and ſandes, whereby no ſhippes can paſſe through it. The furtheſt point Weſtward of the ſame Iland lyeth vnder thirteene degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. It is high lande, on the Eaſt ſide hauing the forme of a mine of brimſtone or fierie hill, and on the Weſt ſide the land runneth downeward at the point thereof being round like a loafe of bread: in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with ſmall blacke ſand.

From the aforeſayd chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt twelue leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying full vnder thirteene degrees: Fiue leagues forward from the ſayde chanell on the South ſide wee left an Iland called Iſla del maeſtro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. which is a ſmall and flat Iland: In this courſe we had 45. fathom deep, with white ſand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length Eaſt and Weſt fiue and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelue leagues, whereof the furtheſt point Southward lyeth vnder thirteene degrees, and the furtheſt point Northward vnder thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. and the furtheſt point Weſtward vnder thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of fiue leagues broad, and ten or twelue fathom deepe with muddie ground of diuers colours, with white ſande. Fiue leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the riuer of the towne of Anagacu, which is ſo ſhallowe, that no ſhippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being diſtant from the land about three hundred cubits, and betweene them and the land you may paſſe with ſmall ſhippes: And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether ſhallowes and ſandes, ſo that where the ſhippes may paſſe outward about 150. cubites from the lande, you leaue both the Ilands on the South ſide, running betweene the third Iland and the riuer called Rio del Bacco, ſomewhat more from the middle of the chanell towardes the Iland, which is about a league diſtant from the other: the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and ſhelles vpon the ground: the riuer of Bacco is ſo ſhallowe, that no ſhips may enter into it. From this Iland with the ſame courſe two leagues forward, you paſſe by the point called El Capo de Reſcaleo, where wee caſt out our lead, and found that a man may paſſe cloſe by the lande, and there you ſhall finde great ſtrong ſtreames: and halfe a league forward with the ſame courſe, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good hauen for ſhippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the ſame hauen lyeth the Iland called Caſaa, ſtretching Eaſt and Weſt, being hilly ground.

From the ſayde towne of Myndoro, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt eight leagues, till wee came to the poynt or hooke of the ſandes called Tulen, lying vpon the Iland of Luçon, which ſande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coaſt: you muſt keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and ſhellie ground: you runne along by thoſe ſandes North, and North and by Weſt for the ſpace of two leagues, till you come to the riuer called Rio de Anaſebo: all the reſt of the coaſt called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues) is ſayled with the ſame courſe. The Limbones (which are Ilands ſo called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good hauens for ſmall ſhippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South ſide, wee leaue the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie vnder 13. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla vnder 14 degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Bay of Manilla in 14. degrees and one quarter.

From thence we ranne Northweſt for the ſpace of ſixe leagues to the hauen of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the Weſt ſide, where it is ſhallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas, The ſhallowes of the riuer of Reedes: all along this Bay in the ſame courſe, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it, running Southweſt, ſouthſouthweſt, and South, vntill wee diſcouered the whole mouth or entrie of the

Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from vs.

Chap. 2.

The courſe and voyage of the aforeſayd *Franciſco Gualle* out of the hauen or roade of *Manilla*, to the hauen of *Macao* in *China*, with all the courſes and ſituations of the places.

Sayling out of the hauen of Cabite, lying in the Bay of Manilla, wee helde our courſe Weſtwarde for the ſpace of eighteene leagues, to the point called El Cabo de Samballes: and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands Maribillas on the South ſide, and ſailed about a league from them: the point of Samballes aforeſayde lyeth vnder foureteene degrees, and ⅔, being low land, at the end of the ſame coaſt of Luçon, on the Weſt ſide.

From the hooke or point aforeſayde, wee ranne North, and North and by Weſt, for the ſpace of fiue and twentie leagues (about a league from the coaſt of Luçon) to the point called Cabo de Bullinao: all this coaſt and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth vnder ſixteene degrees and ⅔. From this Cape de Bullinao we helde our courſe North, and North and by Eaſt, for 45. leagues to the point called El Cabo de Bojador, which is the furtheſt lande Northwarde from the Iland Luçon lying vnder 19. degrees.

The Cape de Bullinao being paſt the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coaſt runneth North to the point of Bojador, being a land full of cliffes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of Bojador, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt an hundred and twentie leagues, vntill we came to the Iland called A Ilha Branca, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coaſt and Bay of the riuer Canton vnder two and twentie degrees, hauing foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground.

Canton 22. degrees.

From the Iland Ilha Branca, wee helde the aforeſayde courſe of Weſtnorthweſt, for the ſpace of ſixteene leagues, to the Iland of Macao lying in the mouth of the riuer of Canton, and it maketh the riuer to haue two mouthes or entries, and it is a ſmall Iland about three leagues great.

The Iland of Macao.

Chap. 3.

The Nauigation or courſe of the aforeſayd *Franciſco Gualle* out of the hauen of *Macao* to *Newe Spaine*, with the ſituation and ſtretchings of the ſame, with other notable and memorable things concerning the ſame voyage.

When we had prepared our ſelues, and had taken our leaues of our friends in Macao, we ſet ſaile vpon the foure and twentieth of Iuly, holding our courſe Southeaſt, & Southeaſt and by Eaſt, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaſeth, it is hard holding the courſe betweene the Ilands, becauſe as then the water and ſtreames run very ſtrong to the Northweſt; wee trauailed through many narrowe chanels by night, hauing the depth of eight or ten fathom, with ſoft muddie ground, vntill wee were about the Iland Ilha Branca, yet we ſaw it not, but by the height we knew that we were paſt it.

Ilha Branca.

Being beyond it, we ranne Eaſtſoutheaſt an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get aboue the ſands called Os Baixos dos Peſcadores, and the beginning of the Ilands Lequeos on the Eaſt ſide, which Ilands are called As Ilhas fermoſas, that is to ſay, The faire Ilands. This I vnderſtoode by a Chinar called Santy of Chinchon, and hee ſayde that they lie vnder one and twentie degrees and ¾. there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although wee ſawe them not, notwithſtanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were paſt them.

As Ilhas fermoſas.

Being paſt As Ilhas fermoſas, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our courſe Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North, for two hundred and ſixtie leagues, vntill we were paſt the length of the Ilands Lequeos, ſayling about fiftie leagues from them: the ſaid Chinar tolde me, that thoſe Ilands called Lequeos are very many, and that they haue many and very good hauens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof haue their faces and bodies painted like the Byſayas of the Ilands of Luçon or Philippinas and are apparelled like the Byſayas, and that there alſo are mines of gold: Hee ſayd likewiſe that they did often come with ſmall ſhippes and barkes laden with Bucks and Harts-hides, and with golde in graines or very ſmall pieces, to traffique with them of the coaſt of China, which hee aſſured mee to bee moſt true, ſaying that hee had bene nine times in the ſmall Ilands, bringing of the ſame wares with him to China: which I beleeued to bee true, for that afterwarde

Lequeos.

Mines of gold

I

I enquired thereof in Macao, and vpon the coaſt of China, and found that hee ſayde true. The furtheſt or vttermoſt of theſe Ilands ſtretching Northwarde and Eaſtwarde, lie vnder nine and twentie degrees.

Firando.

Being paſt theſe Ilands, then you come to the Ilands of Iapon, whereof the firſt lying Weſt and South, is the Iland of Firando, where the Portugals vſe to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furtheſt Eaſtward lieth vnder two and thirtie degrees: we ranne ſtill Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North, vntill we were paſt the ſayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

Other Ilands Eaſtward of Iapon.

All this information I had of the aforeſayd Chinar, as alſo that there I ſhould ſee ſome mines of brimſtone or fierie hilles, being ſeuentie leagues beyond them, and thirtie leagues further I ſhould finde foure Ilands lying together, which I likewiſe found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Iapon, he ſayd hee had there ſeene certaine men of a very ſmall ſtature, with great rolles of linnen cloth about their heads, that brought golde in ſmall pieces, and ſome white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen ſo called by the Chinars) as alſo ſalte-fiſh like the Spaniſh Atun, or Tunney, which hee ſayde came out of other Ilandes Eaſtward from Iapon: and by the tokens and markes which hee ſhewed mee, I geſſed whereabout thoſe Ilands ſhould bee, and found them not farre from whence he ſayd they lay. Hee ſayd likewiſe that all the Ilands of Iapon haue good hauens and chanels, being a Countrey full of Rice, Corne, Fiſh, and fleſh, and that they are an indifferent and reaſonable people to traffique with, and that there they haue much ſiluer.

Iapon 900. leagues diſtant from the coaſt of America in 37 degrees and an halfe.

Running thus Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North about three hundred leagues from Iapon, wee found a very hollowe water, with the ſtreame running out of the North and Northweſt, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee paſt: and what winde ſoeuer blewe, the Sea continued all in one ſort, with the ſame hollow water and ſtreame, vntill wee had paſſed ſeuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coaſt and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to loſe the ſayd hollow Sea and ſtreame: whereby I moſt aſſuredly thinke and beleeue, that there you ſhall finde a channell or ſtraight paſſage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Aſia and Tartaria. Likewiſe all this way from the aforeſayde ſeuen hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fiſhes and other fiſhes called by the Spaniards Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coaſt of Gibraltar in Spaine, as alſo Albacoras and Bonitos, which are all fiſhes, which commonly keepe in chanels, ſtraights, and running waters, there to diſperſe their ſeede when they breede: which maketh mee more aſſuredly beleeue, that thereabouts is a chanell or ſtraight to paſſe through.

Seuen and thirty deg. and an halfe. Read Francis Viloa chap. 16.

Being by the ſame courſe vpon the coaſt of newe Spaine, vnder ſeuen and thirtie degrees and ½. wee paſſed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without ſnowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaues of trees, reeds, and other leaues like figge leaues, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Iapon, which they eate: and ſome of thoſe that wee found, I cauſed to bee ſodden with fleſh, and being ſodden, they eate like Coleworts: there likewiſe wee found great ſtore of Seales: whereby it is to bee preſumed and certainely to bee beleeued, that there are many riuers, bayes, and hauens along by thoſe coaſtes to the hauen of Acaculpo.

From thence wee ranne Southeaſt, Southeaſt and by South, and Southeaſt and by Eaſt, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northweſt ſide, lying vnder two and twentie degrees, being fiue hundred leagues diſtant from Cape Mendoçino.

Cabo de San Lucas in 22. deg.

Hauens lately found out.

In this way of the aforeſayde fiue hundred leagues along by the coaſt, are many Ilands: and although they bee but ſmall, yet without doubt there are in them ſome good hauens, as alſo in the firme land, where you haue theſe hauens following, now lately found out, as that of the Ile of Sant Auguſtine, lying vnder thirtie degrees and ¾. and the Iland called Iſla de Cedros, ſcarce vnder eight & twenty deg. and ¼. and the Iland lying beneath Saint Martyn, vnder three and twentie degrees and ½. All this coaſt and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and ſheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee ſawe fire, and by day ſmoke, which is a moſt ſure token that they are inhabited.

From the poynt or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeaſt ſide of California, wee helde our courſe Eaſtſoutheaſt, for the ſpace of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the ſtreames lying vnder 19. degrees and ½. And running this courſe, Northward about a league from vs wee ſawe three Ilands called Las tres Marias, (that is to ſay, The three Maries) running the ſame courſe. About foure leagues from the other Ilands, there are other Ilands,

lands reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from the mouth or gulfe of California aforeſayd, for the ſpace of the ſayd foureſcore leagues, there are great ſtreames that run Weſtward.

From the point or Cape de las Corrientes, wee ranne Southeaſt, and ſometimes Southeaſt and by Eaſt, for the ſpace of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the hauen of Acapulco. In this way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the hauen of Natiuidad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the hauen of Saint Iago, or Saint Iames: and ſixe leagues further, the ſea Strand called La Playa de Colima, that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coaſt from California to the hauen of Acapulco is inhabited by people that haue peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and qualities like the people of the other places of new Spaine.

Acapulco.

The concluſion of the Author of this laſt voyage.

All this deſcription and nauigation haue I my ſelfe ſeene, prooued, and well noted in my voyage made & ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584. from great China out of the hauen and riuer of Canton, as I will more at large ſet it downe vnto your honour, with the longitudes and latitudes thereof, as God ſhall permit mee time and leyſure, whom I beſeech to ſend you long and happie dayes.

And the ſame was truely tranſlated out of Spaniſh into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Originall copie, (wich was ſent vnto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by Iohn Huyghen Van Linſchoten,

DIVERS VOYAGES MADE BY ENGLISHmen to the famous Citie of *Mexico*, and to all or moſt part of the other principall prouinces, cities, townes and places throughout the great and large kingdom of *New Spaine*, euen as farre as *Nicaragua* and *Panama*, & thence to *Peru*: together with a deſcription of the Spaniards forme of gouernment there: and ſundry pleaſant relations of the maners and cuſtomes of the natural inhabitants, and of the manifold rich commodities & ſtrange rarities found in thoſe partes of the continent: & other matters moſt worthy the obſeruation.

The voyage of *Robert Tomſon* Marchant, into *Noua Hiſpania* in the yeere 1555. with diuers obſeruations concerning the ſtate of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himſelfe.

Robert Tomſon borne in the towne of Andouer in Hampſhire began his trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Briſtoll in a good ſhip called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the ſayde citie, within 8. dayes after arriued at Liſbone in Portugall, where the ſayd Robert Tomſon remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he ſhipped himſelfe for Spaine in the ſayd ſhippe, and within 4. dayes arriued in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluſia, which is vnder the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went vp to the citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one Iohn Fields houſe an Engliſh Marchant, who had dwelt in the ſaid city of Siuil 18. or 20. yeres maried with wife and children: In whoſe houſe the ſaid Tomſon remained by the ſpace of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two cauſes: The one to learne the Caſtillian tongue, the other to ſee the orders of the countrey, and the cuſtomes of the people. At the end of which time hauing ſeene the fleetes of ſhippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with ſuch great quantitie of gold & ſiluer, pearles, precious ſtones, ſuger, hides, ginger, and diuers other rich commodities, he did determine with himſelfe to ſeeke meanes and opportunitie to paſſe ouer to ſee that rich countrey from whence ſuch great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within ſhort time after, the ſayd Iohn Field (where the ſayd Tomſon was lodged) did determine to paſſe ouer into the Weſt Indies, himſelfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the requeſt of the ſayde Tomſon, he purchaſed a licence of the King to paſſe into the Indies, for himſelfe, his wife and children, and among them alſo for the ſayde Tomſon to paſſe with them: ſo that preſently they made preparation of victuall and other neceſſarie prouiſion for the voyage. But the ſhippes which were prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine conſiderations by the kings commandement were ſtayed and arreſted till further ſhould bee knowen of the Kings pleaſure. Whereupon the ſaid Iohn Field, with Robert Tomſon departed out of Siuil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and ſeeing the ſtay made vpon the ſhips of the ſaid fleet, & being not aſſured when they would depart, determined to ſhip themſelues for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to ſtay till the ſaid fleet ſhould come thither: for that is continually their port to make ſtay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in freſh water, bread, fleſh, & other neceſſaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555, the ſayde Robert Tomſon with the ſaid Iohn Field and his companie, ſhipped themſelues out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arriued at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ſhips that rode in the ſaid port began to cry out of all meaſure with loud voyces, in ſo much that the caſtle which ſtood faſt by began to ſhoot at vs, and ſhot 6. or 7. ſhot at vs, and ſtrooke downe our maine maſte, before we could hoiſe out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cauſe of the ſhooting was, ſeeing that we were Spaniſh ſhips, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done vnto vs; they anſwered, that they had thought we had bene French rouers, that had come into the ſaid port to do ſome harme to the ſhips that were there. For that 8. dayes paſt there went out of the ſaid port a caruell much like vnto ours, laden wit ſugers and other marchandiſe for Spaine and on the other ſide of the point of the ſayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the ſaid caruell, & vnladed out of her into the ſaid French ſhip both men & goods. And being demanded of the ſaid Spaniards what other ſhips remained in the port whence they came, they anſwered that there remained diuers other ſhips, & one laden with ſugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: vpon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ſhip well appointed into the ſaid caruel which they had taken, and ſent her backe againe to the ſaid port from whence ſhe had departed the day before. And ſomewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not ſhewing paſt 3. or 4. men, and ſo came to an anker hard by the other ſhips that were in the ſaid port, and being ſeene by the caſtle and by the ſaid ſhips, they made no reconing of her, becauſe they knew her, & thinking that ſhe had found contrary windes at the ſea, or had forgot ſomething behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the ſame, and ſo made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ſhips in the ſaid port: So that about midnight the ſaid caruel with the Frenchmen in her went aboord the other ſhip that lay hard by laden with ſugers, and droue the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, & preſently let ſlip her cables and ankers, and ſet ſaile & carried her cleane away, and after this ſort deceiued them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did ſhoote at vs as they did. This being paſt, the next day after our arriuall in the ſayd port, wee did vnbarke our ſelues and went on lande vp to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Engliſhmen marchants ſeruants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Caſtelin marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee receiued great courteſie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being paſt, in the which we had ſeene the countrey, the people, and the diſpoſition thereof, wee departed from thence, and paſſed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went vp to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there hauing taken that which they had neede of, wee ſhipped our ſelues in a ſhip of Cadiz, being one of the ſaide fleete, which was belonging to an Engliſhman maried in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whoſe name was Iohn Sweeting, and there came in the ſayd ſhip for captain alſo an Engliſhman maried in Cadiz, and ſonne in law to the ſayde Iohn Sweeting, whoſe name was Leonard Chilton: there came alſo in the ſaid ſhip another Engliſhman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whoſe name was Ralph Sarre. So that wee departed from the ſayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foreſayd yeere, 8. ſhips in our companie, and ſo directed our courſe towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwiſe called Hiſpaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arriued with our ſhip at the port of S. Domingo, and went in ouer the barre where our ſhip knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ſhip rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreſhed our ſelues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biſcuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it ſelfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Caſſaui, which is ſomething ſubſtantiall, but it hath but an vnſauorie taſte in the eating thereof. Fleſh of beefe and mutton they haue great ſtore: for there are men that haue 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides: for the quantitie of fleſh is ſo great, that they are not able to ſpend the hundreth part. Hogs fleſh is there good ſtore, very ſweete and ſauorie, and ſo holſome, that they giue it to ſick folkes to eat in ſtead of hennes and capons, although they haue good ſtore of poultrie of that ſort, as alſo of Guinycocks & Guinyhens.

Engliſh factors in the Grand Canaria.

Iohn Sweeting Engliſhman married in Cadiz, ſendeth a ſhip of his owne into the Weſt Indies vnder the conduct of his ſonne in lawe Leonard Chilton.

Ralph Sarre.

At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of aboue 500. houſholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the ſuburbs there were more. The coūtry is moſt part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & moleſt the people very much in the night when they are aſleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie vncouered, & make them to ſwel wonderfully. Alſo there is another kind of ſmall worme which creepeth into the ſoles of mens feet & eſpecially of the black Moores and children which vſe to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth ſo ake that it would make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the ſame, but to open the fleſh ſometimes 3. or 4. inches & ſo dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great ſtore of ſuger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fiſtula & Salſa perillia: mines of ſiluer & gold there are none, but in ſome riuers there is found ſome ſmal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & braſſe: and this they ſay they do vſe not for that they lacke money of gold and ſiluer to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but becauſe if they ſhould haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and ſiluer, and let the countrey commodities lie ſtill. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there ſtaying vntil the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of Ianuary we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we ſet our courſe, and ſo ſailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right diſcharge: And being ſo neere our ſaid port, there roſe a ſtorme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which cauſed vs to caſt about into the ſea againe, for feare leaſt that night we ſhould be caſt vpon the ſhoare before day did breake, and ſo put our ſelues in danger of caſting away: the winde and ſea grew ſo foule and ſtrong, that within two houres after the ſtorme began, eight ſhips that were together were ſo diſperſed, that we could not ſee one another. One of the ſhips of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not caſt about to ſea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchaſe the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but miſſing the port went with the ſhoare and was caſt away. There were drowned of that ſhip 75. perſons, men, women and children, and 64. were ſaued that could ſwim, and had meanes to ſaue themſelues: among thoſe that periſhed in that ſhip, was a gentleman who had bene preſent the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the reſt of his ſeruants & houſhold. We with the other 7. ſhips caſt about into the ſea, the ſtorme during 10. dayes with great might, boiſterous winds, fogs & raine: our ſhip being old and weake was ſo toſſed, that ſhe opened at the ſterne a fadome vnder water, and the beſt remedy we had was to ſtop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of ſinking we threw and lighened into the ſea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not ſerue. Then we cut our maine maſt and threw all our Ordinance into the ſea ſauing one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee ſhould haue ſunke, we ſhot off, and as pleaſed God there was one of the ſhips of our company neere vnto vs, which we ſaw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the ſound of the piece, & vnderſtanding ſome of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards vs, and when they came within hearing of vs, we deſired them for the loue of God to helpe to ſaue vs, for that we were all like to periſh. They willed vs to hoiſe our foreſaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their beſt to ſaue vs, and ſo we did: And we had no ſooner hoiſed our foreſaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a ſea, ſtrooke in the foreſaile, and caried ſaile & maſte all ouerboord, ſo that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, euery man his friend, euery wife her huſband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our ſoules to Almighty God, thinking neuer to eſcape aliue: yet it pleaſed God in the time of moſt need when all hope was paſt, to aide vs with his helping hand, and cauſed the winde a little to ceaſe, ſo that within two houres after, the other ſhip was able to come aboord vs, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hoſe or ſhoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the laſt perſon that came out of the ſhip into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ſhip into the boat with a yong ſucking child in her armes, lept too ſhort and fell into the ſea, and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to reſcue her, and with the ſpreading of her clothes roſe aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate hauing ſtill her childe vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall loue towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when ſhe came aboord the boate ſhe helde her childe ſo faſt vnder her arme ſtill, that two men were ſcant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ſhip & left it in the ſea: it was worth foure hundreth thouſand ducats, ſhip & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in New Spaine. I do remember

Many of our men died of theſe wormes at the taking of Puerto rico.

Cuerpo Santo.

member that in the great and boyſterous ſtorme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maſte, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo ſanto, and ſaide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the aduocate of Sailers. At the which ſight the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worſhipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to ceaſe the torment, and ſaue them from the perill that they were in, with promiſing him that at their comming on land, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and there cauſe Maſſes to be ſaide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers caſt reliques into the ſea, to cauſe the ſea to be ſtill, and likewiſe ſaid Goſpels, with other croſſings and ceremonies vpon the ſea to make the ſtorme to ceaſe: which (as they ſaid) did much good to weaken the furie of the ſtorme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleaſed God to ſend vs the remedie & deliuered vs from the rage of the ſame, His Name be praiſed therefore. This light continued aboord our ſhip about three houres, flying from maſte to maſte, & from top to top: and ſometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my ſelfe of learned men afterward what that light ſhould be, and they ſaid, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the maſts and ſhrowds of the ſhips that are at ſea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be ſo: for that I haue ſeene the like in other ſhips at ſea, and in ſundry ſhips at once. By this men may ſee how the Papiſts are giuen to beleeue and worſhip ſuch vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and neceſſities do let to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer of all good things.

His arriuall at Vera Cruz.

Florida 300. leagues from San Iuan de Vllua.

Mexico.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556, we arriued at the port of S. Iohn de Vllua in new Spaine, very naked and diſtreſſed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the loſſe of our foreſaid ſhip and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, fiue leagues from the ſaid port of S. Iohn de Vllua, marching ſtill by the ſea ſide, where wee found lying vpon the ſands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, ſome of them of foure, fiue, and ſixe cart load by our eſtimation, which, as the people tolde vs, were in the great ſtormy weather, which we indured at ſea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues ouer by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the ſaide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the ſaid Iohn Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very rich man of the ſaide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his miſfortune by Sea, came vnto him and receiued him and all his houſhold into his houſe, and kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, and giuing vs good intertainement, and alſo gaue vs that were in all eight perſons of the ſaid Iohn Fields houſe, double apparell new out of the ſhop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hoſe, ſhirts, ſmocks, gownes for the women, hoſe, ſhooes, and al other neceſſary apparel, and for our way vp to the Citie of Mexico, horſes, moiles and men, and money in our purſes for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the ſumme of 400. Crownes, And after wee were entred two dayes iourney into the Countrey, I the ſaide Robert Tomſon fell ſo ſicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to ſit on my horſe, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes iourney of the Citie of Mexico, the ſaide Iohn Field alſo fell ſicke, and within three dayes after we arriued at the ſaid Citie, hee died: And preſently ſickened one of his children, and two more of his houſhold people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arriued at the Citie of Mexico, of eight perſons that were of vs of the ſaide company, there remained but foure aliue, and I the ſaid Tomſon was at the point of death of the ſicknes that I got vpon the way, which continued with mee the ſpace of ſixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleaſed Almightie God to reſtore me my health againe, although weake and greatly diſabled. And being ſome thing ſtrong, I procured to ſeeke meanes to liue, and to ſeeke a way how to profite my ſelfe in the Countrey, ſeeing it had pleaſed God to ſende vs thither in ſafetie. Then by friendſhip of one Thomas Blake a Scottiſhman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the ſaid Citie aboue twentie yeeres before I came to the ſaide Citie, I was preferred to the ſeruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the firſt conquerours of the ſaid Citie, whoſe name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelue moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciouſly accuſed by the Holy houſe for matters of Religion, and ſo apprehended and caried to priſon, where I lay cloſe priſoner ſeuen moneths, without ſpeaking to any creature, but to the Iailer that kept the ſaid priſon, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the ſaide priſon one Auguſtin Boacio an Italian of Genoua alſo for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the

Northweſt of the Citie of Mexico: At the ende of the ſaid ſeuen moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance vpon an high ſcaffold, made before the high Altar, vpon a Sunday, in the preſence of a very great number of people, who were at the leaſt fiue or ſixe thouſand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to ſee the ſaide Auto (as they call it) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the ſaid Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they neuer heard of any ſuch thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middeſt, and caſt ouer a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middeſt of euery flap, a S. Andrewes croſſe, made of red cloth, ſowed on vpon the ſame, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they ſawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderſtand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did deſpiſe God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like deuils then men, and thought wee had had the fauour of ſome monſters, or heathen people. And when they ſaw vs come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made ſuch a noiſe, that it was ſtrange to ſee and heare, ſaying, that they neuer ſawe goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not poſſible that there could be in vs ſo much euill as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then ſuch perſons of ſuch euill Religion as by the Prieſtes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee ſhould bee ſo vſed for ſo ſmall an offence. So that being brought into the ſaide high Church, and ſet vpon the ſcaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the preſence of all the people, vntill high Maſſe was done, and the ſermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put vs in all the diſgrace they could, to cauſe the people not to take ſo much compaſſion vpon vs, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were ſeduced of the deuill, & had forſaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Maſſe and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, euery man what he had ſaid and done, and preſently was the ſentence pronounced againſt vs. That was, that the ſaid Auguſtine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall priſon, where hee ſhould fulfill the ſame, and all his goods confiſcated and loſt. And I the ſaide Tomſon to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be ſet at libertie. And for the accompliſhing of this ſentence or condemnation, we muſt be preſently ſent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. Iohn de Vllua, and there to be ſhipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with ſtrait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Maſters euery one ſhould looke ſtraitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliuer vs vnto the Inquiſitors of the Holy houſe of Siuill, that they ſhould put vs in the places, where we ſhould fulfill our penances that the Archbiſhop of Mexico had enioyned vnto vs, by his ſentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were ſent downe from Mexico, to the Sea ſide, which was 65. leagues, with fetters vpon our feete, and there deliuered to the Maſters of the ſhips, to be caried for Spaine, as before is ſaid. And it was ſo, that the Italian, fearing that if he had preſented himſelfe in Spaine before the Inquiſitors, that they would haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arriued at the yland of Terçera, one of the yles of the Açores, the firſt night that we came into the ſaid port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ſhip into the ſea, & ſwam naked a ſhoare, and ſo preſently got him to the further ſide of the yland, where hee found a little Caruel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and paſſed into France, and ſo into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept ſtill aboord the ſhip, and came into Spaine, and was deliuered to the Inquiſitors of the Holy houſe of Siuill, where they kept me in cloſe priſon, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of priſon, and ſet at libertie: and being in the Citie of Siuil a caſher of one Hugh Typton, an Engliſh marchant of great doing, by the ſpace of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great ſummes of golde and ſiluer, and with one onely daughter ſhipped himſelfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gaue all that hee had vnto his onely daughter, whoſe name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arriued at the Citie of Siuil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and ſiluer, beſides iewels of great price. This I thought good to ſpeake of, to ſhew the goodnes of God to all them that put their truſt in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in ſuch great miſery and infamy to the world, ſhould be prouided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine vnto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were ſet vp in the high Church of the ſaid Citie, with our names written in the ſame, according to their vſe and cuſtome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romiſh Church doth raigne in that country. The ſame haue bene ſeene ſince by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long ſince, by Sir Iohn Hawkins. And becauſe it ſhalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was ſo puniſhed by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the ſame.

It is ſo, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Engliſhman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches and houſes of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heauen that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in ſome places high wayes ſtoned with them, and whether the Engliſh nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made anſwere, that it was ſo, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houſes of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and vſed there no more: for that (as they ſay) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expreſſe cōmandement of Almighty God, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen image, &c. and that for that cauſe they thought it not lawfull that they ſhould ſtand in the Church, which is the houſe of adoration. One that was at the declaring of theſe words, who was my maſter Gonſalo Cereſo, anſwered and ſaid, if it were againſt the commandement of God, to haue images in the Churches, that then he had ſpent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres paſt he had made in the monaſtery of Santo Domingo, in the ſaid citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure ſiluer & golde, with pearles and precious ſtones, which coſt him 7000. and odde peſos, and euery peſo is 4. s. 8. d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I haue ſeene it many times my ſelfe where it ſtands. At the table was another gentleman, who preſuming to defend the cauſe more then any other that was there, ſaide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of ſtockes and ſtones, and that to them was no worſhip giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them after they were ſet vp in the Church, and that they were ſet there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the ſimple people, to make them vnderſtand the glory of the ſaints that were in heauen, & a ſhape of them to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our interceſſors vnto God for vs, for that we are ſuch miſerable ſinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that vſing deuotion to ſaints in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the ſooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, ſaid he, imagin that a ſubiect hath offended his king vpon the earth in any kind of reſpect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in perſon, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, ſaith he, the preſumptiō were too great, & poſſibly he might be repulſed, and haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for ſuch a perſon to ſeek ſome priuate man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Maieſty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and ſo might he the better come to his purpoſe, and obteine the thing which he doeth demand: euen ſo ſaith he, it is with God and his ſaints in heauen: for we are wretched ſinners, and not worthy to appeare nor preſent our ſelues before the Maieſty of God, to demand of him the thing that we haue need of: therefore thou haſt need to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the ſaints of heauen, to be interceſſors to God for thee, and ſo mayeſt thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou doſt demand. To this I anſwered, & ſaid, ſir, as touching the compariſon you made of the interceſſors to the king, how neceſſary they were, I would but aſke you this queſtion. Set the caſe that this king you ſpeak of, if he be ſo merciful, as when he knoweth that one, or any of his ſubiects hath offended him, he ſend for him to his owne towne, or to his owne houſe, or palace, & ſay vnto him, come hither, I know that thou haſt offended many lawes, if thou doeſt know thereof, and doeſt repent thee of the ſame, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgiue thy treſpaſſe, and remember it no more: ſaid I, if this be done by the kings owne perſon, what then hath this man need to go ſeeke friendſhip at any of the kings priuat ſeruants hands, but go to the principal, ſeeing that he is readier to forgiue thee, then thou art to demand forgiuenes at his hands? Euen ſo is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apoſtles, and by his owne mouth, ſaying, Come vnto me al ye that labour and are ouer laden, and I wil refreſh you: beſides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the ſaints helpe that are in heauen, whereas the Lord himſelf doth ſo freely offer himſelfe vnto vs? At which ſayings, many of the hearers were aſtonied, and ſaid, that by that reaſon, I would giue to vnderſtand, that the inuocation of Saints was to be diſanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I anſwered, that they were not my words, but the words of God himſelfe: looke into the Scriptures your ſelfe, and you ſhall ſo finde it. The talke was perceiued to be preiudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who ſaid, Baſta ſer Ingles para ſaber todo eſto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Biſhop of Mexico, and his Prouiſor, and ſaid, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Engliſhman, who had ſaid, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any inuocation of Saints, vpon whoſe denomination I was apprehended for the ſame words here rehearſed, and none other thing, and thereupon was vſed, as before is written.

Sant Iuan de Vllua.

Now to ſpeake ſomewhat of the deſcription of the countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand, that the port of S. Iohn de Vllua is a very little Iſland low by the water ſide, the broadeſt or longeſt part thereof not aboue a bow ſhoote ouer, and ſtandeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one houſe, and a little Chappel to ſay Maſſe in, in all the Iſland: the ſide to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-ſtone and grauel, and is 4. fadome deepe downe right, wherfore the great ſhips that come in there do ride ſo neere the ſhoare of the Iſland, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noſes. They vſe to put great chaines of yron in at their halſers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their ſhippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coaſt of Florida, that ſometimes haue caried ſhips, & houſes, and all away to the ſhoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did ſerue for nothing elſe, but onely to repaire the ſaid Iſland, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the ſea ſide a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the ſame, ſo that when the mariners of the ſhips are diſpoſed, they go vp into the wildernes, and do kil of the ſame, and bring them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

The way and diſtance from San Iuan de Vllua to Vera Cruz, is fiue leagues.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almoſt by the Sea ſide, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne vp towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the ſaid townes ſide, which ſometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not paſt 300. houſholds, and ſerued but for the folke of the ſhips; to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as alſo the owners and their factors to receiue their goods of the Maſters of the ſhips. This towne ſtandeth alſo in a very plaine on the one ſide the riuer, and the other ſide is enuironed with much ſande blowen from the ſea ſide with the tempeſt of weather, many times comming vpon that coaſt. This towne alſo is ſubiect to great ſicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ſhips did die with thoſe diſeaſes there accuſtomed, & eſpecially thoſe that were not vſed to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much diſorder, and eſpecially gaue themſelues to womens company at their firſt comming: whereupon they were caſt into a burning ague, of the which few eſcaped.

Venta de Rinconado

Halfe a dayes iourney from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of fiue or ſixe houſes, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime and ſtone, faſt by a riuer ſide, where the Indians were wont to doe their ſacrifices vnto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and alſo ſubiect to ſicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes iourney that you do begin to enter into the high land, you ſhall find as faire, good, and ſweet countrey as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and ſweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be ſome 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. houſholds, or thereabout, ſtanding in a goodly ſoile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you ſhall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Riuers of freſh waters, forreſts, and great woods, very pleaſant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not aboue 1500. houſholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the ſuburbs of the ſaid city, dwelt aboue 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North ſea, and 75. leagues from the South ſea, ſo that it ſtandeth in the midſt of the maine land, betwixt the one ſea and the other. It is ſituated in the middeſt of a lake of ſtanding water, and enuironed round about with the ſame, ſauing in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the ſaid lake or water. This lake and Citie is enuironed alſo with great mountaines round about, which are in compaſſe aboue thirtie leagues, and the ſaide Citie and lake of ſtanding water, doeth ſtand in a great plaine in the middeſt of it. This lake of ſtanding water doeth proceed from the ſhedding of the raine, that falleth vpon the ſaide mountaines, and ſo gather themſelues together in this place.

Pueblo de los Angeles.

Mexico.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth ſtand in a very plaine ground, and in the middeſt of the ſaid Citie is a ſquare place of a good bow ſhoote ouer from ſide to ſide: and in the middeſt of the ſaid place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finiſhed, and round about the ſaid place, are many faire houſes built: on the one ſide, are the houſes where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine ſendeth thither euery three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Caſtil, called Don Luis de Velaſco. And on the other ſide of the ſaide place, ouer againſt the ſame, is the Biſhops houſe, very faire built, and many other houſes of goodly building. And hard by the ſame, are alſo other very faire houſes, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwiſe called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that firſt conquered the ſaide Citie and Countrey, who after the ſaid conqueſt which hee made with great labour and trauaile of his perſon, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine ſent for him, ſaying that he had ſome particular matters to impart vnto him. And when he came home, he could not bee ſuffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promiſed him. With the which, for ſorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good ſeruice.

Don Luis de Velaſco.

This is to be underſtood of his ſecond comming into Spaine.

The ſaid Citie of Mexico hath the ſtreetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the ſtreet, may ſee at the leaſt a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the ſtreets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that euery man may put into his houſe as much as he will, without the coſt of any thing, but of the letting in. Alſo there is a great caue or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, euen vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of prouiſion for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the ſaid Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailes, Guiny-cockes, and ſuch like, all are very good cheape: To ſay, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a ſlaue can carry away from the Butchers, for fiue Tomynes, that is, fiue Royals of plate, which is iuſt two ſhillings and ſixe pence, and a fat ſheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reaſonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the moſt populous Citie in the world, as it may be ſuppoſed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popiniayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make ſuch an harmonie of ſinging, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fields are ſuch odoriferous ſmels of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the ſenſes. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, ſome of 4000. or 6000. houſholds, which doe ſtand in ſuch a goodly ſoyle, that if Chriſtians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the firſt conqueſt with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the ſaid Countrey was conquered.

Mexico conquered Anno 1519. and 1520.

About Mexico there are diuers Mines of ſiluer, and alſo in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Northweſtward of Mexico, where is great ſtore of gold and ſiluer. Alſo there is a place called the Miſteca, fiftie leagues to the Northweſt, which doth yeeld great ſtore of very good ſilke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Alſo there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we haue none ſuch, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great ſtore of blacke cheries, and other wholſome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as ſome ſay it is, but a berrie that groweth vpon certaine buſhes in the wilde field, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Alſo the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the aſhes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the ſaide Indico is made. Balme, Salſa perilla, Cana fiſtula, ſuger, oxe hides, and many other good and ſeruiceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there ſolde and diſtributed to many nations.

Cochinilla is not a worme nor a flie, but a berry.

Indico.

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage made by M. *Roger Bodenham* to S. *Iohn de Vllua* in the bay of *Mexico*, in the yeere 1564.

I Roger Bodenham hauing a long time liued in the city of Siuil in Spaine, being there married, and by occaſion thereof vſing trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great loſſe and hindrance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to conſider with my ſelfe by what meanes I might recouer and renew my ſtate: and in concluſion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ſhip called The Barke Fox, perteining to London, of the burden of eight or nine ſcore tunnes; and with the ſame I made a voyage to the Weſt India, hauing obteined good fauour with the Spaniſh merchants, by reaſon of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Noua Hiſpania: who being himſelfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his ſonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himſelfe was the principall man and directer in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the laſt day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ſhip being vnder the conduct of the ſonne of Don Pedro aforeſayd, arriued with him in Noua Hiſpania, where immediatly I tooke order for the diſcharge of my merchandiſe at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwiſe called Villa Rica, to be tranſported thence to the city of Mexico, which is ſixty and odde leagues diſtant from the ſayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great cauſeyes to bring men to it, compaſſed with a lake, ſo that it needeth no walles, being ſo defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all neceſſary things, hauing many faire houſes, churches, and monaſteries. I hauing continued in the countrey the ſpace of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spaniſh fleet, and deliuered the merchandiſe and ſiluer which I had in the ſhip into the Contractation houſe, and there receiued my fraight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I obſerued many things in the time of my abode in Noua Hiſpania, aſwell touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both Spaniards and Indians: but becauſe the Spaniſh hiſtories are full of thoſe obſeruations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the ſame: onely this I ſay, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greateſt abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there worth aboue forty pence the pound.

A new trade begun in the city of Fez by Roger Bodenham.

The place where Cochinilla groweth, and the price thereof.

A notable diſcourſe of M. *Iohn Chilton*, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of *New Spaine*, and other prouinces in the *Weſt Indies*, ſeene and noted by himſelfe in the time of his trauels, continued in thoſe parts, the ſpace of ſeuenteene or eighteene yeeres.

In the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of Iuly, I Iohn Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the ſpace of ſeuen yeres, & from thence I ſailed into Noua Hiſpania, and ſo trauelled there, and by the South ſea, vnto Peru, the ſpace of ſeuenteene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and ſo in the yere 1586 in the moneth of Iuly, I arriued at the foreſayd city of London; where peruſing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in thoſe yeeres, I haue ſet downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being deſirous to ſee the world, I embarked my ſelfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a ſhippe bound for the Iſles of the Canaries, where ſhe tooke in her lading, & ſet forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of Iune, the ſame yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Iſle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Noua Hiſpania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a litle Iſland ſtanding in the ſea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 ſouldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of ſtones for building, & other vſes, and to helpe to make faſt the ſhips that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that ſtandeth likewiſe in the ſayde Iſland, where the ſhippes vſe to ride, made faſt to the ſayd wall with their cables, ſo neere, that a man may leape aſhore. From this port I iourneyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, ſtanding by a

1568.

Cadiz.

San Iuan de Vllua.

Vera Cruz.

riuers

Xalapa ſixteene leagues.

Perota ſeuen leagues.

Fuentes de Ozumba nine leagues.

Pueblo de los Angeles eight leagues.

Tlaxcalla foure leagues northward from los Angeles.

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Cochinilla.

Pueblo de los Angeles 20 leagues from Mexico.

riuers ſide, where all the factours of the Spaniſh merchants dwell, which receiue the goods of ſuch ſhips as come thither, and alſo lade the ſame with ſuch treaſure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spaniſh fleet diſchargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of Auguſt to the beginning of April following. And then for the vnwholeſomneſſe of the place they depart thence ſixteene leagues further vp within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull ſoile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for ſo ſoone as they perceiue themſelues conceiued with child, they get them into the countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vſe euery morning to driue thorow the towne aboue two thouſand head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa ſeuen leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houſes builded of ſtraw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accuſtome to harbour ſuch trauellers as are occaſioned to iourney that way vp into the land. It ſtandeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the ſoile being very colde, by reaſon of ſtore of ſnow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bigneſſe like vnto great mules, hauing alſo hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are ſprings of water iſſuing out of certeine rocks into the midſt of the high wayes, where likewiſe are certaine ranges, and houſes, for the vſes before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, ſo called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thouſand, beſides a great number of Indians. This city ſtandeth in very plaine fields, hauing neere adioyning to it many ſumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thouſand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thouſand hanneges yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reaſon why he contenteth himſelfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, becauſe they were the occaſion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the ſame time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The gouernour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them The Alcalde mayór, who adminiſtreth chiefeſt cauſes of iuſtice both vnto the Chriſtians and Indians, referring ſmaller and lighter vices, as drunkenneſſe and ſuch like, to the iudgement and diſcretion of ſuch of the Indians as are choſen euery yeere to rule amongſt them, called by the name of Alcaldes. Theſe Indians from foureteene yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the king for their yeerely tribute one ounce of ſiluer, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelue reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the reſt, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is diſtant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & foureteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, conſiſting of more then ſixty thouſand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not aboue twelue Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acaſſingo, of aboue fifty thouſand Indians, and about eight or twelue Spanyards, which ſtandeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the Eaſt ſide. There are beſides theſe, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all theſe in times paſt belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from theſe cities they bring moſt of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The diſtance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greateſt fame in all the Indies, hauing goodly and coſtly houſes in it, builded all of lime and ſtone, and ſeuen ſtreets in length, and ſeuen in breadth, with riuers running thorow euery ſecond ſtreet, by which they bring their prouiſion in canoas. It is ſituated at the foot of certaine hilles, which conteine in compaſſe by eſtimation aboue twenty leagues, compaſſing the ſayd city on the one ſide, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other ſide. Upon which lake there are built many notable and ſumptuous cities, as the city of Teſcuco, where the Spanyards built ſixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where alſo Fernando Cortes made his abode fiue or ſix moneths in curing of the ſickneſſe of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell in this city about ſixty thouſand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the ſayd Fernando built the fineſt church that euer was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S.Peters.

His voyage from Mexico to Nueua Biſcaia.

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being deſirous to ſee further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of California, in the which was diſcouered a certeine countrey, by a Biſcaine, whoſe name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biſcay, where I ſolde my merchandiſe for exchange of ſiluer, for there were there certaine rich mines diſcouered by the aforeſayd Biſkaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage ſomewhat toward the Southweſt, to certaine mines, called Tamaſcaltepec, and ſo trauelled forward the ſpace of twenty dayes thorow deſert places vnhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which ioyneth to the prouince of New Biſcay. In all theſe places the Indians for the moſt part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: they vſe to eate vp ſuch Chriſtians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another prouince named Xaliſco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arriue alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ſhips that come out of the South ſea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandiſe aſhore. The moſt part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

New Biſcay.

The ſiluer mines of Tamaſcaltepec.

The valley of S. Bartholomew.

The hauen where yͤ ſhips of China & the Philippinas arriue.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the firſt yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indies) I vndertooke another voyage towards the prouince of Sonſonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried diuers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Chriſtians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50 Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this prouince pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South ſea, called Aguatulco, in the which there dwell not aboue three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arriued in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I loſt with his being there aboue a thouſand duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Franciſco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spaniſh merchants that then traded in the South ſea: for from this port they vſe to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which ſtandeth vpon certaine very high hilles in the prouince of Sapotecas, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace; for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpoſe hee beſtoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that prouince. From hence I went to a city called Tecoantepec, which is the fartheſt towne to the Eaſtward in all Noua Hiſpania, which ſometime did belong to the Marques de Valle, and becauſe it is a very fit port, ſtanding in the South ſea, the king of Spaine, vpon a rebellion made by the ſayd Marques againſt him, tooke it from him, and doth now poſſeſſe it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I ſaw a piece of ordinance of braſſe, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ſhip called the Ieſus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. John de Vllua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land ouer mighty mountaines to the ſayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leauing Tecoantepec, I went ſtill along by the South ſea about 150 leagues in the deſolate prouince of Soconuſco, in which prouince there groweth cacao, which the Chriſtians cary from thence into Noua Hiſpania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giuing him foure hundred cargas, and euery carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this prouince thorowout, there dwell not twenty Chriſtians. I trauelled thorow another prouince called Suchetepec; and thence to the prouince of Guaſacapan: in both which prouinces are very few people, the biggeſt towne therein hauing not aboue two hundred Indians. The chiefeſt merchandiſe there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spanyards: and here the king hath his gouernors, & councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for iuſtice. This city ſtandeth from the coaſt of the South ſea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reaſon of the golde that they fetch out of the coaſt of Veragua. From this city to the Eaſtward 60 leagues lieth the prouince Sonſonate, where I ſolde the merchandize I caried out of Noua Hiſpania. The chiefeſt city of this prouince is called S. Saluador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coaſt of the South ſea, and hath a port lying by the ſea coaſt, called Acaxutla, where the ſhips arriue with the merchandize they bring from Noua Hiſpania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threeſcore Spanyards. From Sonſonate I trauelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the ſhipping that trauell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from

Guaxaca.

Aguatulco.

Nixapa.

Sapotecas.

Tecoantepec.

Soconuſco.

Suchetepec.

Guaſacapan.

Guatimala.

Sonſonate.

San Saluador.

Acaxutla.

Nicoia a port where yͤ ſhips which goe to the Philippinas are builded.

thence

Puetro de Caualloſ a rich place.

The deſcription of Hauana at large.

The ſmal force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

thence to Coſta rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durſt not paſſe by land, ſo that here in a towne called S. Saluador I beſtowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the port of Cauallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one ſide of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other ſtrength, hauing in it houſes of ſtraw: at which towne the Spanyards vſe yeerely in the moneth of Auguſt to vnlade foure ſhips which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandiſe, and receiue in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandiſe called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of ſuch value as that of Noua Hiſpania) and ſiluer of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salſa perilla, the beſt in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their courſe by the Iſland of Iamaica, in which Iſland there dwell on the Weſt ſide of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the vttermoſt part of the Weſtward of the Iſland of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefeſt port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greateſt importance: for all the ſhips, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Iamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arriue there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the moſt part of their lading: here they meet from all the foreſayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is ſo narrow, that there can ſcarſe come in two ſhips together, although it be aboue ſixe fadome deepe in the narroweſt place of it. In the North ſide of the comming in there ſtandeth a tower, in which there watcheth euery day a man to deſcrie the ſailes of ſhips which hee can ſee on the ſea; and as many as he diſcouereth, ſo many banners he ſetteth vpon the tower, that the people of the towne (which ſtandeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may vnderſtand thereof. Vnder this tower there lieth a ſandy ſhore, where men may eaſily go aland; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters ſide, which eaſily with ſmall ſtore of ordinance ſubdueth the towne and port. The port within is ſo large that there may eaſily ride a thouſand ſaile of ſhips without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Hauana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threeſcore ſouldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine caſtle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelue pieces of ſmall ordinance, and is compaſſed round with a ſmall ditch, wherethorow at their pleaſure they may let in the ſea. About two leagues from Hauana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, ſituate on the North ſide of the Iſland. The chiefeſt city of this Iſland of Cuba (which is aboue 200 leagues in length) is alſo called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a biſhop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne ſtandeth on the South ſide of the Iſland about 100 leagues from Hauana. All the trade of this Iſland is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foſter a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into ſmall pieces, they dry in the Sun, and ſo make it prouiſion for the ſhips which come for Spaine.

Nombre de Dios. Panama.

Potoſſi. Cuſco. Paita.

Hauing remained in this Iſland two moneths, I tooke ſhipping in a frigat, and went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which ſtandeth vpon the South ſea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues diſtance: from which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which riuer they cary their goods, and diſimbarke them at the ſayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conueyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe imbarke them in certeine ſmall ſhippes in the South ſea for all the coaſt of Peru. In one of theſe ſhips I went to Potoſſi, and from thence by land to Cuſco, and from thence to Paita.

Vera Paz.

Here I remained the ſpace of ſeuen moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arriued in the prouince of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I trauelled by land to a prouince called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North ſea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not paſſe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the prouince of Soconuſco, lying by the South ſea, are drowned with the raine that falleth aboue in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to September: which ſeaſon for that cauſe they call their Winter. From this prouince I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefeſt city is alſo called after that name, where there dwelleth a biſhop and about forty Spanyards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North ſea, there is a prouince called La Cãdona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not ſubdue, for that they haue townes and forts in a great lake of water aboue in the ſayd mountaines: the moſt part of them goe naked, and ſome weare mantles of cotton wooll. Diſtant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another prouince called the prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefeſt city is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a biſhop and about an hundred Spanyards. In this countrey there is great ſtore of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Chriſtians buy and cary into Noua Hiſpania. The people of this prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the fineſt gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I trauelled ſtill thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in Engliſh ſignifieth The hill of winde: for that they ſay, it is the higheſt hill that euer was diſcouered: for from the top of it may be diſcouered both the North and the South ſeas; and it is in height ſuppoſed to be nine leagues. They which trauell ouer it, lie alwayes at the foot of it ouer night, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the top of it before the Sunne riſe the next day, becauſe the winde bloweth with ſuch force afterwards, that it is impoſſible for any man to goe vp: from the foot of this hill to Tecoantepec, the firſt towne of Noua Hiſpania, are about fifteene leagues. And ſo from hence I iourneyed to Mexico.

Chiapa 300 leagues from Mexico.

Ecatepec an hill nine leagues high.

Tecoantepec.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coaſt of the North ſea, and within three dayes iourney we entred a city called Meſtitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thouſand. This city ſtandeth vpon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holeſome and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of theſe hilles are all ſet with fruits, and trees of diuers kindes, and moſt pleaſant. In euery towne as we paſſed thorow, the Indians preſented vs with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thouſand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Auguſtine, who haue there a Monaſtery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monaſtery of friers of the ſame Order: there dwell in this towne about twelue Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a prouince called Guaſtecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The firſt towne we came vnto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of ſtature, hauing all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women vſe to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the moſt part naked. In thoſe countreys they take neither golde nor ſiluer for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly eſteeme, and vſe it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne vpon the ſea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Chriſtians, of which number whileſt wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it ſtandeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mighty great riuer; and were it not for a ſand that lieth at the mouth of it, ſhips of fiue hundreth tunne might goe vp into it aboue three ſcore leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times paſt had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reaſon that the Indians there deſtroyed the Chriſtians, it lieth in a maner waſte, conteining in it not aboue tenne Chriſtians with a prieſt. In this towne I fell ſicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, hauing no other ſuſtenance then fruit and water, which water I ſent for aboue ſixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, retaining in my company onely a ſlaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the laſt day in Eaſter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake ſtate, by reaſon of the vnholeſomeneſſe of the place. Notwithſtanding my weakeneſſe, I being ſet on an horſe, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we paſſed ouer the riuer in a canoa; and being on the other ſide, I went my ſelfe before alone: and by reaſon there met many wayes traled by the wilde beaſts, I loſt my way, and ſo trauelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length fell

His iourney to Panuco.

Meſtitlan.

Clanchinoltepec.

Guaxutla.

Guaſtecan.

Tancuylabo.

Salt a principall merchandize.

Tampice a port towne.

Panuco.

Puerto de Cauallos a rich place.

The deſcription of Hauana at large.

The ſmal force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

thence to Coſta rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durſt not paſſe by land, ſo that here in a towne called S. Saluador I beſtowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the port of Cauallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one ſide of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other ſtrength, hauing in it houſes of ſtraw: at which towne the Spanyards vſe yeerely in the moneth of Auguſt to vnlade foure ſhips which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandiſe, and receiue in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandiſe called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of ſuch value as that of Noua Hiſpania) and ſiluer of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salſa perilla, the beſt in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their courſe by the Iſland of Iamaica, in which Iſland there dwell on the Weſt ſide of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the vttermoſt part of the Weſtward of the Iſland of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefeſt port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greateſt importance: for all the ſhips, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Iamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arriue there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the moſt part of their lading: here they meet from all the foreſayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is ſo narrow, that there can ſcarſe come in two ſhips together, although it be aboue ſixe fadome deepe in the narroweſt place of it. In the North ſide of the comming in there ſtandeth a tower, in which there watcheth euery day a man to deſcrie the ſailes of ſhips which hee can ſee on the ſea; and as many as he diſcouereth, ſo many banners he ſetteth vpon the tower, that the people of the towne (which ſtandeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may vnderſtand thereof. Vnder this tower there lieth a ſandy ſhore, where men may eaſily go aland; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters ſide, which eaſily with ſmall ſtore of ordinance ſubdueth the towne and port. The port within is ſo large that there may eaſily ride a thouſand ſaile of ſhips without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Hauana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threeſcore ſouldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine caſtle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelue pieces of ſmall ordinance, and is compaſſed round with a ſmall ditch, wherethorow at their pleaſure they may let in the ſea. About two leagues from Hauana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, ſituate on the North ſide of the Iſland. The chiefeſt city of this Iſland of Cuba (which is aboue 200 leagues in length) is alſo called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a biſhop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne ſtandeth on the South ſide of the Iſland about 100 leagues from Hauana. All the trade of this Iſland is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foſter a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into ſmall pieces, they dry in the Sun, and ſo make it prouiſion for the ſhips which come for Spaine.

Nombre de Dios.
Panama.

Potoſſi.
Cuſco.
Paita.

Hauing remained in this Iſland two moneths, I tooke ſhipping in a frigat, and went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which ſtandeth vpon the South ſea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues diſtance: from which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which riuer they cary their goods, and diſimbarke them at the ſayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conueyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe imbarke them in certeine ſmall ſhippes in the South ſea for all the coaſt of Peru. In one of theſe ſhips I went to Potoſſi, and from thence by land to Cuſco, and from thence to Paita.

Vera Paz.

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Chiapa 300 leagues from Mexico.

Ecatepec an hill nine leagues high.

Tecoantepec.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coaſt of the North ſea, and within three dayes iourney we entred a city called Meſtitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thouſand. This city ſtandeth vpon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holeſome and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of theſe hilles are all ſet with fruits, and trees of diuers kindes, and moſt pleaſant. In euery towne as we paſſed thorow, the Indians preſented vs with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thouſand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Auguſtine, who haue there a Monaſtery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monaſtery of friers of the ſame Order: there dwell in this towne about twelue Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a prouince called Guaſtecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The firſt towne we came vnto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of ſtature, hauing all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women vſe to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the moſt part naked. In thoſe countreys they take neither golde nor ſiluer for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly eſteeme, and vſe it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne vpon the ſea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Chriſtians, of which number whileſt wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it ſtandeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mighty great riuer; and were it not for a ſand that lieth at the mouth of it, ſhips of fiue hundred tunne might goe vp into it aboue three ſcore leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times paſt had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reaſon that the Indians there deſtroyed the Chriſtians, it lieth in a maner waſte, conteining in it not aboue tenne Chriſtians with a prieſt. In this towne I fell ſicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, hauing no other ſuſtenance then fruit and water, which water I ſent for aboue ſixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, reteining in my company onely a ſlaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the laſt day in Eaſter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake ſtate, by reaſon of the vnholeſomeneſſe of the place. Notwithſtanding my weakeneſſe, I being ſet on an horſe, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we paſſed ouer the riuer in a canoa; and being on the other ſide, I went my ſelfe before alone: and by reaſon there met many wayes traled by the wilde beaſts, I loſt my way, and ſo trauelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length

fell

His iourney to Panuco.

Meſtitlan.

Clanchinoltepec.

Guaxutla.

Guaſtecan.

Tancuylabo.

Salt a principall merchandize.

Tampice a port towne.

Panuco.

fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of ſtraw; who ſeeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and ſpake vnto mee in their language, which I vnderſtood not: and ſo I made ſignes vnto them to helpe mee from my horſe; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me vnder one of their cottages, and layed me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderſtand them, they brought vnto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or ſixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aſke me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (ſayth ſhe) doeſt thou not know Chriſtian, how that theſe people will kill and eat thee? To whom I anſwered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, ſaying, thou mayeſt thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou haſt the pocks: otherwiſe they would eate thee. So I preſented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he eſteemed aboue any treaſure: for for wine they will ſell their wiues and children. Afterwards the wench aſked me what I would haue, and whether I would eat any thing. I anſwered that I deſired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and ſhee brought me a great Venice glaſſe, gilded, full of water. And maruelling at the glaſſe, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde me that the Caſique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne diſtant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Chriſtians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Auguſtine, which this Caſique with his people on a night ſlew; and burning the friers monaſterie, among other things reſerued this glaſſe: and from thence alſo brought me. Hauing now bene conuerſant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aſke me if I would goe my way. I anſwered her, that I deſired nothing els. So the Caſique cauſed two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the ſpace of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a ſigne vnto me, they ſignified that in ſhort time I ſhould come to a towne where Chriſtians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, ſtanding in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Chriſtians that dwelt therein, were not aboue foure or fiue and twenty, vnto which the king of Spaine giueth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys ſubiect vnto him. Heere the Chriſtians haue their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforeſayd, I found my company which I had loſt before, who made no other account of me but that I had beene ſlaine: and the Chriſtians there likewiſe maruelled to heare that I came from thoſe kinde of Indians aliue, which was a thing neuer ſeene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Chriſtian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and ſo are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eighteene dayes, till I recouered my health, and in the meane ſpace there came one Don Franciſco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had ſent for captaine generall, to open and diſcouer a certeine way from the ſea ſide to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to tranſport their merchandize by that way, leauing the way by Mexico, which is ſeuen or eight weeks trauell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the reſt of his ſouldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and fiue hundred Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this prouince called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the riuer de las Palmas, which is of great bigneſſe, parting the kingdome of Noua Hiſpania and Florida: and going ſtill along by this riuer the ſpace of three dayes, ſeeking paſſage to paſſe ouer; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balſa or raft, which when we had made, we ſate on it, the Indians ſwimming in the water, and thruſting it before them to the other ſide. Within thirty dayes after, trauelling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richeſt mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch moſt ſiluer: at which mines there dwelt aboue three hundred Chriſtians: and there our captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the valley of S.Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo nouo; and from that place to the prouince of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefeſt city of that place is called, where there dwelles a biſhop, and aboue an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spaniſh fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great ſtore of cattell. It lieth 60 leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Shallapa.

Sant Iago de los valles.

Mighty mules.

Don Henrico Manriques viceroy of Mexico.

Rio de las Palmas.

The mines of Sacatecas.

The valley of S.Michael.

Pueblo nueuo,

Mechuacan.

Copper mines

Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonſonate by Vera cruz, and ſo to Rio Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campeche, which lieth on the South ſide of the bay of

Campeche.

of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a biſhop and almoſt 100 Spanyards. The Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ſhip of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the riuer of Tabaſco, by which riuer this city of Merida ſtandeth. The chiefeſt merchandize which they lade there in ſmall frigats, is a certeine wood called campeche, (wherewith they vſe to die) as alſo hides and annile. By this there lieth the prouince of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North ſea coaſt, where there is alſo another biſhop, and a towne likewiſe named Iucatan, where there dwell a few Spanyards. They haue no force at all in all this coaſt to defend themſelues withall, ſaue only that the land is low, and there is no port to receiue any ſhipping, vnleſſe they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, waxe, cacao, hony, and alſo mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great ſtore, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the ſame alſo they pay their tribute to the king.

Merida.

Rio de Tabaſco.

Iucatan.

The king hath tribute brought him yeerly out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and ſiluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is ſubiect vnto him (excepting thoſe which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of thoſe Spanyards, who firſt conquered the land, to whom the king gaue and granted the gouernment of the cities and townes ſubdued for three liues) twelue reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (fiue of them making a quarter of Engliſh meaſure) and of euery widow woman he hath ſixe reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And ſo if any Indian haue twenty children in his houſe, he payeth for euery one of them, being aboue fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the gouernour of euery prouince and city, is ſold in Mexico by the kings gouernours there euery yeere; ſo that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treaſurie there, and ſo is yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and ſiluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes ſet on it; for otherwiſe it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of ſiluer, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not hauing the kings ſeale vpon it, is worth three and forty reals of plate, and ſo it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treaſure houſe, where his ſeale is ſet vpon it; and ſo it is raiſed in value thereby to threeſcore and foure reals of plate: and ſo the king hath for his cuſtome of euery marke of plate one and twentie reals.

The greatneſſe of the king of Spaines tribute out of the Weſt Indies.

The quinto.

The marke of ſiluer is 64 reals of plate.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned, he hath receiued both of the Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and alſo of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of euery one being aboue twelue yeeres of age, foure reals of euery bull. Alſo they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for ſuch as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perſwaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing foure reals of plate for a Maſſe, they would deliuer their ſoules out of purgatory. Of the Chriſtians likewiſe dwelling there he hath fourteene reals for euery bull: and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Chriſtians beſides the former, which ſerue for pardoning all ſuch faults wherein they haue treſpaſſed either againſt the king, by keeping backe his cuſtomes, or one againſt another by any other iniury; for euery hundred crownes whereof a mans conſcience doth accuſe him that he hath deceiued the king or any other, he muſt giue ten for a bull, and ſo after that rate for euery hundred which he hath any way ſtollen, and ſo is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth vnto his treaſury yeerely aboue three millions of gold, as I haue bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spanyards and Indians do refuſe to take the buls; for that they perceiue he doth make a yeerely cuſtome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his houſeholde, (whereas in former time euery Indian vſed to take one for euery perſon in his houſe) and teareth the ſame into ſmall pieces, and giueth to euery one of his houſeholde a little piece, ſaying thus, they need now no more, ſeeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had aboue ten thouſand yeres pardon. Theſe pieces they ſticke vp in the wall of the houſes where they lie. Both the Chriſtians & Indians are weary with theſe infinite taxes and cuſtomes, which of late he hath impoſed vpon them, more then in the yeeres before: ſo as the people of both ſorts did rebell twiſe in the time that I was among them, and would haue ſet vp another king of themſelues: for which cauſe the king hath commanded vpon paine of death, that they ſhould not plant either wine or oile there, but ſhould alwayes ſtand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is ſo fertile a countrey.

The reuenue of the kings buls and pardons came yeerly to three millions.

Rebellions in Noua Hiſpania by too great exactions.

The reaſons which mooue the kings of Spaine to forbid forren traffike in the Weſt Indies.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in ſubiection, and to his owne vſe, hath ſtreightly prouided by lawe, vpon paine of death, and loſſe of goods, that none of theſe countreys ſhould traffique with any other nation, although the people themſelues doe much now deſire to trade with any other then with them, and would vndoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill enſuing thereupon.

Magueis.

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hiſpania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, hony, and blacke ſugar, and of the leaues of it dried they make hempe, ropes, ſhooes which they vſe, and tiles for their houſes: and at the ende of euery leafe there groweth a ſharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vſe to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

Thus to make an end, I haue heere ſet downe the ſumme of all the chiefeſt things that I haue obſerued and noted in my ſeuenteene yeres trauell in thoſe parts.

A relation of the commodities of *Noua Hiſpania*, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by *Henry Hawks* merchant, which liued fiue yeeres in the ſayd countrey, and drew the ſame at the requeſt of M. *Richard Hakluyt* Eſquire of *Eiton* in the county of *Hereford*, 1572.

S. Iohn de Vllua.

SAint Iohn de Vllua is an Iſland not high aboue the water, where as now the Spanyards vpon M. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a ſtrong fort. In this place all the ſhips that come out of Spaine with goods for theſe parts, do vnlade: for they haue none other port ſo good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanels, and the beſt of all is the Northermoſt, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery ſide of the chanels there are many ſmall rocks as big as a ſmall barrell: they wil make men ſtand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Iſland there by, called The Iſland of ſacrifices, where as the Spanyards did in times paſt vnlade their goods: and for that, they ſay, there are vpon it ſpirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In theſe places the North wind hath ſo great dominion, that oftentimes it deſtroyeth many ſhips and barks. This place is giuen to great ſickneſſe. Theſe Iſlands ſtand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the ſame is great plenty of fiſh.

Spirits.

Vera Cruz.

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer; it lieth Northweſt from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with ſmall veſſels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the ſaid towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, ſiluer, cochinilla, hides, and all other things that the ſhippes cary into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they cary them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places ſo farre within the countrey, that ſome of them are 700 miles off, and ſome more, and ſome leſſe, all vpon horſes, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within theſe twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not ſo now in theſe dayes, God be thanked.

Muſquito.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diſeaſes, by reaſon of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a muſquito, which biteth both men and women in their ſleepe; and aſſoone as they are bitten, incontinently the fleſh ſwelleth as though they had bene bitten with ſome venimous worme. And this muſquito or gnat doth moſt follow ſuch as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

Popiniaps.
Monkeys.

This towne is ſituated vpon the riuer aforeſayd, and compaſſed with woods of diuers maners and ſorts, and many fruits, as orenges and limons, guiaues, and diuers others, and birds in them, popiniayes both ſmall and great, and ſome of them as big as a rauen, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are alſo many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and ſmall munkeys, maruellous proper.

Wheat twiſe in a yeere.

This hote or ſicke countrey continueth fiue and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the fiue and forty miles being paſſed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with riuers which they turne in vpon it. And they gather their Wheat twiſe a yere. And if they ſhould not water the ground where as their corne is ſowen, the country is ſo hote it would burne all.

Tlaxcalla a free city.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it aboue 16000 houſholds. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for theſe were the occaſion that Mexico was woonne in ſo ſhort time, and with ſo little loſſe of men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

Mexico.

Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thouſand houſeholds, whereof there are not paſt fiue or ſixe thouſand houſes of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which liue vnder the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city ſtately buildings, and many monaſteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards haue made. And the building of the Indians is ſomewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of ſmall chambers, with very ſmall windowes, which is not ſo comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city ſtandeth in the midſt of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the moſt part of the ſtreets, and there come ſmall boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things neceſſary, as wood, and coales, and graſſe for their horſes, ſtones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is ſubiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes caſt downe houſes, and kil people. This city is very well prouided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, fleſh and fiſh, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city euery weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aſwell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in theſe Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be inuented, to ſell, and in eſpeciall, things of the countrey. The one of theſe Faires is vpon the Munday, which is called S.Hypolitos faire, and S.Iames his faire is vpon the Thurſday, and vpon Saturday is S.Iohns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings gouernour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of iuſtice, yet this is aboue all: ſo that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it muſt be for a certeine ſumme: and if it be vnder that ſumme, then there is no appellation from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the city ſtandeth in: but there was neuer any place found whither it goeth out.

A way to drowne Mexico.

The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within theſe three yeeres they would haue practiſed the ſame: but they which ſhould haue bene the doers of it were hanged: and euer ſince the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare leaſt at ſome time they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, maruellous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this city are maruellous vicious; and in like maner the women are diſhoneſt of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

Crocodiles.

There are neere about this city of Mexico many riuers and ſtanding waters, which haue in them a monſtrous kinde of fiſh, which is maruellous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is woont to ſleepe vpon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beaſt and wake or diſquiet him, he ſpeedeth well if he get from him. He is like vnto a ſerpent, ſauing that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

Nauigation to China from Puerto de Acapulco.

There is Weſt out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South ſea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are ſhippes which they haue ordinarily for the nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This port is threeſcore leagues from Mexico.

The North-weſt ſtreight.

There is another port towne which is called Culiacan, on the South ſea, which lieth Weſt and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the ſame: and there the Spanyards made two ſhips to goe ſeeke the ſtreight or gulfe, which, as they ſay, is betweene the New found-land and Groenland; and they call it the Engliſhmens ſtreight: which as yet was neuer fully found. They ſay, that ſtreight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be maruellous rich.

The more Northward, the richer ſiluer mines.

Toward the North from Mexico there are great ſtore of ſiluer mines. There is greater quantitie of ſiluer found in theſe mines toward the North, then there is in any other parts: and as the moſt men of experience ſayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. Theſe mines are commonly vpon great hilles and ſtony ground, maruellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Painting earth.

Out of ſome of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of diuers colours, wherewith they paint themſelues in times of their dances, and other paſtimes which they vſe.

Golde mines.

In this countrey of Noua Hiſpania there are alſo mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And nowe in theſe dayes there is not ſo much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers, and great ſtore of fiſh in them, not like vnto our kindes of fiſh. And there are maruellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be ſeene, of diuers ſorts, and eſpecially firre trees, that may maſt any ſhippe that goeth vpon the ſea, okes and pineapples, and

Meſquiquez.

another tree which they call Meſquiquez : it beareth a fruit like vnto a peaſcod, maruellous ſweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in ſtead of bread.

Seuen cities by witchcraft not found of the ſeekers.

The Spanyards haue notice of ſeuen cities which old men of the Indians ſhew them ſhould lie towards the Northweſt from Mexico. They haue vſed and vſe dayly much diligence in ſeeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They ſay that the witchcraft of the Indians is ſuch, that when they come by theſe townes they caſt a miſt vpon them, ſo that they cannot ſee them.

Pedro Morales & Nicolas Burgignon write the like of Copalla.

They haue vnderſtanding of another city which they call Copalla : and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they haue vſed much labour and diligence in the ſeeking of it : they haue found the lake on which it ſhould ſtand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiouſly, and could not finde nor ſee any man nor the towne, which to their vnderſtanding ſhould ſtand on the ſame water, or very neere the ſame.

The ſtrange oxen of Cibola.

There is a great number of beaſts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, ſauing that they haue long haire like a lion, and ſhort hornes, and they haue vpon their ſhoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the reſt of their body. They are maruellous wild and ſwift in running. They call them the beaſts or kine of Cibola.

Cibola abandoned.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the ſame, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of ſtone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire ſtones vpon the graues. And the captaine would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to breake vp any part of theſe graues, ſaying, he would come another time to do it.

A great riuer nere Cibola.

They aſked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone : and they made anſwere, they were gone downe a riuer, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

This captaine lacking things neceſſary for himſelfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treaſure according to his expectation : neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the gouernour, becauſe he had not gone forwards, and ſeene the end of that riuer.

Water congealed to ſalt.

They haue in the countrey, farre from the ſea ſide, ſtanding waters, which are ſalt : and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into ſalt, which ſalt is all taken for the kings vſe and profit.

Dogs of India deſcribed.

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run faſt : their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with ſharpe noſes.

Cacao a fruit currant as money.

In certeine prouinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconuſco, there is growing great ſtore of cacao, which is a berry like vnto an almond : it is the beſt merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any fleſh, fiſh, bread or cheeſe, or other things.

Fruits.

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, ſapotes, guiaues, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, orenges, walnuts very ſmall and hard, with litle meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and alſo wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very ſmall, quinſes, peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very ſmall, and no peares : but there are melons and calabaças or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and alſo of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not ſo ſweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is ; and the tree ſerueth for many things, as the leaues make thred to ſowe any kinde of bags, and are good to couer and thatch houſes, and for diuers other things.

Hot ſprings.

They haue in diuers places of the countrey many hote ſprings of water : as aboue all other, I haue ſeene one in the prouince of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a ſpring which hath much water, & it is ſo hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be caſt into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well ſodden as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a day. I haue ſeene halfe a ſheepe caſt in, and immediatly it hath bene ſodden, and I haue eaten part of it.

Hares and conies.

There are many hares, and ſome conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quailes.

Sea fiſh.

They haue great ſtore of fiſh in the South ſea, and many oiſters, and very great. The people do open the oiſters, and take out the meat of them and dry it as they do any other kinde of fiſh, and keepe them all the yeere : and when the times ſerue, they ſend them abroad into the countrey to ſell, as all other fiſh. They haue no ſalmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

Burning mountaines.

There are in the countrey mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and ſnow vpon them: they commonly burne; and twiſe euery day they caſt out much ſmoke and aſhes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

Manna.

There is among the wilde people much manna. I haue gathered of the ſame, and haue eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries ſend their ſeruants at certeine times, to gather of the ſame for purgations, and other vſes.

Wilde hogs, lions, and tigres.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harme to men that trauell in the wilderneſſe.

Mines diſcouered, not found againe.

The authour fiue yeeres in Nueua Eſpanna.

In this countrey, not long ſince, there were two poore men that found a maruellous rich mine; and when theſe men went to make a regiſter of the ſame (according to the law and cuſtome) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for ſuch men as they were: and violently tooke the ſayd mine for the king; and gaue no part thereof vnto the two poore men. And within certaine dayes the kings officers reſorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mighty hilles were come together; ſo they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was fiue yerees, there was a poore ſhepheard, who keeping his ſheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-ſiluer; and he went in like maner to manifeſt the ſame, as the cuſtome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the ſhepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-ſiluer, or part thereof, they could neuer finde it againe. So theſe things haue bene declared vnto the king, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and ſuch like, ſhall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great maruels.

Sugar & conſerues.

There is great abundance of ſugar here, & they make diuers conſerues, & very good, and ſend them into Peru, where as they ſell them maruellous well, becauſe they make none in thoſe parts.

Deſcription of the Indians perſon and maners.

The people of the countrey are of a good ſtature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat noſed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine and alſo a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they vſe to put into the ſame. They call the ſame wine Pulco. They are ſoone drunke, and giuen to much beaſtlineſſe, and void of all goodneſſe. In their drunkenneſſe they vſe and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleaſures and paſtimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, aſwell he that ſelleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the ſame. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not ſufficient for the Weſt Indies onely.

The people of Nueua Eſpanna great cowards.

They are of much ſimplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They vſe diuers times to talke with the diuell, to whom they do certeine ſacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the ſame, and I haue ſeene them moſt cruelly puniſhed for that offence.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and ſciences, which for the moſt part they learned ſince the comming of the Spanyards: I ſay all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The fineneſſe and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, ſhould giue themſelues to ſo fine an arte as this is. They are goldſmiths, blacke ſmiths; and copperſmiths, carpenters, maſons, ſhoomakers, tailers, ſadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of ſciences: and they will do worke ſo good cheape, that poore yoong men that goe out of Spaine to get their liuing, are not ſet on worke: which is the occaſion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with leſſe then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

The Indians ignorance frō whence they came.

They ſay, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they giue any reaſon of the flood, nor frō whence they came. And when the Spanyards came firſt among them, they did certeine ſacrifice to an image made in ſtone, of their owne inuention. The ſtone was ſet vpon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did ſacrifice, certeine olde men, and yoong children; and onely beleeued in the Sunne and the Moone, ſaying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They haue in theſe parts great ſtore of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it ſerueth for ſhirts & ſmocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare vpon their bodies: and the Spanyards vſe it to all ſuch purpoſes, eſpecially ſuch as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all

The Sun and Moone honored.

Store of cottō.

maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I ſay linnen cloth, would be ſolde out of all meaſure.

The wilde Indians.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the ſkinne of a deere before their priuities, and nothing els vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they haue need to eat. They are big men, and likewiſe the women. They ſhoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a ſharpe flint ſtone in the end of the ſame; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geeſe, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and ſnakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eat. They liue very long: for I haue ſeene men that haue beene an hundred yeres of age. They haue but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

Friers in reuerence.

The Indians haue the friers in great reuerence: the occaſion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was ſo ordeined by Charles the emperor: which is the occaſion that now there is not ſo much gold and ſiluer comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were ſlaues. For when they were in bondage they could not chuſe but doe their taſke euery day, and bring their maſters ſo much metall out of their mines: but now they muſt be well payed, and much intreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or cuſtome.

Copper mines

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they ſpend in the countrey as much as ſerueth their turnes. There is ſome golde in it, but not ſo much as will pay the coſts of the fining. The quantity of it is ſuch, and the mines are ſo farre from the ſea, that it will not be worth the fraight to cary it into Spaine. On the other ſide, the kings officers will giue no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the countrey; ſo that with it they couer churches, and other religious houſes: wherefore they ſhall not need any of our lead, as they haue had need thereof in times paſt.

The pompe of owners of mines.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is maruellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wiues is more to be compared to the apparell of noble perſons then otherwiſe. If their wiues goe out of their houſes, as vnto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great maieſty, and with as many men and maids as though ſhe were the wife of ſome noble man. I will aſſure you, I haue ſeene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open houſe: who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and ſupper. They are princes in keeping of their houſes, and bountifull in all maner of things.

Things neceſſary to mines of ſiluer and golde.

A good owner of mines muſt haue at the leaſt an hundred ſlaues to cary and to ſtampe his metals; he muſt haue many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he muſt haue milles to ſtampe his metals; he muſt haue many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare; he muſt haue much quicke-ſiluer, and a maruellous quantity of ſalt-brine for the metals; and he muſt be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-ſiluer, it is a new inuention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the ſame is very coſtly: for there is neuer a hundred of quick-ſiluer but coſteth at the leaſt threeſcore pounds ſterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of leſſe value: and the occaſion is, the few Indians that men haue to labour their mines.

The plenty of cattell.

There is in New Spaine a maruellous increaſe of cattel, which dayly do increaſe, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great ſteere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for ſixteene ſhillings; and ſome one man hath 20000 head of cattel of his owne. They ſell the hides vnto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well ſpared. They ſpend many in the countrey in ſhooes and boots, and in the mines: and as the countrey is great, ſo is the increaſe of the cattell woonderfull. In the Iſland of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beaſts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeiſes: and ſo they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much ſugar, and cana fiſtula, which dayly they ſend into Spaine. They haue great increaſe of ſheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increaſe them. They haue much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as ſerueth the countrey, for the common people, and ſend much cloth into Peru. I haue ſeene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene ſolde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almoſt foure pounds Engliſh, and the vare is leſſe then our yard. They haue woad growing in the countrey, and alum, and braſill, and diuers other things to die withall, ſo that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little ſet by in theſe parts, vnleſſe it be ſome fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure ſhillings euery roue, which is fiue & twenty pounds: and in ſome places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth ſerue but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

Sheepe.
Wooll.
Cloth.

Woad.
Alum.
Braſill.

They make hats, as many as doe ſerue the Countrey, very fine and good, and ſell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner ſend them into Peru.

Many people are ſet on worke both in the one and in the other: they ſpin their wooll as we doe, and in ſteed of oyle, they haue hogs greaſe: they twiſt not their threed ſo much as wee doe, neither worke ſo fine a threed. They make no kerſies, but they make much cloth, which is courſe, and ſell it for leſſe then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

Hogs greaſe in ſtead of oile.

They haue much ſilke, and make all maner of ſorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the ſilkes of Spaine, ſauing that the colours are not ſo perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

Silks of ſundry ſorts.

They haue many horſes, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Iennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

Horſes. Mules. Iennets.

There is raine vſually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midſt of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reaſon of the ſaid waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in theſe hot ſeaſons, their Maiz, which is the greateſt part of their ſuſtenance, would be deſtroyed. This Maiz is the greateſt maintenance which the Indian hath, and alſo all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horſes and mules which labour, cannot be without the ſame. This graine is ſubſtantiall, and increaſeth much blood. If the Miners ſhould bee without it, they coulde not labour their Mines: for all their ſeruants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in ſome places of England.

Maiz graine for man and beaſt, eaten in cakes.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. ſhillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. ſhillings more vnto the King euery yeere. This is payd in all Noua Hiſpania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, ſauing the Citie of Tlaſcalla, which was made free, becauſe the citizens thereof were the occaſion that Cortes tooke Mexico in ſo little a time. And although at the firſt they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to vſurpe vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne coſtes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficial vnto him, and as great coſt vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

An Hanega is a buſhel and an halfe.

The ſhips which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there diſcharge the ſaid goods: and from thence they be caried ouer the necke of a land, vnto a port towne in the South ſea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues diſtant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ſhip their goods againe, and ſo from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They haue ſeldome foule weather, and fewe ſhips are loſt in the South ſea. Foure yeeres paſt, to wit 1568. there was a ſhip made out of Peru, to ſeek Salomons Iſlands, and they came ſomewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Iſland with many blacke people, in ſuch number that the Spaniards durſt not go on land among them. And becauſe they had bene long vpon the voyage, their people were very weake, and ſo went not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hiſpania, in a port called Puerto de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe vnto Peru, whereas they were euil entreated, becauſe they had not knowen more of the ſame Iſland.

Salomons Iſlands ſought, and found in the South ſea 1568.

They haue in this port of Nauidad ordinarily their ſhips, which goe to the Iſlands of China, which are certaine Iſlands which they haue found within theſe 7. yeres. They haue brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and diſhes of earth, and cups of the ſame, ſo fine, that euery man that may haue a piece of them, will giue the weight of ſiluer for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doues egge from thence, & a ſtone, for which the Viceroy would haue giuen 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, moſt excellent. There are many of theſe ylands, and the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet: *for the Portugals diſturbe them much, and combate with them euery day, ſaying, it is part of their conqueſt, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and ſiluer, and ſilke of all ſorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make ſuch as come from thence. The men of the maine land haue certaine trafique with ſome of theſe ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ſhips, which they haue with one ſaile, and bring of ſuch marchandize as they haue need of. And of theſe things there haue bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and ſiluer, and diuers maners of ſilks, and works of gold and ſiluer, maruellous to be ſeene. So by their ſaying, there is not ſuch a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of thoſe ylands, which the Spaniards haue, ſay, that if they would bring their wiues and children, that then they ſhould haue among them what they

China found by the Weſt.

* This is to be vnderſtood of the time when this diſcourſe was written, Anno 1572.

China ſhips with one ſaile.

would haue. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth all the charges of the maried men and their wiues, that go to thoſe ylands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be marueilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the firſt Pilot that euer went to that Countrey of the Philippinas. Hee maketh report of many ſtrange things in that Countrey, aſwell riches, as other, and ſaith, if there bee any Paradiſe vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that ſitting vnder a tree, you ſhall haue ſuch ſweet ſmels, with ſuch great content and pleaſure, that you ſhall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous ſmels wil be ſo ſweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hiſpania, notwithſtanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treaſure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Noua Hiſpania there are many buckes and does, but they haue not ſo long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns, and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the ſkins they make chamoyce, ſuch as we in England make doublets and hoſe of, as good as the ſkins that are dreſſed in Flanders, & likewiſe they make marueilous good Spaniſh leather of them. There is a bird which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath ſome of his feathers white: there is ſuch abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead fleſh which is in the countrey. Otherwiſe the abundance of carren is ſo much, that it would make a marueilous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be ſo noiſome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there ſhall none of them be killed. Theſe birds are alwayes about Cities, and townes, where there is much fleſh killed.

Chamoice.

Spaniſh leather.

India Rauens not killed, to deuoure carrion.

Wrongs done to the Indians puniſhed.

The Indians are much fauoured by the Iuſtices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard ſhould happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to ſtrike any of them, being in any towne, whereas iuſtice is, they are aſwell puniſhed for the ſame, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of iuſtice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he liſt, conſidering he is ſo farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and miſuſeth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith ſent for, and puniſhed both by his goods, and alſo his perſon is impriſoned, at the pleaſure of the Iuſtice. This is the occaſion that the Indians are ſo tame and ciuill, as they are: and if they ſhould not haue this fauour, the Spaniards would ſoone diſpatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may cal them dogs, and vſe other euill words, as much as they will, and the Indian muſt needes put it vp, and goe his way.

Iuſtice yͤ cauſe of ciuilitie.

The poore Indians wil go euery day two or three leagues to a Faire or market, with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or ſome kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as ſhall be not paſt worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine themſelues vpon the ſame. For they liue with a marueilous ſmall matter.

They are in ſuch pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you ſhall haue an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed vpon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you ſhall haue from one towne to another. Here you are to vnderſtand, that all men that traueile by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeues, and wil ſteale all that they may, and you ſhall haue no recompence at their hands.

The apparel of the Indians.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The vppermoſt part is made almoſt like to a womans ſmocke, ſauing that it is as broad aboue as beneath, and hath no ſleeues, but holes on eche ſide one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the ſame maner, and that goeth rounde about their waſte, and reacheth to their ſhooes, and ouer this a white fine ſheet vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made vp round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a ſmall paire of breeches of the ſame cotton wool, and their ſhirts which hang ouer their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a ſheete with flowers vpon their backes, and with a knot vpon one ſhoulder, & an hat vpon their heads, and a paire of ſhooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Caſique, which they vſe in all the Countrey.

The houſes of the Indians.

The wals of the houſes of the Indians, are but plaine, but the ſtones are layd ſo cloſe, that you ſhall not well perceiue the ioynts betweene one ſtone and another, they are ſo finely cut: and by the meanes that the ſtones are ſo workmanly done, and finely ioyned together, there is ſome beautie in their wals. They are marueilous ſmall and light, as Pumie ſtones. They make their doores very little, ſo that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houſes are ſmall, and one roome they haue reſerued for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marueilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires ſtanding there to ſit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and ſleepe on the ground vpon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

The Indians ſtrike their fire with one ſticke in another, aſwell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a ſtone.

Fire rubbed out of two ſtickes.

In Noua Hiſpania, euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrary ſpeach, ſauing onely about Mexico: ſo there is a number of ſpeeches in the Countrey.

Diuers ſpeeches.

Mutezuma which was the laſt King of this Countrey, was one of the richeſt princes which haue bene ſeene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beaſts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fiſhes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe vpon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all faſhioned in ſiluer and gold, which was the greateſt part of al his treaſure, and in theſe things had he great ioy, as the old Indians report. And vnto this day, they ſay that the treaſure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that ſhould pay him tribute, though he were neuer ſo poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the cuſtome, then he would haue him bound to bring at ſuch times as tributes ſhould be payd, a quill full of Lice, ſaying, hee would haue none free, but himſelfe. He had as many wiues or concubines, as hee would haue, and ſuch as liked him. Alwayes whenſoeuer he went out of his Court to paſſe the time, he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens ſhoulders ſet vpon a table, ſome ſay, of golde, and very richly dreſſed with feathers of diuers and many colours and flowers. He waſhed all his body euery day, were it neuer ſo cold. And vnto this day ſo do all the Indians, and eſpecially the women.

Mutezuma, and his riches.

The Indians waſh themſelues euery day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great ſubiectiõ. They may haue in their houſes no ſword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare vpon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horſe nor mules, in any ſadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greateſt paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make inſurrections, but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beaſtly cowardlineſſe.

There remaine ſome among the wild people, that vnto this day eate one another. I haue ſeene the bones of a Spaniard that haue bene as cleane burniſhed, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they neuer come againe, whether they be men or women.

Cannybals.

They haue in the Sea ylands of red ſalt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coaſt: and they ſpend very much ſalt with ſalting their hides, and fiſh: and in their Mines they occupie great quantitie. They haue much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, ſo that they neede none of that commoditie. They haue alſo of their owne growing, much Cana fiſtula, & much Salſa Perilla, which is marueilous good for many kind of diſeaſes.

Iſlands of ſalt.

Alume.

Caſſia fiſtula. Salſa Perilla.

There are in Florida many Iarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Noua Hiſpania ſend for euery yere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

Florida.

A diſcourſe written by one *Miles Philips* Engliſhman, one of the company put on ſhoare Northward of *Panuco*, in the *Weſt Indies* by *M. Iohn Hawkins* 1568. conteining many ſpecial things of that countrey and of the Spaniſh gouernment, but ſpecially of their crueltics vſed to our Engliſhmen, and amongſt the reſt to himſelfe for the ſpace of 15. or 16. yeres together, vntil by good and happy meanes he was deliuered frõ their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. 1.

Wherein is ſhewed the day and time of our departure from the coaſt of *England*, with the number and names of the ſhips, their Captaines and Maſters, and of our trafique and dealing vpon the coaſt of *Africa*.

VPon munday the ſecond of October 1567. the weather being reaſonable faire, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commanded all his Captaines and Maſters to be in a readineſſe to make ſaile with him, hee himſelfe being imbarked in the Ieſus, whereof was appointed for Maſter Robert Barret, hoiſed ſaile, and departed from Plimmouth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America,

This Fleete conſiſted of 6. ſhips.

1. The Ieſus.

2. The Mynion.
3. The William and Iohn.
4. The Iudith.
5. The Angel.
6. The Swallow.

America, being accompanied with fiue other ſaile of ſhips, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Maſter. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and Iames Raunce Maſter. The Iudith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whoſe Maſter, as alſo the Captaine and Maſter of the Swallow I now remember not. And ſo ſayling in company together vpon our voyage vntill the tenth of the ſame moneth, an extreeme ſtorme then tooke vs neere vnto Cape Finiſter, which dured for the ſpace of foure dayes, and ſo ſeparated our ſhips, that wee had loſt one another, and our Generall finding the Ieſus to bee but in ill caſe, was in minde to giue ouer the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the ſame moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire, hee altered his purpoſe, and held on the former entended voyage: And ſo comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ſhips which were before diſperſed, wee then tooke in freſh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our courſe, vpon the eighteenth day of the ſame moneth wee came to an ancker vpon the coaſt of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelue fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, ſeeking to take ſome Negros. And they going vp into the Countrey for the ſpace of ſixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their inuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, ſo that they were inforced to retire to the ſhips, in which conflict they recouered but a fewe Negros, and of theſe our men which were hurt with their enuenomed arrowes, there died to the number of ſeuen or eight in very ſtrange maner, with their mouths ſhut, ſo that wee were forced to put ſtickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and ſo afterward paſſing the time vpon the coaſt of Guinea, vntill the twelfth of Ianuary, wee obteined by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coaſt, there was a Negro ſent as an Ambaſſadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppreſſed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, deſiring our Generall to graunt him ſuccour and ayde againſt thoſe his enemies, which our Generall granted vnto, and went himſelfe in perſon a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the ſaid King which had requeſted our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, ſo that thereby our Generall aſſaulted, and ſet fire vpon a Towne of the ſaid King his enemies, in which there was at the leaſt the number of eight or ten thouſand Negros, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any reſiſtance ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues, in which their flight there were taken priſoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to haue had for his ſhare: howbeit the Negro King which requeſted our ayde, falſifying his word and promiſe, ſecretly in the night conueyed himſelfe away with as many priſoners as he had in his cuſtodie: but our Generall notwithſtanding finding himſelfe to haue now very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it beſt without longer abode to depart with them, and ſuch marchandize as hee had from the coaſt of Africa, towards the Weſt Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in freſh water and fewel, and ſo with ſpeed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a ſtorme that wee had, wee loſt one of our ſhips, namely the William and Iohn, of which ſhip and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

The William and Iohn ſeparated and neuer after met with the fleete.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is ſhewed the day and time of our departure from the coaſt of *Africa*, with the day and time of our arriuall in the *Weſt Indies*, alſo of our trade, and trafique there, and alſo of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vſed towards vs, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falſifying his faith and promiſe giuen, and ſeeking to haue intrapped vs.

All things being made in a readineſſe, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the thirde day of Februarie 1568, wee departed from the coaſt of Africa, hauing the weather ſomewhat tempeſtuous, which made our paſſage the more hard; and ſayling ſo for the ſpace of 52. dayes, vpon the 27. of March 1568, we came in ſight of an yland called Dominica, vpon the coaſt of America in the Weſt Indies, ſituated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coaſted from place to place, euer making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was ſomewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had ſtraightly charged all his gouernours in thoſe parts not to trade with any: yet notwithſtanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reaſonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainement in ſundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and elſe where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any meanes permit vs to haue any trade or traffique, nor yet ſuffer vs to take in freſh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine and thirſt about the beginning of Iune, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and ſo by maine force and ſtrength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And ſo recouering the Towne with the loſſe of two of our men, there was a ſecret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200. and vpwards, and of our other marchandize alſo. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouernour was ſo ſtraight, that wee could not obteine any traffique there, and ſo for that our trade was neere finiſhed, our Generall thought it beſt to depart from thence the rather for the auoyding of certaine dangerous ſtormes called the Huricanos, which accuſtomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & ſo the 24. of Iuly 1568. we departed frō thence directing our courſe North: and leauing the yland of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the Eaſtward of vs, and ſo ſayling toward Florida, vpon the 12. of Auguſt an extreeme tempeſt aroſe, which dured for the ſpace of 8. dayes, in which our ſhips were moſt dangerouſly toſſed and beaten hither, & thither, ſo that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reaſon of the ſhallownes of the coaſt, and in the end we were conſtrained to flee for ſuccour to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, or Vera Cruz, ſituated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that ſerueth for the Citie of Mexico: in our ſeeking to recouer this port our Generall met by the way three ſmall ſhips that caried paſſengers, which hee tooke with him, and ſo the ſixteenth of September 1568. wee entered the ſaide port of S. Iohn de Vllua. The Spaniards there ſuppoſing vs to haue bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came preſently aboord our Generall, where perceiuing themſelues to haue made an vnwiſe aduenture, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and ſtayed: howbeit our Generall did vſe them all very courteouſly. In the ſaid port there were twelue ſhips which by report had in them in treaſure to the value of two hundreth thouſand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely ſet at libertie, as alſo the paſſengers which he had before ſtayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee ſtayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Riuera, and preſently our Generall ſent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threeſcore leagues off, certifying him of our arriuall there by force of weather, deſiring that foraſmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the king of Spaine his louing ſiſter and friend, that therefore hee would, conſidering our neceſſities and wants, furniſh vs with victuals for our Nauie, and quietly ſuffer vs to repaire and amend our ſhips. And furthermore that at the arriual of the Spaniſh Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell ariſe betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requeſted of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe ſome ſpecial order be taken. This meſſage was ſent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arriuall there.

Mexico 60. leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

The next morning being the ſeuenteenth of the ſame moneth, wee deſcried 13. ſaile of great ſhippes: and after that our Generall vnderſtood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he preſently ſent to aduertiſe the Generall hereof, of our being in the ſaid port, and giuing him further to vnderſtand, that before he ſhould enter there into that harbour, it was requiſite that there ſhould paſſe betweene the two Generals ſome orders and conditions to bee obſerued on either part, for the better contriuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals requeſt made vnto the Viceroy. And at this inſtant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, conſidering with himſelfe that if hee ſhould keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then ſhould that Fleete be in danger of preſent ſhipwracke and loſſe of all their ſubſtance, which amounted vnto the value of one million and eight hundreth thouſand pounds. Againe he ſaw that if he ſuffered them to enter, hee was aſſured that they would practiſe by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other ſide the hauen was ſo little, that the other Fleete entring, the ſhippes were to ride one hard aboord of another. Alſo hee ſaw that if their Fleete ſhould periſh by his keeping of them out, as of neceſſitie they muſt if he ſhould haue done ſo, then ſtood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes diſpleaſure in ſo waightie a cauſe: therefore did he chooſe the leaſt euill, which was to ſuffer them to enter vnder aſſurance, and ſo to ſtand vpon his guard, and to defend himſelfe and his from their treaſons which we were well aſſured they would practiſe, and ſo the meſſenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the ſame Fleete, and had ſufficient authoritie to command in all caſes both by Sea and by lande in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requeſts ſhould bee both fauourably

It is put downe 6. millions in Sir Iohn Hawkins his relation.

granted, and faithfully perfourmed: ſignifying further that he heard and vnderſtood of the honeſt and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines ſubiects in all places where he had bene, as alſo in the ſaid port: ſo that to bee briefe our requeſts were articled, and ſet downe in writing. Viz.

4. Articles concluded vpon, betwixt the Engliſh & the Spaniards: although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

1 The firſt was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and licenſe to ſell as much wares, as might ſuffice to furniſh our wants.

2 The ſecond, that we might be ſuffered peaceably to repaire our ſhips.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our poſſeſſion during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better ſafetie of him and his, had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleuen pieces of braſſe, therefore he required that the ſame might ſo continue, and that no Spaniard ſhould come to lande in the ſaide yland, hauing or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the laſt, that for the better and more ſure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentlemen of credite bee deliuered of either part as hoſtages.

Theſe conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the Viceroy and ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeale, and 10. hoſtages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generals ſhould meet, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premiſſes. Al which being done, the ſame was proclaimed by the ſound of a trumpet, & commandement was giuen that none of either part ſhould violate or breake the peace vpon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ſhips ſaluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being friday we laboured on all ſides in placing the Engliſh ſhips by themſelues, & the Spaniſh ſhips by themſelues, the Captaines and inferiour perſons of either part, offering, and ſhewing great courteſie one to another, and promiſing great amitie vpon all ſides. Howbeit as the ſequel ſhewed, the Spaniards meant nothing leſſe vpon their parts. For the Viceroy and gouernour thereabout had ſecretly at land aſſembled to the number of 1000. choſen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next thurſday being the 24. of September at dinner time to aſſault vs, and ſet vpon vs on all ſides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amiſſe briefly to diſcribe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and ſtrength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards ſince the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the ſame place, haue vpon the ſame yland built a faire Caſtle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little yland of ſtones, not paſt three foote aboue water in the higheſt place, and not paſt a bow-ſhotte ouer any way at the moſt, and it ſtandeth from the maine land, two bowſhootes or more: and there is not in all this coaſt any other place for ſhips ſafely to ariue at: alſo the North windes in this coaſt are of great violence and force, and vnleſſe the ſhippes bee ſafely mored in, with their anckers faſtened in this yland, there is no remedie, but preſent deſtruction and ſhipwracke. All this our generall wiſely foreſeeing, did prouide that he would haue the ſaid yland in his cuſtody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleaſure, haue but cut our cables, and ſo with the firſt Northwinde that blewe we had had our paſport, for our ſhips had gone a ſhoore. But to returne to the matter.

A faire caſtle and bulwarke builded vpon the yland of San Iuan de Vllua.

The time approching that their treaſon muſt be put in practiſe, the ſame Thurſday morning, ſome appearance thereof began to ſhewe it ſelfe, as ſhifting of weapons from ſhippe to ſhippe, and planting, and bending their Ordinance againſt our men that warded vpon the lande, with great repaire of people: which apparant ſhewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith cauſed our Generall to ſende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which preſently ſent and gaue order, that the Ordinance aforeſayde, and other things of ſuſpicion ſhould bee remooued, returning anſwere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence, and ſafetie from all villanous treacherie: this was vpon Thurſday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith ſatiſfied, ſeeing they had ſecretly conueyed a great number of men aboord a great hulke or ſhip of theirs of ſixe hundreth tunne, which ſhippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee ſent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Maſter of the Ieſus, a man that could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue very well, and required that thoſe men might bee vnſhipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treaſon was throughly eſpied, ſtayed our Maſter, and ſounded the Trumpet, and gaue order that his people ſhould vpon all ſides charge vpon our men, which warded on ſhoore, and elſe where, which ſtrooke ſuch a maſe, and ſudden feare among vs, that many gaue place, and ſought to recouer our ſhippes for the ſafetie of themſelues. The Spaniards which ſecretly were hid in ambuſh at lande were quickly conueyed ouer to the yland in their long boates, and ſo comming to the yland, they ſlewe all our men

that

The vaine of a Spaniſh viceroy his faith.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards and their crueltie.

that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had ſomewhat before prepared her ſelfe to auoyd the danger, haled away and abode the firſt brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they ſought to fall aboord the Ieſus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men ſlaine: but yet our men defended themſelues, and kept them out: ſo the Ieſus alſo got looſe, and ioyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote vpon all ſides: but they hauing woon and got our ordinance on ſhore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight there were two great ſhippes of the Spaniards ſunke, and one burnt, ſo that with their ſhippes they were not able to harme vs, but from the ſhore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordinance, in ſuch ſort that the Ieſus was very ſore ſpoyled: and ſuddenly the Spaniards hauing fired two great ſhips of their owne, they came directly againſt vs, which bred among our men a marueilous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her ſayles ready, ſhifted for her ſelfe, without conſent of the Generall, Captaine or Maſter, ſo that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Minion: the moſt of our men that were in the Ieſus ſhifted for themſelues, and followed the Minion in the boat, and thoſe which that ſmall boat was not able to receiue, were moſt cruelly ſlaine by the Spaniards. Of our ſhips none eſcaped ſauing the Minion and the Iudith: and all ſuch of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men aſhore, they tooke and hung them vp by the armes vpon high poſtes vntill the blood burſt out of their fingers ends: of which men ſo vſed, there is one Copſtow, and certaine others yet aliue, who by the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long ſince arriued here at home in England, carying ſtill about with them (and ſhal to their graues) the marks and tokens of thoſe their inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Copſtowe one of M. Hawkins men returned from Nueua Eſpanna.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is ſhewed, how that after we were eſcaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to periſh with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was conſtrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miſeries wee after that ſuſtained amongſt the Sauage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

After that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promiſe, moſt cruelly dealt with our Generall maſter Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where moſt of his men were by the Spaniards ſlaine and drowned, and all his ſhips ſunke and burned, ſauing the Minion, and the Iudith, which was a ſmall barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine maſter Francis Drake aforeſayd: the ſame night the ſaid barke loſt vs, we being in great neceſſitie, and inforced to remooue with the Minion two bow-ſhoote from the Spaniſh fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recouered an Iſland a mile from the Spaniards, where a ſtorme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly diſtreſſed, hauing but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had loſt three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the ſtorme being ceaſed and the weather faire, we weied, and ſet ſayle, being many men in number, and but ſmall ſtore of victuals to ſuffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in deſpaire and feare that we ſhould periſh through famine, ſo that ſome were in minde to yeelde themſelues to the mercy of the Spaniards, other ſome to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in theſe vnknowen ſeas, hunger conſtrained vs to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be ſhort, our hunger was ſo great, that wee thought it ſauourie and ſweete whatſoeuer wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found ſome inhabitants, that wee might haue had ſome reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ſhip, which was ſo greatly bruiſed, that we were ſcarſe able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppreſſed with famine on the one ſide, and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to finde reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull deſpaire, and we were of many mindes, amongſt whom there were a great many that did deſire our Generall to ſet them on land, making their choiſe rather to ſubmit themſelues to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themſelues at ſea, where they very well ſawe, that if they ſhould remaine together, if they periſhed not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which requeſt our Generall did very willingly agree, conſidering with himſelfe that it was neceſſary for him to leſſen his number, both for the ſafetie of himſelfe & the reſt: and therupon being reſolued to ſet halfe his people aſhore that he had then left aliue, it was a world to ſee how ſuddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before deſired to be ſet on land, were now of another minde, and requeſted rather to ſtay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced, for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occaſions of offence, to take this order: Firſt he made choice of ſuch perſons of ſeruice and account, as were needefull to ſtay, and that being done, of thoſe which were willing to goe he appointed ſuch as he thought might be beſt ſpared, and preſently appointed that by the boat they ſhould bee ſet on ſhore, our Generall promiſing vs that the next yeere he would either come himſelfe, or elſe ſend to fetch vs home. Here againe it would haue cauſed any ſtony heart to haue relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then ſomewhat ſtormy and tempeſtuous, and therefore we were to paſſe with great danger, yet notwithſtanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, muſt of neceſſitie doe ſo. Howbeit thoſe that went in the firſt boat were ſafely ſet on ſhore, but of them which went in the ſecond boate, of which number I my ſelfe was one, the ſeas wrought ſo high, that we could not attaine to the ſhore, and therefore we were conſtrained through the cruell dealing of Iohn Hampton captaine of the Minion, and Iohn Sanders boatſwaine of the Ieſus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine ſea, hauing more then a mile to ſhore, and ſo to ſhift for our ſelues, and either to ſinke or ſwimme. And of thoſe that ſo were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the ſea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

They were put on land 25 leagues northward of Panuco the 8 of October 1568.

In the euening of the ſame day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to ſhore, we found freſh water, whereof ſome of our men drunke ſo much, that they had almoſt caſt themſelues away, for wee could ſcarſe get life of them for the ſpace of two or three houres after: other ſome were ſo cruelly ſwollen, what with the drinking in of the ſalt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, hauing a ſtone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill caſe, ſo that we were in a maner all of vs both feeble, faint and weake.

Capule a kind of ſtone fruit.

The next morning being Tewſday, the ninth of October, we thought it beſt to trauell along by the ſea coaſt, to ſeeke out ſome place of habitation: (whether they were Chriſtians or Sauages, we were indifferent, ſo that we might haue wherewithall to ſuſtaine our hungry bodies) and ſo departing from an hill where we had reſted all night, not hauing any drie threed about vs, (for thoſe that were not wet being not throwen into the ſea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly:) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to paſſe for the graſſe and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the ſea, and vpon the right hand great woods, ſo that of neceſſitie we muſt needs paſſe on our way Weſtward, through thoſe marſhes; and going thus, ſuddenly we were aſſaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede vpon mans fleſh as Canibals doe.

Chichimici a warlike and cruel people.

Theſe people are called Chichimici, and they vſe to weare their haire long, euen down to their knees, they doe alſo colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to ſeeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. Theſe people doe keepe warres againſt the Spaniards, of whom they haue bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our firſt comming on land, ſuppoſed vs to haue bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and hauing by their forerunners deſcried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they ſuddenly according to their accuſtomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike ſorte, raiſed a terrible and huge crie, and ſo came running fiercely vpon vs, ſhooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, vnto whoſe mercy we were conſtrained to yeeld, not hauing amongſt vs any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, ſauing one caliuer, and two old ruſtie ſwords, whereby to make any reſiſtance, or to ſaue our ſelues: which when they perceiued, that wee ſought not any other then fauour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compaſſion on vs, and came and cauſed vs all to ſit down: and when they had a while ſurueyed, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all ſuch as had any coloured clothes amongſt vs, and thoſe they did ſtrip ſtarke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but thoſe that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and ſo went their wayes, and left vs without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the firſt brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weake caſe we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we ſhould go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not paſt ten leagues from thence, vſing theſe words: Tampice, Tampice Chriſtiano, Tampice Chriſtiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to ſay in Engliſh, at Tampice you ſhall find the Chriſtians. The weapons that they vſe are no other but bowes and

Our men aſſailed by the Chichemici.

Eight of our men ſlaine.

Anthony Godard

Dauid Ingram

arrowes, and their arme is ſo good, that they very ſeldome miſſe to hit any thing that they ſhoote at. Shortly after they had left vs ſtript (as aforeſayd) we thought it beſt to deuide our ſelues into two companies, and ſo being ſeparated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man aliue, and dwelleth at this inſtant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we choſe to be captaine ouer vs all, and thoſe which went vnder his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, trauailed Weſtward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading of one Iohn Hooper, whom they did chooſe for their captain, & with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and ſhortly after, within the ſpace of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the ſauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were ſlaine: then againe they diuided themſelues, and ſome held on their way ſtill Northward, and other ſome, knowing that we were gone Weſtward, ſought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with vs in the ſpace of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongſt our ſelues, how many wee were that were ſet on ſhore, and we found the number to be an hundred and fourteene, whereof two were drowned in the ſea, and eight were ſlaine at the firſt incounter, ſo that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 were Weſtward with vs, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram ſince hath often told me, there were not paſt three of their company ſlaine, and there were but ſixe and twenty of them that came againe to vs, ſo that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet aliue, and married in the ſaid countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpoſe (God willing) to diſcourſe of more particularly, with the reaſon and cauſes that make mee ſo to thinke of them that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and ſundry others, whoſe names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on ſtill Weſtward, ſometime thorow ſuch thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and buſhes from tearing our naked bodies: other ſometimes we ſhould trauell thorow the plaines, in ſuch high graſſe that wee could ſcarſe ſee one another, and as we paſſed in ſome places, we ſhould haue of our men ſlaine, and fall downe ſuddenly, being ſtrooken by the Indians, which ſtood behinde trees and buſhes, in ſecret places, and ſo killed our men as they went by, for wee went ſcatteringly in ſeeking of fruites to relieue our ſelues. We were alſo oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are alſo in the ſayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none ſo noyſome as theſe Tequanies bee: you ſhall hardly ſee them they be ſo ſmall, for they are ſcarſe ſo big as a gnat: they will ſucke ones blood marueilouſly, and if you kill them while they are ſucking, they are ſo venimous that the place will ſwell extremely, euen as one that is ſtoong with a Waſpe or Bee: but if you let them ſucke their fill, and to goe away of themſelues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a red ſpot ſomewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the firſt wee were terribly troubled with theſe kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and reſiſtance wee could make none againſt them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes ſo warme. And as we trauelled thus for the ſpace of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cauſe certaine to goe vp into the toppes of high trees, to ſee if they could deſcrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and vſing often the ſame order to climbe vp into high trees, at the length they deſcried a great riuer that fell from the Northweſt into the maine ſea, and preſently after, we heard an harquebuze ſhot off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to ſome Chriſtians, and did therefore hope ſhortly to finde ſome ſuccour and comfort, and within the ſpace of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was alſo no ſmall ioy vnto vs, and ſo we came to the North ſide of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spaniards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the haquebuze was ſhot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but miſſing thereof, we left it about a bowſhot vpon our left hand: of this riuer wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in ſixe dayes before, and as we were here by the riuer ſide reſting our ſelues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was ſhot off, we perceiued many Spaniards vpon the other ſide of the riuer, riding vp and downe on horſebacke, and they perceiuing vs, did ſuppoſe that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the riuer was not paſt halfe a bowe ſhoot ouer: and preſently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and ſo came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did preſently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spaniards, who with-

The riuer of Panuco.

out any delay made out about the number of twenty horſemen, and imbarking themſelues in the Canoas, they led their horſes by the reines ſwimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that ſide of the riuer where we were, they ſadled their horſes, and being mounted vpon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at vs. Our captaine Anthony Godard ſeeing them come in that order, did perſwade vs to ſubmit and yeelde our ſelues vnto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any reſiſtance, whoſe bidding we obeied, and vpon the yeelding of our ſelues, they perceiued vs to be Chriſtians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried vs ouer by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other ſide, they vnderſtanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted betweene two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bigneſſe of our halfepenie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Claſhacally. This bread was very ſweete and pleaſant vnto vs, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a ſauory and a delicate taſte? And hauing thus parted the bread amongſt vs, thoſe which were men they ſent afore to the towne, hauing alſo many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and ſome ſuch alſo as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horſes, behind them, and ſo caried vs to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere diſtant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

The Salines of Panuco.

This towne is well ſituated, and well repleniſhed with all kindes of fruits, as Orenges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and ſundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it alſo at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, beſides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie vpon the Weſt ſide of the riuer, more then a mile diſtant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and carie it vp into the countrey, and there ſell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Alſo much of the Salt made in this place, is tranſported from thence by ſea to ſundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Vllua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred hauens Weſt and by South aboue threeſcore leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua. When we were all come to the towne, the Gouernour there ſhewed himſelfe very ſeuere vnto vs, and threatned to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we firſt met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought vs ouer, tooke away a good part alſo: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouernour here had a chaine of gold, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouernour there, and from others he had ſome ſmall ſtore of money: ſo that wee accounted that amongſt vs all he had the number of fiue hundred Pezos, beſides the chaine of gold.

And hauing thus ſatiſfied himſelfe, when he had taken all that we had, he cauſed vs to be put into a little houſe much like a hogſtie, where we were almoſt ſmoothered: and before we were thus ſhut vp into that little coat, they gaue vs ſome of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, ſodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our firſt comming on land, whoſe wounds were very ſore and grieuous, deſired to haue the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The gouernour, and moſt of them all anſwered, that wee ſhould haue none other Surgeon but the hangman, which ſhould ſufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs Engliſh dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the ſpace of three dayes in this miſerable ſtate, not knowing what ſhould become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

Chap. 4.

Wherin is ſhewed how we were vſed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to *Mexico* to the Viceroy, and of our impriſonment there and at *Teſcuco*, with the courteſies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation giuen to ſerue as ſlaues to ſundry gentlemen Spaniards.

VPon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we ſhould ſuffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch vs out of the houſe, and amongſt them wee eſpied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the ſight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we ſhould preſently haue ſuffered death, and ſo crying and calling to God for mercie and forgiueneſſe of our ſinnes, we prepared our ſelues, making vs ready to die: yet in the end, as the ſequel ſhewed,their meaning was not ſo : for when wee were come out of the houſe, with thoſe halters they bound our armes behind vs,and ſo coupling vs two and two together,they commanded vs to march on through the towne, and ſo along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is diſtant from Panuco Weſt and by South the ſpace of ninetie leagues,hauing onely but two Spaniards to conduct vs, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either ſide with bowes and arrowes, leſt we ſhould eſcape from them. And trauelling in this order,vpon the ſecond day at night we came vnto a towne which the Indians call Nohele,and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria : in which towne there is a houſe of white friers, which did very courteouſly vſe vs,and gaue vs hote meat,as mutton and broth,and garments alſo to couer our ſelues withal,made of white bayes : we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit,called Nochole, which fruit is long and ſmall, much like in faſhion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding cauſed vs to fall ſicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt : for he had bene before ſhot with an arrow into the throat at the firſt incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before,and ſo trauailed on our way toward Mexico,till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Meſtitlan, where is a houſe of blacke friers : and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers ſent vs meat from the houſe ready dreſſed,and the friers,and the men and women vſed vs very courteouſly, and gaue vs ſome ſhirts and other ſuch things as we lacked. Here our men were very ſicke of their agues,and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue,Guiaccos, which fruit did binde vs ſo ſore, that for the ſpace of tenne or twelue dayes we could not eaſe our ſelues. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforeſayd. Of theſe two Spaniards the one was an aged man,who all the way did very courteouſly intreate vs,and would carefully go before to prouide for vs both meat and things neceſſary to the vttermoſt of his power : the other was a yong man who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell caitiue, and he caried a iaueline in his hand, and ſometimes when as our men with very feebleneſſe and faintneſſe were not able to goe ſo faſt as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his handes, and ſtrike them with the ſame betweene the necke and the ſhoulders ſo violently, that he would ſtrike them downe;then would he cry,and ſay, Marchad,marchad Ingleſes perros, Luterianos,enemigos de Dios : which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as March, march on you Engliſh dogges,Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name : as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of ſiluer, and are about ſixe leagues diſtant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northweſt.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Gouernour ſuffered vs to ſtay two dayes and two nights, hauing compaſſion of our ſicke and weake men, full ſore againſt the minde of the yong man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or fiue dayes by little villages; and Stancias, which are farmes or dairie houſes of the Spaniards, and euer as wee had neede, the good olde man would ſtill prouide vs ſufficient of meates, fruites, and water to ſuſtaine vs. At the end of which fiue dayes wee came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee alſo ſtayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire houſe of gray friers, howbeit wee ſaw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not paſt fifteene Engliſh miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we ſhould either be relieued, and ſet free out of bonds, or els bee quickly diſpatched out of our liues : for ſeeing our ſelues thus caried bound from place to place, although ſome vſed vs courteouſly, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merrie till wee might perceiue our ſelues ſet free from that bondage, either by death or otherwiſe.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towards Mexico, and ſo trauelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church,called our Ladyes church,in which there is an image of our Lady of ſiluer & gilt, being as high,& as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of ſiluer as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whenſoeuer any Spaniards paſſe by this church,although they be on horſe backe, they will alight, and come into the church,and kneele before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euil;ſo that whether he be horſeman or footman he will not paſſe by, but firſt goe into the Church, and pray as aforeſayd, which if they doe not,they thinke and beleeue that they ſhall neuer proſper: which image

Nueſtra Sennora.

they call in the Spaniſh tongue, Nueſtra ſennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which ariſe, ſpringing vp as though the water did ſeeth: the water whereof is ſomewhat brackiſh in taſte, but very good for any that haue any ſore or wound, to waſh themſelues therewith, for as they ſay, it healeth many: and euery yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vſe to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they ſay that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houſes of their own countrey building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horſebacke, which came from Mexico to ſee vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to ſee a wonder: we were ſtill called vpon to march on, and ſo about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the ſaid day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or ſtreet called La calle Santa Catherina: and we ſtayed not in any place till we came to the houſe or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which ſtandeth in the middeſt of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça del Marqueſe. We had not ſtayed any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spaniards from the market place great ſtore of meat, ſufficient to haue ſatisfied fiue times ſo many as we were: ſome alſo gaue vs hats, & ſome gaue vs money: in which place we ſtayed for the ſpace of two houres, & from thence we were conueyed by water in two large Canoas to an hoſpital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Vllua:

Certaine Engliſhmen taken priſoners at the fight at Sant Iuan de Vllua.

we ſhould haue gone to our Ladies hoſpitall, but that there were alſo ſo many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the ſpace of fourteene dayes: ſoone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hoſpitall, in which place we were courteouſly vſed, and viſited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as ſuccats and marmilads, and ſuch other things, and would alſo many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hoſpitall we remained for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and ſound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried vnto the town of Teſcuco, which is from Mexico Southweſt diſtant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houſes of correction and puniſhment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place diuers Indians are ſold for ſlaues, ſome for ten yeeres, and ſome for twelue. It was no ſmall griefe vnto vs when we vnderſtood that we ſhould be caried thither, and to bee vſed as ſlaues, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the priſon of Teſcuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very ſtraitly kept, & almoſt famiſhed, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the ſonne of an Engliſhman borne of a Spaniſh woman:

Robert Sweeting an Engliſhmā

this man could ſpeake very good Engliſh, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene ſo relieued, we had ſurely periſhed: and yet all the prouiſion that wee had gotten that way was but ſlender. And continuing thus ſtraightly kept in priſon there for the ſpace of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongſt our ſelues to breake forth of priſon, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to ſuffer death then longer to liue in that miſerable ſtate. And ſo hauing eſcaped out of priſon, we knew not what way to flie for the ſafetie of our ſelues, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceiued our ſelues to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 Engliſh miles frō Teſcuco. The day being come we were eſpied by the Spaniards, & purſued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iuſtices, who threatned to hang vs for breaking of the kings priſon.

Engliſh gētlemen hoſtages.

Yet in the end they ſent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our Engliſh gentlemen which were deliuered as hoſtages when as our General was betrayed at S. Iohn de Vllua, as is aforeſaid, and with them wee alſo found Robert Barret, the Maſter of the Ieſus, in which place we remained labouring and doing ſuch things as we were commanded, for the ſpace of 4 moneths, hauing but two ſheepe a day allowed to ſuffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had euery man two loaues a day, of the quantity of one halfpeny loafe.

Almoſt an hūdred Engliſhmen priſoners in Mexico.

At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hoſtages, and the Maſter of the Ieſus to a priſon in the Vice Roy his owne houſe, did cauſe it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard ſoeuer was willing, or would haue any Engliſh man to ſerue him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Iuſtices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they ſhould repaire to the ſaid garden, and there take their choice: which proclamation was no ſooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, ſo that happie was he that could ſooneſt get one of vs.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is ſhewed in what good ſort, and how wealthily we liued with our maſters vntill the comming of the Inquiſition, when as againe our ſorowes began a freſh: Of our impriſonment in the holy houſe, and of the ſeuere iudgement and ſentences giuen againſt vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the ſame were executed.

The gentlemen that thus tooke vs for their ſeruants or ſlaues, did new apparell vs through out, with whom we abode, doing ſuch ſeruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the moſt part to attend vpon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite vpon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of: for in that countrey no Spaniard will ſerue one another, but they are all of them attended and ſerued by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their ſlaues during their life. In this ſort we remained and ſerued in the ſaid citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the ſpace of a yeere and ſomewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs were by our maſters appointed to go to ſundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as ouerſeers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of vs did profite & gaine greatly: for firſt we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threeſcore pound ſterling, and beſides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well vſing & intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for vs, and blow as much ſiluer as ſhould be worth vnto vs 3 markes or thereabouts, euery marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4 li. 10 s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine ſo much by this meanes beſides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were worth three thouſand or foure thouſand Pezos, for we liued and gained thus in thoſe Mines ſome three or foure yeeres. As concerning thoſe Gentlemen which were deliuered as hoſtages, and that were kept in priſon, in the Viceroy his houſe, after that we were gone from out the garden to ſerue ſundry gentlemen as aforeſaid, they remained priſoners in the ſaid houſe for the ſpace of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. Iohn de Vlua, to goe for Spaine, the ſaid Gentlemen were ſent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquiſition houſe, as thoſe which haue bene deliuered home after they had ſuffered the perſecution of that houſe can more perfectly declare, Robert Barret alſo maſter of the Ieſus, was ſent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he ſuffered perſecution in the Inquiſition, and at the laſt was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whoſe name was Iohn Gilbert.

Now after that ſixe yeeres were fully expired ſince our firſt comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene impriſoned and ſerued in the ſaid countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie foure, the Inquiſition began to be eſtabliſhed in the Indies, very much againſt the mindes of many of the Spaniards themſelues: for neuer vntill this time ſince their firſt conquering and planting in the Indies, were they ſubiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquiſition. The chiefe Inquiſitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanches the Fiſchall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and ſetled, and placed in a very faire houſe neere vnto the white Friers, conſidering with themſelues that they muſt make an entrance and beginning of that their moſt deteſtable Inquiſition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it beſt to call vs that were Engliſhmen firſt in queſtion, and ſo much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence, that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquiſitors: ſo that now againe began our ſorrowes a freſh, for we were ſent for, and ſought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of looſing of goods and excommunication, that no man ſhould hide or keepe ſecret any Engliſhmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all ſoone apprehended in all places, and all our goods ſeized and taken for the Inquiſitors vſe, and ſo from all parts of the countrey we were conueied and ſent as priſoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to priſon in ſundry darke dungeons, where we could not ſee but by candlelight, & were neuer paſt two together in one place, ſo that we ſaw not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of another. Thus we remained cloſe impriſoned for the ſpace of a yeere and a

halfe, and others for ſome leſſe time, for they came to priſon euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our impriſonmẽt, at the firſt beginning we were often called before the Inquiſitors alone, and there ſeuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to ſay the Pater noſter, the Aue Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not ſay, otherwiſe then in the Engliſh tongue. And hauing the ſaid Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Teſcuco alwayes preſent with thẽ for an interpreter, he made report for vs, ẏ in our own countrey ſpeech we could ſay them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of vs vpon our othes what we did beleeue of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of conſecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeue that the hoſt of bread which the prieſt did hold vp ouer his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Sauiour Chriſt, yea or no: To which if we anſwered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of vs what we did remember of our ſelues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the ſame whiles we were in England: to which we for the ſafety of our liues were conſtrained to ſay, that we neuer did beleeue, nor had bene taught otherwiſe then as before we had ſayd. Then would they charge vs that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therfore we ſhould cal our ſelues to remembrance, & make them a better anſwer at the next time, or els we ſhould be rackt, and made to confeſſe the trueth whether we would or no. And ſo comming againe before them the next time, we were ſtill demanded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, & alſo what we thought or did know of ſuch of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, ſo that we could neuer be free from ſuch demands, and at other times they would promiſe vs, that if we would tell them trueth, then ſhould we haue fauour & be ſet at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire ſpeeches were but means to intrap vs, to the hazard and loſſe of our liues: howbeit God ſo mercifully wrought for vs by a ſecret meanes that we had, that we kept vs ſtill to our firſt anſwer, & would ſtil ſay that we had told the trueth vnto them, and knew no more by our ſelues nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our ſinnes and offences in England againſt God and our Lady, or any of his bleſſed Saints, we were heartily ſory for the ſame, and did cry God mercy, and beſought the Inquiſitors for Gods ſake, conſidering that we came into thoſe countreys by force of weather, & againſt our wils, and that neuer in all our liues we had either ſpoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therfore they would haue mercy vpõ vs. Yet all this would not ſerue: for ſtil from time to time we were called vpon to confeſſe, and about the ſpace of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their ſeuere iudgement, we were al rackt, and ſome enforced to vtter that againſt themſelues, which afterwards coſt them their liues. And thus hauing gotten frõ our owne mouths matter ſufficient for them to proceed in iudgement againſt vs, they cauſed a large ſcaffold to be made in the middeſt of the market place in Mexico right ouer againſt the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their iudgement, with the ſound of a trumpet, and the noiſe of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did aſſemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then ſolemnely proclaimed, that whoſoeuer would vpon ſuch a day repaire to the market place, they ſhould heare the ſentence of the holy Inquiſition againſt the Engliſh heretikes, Lutherans, and alſo ſee the ſame put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell iudgement, the night before they came to the priſon where we were, with certaine officers of that holy helliſh houſe, bringing with thẽ certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red croſſes vpon them, both before & behind: they were ſo buſied in putting on their coats about vs, and in bringing vs out into a large yard, and placing and pointing vs in what order we ſhould go to the ſcaffold or place of iudgement vpon the morrow, that they did not once ſuffer vs to ſleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to euery one of vs for our breakfaſt a cup of wine, and a ſlice of bread fried in honie, and ſo about eight of the clocke in the morning, we ſet foorth of the priſon, euery man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand vnlighted, hauing a Spaniard appointed to goe vpon either ſide of euery one of vs; and ſo marching in this order and maner toward the ſcaffold in the market place, which was a bow ſhoot diſtant or thereabouts, we found a great aſſembly of people all the way, and ſuch a throng, that certaine of the Inquiſitors officers on horſeback were conſtrained to make way, and ſo comming to the ſcaffold, we went vp by a paire of ſtayres, and found ſeates readie made and prepared for vs to ſit downe on, euery man in order as he ſhould be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus ſet downe as we were appointed, preſently the Inquiſitors came vp another paire of ſtaires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Iuſtices with them. When they were ſet downe and placed
vnder

Our men are cruelly rackt.

vnder the cloth of eſtate agreeing to their degrees and calling; then came vp alſo a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 perſons, they being ſet in the places for them appointed. Then was there a ſolemne Oyes made, and ſilence commanded, and then preſently beganne their ſeuere and cruell iudgement.

The cruell iudgements of the Spaniſh Inquiſitors vpõ our poore countreymen.

The firſt man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Ieſus, and hee had iudgement to haue three hundred ſtripes on horſebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a ſlaue for 10 yeeres.

After him were called Iohn Gray, Iohn Browne, Iohn Rider, Iohn Moone, Iames Collier, and one Thomas Browne: theſe were adiudged to haue 200 ſtripes on horſebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the ſpace of 8 yeeres.

Then was called Iohn Keyes, and was adiudged to haue 100 ſtripes on horſebacke, and condemned to ſerue in the gallies for the ſpace of 6 yeeres.

Then were ſeuerally called the number of 53 one after another, and euery man had his ſeuerall iudgement, ſome to haue 200 ſtripes on horſebacke, and ſome 100, and condemned for ſlaues to the gallies, ſome for 6 yeeres, ſome for 8 and ſome for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adiudged to ſerue in a monaſterie for 5 yeeres, without any ſtripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called Iohn Storie, Richard Williams, Dauid Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horſewell and Thomas Hull: theſe ſixe were condemned to ſerue in monaſteries without ſtripes, ſome for 3 yeeres and ſome for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the ſaid time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Riuely, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Iriſhman, were called and had their iudgement to be burnt to aſhes, and ſo were preſently ſent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the ſcaffold, where they were quickly burnt and conſumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to priſon againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquiſitors pallace, where we found a horſe in a readineſſe for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue ſtripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60. and ſo they being inforced to mount vpon horſebacke naked from the middle vpward, were carried to be ſhewed as a ſpectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall ſtreetes of the citie, and had the number of ſtripes to euery one of them appointed, moſt cruelly laid vpon their naked bodies with long whips by ſundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold theſe Engliſh dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were ſome of the Inquiſitors themſelues, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on thoſe Engliſh heretiks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and ſo this horrible ſpectacle being ſhewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquiſitors houſe, with their backes all gore blood, and ſwollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horſes, & carried againe to priſon, where they remained vntill they were ſent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the reſt of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongſt the reſt to ſerue an apprentiſhip in the monaſtery, were taken preſently and ſent to certaine religious houſes appointed for the purpoſe.

Chap. 6.

Wherein is ſhewed how we were vſed in the religious houſes, and that when the time was expired, that we were adiudged to ſerue in them, there came newes to *Mexico* of M. *Francis Drakes* being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I ſeeking to eſcape, was againe taken and put in priſon at *Vera Cruz*, and how againe I made mine eſcape from thence.

I Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerſeer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongſt which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderſtanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they haue vſed ſuch horrible cruelties againſt them, and doe ſtill keepe them in ſuch ſubiection and ſeruitude, that they and the Negros alſo doe daily lie in waite to practiſe their deliuerance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniardes doe keepe them in. William

Lowe he was appointed to ſerue the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and Dauid Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, Iohn Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horſewel the Secretary tooke to be his ſeruant: Thomas Hull was ſent to a Monaſtery of prieſts, where afterward he died. Thus we ſerued out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the vſe of our fooles coates, and we muſt needs confeſſe that the Friers did vſe vs very courteouſly: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themſelues do vtterly abhorre and miſlike of that cruell Inquiſition, and would as they durſt bewaile our miſeries, and comfort vs the beſt they could, although they ſtood in ſuch feare of that diueliſh Inquiſition, that they durſt not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to ſerue in thoſe religious houſes, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquiſitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Eccleſia Maior, and euery mans name and iudgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are alſo all their coates hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And alſo the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obſtinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we ſuffered to goe vp and downe the countrey, and to place our ſelues as we could, and yet not ſo free, but that we very well knew that there was good eſpiall alwayes attending vs and all our actions, ſo that we durſt not once ſpeake or looke awry. Dauid Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to ſerue the Inquiſitor, who ſhortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horſewell is maried to a Meſtiſa, as they name thoſe whoſe fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horſewell hath maried, is ſayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thouſand Pezos, and a faire houſe: Iohn Storie is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could neuer throughly ſettle my ſelfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto me of ſuch as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I muſt euery where ſee and know ſuch horrible idolatrie committed, and durſt not once for my life ſpeake againſt it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and deſire to this my natiue countrey: and, to returne and ſerue againe in the Mines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well ſaw that at one time or another I ſhould fall againe into the danger of that diueliſh Inquiſition, and ſo be ſtript of all, with loſſe of life alſo, and therefore I made my choiſe rather to learne to weaue Grogranes and Taffaties, and ſo compounding with a Silke-weauer, I bound my ſelfe for three yeeres to ſerue him, and gaue him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the ſcience, otherwiſe he would not haue taught mee vnder ſeuen yeeres prentiſhip, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from ſuſpition. Howbeit I ſhould many times be charged by familiars of that diueliſh houſe, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would anſwere that they had no neede to ſuſpect any ſuch thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impoſſible for me to eſcape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithſtanding I was called before the Inquiſitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I anſwered that I had bound my ſelfe at an occupation. Well ſaid the Inquiſitor, I knowe thou meaneſt to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon paine of burning as an heretike relapſed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, nor to any other port: To the which I anſwered, that I would willingly obey. Yea ſaid he, ſee thou doe ſo and thy fellowes alſo, they ſhall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my ſcience the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Engliſhmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South ſea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the ſpoyle therof, which wrought a maruellous great feare amongſt them, & many of thoſe that were rich, began to ſhift for themſelues, their wiues & children: vpon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy cauſed a generall muſter to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde houſholders of Spaniards in the citie and ſuburbs, and of ſingle men vnmaried, the number of 3000 and of Meſtizoes, which are counted to be the ſonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women, twenty thouſand perſons, and then was Paul Horſewel & I Miles Philips ſent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an Engliſh man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we anſwered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a mau of the age of threeſcore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of vs if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we anſwered, no.

While theſe things were in doing, there came newes that all the Engliſhmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out vnder the leading of ſeueral Captains, whereof two hundred were ſent to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea vnder the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were ſent to Guatimala in the South ſea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were ſent to Guaculco, a port of the South ſea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were ſent to Acapulco, the port where it was ſaid that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquiſitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there preſently embarked himſelfe in a ſmall ſhip of threeſcore tunne or thereabout, hauing alſo in companie with him two other ſmall barkes, and not paſt two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ſhip, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, ſo that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might eaſily haue taken vs all: We being imbarked kept our courſe and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping ſtill as nigh the ſhore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coaſted thus for the ſpace of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at laſt with other ſhips which came from Panama, of whom we were certainely informed that he was cleane gone off the coaſt more then a moneth before: and ſo we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, becauſe his men were very ſore ſea-ſicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with maſter Drake, we ſhould all be taken, ſo that then I ſhould haue beene freed out of that danger and miſerie wherein I liued, and ſhould returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But miſſing thereof, when I ſawe there was no remedie but that we muſt needes come on land againe, little doeth any man know the ſorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was conſtrained to make faire weather of it. And ſo being landed, yͤ next morow after, we began our iourney towardes Mexico, and paſt theſe townes of name in our way, as firſt the towne of Tuatepec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Waſhaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which caſteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and moſt of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene foorth about the ſpace of ſeuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and ſaid, Surely we ſhall haue him ſhortly come into our hands driuen a land through neceſſitie in ſome one place or other, for he being now in theſe ſeas of Sur, it is not poſſible for him to get out of them againe, ſo that if he periſh not at ſea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I ſhould not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my maſters houſe in a readineſſe at an houres warning, when ſoeuer I ſhould be called: for that notwithſtanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to ſend away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houſes, and my maſter hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well horſed and appointed, and comming thither and paſſing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was readie to depart, I not being paſt 3 daies iourney from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meeteſt time for me to make an eſcape, and I was the bolder, preſuming vpon my Spaniſh tongue, which I ſpake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my ſelfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to be entertained as a ſouldiour, and ſo go home into Spaine in the ſame Fleete, and therefore ſecretly one euening late, the moone ſhining faire, I conueyed my ſelfe away, and riding ſo for the ſpace of two nights and two dayes, ſometimes in, and ſometimes out, reſting very little all that time, vpon the ſecond day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, diſtant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the ſhips rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purpoſing to reſt my ſelfe a day or two, I was no ſooner alighted, but within the ſpace of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arreſted, and brought before Iuſtices there, being taken and ſuſpected to be a gentlemans ſonne of Mexico, that was runne away

Tuatepec, Waſhaca, Tepiaca, Pueblo de los Angeles, Stapelapa.

The Spaniſh Viceroy prophecied, but falſely.

Vera Cruz diſtant 5 leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

from his father, who in trueth was the man they ſought for: So I being arreſted, and brought before the Iuſtices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the ſonne of ſuch a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeue me, but vrged ſtil vpon me that I was he that they ſought for, and ſo I was conueied away to priſon. And as I was thus going to priſon, to the further increaſe of my griefe, it chanced that at that very inſtant there was a poore man in the preſſe that was come to towne to ſell hennes, who told the Iuſtices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Engliſhman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he ſaid ſo, for that he was my companion, and ſought to conuey me away from my father, ſo that he alſo was threatned to be law in priſon with me: he for the diſcharge of himſelfe ſtood ſtifly in it, that I was an Engliſhman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forſooke him, and began to examine me anew, whether that ſpeech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpoſe to conuey my ſelfe away with the fleete, I was preſently committed to priſon with a ſorrowfull heart, often wiſhing my ſelfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in ſinceritie had compaſſion of my diſtreſſed eſtate, thinking by his ſpeech, and knowing of me, to haue ſet me free from that preſent danger which he ſaw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no ſooner brought into priſon, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that priſon for the ſpace of 3 weekes, where were alſo many other priſoners which were thither committed for ſundry crimes, & condemned to the gallies. During which time of impriſonment there, I found amongſt thoſe my priſon-fellowes ſome that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compaſſion of me, & would ſpare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongſt whom there was one of them that told me that he vnderſtood by a ſecret friend of his which often came to the priſon to him, that I ſhold be ſhortly ſent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, ſo ſoone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my priſon-fellow of himſelfe, & without any requeſt made by me, cauſed his ſaid friend which came often vnto him to the grate of the priſon, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 kniues which had files in their backes, which files were ſo wel made that they would ſerue & ſuffice any priſoner to file off his irons, & of thoſe kniues or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had cauſed it to be made for me, and let me haue it at that very price it coſt him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8. s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the ſame into the foote of my boot, vpon the inſide of my left leg, and ſo within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife, I was ſuddenly called for, & brought before the head Iuſtice which cauſed thoſe my irons with the round bolt to be ſtricken off and ſent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another faſhion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the ſhackles, and cauſed my hands to be made faſt with a paire of manacles, and ſo was I preſently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with ſundry other wagons, to the number of 60, towardes Mexico, and they all were laden with ſundry merchandiſe which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremoſt in all the companie, and as we trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were ſomewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were ſo ſlender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagon made moſt noyſe, and the men were buſieſt, I would be working to file off my bolts, & trauelling thus for the ſpace of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring vp of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, ſo that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me ſet an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hoſtrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going vp of the hill is very ſteepe, for the ſpace of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accuſtome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them all together for the drawing vp of one wagon, and ſo to come downe againe, and fetch vp others in that order. All which came very well to paſſe: for as it drew towards night when moſt of the Wagoners were gone to draw vp their wagons, in this ſort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and ſo eſpying my time in the darke of the euening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my ſelfe into the woods there adioyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few

Miles Philips his laſt wonderfull eſcape.

biſcuits, and two ſmall cheeſes. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke buſh, and then couered them with moſſe and other things, and then ſhifted for my ſelfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almightie God, I was freed from mine yrons all ſauing the collar that was about my necke, and ſo got my libertie the ſecond time.

Chap. 7.

Wherein is ſhewed how I eſcaped to *Guatimala*, vpon the South ſea, and from thence to the port of *Cauallos*, where I got paſſage to goe into *Spaine*, and of our arriuall at *Hauana*, and our comming to *Spaine*, where I was againe like to haue bene committed priſoner, and how through the great mercy of God I eſcaped, and came home in ſafetie into *England* in February 1582.

The next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne riſing what way to take to eſcape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hand: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my courſe as the woods and mountaines lay, ſtill direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was ſure to conuey my ſelfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I ſaw many great fires made to the North not paſt a league from the mountaine where I was; and trauailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheeſe, the very ſame forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their ſuſtenance: to whom I ſpake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in priſon by the cruel Spanyards, and did deſire them to helpe me file to off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: reioycing greatly with me, that I was thus eſcaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I deſired that I might haue one of them to guide mee out of thoſe deſert mountaines towardes the South, which they alſo moſt willingly did: and ſo they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues diſtant from thence, named Shalapa, where I ſtayed three dayes, for that I was ſomewhat ſickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horſe of one of the Indians, which coſt mee 6. pezos, and ſo trauailing South, within the ſpace of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie vſed againſt vs by the Inquiſitors, and truely hee vſed me very courteouſly: and I hauing confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to aduenture to ſee if I could get out of the ſayd countrey if I could finde ſhipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduiſe herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my ſafeſt way to trauaile, but he alſo of himſelfe kept me company for the ſpace of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indians houſes (who vſed and intertained vs well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatimala vpon the South ſea, which is diſtant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I ſtayed 6. dayes, for that my horſe was weake. And from thence I trauailed ſtill South and by Eaſt ſeuen dayes iourney, paſſing by certaine Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne diſtant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cauallos in the Northeaſt ſea, it was anſwered that in trauailing thither I ſhould not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: ſo heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to ſerue vs ſo long time, and tooke with vs things to kindle fire euery night, becauſe of wilde beaſtes, and to dreſſe our meate: and euery night when we reſted, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our ſelues, and my horſe. And in the night time we ſhould heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beaſtes, and ſome of them we ſhould ſee in the night, which had eyes ſhining like fire. And trauailing thus for the ſpace of twelue dayes, wee came at laſt to the port of Cauallos vpon the Eaſt ſea, diſtant from Guatimala South and by Eaſt, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for ſhippes, and is without either caſtle or bulwarke. I hauing diſpatched away my guides, went downe to the Hauen, where I ſaw certaine ſhips loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I ſpake with one of the Maſters, who aſked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he ſaid, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might paſſe home with him in his ſhip, paying for my paſſage: and he ſaid yea, ſo that I had a ſafe conduct, or letter teſtimoniall to ſhew, that he might incurre no danger; for ſaid he, it may be that you haue killed ſome man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I anſwered, that there was not any ſuch cauſe.

Guatimala on the South ſea.

Puerto de Cauallos.

Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly ſolde my horſe, and made my prouiſion of hennes and bread to ſerue me in my paſſage; And thus within 2. dayes after we ſet ſaile, and neuer ſtayed vntill we came to Hauana, which is diſtant from puerto de Cauallos by ſea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a ſouldier to ſerue in the Admiral ſhip of the ſame fleete, wherein the General himſelf went. There landed while I was here 4. ſhips out of Spaine, being all full of ſouldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great braſſe pieces of ordinance, although the caſtle were before ſufficiently prouided: 200. men more were ſent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. laſtly to S. Iohn de Vllua. As for ordinance there they haue ſufficient, and of the very ſame which was ours, which we had in the Ieſus, and thoſe others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The ſending of thoſe ſouldiers to euery of thoſe Ports, and the ſtrengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote alſo by them to the general of his fleete, giuing him in charge ſo to doe, as alſo directing him what courſe he ſhould keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his courſe more to the Northward, aduertiſing him withal, what number and power of French ſhips of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforeſaid: which the general of the fleete wel conſidering, and what great ſtore of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very ductifully obſerue and obey: for in trueth he had in his ſaid fleete 37. ſaile of ſhips, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of ſiluer one with another, beſides great ſtore of gold, Cochinilla, ſugars, hides, and Cana Fiſtula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did prouidently take order for, for their moſt ſtrength and defence, if neede ſhould be, to the vttermoſt of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither paſſenger nor ſouldier ſhould come aboord without his ſword and harquebuſh, with ſhot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they ſhould hap to meete with them, or any of them: and euer as the weather was faire, the ſaid general would himſelf go aboord from one ſhip to another, to ſee that euery man had his ful prouiſion according to the commandement giuen. Yet to ſpeake truely what I thinke, two good tall ſhips of warre would haue made a foule ſpoile amongſt them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were ſtrong and warlike appointed, ſauing only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe ouer and beſides the weakeneſſe and the ill furniſhing of the reſt, they were all ſo deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. Wel, thus we ſet ſaile, & had a very ill paſſage home, the weather was ſo contrary. We kept our courſe in maner Northeaſt, and brought our ſelues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be ſure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4. of Iune, vntill the 10. of September, and neuer ſaw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none ſhould goe on ſhoare vntill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ſhip, who told the Maſter that I was an Engliſhmā, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had coſt me my life. Notwithſtanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and ſeemed to be mery & pleaſant, that we were all come ſo wel in ſafety. Preſently after, licence came that we ſhould go on ſhoare, and I preſſed to be gone with the firſt: howbeit, the Maſter came vnto me, & ſaid, Sirra, you muſt goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, & that he meant there to offer me vp as a ſacrifice to the Holy houſe. For the ignorant zeale of a number of theſe ſuperſtitious Spaniards is ſuch, that they thinke that they haue done God good ſeruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for ſo do they account of vs. Wel, I perceiuing all this, tooke vpon me not to ſuſpect any thing, but was ſtill iocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it ſtood me vpon to ſhift for my ſelfe. And ſo wayting my time when the Maſter was in his cabbin aſleepe, I conueyed my ſelfe ſecretly downe by the ſhrowds into the ſhip boate, and made no ſtay but cut the rope wherewithal ſhe was moared, and ſo by the cable haled on ſhore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I eſcaped that day, & then neuer ſtayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had ſeene other take toward Siuil: ſo that the next morning I came to Siuil, and ſought me out a workemaſter, that I might fall to my ſcience, which was weauing of taffataes; and being intertained I ſet my ſelfe cloſe to my worke, and durſt not for my life once to ſtirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes ſay, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Engliſhman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would

Don Pedro de Guzman.

to God I might knowe him, ſurely I would preſent him to the holy houſe. And thus I kept ſtill within doores at my worke, and fained my ſelfe not well at eaſe, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the ſpace of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at ſea, and yet durſt not be ouerbold to walke abroad: and after vnderſtanding that there were certaine Engliſh ſhips at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboord one of them, and deſired the Maſter that I might haue paſſage with him to goe into England, and told him ſecretly that I was one of thoſe which Captaine Hawkins did ſet on ſhore in the Indies: he very courteouſly prayed me to haue him excuſed, for he durſt not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a ſorowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leaue of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S, Lucar, where I put my ſelfe to be a ſouldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of the Chriſtmas holidayes, I found there two Engliſh ſhips, the one of London, and the other of the Weſt countrey, which were ready fraighted and ſtayed but for a faire wind. To the Maſter of the one, which was of the Weſt countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now deſirous to goe home and ſee my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and ſo hauing agreed with him for my paſſage, I tooke ſhipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres abſence, hauing ſuſtained many and ſundry great troubles and miſeries, as by this diſcourſe appeareth, I came home to this my natiue countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ſhip called the Landret, and arriued at Poole.

He commeth home in an Engliſh ſhip from Maiorca.

The trauailes of *Iob Hortop*, which Sir *Iohn Hawkins* ſet on land within the Bay of *Mexico*, after his departure from the Hauen of *S. Iohn de Vllua* in *Nueua Eſpanna*, the 8. of October 1568.

NOt vntruely nor without cauſe ſaid Iob the faithfull ſeruant of God (whom the ſacred Scriptures tell vs, to haue dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, liuing a ſhort time, is repleniſhed with many miſeries: which ſome know by reading of hiſtories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my ſelfe, as this preſent Treatiſe inſuing ſhall ſhew.

It is not vnknowen vnto many, that I Iob Hortop powder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnſhire, from my age of twelue yeeres brought vp in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Maieſties powder-maker, whom I ſerued, vntil I was preſt to go on the 3. voyage to the Weſt Indies, with the right worſhipful Sir Iohn Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Maieſties ſhip called the Ieſus of Lubeck, who ſet ſaile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. hauing with him another ſhip of her Maieſties, called the Minion, and foure ſhips of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Iudith, and the William and Iohn. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did ſeparate them, to meete at the Iland of Tenerif. After which by the ſpace of ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights, we had ſuch ſtormes at ſea, that we loſt our long boats and a pinneſſe, with ſome men: comming to the Iſle of Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and Iohn were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in freſh water, and ſet ſaile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal carauel, laden with fiſh called Mullets: from thence we ſailed to cape Verde. In our courſe thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal carauel, whom our vice admiral chaſed and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made maſter & captaine of the Carauel, and ſo we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, & ſet ſouldiers on ſhore. Our Generall was the firſt that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our ſelues. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poyſoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyſon out of his wound with a cloue of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra leona, where be monſtrous fiſhes called Sharkes, which will deuoure men. I amongſt others was ſent in the Angell with two Pinneſſes into the riuer called Calouſa, to ſeeke two Carauels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

A remedie againſt poyſoned arrowes.

The riuer of Calouſa.

In this riuer in yͤ night time we had one of our pinneſſes bulged by a ſea-horſe, ſo that our men ſwimming about the riuer, were all taken into the other pinneſſes, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the ſea-horſe. This monſter hath the iuſt proportion of a horſe, ſauing that his legs be ſhort, his teeth very great, and a ſpan in length: hee vſeth in the night to goe on land into the woods, ſeeking at vnawares to deuoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie preuent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree ouerthwart the way, ſo that at their returne, for that their legs be ſo ſhort, they cannot goe ouer it: then the Negroes ſet vpon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and ſo deſtroy them.

From thence we entred the riuer called the Caſſerroes, where there were other Carauels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the riuer and the maine, trees grow with Oiſters vpon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ſhips maine maſt, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree alſo groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaues thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wriſt, they growe on cluſters: when they be ripe, they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taſte then they be.

The riuer of Taggarin.

From thence with the Angel, the Iudith, and the two pinneſſes, we ſailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and ſouldiers went vp into the riuer called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fiftie thouſand Negroes beſieging the ſame towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred, & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found fiue Portugals which yeelded themſelues to his mercy, and hee ſaued their liues: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the Weſt Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings droue 7000. Negroes into yͤ ſea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to ſaue themſelues. Wee returned backe againe in our pinneſſes to the ſhips, and there tooke in freſh water, and made ready ſayle towards Rio grande.

500. Negroes taken.

Rio grande.

At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Iudith, and the 2. pinneſſes, and found there ſeuen Portugal Caruels, which made great fight with vs. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and droue them to the ſhore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the caruels from the ſhore into the riuer. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his caruel, the Swallow, and the William and Iohn came into the riuer, with captaine Dudley and his ſouldiers, who landed being but a hundred ſouldiers, and fought with ſeuen thouſand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the loſſe of one man.

In that place there be many muſke-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take thẽ in a net, & put them in a cage, & nouriſh them very daintily, & take the muſke from them with a ſpoone.

Now we directed our courſe from Guinea towards the Weſt Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

Dominica.

Margarita.

In ſayling towards the Indies, the firſt land that we eſcryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we ancored, & tooke in freſh water and wood for our prouiſion: which done, we ſayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in deſpite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in freſh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the ſea, wherein doe breede many fowles like vnto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their egs aboord with vs: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and ſpeckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate.

Burboroata.

From thence wee ſayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the Weſt Indies: there we came in, mored our ſhips, and taried two moneths trimming and dreſſing our ſhips, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spanyards of that countrey. There our Generall ſent vs vnto a towne called Placencia, (which ſtood on a high hil) to haue intreated a Biſhop that dwelt there for his fauour & friendſhip in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forſooke yͤ town.

Placencia in the maine.

In our way vp the hil to Placencia, wee found a monſtrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our maſter Robert Barret did cut him in ſunder with his ſword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Heere be many Tygers, monſtrous and furious beaſts, which by ſubtiltie deuoure and deſtroy many men: they vſe the traded wayes, & wil ſhew themſelues twiſe or thriſe to the trauellers, and ſo depart ſecretly, lurking till they be paſt, then ſuddenly & at vnawares they leape vpon them and deuoure them: they had ſo vſed two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall ſent three ſhips vnto the Iland called Coraçao, to make prouiſion for the reſt, where they remayned vntill his comming. Hee ſent from thence the Angel and the Iudith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards ſhot three pieces at vs from the ſhore, whom we requited with two of ours, and ſhotte through the Gouernours houſe: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without ſhot of the towne, where wee rid fiue dayes in deſpite of the Spanyards, and their ſhot. In the meane ſpace there came a Caruel of aduiſe from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Iudith wee chaſed and droue to the ſhore: we fetcht him from thence in ſpite of 200. Spaniards hargubuſh ſhot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the loſſe of one man, whoſe name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the ſhore for our ſafeties, our field ordinance: we droue the Spaniards vp into the country aboue two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he ſold moſt part of his Negros.

Rio de la Hach
taken.

In this riuer we killed a monſtrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at ſunne ſet: ſeuen of vs went in the pinneſſe vp into the Riuer, carying with vs a dogge, vnto whom with rope-yarne we bound a great hooke of ſteele, with a chaine that had a ſwiuel, which we put vnder the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming ouer his back faſt bound, as aforeſaid: we put him ouer boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & preſently ſwallowed vp the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful ſtirre in the water: we leapt on ſhore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a ſerpent, full of ſcales as broad as a ſawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon ſhotte: he hath foure legs, his feete haue long nailes like vnto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his ſkinne, and ſtuffed it with ſtraw, meaning to haue brought it home, had not the ſhip bin caſt away. This monſter will cary away and deuoure both man and horſe.

From hence we ſhaped our courſe to Santa Martha, where we landed, traded, and ſold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monſtrous adder, going towards his caue with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and ſeuen foote long: vpon his tayle he had ſixteene knottes, euery one as bigge as a great walnut, which they ſay, doe ſhew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

Santa Martha.

From thence wee ſayled to Cartagena, where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would haue traded with them, but they durſt not for feare of the King: wee brought vp the Minion againſt the Caſtle, and ſhotte at the Caſtle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a caue we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with vs, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be ſet on ſhore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to ſeeke the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a ſmall ſhip, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Auguſtin de villa nueua, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and cauſed them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with vs into the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua. Our Generall made great account of him, and vſed him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed vs. When wee had mored our ſhips, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our ſafeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee diſcouered the Spaniſh fleete, whereof Luçon a Spanyard was Generall: with him came a Spanyard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine ſent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He ſent a Pinneſſe with a flagge of truce vnto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey thoſe Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who ſayd, they were the Queene of Englands ſhips, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he ſhall giue me victuals and all other neceſſaries, and I will goe out on the one ſide of the Port, and he ſhall come in on the other ſide. The Spanyard returned for anſwere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thouſand men, & therefore he would come in. Our Generall ſayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I repreſent my Queenes perſon, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he haue a thouſand men, my powder and ſhot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counſell among themſelues, yeelded to our Generals demaund, ſwearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commiſſion and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were giuen on both parts. Our Generall bearing a godly and Chriſtian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, iudged the Spanyards to haue done the like, deliuered to them ſixe gentlemen, not doubting to haue

Cartagena.

Campeche.

Don Martin de
Henriquez the
trecherous
Vice-roy.

receiued the like from them: but the faithleſſe Spanyardes, in coſtly apparell gaue of the baſeſt of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. Theſe things finiſhed, proclamation was made on both ſides, that on payne of death no occaſion ſhould be giuen, whereby any quarel ſhould grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both ſides.

The Spaniards preſently brought a great Hulke, a ſhip of ſixe hundred, and mored her by the ſide of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ſhips, planting their ordinance towards vs, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboord, as the ſequel did ſhew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue, he ſent Robert Barret aboord the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in thoſe dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded preſently to be ſet in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the falſe Spaniards) was ſounded for the enterpriſing of their pretended treaſon againſt our Generall, whom Auguſtine de villa noua ſitting at dinner with him, ſhould then preſently haue killed with a poynado which hee had priuily in his ſleeue, which was eſpyed and preuented by one Iohn Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his ſleeue. Our General haſtily roſe vp, and commanded him to be put priſoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithleſſe Spanyards, thinking all things to their deſire had bene finiſhed, ſuddenly ſounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called vnto vs, ſaying, God and Saint George, vpon thoſe traiterous villaines, and reſcue the Minion, I truſt in God the day ſhalbe ours: and with that the Mariners & ſouldiers leapt out of the Ieſus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a ſhot out of her fiered the Spaniards Viceadmirall, where the moſt part of 300. Spanyards were ſpoyled, and blowen ouer boord with powder. Their Admirall alſo was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ſhips, and preſently fought with them: they came vpon vs on euery ſide, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke vntil it was night: they killed all our men that were on ſhore in the Iland, ſauing three, which by ſwimming got aboord the Ieſus of Lubeck. They ſunke the Generals ſhip called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had aboue threeſcore ſhot through her: many of his men were ſpoyled: foure other of their ſhips were ſunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the ſhore to reſcue them, fifteene hundred: we ſlew of them fiue hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Ieſus of Lubeck had fiue ſhotte through her mayne Maſt: her fore-maſt was ſtrooke in ſunder vnder the hounds with a chayne ſhotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with ſhotte, therefore it was vnpoſſible to bring her away. They ſet two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to haue burnt the Ieſus of Lubeck, which we preuented by cutting our cables in the halſe, and winding off by our ſternefaſt.

Auguſtine de villa nueua a moſt thankeleſſe traytour.

The Spaniſh vice-admirall fiered.

One of thoſe three was Iob Hortop the reporter hereof. Foure Spaniſh ſhips ſunke.

The Minion was forced to ſet ſaile and ſtand off from vs, and come to an anker without ſhot of the Iſland. Our Generall couragiouſly cheered vp his ſouldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a ſiluer cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to ſtand by their Ordinance luſtily like men. He had no ſooner ſet the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culuerin ſhot ſtroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that ſtoode by the maine maſt, and ranne out on the other ſide of the ſhip: which nothing diſmaid our Generall, for he ceaſed not to incourage vs, ſaying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preſerued me from this ſhot, will alſo deliuer vs from theſe traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to haue turned out of the port, had his maine maſt ſtroke ouer boord with a chaineſhot that came from the ſhore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ſhip, tooke his pinneſſe with all his men, and came aboord the Ieſus of Lubek to our Generall, who ſaid vnto him, that he thought he would not haue runne away from him: he anſwered, that he was not minded to haue run away from him, but his intent was to haue turned vp, and to haue laid the weathermoſt ſhip of the Spaniſh fleete aboord, and fired his ſhip in hope therewith to haue ſet on fire the Spaniſh fleete, hee ſaid if he had done ſo he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for ſafegard of her maſts to be brought vnder the Ieſus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Iudith, and to lay the Minion aboord, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and ſo he did.

At night when the wind came off the ſhore, wee ſet ſayle, and went out in deſpite of the Spanyards and their ſhot, where wee ankered, with two ankers vnder the Iſland, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared euery houre to be driuen with the lee ſhore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and ſet ſaile, ſeeking the riuer of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were ſo ſcarce, that we were driuen to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to diuide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and ſome ſaid that they had rather be on the ſhore to ſhift for themſelues amongſt the enemies, then to ſterue on ſhip-boord. He aſked them who would go on ſhore, and who would tarry on ſhip-boord, thoſe that would goe on ſhore, he willed to goe on foremaſt, and thoſe that would tarrie, on baſe maſt: foureſcore and ſixteene of vs were willing to depart. Our Generall gaue vnto euery one of vs ſixe yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came vnto vs, where friendly imbracing euery one of vs, he was greatly grieued that he was forced to leaue vs behind him, he counſelled vs to ſerue God, and to loue one another, and thus courteouſly he gaue vs a ſorowful farewell, and promiſed if God ſent him ſafe home, he would do what he could, that ſo many of vs as liued ſhould by ſome means be brought into England, & ſo he did.

About an hundred Engliſhmen landed.

Since my returne into England I haue heard that many miſliked that he left vs ſo behind him, and brought away Negros: but the reaſon is this, for them he might haue had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driuen vpon the Iſlands, which for gold nor ſiluer he could not haue had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ſhip, and we remained on land, where for our ſafeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about vs, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne riſing wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, vntill that we came into a fielde vnder a groue, where the Indians came vpon vs, aſking vs what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard, and Iohn Corniſh, for that they could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue, went to them, and ſaid wee were Engliſhmen, that neuer came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall ſet vs on ſhore: they aſked vs whither we intended to goe, we ſaid to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed vs to giue vnto them ſome of our clothes & ſhirts, which we did: then he bad vs giue them all, but we would not ſo doe, whereupon Iohn Corniſh was then ſlaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that ſtoode by the Captaine ſhot at him, wherefore hee ſtroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed vs to follow him, who brought vs into a great fielde, where we found freſh water: hee bad vs ſit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane ſpace to kill fiue or ſixe Deere, and bring them vs. We taryed there till three of the clocke, but they came not: there one of our company whoſe name was Iohn Cooke, with foure other departed from vs into a groue to ſeeke reliefe, where preſently they were taken by the Indians, and ſtript as naked as euer they were borne, and ſo returned to vs.

Iohn Corniſh ſlaine.

Then we diuided our ſelues into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the reſt to Iames Collier, and thus ſeuerally we ſought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company, bid vs farewell, they paſſed a riuer, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and ſo paſſing on their way, came to a ſtony hill, where they ſtayed. Iames Collier with his company that day paſſed the ſame riuer, and were alſo robbed, and one of them ſlaine by chance: wee came that night vnto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company reſted, there we remained til morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groues, where the Indians robbed vs of all our clothes, and left vs naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of vs. Three dayes after we came to another riuer, there the Indians ſhewed vs the way to Panuco, and ſo left vs: we paſſed the riuer into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene graſſe, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe vs from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey. We trauelled there ſeuen dayes, and ſeuen nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiauos, a fruit like figs. At our comming to the riuer of Panuco two Spaniſh horſemen came ouer vnto vs in a Canowe: they aſked vs how long we had bene in the wilderneſſe, and where our generall was, for they knewe vs to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall ſet vs on ſhore, & he was gone away with his ſhips. They returned to their Gouernour, who ſent them with fiue Canowes to bring vs all ouer. Which done, they ſet vs in aray, where a hundred horſemen with their lances, came forceably vpon vs, but did not hurt vs, they carried vs priſoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the riuer of Panuco there is a fiſh like a calfe, the Spanyards call it a Mallatin, hee hath a ſtone in his head, which the Indians vſe for the diſeaſe of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land, and eateth graſſe. I haue eaten of it, and it eateth not much vnlike to bacon. From thence we were ſent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the ſea ſide, I did ſee white Crabs running vp & downe the

Anthony Goddard.

A riuer.

Iames Collier.

8. Engliſhmen ſlaine.

Another riuer.

Seuen dayes trauell to Panuco.

ſands, I haue eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Auocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, hauing a ſtone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There alſo groweth a ſtrange tree which they call Magueis, it ſerueth them to many vſes, below by the root they make a hole, wherat they do take out of it twiſe euery day a certaine kind of licour, which they ſeeth in a great kettle, till the third part be conſumed, & that it waxe thick, it is as ſweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they haue taken al the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & vſe it as we vſe our hempe here in England, which done, they conuert it to many vſes: of ſome part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to ſow their ſaddles, pannels, & other furniture for their horſes: of the reſt they make tyles to couer their houſes, and they put it to many other purpoſes.

The manifold vſe of Magueis.

Mexico.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is ſeuen or eight miles about, ſeated in a great fen, inuironed with 4 hils, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they paſſe from place to place, & to the Iſlands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I ſaw them ſixe times: when they come they throw downe trees, houſes, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thouſand Indians, they goe in white ſhirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like vnto a flannell petticote. The kings pallace was the firſt place that wee were brought vnto in Mexico, where without we were willed to ſit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about vs, many lamented our miſery, & ſome of their clergy aſked vs if we were Chriſtians, we ſaid, we praiſed God, we were as good Chriſtians as they: they aſked how they might know that, we ſaid, by our confeſſions. From thence we were carried in a Canow to a Tanners houſe, which ſtandeth a little from the citie: the next morning two friers and two prieſts came thither to vs, and willed vs to bleſſe our ſelues, and ſay our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might vnderſtand vs, many of our company did ſo, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Chriſtians, and that they liked vs well, and then they brought vs much reliefe, with clothes, our ſicke men were ſent to their Hoſpitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners houſe we were led to a gentlemans place, where vpon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things neceſſary brought vs: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought vs great reliefe.

The viceroy practiſed to hang vs, and cauſed a paire of new gallowes to be ſet vp, to haue executed vs, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not conſent, but prayed him to ſtay vntil the ſhip of aduiſe brought newes from the king of Spaine, what ſhould be done with vs, for they ſaid they could not find any thing by vs, whereby they might lawfully put vs to death.

The viceroy then commanded vs to be ſent to an Iſland there by, and he ſent for the Biſhop of Mexico, who ſent foure prieſts to the Iſland, to examine and confeſſe vs, who ſaid, that the viceroy would burne vs, when wee were examined and confeſſed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Biſhop, and told him that we were very good Chriſtians. The Biſhop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confeſſions, and ſaid that wee were good Chriſtians, therefore he would not meddle with vs. Then the viceroy ſent for our maſter R. Barret, whom he kept priſoner in his pallace, vntill the fleete was departed for Spayne. The reſt of vs he ſent to a towne ſeuen leagues from Mexico called Teſcuco, to card wooll among the Indian ſlaues, which drudgery we diſdained, and concluded to beat our maſters, and ſo wee did: wherefore they ſent to the viceroy, deſiring him for Gods ſake and our Ladies, to ſend for vs, for they would not keepe vs any longer, they ſaid that we were deuils and no men.

The viceroy ſent for vs, and impriſoned vs in a houſe in Mexico, from thence he ſent Anthony Goddard, & ſome other of our company with him into Spaine, with Luçon, the Generall that tooke vs: the reſt of vs ſtaied in Mexico two yeres after, and then were ſent priſoners into Spaine, with Don Iuan de Velaſco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spaniſh fleet, who caried with him in his ſhip, to be preſented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was ſent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee ſent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appeare by the anatomie, that he was of a monſtrous ſize, the ſkull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a buſhel, his necke-bones, ſhoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monſtrous to behold, the ſhanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee was as long as from any mans ankle vp to his waſt, and of bigneſſe accordingly.

At this time, and in this ſhip, were alſo ſent to be preſented to the king of Spaine, two cheſtes full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were alſo ſent from China, to be ſent to the king of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like vnto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut euery fifteene dayes, they vſe to water them twiſe a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and vſe them in their other meates, whoſe excellent ſauour and taſt is very delightfull, and procureth a good appetite.

A deſcription of ginger.

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When we were ſhipped in the Port of S.Iohn de Vllua, the Generall called our maſter Robert Barret and vs with him into his cabbin, & aſked vs if wee would fight againſt Engliſhmen, if we met them at the ſea, we ſaid that we would not fight againſt our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He ſaid if we had ſaid otherwiſe, he would not haue beleeued vs, and for that we ſhould be the better vſed, and haue allowance as other men had: and he gaue a charge to euery one of vs, according vnto our knowledge. Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawſe with the boat-ſwaine, Iohn Beare with the quarter-maſters, Edward Rider, & Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the maſters boy attended on him and the pilote: ſhortly after we departed from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Hauana: wee were 26. dayes ſayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in freſh water, and ſtayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treaſure from Peru.

Hauana.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ſhips, both the fleetes ioyned in one, and Don Iuan de Velaſco de Varre was the firſt fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to haue caſt away all the fleet vpon the Cape called Cannaueral, which was preuented by me Iohn Hortop, & our maſter Robert Barret: for I being in the ſecond watch eſcried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke ouer boord, for I ſaw land vnder the lee-bow of the ſhip: he called to the boat-ſwaine, & bid him let flie the fore ſaile ſheat, and lay the helm vpon the lee, and caſt the ſhip about. When we were caſt about, we were but in ſeuen fathome water: we ſhot off a piece, giuing aduice to the fleet to caſt about, and ſo they did. For this we were beloued of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and ſwore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he ſaid, that twiſe before he had almoſt caſt away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be ſhot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ſhip came vp to him, and aſked what the matter was, he ſaid, that his pilote had caſt away his ſhip and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Engliſhmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perſwaded him to the contrary.

A ſea-monſter in the ſhape of a man.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we diſcouered a monſter in the ſea, who ſhewed himſelfe three times vnto vs from the middle vpwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Preſently after this, for the ſpace of ſixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God ſent vs a faire wind, vntill ſuch time as we diſcouered the Iland called Faial.

On S. Iames day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fire-workes, to make paſtime that night, as it is the order of the Spanyards. When we came neere the land, our maſter R. Barret conferred with vs, to take the pinneſſe one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our ſelues from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinneſſe aſterne then but our ſhip, which gaue great courage to our enterpriſe: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would haue ſerued vs nine dayes, and prouided our ſelues to goe: our Maſter borrowed a ſmall compaſſe of the Maſter gunner of the ſhip, who lent it him, but ſuſpected his intent, and cloſely made the Generall priuy to it, who for a time diſſembled the matter. In the ende ſeeing our pretenſe, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the ſtocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, & the reſt of vs to be ſet in the ſtocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be ſhot off, and hee ſent the pinneſſe for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, maſters and pilots of both fleetes to come aboord of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be ſtrooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on euery yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confeſſe our ſelues, for he ſwore by the king that he would hang vs.

When the other Admiral, and the reſt were come aboord, he called them into his counſel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the maſter of the Engliſhmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whoſe name was Diego Flores de Valdes, aſked him wherefore: he ſayd, that we had determined to riſe in the night with the pinneſſe, and with a ball of fire-worke to ſet the ſhip on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, ſayd he, I will haue you the Captaines, Maſters, and Pilotes, to ſet your hands vnto that, for I ſweare by the king that I will hang them. Diego Flores de Valdes anſwered, I nor the Captaines, Maſters, and Pilotes wil not ſet our hands to that, for hee ſaid, if he had bin priſoner as we were, he would haue done the like himſelfe. He counſelled him to keepe vs faſt in priſon, till he came into Spaine, & then ſend vs to the Contratation houſe in Siuil, where, if we had deſerued death the law would paſſe on vs, for hee would not haue it ſaid that in ſuch a fleet as that was, ſixe men and a boy ſhould take the pinneſſe, and goe away, and ſo he returned to his ſhip againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine maſt to vs, and ſwore by the king, that we ſhould not come out of the ſtocks til we came into Spaine: within 16. dayes after we came ouer the Bar of S. Lucar, and came vp to the Hurcados, then he put vs into a pinneſſe in the ſtocks, and ſent vs priſoners to the Contratation houſe in Siuill. From thence after one yere we brake priſon, on S. Steuens day at night, 7. of our company eſcaped, Robert Barret, I Iob Hortop, Iohn Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation houſe, where we remained in the ſtocks till twelfe tide was paſt. Then our keeper put vp a petition to the Iudge of the contratation houſe, that we might be ſent to the great priſon houſe in Siuill, for that we broke priſon, whereupon we were preſently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence, to the caſtell of the Inquiſition houſe in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought vs out in proceſſion, euery one of vs hauing a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes croſſe on our backs: they brought vs vp on an high ſcaffold, that was ſet vp in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe ſtreet of Siuill: there they ſet vs downe vpon benches, euery one in his degree, and againſt vs on another ſcaffold ſate all the Iudges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on vs, ſome pittying our caſes, other ſaid, burne thoſe heretikes. When we had ſit there two houres, we had a ſermon made to vs: after which one called Breſinia, ſecretarie to the Inquiſition, went vp into the pulpit with the proceſſe, and called Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquiſition brought from the ſcaffold before the Iudges, where the ſecretarie read the ſentence, which was that they ſhould be burnt, and ſo they returned to the ſcaffold, and were burnt.

Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert burned.

Iob Hortop his condemnation.

Then I Iob Hortop, and Iohn Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our ſentence, which was, that we ſhould go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquiſition houſe, to haue the coate with S. Andrewes croſſe put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the euerlaſting priſon remedileſſe, and ſo we were returned from the ſcaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had ſentence to ſerue in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Emery to ſerue fiue yeeres, & ſo were returned to the benches on the ſcaffold, where we ſate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquiſition houſe, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Breſinia the treaſurer came thither to vs, and deliuered to euery one of vs his ſentence in writing. I with the reſt were ſent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: euery mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of courſe blacke biſket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two ſhirts, two paire of breeches of courſe canuas, a red coat of courſe cloth, ſoone on, and ſoone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were ſhauen euery month, hunger, thirſt, cold, and ſtripes we lacked none, til our ſeueral times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I ſerued two yeeres aboue my ſentence, I was ſent backe to the Iuqniſition houſe in Siuill, and there hauing put on the coat with S. Andrewes croſſe, I was ſent to the euerlaſting priſon remedileſſe, where I wore the coat 4. yeres, & then vpon great ſuit, I had it taken off for 50. duckets, which Hernando de Soria treaſurer of the kings mint lent me,
1590 whom I ſerued for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and vntil the moneth of October laſt, 1590. and then I came from Siuill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flie-boat, that was laden with wines and ſalt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines ſubiects, dwelling in Siuil, maried to Spaniſh women, and ſworne to their king. In this moneth of October laſt, departing from S. Lucar, at ſea, off the ſouthernmoſt Cape, we met an Engliſh ſhip, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Portſmouth, where they ſet me on
1590 land, the 2. day of December laſt paſt, 1590. From thence I was ſent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portſmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Suſſex, who commanded his ſecretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Chriſtmas euen I took my leaue of his honor, and came to Redriffe.

The Computation of my impriſonment.

I ſuffered impriſonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation houſe in Siuill one yeere.

In the Inquiſition houſe in Triana one yeere.

I was in the Gallies twelue yeeres.

In the euerlaſting priſon remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews croſſe on my back 4. yeres.

And at libertie I ſerued as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, vntill this time of my returne, I was fiue times in great danger of death, beſides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

Firſt in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where being on ſhore, with many other of our company, which were all ſlaine ſauing I, and two other that by ſwimming got aboord the Ieſus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would haue hanged vs.

Fourthly, becauſe he could not haue his mind to hang vs, he would haue burnt vs.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought vs into Spaine, would haue hanged vs at ſea.

Thus hauing truely ſet downe vnto you my trauels, miſery and dangers, endured the ſpace of 23. yeeres, I ende.

A relation of the Hauen of *Tecuanapa*, a moſt conuenient place for building of ſhips, ſituate vpon the South ſea not farre from *Nicaragua*, which was ſent vnto the viceroy of *Mexico* or to the king of *Spaine*: wherein are deſcribed the riuers of *Ometepec*, *Tlacamama*, and *Tlacolula* falling into the ſaid Hauen, with the townes, people, and mountaines adioyning to the ſaid riuers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ſhips.

The Port of Tecuanapa.

The Biſhopricks of Guaxacan, & Tlarcali.

The Port and ſmall harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the drieſt time of Sommer in the chanell little leſſe then one fathome at low water, and at full ſea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increaſing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the Weſt, and there the Biſhopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are ſeparated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues diſtant, which though it be no ſpecial harbour, yet vpon an extremity ſhips may come and ride there, as in times paſt they haue done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake ſomewhat large towards the midſt of the chanell, and in ſome parts deepe, but ſpecially on the ſide of Cuahintla, but on either ſide it is but ſhallow. As you paſſe betweene the ſea & certaine great and large woods of orenge trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the ſea coaſt, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the ſide of Cuahintla the mountaines haue many creeks and a ſmall lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be trauelled, except you take the way betweene the ſea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of ſandy way. And on the North ſide there is another ſmall creeke. And going by the ſands ſide one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth vnto Quacapotla a manſion of Intla.

Cuahintla.

Tulaningo a ſmall lake.

Quacapotla.

The riuer of Ometepec.

The riuer of Ometepec being the principal riuer which commeth to this hauen hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues frō this hauen, from diuers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchiſtlahuaca litle more then 3. leagues all the brooks ioyne together: and from that place you may paſſe downe to the ſea with Canoas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious ſtreame or current which rūneth between two great rocks, paſſing from Cocahulapa a manſion of Ometepec vnto Yanguitle a manſion of the ſaid Ometepec. Theſe inconueniences being paſt (which in my iudgement may be about one league) the riuer is more nauigable, ſo that you may ſayle in the ſame about 12. leagues. During the ſpace of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe diſtance from the waters ſide, and in many other parts of the ſame riuer it hath great quantitie of woods which vſe to grow in hot ſoiles, fit for ſhip-timber, as Huber trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Alſo there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which eaſily may bee caried downe the riuer, becauſe they may be cut ſome 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the riuer, and may be brought downe to the waters ſide with the ſeruice and helpe of thoſe that dwell in the townes thereabout.

Nicaragua.

Xicaian.

At the head of theſe brooks where the riuer beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude ſpeech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the ſea, little more or leſſe. The place it ſelfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

Aioanapa.

A litle from this is the towne of Aioanapa poſſeſſed by the heires of Perez Gomez, hauing in it about 300. Indians of the ſelfe ſame ſpeach and qualitie. The countrey is more ſubiect to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is diſtant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues, and from the ſea 20. leagues.

Suchiſtlahuaca.

Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchiſtlahuaca on the ſaid riuer, and the inhabitants are of the ſame ſpeach and qualities. The countrey is more ſubiect to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzaluo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues diſtant from the ſea.

Ometepec.

From this towne vnto the towne of Ometepec are 6. leagues. The place is very hoat, and in the ſame gouernment, and is ſituate betweene certaine hils one league from the riuer: he and his followers haue vnder them about 700. Indians, which ſpeake the Ayacaſtecan, Amuſgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the ſea nine leagues.

Ihualapa.

From this towne vnto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the gouernment of the heires of Laurence de Caſtro, of the foreſaid temperature, and the people vſe the ſaid language, and are of the like ſtature: and it ſtandeth three leagues from the riuer, and from the ſea ten leagues.

Niciecan.

Theſe are the beſt townes, and of the beſt traffique that are vpon all this coaſt. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in theſe townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Alguazil of the prouince is reſident for the moſt part of the yeere.

Pio a frontier towne againſt the Mexicans.

More lowe beneath the riuer of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne againſt the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Grauiel de Chiauez a citizen of Mexico hath the gouernement thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the ſea.

Huehuatlan.

A little below this is the towne of Huehuatlan in the ſelfe ſame gouernement ſtanding one league from the riuer on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the ſea 5. leagues.

Cuahucapotla.

And one league from this towne ſtands the towne of Cuahucapotla a manſion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it ſtandeth one league and a halfe from the riuer, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.

Cacatepec.

At the fountaines or heads of the reſt of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the gouernment of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants haue vnder them ſome 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the ſea ſome 22. leagues.

The riuer of Tlacamama.

The riuer which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amuſgos, which are ſome 17. leagues from the ſea. There it maketh a formed riuer, ſo big, that it is nauigable to the ſea with canoas and lighters: I ſay from a litle below Toliſtlahuaca a manſion of Xicaian. It is nauigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, becauſe that the ſands of the plaines do ſoke and drink vp the water in ſuch wiſe, that there remaineth ſo little, that there is no paſſage: howbeit in ſmall lighters timber may bee brought downe this riuer one league from the place where it is cut, vnto the place that I haue ſpoken of; whereas bigger veſſels may bee made; for nigh vnto that place other brooks and running waters doe ioyne and meet, which make it a maine riuer. It hath nigh vnto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amuſgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bigneſſe: and beneath thoſe mountaines in the warme countrey, neere vnto the riuers there is much timber of thoſe ſorts which I mentioned before to be about the riuer of Ometepec, which may eaſily be cut and carried downe vnto Tecuanapa in the time before ſpecified.

Atoiaque.

This riuer hath likewiſe townes adioyning to it; the firſt at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoiaque belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the ſea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

Xicaian.

One league from this towne, and 14. from the ſea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewiſe to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are reſident in it the Vicar and Iuſtice; it is from the riuer a league and a halfe.

Pinoteſpan.

A league from this towne, and 14. from the ſea is ſituate the manſion of Pinoteſpan ſubiect to Tututepec, which hath with the manors ſubiect vnto it 500. Indians.

The towne of Tlacamama.

Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the riuer is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth ſome 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

More toward the South 5. leagues from the riuer, and two from this towne, and 14. from the ſea is the towne called Pinoteſpan del Rey. They are handſome people, but of ſlow ſpeach: this towne conteineth about 100. Indians like vnto the former. They be wealthie, becauſe they make great quantitie of ſalte; for they haue a lake in which ſalte groweth vnder the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conſerued together) whereout they take it in breaking it with ſtones vpon the ground vnder the water.

A lake hauing hard ſalt growing vnder the water.

It hath alſo the towne of Amuſgos, which is in the gouernment of Fernando de Auila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They ſpeake the Amuſgan tongue. The countrey is hotter: it ſtandeth on the high way from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or leſſe.

Theſe are all the townes of account ſituate neere this riuer.

Neere vpon this riuer are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Brauo, and the other to him that maketh this relation vnto your Excellencie, which may be from the ſea ſome 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Queſala ſituate vpon the riuer, and 6. leagues from the ſea; which in times paſt hath beene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

Queſala.

The manſion houſe of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, ſtanding in a large mountainous and waſte countrey, which aboundeth with cattell, being 3. leagues from the riuer; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the ſea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this manſion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the ſea, is a garden of Alonſo Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the ſea ſtandeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king, a towne of 19. houſholds, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the beſt in that countrey. They ſpeake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the ſea that way within halfe a league.

Cuahintlan del Rey.

And this coaſt from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coaſt which runneth to Huatulco is a coaſt of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is the garden of Cacao in the landes of Franciſco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

Huatulco or Guatulco in 15. deg. and 50. minutes.

Theſe are the things worthy of relation from the head-ſprings of this riuer of Tlacamama vnto the ſea: and this foreſaid riuer entreth into the riuer of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The riuer of Tlacolula ſpringeth within the boundes of Chilſiztlahuaca ſubiect to Comaſtlahuaca a towne of Suchiſtlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This riuer is nauigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the riuer of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the ſea.

The riuer of Tlacolula.

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abouenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilſiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But becauſe in this hauen muſt bee the building of ſhips the prouinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may ſtand them in great ſtead; the prouince of Tututepec being neighbour to the riuer of Tlacamama, and the prouince of Tlapa to the riuer of Tlacolula. For they may, as I haue ſayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the riuers, and may vſe the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell, and draw the ſame out of the cold mountaines; for in the warme countreyes the moſt is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought vnto the place where it ſhould be imbarqued.

Azoyoque.

The prouinces of Tututepec and Tlapa.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas vnto the townes thereabout, and lade themſelues with victuals: For they haue already come by that riuer to the rode of Ometepec, & made there prouiſion at the manſion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Maieſtie did people the plaines which are betweene theſe riuers, conteining a large and voyde countrey ſufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furniſhed with water and paſture without any danger or perill, according to the deſcription hereunto annexed.

This ſmall harbour of Tecuanapa being ſeene and viewed, ſeemeth very commodious for to build ſhippes in, by reaſon of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpoſe, with the commodities of riuers, and with the ſeruice and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coaſt townes.

Tecuanapa a moſt fit harborough to build ſhips for the South ſea.

The deſire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to ſerue your excellencie; who therewithall deſireth the Lord God to giue the ſucceſſe.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES OF the Engliſh Nation to the Iſles of *Trinidad, Margarita, Dominica, Deſeada, Monſerrate, Guadalupe, Martinino*, and all the reſt of the *Antilles*; As likewiſe to *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, to *Hiſpaniola, Iamaica* and *Cuba*: and alſo to *Tierra firma*, and all along the coaſt and Iſlands therof, euen from *Cumana* and the *Caracos* to the neckland of *Dariene*, and ouer it to the Gulfe of *S. Michael* and the Iſle of *Perles* in the South ſea: and further to *Cabeça Catiua, Nombre de dios*, and *Venta de cruzes*, to *Puerto Belo, Rio de Chagre*, and the Iſle of *Eſcudo*, along the maine of *Beragua*, to the Cape and Gulfe of the *Honduras*, to *Truxillo, Puerto de cauallos*, and all other the principall Townes, Iſlands and harbours of accompt within the ſaid Gulfe, and vp *Rio dolce* falling into this Gulfe, aboue 30. leagues: As alſo to the Iſle of *Coçumel*, and to *Cape Cotoche*, the towne of *Campeche*, and other places vpon the land of *Iucatan*; and lower downe to *S. Iuan de Vlua, Vera Cruz, Rio de Panuco, Rio de Palmas*, &c. within the bay of *Mexico*: and from thence to the Iſles of the *Tortugas*, the port of *Hauana*, the Cape of *Florida*, and the Gulfe of *Bahama* homewards.

With the taking, ſacking, ranſoming, or burning of moſt of the principall Cities and townes vpon the coaſts of *Tierra firma, Nueua Eſpanna*, and all the foreſaid Iſlands; ſince the moſt traiterous burning of her Maieſties ſhip the *Ieſus* of *Lubec* and murthering of her Subiects in the port of *S. Iuan de Vlua*, and the laſt generall arreſt of her Highneſſe people, with their ſhips and goods throughout all the dominions of the King of *Spaine* in the moneth of Iune 1585. Beſides the manifold and tyrannicall oppreſſions of the Inquiſition inflicted on our nation vpon moſt light and friuolous occaſions.

The voyage of Sir *Thomas Pert*, and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, about the eight yeere of King *Henry* the eight, which was the yere 1516. *to Braſil, Santo Domingo*, and *S. Iuan de Puerto rico.*

That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epiſtle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he tranſlated out of Munſter in the yeere 1553, called A treatiſe of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of diſcouerie vndertaken out of England by ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the cowardiſe and want of ſtomack of the ſaid Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, ſaith he, (like vnto that which hath bene ſeene & proued in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as alſo in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in theſe our dayes, at ſuch time as our ſoueraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the ſame yeere of his raigne, furniſhed and ſent out certaine ſhippes vnder the gouernance of *Sebaſtian Cabot* yet liuing and one ſir *Thomas Pert*, whoſe faint heart was the cauſe that the voyage tooke none effect; it, I ſay, ſuch manly courage, whereof wee haue ſpoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily haue come to paſſe, that that rich treaſurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in *Spaine* in the citie of *Siuill*, and ſo named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfound land of *Peru*) might long ſince haue beene in the tower of *London*, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that alſo is to bee referred which the worſhipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the ſayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambaſſadour ſent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whoſe wordes bee theſe. Now reſt to be diſcouered the North parts, the which it ſeemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, becauſe the ſituation of this your realme is thereunto neereſt and apteſt of all other: and alſo, for that already you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will

This ſir Thomas Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Black-wall.

will not ſeeme well to leaue ſo great and profitable an enterpriſe, ſeeing it may ſo eaſily and with ſo litle coſt, labour and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you truſted, at this time it ſhalbe none impediment: for there may be now prouided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cauſe your graces deſire tooke no full effect: which is, the courſes to be changed, and to follow the aforeſayd new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhips, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reaſon whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. And whereas in the aforeſayd wordes M. Robert Thorne ſayth, that he would haue the old courſes to bee changed, and the newe courſes (to the North) to be followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twiſe or thriſe he maketh mention, wherein it is like that ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabot were ſet forth by the king, was made towarde Braſill and the South parts. Moreouer it ſeemeth that Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, a famous Spaniſh writer, alludeth vnto the ſayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foreſaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are theſe, as I finde them tranſlated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptiſta Ramuſius. *Nel 1517. Vn Corſaro Ingleſe, ſotto colore di venire á diſcoprire ſe ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Braſil nella coſtiera di Terra ferma, & indi attrauerſo á queſta iſola Spagnuola, & giunſe preſſo la bocca del porto di queſta città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il ſuo battello pieno di gente, & chieſe licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello inſtante il caſtellano Franceſco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d' artiglieria da queſto caſtello; perche ella ſe ne venina diritta al porto. Quando gli Ingleſi viddero queſto ſi ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello toſto ſi raccolſero in naue. Et nel vero il Caſtellan fece errore: perche ſe ben foſſe naue entrata nel porto, non ſarebbono le genti potuto ſmontare à terra ſenza volontà & della città & del caſtello. La naue adunque veggendo come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' iſola di San Giouanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Ingleſi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la naue, & ſi lamentarono di quelli di queſta città, dicendo che eſſi non veniuano per fare diſpiacere, ma per contrattare, & negotiare con ſuoi danari & mercantie. Hora quini hebbero alcune vettouaglie, & in compenſa eſſi diedero & pagarono in certi ſtagni lauorati & altre coſe. Et poi ſi partirono alla volta d' Europa, doue ſi crede, che non gungeſſero, perche non ſe ne ſeppe piu nuoua mai.* This extract importeth thus much in Engliſh, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an Engliſh Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to diſcouer, came with a great ſhippe vnto the parts of Braſill on the coaſt of the firme land, and from thence he croſſed ouer vnto this Iland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and ſent his ſhipboate full of men on ſhoare, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, ſaying that hee came with marchandiſe to traffique. But at that very inſtant the gouernour of the caſtle Francis de Tapia cauſed a tire of ordinance to be ſhot from the caſtle at the ſhip, for ſhe bare in directly with the hauen. When the Engliſhmen ſawe this, they withdrew themſelues out, and thoſe that were in the ſhipboate, got themſelues with all ſpeede on ſhipboord. And in trueth the warden of the caſtle committed an ouerſight: for if the ſhippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the citie and of the caſtle. Therefore the people of the ſhip ſeeing how they were receiued, ſayled toward the Iland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the Engliſh men parled with thoſe of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furniſh their ſhip, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, ſaying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandiſe. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gaue and paid them with certain veſſell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, who though it pleaſe him to call the captain of this great Engliſh ſhip a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Engliſhmens owne words, that they came to diſcouer, and by their traffique for pewter veſſell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furniſhed with wares for honeſt traffique and exchange. But whoſoeuer is conuerſant in reading the Portugall and Spaniſh writers of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ſhall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers and theeues, which viſite any heathen coaſt that they haue once ſayled by or looked on. Howbeit their paſſionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterpriſes and honourable trauels in diſcouerie.

Note.

An Engliſh great ſhippe at Braſill 1517.

San Iuan de puerto Rico.

A brieſe note concerning a voyage of one *Thomas Tiſon* an Engliſh man, made before the yeere 1526. to the Weſt *Indies*, & of his abode there in maner of a ſecret factor for ſome Engliſh marchants, which vnder hand had trade thither in thoſe dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. *Nicolas Thorne* the elder, a worſhipfull marchant of *Briſtol*.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the cuſtodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by maſter Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Briſtol, vnto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his ſeruant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the ſayd yeere one Thomas Tiſon an Engliſhman had found the way to the Weſt Indies, and was there reſident: vnto whom the aforeſayd M. Nicolas Thorne ſent armour and other commodities ſpecified in the letter aforeſayd. This Thomas Tiſon (ſo farre as I can coniecture) may ſeeme to haue bene ſome ſecret factour for M. Thorne and other Engliſh marchants in thoſe remote partes; wherereby it is probable that ſome of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the Weſt Indies euen in thoſe ancient times and before alſo: neither doe I ſee any reaſon why the Spaniards ſhould debarre vs from it at this preſent.

The firſt voyage of the right worſhipfull and valiant knight ſir *Iohn Hawkins*, ſometimes treaſurer of her Maieſties nauie Roial, made to the Weſt *Indies* 1562.

MAſter Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growen in loue and fauour with the people, informed himſelfe amongſt them by diligent inquiſition, of the ſtate of the Weſt India, whereof hee had receiued ſome knowledge by the inſtructions of his father, but increaſed the ſame by the aduertiſments and reports of that people. And being amongſt other particulars aſſured, that Negros were very good marchandiſe in Hiſpaniola, and that ſtore of Negros might eaſily bee had vpon the coaſt of Guinea, reſolued with himſelfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that deuiſe with his worſhipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, ſir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunſon his father in law, ſir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which perſons liked ſo well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and aduenturers in the action. For which purpoſe there were three good ſhips immediatly prouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himſelfe went as Generall: The ſecond the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Maſter ſupplied the Captaines roome: in which ſmall fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of ſickneſſe and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly ſubiect.

M. Thomas Hampton.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coaſt of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his courſe touched firſt at Teneriffe, where hee receiued friendly intertainement. From thence he paſſed to Sierra Leona, vpon the coaſt of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he ſtayed ſome good time, and got into his poſſeſſion, partly by the ſworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the leaſt, beſides other merchandiſes which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee ſayled ouer the Ocean ſea vnto the Iland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued firſt at the port of Iſabella: and there hee had reaſonable vtterance of his Engliſh commodities, as alſo of ſome part of his Negros, truſting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne ſtrength he was able ſtill to maſter them. From the port of Iſabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like ſales, ſtanding alwaies vpō his guard: from thence alſo hee ſayled to Monte Chriſti another port on the North ſide of Hiſpaniola, and the laſt place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he receiued in thoſe 3. places by way of exchange ſuch quantitie of merchandiſe, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. ſhippes with hides, ginger, ſugars, and ſome quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted alſo two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee ſent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Iland, he returned and diſemboqued, paſſing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his firſt voyage to the Weſt India. And ſo with proſperous ſucceſſe and much gaine to himſelfe and the aforeſayde aduenturers, he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

Sierra Leona called Tagarin.

The Iles of Caycos.

The voyage made by *M. Iohn Hawkins* Eſquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the *Ieſus* of *Lubek*, one of her Maieſties ſhippes, and Generall of the *Salomon*, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and the *Indies* of Noua Hiſpania, begun in *An. Dom.* 1564.

MAſter Iohn Hawkins with the Ieſus of Lubek, a ſhippe of 700. and the Salomon a ſhippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furniſhed with men to the number of one hundreth threeſcore and tenne, as alſo with ordinance and victuall requiſite for ſuch a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a proſperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foreſaile, a maruellous miſfortune happened to one of the officers in the ſhippe, who by the pullie of the ſheat was ſlaine out of hand, being a ſorowfull beginning to them all. And after their ſetting out ten leagues to the ſea, he met the ſame day with the Minion a ſhip of the Queenes Maieſtie, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and alſo her conſort the Iohn Baptiſt of London, being bounde to Guinea alſo, who hailed one the other after the cuſtome of the ſea with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to ſeeke her other conſort the Merlin of London, which was a ſterne out of ſight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptiſt her other conſort.

October 18.

The Minion, the Iohn Baptiſt, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus ſayling forwards on their way with a proſperous winde vntill the 21. of the ſame moneth, at that time a great ſtorme aroſe, the winde being at Northeaſt about nine a clocke in the night, and continued ſo 23. houres together, in which ſtorme M. Hawkins loſt the companie of the Iohn Baptiſt aforeſayd, and of his pinneſſe called the Swallow, his other 3. ſhippes being ſore beaten with a ſtorme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no ſmall reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finiſter, he hauing put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there roſe a contrary winde at Southweſt. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fiue dayes, and appointed all the Maſters of his ſhippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The ſmall ſhippes to bee alwayes ahead and aweather of the Ieſus, and to ſpeake twiſe a day with the Ieſus at leaſt: if in the day the Enſigne bee ouer the poope of the Ieſus, or in the night two lights, then ſhall all the ſhippes ſpeake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the Ieſus, then doeth ſhe caſt about: If the weather bee extreme, that the ſmall ſhippes cannot keepe companie with the Ieſus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any miſfortune then to ſhew two lights, and to ſhoote off a piece of ordinance. If any loſe companie, and come in ſight againe, to make three yawes, and ſtrike the Myſon three times: Serue God daily, loue one another, preſerue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

Good orders for a fleete in a long voyage.

The 26. day the Minion came in alſo where hee was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courteſie of the ſea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, becauſe of their conſort the Merline, whome at their departure from Maſter Hawkins vpon the coaſt of England they went to ſeeke, and hauing met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at laſt by miſfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was ſet on fire, which with the firſt blaſt ſtrooke out her poope, and therewithall loſt three men, beſides many ſore burned (which eſcaped by the brigandine being at her ſterne) and immediatly, to the great loſſe of the owners, and moſt horrible ſight to the beholders, ſhe ſunke before their eyes.

A dreadfull miſchance by fire.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his conſorts and companie of the Minion, hauing nowe both the brigandines at her ſterne, wayed anker, and ſet ſaile on their voyage, hauing a proſperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of Nouember they had ſight of the Iland of Madera, and the ſixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to haue beene the Canarie, in that they ſuppoſed themſelues to haue beene to the Eaſtward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues ahead of vs, kept on her courſe to Teneriffe, hauing better ſight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the Weſt, vpon which courſe hauing ſayled a while, hee eſpied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to diſcerne the ſame, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer vntill the morning, being the ſeuenth of Nouember, which as yet hee could not diſ-

The Ile of Palmes. Gomera and Teneriffe.

Santa Cruz.

A briefe deſcription of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands.

Fierro.

Trees dropping water in Guinie.

The pike of Teneriffe.

cerne, but ſayled along the coaſt the ſpace of two houres, to perceiue ſome certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes: and ſo ſayling forwards, eſpied another Iland called Gomera, and alſo Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and ſayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinneſſe which had departed from him the ſixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and eſpying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall ſomewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoyſed out his ſhippes pinneſſe rowing a ſhoare, intending to haue ſent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the gouernours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the ſhoare: but as hee pretended to haue landed, ſuddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of baſes and harguebuzes to them, with diuers others to the number of foureſcore, with halberds, pikes, ſwordes and targets which happened ſo contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, becauſe hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to auoyde it without ſome miſchiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeaſing of the matter, declaring his name, and profeſſing himſelfe to bee an eſpeciall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had ſundry things for him which he greatly deſired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, ſo that at laſt he gat out of their danger: and then aſking for Peter de ponte, one of his ſonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiuing, deſired to put his men aſide, and hee himſelfe would leape a ſhoare, and commune with him, which they did: ſo that after communication had betweene them of ſundry things, and of the feare they both had, maſter Hawkins deſired to haue certaine neceſſaries prouided for him. In the meane ſpace, while theſe things were prouiding, hee trimmed the maine maſt of the Ieſus which in the ſtorme aforeſayd was ſprung: here he ſoiourned 7. dayes, refreſhing himſelfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gaue him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To ſpeake ſomewhat of theſe Ilands, being called in olde time Inſulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flouriſhing thereof, the fruitfulneſſe of them doeth ſurely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of ſuch bigneſſe, that they may bee compared to damſons, and in taſte inferiour to none: for ſugar, ſuckets, raiſins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for roſine & raw ſilke, there is great ſtore, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they haue many Camels alſo, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vſed for carryage of neceſſaries: whoſe propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beaſtes: of vnderſtanding very good, but of ſhape very deformed, with a little bellie, long miſſhapen legges, and feete very broad of fleſh, without a hoofe, all whole, ſauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard fleſh, which nature hath giuen him in his breaſt to leane vpon. This beaſt liueth hardly, and is contented with ſtrawe and ſtubble, but of force ſtrong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of theſe Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are ſatiſfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in ſuch abundance, that it were incredible vnto a man to beleeue ſuch a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whoſe power therein wee ought not to maruell, ſeeing he did by his prouidence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Iſrael were going into the land of promiſe, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the ſpace of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforeſaid wee ſaw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not ſo abundantly as the other, becauſe the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About theſe Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue beene oftentimes ſeene, and when men approched neere them, they vaniſhed: as the like hath bene of theſe Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it ſhould ſeeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, becauſe it is piked which is in heigth by their reports twentie leagues, hauing both winter and ſummer abundance of ſnowe in the top of it: this Pike may bee ſeene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it ſheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heigth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I haue ſeene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the Pike, and ſo the Spaniards write.

The 15. of Nouember at night wee departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the ſame wee had ſight of ten Carauels, that were fiſhing at ſea, with whome we would haue ſpoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ſhips pinneſſe with two men in her, ſayling by the ſhip, was ouerthrowē by the ouerſight of them that went in her, the winde being ſo great, that before they were eſpied, and the ſhip had caſt about for them, ſhe was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinneſſe, and had loſt ſight of her, ſo that there was ſmall hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who hauing wel marked which way the pinneſſe was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the luſtieſt rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and ſo recouered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinneſſe and the men ſitting vpon the keele of her.

The 25 he came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coaſt of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fiſh there in the moneth of Nouember eſpecially, and is a very good place of fiſhing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fiſh. In this place the Portugals haue no holde for their defence, but haue reſcue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their ſouldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fiſhing vpon that coaſt of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, hauing long haire without any apparell, ſauing before their priuie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

Cape Blanco.

The 26 we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreſhed our ſelues with fiſh, and other neceſſaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. Theſe people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, ſauing before their priuities: of ſtature goodly men, and well liking by reaſon of their food, which paſſeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, riſe, fruits, and fiſh. Here wee tooke fiſhes with heades like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iolly thickneſſe, but not paſt a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To ſpeake ſomewhat of the ſundry ſortes of theſe Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodlieſt men of all other, ſauing the Congoes, which do inhabite on this ſide the cape de Buena Eſperança. Theſe Leophares haue warres againſt the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and ſhort daggers, darts alſo, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other vſe a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary fiue or ſixe ſmall ones a peece, which they caſt with. Theſe men alſo are more ciuill then any other, becauſe of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Braſile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a ſea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the plankes of their Barke with a ſea brake out vpon them ſo ſuddenly, that much a doe they had to ſaue themſelues in their boats: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being Weſterly, which is rarely ſeene there, they got to the ſhore, to the Iſle Braua, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained ſixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the ſame people. The ſaid Frenchman hauing forſaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the ſhore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortuned to come to the waters ſide: and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were in our ſhip, by their perſwaſions came away with vs: but his entertainement amongſt them was ſuch, that he deſired it not: but through the importunate requeſt of his Countreymen, conſented at the laſt. Here we ſtayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderſtand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoyde the ſnares we had layd for them.

Cape Verde in 14 degrees.

Leophares.

Ieloffes.

The trafficke of the French men at Cape Verde.

The 8 of December wee ankered by a ſmall Iſland called Alcatrarſa, wherein at our going a ſhore, we found nothing but ſea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarſes, who for that cauſe gaue the ſaid Iſland the ſame name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vſed to the ſight of men, flew ſo about vs, that we ſtroke them downe with poles. In this place the two ſhippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Iſland of the Sapies, called La Formio, to ſee if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and eſpying certaine made to them, but they fled in ſuch order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: ſo going on their way forward till they came to a riuer, which they could not paſſe ouer, they eſpied on the other ſide two men, who with their bowes and arrowes ſhot terribly at them. Whereupon we diſcharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people waped it not, becauſe they knewe not the danger thereof: but vſed a marueilous crying in their fight, with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was moſt ſtrange to ſee, and gaue vs great pleaſure to beholde them. At the laſt, one being hurt

Alcatrarſes or Ganets.

The Sapies.

Rio grande

The Idols

with a harquebuz vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound and wiſt not howe it came, becauſe hee could not ſee the pellet. Here Maſter Hawkins perceiuing no good to be done amongſt them, becauſe we could not finde their townes, and alſo not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occaſion of our comming thither: and finding ſo many ſholes, feared with our great ſhips to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The Iſland called Sambula

The Samboſes.

Sapies

The Samboſes man-eaters

The Sapies burie their dead with golde.

The Canoas of Africa

The 10 of December, we had a Northeaſt winde, with raine and ſtorme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occaſion that the Salomon, and Tygre loſte our companie: for whereas the Ieſus, and pinneſſe ankered at one of the Iſlands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Iſland we ſtayed certaine daies, going euery day on ſhore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and ſpoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboſes, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. Theſe Samboſes had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in ſo ſhort ſpace haue ſo planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Riſe, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of ſmall frye dried, euery houſe full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and ſundry other in no place in all that Countery ſo aboundantly, whereby they liued more deliciouſly then other. Theſe inhabitants haue diuerſe of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their ſlaues, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themſelues, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboſes none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboſes haue white teeth as we haue, farre vnlike to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to ſet out themſelues, and doe iagge their fleſh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkinmaker with vs pinketh a ierkin. Theſe Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboſes: for whereas the Samboſes liue moſt by the ſpoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them alſo, The Sapies doe not eate mans fleſh, vnleſſe in the warre they be driuen by neceſſitie thereunto, which they haue not vſed, but by the example of the Samboſes, but liue onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they haue great ſtore. This plentie is the occaſion that the Sapies deſire not warre, except they be thereunto prouoked by the inuaſions of the Samboſes, whereas the Samboſes for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but alſo keepe thoſe that they take, vntill ſuch time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is alſo another occaſion that prouoketh the Samboſes to warre againſt the Sapies, which is for couetouſnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their did in certaine places appointed for that purpoſe, with their golde about them, the Samboſes digge vp the ground, to haue the ſame treaſure: for the Samboſes haue not the like ſtore of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Iſland of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood digged out like a trough, but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, hauing a beak-head and a ſterne very proportionably made, and on the out ſide artificially carued, and painted red and blewe: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coaſt able to cary threeſcore and vpward. In theſe canoas they rowe ſtanding vpright, with an oare ſomewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largeſt ſort. They row very ſwift, and in ſome of them foure rowers and one to ſteere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

The forme of their townes.

The Conſultation houſe or towne-houſe.

Their Townes are pretily diuided with a maine ſtreete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart ſtreet, which maketh their townes croſſe wayes: their houſes are built in in a ranke very orderly in the face of the ſtreet, and they are made round, like a doue-cote, with ſtakes ſet full of Palmito leaues, in ſtead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heigth, & thatched with Palmito leaues very cloſe, other ſome with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garniſhing of the ſame, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contriued like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of ſtickes, whereupon they lay all their prouiſion of victuals: a place they reſerue at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedſteades are of ſmall ſtaues layd along, and rayſed a foote from the ground, vpon which is layde a matte, and another vpon them when they liſt: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the towne there is a houſe larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adioyning vnto the which there is a place made of foure good ſtancions of woode, and a round roofe ouer it, the grounde alſo raiſed round with claye a foote high, vpon the which floore were ſtrawed many fine mats: this is the Conſultation-houſe, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they ſitte in Counſell the King or Captaine ſitteth in the midſt, and in the Elders vpon the floore by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders) and the common ſorte ſitte round about them. There they ſitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to ſteale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is ſold to the Portugals for a ſlaue. They conſult alſo, and take order what time they ſhall goe to warres: and as it is certainely reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the ſeaſon of the yeere, and alſo of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde ſet for the receiuing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth freſh wine againe within a moneth, and this deuided part and portion-like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himſelfe contented: and this ſurely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwiſe, whereas ſcarſitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the ſame, which might breed great ſtrife: but of ſuch things, as euery man doeth plant for himſelfe, the ſower thereof reapeth it to his owne vſe, ſo that nothing is common, but that which is vnſet by mans hands. In their houſes there is more common paſſage of Lizardes like Euats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, beſides their tailes, then there is with vs of Miſe in great houſes. The Sapies and Samboſes alſo vſe in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poyſoned with the iuyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged ſworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the ſame length made to counterpeaſe it, that in caſting it might flie leuel, rather then for any other purpoſe as I can iudge. And when they eſpie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they anſwere Heygre, and with that euery man placeth himſelfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themſelues, and ſhoote as they ſee aduantage: and when they giue the onſet, they make ſuch terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in ſuch as they themſelues imagine to ſee in their dreames, and ſo worſhippe the pictures, whereof wee ſawe ſome like vnto deuils. In this Iſland aforeſayde wee ſoiourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negros, and aſmuch of their fruites, riſe, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was ſuch ſtore, that wee might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being deſirous to goe on ſhore, to fetch Pompions, which hauing prooued, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went alſo, amongſt the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes hauing fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, deſired his fellow to tary while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for him ſelfe, who being more licorous then circumſpect, went vp without weapon, and as he went vp alone, poſſibly being marked of the Negros that were vpon the trees, eſpying him what hee did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, ouerthrowing him and ſtraight cutte his throate, as hee afterwardes was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

Palmito is a wilde date.

A venemous Cucumber.

Idoles like deuils.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowſa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns Pinneſſe, and the Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two ſhippes, the Riuer being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the fiue and twentieth, and diſpatched his buſineſſe, and ſo returned with two Carauels, loaden with Negros.

The riuer Calowſa.

The 27. the Captaine was aduertiſed by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but alſo that there were not aboue fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, ſo that if hee would giue the aduenture vpon the ſame, hee might gette an hundreth ſlaues: with the which tydings hee being gladde, becauſe the Portugals ſhoulde not thinke him to bee of ſo baſe a courage, but that hee durſt giue them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto alſo the more prouoked with the proſperous ſucceſſe hee had in other Iſlands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to ſtay before the Towne three or foure houres, to ſee what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought ſome of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and diuers of our men ſcattering themſelues, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houſes, ranſacking the ſame, in the meane time the Negros came vpon them, and hurte many being thus ſcattered,

The Towne of Bimba.

Portugals not to be truſted.

Want of circumſpect in ou

whereas if fiue or ſixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to giue the ouerthrow to 40 of them, and being driuen downe to take their boates, were followed ſo hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to purſue them to their boates, that not onely ſome of them, but others ſtanding on ſhore, not looking for any ſuch matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the firſt, and our companie remained in the towne, were ſuddenly ſo ſet vpon that ſome with great hurt recouered their boates; otherſome not able to recouer the ſame, tooke the water, and periſhed by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a doſen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters ſide, ſhooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whoſe comming, they ranne all away: ſo he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the ſhore, they returned againe, and ſhot very fiercely and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe ſome what diſcomforted, although the Captaine in a ſingular wiſe maner caried himſelfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the reſt, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, ſhould not preſume to reſiſt againſt him, nor take occaſion to put him to further diſpleaſure or hinderance for the death of our men: hauing gotten by our going ten Negros, and loſt ſeuen of our beſt men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the ſame houre while this was doing, there happened at the ſame inſtant, a maruellous miracle to them in the ſhippes, who road ten leagues to ſea-ward, by many ſharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ſhips: among which, one was taken by the Ieſus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very ſore hurt eſcaped: and ſo it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Ieſus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift hauing twentie wounds, was reſcued, and ſcaped with much adoe.

M. Field Captaine of the Salomon ſlaine.

The 28 they came to their ſhips, the Ieſus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

Taggarin. The riuer of Caſſerroes.

The firſt of Ianuary the two barkes, and both the boates forſooke the ſhips, and went into a riuer called the Caſſerroes, and the 6 hauing diſpatched their buſineſſe, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ſhips were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ſhips thither, they put their water caſke a ſhore, and filled it with water, to ſeaſon the ſame, thinking to haue filled it with freſh water afterward: and while their men were ſome on ſhore, and ſome at their boates, the Negros ſet vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caſkes, and cut of the hoopes of twelue butts, which loſt vs 4 or 5 dayes time, beſides great want we had of the ſame: ſoiourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went vp the riuer about her trafficke, where they ſaw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threeſcore men in a piece: there they vnderſtood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona ſide, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not paſt ſixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would haue ſeene, to the intent we might haue taken ſome of them, had it not bene for the death and ſickeneſſe of our men, which came by the contagiouſnes of the place, which made vs to make haſt away.

A new aſſault by the Negros. Great townes Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18 of Ianuarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the Weſt Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on ſhore to fill water in the night, and as they came on ſhore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them eſpied an Negro in a white coate, ſtanding vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued thē when they came on ſhore, hauing in ſight of his fellowes alſo eight or nine, ſome in one place leaping out, and ſome in another, but they hid themſelues ſtreight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and ſought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ſhips, not thinking there had bene ſuch a miſchiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderſtood of a Portugal that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee vnderſtood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take ſome of vs, partly for the deſire he had to ſee what kinde of people we were, that had ſpoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge alſo, vpon other occaſions prouoked by the Tangomangos, but ſure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening wee ſaw ſuch a monſtrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not ſeene, which fire is the onely marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If theſe men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great diſpleaſure, for that wee were on ſhore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the beſt, would not haue it ſo, and by him we eſcaped without danger, his name be prayſed for it.

Tangomangos.

The 29 of this ſame moneth we departed with all our ſhippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the Weſt Indies, and for the ſpace of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrary windes, and ſome Ternados amongſt the ſame calme, which happened to vs very ill, beeing but reaſonably watered, for ſo great a companie of Negros, and our ſelues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worſt, put vs in ſuch feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themſelues: but the Almightie God, who neuer ſuffereth his elect to periſh, ſent vs the ſixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Briſe, which is the Northweſt winde, which neuer left vs, till wee came to an Iſland of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: and becauſe it was the moſt deſolate place in all the Iſland, we could ſee no Canybals, but ſome of their houſes where they dwelled, and as it ſhould ſeeme forſooke the place for want of freſh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and ſuch as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canybals of that Iſland, and alſo others adiacent are the moſt deſperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are moleſted by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of thoſe Iſlands: of very late, not two moneths paſt, in the ſaid Iſland. a Carauel being driuen to water, was in the night ſette vpon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halſer, whereby they were driuen a ſhore, and ſo taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in Marche alſo, came to one of thoſe Iſlands, called Granada, and being driuen to water, could not doe the ſame for the Canybals, who fought with him very deſperatly two dayes. For our part alſo, if we had not lighted vpon the deſerteſt place in all that Iſland, wee could not haue miſſed, but ſhould haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them deuils in reſpect of me.

Dominica Iſland.

Canybals exceeding cruell, and to be auoyded.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had ſight of nine Iſlands, called the Teſtigos: and the ſixteenth of an Iſland, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both Beeues and ſheepe giuen vs, for the refreſhing of our men: but the Gouernour of the Iſland, would neither come to ſpeake with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to trafficke: and to diſpleaſe vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to haue gone with vs, they would not onely not ſuffer him to goe with vs, but alſo ſent word by a Carauel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth repreſent the kings perſon, of our arriuall in thoſe partes, which had like to haue turned vs to great diſpleaſure, by the meanes that the ſame Vice-roy did ſend word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coaſt, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man ſhould trafficke with vs, but ſhould reſiſt vs with all the force they could. In this Iſland, notwithſtanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they ſo afraid, that not onely the Gouernour himſelfe, but alſo all the inhabitants forſooke their Towne, aſſembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and alſo ſawe the experience our ſelues, by ſome of the Indians comming to ſee vs who by three Spaniards a horſebacke paſſing hard by vs, went vnto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuerſant with vs.

The Teſtigos Iſland.

Margarita Iſland.

Here perceiuing no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreſhing of our men, we were driuē to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinniſſe, ſpake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him anſwere, they were but ſouldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by on Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marueilous goodly watering and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the freſh water came into the Sea, and ſo our ſhippes had aboord the ſhore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to vs, preſenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bigneſſe of a peaſe, the eare whereof is much like to a teaſell, but a ſpanne in length, hauing thereon a number of granes. Alſo they brought down to vs Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whiſtles, glaſſes, kniues, and other trifles.

Cumana.

Santa Fe.

Theſe Potatoes be the moſt delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our paſſeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fiſts, the outſide whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is ſoft like the rinde of a Cucomber, and the inſide eateth like an apple, but it is

The deſcription of the Indians of Terra firma.

The vſe of Sorrell.

Armour of quilted canuas two ynches thicke.

The making of their poiſon.

more delicious then any ſweet apple ſugred. Theſe Indians being of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the ſame hanging downe to their ſhoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women ſuffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made faſt with a thrid about their loynes, leauing the other parts of their members vncouered, whereof they take no ſhame. The women alſo are vncouered, ſauing with a cloth which they weare a hand-breath, wherewith they couer their priuities both before and behind. Theſe people be very ſmall feeders, for trauelling they cary but two ſmall bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great ſtore, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moiſt, they eate, taking ſometime of the other. Theſe men cary euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof ſome arrowes are poiſoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bigneſſe of a mans arme, other ſome with broad heades of iron wherewith they ſtricke fiſh in the water: the experience whereof we ſaw not once nor twiſe, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are ſo good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themſelues and their horſes with quilted canuas of two ynches thicke, and leaue no place of their body open to their enemies, ſauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that ſo ſmall a ſcantling: their poyſon is of ſuch a force, that a man being ſtricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, & in my iudgement it is like there can be no ſtronger poyſon as they make it, vſing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a ſtrong poyſon, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other ſerpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the ſame.

The maners of the yong women.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, becauſe it maketh them haue hanging breaſtes which they account to bee great deforming in them, and vpon that occaſion while they bee yong, they deſtroy their ſeede, ſaying, that it is fitteſt for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of childe, they goe ſtraight to waſhe themſelues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Goſſopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they cary about with them when they trauell, and making the ſame faſt to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people be ſurely gentle and tractable, and ſuch as deſire to liue peaceably, or els had it bene vnpoſſible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceably, they being ſo many in number, and the Spaniards ſo few.

The Iſle of Tortuga.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we paſſed betwene the maine land, and the Iſland called Tortuga, a very lowe Iſland, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thouſande fiue hundred ſixtie fiue aforeſaide, and ſayled along the coaſt vntill the firſt of April, at which time the Captaine ſayled along in the Ieſus pinneſſe to diſcerne the coaſt, and ſaw many Caribes on ſhore, and ſome alſo in their Canoas, which made tokens vnto him of friendſhip, and ſhewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he ſtayed to ſee the maners of them, and ſo for two or three trifles they gaue ſuch things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come on ſhore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not haue denyed them, becauſe the Indians which we ſaw before were very gentle people, and ſuch as do no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confuſion: for theſe were no ſuch kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more deuiliſh a thouſand partes and are eaters and deuourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Burboroata, by a Carauel comming out of Spaine with certaine ſouldiers, and a Captaine generall ſent by the king for thoſe Eaſtward parts of the Indians, who ſayling along in his pinneſſe, as our Captaine did to deſcry the coaſt, was by the Caribes called a ſhoore with ſundry tokens made to him of friendſhippe, and golde ſhewed as though they deſired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being mooued, ſuſpecting no deceite at all, went aſhore amongſt them: who was no ſooner a ſhore, but with foure or fiue more was taken, the reſt of his company being inuaded by them, ſaued themſelues by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ranſome with their liues, and were preſently eaten. And this is their practiſe to toll with their golde the ignorant to their ſnares: they are bloodſuckers both of Spaniards, Indians and all that light in their laps, not ſparing their own countreymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their policie in fight with the Spaniards is maruellous: for they chuſe for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horſes cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horſeman may ouer-runne 100. of them, they haue a deuiſe of late practiſed by them to pitch ſtakes of wood in the ground, and alſo ſmall iron pikes to miſchiefe their horſes, wherein they ſhew themſelues politique warriers. They haue more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountaines where the Mines are in ſuch number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet ſometimes by aſſembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe ſure ynough.

Burboroata.

Thus hauing eſcaped the danger of them, wee kept our courſe along the coaſt, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ſhips came to an ancker, and hee himſelfe went a ſhore to ſpeake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himſelfe to be an Engliſhman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the ſame. Unto whom they made anſwere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they deſired him not to moleſt them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, becauſe they were ſubiects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his neceſſitie was ſuch, as he might not ſo do: for being in one of the Queenes Armadas of England, and hauing many ſouldiours in them, hee had neede both of ſome refreſhing for them, and of victuals, and of money alſo, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perſwaded them not to feare any diſhoneſt part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any ſuch thing to the diſhonour of his prince, nor yet for his honeſt reputation and eſtimation, vnleſſe hee were too rigorouſly dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it ſhould as well redound to their profite, as his owne, and alſo hee thought they might doe it without danger, becauſe their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spaine and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reaſon why he ſhould not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made anſwere, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of thoſe parts was committed, but if they would ſtay tenne dayes, they would ſend to their gouernour who was threeſcore leagues off, and would returne anſwere within the ſpace appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee ſhould bring his ſhips into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promiſe, the Captaine aduiſed himſelfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, ſpending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good anſwere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make requeſt to haue licence for the ſale of certaine leane and ſicke Negros which hee had in his ſhippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing little or no refreſhing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well ynough. And this requeſt hee was forced to make, becauſe he had not otherwiſe wherewith to pay for victuals & for neceſſaries which he ſhould take: which requeſt being put in writing and preſented, the officers and towne-dwellers aſſembled together, and finding his requeſt ſo reaſonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they cauſed the officers to view, to the intent they ſhould graunt to nothing but that were very reaſonable, for feare of anſwering thereunto afterwards. This being paſt, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made ſale, but the day paſt and none came to buy, who before made ſhewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wiſt not what to ſurmiſe of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his anſwere becauſe they would keepe themſelues blameleſſe, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpoſe ſent them worde, marueiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They anſwered, becauſe they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy thoſe Negros of ſmall price, and their money was not ſo ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as ſoone as euer they ſawe the ſhippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet aſked two dayes to ſeeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithſtanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, becauſe they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confeſſe if hee had licence, that he might ſell at any reaſonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did ſend for the principals of the Towne, and made a ſhewe hee would depart, declaring himſelfe to be very ſory that he had ſo much troubled them, and alſo that he had ſent for the gouernour to come downe, ſeeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marueiled much, and aſked him what cauſe mooued him thereunto, ſeeing by their working he was in poſſibilitie to haue his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he ſought, but profit, which he perceiued was not there to bee had, and therefore would ſeeke further, and withall ſhewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring alſo the great charge he was at in his ſhipping, and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee muſt ſell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to ſell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he ſhould not looſe his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promiſed them to ſtay, ſo that hee might make ſale of his leane Negros, which they granted vnto. And the next day did ſell ſome of them, who hauing bought and payed for them, thinking to haue had a diſcharge of the Cuſtomer for the cuſtome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods ſake, and did refuſe to giue the diſcharge in writing, and the poore not truſting their wordes, for feare, leaſt hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, ſo that nothing elſe was done vntill the Gouernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a ſhippe of the Queenes Maieſties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, ſo that being come thither, hee had neede of ſundry neceſſaries for the reparation of the ſaid Nauie, and alſo great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promiſed paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpoſe he requeſted licence for the ſale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with ſtrangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing perteined to our Queenes highneſſe, he thought hee might doe their prince great ſeruice, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cauſe. The which allegations with diuers others put in requeſt, were preſented vnto the Gouernour, who ſitting in counſell for that matter, granted vnto his requeſt for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Cuſtome, being vpon euery ſlaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

An hundreth Engliſhmen in armour.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Cuſtome of that they offered, ſo that either he muſt be a great looſer by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the ſame kings Cuſtome which was too vnreaſonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the ſixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceiued by the Gouernour, he ſtraight with all expedition ſent meſſengers to knowe his requeſt, deſiring him to march no further forward vntill he had anſwere againe, which incontinent he ſhould haue. So our Captaine declaring how vnreaſonable a thing the Kings Cuſtome was, requeſted to haue the ſame abated, and to pay ſeuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Cuſtome for wares through his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, hee would diſpleaſe them. And this word being caried to the Gouernour, anſwere was returned that all things ſhould bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the ſouldiers and Mariners finding ſo little credite in their promiſes, demanded gages for the performance of the premiſſes, or els they would not depart. And thus they being conſtrained to ſend gages, wee departed, beginning our trafique, and ending the ſame without diſturbance.

Thus hauing made trafique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ſhips intended to goe out of the roade, and purpoſed to make ſhew of his departure, becauſe nowe the common ſort hauing imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no ſhew that they were come to buy, ſo that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare leaſt we departed, and they ſhould goe without any at all.

The reports of the miſhaps of the Minion in Guinie.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ſhip called the Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who ſaluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we reſaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make ſale of ſuch wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion: beſides the Captaine Dauie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their firſt arriuall thither, and remayning priſoners with the Portugals; and beſides other miſaduentures of the loſſe of their men, happened through the great lacke of freſh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ſhips: which was moſt ſorowfull for vs to vnderſtand.

Thus hauing ended our trafique here the 4.of May, we departed,leauing the Frenchman behinde vs,the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I haue made mention before,being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne,and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant becauſe of our being there, then their cuſtome was,perceiuing them comming, raiſed the towne, who in a moment being a horſebacke, by meanes their cuſtome is for all doubts to keepe their horſes ready ſadled, in the night ſet vpon them,& tooke one,but the reſt making ſhift for themſelues,eſcaped away. But this one, becauſe he was their guide,and was the occaſion that diuers times they had made inuaſion vpon them,had for his trauelle a ſtake thruſt through his fundament,and ſo out at his necke.

May.

Horſes kept ready ſadled.

The ſixt of May aforeſaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao,where wee had thought to haue anckered,but could not find ground, and hauing let fal an ancker with two cables,were faine to weigh it againe: and the ſeuenth ſayling along the coaſt to ſeeke an harborow,and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreſhing both of beefe,mutton and lambes,whereof there was ſuch plentie,that ſauing the ſkinnes,we had the fleſh giuen vs for nothing,the plentie whereof was ſo abundant,that the worſt in the ſhip thought ſcorne not onely of mutton, but alſo of ſodden lambe; which they diſdained to eate vnroſted.

Exceeding plentie of cattell in Curaçao.

The increaſe of cattell in this yland is marueilous, which from a doozen of each ſort brought thither by the gouernour,in 25.yeres he had a hundreth thouſand at the leaſt,& of other cattel was able to kill without ſpoile of the increaſe 1500.yeerely,which hee killeth for the ſkinnes, and of the fleſh ſaueth onely the tongues, the reſt hee leaueth to the foule to deuoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely vpon the Gouernours owne report , who was the firſt that brought the increaſe thither, which ſo remaineth vnto this day, but alſo by that I ſaw my ſelfe in one field,where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole,ſauing the ſkinne and tongue taken away. And it is not ſo marueilous a thing why they doe thus caſt away the fleſh in all the ylands of the Weſt Indies,ſeeing the land is great,and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruites and meates ynough beſides to feede vpon,which they rather deſire, and the increaſe which paſſeth mans reaſon to beleeue , when they come to a great number : for in S.Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hiſpaniola, is ſo great quantitie of cattell, and ſuch increaſe therof,that notwithſtãding the daily killing of them for their hides,it is not poſſible to aſſwage the number of them , but they are deuoured by wilde dogs, whoſe number is ſuch by ſuffering them firſt to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and deſtroy 60000. a yeere, and yet ſmall lacke found of them. And no marueile,for the ſaid yland is almoſt as bigge as all England,and being the firſt place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the reſt, it ought therefore of reaſon to be moſt populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counſell royall abideth there as in the chiefeſt place of all the Indies, to preſcribe orders to the reſt for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one Citie and 13.villages in all the ſame yland, whereby the ſpoile of them in reſpect of the increaſe is nothing.

Great numbers of wilde dogs.

The 15.of the foreſaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the reioycing of our Captaine and vs, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithſtanding our ſweete meate, wee had ſower ſauce,for by reaſon of our riding ſo open at ſea,what with blaſtes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and alſo with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the ſhore we were faine to hale off to haue anker-hold, ſometimes a whole day and a night we turned vp and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the ſpace of our being there.

The 16. wee paſſed by an yland called Aruba,and the 17.at night anckered ſixe houres at the Weſt ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our courſe,in the which time the Captaine ſailing by the ſhore in the pinneſſe, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vſe to fiſh for pearles, and there ſpoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha,which becauſe he would not ouerſhoot,he ankered that night againe,& the 19.came thither; where hauing talke with the kings treaſurer of the Indies reſident there,he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata,& ſhewed a certificate of the ſame, made by the gouernour thereof,& therefore he deſired to haue the like there alſo: but the treaſurer made anſwere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and councill of S.Domingo,who hauing intelligence of our being on the coaſt, did ſende expreſſe commiſſion to reſiſt vs,with all the force they could,inſomuch that they durſt not trafique with vs in no caſe, alleaging that if they did,they ſhould looſe all that they did trafique for, beſides their bodies at the magiſtrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied,that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Maieſties of England,

Aruba.

La Rancheria.

Rio de la Hacha.

M. Hawkins his
letter to the
Treaſurer of
Rio de la Hacha.

and ſent about other her affaires, but driuen beſides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into thoſe parts, where he hoped to finde ſuch friendſhip as hee ſhould doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reaſon, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But ſeeing they would contrary to all reaſon go about to withſtand his trafique, he would it ſhould not be ſaid by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whether he or they ſhould haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or elſe to ſtand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee ſhould haue licence to trade, but they would giue him ſuch a price as was the one halfe leſſe then he had ſold for before, and thus they ſent word they would do, and none otherwiſe, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwiſe with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their vnconſcionable requeſt, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorouſly with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his cõmodities, which were ſo reaſonably rated, as they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans handes. But ſeeing they had ſent him this to his ſupper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefaſt. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee ſhot off a whole Culuering to ſummon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a ſhore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of braſſe, and in the other boates double baſes in their noſes, which being perceiued by the Townеſmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and enſigne diſplayed, marched from the Towne to the ſands, of footmen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a ſhore, whereby they made a ſemblance to haue fought with vs in deed. But our Captaine perceiuing them ſo bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be diſcharged at them, which put them in no ſmall feare to ſee, (as they afterward declared) ſuch great pieces in a boate. At euery ſhot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere vnto them, they broke their aray, and diſperſed themſelues ſo much for feare of the Ordinance, that at laſt they went all away with their enſigne. The horſemen alſo being about thirtie, made as braue a ſhew as might be, courſing vp and downe with their horſes, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their iauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when wee landed, they gaue ground, and conſulted what they ſhould doe, for little they thought wee would haue landed ſo boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they ſent a meſſenger on horſebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treaſurer marueiled what he meant to doe to come a ſhore in that order, in conſideration that they had granted to euery reaſonable requeſt that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this meſſenger, marched forwards. The meſſenger prayed him to ſtay his men, and ſaide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treaſurer would come and ſpeake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together. The Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treaſurer on horſebacke with his iaueling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he ſaid was worſe then his weapon, and ſo keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requeſts. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they deſired to haue pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwiſe when they had made themſelues ſtronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and ſeeing that now they might haue what they would requeſt, they iudged it to be more wiſedome to be in aſſurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were ſent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the meane time while we ſtayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the ſhore, where by the ſtrength of the freſh water running into the Sea, the ſalt water was made freſh. In this Riuer we ſaw many Crocodils of ſundry bigneſſes, but ſome as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whoſe ſkinne is ſo hard, that a ſword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great deuourer, and ſpareth neither fiſh, which is his common food, nor beaſtes, nor men, if hee take them, as the proofe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the Riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer ſeene after. His nature is euer when hee would haue his prey, to cry and ſobbe like a Chriſtian body, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee ſnatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about moſt to deceiue, ſo doeth a woman moſt commonly when ſhe weepeth. Of theſe the Maſter of the Ieſus watched one, and by the banks ſide ſtroke him with a pike of a bill in the ſide, and after three or foure times turning in ſight, hee ſunke downe, and was not afterward ſeene. In the time of our being in the Riuers Guinie, wee ſawe many of a monſtrous bigneſſe, amongſt the which the captaine being in one of the Barks comming downe the ſame, ſhot a Faulcon at one, which very narowly hee miſſed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a ſtreame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them ſome harme before we departed, or for any treaſon that they intended towards vs, I am not able to ſay; but then came thither a Captaine from ſome of the other townes, with a dozen ſouldiers vpon a time when our Captaine and the treaſurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernours of Burboroata, which was to be payd by the ſaid treaſurer, who would not anſwere the ſame by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of diſpleaſure paſſed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treaſurer poſſibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue ſought the ſame, did immediatly command his men to armes, both horſemen and footemen: but becauſe the Captaine was in the Riuer on the backe ſide of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the ſudden, hee might haue miſchieued many of his men: but the Captaine hauing vnderſtanding thereof, not truſting to their gentleneſſe, if they might haue the aduantage, departed aboord his ſhips, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongſt other talke, what they ment by aſſembling their men in that order, & they anſwered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muſter his men according to his accuſtomed maner. But it is to be iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpoſe hee might haue done it ſooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterpriſe any matter againſt vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they haue want, and were now furniſhed by our Captaine, and alſo 3. Faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they had ſecretly conueyed thither, which made them the bolder, and alſo for that they ſaw now a conuenient place to do ſuch a feat, and time alſo ſeruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely vnarmed and vnprouided, as at no time before the like, but alſo were occupied in hewing of wood, and leaſt thinking of any harme: theſe were occaſions to prouoke them thereunto. And I ſuppoſe they went about to bring it to effect, in that *I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and ſeeing men aſſembling in armour to the treaſurers houſe, whereof I marueiled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the vnreadineſſe of our men, of whom aduantage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediatly to giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-ſhot, two horſemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being ſent, as wee did geſſe, to ſtay vs leaſt wee ſhould cary newes to our Captaine, but ſeeing vs ſo neere our men they ſtayed their horſes, comming together, and ſuffring vs to paſſe, belike becauſe wee were ſo neere, that if they had gone about the ſame, they had bene eſpied by ſome of our men which then immediatly would haue departed, whereby they ſhould haue bene fruſtrate of their pretence: and ſo the two horſemen ridde about the buſhes to eſpie what we did, and ſeeing vs gone, to the intent they might ſhadow their comming downe in poſt, whereof ſuſpition might bee had, fained a ſimple excuſe in aſking whether he could ſell any wine, but that ſeemed ſo ſimple to the Captaine, that ſtanding in doubt of their courteſie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Baſes in their noſes, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus diſſembling all iniuries conceiued of both parts, the Captaine went aſhore, leauing pledges in the boates for himſelfe, and cleared all things betweene the treaſurer and him, ſauing for the gouerners debt, which the one by no meanes would anſwere, and the other, becauſe it was not his due debt, woulde not moleſt him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, cauſing the two Barkes which rode neere the ſhore to weigh and go vnder ſaile, which was done becauſe that our Captaine demanding a teſtimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the ſame vntill hee were vnder ſaile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the ſame againe, & receiued it at the treaſurers hand, of whom very courteouſly he tooke his leaue and departed, ſhooting off the baſes of his boat for his farewell, and the towneſmen alſo ſhot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the firſt time that he knew of the conueyance of their Faulcons.

*The authour of this ſtorie.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our courſe to Hiſpaniola, and the fourth of Iune wee had ſight of an yland, which wee made to be Iamaica, marueiling that by the vehement courſe of the Seas we ſhould be driuen ſo farre to leeward: for ſetting our courſe to the Weſt end of Hiſpaniola we fel with the middle of Iamaica, notwithſtanding that to al mens ſight it ſhewed a headland, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in ſuch ſort that we thought it to be the head land of the ſaid yland. And a Spaniard being in the ſhip, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occaſion to go to Guinie, and being by treaſon taken of the Negros, & afterwads bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his paſſage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be ſuch a place, and ſuch a mans ground, and that behinde ſuch a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed ſo from one point to another, that we were a leebord of all places, and found our ſelues at the Weſt end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, ſo that by truſting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine ſought not to ſpeake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himſelfe ſure of, he would haue done as his cuſtome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him looſe by ouerſhooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might haue gotten, but alſo to himſelfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great miſery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friendes, as he made ſure accompt, in that at his going into the pinneſſe, when he went to ſhore he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we ſailed all along, but it fell out euer by one occaſion or other, that wee were put beſide the ſame, ſo that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Iſraelites were beſieged, and were in great miſery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a buſhell of flower ſhould be ſold for a ſickle, would not beleeue him, but thought it vnpoſſible: and for that cauſe Elizæus propheſied hee ſhould ſee the ſame done, but hee ſhould not eate thereof: ſo this man being abſent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue ſeene his owne Countrey, did ſee the ſame, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his deſire.

Iune.

The deceitfull force of the current.

Two hundred ylands for the moſt part not inhabited.

Thus hauing ſailed along the coaſt two dayes, we departed the ſeuenth of Iune, being made to beleeue by the Spaniard that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hiſpaniola, of which opinion the Captaine alſo was, becauſe that which hee made Iamaica ſeemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hiſpaniola, by the lying of the coaſt, and alſo for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeue he was ſo farre driuen to leeward, and therfore ſetting his courſe to Iamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the ſame, perceiued then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Iamaica, and that the cloudes did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and this miſtaking of the place came to as ill a paſſe as the ouerſhooting of Iamaica: for by this did he alſo ouerpaſſe a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great ſtore of hides to be had: & thus being diſappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to haue raiſed great profite by his trafique, and alſo to haue found great refreſhing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now diſappointed greatly, and ſuch want he had of freſh water, that he was forced to ſeeke the ſhore to obteine the ſame, which he had ſight of after certaine dayes ouerpaſſed with ſtormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the moſt part were deſolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine paſſing in his pinneſſe, could finde no freſh water vntill hee came to an yland bigger then all the reſt, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ſhips the 16. of Iune, and found water, which although it were neither ſo toothſome as running water, by the meanes it is ſtanding, and but the water of raine, and alſo being neere the Sea was brackiſh, yet did wee not refuſe it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee ſhould haue bene another time with fine Conduit water, Thus being reaſonably watered we were deſirous to depart, becauſe the place was not very cõuenient for ſuch ſhips of charge as they were, becauſe there were many ſhoales to leeward, which alſo lay open to the ſea for any wind that ſhould blow: and therfore the captaine made the more haſte away, which was not vnneedfull: for little ſooner were their anckers weyed, and foreſaile ſet, but there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme, that they had not much to ſpare for doubling out of the ſhoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the reſt, was faine for haſte to cut the cable in the hawſe, and looſe both ancker and cable to ſaue her ſelfe.

The Cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Florida.

Thus the 17. of Iun,e we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the Weſt end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the ſpace of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the ſhoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Briſe taking vs, which is the Northeaſt winde, put vs the 24. from the ſhoare, and therefore we went to the Northweſt to fetch wind, and alſo to the coaſt of Florida to haue the helpe of the current, which was iudged to haue ſet to the Eaſtward: ſo the 29. wee found our ſelues in 27. degrees, and in the ſoundings of Florida, where we kept our ſelues the ſpace of foure dayes, ſailing along the coaſt as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fadome water, hauing all the while no ſight of land.

The Iſles of Tortugas

Great ſtore of birds.

The fift of July we had ſight of certeine Iſlands of ſand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinneſſe, and found ſuch a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might haue done the like. Theſe Iſlands beare the name of Tortoiſes, becauſe of the number of them, which there do breed, whoſe nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land alſo, but breed onely vpon the ſhore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with ſand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increaſe. Of theſe we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fiſh whereof we proued, eating much like veale; and finding a number of egges in them, taſted alſo of them, but they did eat very ſweetly. Heere wee ankered ſixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde ſpringing, we weyed anker, and made ſaile toward Cuba, whither we came the ſixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill ſo called, becauſe of the forme thereof: here we lay off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plied to wind-ward to Hauana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Hauana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perſwaſion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeue he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Hauana, ſayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the ſea ſide, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eaſtward, nor hilles to the Weſtward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Weſtward was Hauana. To which perſuaſion credit being giuen by ſome, and they not of the worſt, the captaine was perſuaded to goe to leeward, and ſo ſailed along the ſeuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiuing his folly to giue eare to ſuch praters, was not a little ſory, both becauſe he did conſider what time he ſhould ſpend yer he could get ſo far to wind-ward againe, which would haue bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelue dayes worke, & what it would haue bene longer he knew not, and (that which was worſt) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therfore knew not what ſhift to make: but in fine, becauſe the want was ſuch, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to ſeeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is ſet in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the ſhoalds he might haue ſuch acceſſe with his ſhips, that he might conueniently take in the ſame. And while we were in theſe troubles, and kept our way to the place aforeſayd, almighty God our guide (who would not ſuffer vs to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coaſt of Florida along as we did before, which is ſo dangerous (by reports) that no ſhip eſcapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards haue very wel proued the ſame) ſent vs the eight day at night a faire Weſterly winde, whereupon the captaine and company conſulted, determining not to refuſe Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatſoeuer had happened; and taking the ſayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and ſailing the ſame night, vnawares ouerſhot Hauana; at which place wee thought to haue watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had ouerſhot the ſame, ſailed along the coaſt, ſeeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certeine knowen marks, we vnderſtood that we had ouerſhot it 20 leagues: in which coaſt ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to diſemboque, and to water vpon the coaſt of Florida: for, to go further to the Eaſtward, we could not for the ſhoalds, which are very dangerous; and becauſe the current ſhooteth to the Northeaſt, we doubted by the force thereof to be ſet vpon them, and therefore durſt not approch them: ſo making but reaſonable way the day aforeſayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Iſlands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could ſcant double by the meanes that fearing the ſhoalds to the Eaſtwards, and doubting the current comming out of the Weſt, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt ſuch a current, that bearing all ſailes againſt the ſame, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Ieſus pinneſſe, and the Salomons boat, which were ſent the ſame day in the afternoone, whiles the ſhips were becalmed, to ſee if they could finde any water vpon the Iſlands aforeſaid; who ſpent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde ſpringing at ſea, the ſhips departed, making a ſigne to them to come away, who although they ſaw them depart, becauſe they were ſo neere the ſhore, would not loſe all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and ſee if there were any water to be had, making no account

A hill called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

The ſtate of the current of Florida.

but to finde the ſhippes well enough: but they ſpent ſo much time in filling the water which they had foũd, that the night was come before they could make an end. And hauing loſt the ſight of the ſhips, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they ſhould ſeeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the ſhippes were in no current; and ſailing but a mile further, they found one ſo ſtrong, that bearing all ſailes, it could not preuaile againſt the ſame, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine ſent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the ſhore all night, becauſe the current was leſſe there a great deale, and to beare light, with ſhooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Ieſus alſo bare a light in her toppe gallant, and ſhot off a piece alſo now and then, but the night paſſed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ſhips and barkes ceaſed not to looke ſtill for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night paſt; and therefore determined to tary no longer, ſeeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Ieſus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almoſt out of ſight; but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinneſſes top, had ſight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, hauing ſight of the ſhips, and ſeeing them tacking about; whereas before at the firſt ſight of them they did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themſelues vtterly forſaken, whereas before they were in ſome hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellouſly for them, for they themſelues hauing no victuals but water, and being ſore oppreſſed with hunger, were not of opinion to beſtow any further time in ſeeking the ſhippes then that preſent noone time; ſo that if they had not at that inſtant eſpied them, they had gone to the ſhore to haue made prouiſion for victuals, and with ſuch things as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, becauſe they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to haue remained amongſt the Floridians; at whoſe hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the firſt finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victuals ſufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, ſeeing thoſe people of the cape of Florida are of more ſauage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the reſt; which the Spanyards well prooued, who being fiue hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forſake the ſame: and of their crueltie mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking vpon him to perſuade the people to ſubiection, was by them taken, and his ſkin cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his fleſh eaten.

In theſe Iſlands they being a ſhore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: ſo that theſe ſorts of men are eaters of the fleſh of men, aſwel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpoſe.

The foureteenth day the ſhippe and barks came to the Ieſus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and ſo then altogether they kept on their way along the coaſt of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and ſo from ſixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coaſt along, ſeeking for freſh water, ankering euery night, becauſe we would ouerſhoot no place of freſh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ſhips pinneſſe failed along the ſhore, went into euery creeke, ſpeaking with diuers of the Floridians, becauſe hee would vnderſtand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees, as it was declared vnto him, maruelled thereat, and neuer left ſailing along the coaſt till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and ſtanding in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coaſt along, the captaine found it to be all an Iſland, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very ſcant of freſh water, but the countrey was maruellouſly ſweet, with both mariſh and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found ſorell to grow as abundantly as graſſe, and where their houſes were, great ſtore of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bigneſſe, but of taſte much like our Engliſh grapes. Alſo Deere great plentie, which came vpon the ſands before them. Their houſes are not many together, for in one houſe an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in ſtrength not inferiour to ours, for they haue ſtanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are couered with palmito-leaues, hauing

M. Hawkins ranged all the coaſt of Florida.

The riuer of May.
Florida found to be cut into Iſlands.
Sorell.
The commodities of Florida.
The houſes of Florida.

hauing no place diuided, but one ſmall roome for their king and queene. In the middeſt of this houſe is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they ſleepe vpon certeine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both ſides. In their houſes they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they deſire the fields, where they dreſſe their meat, and make prouiſion for victuals, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but alſo the Negros doe the ſame, which is made onely by two ſtickes, rubbing them one againſt another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde ſticks ſufficient for the purpoſe. In their apparell the men onely vſe deere ſkinnes, wherewith ſome onely couer their priuy members, otherſome vſe the ſame as garments to couer them before and behind; which ſkinnes are painted, ſome yellow and red, ſome blacke & ruſſet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies alſo with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiſeth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they vſe with a thorne to pricke their fleſh, and dent in the ſame, whereby the painting may haue better hold. In their warres they vſe a ſleighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themſelues ſhew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they waſh away againe. In their warres they vſe bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the moſt part paſſing the ſtrength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are alſo of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and and alſo for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they ſhoot very ſtedy: the heads of the ſame are vipers teeth, bones of fiſhes, flint ſtones, piked points of kniues, which they hauing gotten of the French men, broke the ſame, & put the points of them in their arrowes heads: ſome of them haue their heads of ſiluer, otherſome that haue want of theſe, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the reſt. In their fight, being in the woods, they vſe a maruellous pollicie for their owne ſafegard, which is by claſping a tree in their armes, and yet ſhooting notwithſtanding: this policy they vſed with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of ſome policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triſte, that is to ſay, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them ſo witty in their anſweres, that by the captaines owne report, a counſeller with vs could not giue a more profound reaſon.

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

The women alſo for their apparell vſe painted ſkinnes, but moſt of them gownes of moſſe, ſomewhat longer then our moſſe, which they ſowe together artificially, and make the ſame ſurpleſſe wiſe, wearing their haire downe to their ſhoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforeſayd, the captaine entring with his pinneſſe, found a French ſhip of foureſcore tun, and two pinneſſes of fifteene tun a piece, by her, and ſpeaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which their captaine Monſieur Laudonniere was, with certeine ſouldiers therein. To whom our captaine ſending to vnderſtand of a watering place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the ſame, he ſtraight, becauſe there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fiue leagues, where the water was freſh, did ſend him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats prouided for the ſame purpoſe, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and ſouldiers, very gently enterteined, who declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was foureteene moneths, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their firſt comming, had in ſhort ſpace eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driuen certeine of them to ſerue a king of the Floridians againſt other his enemies, for mill and other victuals; which hauing gotten, could not ſerue them, being ſo many, ſo long a time: but want came vpon them in ſuch ſort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being ſtamped ſmall, and often waſhed, to take away the bitterneſſe of them, they did vſe for bread, eating withall ſundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and holeſome, and ſuch as ſerue rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardneſſe not contenting ſome of them, who would not take the paines ſo much as to fiſh in the riuer before their doores, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell againſt the captaine, taking away firſt his armour, and afterward impriſoning him: and ſo to the number of foureſcore of them, departed with a barke and a pinneſſe, ſpoiling their ſtore of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and ſo went to the Iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Iamaica a rouing, where they ſpoiled and pilled the Spanyards; and hauing taken two carauels

The French fort.

Monſieur Laudonniere.

Bread made of acorns.

laden with wine and caſaui, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treaſure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of ſuch haughty ſtomacks, that they thought their force to be ſuch that no man durſt meddle with them, and ſo kept harborow in Iamaica, going dayly aſhore at their pleaſure. But God which would not ſuffer ſuch euill doers vnpuniſhed, did indurate their hearts in ſuch ſort, that they lingered the time ſo long, that a ſhip and galliaſſe being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the moſt part were hanged, and the reſt caried into Spaine, and ſome (to the number of fiue and twenty) eſcaped in the pinneſſe, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were put in priſon, and incontinent foure of the chiefeſt being condemned, at the requeſt of the ſouldiers, did paſſe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threeſcore men was a great diſcourage and weakening to the reſt, for they were the beſt ſouldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly crauing of maiz, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occaſion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and ſlew them; wherby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen; and therefore they being but a few in number durſt not venture abroad, but at ſuch time as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the ſame: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were ſet vpon by eighteene kings, hauing ſeuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes ſlew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & droue them all downe to their boats; whoſe policy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing ſhot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile againſt the ſame, they ſhot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill caſe by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty ſouldiers left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuaſions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they muſt haue beene driuen vnto, had not God ſent vs thither for their ſuccour; for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine ſeeing them, ſpared them out of his ſhip twenty barrels of meale, & foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and neceſſaries which he might conueniently ſpare: and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their requeſt we ſpared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithſtanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals ſufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the ſame; but they being ſouldiers, deſired to liue by the ſweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fiſh ſufficient, by weares which they made to catch the ſame: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the ſame againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great ſtore, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogſheads of wine. Alſo it yeeldeth roots paſſing good, Deere maruellous ſtore, with diuers other beaſts, and fowle, ſeruiceable to the vſe of man. Theſe be things wherewith a man may liue, hauing corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good ſauory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Alſo it maketh good meale, beaten and ſodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh alſo good beuerage, ſodden in water, and nouriſhable; which the Frenchmen did vſe to drinke of in the morning, and it aſſuageth their thirſt, ſo that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greateſt lacke they had, becauſe they had no labourers to ſowe the ſame, and therfore to them that ſhould inhabit the land it were requiſit to haue labourers to till and ſowe the ground: for they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor ſpoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more deſirous of peace then of warres, but alſo ſhall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we ſee another man euer taking away frō vs, although we haue enough beſides, yet then we thinke all too little for our ſelues: for ſurely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz roſted, will trauell a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but ſodden herbs & maiz: and in this order I ſaw threeſcore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they trauell, haue a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe ſucke thorow the cane the ſmoke thereof; which ſmoke ſatiſfieth their hunger, and therwith they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vſed for this purpoſe: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it cauſeth water & fleame to void from their ſtomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowen to any

The occaſion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieued by M. Hawkins.

Twentie hogſheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleans.

Labourers neceſſary to inhabit new countreys.

Tabacco & the great vertue thereof.

man: for beſides the land it ſelfe, whereof there is more then any king Chriſtian is able to inhabit, it flouriſheth with medow, paſture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other ſorts, as better can not be in the world. They haue for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great ſtore, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinſence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & ruſſet, very perfect, wherewith they ſo paint their bodies, and Deere ſkinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and ſiluer they want not: for at the Frenchmens firſt comming thither they had the ſame offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, becauſe they knew not the eſtimation thereof: but the ſouldiers being greedy of the ſame, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the Frenchmen did greatly eſteeme it, and alſo did rigourouſly deale with them, by taking the ſame away from them, at laſt would not be knowen they had any more, neither durſt they weare the ſame for feare of being taken away: ſo that ſauing at their firſt comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and ſiluer the French men know not as yet, but by geſſe, who hauing trauelled to the Southweſt of the cape, hauing found the ſame dangerous, by meanes of ſundry banks, as we alſo haue found the ſame; and there finding maſts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treaſure by them. For it is moſt true that diuers wracks haue beene made of Spanyards, hauing much treaſure: for the Frenchmen hauing trauelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a carauel comming from the Indies, which was caſt away foureteene yeeres ago, & the other twelue yeres; of whoſe fellowes ſome eſcaped, otherſome were ſlain by the inhabitants. It ſeemeth they had eſtimation of their golde & ſiluer, for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their neckes; otherſome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midſt, to boulſter vp their breaſts withall, becauſe they thinke it a deformity to haue great breaſts. As for mines either of gold or ſiluer, the Frenchmen can heare of none they haue vpon the Iſland, but of copper, whereof as yet alſo they haue not made the proofe, becauſe they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and ſiluer aſwell as in Mexico, becauſe it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obteined pearles of them of great bigneſſe, but they were blacke, by meanes of roſting of them, for they do not fiſh for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat: for the Spanyards vſe to keepe dayly afiſhing ſome two or three hundred Indians, ſome of them that be of choiſe a thouſand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinneſſes, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or moſt part be diuers, the reſt doe open the ſame for the pearles: for it is not ſuffered that they ſhould vſe dragging, for that would bring them out of eſtimation, and marre the beds of them. The oiſters which haue the ſmalleſt ſort of pearles are found in ſeuen or eight fadome water, but the greateſt in eleuen or twelue fadome.

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Colours.

Golde and ſiluer.

Two Spanyards liued lõg among ỹ Floridians.

Pieces of gold grauen among ỹ Floridians.

Florida eſteemed an Iſland.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Sauages, Sycroa phyre.

Pearles.

The Floridians haue pieces of vnicornes hornes, which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obteined many pieces. Of thoſe vnicornes they haue many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beaſt with one horne, which comming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the ſame into the water before he drinketh. Of this vnicornes horne there are of our company, that hauing gotten the ſame of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to ſhew. It is therfore to be preſuppoſed that there are more commodities aſwell as that, which for want of time, and people ſufficient to inhabit the ſame, can not yet come to light: but I truſt God will reueale the ſame before it be long, to the great profit of them that ſhal take it in hand. Of beaſts in this countrey beſides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certeinly to ſay: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres aſwell as vnicornes; lions eſpecially; if it be true that is ſayd, of the enmity betweene them and the vnicornes: for there is no beaſt but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a ſheepe the woolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and ſo of other beaſts the like: inſomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be miſſing. And ſeeing I haue made mention of the beaſts of this countrey, it ſhall not be from my purpoſe to ſpeake alſo of the venimous beaſts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bigneſſe, whereof our men killed ſome of a yard and a halfe long. Alſo I heard a miracle of one of theſe adders, vpon the which a faulcon ſeizing, the ſayd adder did claſpe her taile about her; which the French captaine ſeeing, came to the reſcue of the faulcon, and tooke her ſlaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaime her, and kept her for the ſpace of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to caſt her off. On theſe adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of vs, and affirmed the ſame to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the Frenchmen ſaw alſo a

Vnicornes hornes, which ỹ inhabitants call Souamenma.

Beaſts.

Faulcons in Florida.

ſerpent

Serpents.

Flying fiſhes.

Dolphins.

Flemingo.

The egript.

The pellicane.

ſerpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bigneſſe of a great ſpaniell. which for want of a harquebuz he durſt not attempt to ſlay. Of fiſh alſo they haue in the riuer, pike, roch, ſalmon, trout, and diuers other ſmall fiſhes, and of great fiſh, ſome of the length of a man and longer, being of bigneſſe accordingly, hauing a ſnout much like a ſword of a yard long. There be alſo of ſea fiſhes, which we ſaw comming along the coaſt flying, which are of the bigneſſe of a ſmelt, the biggeſt ſort whereof haue foure wings, but the other haue but two: of theſe wee ſawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chaſed by the gilt-heads, otherwiſe called the bonitos, do to auoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, becauſe of the drying of their wings, which ſerue them not to flie but when they are moiſt, and therefore when they can flie no further, they fall into the water, and hauing wet their wings, take a new flight againe. Theſe bonitos be of bigneſſe like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the ſwifteſt fiſh in ſwimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not onely in the water, but alſo out of the water: for as the flying fiſh taketh her flight, ſo doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them ſometimes aboue the water. There were ſome of thoſe bonitos, which being galled by a fiſgig, did follow our ſhippe comming out of Guinea 500 leagues. There is a ſea-fowle alſo that chaſeth this flying fiſh aſwell as the bonito: for as the flying fiſh taketh her flight, ſo doth this fowle purſue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleaſure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleaſant, and alſo more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are ſo abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of theſe flying fiſhes, which commonly keepe about the ſhip, and are not ſo big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do auoid the vnſatiableneſſe of the bonito. Of the bigger ſort of theſe fiſhes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the ſailes of our ſhip, and there was not one of them which was not worth a bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leape thereat, and ſo was taken. Alſo, we tooke many with a white cloth made faſt to a hooke, which being tied ſo ſhort in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fiſh leapeth thereat, and ſo is deceiued. We tooke alſo dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no leſſe delicate in taſte. Fowles alſo there be many, both vpon land and vpon ſea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, becauſe my abode was there ſo ſhort. But for the fowle of the freſh riuers, theſe two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the vpper neb hangeth an inch ouer the nether; and an egript, which is all white as the ſwanne, with legs like to an hearnſhaw, and of bigneſſe accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of ſo fine a plume, that it paſſeth the eſtridge his feather. Of the ſea-fowle aboue all other not common in England, I noted the pellicane, which is fained to be the louingſt bird that is; which rather then her yong ſhould want, wil ſpare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this louingneſſe ſhe is very deformed to beholde; for ſhe is of colour ruſſet: notwithſtanding in Guinea I haue ſeene of them as white as a ſwan, hauing legs like the ſame, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beake, from the nether iaw whereof downe to the breaſt paſſeth a ſkinne of ſuch a bigneſſe, as is able to receiue a fiſh as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her ſeeme ſo ougly.

Meanes to reape a ſufficient profit in Florida and Virginia.

Here I haue declared the eſtate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may ſeeme vnto ſome, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and ſiluer, is not ſo abundant as in other places, that the coſt beſtowed vpon the ſame will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue ſeene in other Iſlands of the Indians, where ſuch increaſe of cattell hath bene, that of twelue head of beaſts in fiue & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raiſe a thouſand pound profit yerely, that the increaſe of cattel onely would raiſe profit ſufficient for the ſame: for wee may conſider, if ſo ſmall a portion did raiſe ſo much gaines in ſuch ſhort time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and ſurely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is ſo greene, as any time in the Summer with vs: which ſurely is not to be marueilled at, ſeeing the countrey ſtandeth in ſo watery a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a ſhower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it ſelfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flouriſh therein. And becauſe there is not the thing we all ſeeke for, being rather deſirous of preſent gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requiſit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the ſame, rather then for any ſubiect.

From thence wee departed the 28 of Iuly, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there all things as might be moſt conuenient for our purpoſe: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there ſtill remained, who with diligence determined to make as great ſpeede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in ſuch manner that victuals ſcanted with vs, ſo that we were diuers times (or rather the moſt part) in deſpaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodneſſe better prouided for vs, then our deſeruing. In which ſtate of great miſerie, wee were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which mooued him to heare vs, ſo that we had a proſperous winde, which did ſet vs ſo farre ſhot, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eue, and we ſounded therupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirtie fadoms, being that day ſomewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of freſh codde-fiſh, which greatly relieued vs: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes, at the ende of which we ſawe a couple of French ſhippes, and had of them ſo much fiſh as would ſerue vs plentifully for all the reſt of the way, the Captaine paying for the ſame both golde and ſiluer, to the iuſt value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the ſaide ſhippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themſelues to meete with ſuch good intertainement at ſea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padſtow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in ſafetie, with the loſſe of twentie perſons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the ſaid voyage, as alſo to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, ſiluer, pearles and other iewels great ſtore. His name therefore be praiſed for euermore. Amen.

Their arriuall in Padſtow in the moneth of September. 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.
M. Iohn Cheſter, ſir William Cheſters ſonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurſt.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, with diuers others.

The Regiſter and true accounts of all herein expreſſed hath beene approoued by me *Iohn Sparke* the younger, who went vpon the ſame voyage, and wrote the ſame.

The third troubleſome voyage made with the *Ieſus* of *Lubeck*, the *Minion*, and foure other ſhips, to the parts of *Guinea*, and the *Weſt Indies*, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. *Iohn Hawkins*.

The ſhips departed from Plimmouth, the ſecond day of October, Anno 1567 and had reaſonable weather vntill the ſeuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finiſter, there aroſe an extreme ſtorme, which continued foure dayes, in ſuch ſort, that the fleete was diſperſed, and all our great boats loſt, and the Ieſus our chiefe ſhippe, in ſuch caſe, as not thought able to ſerue the voyage: whereupon in the ſame ſtorme we ſet our courſe homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the ſame moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterpriſe, and ſo did, directing our courſe with the Ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before preſcribed, all our ſhippes before diſperſed, met at one of thoſe Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coaſt of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtaine ſome Negros, where we got but fewe, and thoſe with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they ſeemed to be but ſmall hurts, yet there hardly eſcaped any that had blood drawen of them, but died in ſtrange ſort, with their mouthes ſhut ſome tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my ſelfe had one of the greateſt woundes, yet thankes be to God, eſcaped. From thence we paſt the time vpon the coaſt of Guinea, ſearching with all diligence the riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Ianuarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet notwithſtanding the ſickneſſe of our men, and the

A ſtorme.

Gomera.

Enuenomed arrowes.

A towne of 8000 Negros taken.

No trueth in Negros.

late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to ſeeke the coaſt of the Weſt Indias, I was with the reſt of our company in conſultation to goe to the coaſt of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained ſome golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that preſent inſtant, there came to vs a Negro, ſent from a king, oppreſſed by other Kings his neighbours, deſiring our aide, with promiſe that as many Negros as by theſe warres might be obtained, aſwell of his part as of ours, ſhould be at our pleaſure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and ſent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Ianuarie, aſſaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies aduerſaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very ſtrongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was ſo well defended, that our men preuailed not, but loſt ſixe men and fortie hurt: ſo that our men ſent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon conſidering that the good ſucceſſe of this enterpriſe might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my ſelfe, and with the helpe of the king of our ſide, aſſaulted the towne, both by land and ſea, and very hardly with fire (their houſes being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 perſons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our ſide, there were taken 600 priſoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choiſe: but the Negro (in which nation is ſeldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing leſſe: for that night he remooued his campe and priſoners, ſo that we were faine to content vs with thoſe few which we had gotten our ſelues.

Dominica.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Now had we obtained between foure and fiue hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it ſomewhat reaſonable to ſeeke the coaſt of the Weſt Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with ſome gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furniſhed our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coaſt of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the ſea with a paſſage more hard, then before hath bene accuſtomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had ſight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coaſt of the Weſt Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coaſted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, ſomewhat hardly, becauſe the king had ſtraightly commanded all his Gouernors in thoſe parts, by no meanes to ſuffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithſtanding we had reaſonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, ſauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treaſurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or ſuffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furniſhed himſelfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, ſo that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negros: of which purpoſe he had not greatly failed, vnleſſe we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to doe, and ſo with two hundred men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the loſſe onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards becauſe after their voley of ſhot diſcharged, they all fled.

Thus hauing the town with ſome circumſtance, as partly by the Spaniards deſire of Negros, and partly by friendſhip of the Treaſurer, we obtained a ſecret trade: whereupon the Spaniards reſorted to vs by night, and bought of vs to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of vs and traded willingly.

Cartagena.

Furicanos.

Stormes.

At Cartagena the laſt towne we thought to haue ſeene on the coaſt, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the gouernour was ſo ſtraight, and becauſe our trade was ſo neere finiſhed we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of Iuly, hoping to haue eſcaped the time of their ſtormes which then ſoone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but paſſing by the Weſt end of Cuba, towards the coaſt of Florida there happened to vs the 12 day of Auguſt an extreme ſtorme which continued by the ſpace of foure dayes, which ſo beat the Ieſus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder alſo was ſore ſhaken, and withall was in ſo extreme a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good paſſe, we ſought the coaſt of Florida, where we found no place nor Hauen for our ſhips, becauſe of the ſhalowneſſe of the coaſt: thus being in greater diſpaire, and taken with a newe ſtorme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our ſuccour the Port which ſerueth the citie of Mexico called Saint Iohn de Vllua, which ſtandeth in 19 degrees: in ſeeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ſhips which carried paſſengers to the number of an hundred, which paſſengers we hoped ſhould be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua and in our entrie the Spaniardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly diſmayed: but immediatly when they ſawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found alſo in the ſame Port twelue ſhips which had in them by the report two hundred thouſand pound in gold & ſiluer, all which (being in my poſſeſſion, with the kings Iland as alſo the paſſengers before in my way thitherward ſtayed) I ſet at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely becauſe I would not be delayed of my diſpatch, I ſtayed two men of eſtimation and ſent poſt immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from vs, to the Preſidentes and Councell there, ſhewing them of our arriuall there by the force of weather, and the neceſſitie of the repaire of our ſhippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furniſhed of for our money: and that the Preſidents and Councell there ſhould with all conuenient ſpeede take order, that at the arriuall of the Spaniſh fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cauſe of quarrell riſe betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This meſſage being ſent away the ſixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriuall, in the next morning which was the ſeuenteenth day of the ſame moneth, we ſawe open of the Hauen thirteene great ſhippes, and vnderſtanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I ſent immediatly to aduertiſe the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderſtand, that before I would ſuffer them to enter the Port, there ſhould ſome order of conditions paſſe betweene vs for our ſafe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be vnderſtood that this Port is made by a little Iland of ſtones not three foote aboue the water in the higheſt place, and but a bow-ſhoot of length any way, this Iland ſtandeth from the maine land two bow ſhootes or more, alſo it is to be vnderſtood that there is not in all this coaſt any other place for ſhips to arriue in ſafety, becauſe the North winde hath there ſuch violence, that vnleſſe the ſhippes be very ſafely mored with their ankers faſtened vpon this Iland, there is no remedie for theſe North windes but death: alſo the place of the Hauen was ſo little, that of neceſſitie the ſhippes muſt ride one aboord the other, ſo that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, ſaid I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receiue the one of them. That was, either I muſt haue kept out the fleete from entring the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or elſe ſuffer them to enter in with their accuſtomed treaſon, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, to compaſſe it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bene preſent ſhipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to ſixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I conſidered I was not able to anſwere, fearing the Queenes Maieſties indignation in ſo waightie a matter. Thus with my ſelfe reuoluing the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certaintie. The vncertaine doubt I account was their treaſon which by good policie I hoped might be preuented, and therefore as chuſing the leaſt miſchiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our firſt meſſenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arriuall of a Viceroy, ſo that hee had authoritie, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwiſe called Nueua Eſpanna) and in the ſea, who ſent vs word that we ſhould ſend our conditions, which of his part ſhould (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how paſſing the coaſt of the Indies he had vnderſtood of our honeſt behauiour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, aſwell elſewhere as in the ſame Port, the which I let paſſe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to ſell as much ware as might furniſh our wants, and that there might be of either part twelue gentlemen as hoſtages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better ſafetie might be in our owne poſſeſſion, during our abode there, and ſuch ordinance as was planted in the ſame Iland which were eleuen peeces of braſſe: and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: theſe conditions at the firſt he ſomewhat miſliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had ſoone knowen our fare: for with the firſt North winde they had cut our cables and our ſhips had gone aſhore: but in the end he concluded to our requeſt, bringing the twelue hoſtages to ten, which with all ſpeede of either part were receiued, with a writing from the Viceroy ſigned with his hande and ſealed with his ſeale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowen with commandement that none of either part ſhould be meane to violate the peace vpon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes ſhould meete, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premiſſes which was ſo done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was

Saint Iohn de Vllua a Port.

The Spaniards deceiued.

Our requeſts.

The fleete of Spaine.

The maner of the Port S. Iohn de Vllua.

North windes perilous.

1800. thouſand pond.

A Viceroy.

Faire wordes beguiled.

Our requeſts.

The peace concluded.

concluded & the fleete entered the Port, ſaluting one another as the maner of the ſea doth require. Thus as I ſaid before, thurſday we entred the Port, Friday we ſaw the fleete, and on munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2 daies placing the Engliſh ſhips by themſelues & the Spaniſh ſhips by themſelues, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promiſing great amity of al ſides: which euen as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, ſo the Spaniards ment nothing leſſe on their parts, but from the maine land had furniſhed themſelues with a ſupply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thurſday being the 23 of September at dinner time to ſet vpon vs on all ſides. The ſame Thurſday in the morning the treaſon being at hand, ſome appearance ſhewed, as ſhifting of weapon from ſhip to ſhip, planting and bending of ordinance from the ſhips to the Iland where our men warded, paſſing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their neceſſary buſines, & many other ill likelihoods, which cauſed vs to haue a vehement ſuſpition, and therewithall ſent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which ſent immediatly ſtraight commandement to vnplant all things ſuſpicious, and alſo ſent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not ſatiſfied with this anſwere, becauſe we ſuſpected a great number of men to be hid in a great ſhip of 900 tunnes which was mored next vnto the *Minion*, ſent againe to the Viceroy the maſter of the *Ieſus* which had the Spaniſh tongue, and required to be ſatiſfied if any ſuch thing were or not. The Viceroy now ſeeing that the treaſon muſt be diſcouered, foorthwith ſtayed our maſter, blew the Trumpet, and of all ſides ſet vpon vs: our men which warded a ſhore being ſtricken with ſudden feare, gaue place, fled, and ſought to recouer ſuccour of the ſhips; the Spaniardes being before prouided for the purpoſe landed in all places in multitudes from their ſhips which they might eaſily doe without boates, and ſlewe all our men a ſhore without mercie, a fewe of them eſcaped aboord the *Ieſus*. The great ſhip which had by the eſtimation three hundred men placed in her ſecretly, immediatly fell aboord the *Minion*, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the ſuſpicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the *Minion* was made readie to auoide, and ſo leeſing her hedfaſts, and hayling away by the ſternefaſtes ſhe was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe ſhe defended the violence of the firſt brunt of theſe three hundred men. The *Minion* being paſt out, they came aboord the *Ieſus*, which alſo with very much a doe and the loſſe of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then were there alſo two other ſhips that aſſaulted the *Ieſus* at the ſame inſtant, ſo that ſhe had hard getting looſe, but yet with ſome time we had cut our head-faſtes and gotten out by the ſterne-faſtes. Nowe when the *Ieſus* and the *Minion* were gotten about two ſhippes length from the Spaniſh fleete, the fight beganne ſo hotte on all ſides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was ſuppoſed to be ſunke, their Vice-admirall burned and one other of their principall ſhips ſuppoſed to be ſunke, ſo that the ſhippes were little able to annoy vs.

A Viceroy falſe of his faith.

The treaſon brake foorth.

The *Minion* eſcaped hardly.

The *Ieſus* eſcaped hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. ſhips of the Spaniards conſumed.

Then is it to be vnderſtood, that all the Ordinance vpon the Ilande was in the Spaniardes handes, which did vs ſo great annoyance, that it cut all the maſtes and yardes of the *Ieſus*, in ſuch ſort that there was no hope to carrie her away; alſo it ſunke our ſmall ſhippes, wereupon we determined to place the *Ieſus* on that ſide of the *Minion*, that ſhe might abide all the batterie from the land, and ſo be a defence for the *Minion* till night, and then to take ſuch reliefe of victuall and other neceſſaries from the *Ieſus*, as the time would ſuffer vs, and to leaue her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the *Minion* from the ſhot of the land, ſuddenly the Spaniards had fired two great ſhippes which were comming directly with vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bredde among our men a maruellous feare, ſo that ſome ſayd, let vs depart with the *Minion*, other ſaid, let vs ſee whither the winde will carrie the fire from vs. But to be ſhort, the *Minions* men which had alwayes their ſayles in a readineſſe, thought to make ſure worke, and ſo without either conſent of the Captaine or Maſter cut their ſaile, ſo that very hardly I was receiued into the *Minion*.

A hard caſe.

The moſt part of the men that were left a liue in the *Ieſus*, made ſhift and followed the *Minion* in a ſmall boat, the reſt which the little boate was not able to receiue, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) ſo with the *Minion* only and the *Iudith* (a ſmall barke of 50 tunne) we eſcaped, which barke the ſame night forſooke vs in our great miſerie: we were now remooued with the *Minion* from the Spaniſh ſhips two bow-ſhootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recouered an Iland a mile from the Spaniardes, where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we loſt three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes vpon death which euer was preſent, but God preſerued vs to a longer time.

Small hope to be had of tyrants.

A ſtorme.

The weather waxed reaſonable, and the Saturday we ſet ſaile, and hauing a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed leſſe and leſſe: ſome deſired to yeeld to the Spaniards, ſome rather deſired to obtaine a place where they might giue themſelues to the Infidels, and ſome had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: ſo thus with many ſorowfull hearts we wandred in an vnknowen Sea by the ſpace of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced vs to ſeeke the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none eſcaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they ſerued the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the ſame bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to haue found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ſhip, which was ſo ſore beaten with ſhot from our enemies and bruſed with ſhooting off our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were ſcarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor hauen of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with ſome perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger deſired to be ſet on land, whereunto I conſented.

Small hopes of life.

Hard choice.

Miſeries.

And ſuch as were willing to land I put them apart, and ſuch as were deſirous to goe homewardes, I put a part, ſo that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one ſide and a hundred of the other ſide: theſe hundred men we ſet a land with all diligence in this little place beforeſaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in freſh water, and ſo with our little remaine of victuals to take the ſea.

An hundred men ſet on land in 23. deg. and a halfe.

The next day hauing a land with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the ſpeedier preparing of our water aboord, there aroſe an extreame ſtorme, ſo that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboord our ſhip: the ſhip alſo was in ſuch perill that euery houre we looked for ſhipwracke.

The greateſt miſerie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, and ſent faire weather, we had aboord our water, and departed the ſixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and proſperous weather till the ſixteenth day of Nouember, which day God be prayſed we were cleere from the coaſt of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Iucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppreſſed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into ſuch weakeneſſe that we were ſcantly able to manage our ſhippe, and the winde being alwayes ill for vs to recouer England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieue our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arriued the laſt day of December in a place neere vnto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with exceſſe of freſh meate grew into miſerable diſſeaſes, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men ſuffered to goe a land, yet by acceſſe of the Spaniards, our feebleneſſe was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceaſed not to ſeeke by all meanes to betray vs, but with all ſpeede poſſible we departed to Vigo, where we had ſome helpe of certaine Engliſh ſhips and twelue freſh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of Ianuary 1568 arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the ſame moneth, praiſed be God therefore.

If all the miſeries and troubleſome affaires of this ſorowfull voyage ſhould be perfectly and throughly written, there ſhould neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the liues and deathes of the Martyrs.

IOHN HAWKINS.

The firſt voyage attempted and ſet foorth by the expert and valiant captaine M. *Francis Drake* himſelfe, with a ſhip called the *Dragon*, and another ſhip and a Pinneſſe, to *Nombre de Dios*, and *Dariene*, about the yeere 1572, Written and recorded by one *Lopez Vaz* a Portugall borne in the citie of *Eluas*, in maner follow: which Portugale, with the diſcourſe about him, was taken at the riuer of *Plate* by the ſhips ſet foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, in the yeere 1586.

There was a certaine Engliſh man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueua Eſpanna, had but ſmall ſtore of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinneſſes, and landed about 150 men, & leauing 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and there diſcharged his caliuers, & ſounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort anſwered him after the ſame maner, with the diſcharging their caliuers, and ſounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any ſuch matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their ſleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter ſhould be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vprore was which happened ſo ſuddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them ioyning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did diſcouer the Engliſhmen, and ſeeing them to be but fewe, diſcharged their caliuers at thoſe Engliſhmen: their fortune was ſuch that they killed the Trumpetter, and ſhot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who ſeeing himſelfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the reſt of their company was left: they which were in the Fort ſounded their Trumpet, and ſeeing that they in the towne did not anſwere them, and hearing the caliuers, thought that all they in the towne had bene ſlaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinneſſes: the Engliſh captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in ſo great feare, that leauing their furniture behind them, and putting off their hoſe, they ſwamme, and waded all to their Pinneſſes, and ſo went with their ſhips againe out of the Port.

Thus this Engliſh Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, & ſlew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to ſee what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter ſlaine.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

But he being diſcontented with the repulſe which he had receiued there, came to the ſound of Dariene, and hauing conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their maſters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and ſiluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of theſe Negros went thereupon on land, and ſtayed in the way where the treaſure ſhould come with an hundred ſhot, and ſo tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers miſtruſting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the ſiluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the houſe of Croſſes, where he killed ſixe or ſeuen marchants, but found no golde nor ſiluer but much marchandize: ſo he fired the houſe, where was burnt aboue 200000 Duckets in marchandize, and ſo went to his ſhip againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ſhip-boord, there came downe to the ſandes three hundred ſhot of the Spaniards in the ſight of his ſhips, of purpoſe to ſeeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and ſo departed with his treaſure.

M. Francis Drake burnt the houſe of Croſſes.

The voyage of *Iohn Oxnam* of *Plimmouth*, to the *VVeſt India*, and ouer the ſtraight of *Dariene* into the South ſea. Anno 1575. Written by the foreſaid *Lopez Vaz* in the ſaid diſcourſe.

There was another Engliſhman, who hearing of the ſpoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, and of his good aduenture and ſafe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vndertake the like enterpriſe, with a ſhip of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had alſo conference with the foreſaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and ſiluer which came vpon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with ſouldiers, he determined to do that which neuer any man before enterpriſed: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man couered his ſhip after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and ſo not leauing any man in his ſhip, he tooke two ſmall pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good ſtore of victuals, and ſo went with the Negros about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a riuer that goeth to the South ſea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinneſſe, which was fiue and fortie foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinneſſe, he went into the South ſea, carrying ſixe Negros with him to be his guides, and ſo went to the Iland of Pearles, which is fiue & twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without ſhewing himſelfe to any man, to ſee if he might get any ſhip that came from Peru: At laſt, there came a ſmall Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her ſixtie thouſand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himſelfe with this prize, hee ſtayed long without ſending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of ſixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thouſand pezos of ſiluer in barres, with the which hee thought to

The Iland of pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

haue gone, & entred the riuer, but firſt he went into the Iſlands to ſee if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and ſo returned to his pinneſſe againe, & ſo ſailing to the riuer from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the ſayd riuer, hee ſent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinneſſe he went vp the riuer. The Negros that dwelt in the Iſland of pearls, the ſame night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouernour within two dayes ſent foure barkes with 100 men, 25 men in euery one, and Negros to rowe with the captaine Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Iſland of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the Engliſh men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ſhips which the Engliſh men had taken, of whom he learned, that the Engliſh men were gone vp the riuer, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the riuer, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, becauſe there were three partitions in the riuer to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greateſt of the three riuers, he ſaw comming downe a leſſer riuer many feathers of hennes, which the Engliſhmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went vp that riuer where hee ſaw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that riuer foure daies, he deſcried the Engliſhmens pinneſſe vpon the ſands, and comming to her, there were no more then ſixe Engliſhmen, whereof they killed one, and the other fiue eſcaped away, and in the pinneſſe he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith ſatiſfied, determined to ſeeke out the Engliſhmen by land, and leauing twenty men in his pinneſſes, hee with 80 ſhot went vp the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a houſe made of boughs, where they found all the Engliſhmens goods, and the gold and ſiluer alſo, and carying it backe to their pinneſſes, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the Engliſh men any further.

But at the end of three dayes, the Engliſh captaine came to the riuer with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros, and ſet vpon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they ſtood behind, did eaſily preuaile, and killed eleuen Engliſhmen, and fiue Negros, and tooke other ſeuen Engliſhmen aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were ſlaine and fiue ſore hurt.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Engliſh men, and the Spaniards.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Engliſhmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes liberty which they had. They anſwered, that their Captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and ſiluer which they had, to the place where they had left their ſhippe, and they had promiſed him to carie it, although they made three or foure iourneys of it, for hee promiſed to giue them part of it beſides their wages, but the mariners would haue it by and by, and ſo their Captaine being angry becauſe they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in ſo much that one of the company would haue killed the Captaine, ſo that the Captaine would not haue them to carie the treaſure, but ſayd hee would ſeeke Negros to carie it, and ſo he went and ſought for Negros, and bringing thoſe Negros to carie it, hee met with the fiue Engliſh men that hee had left in his pinneſſe which ranne from the Spaniards, and the reſt alſo which ran from the houſe, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendſhip with all his men, hee promiſed them halfe of all the treaſure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promiſed to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to ſeeke the Spaniards, and now that ſome of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it beſt to returne to his ſhip, and to paſſe backe for England. The Spaniſh captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, and hauing gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the Engliſh men and their pinneſſe with him, he returned to Panama: ſo the voyage of that Engliſh man did not proſper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they ſent aduiſe alſo to Nombre de dios, and they of Nombre de dios ſent alſo from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards ſay) found the Engliſh ſhip where ſhe was hid, and brought her to Nombre de dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to ſuffer fiftie Engliſh men to remaine in the countrey, ſent a ſeruant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fifty ſhot into the mountaines to ſeeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North ſea, and there to take ſome barke or other: ſome of them were ſicke, and were taken, and the reſt fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, ſo that they were brought to Panama. And the Iuſtice of Panama aſked the Engliſh captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he anſwered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and ſo were all executed, ſauing the Captaine, the Maſter, the Pilot, and fiue boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing.

The Engliſh betrayed to the Spaniards.

The death of Iohn Oxnam.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of theſe matters, ſent 300 men of warre againſt thoſe Negros which had aſſiſted thoſe Engliſh men, which before were ſlaues vnto the Spaniards, and as before is ſayd, fled from their maſters vnto thoſe mountaines, and ſo ioyned themſelues to the Engliſhmen, to the ende they might the better reuenge themſelues on the Spaniards.

At the firſt comming of theſe 300 ſouldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed great iuſtice vpon them: But after a ſeaſon, the Negros grew wiſe and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, ſo that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that countrey marueiled much at this one thing, to ſee that ſince the conquering of this land, there haue bene many Frenchmen, that haue come to thoſe Countreys, but neuer ſaw Engliſh men there but onely thoſe two of whom I haue ſpoken. And although there haue many Frenchmen bene on the coaſt, yet neuer durſt they put foote vpon land, only thoſe two Engliſh men aduentured it, and did ſuch exploits, as are before remembred.

The Engliſh mens comming to the Indies, cauſed the king of Spaine to build gallies to keepe the Seas.

All theſe things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies well appointed to keepe thoſe coaſtes: and the firſt yeere they tooke ſixe or ſeuen French ſhips. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Engliſhmen or Frenchmen of warre that durſt aduenture to approch the coaſt, vntill this preſent yeere 1586, that the aforeſayd Francis Drake, with a ſtrong fleete of 24 ſhips arriued there, and made ſpoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Auguſtine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide ſufficient remedy, to keepe his countreys and ſubiects from the inuaſion of other nations.

The voyage of Maſter *Andrew Barker* of *Briſtol*, with two ſhips, the one called the *Ragged ſtaffe*, the other the *Beare*, to the coaſt of *Terra firma*, and the Bay of *Honduras* in the Weſt Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reaſons are premiſed which mooued him to ſet forth this voyage againſt the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterpriſe by M. *Richard Hakluyt*.

Firſt of all Andrew Barker hauing abode in one of the Canary Iſlands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Cheſter (the ſonne of Dominic Cheſter merchant of Briſtol) to learn the language. Now the ſayd Andrew Barker forthwith vpon his arriuall in England, in Nouember, 1574, fraighted a ſmall ſhip (named the Speedwell of Briſtol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandiſe of a great value. He ſent alſo one Iohn Drue of Baſtable as his Factor to make ſale and diſpoſe of the ſaid goods, who when he arriued at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and ſent home the barke with ſome ſmall quantity of wine, making account to ſell the ſayd wares to greater aduantage in prouiding wines and ſugar for the lading of another ſhip, which Andrew Barker had appointed to ſend thither. Alſo according to this his purpoſe yͤ ſaid Andrew in March following ſent a ſhip called the Chriſtopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Briſtol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, & was in good hope to find the lading of his ſhip in a readines, cõtrary to his expectation, was ſuddenly caſt into priſon: the Spaniards alleaging that Andrew Barker was accuſed to the inquiſitiõ by Charles Cheſter, whereupon his goods were confiſcat, his factor Iohn Drue was attached, and he alſo (the ſaid captaine Roberts) being as they ſuppoſed Barkers partner, was in like ſort to be impriſoned. In fine all the foreſaid commodities appertaining to the ſaid Andrew and his brother M. Iohn Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and vpwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were vtterly loſt, being confiſcat to the ſaid inquiſition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was deliuered out of priſon (which coſt him all the marchandize he brought with him in his ſhip) and ſo returned with dead fraight to the ſumme of 200 pound that afterwards Andrew Barker diſcharged. In recompenſe of which iniurie (for that no ſuite preuaileth againſt the inquiſition of Spaine) & alſo to recouer his loſſe of the Spaniards themſelues, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furniſhed two barkes for the Weſt Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged ſtaffe, himſelfe being captaine, & Philip Roche Maſter thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxe of Limehouſe for her Maſter and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmouth on Whitſonday in the beginning of Iune, we ſet forward, & in our courſe we met with a ſhip of London, & afterwards with another ſhip, but tooke nothing frõ either of them. Our firſt arriual was at one of the Iſland of Cape Verde, named Del ſal, vz. the Iſle of ſalt, where we tooke certain fiſhes called Tortoiſes: and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the

Iſla del ſal.

Iſle of Maio, being diſtant from Iſla del ſal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in freſh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had ſome victuals for kniues and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was trecherouſly ſlaine by thoſe Portugals, in reuenge of which murther we ſet on fire two of their ſmall villages. From this Iſland wee ſhaped our courſe ouer the maine Ocean toward the Weſt Indies, and arriued happily at the Iſland of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gaue vs very friendly and courteous entertainement: and here we ſet vp a pinneſſe which we caried forth in the Ragged ſtaffe, and traffiqued with the foreſayd Indians for victuals. And after we had ſpent ſixe dayes in this place we departed, and arriued next at the Iſle of Margarita, where we tooke a ſmall Spaniſh ſhip hauing in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reſerued 4 or 5 tunnes to our ſelues, diſmiſſing them without any further damage. Thence (hauing remained there a day) wee ſet ſaile to the Iſland of Curaçao, where we remained a day & a night, & tooke in freſh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Iſland (being few of them Spaniards, & the moſt part Indiãs) 14 of our men were treacherouſly hurt, but none ſlaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieued. From thẽce we arriued at Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Maſter Philip Roche, vpon compariſons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Nauigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occaſion of further miſchiefe. Hence we ſailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southweſtward from Carthagena) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treaſure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of ſiluer, and ſome quantity of corriẽto or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene ſtones called Emeraudes, whereof one very great, being ſet in gold, was found tied ſecretly about the thigh of a frier. Here hauing ſtayed three dayes, and now being purſued by Spaniſh men of warre, wee departed with the ſayd treaſure, and left the Frigat behind vs, all which treaſure at that inſtant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we paſſed to Nombre de dios, and ſo foorth to the mouth of the riuer of Chagre 18 leagues diſtant from Nombre de dios towards the Northweſt. There wee landed 10 of our men, who trauelled vp into the woods three or foure daies to ſeeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel maſters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to ioyne with the Engliſh and French againſt them) but in their ſearch they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemie, yet the moſt part of the ſayd ten perſons preſently fell ſicke, and diuers other of our company: ſo that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a diſeaſe called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement feuer. And paſſing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and ſome quantity of golde wee found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards whom wee ſet on ſhore, and two Flemings, them wee brought into England with vs: wee had therein alſo foure caſt pieces of Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spaniſh caliuers, and a booke of Nauigation: and in this Frigat ſome of our company came homeward into England. Thus paſſing forward in our courſe, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, & Philip Roche his Maſter, fought vpon the foreſayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the checke. Here we ſanke our Admirall the Ragged ſtaffe, becauſe of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spaniſh Frigat, which immediately before we had ſurpriſed. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we ſayled into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we tooke a barke wherin were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other ſmall things. In this barke alſo were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scriuano or ſecretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of ſome note) was put to his ranſome, which was payd in gold: the reſt were diſmiſſed freely. And after paſſing by diuers Iſlands, we arriued at an Iſland called S. Franciſco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arriuall there, William Coxe and diuers others (which for certaine cauſes ſhalbe nameleſſe) came aboord the ſhip wherein the captaine then was, and diſpoſſeſſed him as well of the ſayd ſhip, as of the treaſure in the ſame, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on ſhore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine deſirous to come on boord, was reſiſted by the perſons aforeſayd, who anſwered him that he ſhould not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten perſons of their company for the keeping of this Iſland of S. Franciſco: but about breake of the day, on a certaine morning, ſixtie Spaniards arriuing ſecretly in the Iſland, ſurpriſed our people on the ſudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on ſhore: in which ſurpriſe, they

The Iſle of Maio.

Two villages burnt.

The Iſle of Trinidad.

The Iſle of Margarita.

The Iſle of Curaçao.

Cape de la Vela.

Tulu.

Nombre de dios.

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

Veragua.

The bay of Honduras.

The Iſle of S. Franciſco.

A conſpiracie againſt the Captaine.

M. Andrew Barker and 8 other ſlaine by the Spaniards.

The towne of Truxillo ſacked by the Engliſh

The death of Philip Roche maſter of the Ragged ſtaffe.

Their arriuall in the Iſle of Sillie.

Certaine Ordinance of Iohn Oxnam recouered from the Spaniards.

they ſlew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Briſtol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Briſtol, Thomas Sampoole, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Iackſon, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the reſt (which were aboord the barke) perceiued that the captaine, & ſome others were ſlain, he receiued them that were liuing into the ſhip, hauing before that time refuſed ſome of them. After this miſfortune they went to an Iſland diſtant from thence a league, where Coxe deuided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines cheſt after his death) amongſt the company. After this Coxe went in a pineſſe (which wee tooke at the Iſle of Sant Franciſco) with certaine others of our men in a ſkyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they ſurpriſed, and had therein wine and oyle as much as they would, and diuers other good things, but no gold nor ſiluer, nor any other treaſure which they would confeſſe. But before they could returne to their company, thoſe that were in the barkes were had in chaſe by men of warre, whereby they were inforced euery man to ſhift for himſelfe: ſo for haſte they left thoſe that were in the ſkiffe (being 8 perſons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to ſaile for Engiand, and being in the maine ſea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Iſle of S. Franciſco, the Frigat wherein was the treaſure for the aduenturers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being ouerſet with ſayle, with a flaw of wind was ouerthrowen, and all the goods therein periſhed: therein alſo were 14 perſons drowned, and nine ſaued, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Maſter of the Admirall called the Ragged ſtaffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arriued in the Iſle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new vpon the ſhore of the Honduras, hauing in her at our landing ten botiſios of oyle, and the foure caſt Peeces that were in Iohn Oxnams Frigat (which the yeere before was taken in the ſtreit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crocke, certaine caliuers, and certaine treaſure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne deuided the treaſure amongſt their company, deliuering to ſome fiue pound, to ſome ſixe pound, to ſome ſeuen pound, to ſome more, as euery man was thought to haue deſerued. The barke and the reſt of the Ordinance was left in the Iſland, to the vſe of Andrew Browne. Diuers of our company, vpon our arriuall at Plimmouth were committed to priſon at the ſuite of M. Iohn Barker of Briſtol, brother vnto our captaine M. Andrew Barker, as acceſſaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him vnto the enemie. And after ſtraight examination of many of vs, by letters of direction from her Maieſties priuie Counſell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chaſtiſed with long impriſonment, where indeede before God they had deſerued to die: whereof ſome, although they eſcaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but ſhortly after came to miſerable ends. Which may be example to others to ſhew themſelues faithfull and obedient in all honeſt cauſes to their captaines and gouernours.

Pareſcer de Don Aluaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Franciſco Draque, eſtando en las yſlas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre, eſtilo de Eſpanna de 1585.

LO que pareſce, que podra hazer el Armada Ingleſe, en caſo que quiere paſſar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Franciſco Draque) con las treynta y dos naues y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona pareſcio que venian en el armada, es lo ſiguiente.

San Vincente. Iſlas de Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde.

Leuera ſu derotta al Rio de Ienero, que es en la coſta del Braſil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos nauios y muy ſeguro, adonde ſe tiene agua, lenna, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en vn lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que ſe dize San Vincente. Y por ſer camino per las yſlas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra ſaquear eſtas yſlas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

Deſde Vaiona a la yſla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (paſſados los vientos de Vallee, que aora reynan, por eſtar la coſta de Eſpanna llouida) yra la Armada en ſeis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que ſon per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que ſe tuuiere en ſaquear las yſlas.

Rio de Ienero.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Ienero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ſer todos dos meſes: por manera, que eſtando el Armada todo eſte mes en Galicia, podra ſer en el rio de Ienero en fin de Deziembre.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Ienero ay vna baxa, adonde con facilidad ſe hara vn fuerte, en que pueden eſtar mas que quinientos hombres: y ponendole ſu artilleria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara aſſalado, que por la vna parte del ſudueſte y nordeſte tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los nauios en el puerto: En el qual podra Franciſco Draque concertar ſu Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le pareſciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en ſeguimiento de ſu viaje al Eſtrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de aquel puerto, y eſta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el Eſtrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que eſta en la coſta, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ſer gente de guerra, ni pueſta en milicia, y lugar abierto ſin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y ſaquear, y yr ſe apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los nauios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra entrar ſocorro de Eſpanna.

Lugar por hazer vn fuerte.

Eſtrecho de Magallanes.

Mar del Sur.

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Y es de creer que ſe preuerra a tomar a Panama.

Panama.

No queriendo hazer eſte viaje, repartira ſu armada en dos vandas, y ſaqueare la yſla de San Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la coſta de Tierra firma, haſta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y deſde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y deſcarga en a quel rio, que ſon mas de cinquenta, y llegar haſta la Venta de Cruzes, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ſer lugar abierto, ſera facil a ſaquear.

La ſegunda viaje.

San Domingo.
Cartagena.
Rio de Chagre.

Panama lugar abierto y facil a ſaquear.

Y tambien corre peligro la Hauana; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y ſacando artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con facilidad.

La Hauana.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a eſte diſcorſo, no ſera el menor, cortar el hilo a la nauigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, ſi alli fueren.

Tomar las flotas.

Lo que Connernia hazer para reparar eſtos dannos.

DEſpachar carauelas con grandiſſima diligencia a los virreys y gouernadores de las Indias, auertiendo les de la Nueua de la Armada Ingleſe, para que eſten preuenidos, y ſe pōgan en orden. Aunque, ſegun el numero de las Naues que han ſalido de Inglatierra, tengo por ſin duda, hauran paſſado de aquellas partes alguna banda dellas, haſta Tierra nueua. Porque la Reyna a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Peſqueria del Baccalao: Y aſſi es de creer ſin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo ſe conſideracion a que, por lo que ſe intiende de Inglatierra, han ſalido mas de ochenta nauios con los de Armada: Conuernia que ſu Mageſtad mandaſſe iuntar otra para buſcar la Ingleſe, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deſte Reino, y los que tiene ſu Mageſtad en el Rio de Seuilla ſe adereſcan de yr oppoſito, dandoles carena, para che eſtubieſſen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fueſſe: y que aſſi miſmo ſe embaraçe vn galeon del Duque de Florencia, que eſta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante para Cadiz, y complimiento haſta quarenta naos grueſas, que ſe hallaran en Viſcaia y Guipoſcoa: y que adereçadas, artilladas, y pueſtas en orden, como conuiene, ſe auituallen por ocho meſes, y que deſde luego ſe leuanten haſta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naues, y ſe trayen, como ſe hizo para la armada de la Terçera: y que aſſi miſmo ſe leuanten ſeys mil ſoldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que eſta, para que aya eſte numero de ſeruicio.

Quarenta naos grueſas.

Tambien conuernia, que de Viſcaia venga para eſta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Caſtro. Que las patazes ſean de 50 haſta 60 toneladas: y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la Iornada de la Terçera.

Que ſe poruea el artilleria, poluere, y cuerda, y plomo neceſſario, arcabuzes, moſquetas, y picas de reſpito para la guardia de la coſta.

Conuerne hazer otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil ſoldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Auiendo viſto y conſiderado, que en dos meſes han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleſes con los nauios de mercantes que nauegan por eſtos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo miſmo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, conuernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleua la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que lleuaſſen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota: y no por eſto ſe ha de dexar de aſegurar las con Armada.

Todas eſtas preuenciones, me pareſce, ſe deuen hazer, para ſolo lo que toca la Armada Ingleſe, y otros nauios que han ſalido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caſo que Don Antonio Venieſe con la Armada, y quſieſe intentar lo d'eſte Reyno, ſeran meneſter las preuenciones ſiguientes.

QVe ſe apercibieſen el conde de Benauente, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira, conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Caualleros, a quien ſe dio orden que eſtubieſen a punto, quando ſe vino a eſte Reyno.

Que ſe exercibieſe tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para ſocorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Eſtremadura y Seuilla para ſocorrer eſta Ciudad de Lisbona, y ſu Comarca.

Que ſe auituallen los caſtillos deſta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y prouean de poluere, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a ſu Mageſtad en 7 de março deſte anno 1585. Que ſe prouean las galeras por quatro meſes: y vengan otras ſeys de Eſpanna a eſte Rio con 120 ſoldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que eſtan aca. Y en caſo que eſto ſe ay, que la armada Ingleſa no paſſe a las Indias, y ſe ocupen en lo deſte Reyno, porque haure nauios de Ingleſes, que acuden a lo vno y a lo otro, ſera forçoſo hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinjentos ſoldados.

Todo eſto, me pareſce, conuiene al ſeruicio de ſu Maieſtad, ſe preuéga y apercibieſe con mucha diligencia y cuidado, proueiendo del dinero neceſſario para ello, ſin que ſe aguarde lo vno a lo otro, ſiño que todo ſe haga ſin deſerirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor pareſcer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Aluaro Baçan, *Marques of* Santa Cruz, *and high Admirall of* Spaine, *touching the armie of ſir* Francis Drake *lying at the Iſles of* Bayona *in Galicia, written in* Lisbon *the 26 of October after the account of* Spaine *in the yere 1585.*

THat which it ſeemeth vnto me, that the Engliſh army may doe, if they ſeeke to paſſe vnto the Weſt Indies, and enter into the South ſea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ſhips and galeons, and many pinneſſes and ſhalops with oares, which they haue with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayona thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

The damage which may be done by paſſing by the riuer of Ienero into the South ſea.

They may take their courſe to the riuer of Ienero, which is on the coaſt of Braſil in 23 degrees to the South of the Equinoctial line. It is an hauen capable of many ſhips and very ſafe, where there is water, wood and fleſh: and likewiſe Drake may haue corne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the ſayd hauen, which is called S. Vincente.

And becauſe the courſe is by the Iſles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may ſacke thoſe Iſlands, the time ſeruing him for that purpoſe.

Madera.

From Bayona to the Iſle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Weſterne winds be paſt, which preſently doe blowe becauſe that it beginneth to raine on the coaſt of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Iſles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may ſtay as much time more as ſhall ſerue him to ſacke the Iſlands in.

Canaries.

The Iſles of Cape Verde.

The riuer of Ienero.

He may ſaile from Cape Verde to the riuer of Ienero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount vnto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coaſt of Galicia, it may come to the riuer of Ienero in the end of December.

A fort may bee builded on an Iſland in the mouth of the riuer of Ienero.

At the entry of the bay of the riuer of Ienero there is a flat low Iſland where a fort may very eaſily be made, wherin aboue 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the hauen, & the fort wil be able to hold out all aſſault, becauſe that on the Southweſt and Northeaſt ſides are two chanels whereby the ſhips come into the hauen: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leaue there ſome people, and depart with ſo much of the reſt as ſhal ſeeme good vnto him to enter into the South ſea, & go on vpon his voyage to the ſtreight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foreſaid hauen, and ſtandeth in 52 degrees & a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the ſtreight into the South ſea all the moneth of February, & ſo may to goe to the citie of Lima, otherwiſe called the citie de los Reys, which ſtandeth on the ſea coaſt hauing two thouſand inhabitants in it. But in reſpect that they be no warlike people nor exerciſed in armes, and becauſe the place is open and without fortreſſe & artillery, he may take and ſacke it, and make himſelf maſter on the land, & afterward taking thoſe ſhips which are in that ſea, our people can haue no ſuccour of ſhips out of Spaine, but by the ſtreight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

The ſtreight of Magelan.

The citie of Lima eaſie to bee taken, though it haue 2000 inhabitants.

The ſhips in the South ſea may be burnt.

Panama may be taken.

It is alſo very credible that he will be able to take Panama.

The ſecond courſe which indeede Drake tooke.

If he ſeeke not to take this courſe he may deuide his army into two parts, & ſacke the Iſle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coaſt of Tierra firma vnto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

And from the riuer of Chagre, which is fifteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may ſend his footemen in ſhalops with oares and in the veſſels which carrie goods vp and downe the riuer, whereof there are aboue fiftie there, and paſſe vp to the lodging of the Croſſes, called in Spaniſh Venta de Cruzes, which is fiue leagues from Panama, which becauſe it is an vnwalled towne may eaſily be taken.

Panama being an open place is eaſie to be taken.

And Hauana alſo will bee in great danger, which albeit it haue a fortreſſe, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on ſhore hee may take the ſame with great facilitie.

Hauana eaſie to be taken.

And beſides theſe domages which he may do, according to this diſcourſe, it will not be the leaſt to cut off the nauigation of the Indies, to take the Weſt Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

The Indian fleete may be taken.

What courſe is to be taken to preuent theſe miſchiefes.

To diſpatch Carauels with all poſſible diligence to the viceroyes and gouernours of the Indias, aduertiſing them of the newes of the Engliſh army, that they may be prouided, and make themſelues ready for them. Albeit, conſidering the number of ſhips which haue bene ſet foorth out of England, I aſſure my ſelfe, that ſome part of them are gone out of thoſe parts vnto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to ſend to intercept the ſhips of the fiſhermen that goe to Baccalaos. And it is likewiſe to be thought that ſhee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

Sir Barnard Drake tooke 17 sailes of the Spaniſh and Portugall fiſhers returning from Newfoundland. 1585.

And conſidering that according to our intelligence out of England, aboue fourеſcore ſhippes, and the army of Drake haue bene ſet foorth from thence, it is meete that his maieſtie ſhould prepare another army to ſeeke the Engliſh fleete, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and thoſe of his maieſtie which lye in the riuer of Siuill bee prepared to ſend againſt them, and to giue them the Carena, that they may bee in a readineſſe for any voyage howe long ſoeuer it bee: And likewiſe to arreſt a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furniſhed with great ordinance, and paſſed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make vp the number of fortie great ſhippes, which are to bee had in Biſcay and Guipuſcoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and ſet in good order, they bee victualled for eight moneths, and that foorthwith there bee leuied a thouſand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee diuided among the Fleete, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that ſixe thouſande ſouldiers bee leuied, giuing commaundement to preſſe a greater number, to the ende that theſe may bee able men for ſeruice.

His intelligence was too true, as ſince I found in the office of the Admiraltу.

Fortie great ſhips to be prouided.

1583. Terçera was won by the Marques of Santa Cruz.

Moreouer it is needfull for this armie that 20. pataches be brought from Biſcay, and 20. Azabras from Caſtro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like thoſe which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That ſufficient prouiſion be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and choſen pikes for the keeping of the coaſt.

It is alſo meete to prouide another army of two ſhips of 400. tunnes apiece, and other foure of 200. tunnes, and foure pataches and a thouſand ſouldiers, beſides mariners.

Another army of ten ſailes.

Hauing ſeene and conſidered that the Engliſhmen with their marchants ſhips onely that trauerſe theſe ſeas haue made ſuch hauocke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like againſt the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it ſhould haue two more at the leaſt in eche Fleete: and neuertheleſſe they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

The Indian fleete to be ſtrengthened with 4. ſhips of warre.

In mine opinion all theſe prouiſions ought to bee made onely in regard of the Engliſh army, and the reſt of the ſhips which haue bene ſet out of that kingdome.

But in caſe that *Don Antonio* ſhould come with an armie, and ſhould ſeeke to inuade this kingdome, theſe prouiſions following would be needefull.

That warning be giuen to the Conde de Beneuenta, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marqueſſe of Zerraluo, and to the reſt of the Lordes and Knights, which are to haue order to bee in a readineſſe, againſt hee come vnto this kingdome.

What prouiſion is to be made if Don Antonio ſhould come with an army.

That the people alſo be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to ſuccour the countrey betweene the riuers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Eſtremadura and Siuilla are likewiſe to bee trained to be ready to ſuccour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the ſame.

Alſo that the caſtles of this citie, riuer and territorie be victualled and prouided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things elſe belonging to the artillerie, as I haue requeſted in the relations which I ſent vnto his maieſtie the 7. of March of this preſent yeere 1585.

An armie of 14. gallies to be prouided.

That the gallies be furniſhed for foure moneths: and that ſixe more bee brought from Spaine to this riuer of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie ſouldiers for ech gallie, that they may be deuided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

And in caſe it fall out that the armie of the Engliſh goe not for the Indies, but occupie themſelues vpon this kingdome, (for there may be Engliſh ſhips, which may attend the one and the other) we ſhal be enforced to make another armie, beſides that for the Indies, of twelue ſhips, foure pataches, and a thouſand fiue hundred ſouldiers.

Another armie of 12 great ſhips, 4. pataches, and 1500 ſouldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his maieſties ſeruice to be foreſeene to be made ready with great diligence and care, and to prouide money needfull for the ſame, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all theſe things be done without delay: Referring my ſelfe in all things to thoſe of wiſer iudgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A ſummarie and true diſcourſe of ſir *Francis Drakes* Weſt Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of *Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena*, and the towne of *Saint Auguſtine* in *Florida*; Publiſhed by *M. Thomas Cates.*

This worthy knight for the ſeruice of his Prince and countrey hauing prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonſhire, to the number of fiue and twenty ſaile of ſhips and pinneſſes, and hauing aſſembled of ſouldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himſelfe at Plimmouth aforeſaid, the 12. day of September 1585, being accompanied with theſe men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Maſter Chriſtopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by ſea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he diſcharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampſon, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement ouer the reſt of the land-Captaines, whoſe names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.
Captaine Edward Winter.
Captaine Iohn Goring.
Captaine Robert Pew.
Captaine George Barton.
Captaine Iohn Merchant.
Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Iohn Hannam.
Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobiſher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in ſea-faring actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ſhips himſelfe, in ſundry voyages before, being now ſhipped in the Primroſe.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon Leiceſter.

Maſter Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonaduenture vnder the Generall.

Maſter Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Maſter Chriſtopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the ſea Dragon.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.
Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.
Robert Croſſe Captaine of the Bark Bond.
George Forteſcue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.
Edward Careleſſe Captaine of the Hope.
Iames Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage.
Iohn Vaugham Captaine of the Drake.
Iohn Varney Captaine of the George.
Iohn Martin Captaine of the Beniamin.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the fourteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our courſe towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes ſomewhat ſkant, and ſometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to eſpie diuers ſailes, which kept their courſe cloſe by the ſhore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall cauſed the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinneſſes well manned to ſee what they were, who vpon ſight of the ſaid pinneſſes approching neere vnto them, abandoned for the moſt part all their ſhips (being Frenchmen) laden all with ſalt, and bound homewards into France, amongſt which ſhips (being all of ſmall burthen) there was one ſo wel liked, which alſo had no man in her, as being brought vnto yͤ general, he thought good to make ſtay of her for the ſeruice, meaning to pay for her, as alſo accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The reſt of theſe ſhips (being eight or nine) were diſmiſſed without any any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwardes put ſomewhat farther off from the ſhore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with ſome other French ſhips, full laden with Newland fiſh, being vpon their returne homeward from the ſaid Newfoundland: whom the Generall after ſome ſpeech had with them (and ſeeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) diſmiſſed, without once ſuffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following ſtanding in with the ſhore againe, we diſcried another tall ſhip of twelue ſcore tunnes or thereaboutes, vpon whom Maſter Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, vndertooke the chaſe, whom alſo anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar hauing cauſed the ſaid ſtrange ſhip to ſtrike her ſailes, kept her there without ſuffering any body to go aboord vntill the Admirall was come vp: who forthwith ſending for the Maſter, and diuers others of their principall men, and cauſing them them to be ſeuerally examined, found the ſhip and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebaſtian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the moſt part belonging to S. Iohn de Luz, and the Paſſage. In this ſhip was great ſtore of dry Newland fiſh, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, wherof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was diſtribution made into all the ſhips of the fleet, the ſame being ſo new and good, as it did very greatly beſtead vs in the whole courſe of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ſhip, we put in within the Iſles of Bayon, for lacke of fauourable wind: where wee had no ſooner ankered ſome part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinneſſes with the ſhipboats to be manned, and euery man to be furniſhed with ſuch armes as were needful for that preſent ſeruice; which being done, the Generall put himſelfe into his gallie, which was alſo well furniſhed, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the fauour of the Almighty to ſurpriſe it, before we had aduanced one halfe league of our way, there came a meſſenger being an Engliſh merchant from the Gouernour, to ſee what ſtrange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a ſmall time ſpent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampſon, and willed him to go to the Gouernour of the citie, to reſolue him of two points. The firſt, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The ſecond, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arreſted. Thus departed captain Sampſon with the ſaid meſſenger to the citie, where he found the gouernor & people much amazed of ſuch a ſudden accident.

The Iſles o Baion.

The Generall with the aduiſe and counſell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any ſtand, till ſuch time as they were within the ſhot of the citie, where they might bee ready vpon the returne of Captanie Sampſon, to make a ſudden attempt if cauſe did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampſon returned with his meſſage in this ſort. Firſt, touching peace or warres the Gouernour ſaid he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being ſo meane a ſubiect as he was. And as for the ſtay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleaſure, but not with intent to endomage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene receiued in that place ſome ſeuennight before) that Engliſh merchants with their goods ſhould be diſcharged: for the more verifying wherof, he ſent ſuch merchãts as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued thoſe parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counſell was taken what might beſt be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the ſhutting vp of the day, & hauing quartered our ſelues to our moſt aduãtage, with ſufficient gard vpon euery ſtrait, we thought to reſt our ſelues for that night there. The Gouernour ſent vs ſome refreſhing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and ſuch like. About midnight the weather beganne to ouercaſt, inſomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recouer the Fleete, a great tempeſt aroſe, which cauſed many of our ſhippes to driue from their anker-hold, and ſome were forced to ſea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke

Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewel was onely driuen into England, the others recouered vs againe: the extremitie of the ſtorme laſted three dayes, which no ſooner began to aſſwage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was ſent with his owne ſhippe and three others: as alſo with the gallie and with diuers pinneſſes, to ſee what he might doe aboue Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and ſome carauels, diuerſly laden with things of ſmall value, but chiefly with houſhold ſtuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongſt the reſt, he found one boat laden with the principal church-ſtuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where alſo was their great croſſe of ſiluer, of very faire emboſſed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing coſt them a great maſſe of money. They complained to haue loſt in all kind of goods aboue thirty thouſand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from vp the Iſles of Bayon, to a very good harbour aboue Vigo, where M. Carleil ſtayed his comming, aſwell for the more quiet riding of his ſhips, as alſo for the good commoditie of freſh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Gouernour of Galicia had reared ſuch forces as hee might, his numbers by eſtimate were ſome two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in ſight of our fleete, where making a ſtand, he ſent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, ſo it might bee in boats vpon the water: and for ſafetie of their perſons, there were pledges deliuered on both ſides: which done, the Gouernor of Galicia put himſelfe with two others into our Viceadmirals ſkiffe, the ſame hauing bene ſent to the ſhore for him, and in like ſort our Generall went in his owne ſkiffe; where by them it was agreed, we ſhould furniſh our ſelues with freſh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other ſuch neceſſaries, paying for the ſame, as the place would affourd.

When all our buſineſſe was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Iſlands of Canaria, which are eſteemed ſome three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purpoſely with Palma, with intention to haue taken our pleaſure of that place, for the full digeſting of many things into order, and the better furniſhing our ſtore with ſuch ſeuerall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that preſent fell out, and by the naughtineſſe of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauour of many platformes well furniſhed with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many their Canon-ſhot, ſome into our ſhips, and ſome beſides, ſome of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe miſchiefe was the dangerous ſea-ſurge, which at ſhore all alongſt plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many pinneſſes and boates, as for that time ſhould haue attempted any landing at all.

Now ſeeing the expectation of this attempt fruſtrated by the cauſes aforeſaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Iſle Hierro, to ſee if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Iſland, we landed a thouſand men in a valley vnder a high mountaine, where we ſtayed ſome two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, ſhewing their ſtate to be ſo poore, that they were all ready to ſtarue, which was not vntrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded preſently to imbarke, ſo as that night wee put off to ſea Southſoutheaſt along towards the coaſt of Barbary.

Vpon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and ſhallow water, where we catched ſtore of fiſh, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ſhips of warre, whom wee entertained with great courteſie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleet aſſembled, which was a little ſcattered about their fiſhing, and put from thence to the Iſles of Cape Verde, ſailing till the 16. of the ſame moneth in the morning, on which day we diſcried the Iſland of S. Iago, and in the euening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on ſhore 1000. men or more, vnder the leading of M. Chriſtopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the ſeruice moſt like a wiſe commander. The place where we had firſt to march did afourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very ſtony and troubleſome paſſage; but ſuch was his induſtrious diſpoſition, as he would neuer leaue, vntill wee had gottē vp to a faire plain, where we made ſtand for the aſſembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together vpon the plaine, ſome 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attēpt til daylight: becauſe there was not one that could ſerue for guid or giuing knowledge at al of yͤ place. And therfore after hauing wel reſted, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be diuided into 3 ſpeciall parts, ſuch as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by ſeueral cōpanies, being therunto forced by the badneſſe of the way as is aforeſaid, Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the wall, we ſaw no enemie to reſiſt, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampſon with thirtie ſhot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which ſtood in the valley vnder vs, and might very plainely bee viewed all ouer from that place where the whole Army was now arriued: and preſently after theſe Captaines was ſent the great enſigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine Engliſh croſſe, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might ſee Saint Georges croſſe floriſh in the enemies fortreſſe. Order was giuen that all the ordinance throughout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which were aboue fiftie pieces all ready charged, ſhould be ſhot off in honour of the Queenes Maieſties coronation day, being the ſeuenteenth of Nouember, after the yeerely cuſtome of England, which was ſo anſwered againe by the ordinance out of all the ſhips in the fleete which now was come neere, as it was ſtrange to heare ſuch a thundering noyſe laſt ſo long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held ſtill the moſt part of his force on the hill top, till ſuch time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie: which being done euery captaine tooke his owne quarter, and in the euening was placed ſuch a ſufficient gard vpon euery part of the towne that we had no cauſe to feare any preſent enemie.

Thus we continued in the citie the ſpace of 14. dayes, taking ſuch ſpoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the moſt part, wine, oyle, meale, and ſome ſuch like things for victuall, as vineger, oliues, and ſome ſuch other traſh, as merchandiſe for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treaſure at all, or any thing elſe of worth beſides.

The citie of S. Iago taken and poſſeſſed for 14. dayes.

The ſituation of S. Iago is ſomewhat ſtrange, in forme like a triangle, hauing on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preſerue the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainely ſhewed. From thence, on the South ſide of the towne is the maine ſea, and on the North ſide, the valley lying betweene the foreſayd mountaines, wherein the towne ſtandeth: the ſaid valley & towne both do grow very narrow, inſomuch that the ſpace betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is eſtimated not to be aboue 10. or 12. ſcore ouer.

In the middeſt of the valley commeth downe a riueret, rill, or brooke of freſh water, which hard by the ſea ſide maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ſhips were watered with very great eaſe and pleaſure. Somewhat aboue the towne on the North ſide betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth ſomewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly conuerted into gardens and orchards well repleniſhed with diuers ſorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, orenges, ſugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, ſmall and round onions, garlicke, and ſome other things not now remembred, amongſt which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleaſant fruites, the ſaide cochos hath a hard ſhell and a greene huſke ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatneſſe, for this cochos in his greene huſke is bigger then any mans two fiſtes: of the hard ſhell many drinking cups are made here in England, and ſet in ſiluer as I haue often ſeene.

Next within this hard ſhell is a white rine reſembling in ſhewe very much euen as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitiſh and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereaboutes, which water and white rine before ſpoken of, are both of a very coole freſh taſt, and as pleaſing as any thing may be. I haue heard ſome hold opinion, that it is very reſtoratiue.

The plantan groweth in cods, ſomewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the ſtalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding ſweet and pleaſant.

In this time of our being there hapned to come a Portugall to the Weſterne fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampſon was ſent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the ſaid meſſenger, he firſt aſked them what nation they were, they anſwered Engliſhmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they anſwered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could beſt reſolue him of ſuch particulars, and for his aſſurance of paſſage and repaſſage, theſe Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refuſed for that he was not ſent from his Gouernor. Then they told him, if his Gouernor did deſire to take a courſe for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his beſt way were to come and preſent himſelfe vnto our noble and mercifull Gouernour ſir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee aſſured to find fauour, both for himſelfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwiſe within three dayes wee ſhould march ouer the land, and conſume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the ſword all ſuch liuing ſoules as wee ſhoulde chance vpon: ſo thus much hee tooke for the concluſion of his anſwere, and departing, hee promiſed to returne the next day, but we neuer heard more of him.

Upon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and ſixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelue miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Gouernour and the Biſhoppe with all the better ſort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: ſo we made ſtand a while to eaſe our ſelues, and partly to ſee if any would come to ſpeake to vs.

After we had well reſted our ſelues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie ſhewed themſelues, both horſe and foote, though not ſuch force as durſt encounter vs: and ſo in paſſing ſometime at the gaſe with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recouer home to S. Iago.

On Munday the ſixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the pinneſſes with the boates, to vſe all diligence to imbarke the Armie into ſuch ſhippes as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like ſort commanded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred ſhot to make a ſtand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making ſtay with his pinneſſe & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the ſayd laſt companie aboord the ſhips. Alſo the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinneſſes to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of captaine Sampſon, to ſeeke out ſuch munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, hauing bene promiſed to be ſhewed it by a priſoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforeſayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and hauing placed the troupe in their beſt ſtrength, Captaine Sampſon tooke the priſoner, and willed him to ſhewe that hee had promiſed, the which he could not, or at leaſt would not: but they ſearching all ſuſpected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of braſſe. In the after noone the Generall ankered with the reſt of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himſelfe aſhore, willing vs to burne the towne and make all haſte aboord, the which was done by ſixe of the clocke the ſame day, and our ſelues imbarked againe the ſame night, and ſo we put off to Sea Southweſt.

A wiſe courſe to be imitated in all great actions.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee eſtabliſhed orders for the better gouernment of the Army, euery man muſtered to his captaine, and othes were miniſtred to acknowledge her Maieſtie ſupreme Gouernour, as alſo euery man to doe his vttermoſt endeuour to aduance the ſeruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counſell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due courſe, to the atchieuing of our happy enterpriſe.

The treaſon of the Portugals againſt M. William Hawkins.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouernour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Biſhop, whoſe authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Iſland euer came at vs (which we expected they ſhould haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them ſome part of their needfull prouiſions, or at the leaſt, to ſpare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cauſe of this their vnreaſonable diſtruſt (as I doe take it) was the freſh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promiſe, and murthered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderſtood, & therefore it is needleſſe to be repeated. But ſince they came not at vs, we left written in ſundry places, as alſo in the ſpittle houſe, (which building was only appointed to be ſpared) the great diſcontentment & ſcorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as alſo at the rude maner of killing, & ſauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them ſtragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had ſtragled the other bowels about the place, in a moſt brutiſh and beaſtly maner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we conſumed with fire all the houſes, aſwell in the countrey which we ſaw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the Weſt Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people ſuch mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead aboue two or three hundred men. And vntill ſome ſeuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of ſickneſſe in all the fleete: the ſickneſſe ſhewed not his infection wherewith ſo many were ſtroken, vntill we were departed thence, and then ſeazed our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe eſcaped with life, and yet thoſe for the moſt part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and ſtrength for a long time after. In ſome that died were plainely ſhewed the ſmall ſpots, which are often found vpon thoſe that be infected with the plague: wee were not aboue eighteene dayes in paſſage betweene the ſight of Saint Iago aforeſaid, and the Iſland of Dominica, being the firſt Iſland of the Weſt Indies that we fell withall, the ſame being inhabited with ſauage people, which goe all naked, their ſkinne coloured with ſome painting of a reddiſh tawney, very perſonable and handſome ſtrong men, who doe admit litle conuerſation with the Spanyards: for as ſome of our people might vnderſtand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine priſoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any ſafetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they vſed vs very kindly for thoſe few houres of time which wee ſpent with them, helping our folkes to fill and cary on their bare ſhoulders freſh water from the riuer to our ſhips boates, and fetching from their houſes great ſtore of Tabacco, as alſo a kind of bread which they fed on, called Caſſaui, very white and ſauourie, made of the rootes of Caſſaui. In recompence whereof, we beſtowed liberall rewards of glaſſe, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it ſeemed) they reſted very greatly ſatiſfied, and ſhewed ſome ſorowfull countenance when they perceiued that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Iſland Weſtward of it, called Saint Chriſtophers Iſland, wherein we ſpent ſome dayes of Chriſtmas, to refreſh our ſicke people, and to cleanſe and ayre our ſhips. In which Iſland were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the Generall it was aduiſed and reſolued, with the conſent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admirall, and all the reſt of the Captaines to proceede to the great Iſlande of Hiſpaniola, aſwell for that we knewe our ſelues then to bee in our beſt ſtrength, as alſo the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancienteſt and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And ſo proceeding in this determination, by the way we mette a ſmall Frigat, bound for the ſame place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and hauing duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were aduertiſed, the Hauen to be a barred Hauen, and the ſhore or land thereof to bee well fortified, hauing a Caſtle thereupon furniſhed with great ſtore of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no conuenient landing place within ten Engliſh miles of the Citie, to which the ſayd Pilot tooke vpon him to conduct vs.

All things being thus conſidered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the Euening to embarke themſelues in Pinneſſes, boats, and other ſmall barkes appoynted for this ſeruice. Our ſouldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himſelfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the ſea, bearing ſmall ſaile vntill our arriuall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and ſo we landed, beeing Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Weſtwards of that braue Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is knowen to vs any landing place, where the ſea-ſurge doth not threaten to ouerſet a Pinneſſe or boate. Our Generall hauing ſeene vs all landed in ſafetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Maſter Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and thoſe of the better ſort, being ſome hundred and fiftie braue horſes or rather more, began to preſent themſelues; but our ſmall ſhot played vpon them, which were ſo ſuſteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you muſt vnderſtand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the ſeaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that preſent, and ſudden alarme without the gate, and alſo ſome troopes of ſmall ſhot in Ambuſcado vpon the hie way ſide. We diuided our whole force, being ſome thouſand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterpriſe both the gates at one inſtant, the Lieutenant Generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powel (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not reſt vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no ſooner diſcharged vpon our neere approch, and made ſome execution amongſt vs, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voyce of encouragement, and pace of marching; the firſt man that was ſlaine with the ordinance being very neere vnto himſelfe: and thereupon haſted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithſtanding their Ambuſcados, we marched or rather ran ſo roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gaue them more care euery man to ſaue himſelfe by flight, then reaſon to ſtand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place: but to be more truely vnderſtood, a place of very faire ſpacious ſquare ground, whither alſo came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope: which place

The citie of S. Domingo taken.

place with ſome part next vnto it, we ſtrengthened with Barricados, and there as the moſt conuenient place aſſured our ſelues, the Citie being farre too ſpacious for ſo ſmall and weary a troope to vndertake to guarde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Caſtle, hearing vs buſie about the gates of the ſaid Caſtle, abandoned the ſame: ſome being taken priſoners, and ſome fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other ſide of the Hauen, and ſo into the countrey.

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and ſo making ſubſtantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correſpondent to other, we held this towne the ſpace of one moneth.

In the which time happened ſome accidents, more then are well remembred for the preſent, but amongſt other things, it chanced that the Generall ſent on his meſſage to the Spanyards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, ſignifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to ſpeake to vs: which boy vnhappily was firſt mette withall by ſome of thoſe, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spaniſh Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reaſon, & contrary to that good vſage wherewith wee had intertained their meſſengers, furiouſly ſtrooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of their horſemens ſtaues: with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died foorthwith in his preſence, wherewith the Generall being greatly paſſioned, commaunded the Prouoſt Martiall, to cauſe a couple of Friers then priſoners, to be caried to the ſame place where the boy was ſtroken, accompanied with ſufficient guard of our ſouldiers, and there preſently to be hanged, diſpatching at the ſame inſtant another poore priſoner, with this reaſon wherefore this execution was done, & with this meſſage further, that vntill the party who had thus murdered the Generals meſſenger were deliuered into our hands, to receiue condigne puniſhment, there ſhould no day paſſe, wherein there ſhould not two priſoners be hanged, vntil they were all conſumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offendor to the townes ende, offring to deliuer him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable reuenge to make them there in our ſight, to performe the execution themſelues: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly alſo at S. Iago there had paſſed iuſtice vpon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, ſo heere likewiſe was there an Iriſhman hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time alſo paſſed many treaties betweene their Commiſſioners and vs, for ranſome of their Citie; but vpon diſagreements we ſtill ſpent the early mornings in fiering the outmoſt houſes: but they being built very magnificently of ſtone, with high loftes, gaue vs no ſmall trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, vntil the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burne the ſaid houſes without our trenches, whilſt the ſouldiers in a like proportion ſtood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time conſume ſo much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely deſcribed and ſet forth in a certaine Map. And ſo in the end, what wearied with firing, and what haſtened by ſome other reſpects, wee were contented to accept of fiue and twentie thouſand Ducats of fiue ſhillings ſixe pence the peece, for the ranſome of the reſt of the towne.

Moſt vnſatiable Spaniſh ambition.

Amongſt other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the vnſatiable ambition of the Spaniſh king and his nation, which was found in the kings houſe, wherein the chiefe gouernour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this houſe, you muſt firſt aſcend vp by a faire large paire of ſtaires; at the head of which ſtaires is a handſome ſpacious place to walke in, ſomewhat like vnto a gallery: wherein vpon one of the wals, right ouer againſt you as you enter the ſaid place, ſo as your eye cannot eſcape the ſight of it, there is deſcribed & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the ſaid Scutchion, there is likewiſe deſcribed a Globe, conteining in it the whole circuit of the ſea and the earth, whereupon is a horſe ſtanding on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a ſcroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written theſe words in Latin, Non ſufficit orbis: which is as much to ſay, as the world ſufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of ſome of thoſe of the better ſort, that came in commiſſion to treate vpon the ranſome of the towne, who would ſhake their heads, and turne aſide their countenance in ſome ſmiling ſort, without anſwering any thing, as greatly aſhamed thereof. For by ſome of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England would reſolutely proſecute the warres againſt the king of Spaine, hee ſhould be forced to lay aſide that proude and vnreaſonable reaching vaine of his: for hee ſhould finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the preſent example of their loſt towne they might for a beginning perceiue well inough.

Now to the ſatiſfying of ſome men, who maruell greatly that ſuch a famous and goodly builded Citie ſo well inhabited of gallant people, very braue in their apparell (whereof our ſouldiers found good ſtore for their reliefe) ſhould afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be vnderſtood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Iſland of Hiſpaniola (the ſame being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres ſince cleane conſumed by the tyrannie of the Spanyards, which was yͤ cauſe, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and ſiluer Mines of this Iſland are wholy giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Iſland to vſe Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place conſiſteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Iſland, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waſte countrey of the Iſland are bredde in infinite numbers, the ſoyle being very fertile: and the ſayd beaſts are fedde vp to a very large grouth, and ſo killed for nothing ſo much, as for their Hides aforeſayd. Wee found heere great ſtore of ſtrong wine, ſweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other ſuch like prouiſions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed vp in wine-pipes and other caſke, and other commodities likewiſe, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and ſome Silkes: all which prouiſions are brought out of Spaine, and ſerued vs for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or veſſell of Siluer, in compariſon of the great pride in other things of this towne, becauſe in theſe hotte Countreys they vſe much of thoſe earthen diſhes finely painted or varniſhed, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the Eaſt India: & for their drinking, they vſe glaſſes altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the ſame place. But yet ſome place we found, and many other good things, as their houſhold garniture very gallant and rich, which had coſt them deare, although vnto vs they were of ſmall importance.

From Saint Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongſt the coaſt, we came at the laſt in ſight of Cartagena, ſtanding vpõ the ſea ſide, ſo neere, as ſome of our barks in paſſing alongſt, approched within the reach of their Culuerin ſhot, which they had planted vpon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay ſome three miles toward the Weſtward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any reſiſtance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the ſame. In the Euening wee put our ſelues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Maſter Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digeſted vs to march forwarde about midnight, as eaſily as foote might fall, expreſly commanded vs to keepe cloſe by the ſea-waſh of the ſhore for our beſt & ſureſt way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to miſſe any more of the way, which once wee had loſt within an houre after our firſt beginning to march, through the ſlender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night ſpent on, which otherwiſe muſt haue bene done by reſting. But as we came within ſome two miles of the towne, their horſemen which were ſome hundred, met vs, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe vpon the firſt volley of our ſhot that was giuen them: for the place where wee encountred being woody and buſhy euen to the water ſide was vnmeete for their ſeruice.

Cartagena.

At this inſtant we might heare ſome pieces of Artillerie diſcharged, with diuers ſmall ſhot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderſtand, according to the order ſet downe in the Euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Croſſe, with other ſea Captaines, and with diuers Pinneſſes and boates ſhould giue ſome attempt vnto the litle Fort ſtanding on the entrie of the inner Hauen, neere adioyning to the towne, though to ſmall purpoſe, for that the place was ſtrong, and the entry very narrow was chained ouer: ſo as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more then the giuing of them an alarme on that other ſide of the Hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his ſkiffe ſtroken through with a Saker ſhot, and a litle or no harme receiued elſewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or leſſe, the ground we were on grewe to bee ſtreight, and not aboue fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine Sea on the one ſide of it, and the harbour-water or inner ſea (as you may tearme it) on the other ſide, which in the plot is plainely ſhewed. This ſtreight was fortified cleane ouer with a ſtone wall and a ditch without it: the ſayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be ſet downe. There was onely ſo much of this ſtreight vnwalled, as might ſerue for the iſſuing of the horſemen, or the paſſing of caryage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good

Barricado of wine-buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might ſtand on ende one by another, ſome part of them ſtanding euen within the maine ſea.

This place of ſtrength was furniſhed with ſixe great peeces, Demi-culuerins, and Sakers, which ſhotte directly in front vpon vs as wee approched. Now without this wall vpon the inner ſide of the ſtreight, they had brought likewiſe two great Galleis with their prowes to the ſhore, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordinance, which did beate all croſſe the ſtreight, and flanked our comming on. In theſe two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred ſmall ſhot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred ſhot and pikes.

They in this their full readineſſe to receiue vs, ſpared not their ſhot both great and ſmall. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the loweſt ground, according to the expreſſe direction which himſelfe had formerly giuen, the ſame being the ſea-waſh ſhore, where the water was ſomewhat fallen, ſo as moſt of all their ſhot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our ſhot to forbeare ſhooting vntill we were come to the wall ſide, and ſo with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we ſoone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meeteſt place for our aſſault, which, notwithſtanding it was well furniſhed with pikes and ſhot, was without ſtaying attempted by vs: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our ſwordes and pikes together, after our ſhot had firſt giuen their volley, euen at the enemies noſe. Our pikes were ſomewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which aduantage our ſwordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall ſlew with his owne hands the chiefe Enſigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leaſure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and ſo wee being once ſeazed and aſſured of that, they were content to ſuffer vs to lodge within their towne, and themſelues to goe to their wiues, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euery ſtreetes end they had raiſed very fine Baricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as euer we ſaw any worke done: at the entring whereof was ſome litle reſiſtance, but ſoone ouercome it was, with few ſlaine or hurt. They had ioyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes moſt villanouſly empoyſoned, ſo as if they did but breake the ſkinne, the partie ſo touched died without great maruell: ſome they ſlew of our people with their arrowes: ſome they likewiſe miſchieued to death with certaine pricks of ſmall ſticks ſharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoyſoned, ſticking faſt vp, right againſt our comming in the way, as we ſhould approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way: but our keeping the ſea-waſh ſhore miſſed the greateſt part of them very happily.

Alonſo Brauo the gouernour of Cartagena taken.

I ouerpaſſe many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampſon at ſword blowes in the firſt entring, vnto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne; as alſo of the taking of Alonſo Brauo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the ſaid captaine had firſt hurt him with his ſword: vnto which Captaine was committed the charge of the ſhot of the ſayd Vantguard.

Captaine Winter was likewiſe by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where alſo the Lieutenant generall marched himſelfe: the ſaid Captaine Winter through a great deſire to ſerue by land, hauing now exchanged his charge by ſea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Rereward.

Euery man as well of one part as of another, came ſo willingly on to the ſeruice, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of ſuch hot aſſault.

We ſtayed here ſixe weekes, and the ſickneſſe with mortalitie before ſpoken of ſtill continued among vs, though not with the ſame furie as at the firſt: and ſuch as were touched with the ſayde ſickneſſe, eſcaping death, very few or almoſt none could recouer their ſtrength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, inſomuch that it was growen an ordinarie iudgement, when one was heard to ſpeake fooliſhly, to ſay he had bene ſicke of the Calentura, which is the

Spaniſh name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and peſtilent ague. The originall cauſe thereof, is imputed to the Euening or firſt night ayre, which they tearme La ſerena, wherein they ſay and hold very firme opinion, that who ſo is then abroad in the open ayre, ſhall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of thoſe countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus ſubiected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was moſt dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconuenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to giue ouer our intended enterpriſe, to goe with Nombre de Dios, and ſo ouerland to Panama, where we ſhould haue ſtrooken the ſtroke for the treaſure, and full recompence of our tedious trauailes. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our firſt reſolution to returne homewardes: the forme of which reſolution I thought good here to put downe vnder the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A reſolution of the Land-captaines, what courſe they thinke moſt expedient to bee taken. Giuen at *Cartagena* the xxvij of Februarie 1585.

Whereas it hath pleaſed the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what courſe they thinke moſt expedient to be now vndertaken, the Land-captaines being aſſembled by themſelues together, and hauing aduiſed hereupon, doe in three ponits deliuer the ſame.

The firſt, touching the keeping of the towne againſt the force of the enemie, either that which is preſent, or that which may come out of *Spaine*, is anſwered thus.

We holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we haue preſently with vs in land-ſeruice, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men able to anſwere preſent ſeruice, we haue not aboue 700. The reſidue being ſome 150. men by reaſon of their hurts and ſickneſſe are altogether vnable to ſtand vs in any ſtead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewiſe to giue their reſolution, how they will vndertake the ſafetie and ſeruice of the Shippes vpon the arriuall of any Spaniſh Fleete.

The ſecond poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe preſently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in vndertaking ſuch like enterpriſes as we haue done already, and thereby to ſeeke after that bountifull maſſe of treaſure for recompence of our trauailes, which was generally expected at our comming forth of *England*: wherein we anſwere.

That it is well knowen how both we and the ſouldiers are entred into this action as voluntarie men, without any impreſt or gage from her Maieſtie or any body els: and foraſmuch as we haue hitherto diſcharged the parts of honeſt men, ſo that now by the great bleſſing and fauour of our good God there haue bin taken three ſuch notable townes, wherein by the eſtimation of all men would haue bene found ſome very great treaſures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Ilands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hiſpaniola, and the head gouernment not only of that Iland, but alſo of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as alſo of ſuch inhabitations of the firme land, as were next vnto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandiſe; and now laſtly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of moſt eſpeciall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this ſide of the Weſt India: we doe therefore conſider, that ſince all theſe cities, with their goods & priſoners taken in them, and the ranſoms of the ſaid cities being all put together are found farre ſhort to ſatiſfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterpriſers was firſt conceiued: And being further aduiſed of the ſlenderneſſe of our ſtrength, whereunto we be now reduced, aſwell in reſpect of the ſmall number of able bodies, as alſo not a litle in regard of the ſlacke diſpoſition of the greater part of thoſe which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either conſumed by death, or weakened by ſicknes and hurts: And laſtly, ſince that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any ſuch enterpriſe as may ſeeme conuenient to be vndertaken with ſuch few as we are preſently able to make, and withall of ſuch certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good ſucceſſe which it may pleaſe him to beſtow vpon vs, the ſame may promiſe to yeeld vs any ſufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold ſure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the ſame to returne towards our gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to ſet vs foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are moſt ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vttermoſt of our ſtrength and indeuour ſhall be able to reach vnto; but therewithall wee doe aduiſe and proteſt that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuſe, or ſo much as to ſeeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the preſent ſhalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

The third and laſt poynt is concerning the ranſome of this citie of *Cartagena*, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of ſome xxvij. or xxviij. thouſand pounds ſterling.

Thus much we vtter herein as our opinions agreeing (ſo it be done in good ſort) to accept this offer aforeſayde, rather then to breake off by ſtanding ſtill vpon our demaunds of one hundred thouſand poundes, which ſeemes a matter impoſſible to bee performed for the preſent by them, and to ſay trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be ſatiſfied with that ſumme offred by them at the firſt (if they will now bee contented to giue it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inaſmuch as we haue taken our full pleaſure both in the vttermoſt ſacking and ſpoyling of all their houſholde goods and marchandize, as alſo in that we haue conſumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is conſidered herein by vs, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who haue willingly aduentured their liues and trauailes, and diuers amongſt them hauing ſpent their apparell and ſuch other little prouiſions as their ſmall meanes might haue giuen them leaue to prepare, which being done vpon ſuch good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes carryed with it, meaning, againſt the Spanyard our greateſt and moſt dangerous enemie: ſo ſurely wee cannot but haue an inward regarde ſo farre as may lye in vs, to helpe eyther in all good ſort towards the ſatiſfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them ſome little benefite to incourage them and to nouriſh this readie and willing diſpoſition of theirs both in them and in others by their example againſt any other time of like occaſion. But becauſe it may bee ſuppoſed that heerein wee forgette not the priuate benefite of our ſelues, and are thereby the rather mooued to incline our ſelues to this compoſition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our ſelues of all ſuch ſuſpition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion ſoeuer it bee of this ranſome or compoſition for *Cartagena*, which ſhould come vnto vs, wee doe freely giue and beſtowe the ſame wholy vpon the poore men, who haue remayned with vs in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wiſhing with all our hearts it were ſuch or ſo much as might ſeeme a ſufficient rewarde for their painefull indeuour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we haue thought meete to ſubſigne theſe preſents with our owne hands in the place and time aforeſayd.

Captaine *Chriſtopher Carliell* Lieutenant Generall.
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But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, vpon the Church-ſteeple, had diſcouered in the Sea a couple of ſmall Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Maſter of the Tyger, and ſome other Sea-men, embarked themſelues in a couple of ſmall Pinneſſes, to take them before they ſhould come nigh the ſhore, at the mouth of the Harbour, leſt by ſome ſtragling Spanyardes from the Lande, they might bee warned by ſignes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithſtanding all the diligence that our men could vſe: for the Spaniſh Boates, vpon the ſight of our Pinneſſes comming towardes them, ranne themſelues aſhore, and ſo their men preſently hidde themſelues in buſhes hard by the Sea ſide, amongſt ſome others that had called them by ſignes thither. Our men preſently without any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and ſeeing no man of the Spanyards to ſhew themſelues, aboorded the Spaniſh Barkes or Boates, and ſo ſtanding all open in them, were ſuddenly ſhotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the buſhes: by which volley of ſhotte there were ſlaine Captaine Varney, which dyed preſently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed ſome fewe dayes after, beſides ſome foure or fiue others that were hurt: and ſo our folkes returned without their purpoſe, not hauing any ſufficient number of ſouldiers with them to fight on ſhore. For thoſe men they carryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, becauſe they made accompt with their ordinance to haue taken the Barkes well enough at ſea,which they might full eaſily haue done, without any loſſe at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth,before the Spaniards boates had gotten ſo neere the ſhore.

During our abode in this place,as alſo at S.Domingo,there paſſed diuers courteſies betweene vs and the Spaniards,as feaſting, and vſing them with all kindneſſe and fauour: ſo as amongſt others there came to ſee the Generall, the Gouernour of Cartagena, with the Biſhop of the ſame, and diuers other Gentlemen of the better ſort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts,& conſumed much with fire, as we had done S.Domingo vpon diſcontentments, and for want of agreeing with vs in their firſt treaties touching their ranſome,which at the laſt was concluded between vs, ſhould be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet ſtanding,the Ducat valued at fiue ſhillings ſixe pence ſterling.

This towne though not halfe ſo bigge as S.Domingo,giues as you ſee, a farre greater ranſome,being in very deede of farre more importance, by reaſon of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the ſituation thereof,to ſerue the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or higheſt appeale of their ſuites in law of all the Iſlands about it, and of the maine land coaſt next vnto it. And it is of no ſuch accompt as Cartagena, for theſe and ſome other like reaſons,which I could giue you,ouer long to be now written.

The warning which this towne receiued of our comming towards them from S.Domingo,by the ſpace of twentie dayes before our arriuall here, was cauſe that they had both fortified and euery way prepared for their beſt defence. As alſo that they had caried and conueyed away all their treaſure and principall ſubſtance.

The ranſome of an hundred & ten thouſand Ducats thus concluded on,as is aforeſaid, the ſame being written,and expreſſing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, vpon the payment of the ſayd ranſome,we left the ſaid towne, and drewe ſome part of our ſouldiers into the Priorie or Abbey,ſtanding a quarter of an Engliſh mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water-ſide, the ſame being walled with a wall of ſtone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their compoſition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ranſome for all places, but ſpetially for the ſayde houſe, as alſo the Blockehouſe or Caſtle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee aſked as much for the one as for the other,they yeelded to giue a thouſand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleaſure vpon the Blockehouſe, which they ſayd they were not able to ranſome,hauing ſtretched themſelues to the vttermoſt of their powers: and therefore the ſayd Blockehouſe was by vs vndermined,and ſo with gunne powder blowen vp in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ſhips fell downe towards the harbour mouth,where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of freſh water aboord the ſhips for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Iſland by the harbour mouth: which Iſland is a very pleaſant place as hath bene ſeene,hauing in it many ſorts of goodly and very pleaſant fruites, as the Orenge trees and others, being ſet orderly in walkes of great length together. Inſomuch as the whole Iſland being ſome two or three miles about,is caſt into grounds of gardening and orchards. The Iſland of Carea.

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After wee had ſailed ſome fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of fauourable wind: but then our ſcarcity was growen ſuch,as neede made vs looke a litle better for water, which we found in ſufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I iudge, none gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to ſet vs foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are moſt ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vttermoſt of our ſtrength and indeuour ſhall be able to reach vnto; but therewithall wee doe aduiſe and proteſt that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuſe, or ſo much as to ſeeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the preſent ſhalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

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The Iſland of Carex.

After ſixe weekes abode in this place, we put to ſea the laſt of March, where after two or three dayes a great ſhip which we had taken at S.Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other ſpoyles, and in the night ſhe loſt the company of our Fleete; which being miſſed the next morning by the Generall, hee caſt about with the whole Fleete, fearing ſome great miſchance to bee happened vnto her, as in very deede it ſo fell out: for her leake was ſo great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the laſt hauing found her & the Barke Talbot in her company, which ſtayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the ſauing of them. And ſo the General being fully aduertiſed of their great extremitie, made ſaile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where hauing ſtaied eight or ten dayes more, about the vnlading of this ſhip, and the beſtowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our courſe towards the Cape S.Antony, being the Weſtermoſt part of Cuba, where wee arriued the ſeuen and twentieth of April. But becauſe freſh water could not preſently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recouer the Matanças, a place to the Eaſtward of Hauana.

After wee had ſailed ſome fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of fauourable wind: but then our ſcarcity was growen ſuch, as neede made vs looke a litle better for water, which we found in ſufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I iudge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered vp by making pits in a plot of marriſh ground, ſome three hundred paces from the ſea ſide.

A moſt commendable example of diligence in a Generall.

I doe wrong if I ſhould forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to haſten the getting of freſh water aboord the ſhips, tooke no leſſe paine himſelfe then the meaneſt; as alſo at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, hauing alwayes ſo vigilant a care and foreſight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is ſayde, with ſuch wonderfull trauell of body, as doubtleſſe had he bene the meaneſt perſon, as hee was the chiefeſt, he had yet deſerued the firſt place of honour: and no leſſe happy doe we account him, for being aſſociated with Maſter Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whoſe experience, prudent counſell, and gallant performance he atchieued ſo many and happy enterpriſes of the warre, by whom alſo he was very greatly aſſiſted, in ſetting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and courſe of iuſtice, and the due adminiſtration of the ſame vpon all occaſions.

After three dayes ſpent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the ſecond time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where; but coaſting alongſt Florida, and keeping the ſhore ſtill in ſight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee deſcried on the ſhore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a ſcaffold vpon foure long maſtes raiſed on ende, for men to diſcouer to the ſeaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinneſſes manned, and comming to the ſhore, wee marched vp alongſt the riuer ſide, to ſee what place the enemie held there: for none amongſt vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occaſion to march with the companies himſelfe in perſon, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantguard; and going a mile vp or ſomewhat more by the riuer ſide, we might diſcerne on the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt vs, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and ſome mile or thereabout aboue the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of woodden houſes, as the Plot doeth plainely ſhew. Wee forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie; and one peece was a litle before the Euening planted, and the firſt ſhot being made by the Lieutenant generall himſelfe at their Enſigne, ſtrake through the Enſigne, as wee afterwards vnderſtood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One ſhot more was then made, which ſtrake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all maſſiue timber of great trees like Maſtes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to paſſe the riuer this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himſelfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and ſmalleſt ſhot vpon any that ſhould appeare, and ſo afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that ſudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cauſe that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampſon, with ſome others beſides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemie kept, as alſo to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as couertly as might be, yet the enemie taking ẏ Alarme, grew feareful that the whole force was approching to the aſſault, and therefore with all ſpeede abandoned the place after the ſhooting of ſome of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene priſoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his ſong; and being called vnto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himſelfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Nicolas Borgoignon.

Upon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with ſome of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with ſome others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinneſſes furniſhed of ſouldiers with them, put preſently ouer towards the Fort, giuing order for the reſt of the Pinneſſes to follow. And in our approch, ſome of the enemie bolder then the reſt, hauing ſtayed behinde their company, ſhot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on ſhore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Maſtes or bodies of trees ſet vp right and cloſe together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholy intended with ſome more time; for they had not as yet finiſhed al their worke, hauing begunne the ſame ſome three or foure moneths before: ſo as, to ſay the trueth, they had no reaſon to keepe it, being ſubiect both to fire, and eaſie aſſault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a croſſe one on another, and ſome litle earth amongſt. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Braſſe ordinance, and a cheſt vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of ſome two thouſand pounds ſterling by eſtimation of the kings treaſure, to pay the ſouldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Iohns Fort, and the day opened, wee aſſayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reaſon of ſome riuers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinneſſes, wee went thither vpon the great maine riuer, which is called as alſo the Towne, by the name of S. Auguſtin.

At our approching to land, there were ſome that began to ſhew themſelues, and to beſtow ſome few ſhot vpon vs, but preſently withdrew themſelues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horſes ready ſadled and brideled, tooke the ſame to follow the chaſe; and ſo ouergoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a buſh) ſhotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the ſame and two or three more, ſtabbed in three or foure places of his body with ſwords and daggers, before any could come neere to his reſcue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honeſt wiſe Gentleman, and a ſouldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Auguſtin, we vnderſtood the king did keepe, as is before ſaid, one hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, and at another place ſome dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewiſe keepe an hundred and fiftie more, ſeruing there for no other purpoſe, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coaſt; the gouernement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marqueſſe, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrowen Maſter Iohn Hawkins in the bay of Mexico ſome ſeuenteen or eighteene yeeres agoe. This Gouernour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the firſt that left the ſame.

Heere it was reſolued in full aſſembly of Captaines, to vndertake the enterpriſe of S. Helena, and from thence to ſeeke out the inhabitation of our Engliſh countreymen in Virginia, diſtant from thence ſome ſixe degrees Northward.

Santa Helena.

When we came thwart of S. Helena, the ſholds appearing dangerous, and we hauing no Pilot to vndertake the entrie, it was thought meeteſt to goe hence alongſt. For the Admirall had bene the ſame night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the ſhore: and yet wee vnderſtood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

We paſſed thus alongſt the coaſt hard aboord the ſhore, which is ſhallow for a league or two from the ſhore, and the ſame is lowe and broken land for the moſt part.

The ninth of Iune vpon ſight of one ſpeciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongſt this coaſt, euen from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall ſent his Skiffe to the ſhore, where they found ſome of our Engliſh countreymen (that had bene ſent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Ralegh) and brought them aboord: by whoſe direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But ſome of our ſhips being of great draught vnable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at ſea, about two miles from ſhore.

From whence the General wrote letters to maſter Ralfe Lane, being gouernour of thoſe Engliſh in Virginia, and then at his Fort about ſixe leagues from the Rode in an Iſland which they call Roanoac, wherein eſpecially he ſhewed how ready he was to ſupply his neceſſities and wants, which he vnderſtood of, by thoſe he had firſt talked withall.

Roanoac.

The morow after, Maſter Lane himſelfe and ſome of his company comming vnto him, with the conſent of his captaines he gaue them the choice of two offers, that is to ſay: Either he would leaue a ſhip, a pinneſſe, and certaine boates with ſufficient Maſters and Mariners, together furniſhed with a moneths victuall, to ſtay and make farther diſcouery of the countrey and coaſtes, and ſo much victuall likewiſe as might be ſufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three perſons) into England, if they thought good after ſuch time, with any other thing they would deſire, and that he might be able to ſpare.

Or els if they thought they had made ſufficient diſcouerie already, and did deſire to returne into England, he would giue them paſſage. But they, as it ſeemed, being deſirous to ſtay, accepted very thankefully and with great gladneſſe, that which was offred firſt. Whereupon the ſhip being appointed and receiued into charge by ſome of their owne company ſent into her by Maſter Lane, before they had receiued from the reſt of the Fleete the prouiſion appoynted them, there aroſe a great ſtorme (which they ſayd was extraordinary and very ſtrange) that laſted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driuen from their anchoring vpon the coaſt. For we brake many Cables, and loſt many Anchors; and ſome of our Fleete which had loſt all (of which number was the ſhip appointed for Maſter Lane and his company) was driuen to put to ſea in great danger, in auoyding the coaſt, and could neuer ſee vs againe vntill we mette in England. Many alſo of our ſmall Pinneſſes and boates were loſt in this ſtorme.

Notwithſtanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with conſent of his Captaines) an other ſhip with ſome prouiſion, although not ſuch a one for their turnes, as might haue bene ſpared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to giue them paſſage into England, although he knew he ſhould performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Maſter Lane with thoſe of the chiefeſt of his company which hee had then with him, conſidering what ſhould be beſt for them to doe, made requeſt vnto the General vnder their hands, that they might haue paſſage for England: the which being graunted, and the reſt ſent for out of the countrey and ſhipped, we departed from that coaſt the 18. of Iune.

And ſo, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good ſafetie arriued at Porteſmouth the 28. of Iuly 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no ſmall honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our ſelues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is eſteemed at three ſcore thouſand pounds, whereof the companies which haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thouſand pounds, the aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twentie thouſand pounds (as I can iudge) will redound ſome ſixe pounds to the ſingle ſhare.

We loſt ſome ſeuen hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: aboue three parts of them onely by ſickneſſe.

The men of name that dyed and were ſlaine in this voyage, which I can preſently call to remembrance, are theſe.

Captaine Powel.
Captaine Varney.
Captaine Moone.
Captaine Forteſcue.
Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Greenefield.

Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Maſter Eſcot a Lieutenant.
Maſter Waterhouſe a Lieutenant.
Maſter George Candiſh.
Maſter Nicholas Winter.
Maſter Alexander Carliell.
Maſter Robert Alexander.
Maſter Scroope.
Maſter Iames Dier.
Maſter Peter Duke.

With ſome other, whom for haſte I cannot ſuddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all ſorts Braſſe and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and ſome more were braſſe, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago ſome two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about foureſcore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Demi-canon, Culuerins, and ſuch like.

In Cartagena ſome ſixtie and three peeces, and good ſtore likewiſe of the greater ſort.

In the Fort of S. Auguſtin were fourteene peeces.

The reſt was Iron ordinance, of which the moſt part was gotten at S. Domingo, the reſt at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the *VVeſt Indies* which haue bene ſurueied, edified, finiſhed, made and mended, with thoſe which haue bene builded, in a certaine ſuruey by the king of *Spaine* his direction and commandement: Written by *Baptiſta Antonio*, ſurueyour in thoſe parts for the ſaid King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

Santa Marta ſituate in 10. degrees and a halfe.

First Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Biſhopricke or Dioces of the coaſt of Tierra firma, or the firme land, lieth in 10. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, the city being ſituated vpon a ſandy bay adioyning vnto the ſea ſide, conteineth in it about 30. houſholds; all the houſes being made of canes, and couered ouer with Palmito trees, and ſome of them be couered with tyle.

They haue traffike with none, but with the Indians of the ſaid country, which doe bring vnto the Citie for to ſell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Couerlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Iarres. Alſo they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but ſmall ſtore of cattel, becauſe it is all mountainous, and hath ſmall ſtore of people. There is a very good harbour before the ſaid towne, inuironed with mighty hils & great rocks, which reach euen vnto the ſea ſide, the which hie land doth greatly ſuccour the harbour, as alſo two Ilands which lie about ¾ of a league on the North ſide: ſo that although they be ſubiect to Eaſterly winds, and that with great ſtormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times paſt they were woont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cauſe to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reaſon there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I haue certified your Maieſtie thereof. And alſo becauſe here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and looſing euery day ſo many as it doeth, by reaſon that it is euery day robbed and ſpoyled by the enemie. But if your Maieſtie would command that the Fleete of Noua Hiſpania might direct their courſe to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refreſh themſelues, all the Pilots doe ſay that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, ſtill going before the winde, and ſo goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony, which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct courſe to Noua Hiſpania; and by this meanes the Fleete ſhould haue no occaſion to paſſe ſo many dangers as they doe, by reaſon of the Huricanos or ſtormy windes which many times do come vpon them, when they are vpon the coaſt of Hiſpaniola: and this is the cauſe that there are ſo many ſhips caſt away, as your Maieſtie doeth well know.

A new courſe to Noua Hiſpania, by the way of Santa Marta leſſe ſubiect to danger then the ordinary courſe.

And as concerning this courſe according as I haue certified your Maieſtie, they ſhall come into no danger at all, nor ſhall make any further way about; ſo by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Noua Hiſpania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe vnto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Maieſtie may ſend to fortifie the ſaid Harbour, and the fortification muſt be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the ſaid harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and ſo to plant ſome ſmall quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South ſide, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant ſome more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in ſecuritie, but alſo it will bee a defence for thoſe which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpoſe, there is hard by the Towne great ſtore of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occaſion ſhould ſerue.

Cartagena.

Cartagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Biſhopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it ſtandeth in ſcant 11. degrees. The ſayd Citie is ſituated vpon a ſandy banke or bay like vnto an Iland: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein: as concerning their houſes, they are made of ſtone, and there are three Monaſteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Auguſtin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which ſtandeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe vnto the ſaid Frierie, you muſt goe vpon a Cauſey made of ſtone, and water on both ſides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of The new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adioyning, from Peru, and from all the coaſt of this firme land, and of the fiſhing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very ſound countrey.

Cartagena ſituate in 11. degrees ſcant.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and ſufficient to receiue great ſtore of Ships: this ſaid Harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the ſayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the ſayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or litle mouth, lieth a league beyond this place to the weſtwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channel in the midſt of it, which is 200. yards broad, and 20. or 15 fadome water, ſome places more, ſome leſſe. And to enter into the Harbour, you muſt go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the ſayde Harbour, after you haue paſt this Channell, you muſt beare vp to the ſhoareward neere vnto the Iland of Cares, and looke how much is ouerplus more then the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the reſt are certaine ledges of Rockes, coutred with two or three foote water vpon the toppe of them, ſome places more, and ſome leſſe. So the ſhips which muſt enter in at the mouth, muſt bring very good Pilots with them, which muſt be very ſkilfull: yet all this will not ſerue, but they muſt carry their Boate before, and ſound with their Lead to know where the beſt place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, ſo it will be ſmall hinderance to any ſhippe that ſhall enter, neither yet danger at all of ſinking.

There are three places about the ſayde Citie, where the Enemie may giue an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a ſandy Bay, and on the one ſide of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other ſide a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The ſandy bay or banke, on the one ſide is 500. yardes broad, all ſandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giueth the aſſault in this place muſt bee conſtrayned to march all alongſt this ſandie Bay, the enemie lying open theſe 500. yardes, which reach vntill you doe come to the trench: And on the backſide other 500. yardes, till you doe come vnto the Citie.

Francis Drake.

The ſayde ſandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twiſe. Wherefore heere wee haue driuen in a great many of woodden ſtakes, which goe downe into the ſea 50. yardes deepe: and this wee haue done, becauſe this is a very dangerous and filthy coaſt. And below in the botteme of the Valley there we haue builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewiſe wee haue made a deepe ditch, which doeth anſwere to both parts of the ſea; ſo on this ſide the Citie is very ſtrong and ſufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were moſt afrayde.

The other entring is lower downe by the ſayde ſandy Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Rorcado. This is another place which is on the ſayd ſandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the ſea. And on the other ſide there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is ouerflowen with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which ſhall come this way to winne the Citie, muſt come marching ouer land a good way vpon a ſandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one ſide, and a groue or boſke of wood on the other ſide, and through a plat of ground which is ouerflowen with water, but not all couered. So in this place wee haue made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging thereunto. And I haue cauſed a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, ſo that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is ouerflowen. And in this order we haue ſtopt this paſſage, ſo that the Citie ſtandeth in maner like vnto an Iland. There is 2600. yardes diſtance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land laſt.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Cauſey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the ſayd Cauſey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth: and the water is on both the ſides of the ſaide Cauſey: ſo this is the ſtrongeſt place of all the reſt of the three places. Alſo in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and vpon the top of the ſaid bridge, to build a platforme, and plant ordinance vpon it: and on both ſides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be cloſe kept.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we haue made a Fort of timber foureſquare of 300. foote euery way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in gariſon, and behinde the bourdes on the backſide of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thickneſſe, and behinde the mud-wall, ſand: ſo this Fort will bee of great importance for ſafegard of this Harbour, becauſe all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come cloſe to this place where it is ſtrongeſt, ſo that ſometimes one may caſt a ſtone into the ſhips when they are comming in: and when any ſhip of warre or Pirate will giue any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order giuen that the two galleys ſhall go forth, and put themſelues behinde the Fort with their prows to the ſea, and ſo ſhooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ſhip, and then the Fort anſwering likewiſe with their ordinance at the ſide of the ſhippe, and at their tackling, ſo the enemie being in the Harbour all vnrigged, they muſt of neceſſitie be conſtrained to lye houering within the Harbour, or els they muſt driue vpon the rockes called the Iſmo, or els vpon thoſe rocks which are couered with the ſea at the Iland of Cares.

The gallies of Cartagena.

And put caſe that in this place we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates & Pinneſſes through this narrow mouth: then we are to haue in a readineſſe 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the gallies, & to row with oares, and ſo to go to the narrow mouth, and there to ſtay in the channell. And foraſmuch as the entring in is ſo dangerous, according as I haue certified your Maieſtie, there can no ſhip come into this harbour, but we muſt needes ſinke them; ſo that theſe defences ſhall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but alſo animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie: for they haue beene and are in ſuch feare of the enemie, and pirates, that if wee had not made theſe fortifications, ſtrengthened the citie in this order, and put ſome ſouldiers in gariſon, the citizens would haue fledde, and forſaken this citie: for all the perſwaſions made to them by the gouernour coulde not perſwade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee haue much to doe to make them to ſtay here: ſo nowe by reaſon of theſe ſouldiers which ſhall come hither, the people of the citie haue taken heart of graſſe: ſo I haue tolde them that your maieſtie will command that this citie and the harbour ſhall be better fortified and made ſtronger, and all this which I haue cauſed to be builded, is with that money which I haue borrowed of the citizens.

As touching the ſafegard and defence of this harbour, if your maieſtie ſo pleaſe, here may we builde a very faire and ſtrong caſtle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the ſide where the citie is builded, becauſe all the ſhippes which doe come to this harbour, muſt come cloſe abord this ſhore, ſo neere, that wee may caſt a ſtone into them, and ſo ouertake any ſhip. So likewiſe if the ſhippes will goe on the other ſhore, then they doe goe in greater danger, becauſe of thoſe ſhoalds and ledges of rockes, and ſo are often caſt away. And foraſmuch as thoſe ſhips which here doe arriue are brought hither by Eaſterly winds, and ſometimes with thoſe winds which come out from the ſea, and therefore perforce muſt giue a good birth off, otherwiſe they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of neceſſity they muſt come ſo cloſe to the ſhore: And on the other ſide where the Iſland of Cares ſtandeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-ſquare, and plant ſome foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and this will ſerue for the night, if occaſion be offered that any ſmall ſhippe or barke ſhould come in here, or any pinneſſe in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fleete which ſhoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour: ſo the fort beeing on the one ſide, and the tower on the other ſide, keeping good watch, there can no ſhippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee eſpied.

The poynt of Ycacos.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towardes the Iſland of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the ſhore, as I haue already certified your maieſtie, there may another caſtle be made, and there foure or fiue pieces of ordinance planted, and ſome ſixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward: this being done, your maieſtie ſhall haue this citie very well fortified, by reaſon it is of ſuch importance for the ſeruice of your maieſtie, and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies: for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Ouer againſt this point of the Ycacos, in the Iſle of Cares, hard by the water ſide, there are great ſtore of ſtones, free ſtones, and other ſtones to make lyme, and wood to burne the ſtones withall for the lyme, and great part of the ſtones doe lie about the water: ſo the wood will coſt but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will bee brought to good perfection, for wee haue already made triall thereof, for there was neuer building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor periſhed by the ſea: ſo the charge hereof will be but litle or nothing.

And for to put this in practiſe to build a fort, it is needefull that your maieſtie ſhould ſend hither and to many other places, where any fort ſhall bee made, ſome ſtore of Negros, and to this place would be ſent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Hauana are not to bee imployed there, nor thoſe which are in Sant Iuan de Vllua, it may pleaſe your maieſtie to cauſe them to bee ſent for to this place, for moſt of them be artificers, ſome maſons, bricklayers, ſmithes and ſawyers, and to ſend ſome maſons from Spaine to teach our men theſe occupations. And after theſe fortifications are ended and all furniſhed, then the Negros may be ſolde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is ſold here for 600. and 700. pezos.

Nombre de Dios.

Nombre de Dios is builded vpon a ſandy Bay hard by the ſea ſide, it is a citie of ſome thirtie houſholdes or inhabitants: their houſes are builded of timber, and moſt of the people which are there be forreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and ſome places of the land are ouerflowen with water continually by reaſon of much raine which doth fall vpon the hils. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is ſubiect to Northerly winds and Eaſterly windes, which continually doe blow vpon this coaſt: many of the great ſhips which doe come to this place doe vnlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour: and after that a ſhip hath

hath vnladen halfe of her goods, then ſhee goeth to the ſecond rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the ſmall ſhips come neere vnto another rocke on the Weſt ſide. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northweſt, and that it ouerblowe, then ſuch great ſhips as then be in the roade muſt of force more themſelues with ſixe cables a head, eſpecially in a ſtorme, and yet neuertheleſſe ſometimes they are driuen aſhore and ſo caſt away, and all becauſe they dare not vier cable ynough, becauſe of ſo many ſhelues and rockes which are in both thoſe places: alſo the ſhippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reaſon in foule weather the Sea will bee mightily growen, which is the cauſe that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are vnhanged, the cauſe thereof is by reaſon the ſhippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great ſea.

The citie is builded and ſituated very well if it were a good harbour, it ſtandeth vpon the Eaſt ſide vpon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the ſafegard of this harbour: but ſeeing it is but a bad hauen and ſhallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your maieſtie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, ſo that theſe towneſmen may defend themſelues from danger of 3. or 4. ſhips.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithſtanding all the ſiluer is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your maieſties treaſure as other marchandize; ſo likewiſe the moſt part of thoſe commodities which are caried to Peru, and the reſt of the marchandize are carried to the riuer of Chagre which is ſome 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought vp by this riuer within fiue leagues of Panama vnto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are tranſported to Panama vpon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remooue this way and to ſtop it quite vp, and ſo to make it againe vpon the ſide of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your maieſtie will giue order that this citie ſhould be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountains of Capira, by reaſon it may not be frequented and becauſe the high wayes are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and ſo ſhut vp, and the chanell of this harbour may bee ſtopt with the timber of thoſe old ſhips which are laid vp here euery yeere, and then afterwards may be caſt a great number of ſtones into the ſame, and ſo by this meanes to damme vp the harbour: and here is great want of ſtones to ballaſt the ſhippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Iſland three leagues from Cartagena called Iſla de los Baſtimentos, and this is a thing very needefull for this Countrey, as by experience I haue ſeene.

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce.

Puerto Bello.

PVerto Bello lieth fiue leagues from Nombre de Dios Weſtward: It is a very good harbour and ſufficient to receiue great ſtore of ſhips, and hath very good ankering, and freſh water: for neere the ſhore you ſhall find ſome ſixe fathome water, and in the middeſt of the ſame harbour you ſhall find twelue fathome, very good and cleane ground or ſant, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelue ſmall riuers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and ſo doe meete all together: ſo that the fleete may at all times prouide themſelues of freſh water ſo much as ſhall ſerue their turnes. And likewiſe there is in this place great ſtore of timber to build ſhippes, and ſtones to ballaſt ſhippes. Alſo the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Weſterly, which is ſeldome ſeene vpon this coaſt. The windes which doe moſt blowe vpon this coaſt are Northerly windes, and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Eaſterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a ſmall creeke ſafe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about fiue hundred yards long, and ſo many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is ſome 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring farther in, ſixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground: ſo that if a ſhip ſhould chance to ſtrike or come aground, ſhee could take no harme being ſoft oaze; alſo it doth ebbe and flow according as I haue certified your maieſtie already.

And likewiſe the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good: and with all kinde of weather a ſhippe may ſet ſaile from this place except with a Weſterly wind: and all this coaſt is very cleane where a ſhippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is inuironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is ouerflowen with water: it may bee eaſily dryed vp and walled round about, ſo this land will ſerue very well to feede cattell. For that is the chieſeſt thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this paſture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no paſture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of fleſh which is ſpent in this place is brought from Panama: ſo towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may be newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little riuers of freſh water very ſweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to ſow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Alſo in this circuite there are great ſtones to make lyme, and theſe ſtones muſt needes prooue very good as I doe thinke, but we neuer had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things neceſſary to builde a citie, where your maieſtie may haue your armies and fleetes of ſhippes to ride at an anker in ſafetie without danger of looſing: and it is a very healthfull countrey, and where the citie ſhall be builded it is all ſtony ground: and foraſmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt vnto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receiue in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and ſo from thence to goe into the ſea, as more at large your maieſtie may ſee by my platforme.

If it would pleaſe your maieſtie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable vnto the citizens by reaſon that all their houſes are made of timber, and they may benefite themſelues with the ſame againe, and likewiſe with the tyles of their houſes: the greateſt charge will bee to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it pleaſe your maieſtie that the ſayd citie of Nombre de Dios ſhould bee builded in this harbour the firſt thing which muſt be finiſhed is to make vp this high way, and ſo to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre Dios, and the Contractation houſe, and ſo newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of ſhippes from time to time to come and vnlade their goods in this ſayd Puerto Bello: And that thoſe marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios, ſhall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouſes for receiuing of their goods. So by theſe meanes in ſhort time it will be greatly inhabited with people: alſo the fleete ſhall not paſſe ſo many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there ſo many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cauſe thereof is, that thoſe labouring men which doe vſe to vnlade thoſe marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water vp to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods cloſe to the ſhore, ſo this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cauſe why ſo many doe dye of a burning feuer. There are but 60. dwelling houſes in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the reſt doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne deſolate, euery man forſaking it becauſe it is ſo full of diſeaſes.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more ſecuritie thereof and defence of the towne it is needefull to build vpon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort foureſquare that will hold foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt ſixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee ſhall haue no occaſion to make any more defence, by reaſon the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And ſo likewiſe on the other ſide to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and fiue and twenty ſouldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance becauſe it muſt be builded on the towne ſide. And a little beyond this place on the Northſide there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: ſo this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coaſt along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put caſe that the fort which is builded on the other ſide doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy ſhould chance to come into the harbour, and bee ſuccoured and holpen by the citizens, and twentie muſketters being planted vpon a mount which lyeth ouer the fort, will bee ſufficient to defende vs from a good many of our enemies, that ſhoulde come to aſſault vs, becauſe all the countrey is full of rockes and ſtones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to ioyne with that way which ſhall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with ſmall charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occaſion ſhoulde ſerue wee may ſtop vp the way which doth goe to Capira, and the reſt of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me that this way would not bee very troubleſome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good ſtore of water in this place, which in the Sommer it is all dryed vp, and where theſe waters are, there we may builde a cauſey, to which purpoſe there are great quantities of ſtones and timber very ſeruiceable: ſo this way may bee made with that treaſure which your maieſtie doeth receiue of the auerages and cuſtomes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount vnto twelue or foureteene thouſand pezos yeerely: and an order might be taken for the ſame, that the ſayd money may ſerue for the building and reparing of theſe wayes.

Panama.

PAnama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South ſea, and ſtandeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monaſteries in this ſaid city of fryers, the one is of Dominicks, the other is of Auguſtines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers: alſo there is a College of Ieſuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is ſituated hard by the ſea ſide on a ſandy bay: the one ſide of this citie is enuironed with the ſea, and on the other ſide it is encloſed with an arme of the ſea which runneth vp into the land 1000. yards.

Panama hath 350. houſes.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houſes, all built of timber, and there are ſixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred ſouldiers with the towneſmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and ſome of them are free men: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and moſt of them are imployed in your maieſties ſeruice, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie vpon a great riuers ſide, which is a league from the ſea right ouer againſt the harbour of Pericos. But there is no truſt nor confidence in any of theſe Negros, and therefore we muſt take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies.

Negros Simerons mortall enemies to the Spanyards.

There are three ſundry wayes to come to this citie, beſides the ſea, where the enemy may aſſault vs. The one is at the bridge which is builded vpon the riuer: and on the one ſide of this, there lieth a creeke: ſo on this ſide the citie is very ſtrong, becauſe it is all ſoft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe vpon it. And right ouer againſt it there lyeth a riuer which is in maner like vnto a ditch or moate; and on the other ſide of the Riuer there lyeth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, ſo that on this ſide the city is very ſtrong, for with very ſmall ſtore of ſouldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The beſt way to take Panama.

The greateſt danger for the ſurpriſing of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios: for all this way is playne ground and no woods: and 2000. yardes from this citie there lyeth a riuer called Lauanderas, where the women doe vſe to waſh their linnen: and this riuer doth goe into the creeke, according as I haue certified your maieſtie: and being once paſt this riuer, there is a cauſey which goeth directly vnto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the ſea at a ſtone bridge lying vpon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor reſiſted, becauſe it is all plaine ground and medowes.

Perico.

Upon the Eaſt ſide of this citie there are your maieſties royall houſes builded vpon a rocke ioyning hard to the Sea ſide, and they doe aſwell leane towards the ſea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in theſe houſes, and likewiſe the priſon. And in this place all your maieſties treaſure is kept. There dwelleth in theſe houſes your maieſties Treaſurer, the Lord Preſident, and 3. Iudges, and maſter Atturney. All theſe doe dwell in theſe houſes, and the reſt of your maieſties officers: which are ſixe houſes beſides thoſe of the Lord Preſident, the which are all dwelling houſes, and all adioyning together one by another along vpon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houſes are. So where the priſon ſtandeth and the great hall, theſe two places may bee very well fortified, becauſe they ſerue ſo fitly for the purpoſe, by reaſon they are builded towardes the ſea, and that there lye certaine ſmall rocks, which at a lowe water are all diſcouered and drie, and ſome of them are ſeene at a high water. Right ouer theſe houſes to the Eaſtwardes there lyeth an Iſland about fiue hundred yardes from theſe houſes, and the Iſland is in forme of a halfe moone; and in this order it runneth all alongſt very neere the maine land: ſo ouer againſt theſe houſes there lyeth the

An Iſland in the harbour of Panama.

harbour where all the ſhippes doe vſe to ride at an anker, after that they haue diſcharged and vnladen their marchandize. For when they haue their lading aboord, there can come in none but ſmall Barkes, and at a lowe water the ſhippes are all aground and drie, and ſo is all the ſpace ſome thirtie yardes from thoſe houſes. Right ouer againſt them ſtandeth the citie.

When newes were brought to this citie of thoſe Pirates which were come vpon this coaſt, the Lord Preſident and Iudges commanded that there ſhould a ſconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie againſt the enemie, and to keepe your maieſties treaſure. So your officers cauſed Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewiſe Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garriſon of Ballano: for all theſe are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes ſpoyle all this countrey.

Places good to land in.

There are three ſundry places, where this citie may without difficulty be taken, and ſpoyled by the Pirates. The firſt is on the North ſeas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Acle to the Eaſtwards, where once before certaine men of warre haue entred into thoſe ſeas. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe trauell vpon thoſe waters, and an other very badde way, which is the going vp of certaine rockes and mountaines which they muſt climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, ſo in this place with very ſmall ſtore of ſouldiers wee can defend our ſelues from the fury of the enemie, ſo theſe dwellers doe ſay that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water,

1. Place.

2. Place. This was Oxenham.

The other entrance is vp the riuer of Chagre, which riuers mouth lyeth eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Weſtwards falling into the North ſea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe moſt feare, for they may come vp this riuer to Venta de Cruzes, and ſo from thence march to this citie, which is but fiue leagues off. So vp this riuer there goe boates and barkes which doe carry 320. Quintals waight. Theſe are they which carry the moſt part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be tranſported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into theſe ſeas, they may very eaſily come vp this riuer as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march vnto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinneſſes ready made in foure quarters, and ſo taken in ſunder, may afterwards ſet them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath vſed it once before when he came that voyage; and ſo he may attempt vs both by ſea and land. And foraſmuch as the moſt part of theſe people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne perſons in ſafetie, and ſaue their goods; as it hath bene ſeene heretofore in other places of theſe Indies.

3. Place.

The place of moſt aduantage for the Engliſh.

So if it will pleaſe your maieſty to cauſe theſe houſes to bee ſtrongly fortified, conſidering it ſtandeth in a very good place if any ſudden alarms ſhoulde happen, then the citizens with their goods may get themſelues to this place, and ſo eſcape the terrour of the enemy: and ſo this will be a good ſecuritie for all the treaſure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which haue robbed in theſe parts, haue gone about what they can to ſtoppe this paſſage, and ſo by this meanes to ſtoppe the trade of Spaine, and to ſet ſouldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your maieſties treaſure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behoueth your maieſtie to fortifie theſe places very ſtrongly.

Theſe places being fortified in this maner, your maieſty ſhal haue al your gold and ſiluer brought home in ſafetie which commeth from Peru. And all thoſe commodities which are laden in Spaine may come ſafe to this place. And if perchance any rebels ſhould riſe in theſe parts, which would rebel againſt your maieſty, which God forbid, & if they ſhould chãce to ioyn with any of theſe pirats, hauing this place ſo wel fortified, & Puerto Bello in ẏ North parts, & ſo to ſend ſome garriſon your maieſtie needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of theſe places ſhalbe intercepted, thẽ your maieſtie hath no other place fitter then this to land your maieſties ſouldiers, for then they haue but 18. leagues to march by land, & preſently they may be ſhipped to ſupply theſe places which ſhal ſtand in moſt need of them. In al the coaſt of Peru there is no harbour that hath any ſhipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are ſome ſhips and barks. The harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very eaſily come to this place, as I haue certified your maieſtie, thorow the ſtreits of Magellane, & arriue at that inſtant, when thoſe barks do come from Peru with your maieſties gold & ſiluer, for ſometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in thoſe barks; ſo the enemy may come and take al their treaſure, & not leeſe one man, becauſe here is not one man to

Rebellion feared in the Weſt Indies.

5. or 6. millions of gold & ſiluer.

reſiſt

The harbour of Perico.

reſiſt him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treaſure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your maieſties houſes which are builded of timber: the Preſident and Iudges did cauſe it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, & pirats cõming for theſe parts. So this trench is thus maintained vntil ſuch time as your maieſties pleaſure is to the contrary, & in ſuch wiſe that your ſouldiers may fight lying behind the trench; ſo there is order giuen to build a platforme vpon the plaine ground, and ſo to plant ſuch ordinance in thoſe places, as ſhall be thought moſt conuenient.

Nota.

If it wil pleaſe your maieſtie, here we may make a ſconce or fort toward the land ſide, & ſo trench it round about and build it with ſtone, becauſe here is a place and al things readie for the ſame purpoſe; and by this meanes the citie would be ſecurely kept: as for the ſea there is no danger at al, by reaſon that the water doth ebbe & flow twiſe a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be all dry & muddy ground & rocks, ſo that in no wiſe at a low water the enemy can wade ouer the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Iſland til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Weſtward: this is a very ſure harbour by reaſon of 3. Iſlands which do ioyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Iſlands do encloſe the harbor round about, the harbour is a very high land, & the Ilands are but reaſonable high, there is good ſtore of freſh water: alſo there hath neuer any ſhip bene caſt away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful ſea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ſhips they may hale them aſhore. All thoſe ſhips and barks which come from Peru with gold, ſiluer or any other kind of commodities, do firſt come to an anker in this harbour, and if they haue a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for ſo much as the harbour hath no defence for the ſafegard of the ſhips, if a man of warre ſhould chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treaſure may be very eaſily taken. And likewiſe theſe barks & ſhips which do nauigate in the South ſeas carrie not ſo much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not paſſing 5 leagues; ſo that if any pinneſſe ſhould happen to arriue there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treaſure which is in thoſe barks, by reaſon that from the ſhore they cannot be reſcued nor holpen, becauſe it is an Iſland and refuge for all ſhips and barks. If it would pleaſe your maieſtie here might ſome fort or defence bee made in the middlemoſt Iſland, and ſome ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, becauſe in the ſaid Iſland there are all kinde of neceſſaries fit for that purpoſe, ſo by this meanes your maieſtie may haue both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

A new way into the South ſea.

And likewiſe there is another entring into the South ſea which is called the riuer of Franciſca, which lieth on this ſide of the Cabeça de Catiua, and this riuer doth come into another riuer which is called Caracol, and is fiue leagues from this citie; and once before theſe Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The riuer of Chagre.

Theſe fiue leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

The riuer of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this riuer is in the North ſeas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed vp this riuer certaine quantitie of thoſe merchandize which are vnladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this riuer to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes vnlade their commodities, they are carried vpon mules to Panama, which is but fiue leagues off from this place.

This riuer hath great ſtore of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this riuer are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but ſmall ſtore of water: ſo then the barkes haue much to doe to get vp this riuer: and in many places theſe barks are conſtrained to vnlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens ſtrength and force a good way vp the riuer, and therefore if it would pleaſe your maieſtie to command that all thoſe goods may bee firſt vnladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle caſtle in the mouth of the ſaid riuer, and at the foote of the caſtle to build a ſtorehouſe to vnlade and keepe all the ſayd goods, and there to build other barks of leſſe burthen: then theſe would ſerue for Sommer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would pleaſe your maieſtie, there might a very good high way be made on the one ſide of the riuer, and ſo they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much coſt becauſe it is all plaine ground, and there is growing vpon the ſayd riuer great ſtore of timber and trees which doe lie ouerthwart the ſaid Riuer; ſo that they are very cumberſome and great annoiance vnto the ſaid boates, aſwell thoſe that go vp the ſaid Riuer, as alſo that doe come downe the ſaid Riuer.

And therfore if it might pleaſe your maieſtie to command, that Puerto belo might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Riuers ſide, euery thing would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were caryed vp the Riuer: for it is a great danger to cary them vp by land, for it is daily ſeene that the mules do many times fall and breake their neckes with their lading vpon their backs, as well the treaſure as other kinde of commodities, becauſe it is ſuch a bad way. And your maieſtie might be at this charges and ſpend of your reuenewes of Nombre de dios and Panama, which do yerely yeild 12 or 14 thouſand pezos, & this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to thoſe, which doe trade and trafficke, and to thoſe merchantes which doe ſend their goods ouer-land, and eaſe them much of paine and purſe, becauſe the other is a moſt filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by *William Michelſon* Captaine, and *William Mace* of *Ratcliffe*, Maſter of a ſhip called the *Dogge*, to the Bay of *Mexico* in the *Weſt India*.

The aforeſaide ſhip called the Dogge, of the burthen of threeſcore and ten tunnes was furniſhed, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coaſt of England in the moneth of May, directly for the Weſt India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spaniſh ſhips at ſundry times, whereof three fel into her lapſe and were forced to yeeld vnto the mercie of the Engliſh: the laſt that they met within the Bay was a Spaniſh man of warre, whom the Engliſh chaſed, and after three ſeuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, preſſed him ſo farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboord the Engliſh. Where after conference about thoſe matters that had paſſed in the fight betwixt them, they receiued reaſonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spaniſh, as if they had ment to requite the Engliſh courteſie, inuited our men to their ſhippe, who perſwading themſelues of good meaning in the Spaniſh, went aboord: but honeſt and friendly dealing was not their purpoſe, ſuddenly they aſſaulted our men, and one with a dagger ſtabde Roger Kingſnod the Engliſh Pilote to the heart and ſlewe him, and others were ſerued with the like ſauce, onely William Mace the Maſter & others, notwithſtanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouerboord into the ſea, and ſo came ſafe to their own ſhip: and directing his courſe for England, arriued at Plimouth the tenth day of September 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriuall of the reſt of his conſorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long ſince obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters ſent from the aforeſaid William Mace, to Maſter Edward Wilkinſon of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admoniſh our nation of circumſpection in dealing with that ſubtill enemie, and neuer to truſt the Spaniſh further, then that their owne ſtrength ſhall be able to maſter them: for otherwiſe whoſoeuer ſhall through ſimplicitie truſt their curteſie, ſhall by tryall taſte of their aſſured crueltie.

Spaniſh treaſon.

CERTAINE SPANISH LETTERS INTERcepted by ſhippes of the Worſhipfull Maſter *Iohn VVattes* written from diuerſe places of the Iſlandes and of the maine land as well of *Nueua Eſpanna*, as of *Tierra Firma* and *Peru*, containing many ſecrets touching the aforeſaid Countreys, and the ſtate of the South Sea, and the Trade to the *Philippinas*.

A leter ſent from *Hauana* in *Cuba* from the general of the fleete *Iohn de Ortmo* to the king of *Spaine* the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

It may pleaſe your maieſtie that at the date hereof one of the Frigates was lanched: and three more will be ready againſt the fleete depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of ſayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with ſouldiers and mariners. And hauing good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend vs. For wee ſhall both leaue and take at all times when we liſt. But it behooueth your maieſtie to ſend both ſouldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we haue great want of ſouldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, ſhot, caliuers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For theſe things are not here to bee had for money: and likewiſe to ſend ſome great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ſhips are ſo weake and ſo vnprouided, that they haue almoſt none to defend themſelues. Alſo we ſhall be conſtrained to giue the carena againe vnto al the ſhips; for they are very weake by reaſon of the long voyage: and the mariners and ſouldiers are wearie with their long trauelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would pleaſe your maieſtie to command with all expedition that theſe ſouldiers and mariners with al kinde of other furniture might be ſent vs, then the fleete may ſet forward and ſo proceede on their voyage. God preſerue your Catholike royal maieſtie. Frō Hauana the of 20 October 1590.

Your maieſties ſeruant, whoſe royall feet I kiſſe,
IOHN DE ORIMO General of your Fleete.

A Letter ſent from the Gouernour of *Hauana Iohn de Trexeda*, to the King of *Spaine*, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

The newe fortification in Hauana.

BY three ſhippes which departed from this Harbour ſince the Fleetes arriuall here, I haue giuen your maieſtie at large to vnderſtand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your maieſtie muſt prouide. And now once againe I will returne to put your maieſtie in minde thereof. I beſeech your maieſtie to command to be prouided and to be ſent hither two hundred Negros, if you will haue this fortification to goe forwardes: becauſe your maieſtie is here at great charges with the maſter workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaſeth farther and farther, ſo we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewiſe to keep it. We dare not meddle with thoſe of the Galies. And likewiſe it may pleaſe your maieſtie to ſend new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I haue ſent to your maieſtie of late, which doeth ſignifie our wants more at large.

Souldiers ſent to Hauana.
A fort vpon an hill.

Likewiſe it is needefull that your maieſtie ſhould ſend powder and match to furniſh theſe forts. And likewiſe to ſend money to pay thoſe ſouldiers which are newly come hither, & for that companie of ſouldiers which were ſent from Mexico to this place. For it behooueth your maieſtie not to haue them as yet left, till ſuch time as the defences about the forts bee finiſhed, and that which is in building vpon the hill, which will be ended very ſhortly if you ſend the Negros, and yron tooles.

Fiue Frigats made at Hauana.
Iohn de Orimo General of the fleete.

Likewiſe I haue certified your maieſtie, that with all ſpeed I am making ready of the fiue Frigates, that they may cary all the treaſure. Alſo Iohn de Orimo ſeeing that it is of ſo great importance to haue them diſpatched, doeth furniſh mee with ſome money, although ſomewhat ſcantly, vntill ſuch time as your maieſtie doth ſend him ſome order therefore. I beſeech you to command it to bee done; conſidering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Maieſtie ſhall more at large perceiue, what hath bene ſpent. Theſe Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and ſayles are not here arriued: but I doe ſtay the comming thereof euery day, according as the Duke of Medina and Iohn de Ibarra haue written vnto me, that thoſe ſhips which ſhould bring the ſame were readie to depart from thence. All theſe things it behooueth your Maieſtie to ſend in time: for I can aſſure your Maieſtie that you ſhall not haue vpon the ſea ſuch good ſhippes as theſe are. For as touching the other ſhips of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not conuenient to venture the ſiluer in them. This counſell your Maieſtie ſhall not take of mee, for I am a ſouldier, and haue but ſmall ſkill in nauigation. But euery day it is tolde me openly and in ſecret by many of the pilots, captaines, maſters, and mariners.

The excellency of the great Frygates built in Cuba.

Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

As touching the copper, I haue put it in practiſe twiſe more, and haue made proofe thereof: wherein there hath bene more ſpent, then I was willing there ſhould haue bene, becauſe I haue gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cauſe, but that it is not done effectually by thoſe that haue the working thereof. Therefore I beſeech your Maieſtie to ſend me that ſame founder which I wrote to your Maieſtie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Maieſtie many yeeres. From Hauana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Maieſties ſeruant, whoſe royall feete I kiſſe,
IOHN DE TREXEDA gouernour of *Hauana*.

A letter ſent to *Don Petro de Xibar* one of his Maieſties priuie Counſel of the *Weſt Indies*, from *Don Diego Mendez de Valdes* Gouernour of S. *Iuan de Puerto Rico* the 20 of Nouember 1590, touching the ſtate of that Citie and Iſland.

I Recieued your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I receiued great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the impriſonment of our couſin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieue me to the very ſoule. I beſeech God to ſend him his libertie: and likewiſe the impriſonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieueth me very much: I pray God to ſend good iuſtice. The M. of the fielde Iuan de Texela, and the M. workeman Iuan Baptiſta Antonio arriued here in ſafetie, and haue veiwed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the ſituation as I haue informed his maieſtie thereof. They haue marked a place to build a ſtrong Fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it ſtandeth in a good ſituation, and in a conuenient place on a high mount which doeth lye vpon the entering in of the Harbour, & ſo cutteth ouer to a point of land, leauing in the Fort as much ſpace as wil containe 3000 perſons, without ioyning thereunto any part of the coaſt. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Citadella. He left me great ſtore of yron worke, tooles eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Iſland doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His maieſtie hath ſent me a warrant to ſpend the prouiſion of the Iſland, & to take thoſe rents which his maieſty hath here, & to certiſie his maieſtie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen & that they may haue all things neceſſary. So I haue ſent to Nueua Eſpanna, for ſuch things as are here wanting. I haue writtē to the M. of the field, which is gone to Hauana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition ſhould go forward, ſeeing that it is begun for the defence of the Iſland. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemie, in reſpect of the great danger which otherwiſe might happen, if the enemie ſhould come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewiſe that his maieſtie would ſend me that which I do requeſt. And the moſt principal thing of al is, to ſend more Negros. And ſending me all theſe things which be needful, I truſt in God I ſhal in ſhort time build vp the fort, to defend vs from the enemie. The fort muſt be builded triangle wiſe: for it will reach into the bay: and we ſhal be able to plant in the ſame 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi canon, and Coluerine. The M. of the field, hath promiſed to ſend me ſome from Hauana. For that he is determined to caſt ſome there, by reaſon of the great ſtore of copper, which now of late is found in Hauana: for here we haue as yet but ſmall ſtore of ordinance to defend vs. I looke for 5 Canons which his maieſtie ſhould ſend from Spaine, with ſhot and powder and al kinde of weapons, becauſe that here is great want in the Iſland. His maieſtie hath ſent the whole number of 200 ſouldiers, and in the companie there came two capitaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twiſe in a moneth I muſter all the men in the Iſland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horſemen. The forte when it is ended will be the ſtrongeſt that his maieſtie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey ſleepe in ſecurity. For commonly before, the Engliſhmen would come and beard vs to the hauens mouth. God keep your honour, and ſend you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590.

The Gouernour DIEGO MENDEZ DE VALDES.

Pedro de Valdes, priſoner in England.

Iohn Baptiſta Antonio the generall Ingenour of the Weſt Indies.

A ſtrong fort newly builded in S. Iuan de puerto Rico.

This Fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland. 1598.

Copper mines found neere Hauana.

200 ſouldiers ſent to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Iuan de puerto Rico Iſland.

The boldnes of the Engliſh.

A letter to *Iohn Lopez Canauate*, Alderman in the towne of *Canauate* in *Spaine* written from his ſeruant *Iuan de Porua Canauates*, from *Hauana* the ſeuenteenth of October 1590, touching the ſtate of the ſaid place.

This is to giue you to vnderſtand, that ſince my departure from S. Lucar I haue written vnto you twiſe of mine arriuall here, and what ſucceſſe I haue had. And nowe you ſhall vnderſtand that I am determined to goe for Nueua Eſpanna. For I ſtay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the ſouldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neuertheleſſe I hope in God, to finde ſome friend to conuey mee away from hence. This countrey is ſo cloſe and narrow, that if a man ſteale not away hidden in ſome ſhippe, it is not poſſible for him to eſcape, nor to goe a league out out of the towne, no way but by ſea. And becauſe the harbour is ſo cloſe, it is the beſt harbour and the ſureſt in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow ſtreight chanel, which continueth as long as a caliuer ſhot, and from that place the riuer openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two ſtrong forts, which are fortified with very great ſtore of

The ſouldiers run away from Hauana.

ordinance: beſides another ſtrong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, ſo that it is impoſſible to take it. There are in theſe three Fortes, a thouſand ſouldiers in Gariſon. And likewiſe here are two galies to keepe the coaſt. Yet for all this, the audacious Engliſhmen being without all ſhame are not afraid to come and dare vs at our owne doores. Our iourney to goe for England is moſt certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ſhips, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very ſtrong ſhippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongſt the ſhoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher becauſe here is great ſtore of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reaſon that at that time the Engliſhmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I reſt. From this Iſland of S. Chriſtopher in Hauana this preſent day on S. Lukes euen; the 17 of October 1590.

The boldnes of the Engliſh.

18 ſhips builded in Cuba againſt England.

Your Worſhips ſeruant, IOHN DE PORVA CANAVATES.

A letter from *Mexico*, of *Sebaſtian Biſcaino* to his Father *Antonio Biſcaino* in *Corchio* in *Spaine*, touching the great profit of the trade to *China*, and ſomewhat of M. *Thomas Candiſh*. Written the 20 of June 1590.

Hauing written to your worſhip by a friend of mine at large, nowe I will bee ſomewhat ſhort. And this is onely to giue you to vnderſtand, that foure moneths paſt, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ſhips that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spaniſh commodities downe to this harbour, to ſhip them for that countrey. It is one of the beſt harbours in all Nueua Eſpanna; and where the ſhips may ride moſt ſafely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth vnder a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ſhips of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which onely ſerue to cary our commodities to China, and ſo to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is aboue two thouſand leagues, farther then from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two firſt ſhips depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when thoſe two ſhips are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very ſtrong with ſouldiers. I can certifie you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spaniſh commodities, and ſome Flemiſh wares which I caryed with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with thoſe ſilkes, and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine ſilkes had not beene ſpoiled with ſalt water. So as I ſayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in ſafetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great miſchance, comming in a ſhip from China to Nueua Eſpanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Engliſhman which robbed vs and afterward burned our ſhip, wherein I loſt a great deale of treaſure and commodities.

Acapulco the harbour where the ſhips lie that goe for China.

Frō Acapulco to China aboue 2000 leagues.

Flemiſh wares good in China.

A wonderfull gaine.

M. Thomas Candiſh.

If I ſhould write to you of the ſtate of this countrey of China, and of the ſtrange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to doe it, in an whole quier of paper. Onely I may certifie you, that it is the goodlieſt countrey, and the richeſt, and moſt plentifull in all the world. For here are great ſtore of golde mynes, ſiluer mynes, and pearle, great ſtore of cotten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing elſe but fine cotten cloth, which is more accepted then ſilkes. For here is great ſtore of ſilkes & they are good cheape. Al kinde of victuals, as bread, fleſh, wines and hennes and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great ſtore of freſh riuers. The people are very louing. Here are very faire cities and townes with coſtly buildings, better then thoſe in Spaine. And the countrey people go very richly apparelled, both in ſilkes and gold. But here we haue order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China, aboue 3 yeres, and afterwards they muſt returne again into Nueua Eſpanna, and other ſouldiers muſt come in their places. The countrey is very vnwholeſome for vs Spaniardes. For within theſe 20 yeres of 14000, which haue gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead, and not paſt 1000 of them left aliue. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath giuen to the Spaniards freely: which ſhall be the place where the ſhips ſhall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great riuer which goeth vp into the maine land, vnto diuers townes and cities, which are neere to this riuer. And thus troubling you no farther I reſt. From Mexico the 20 of Iune 1590.

Gold mynes ſiluer mynes and Pearles, in China.

Fine linnen cloth greatly eſteemed in China.

Not aboue one thouſand Spaniards in the Philippinas.

Your obedient ſonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

A letter

A Letter of *Bartholomew Cano* to *Peter de Tapia* in *Siuill*, from *Mexico* the 30 of May 1590, touching the ſtate of *Nueua Eſpanna*, and the Fleet of that yeere.

BEcauſe I haue anſwered your letters which I haue receiued in the laſt Fleet, as touching that matter I haue no more to ſay. The occaſion of my writing vnto you at this time, is to giue you to vnderſtand, that thoſe commodities which came in the laſt Fleet, were ſold at the firſt good cheape, and thoſe that bought them, got much by them. For now at this inſtant white Roan cloth is ſolde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cauſe of this was, by reaſon there came a carauel of Aduiſe from Hauana; which brought vs newes, how the armie that his maieſtie did ſend for England, was all ſpoiled and caſt away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cauſe that all linnen cloth is very deere in theſe parts. Wines alſo are very deere: for they are ſold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in Auguſt laſt 1589. Cochinilla was ſold at that inſtant for 50 peſos the quintall; and now it is ſold for 55 peſoes. And ſince that newes came from Spaine in a carauel of S. Lucar, that it was ſolde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arouas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arouas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treaſure, more then hath bene ſent to Spaine theſe many yeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all theſe prouinces doe ſend great quantitie to ſupply the Kings wants: for that his maieſtie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of theſe countreyes to ayde him with much money towardes the maintenance of his warres againſt France and other places, & therefore they haue ſent good ſtore: God ſend it well to Spaine. There are likewiſe laden aboord the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great ſtore of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke ſiluer is here very deere, for here is almoſt none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke ſiluer wee cannot refine our gold. And no man vpon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all muſt come for the Kings account: and ſo the King doeth ſell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I reſt: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

BARTHOLOMEVV CANO.

A letter of Frier *Alonſo* new elected Biſhop of *Mechuacan*, to the king of *Spaine*, written in *Peru* in the citie *de los Reyes* the firſt of March 1590, touching the ſtate of *Arica* a chiefe Hauen in *Peru*.

VPon Chriſtmas euen the yere 1589, I receiued your maieſties commiſſion in Potoſſi. For which I am and ſhall be continually bound to pray for your maieſties long health, for the great benefits which your maieſtie hath beſtowed vpon me, in ſending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great trauell and paines may be recompenced, which I haue taken with that vngrateful and deſperate people of the riuer of Plate, which they haue bene the occaſion of, in dealing ſo badly with me their Paſtour, which haue counſelled them, that they ſhould haue a great care to ſerue God, and be dutifull to your maieſtie, according as euery good and true ſubiect ought to do. Now for this gift which your maieſtie hath beſtowed on me, I moſt humbly kiſſe your maieſties handes a thouſand times. Thus preſently I departed from Potoſſi ſomewhat ſickely, to accompliſh that which your maieſtie hath commanded me. So I arriued at Lima in ſafetie the firſt of February by the way of Arica, which is an hauen towne, where they imbarke all the barres of ſiluer. And there I haue ſeene what is done, & what they haue prouided againſt the Engliſhmen in that hauen: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters ſide, with certaine ſmall pieces of ordinance in the ſaid fort to offend the enemie, if occaſion ſhould ſerue that they ſhould offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to haue ſouldiers, foote men, and horſemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which ſhould keepe the coaſt, if they ſhould offer to land and march vp into the countrey. And likewiſe the people of this countrey haue told me, that if vpon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the hauens mouth, on the Southſide of the harbour where the ſea doth beat, ther were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemie great hurt, a league into the ſea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Vrtado de Mendoça, worthy of that dignitie, is in great fauour with al thoſe of theſe

The people of the Riuer of Plate.

100 men wanting.

Good watch continually kept.

realmes : for that he is a great ſolliciter both by ſea and land in all kinde of diligence, not looſing one houre in your ſeruice, and that which he hath in charge. With as much ſpeed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to ſerue that church and your maieſty : and there I will remaine according to your maieſties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your maieſty many yeres in his holy ſeruice. From the city de los Reyes the firſt of March 1590.

Frier Alonſo biſhop of Mechuacan.

A letter of *Don Iohn de Miramontes Suaſola* to *Don Iohn Garcias de Penaloſa* from *Arica* on the coaſt of *Peru* the tenth of March 1590.

English men in the South ſea ſought 3 yeres.

This was M. Chidleys fleet, whereof the Delight was in the ſtreights of Magelan in Ianuary and Feb. 1589.

After my long trauell and badde ſucceſſe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a ſouldier : a thing in this countrey which is moſt hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beaſts : and is an occupation which is choſen of idle perſons. The occaſion of this is, that there haue bene in theſe ſeas, and yet are certeine Engliſh rouers : and in ſeeking of them I haue trauelled theſe three yeres : the one of the yeres a ſouldier, and the other two yeeres I haue gone for captaine and enſigne-bearer. And at this time here is arriued Don Garcias Vrtado de Mendoça viceroy of theſe realmes : who hath choſen me to be chiefe enſigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to ſcoure the coaſt. For here we haue newes of the enemy, which is comming vpon the coaſt : for wee haue ſtayed for their comming theſe foure moneths the ſame way which they muſt come, in a hauen called Arica, which is the firſt entry of Peru. So I haue 90 pezos a moneth, beſides other profits, at nine reals the pezo; & foure ſhares at nine reals the pezo. So that I haue 1800 pezos euery yere of pay : for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I haue alwayes 400 ducats in my cheſt to goe like a man. I beſeech God ſend vs quietneſſe. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to ſerue the king his maſter in theſe actions. And thus I reſt. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

I kiſſe your worſhips hands, and am at your commandement
Don Iohn de Miramontes Suaſola.

This was M. Iohn Chidleys fleet.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great ſtore of ſouldiers which keepe this hauen : for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certeine Engliſhmen of war comming thither. This hauen of Arica is the beſt harbour in all the South ſea : for all the ſiluer which commeth from the mines of Potoſſi, is ſhipt in this harbour, and ſo brought to Lima. And likewiſe all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quickſiluer, is vnladen in this harbour, and ſo carried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of ſiluer are.

A letter of the Licenciate *Chriſtopher Vſlano* to *Gonſaluo de Solana* in in the city of *Enciſa* in *Spaine*, written from the city of *Potoſſi* in *Peru* the 20 of Iuly 1590, touching a great plague in *Peru*, and the ſhortneſſe of the paſſage from the riuer of *Plate* into *Potoſſi* in *Peru*.

Famine.

Plague.

The laſt yeere 1588 I receiued letters from your worſhip and from my ſiſter : and ſince that time I haue receiued none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potoſſi : for that there hath beene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the huſbandmen vſe to ſowe their corne : and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in April there be no raine, the corne which is ſowen will conſume away : and ſo for want of raine we haue had two badde yeres of corne. And likewiſe here hath bene in theſe countreys of Potoſſi, and in the city De la paz, great ſickneſſe among the Indians, Mullatos, and Meſtiços, called the ſmall pocks, and a certeine plague, which hath deſtroyed all this countrey. And there haue no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age : ſo for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This ſickneſſe runneth al along the coaſt of Peru, and hath paſſed into the ſtreights of Magalianes, whence we haue newes that thoſe ſouldiers which were ſent from Spain thither to build thoſe forts are moſt of them dead, & eſpecially the workemen which came to make the forts. The Generall Don Diego de Abolos hath written to his maieſty to ſend more ſouldiers and more workemen, whereby theſe three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement. This ſickneſſe came firſt from Cartagena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues diſtant : and, as I ſayd, it hath gone all Peru ouer, to the vtter vndoing of this countrey: I pray God to ceaſe it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, ſend them in thoſe ſhippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great ſtore of ſhips which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes ſailing ouer a gulfe to Braſill. And from Braſill their ſhippes bring their Negros to a hauen called The hauen of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie riuer of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spaniſh and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potoſſi in carts and on horſes: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes iourney, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to trauaile. And from Potoſſi to this harbour is great ſtore of treaſure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and ſo they are ſhipped for Portugall: and the ſhips go and come againe in ſhort time. If his maieſtie will conſent that we may haue traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be very profitable: and in fiue or ſixe moneths I ſhall heare from you, & you ſhall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is ſometime 2. yeres before we can receiue your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and ſo by this meane the letters may ſpeedily come to my hand. And thus I reſt. From this citie of Potoſſi the 20. of Iuly 1590.

Peru vtterly vndone with the plague.

A ſhort paſſage from Buenos Aeres in the riuer of Plate to Peru.

The tediouſneſſe of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER
VSLANO.

A letter of *Steuen de Treſio* to *Alonſo Martines Vaca* in *Siuil* from *Panama* the 21. of Auguſt 1590. touching the kings deſire to borrow money vpon priuie ſeales, and the want of the countrey.

IT may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that I haue receiued a packet of letters from you, wherein you write vnto me of the great miſeries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promiſe you that theſe countreys are in no leſſe. For here is great want of corne and other kind of prouiſion: for here is almoſt none to be had for any money, by reaſon that from Lima there is no ſhipping come with maiz. Here wee haue had newes from Spaine of the great prouiſiō which is making ready for thoſe great wars which his maieſtie is in preparing, & of the great ſums of money that his maieſtie ſtandeth in neede of: So that it doth put vs all that are dwellers here in ſuch a perplexitie and confuſion, that we know not what we ſhall doe. I pray God his maieſtie take not away our money which wee haue ſent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that haue ſent ſome 200000. pezos, ſome 100000. pezos, ſome 60000. ſome more ſome leſſe, to haue it imployed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath ſent hither his ſcedule or bill of aſſignement ſigned and ſealed by his maieſtie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man ſoeuer marchant or other will ſend their money into Spaine in that fleete, his maieſtie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in ſo doing will bee a great comfort vnto vs all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from vs all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we haue none: But I can certifie your worſhippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we ſtand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewiſe we haue great want of money. Alſo here is order come from the king with certaine priuie ſeales for to lend his maieſtie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this inſtant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reaſon that this lande is left ſo vnprouided of money: But wee are looking for great ſtore of money, which is to come from Lima and from The Valles.

Priuie ſeales to borrow money ſent into Peru.

Abundance of money to come from Lima and from The Valles.

From Panama the 12. of Auguſt 1590.

STEVEN de TRESIO.

A letter of the Licenciate *Iohn de Labera* to the Licenciate *Alonſo Sapata de Henao* in *Caſtile* in *Calamea de la Sorengo*, written from *S. Fee de Bogota* in the new kingdom of *Granada*, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich ſiluer mines of *Marequita* newly found out, and the long way thither by the riuer of *Magdalena*.

WIth other letters which I diſpatched frō hēce in Auguſt 1589. I wrote vnto your worſhip by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you haue receiued them or no. Preſently after I departed to the gouernment of Popayan, which ioyneth with the citie of Quito in the coaſt of Peru, in companie of the gouernors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de

Lara

The citie of Santa Fee in the new kingdom of Granada.

Great ſtore of metal found in the newe mines of Marequita.

The great riuer of Magdalena.

The richeſt mines in all Peru.

Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forſake his companie, by reaſon I fell ſicke in the citie of Marequita, where they haue diſcouered the great ſiluer mines: which citie is aboue 200. leagues from Cartagena: where I remained a certaine time very ſicke. And becauſe this countrey is extreme hotte, and I euery day grewe worſe and worſe, I was faine to trauaile 30. leagues further vp into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coaſt of Peru: which is a cold countrey: where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Roial audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my ſelfe very healthy of bodie, by reaſon this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheeſe, bacon, beefe, great ſtore of hennes, and great ſtore of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde: ſo that this countrey will be vtterly vndone, if the mines of Marequita help not to reſtore the ſame again: whereof there is good hope: for here is great ſtore of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the ſaid metal: ſo that we are in good hope that great ſtore of ſiluer will be found in theſe mines of great value and profite to his maieſtie. This riuer is called The great riuer of Magdalena. There is a fiſh in the riuer called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas: and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and deuoure him. All night they lie in the ſand on ſhore. In this riuer as we are going vp, there is at certaine ſeaſons great ſtore of lightning and thunder, with ſuch abundance of raine, as though the ſkies would fall downe: and ſo it doth continue from midnight vntil morning: ſo that we are faine to go aboord the canoas, & with certaine broad leaues which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a couering to caſt ouer the wares which are laden in the canoas: and it doth keepe both the raine & ſunne from vs which are paſſengers. The canoas are drawen vp this riuer of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide theſe canoas, beſides the Maſter which keepeth the helme, and the paſſengers. We are commonly two moneths in going vp this riuer. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants vnlade their marchandiſe, which ſerue for all the cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great ſtore of ſiluer and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is ſhipped for Spaine. And likewiſe here is great quantitie of treaſure laden in the ſayd canoas which is for the kings cuſtome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the riuer to Cartagena. Theſe are the richeſt mines in all Peru. And thus I reſt.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10. of May 1590.

The Licenciate IOHN de

LABERA.

A letter of *Hieronymo de Nabares* to the licenciat *Iohn Alonſo* dwelling in *Valladolid*, written from *Panama* to *Siuil* the 24. day of Auguſt 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the *Philippinas*, and the extreme feare they haue of the Engliſhmen.

The great profite of the trade to the Philippinas.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worſhip from Panama by the way of Hauana: giuing you to vnderſtand of my being here, & of the ſtate of theſe countreys. After I departed from *Spaine*, in 37. dayes wee arriued at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke ſhipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I haue remained theſe 20. dayes, till the ſhippes goe for the Philippinas. My meaning is to carie my commodities thither: for it is conſtantly reported, that for euery hundred ducats a man ſhall get 600. ducats cleerely. Wee muſt ſtay here in Panama from Auguſt till it be Chriſtmaſſe. For in Auguſt, September, October and Nouember it is winter here, and extreme foule weather vpon this coaſt of Peru, and not nauigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place elſe in the South ſea. So that at Chriſtmaſſe the ſhips begin to ſet on their voyage for thoſe places: and then in theſe parts the ſummer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we ſhall haue the windes with vs. For in Iuly vntil October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, ſo that it is not poſſible to go any way in this countrey. Here are in Panama 10. great ſhips of 500, 400, 300, & 200. tuns apiece, & ſome 15. barkes which vſe commonly to ſaile in the South ſea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey in the ſummer is ſo extreme hotte, that it is not poſſible to trauel in the day time: it ſtandeth in 8. deg. & ½. and all this coaſt is in 9. and 10. deg.. Here is great ſtore of adders, ſnakes and toades, which are in the houſes, but they doe but ſmall hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reaſon the countrey doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is ſolde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few ſheep, and thoſe extreme deere. The only food here for fleſh, are oxen, kine, buls & heffkers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their ſmalleſt money of ſiluer is a rial of plate, & very few of them, but all pieces of 4. & 8. For the ſiluer mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee ſpoken of. If a man did not ſee the ſiluer made, hee would neuer beleeue it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, & is afterward waſhed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great ſtore of ſiluer afterwards againe. But as here we get much, ſo our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth coſt very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muſke melons, and they are ſold for 6. or 8. rials apeece. I can certifie your worſhip of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in ſuch extreme feare of the Engliſhmen our enemies, that the like was neuer ſeene nor heard of: for in ſeeing a ſaile, preſently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write vnto me as touching the wars that his Maieſtie hath with our enemies, and howe his Maieſtie doth preuaile. And thus I reſt. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590.

Twenty li. of beefe may bee bought for ſixe pence in Peru.

The Engliſhmen extremely feared in Peru.

HIERONYMO de
NABARES.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of Iune 1591. againſt certaine Spaniſh ſhips & gallies in the Weſt *Indies*, by 3. ſhips of the honorable ſir George Carey knight, then marſhall of her Maieſties houſhold, and captaine of the Ile of *Wight*, now lord Hunſdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Maieſties Penſioners.

THe 13. of Iune 1591. being ſunday, at 5. of the clock in the morning we deſcried 6. ſaile of the king of Spaine his ſhips. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were ſmal ſhips, each of them about 100. tuns. We met wͭ them off the Cape de Corrientes, which ſtandeth on the Iland of Cuba. The ſight of the foreſaid ſhips made vs ioyfull, hoping that they ſhould make our voyage. But aſſoone as they deſcryed vs, they made falſe fires one to another & gathered their fleet together, lying all cloſe by a wind to the Southwards. We therefore at 6. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at Eaſt) hauing made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our ſelues for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare vp with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better directiõ therof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, & the Hopewel gaue their admiral the prow, bringing themſelues to leeward of him. We in the Content bare vp with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broad ſide aweather of him) gaue him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming vp with another ſmall ſhip ahead of the former, wee hailed her in ſuch ſort, that ſhee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ſhip, we ſaw a great ſmoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel & Swallow forſaking him with all the ſailes they could make: whereupon bearing vp with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the ſmall ſhips to windward of vs, purpoſing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to haue layd vs aboord. Thus (the fight continuing between vs and them 3. houres) we were forced to ſtand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd vs, as they might eaſily haue done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ſhip of theirs, ſtood off to ſea with his topgallant ſaile, and all the ſailes he could make: then might the Hopewel & the Swallow haue payd roome to ſecond him, but they failed him as they did vs ſtanding off cloſe by a wind to the Eaſtward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ſhips and one of their ſmall. They hauing a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) wͭ both their great ſhips came vp faire by vs, ſhot at vs, and on the ſudden furled their ſpritſailes & mainſailes, thinking that we could not eſcape them. Then falling to prayer, we ſhipped our oars that we might rowe to ſhore, & anker in ſhallow water where their great ſhips could not come nie vs, for other refuge we had none. Then 1. of their ſmal ſhips being manned from 1. of their great, & hauing a boat to rowe thẽſelues in, ſhipped her oars likewiſe & rowed after vs, thinking wͭ their ſmall ſhot to haue put vs frõ our oars, vntil yͤ great ſhips might come vp with vs: but by yͭ time ſhe was within musket ſhot,

the Lord of his mercie did ſend vs a faire gale of wind at the Northweſt off the ſhore. What time (they being all to leeward of vs) wee ſtood to the Eaſt. The ſmall ſhip was vnder our lee within Falcon ſhot, and another great ſhippe lay to the Weſtward, ſo that wee could no way poſſibly eſcape them vpon that boord: then (we thinking to auoyd them by caſting about to the Weſtwards) the other great ſhippe gate vnder our lee, and the ſmall ſhip on our weather quarter, purpoſing to make vs pay roome with the great ſhip, by force of her ſmall & great ſhot. Then (we being lee boord tacked, and they ſterboord) we made her ſpring her looffe, and by a fortunate ſhot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon ſhee was forced to lay herſelfe vpon the carena, and to ſtand with one of the other ſhips for ayde. Afterward (commending our ſelues to almightie God in prayer, and giuing him thankes for the winde which he had ſent vs for our deliuerance) we looked forth and deſcryed two ſaile more to the offen: theſe we thought to haue bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had ſtoode in to ayde vs: but it prooued farre otherwiſe, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe hauing a loome gale of winde, wee ſhipped our oars, and rowed off the ſhore: and our watch was no ſooner ſet, but wee eſpied one gallie vnder our lee hard by vs, boging vp with vs. Then (becauſe it was euening) one of the great ſhips diſcharged ſixe great ſhot at vs, to the ende the gallies ſhould knowe that wee were the ſhippe they looked for. Then the gallie came vp, and (hayling vs of whence our ſhippe was) a Portugall which wee had with vs, made them anſwere, that we were of the fleete of Tierra firma, and of Siuil: with that they bid vs amaine Engliſh dogs, and came vpon our quarter ſtar-boord: and giuing vs fiue caſt pieces out of her prowe, they ſought to lay vs aboord: but wee ſo galled them with our muſkets, that we put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came vp into our ſterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did ſo violently thruſt in the boordes of our captaines cabbin, that her noſe came into it, minding to giue vs all their prowe, and ſo to ſinke vs. But wee being reſolute, ſo plyed them with our ſmall ſhot, that they could haue no time to diſcharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approch, wee heaued into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell aſterne of vs, and gaue vs a prowe. Then hauing the ſecond time put them off, wee went to prayer, and ſang the firſt part of the 25. Pſalme, prayſing God for our ſafe deliuerance. This being done, we might ſee 2. gallies and a frigat all three of them bending themſelues together to encounter vs: hereupon we (eftſoones commending our eſtate into the hands of God) armed our ſelues, and reſolued (for the honour of God, her Maieſtie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the laſt man. Then ſhaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemie, and weauing them amaine, we bad them come aboord: and an Engliſhman in the gallie made anſwer, that they would come aboord preſently. So managing our ſelues to our furniture, and euery moment expecting the aſſault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe vs companie till the morning, and then to make an end with vs: then giuing vs another ſhot from
A fight from 7. in the morning till 11. at night. one of the gallies, they fell aſterne. Thus our fight continued with the ſhippes and with the gallies, from ſeuen of the clock in the morning till eleuen at night. Howbeit God (which neuer faileth them that put their truſt in him) ſent vs a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at Eaſtnortheaſt, which was for the preuenting of their crueltie, and the ſauing of our liues. Alſo (the Lord be praiſed for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man ſlaine, and but 2. hurt: but our ſayles and ropes were ſo rent with their ſhot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine maſt alſo was ſhot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our conſortes forſooke vs, and left vs in theſe extremities. The next day being the 14. of June in the morning, wee ſawe all our aduerſaries to lee-ward of vs, and they eſpying vs, chaſed vs till 10. of the clocke, and then ſeeing they could not preuaile, gaue vs ouer. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare vp to the Southweſt, in hope to finde our conſorces, but we had no ſight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then ſtoode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to ſee our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of June early in the morning, we deſcryed the Spaniſh fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (hauing no ſight of our conſortes) wee ſtoode for the place according to the direction of our owner ſir George Carey, where we did plie for the ſpace of 23. dayes, and neuer could ſee any ſayle but two frigats, which wee gaue chaſe vnto the 24. of June, and could not fet them vp. Thus wee giue God moſt humble thankes for our ſafe deliuerance from the cruell enemie, which hath beene more mightie by the prouidence of God, then any tongue can expreſſe: to whom bee all prayſe, honour, and glory, both now and euer, Amen.

Appendix.

The barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, & 2. port-bases. She continued fight (from ſeuen in the morning til ſunſet) with 3. armadas of 600. and 700.

tunnes apiece, and one ſmall ſhippe of 100.tunnes, not being aboue musket ſhot from any of them. And before the ſunne was ſet, there came vp to her two of the kings gallies. Beſides, the Armadas ſhot their great ordinance continually at her, not ſo few as 500.times. And the ſides, hull, and maſtes of the Content were ſowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreouer, all their ſheats, tops and ſhrowdes were almoſt cut inſunder with their great & ſmall ſhot. There paſſed from the gallies (each whereof came thriſe vp to her, & diſcharged fiue great pieces at a time, out of euery their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine ſaile 19.great ſhot, through her main top-ſaile foure: through her fore-ſaile ſeuen: through her fore-top-ſaile fiue: and through her maine maſte one. The vpper part of the Content was hurt in fiue places. Onely 13.men continued this fight, the reſt being in holde.

A frigat of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confeſſed, that there were in the gallies aboue 40.Spaniards ſlaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of thoſe 13.perſons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Liſle, Captaine,
M.Major, Lieutenant.
William King, Maſter.
Iohn Barwick, Mrs.mate.
William Clement, gunner.
Thomas Houldſhips, Bote-ſwaine.

Charles Creame.
Thomas Godfrey.
Giles Thornton.
Iohn Pells.
Iohn Bourel.
Ralph Grey.
William Heore.

The names of the reſt be theſe following.

Iohn Pie.
Iohn Smith.
Iohn White.
Iohn Butcher.
Iohn Brooke.

Iohn Twopenie.
Edmund Giggs.
William Bateman.
William White.
Laurence Shellie.

A true report of a voyage vndertaken for the Weſt *Indies* by M. *Chriſtopher Newport* Generall of a fleete of three ſhippes and a pinneſſe, viz. *The golden Dragon* Admirall, whereof was Captaine M.*Newport* himſelfe; *The Prudence* Vice-admirall, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Hugh Merrick*; *The Margaret* vnder Captaine *Robert Fred*; and *The Virgin* our pinneſſe vnder Captaine *Henry Kidgil*: Begun from *London* the 25. of Ianuarie 1591. Written by M. *Iohn Twitt* of *Harewich*, Corporall in the *Dragon*. In which voyage they tooke and burnt vpon the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, within the bay of *Honduras*, and other places, 3. townes, and 19. ſaile of ſhippes and frigats.

The 12.day of Februarie An.1591. we ſet ſaile from Douer roade, and hauing a proſperous winde, the 27.day of the ſame moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coaſt of Barbarie, and on the 28.wee arriued at Santa Cruz roade, where hauing refreſhed our ſelues ſome 3.or 4.dayes, we put off to ſea againe, and about the 5. of March wee paſſed by the Ilands of the Canaries: and hauing a fauourable wind, the 4.of April An.1592.we fell with Dominica in the Weſt Indies: where making ſtay a day or two, wee bartred with the Saluages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes &c.

Paſſing from thence to a watering place on the other ſide of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ſhip of Liſbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300.Negros young and olde. Which ſhip we tooke along with vs to S.Iuan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing ſome 20. or 30. musketiers, ſome 20. horſemen made towards vs; but wee retired to our boates without any ſeruice done.

The 9.we lay houering all day before the towne, the caſtle making a ſhot or two at vs.

The reaſon why wee ſet the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe vs to ſome money for his Negros there, but he falſified his worde with vs, ſo that paſſing along to the Weſtermoſt ende of the ſayde Iland, about ſome 9. or 10.leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and ſunke their ſhip.

The 11. of Aprill we paſſed from thence to Mona ſome 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. ſoules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affourded vs ſuch fruits as their Iland yeelded, viz. ſwines fleſh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee paſſed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, repleniſhed with ſtore of wilde beaſtes and ſwine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Paſſing from hence Weſtward along the South coaſt of Hiſpaniola, wee deſcryed a frigat, which wee chaſed and tooke; wherein were 22. iarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. ſmall frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee ſacked a towne in the ſayde Iland of Hiſpaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found ſugar & poultrie great ſtore, but the people had diſcouered our ſhips ouer night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town ſtandeth a league from the ſeaſide, conſiſting of ſome fortie or fiftie houſes. They brought vs much cattell, and two wayne loades of ſugar, to ranſome the towne. While this action was perfourmed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other ſide of the bay, which came to lade ſugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreſhed our ſelues, wee ſtode along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no ſtay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our ſhippes in a faire road-ſted vnder an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee ſhipped all our ſtrength which poſſibly wee could affourd, leauing onely ſo fewe aboord our ſhippes as could hardly if neede had bene, haue wrought them; we paſſed along by the ſayd Iland to the Northweſt part of Hiſpaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were diſcouered by meanes of a frigat that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigat recouering on lande before vs, gaue an alarme to the towne, who were preſently vp in armes to the number of a hundred & fiftie horſes. Wee marched notwithſtanding along to the towne, hauing a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where vpon a faire greene making a ſtand, we were encountred by the horſemen hauing no ſtrength of foote, but certaine few looſe ſhot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The horſemen charged vs very fiercely, but ſeeing they could not preuaile, brought in a droue before them of two hundred beaſtes or more: and ſo forcibly thinking to haue broken our array, it pleaſed God to cauſe their cattell to returne backe vpon themſelues: and thus their owne deuice ſorted out to their owne detriment. In this ſkirmiſh wee ſlewe their gouernour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

This towne ſtandeth from the waters ſide a league.

In the end, by reaſon of the Spaniards brags which they gaue out, (as by the life of their wiues and children, &c. that not one of vs ſhould goe aboord againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of vs and of our boates was ſtroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and ſo for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and ſo paſſed with our boates to our ſhips againe; where the ſame night our captaine determined to goe vp with our ſhippes, but it fell ſo calme, that all the next day vntill night we could not get vp, and they hauing diſcouered vs, baricadoed vp their way, and conueyed all that they had into the mountaines, leauing their houſes onely bare and naked, notwithſtanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee paſſed their baricados with the loſſe of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leauing not an houſe vnburnt, being a towne of three ſtreetes hauing about 150. houſholds.

The ſame night wee paſſed with our boates to a ſmall village called Aguaua, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reaſon of their cowardly brags wee alſo ſet on fire.

Being thus fruſtrated of our pretended voyage, we ſtoode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we diſcouered in the afternoone a ſaile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we ſtoode, and hauing a Spaniſh flagge out, they miſtruſted vs not, vntill we had almoſt ſet them vp: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within ſhot of the caſtle, and with our boates wee went and ſet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the caſtle playing vpon vs with their ordinance.

They thought ſome fleete had bene come from Spaine, for ſo they expected.

Our captaine hauing vnderſtanding by the Spaniards, that there were three ſhippes more at Puerto de Cauallos, ſtood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee ſo calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or euer wee came there, the ſhippes hauing peraduenture diſcouered vs, ſtole alongſt the ſhoare towards Truxillo, ſo that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forſaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick ſiluer, 16. tuns of old ſacke, ſheepe, young kids, great ſtore of poultrie, ſome ſtore of money, & good linnen, ſilkes, cotton-cloth, and ſuch like; we alſo tooke three belles out of their church, and deſtroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houſes, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ſhips laden from thence: but we ſpared it, becauſe wee found other contentment. And hauing taken our pleaſure of the towne, as aforeſayd, wee returned aboord our ſhips, ſtanding backe againe for Truxillo, we diſcouered one of the ſhippes which was laden at Puerto de Cauallos: but they had eſpied vs before, as it ſhould ſeeme; for they had conueyed away as much as poſſibly they could aſhore, and ſet their ſhip on fire; which ſo ſoone as we had diſcried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded vp with hides the ſhippe which we tooke at our firſt comming; for ſhe had but a thouſand hides in her, and certeine tarres of balſamum: which being accompliſhed, wee ſunke the ſhippe with the reſt of the goods, and ſo ſtood alongſt againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be ſo calme, that we were two and twenty dayes ſailing backe that we had ſailed in ſixe dayes, which was about forty leagues: ſo that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the ſixth of Iune, we found another of the ſhips there, but cloſe vnder the caſtle, her ruther vnhanged, her ſailes taken from the yards, &c. notwithſtanding we entered her, but they had placed ſuch a company of muſketiers vnder a rampire, which they had made with hides and ſuch like, that it was too hote for vs to abide, and ſo betaking vs to our ſhippes againe, and ſtanding out of the bay into the ſea, wee diſcouered great ſtore of ſhot intrenched in thoſe places where they ſuſpected we would haue landed. That night there fell ſuch a ſtorme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempeſtuous weather, that our ſhips were diſperſed either from other. And hauing determined all of vs to meet at a certeine Iſland, where wee purpoſed to water and refreſh our ſelues; by meanes of the ſtorme and other contagious weather which followed, we were fruſtrated of that hope.

We had loſt our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our ſhippes went to ſeeke our prize and our men: and other two of vs came homeward. And ſo we parted, not hearing either of other vntill we came into England.

Our place of meeting ſhould haue beene at the Tortugas neere vnto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neuertheleſſe wee fell with certeine iſlands within the point of Florida, were the captaine of the Dragon M. Chriſtopher Newport ſent his pinneſſe on ſhore with certeine ſhot to ſeeke for freſh water, where wee found none; but found the Sauages very courteous vnto vs, who came breſt high into the ſea, and brought vs a line to hall in our boat on ſhore, and ſhewed vs that vp into the land Northward was freſh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipſwich boatſwaines mate of the Dragon, had giuen him by one of the Sauages for an olde ruſty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bigneſſe and value of an Engliſh angell, which the Sauage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine ſiluer plate, whereof one the ſayd Sauage gaue Iohn Locke, maſters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife; the other piece he gaue to one William Wright a ſailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of ſiluer were in forme like vnto the boſſe of a bridle. Theſe Sauages were farre more ciuill then thoſe of Dominica: for beſides their courteſie, they couered their priuities with a platted mat of greene ſtraw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waſte, with the buſh hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigat of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Hauana, wherein were fifty hogges; to which we gaue chaſe all that day, paſſing the gulfe of Bahama, and about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, after a ſhot or two made at her, ſhee yeelded vnto vs: wee hoiſted out our boat, and went aboord, where we found ſome fiue Spanyards, fiue and fifty hogs, and about ſome two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled vp in ſeynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and ſent the men away with their frigat.

In this voyage we tooke and ſacked foure townes, ſeuenteene frigats, and two ſhips, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the reſt we ſunke, burnt, and one of them we ſent away with their men. And to make vp the full number of twenty, the Spanyards themſelues ſet one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, leſt we ſhould be maſters of it.

We ſhaped our courſe from Florida homeward by the iſle of Flores one of the Açores, where we watered, finding ſir Iohn Burgh there, who tooke vs to be Spanyards, and made vp vnto vs; with whom wee ioyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Chriſtopher Newport with diuers of vs was placed in her as captaine by the Generall ſir Iohn Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arriued in Dartmouth the ſeuenth of September 1592.

The voyage made to the bay of *Mexico* by M. *VVilliam King* Captaine, M. *Moore*, M. *How*, and M. *Boreman* Owners, with the *Salomon* of 200 tunnes, and the *Iane Bonauenture* of 40 tunnes of Sir *Henry Palmer*, from *Ratcliffe* the 26 of Ianuary 1592.

THe Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Iane with ſixe and twenty, all likewiſe mariners. Wee came firſt to the Downes in Kent, and neuer ſtrooke ſaile in paſſing thence, vntill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coaſt of Portugall. From thence we ſhaped our courſe to Lancerota one of the Canarie iſlands, where we landed threeſcore men, and fetched a carauell out of an harborow on the South ſide, and from a ſmall Iſland we tooke a demy-canon of braſſe in deſpight of the inhabitants, which played vpon vs with their ſmall ſhot at our firſt landing: of whom we ſlew three; and gaue them the repulſe. Thence we went to the Grand Canaria, where wee boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driuen by great ſtore of ſhot from the Iſland. From thence wee directed our courſe for the Weſt Indies, and fell with the iſle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a ſhippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and ſeuenty Negros, which we caried with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El paſſaje, we gaue chaſe to a frigat which went in to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we ſent in our ſhallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow we tooke away an Engliſh ſhippe of ſeuenty tunnes, laden with threeſcore tunnes of Canary-wines, in deſpight of the caſtle and two new bulwarks, being within caliuer ſhot. Theſe two prizes we caried away to the Weſtermoſt part of the iſland, and put the Negros, except fifteene, all on land in a Spaniſh carauell which the Iane Bonauenture tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and ſet fire on the other. We paſſed thence by the iſle of Mona, where we watered, and refreſhed our ſelues with potatos and plantans, and ſo came to the iſle of Saona: and from thence arriued at the mouth of the riuer of Santo Domingo. And as we ſailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Weſtward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fifteene tunnes, which had certeine iarres of maloſſes or vnrefined ſugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with vs to Cape Tiburon, which, in reſpect of ſeruice done vnto vs in furniſhing vs with freſh water, we diſmiſſed. Thus contrary to other Engliſhmens courſes we ſhaped ours to the Southward of Iamaica, and our ſhallop with 12 men ranged the coaſt but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three iſlands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Weſtermoſt, where we found no people, but a good riuer of freſh water; and there we turned vp threeſcore great tortoiſes; and of them we tooke our choiſe, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the beſt and fulleſt of egges, whereof two ſerued an hundred men a day. And there with ſtones we might kill turtle doues, wilde geeſe, & other good fowles at our pleaſures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and ſo went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coaſt of Cuba. There we tooke a ſmall barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather ierkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then paſſing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ſhip of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & ſalſaperilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current ſet vs to the Eaſt to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine pieces of Spaniſh broad cloth & other ſmall pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde ſo Weſterly that we could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoiſes, which we ſunke, ſauing ſome of the tortoiſes, & ſetting the men on ſhore. Then at length we recouered vp to Hauana, where we came ſo neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they ouerreached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a ſide, and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reaſon of the increaſing of the winde. Then paſſing alongſt nine leagues to the Weſtward we found out an excellent harbour, hauing three fadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thouſand ſaile, where we found hog-houſes, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caliuer ſhot: but wee made ſuch ſpoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great loſſe. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward ſixe leagues off this harbour of Cauannas, we met with maſter captaine Lane, Generall of maſter Wats his fleet, and captaine

Iamaica.

A good riuer of freſh water in Grand Caiman.

Preſeruing of hogs-fleſh.

The excellent hauen of Cauannas.

Roberts, in the Exchange, a ſhip of Briſtol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and maſter Beniamin Wood with his foure ſhips which were ſet out by my lord Thomas Howard with captain Kenel of Limehouſe captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together eſpied a ſhip of ſome 50 tunne, which we chaſed with their boats; but my ſhallope firſt boorded her, and tooke her: which had in her ſacke, Canary-wine, muſcadell, tent in iarres, and good ſtore of oile in iarres. The ſhip we vnladed and burned: the men ran on ſhore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 ſailes, before Hauana; but paſſing by we gaue chaſe to a ſhip of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northweſt of Hauana, which with boats was boorded, and found to be of Puerto de Cauallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, ſalſa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good ſtore of balſamum: and ſhe had foure cheſts of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ſhip into England. Thus ſpending a ſeuennight in lying off and on for purchaſe, and finding nothing come, I ſet ſaile for England, and arriued at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

A briefe note of a voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ſhips, the *Penelope* of Captaine *Raimond*, Admirall, the *Merchant royall*, whereof was Captaine, *Samuel Foxcroft*, Viceadmirall, the *Edward Bonauenture*, whereof was Captaine, M. *Iames Lancaſter*, Rereadmirall, with a ſmall pinneſſe. Written by *Henry May*, who in his returne homeward by the *Weſt Indies* ſuffred ſhipwracke vpon the iſle of *Bermuda*, wherof here is annexed a large deſcription.

The tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plymmouth with the ſhips afore ſayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Iſlands. Alſo toward the end of this moneth we tooke a Portugall ſhippe being bound for Braſil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which ſerued greatly to our refreſhing. The 29 of Iuly following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Sperança, where we ſtayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reaſon of ſickneſſe in our fleet was ſent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a ſheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope & the Edward Bonauenture weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Sperança. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempeſt or huricano. This euening we ſaw a great ſea breake ouer our admirall the Penelope, and their light ſtrooke out: and after that we neuer ſaw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Weſtermoſt part of the iſle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Alſo the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Moçambique, where the Portugals of the iſle of Moçambique fetch all their freſh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a veſſell like a barge, with one matſaile of Coco nut leaues. The barge is ſowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with woodden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and ſome fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and diſmiſſed the reſt. From this place we went for an iſland called Comoro, vpon the coaſt of Melinde, which ſtandeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which iſland we ſtayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on ſhore, among whom was William Mace our maſter, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on ſhore againſt our ſhip; they hauing firſt betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the iſle of Zanzibar, on the coaſt of Melinde, whereas wee ſtayed and Wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

A Portugall ſhip taken.

They double the cape of Buena Eſperanza.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The iſle of Comoro.

They Winter at the iſle of Zanzibar.

The ſecond of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and ſet ſaile directly for the Eaſt Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes, wee were vntill the moneth of Iune before wee could recouer the coaſt of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreſhing. In this moneth of Iune we came to an anker at the iſles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we ſtayed vntill the firſt day of September, our men being very ſicke, and dying apace. This day we ſet ſaile, and directed our courſe for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at ſea, but wee tooke a ſhippe of the kingdome of Pegu of ſome foure ſcore tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinneſſe of ſome eighteene tunnes at her ſtearne, both laden with pepper.

The iſles of Pulo pinaom.

But their pinneſſe ſtole from vs in a guſt in the morning. Here we might haue taken two ſhippes more of Pegu laden likewiſe with pepper and rice. In this moneth alſo we tooke a great Portugall ſhip of ſix or ſeuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, cheſts of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Beſides this we tooke another Portugall ſhip of ſome hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. Theſe ſhips were bound for Malaca with victuals: for thoſe of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, becauſe that victuals there are very ſcarce.

The iſle of Nicubar.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we ſhaped our courſe for the iſland of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northweſt of the famous iſland of Sumatra; whereas within ſhort time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreſhing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboord vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the ſea, which were loſt not long before in two Portugall ſhips which were bound for China, & were caſt away there. This was the furtheſt place that we were at to the Southeaſt: and heere becauſe our company by this time was much waſted and diminiſhed, we reſolued to turne backe to the iſle of Zeilan. Wherfore we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at Zeilan about the end of the ſame moneth. In this iſland groweth great ſtore of excellent cinamom, and the beſt diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to ſtay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by certeine intelligence which wee had receiued; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and euery day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being ſicke and like for to die) would not ſtay, but would needs go home.

They returne homeward.

The 8 of December 1592 we ſet ſaile homeward, but ſome 15 dayes before we had ſight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to ſhare our bread, by reaſon we had certeine flies in our ſhip, which deuoured moſt part of our bread before we were aware: ſo that when we came to ſharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary vs into England, with a ſmall quantity of rice a day.

They double the cape of Bona Speranza. The iſle of S. Helena.

The laſt of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Sperança.

In April next inſuing we came to anker at the iſland of S. Helena, whereas we found an Engliſh man a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: ſo we ſending our boat on ſhore with ſome ten men, they found this Engliſh man in the chapell; who by reaſon of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himſelfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one ſing in the chapell, ſuppoſing it had bene ſome Portugall, thruſt open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man ſeeing ſo many come in vpon him on the ſudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was firſt in ſuch a feare, not hauing ſeene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Engliſhmen, and ſome of them of his acquaintance, in ſuch ioy, that what betweene exceſſiue ſudden feare & ioy, he became diſtracted of his wits, to our great ſorowes. Here we found of his drying ſome 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two ſutes of goats ſkinnes with the hairy ſide outwards, like vnto the Sauages of Canada. Here we ſtayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the Weſt Indies, and then he died.

The ſtrange force of ſudden feare and ſudden ioy.

The iſle of Trinidad in the Weſt Indies.

In the moneth of Iune 1593 we arriued at the iſland of Trinidad in the Weſt Indies, hoping there to finde refreſhing: but we could not get any, by reaſon that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the iſland and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would haue forſaken the ſhip: whereupon the captaine was inforced to ſweare euery man not to forſake the ſhip vntill we ſhould ſee further occaſion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleaſed God to deliuer vs; from whence we directed our courſe for the iſle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, but fell with the ſmall iſle of Mona, where we abode ſome fifteene dayes, finding in that place ſome ſmall refreſhing. And heere arriued a ſhip of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monſieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreſhed vs with bread and other prouiſion, which we greatly wanted. And ſo we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

The iſle of Mona.

Cape Tiburon.

In Iuly hauing foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to ſet ſaile, directing our courſe for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a guſt from the ſhore, which caried away all our ſailes from the yards: ſo that we had left but one new forecourſe to helpe our ſelues withall: which canuas the aforeſayd Frenchman did helpe vs withall. Alſo hauing doubled the foreſayd cape in the diſtreſſe aforenamed, the forſayd capitan de la Barbotiere with his pinneſſe gaue chaſe vnto vs againe; who being come nere vnto vs, I went aboord him, certifying him what diſtreſſe we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his ſhippe, but what he could ſpare he would helpe vs withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreouer, he ſayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnauy, which

*Or Guanaba.

which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with freſh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboord our ſhip, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen vnto the company; which no ſooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we ſtaied with the aforeſaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but ſmall refreſhing we could get, becauſe the Spaniards ſtood in ſome feare of the Frenchman of war, ſuppoſing our ſhip to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neuertheleſſe hee certified them to the contrary. And in ſtaying ſo long with him, and hauing little refreſhing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine & I went aboord the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I proteſt before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might haue bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conſpired to take away the Frenchmans pinneſſe, and with her to boord the man of warre. While theſe things were in complotting, one of their conſorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conſpiracy. Whereupon the captaine of the French ſhip ſent for our captaine and me to come aboord to dinner: and we ſtayed with him all the afternoone, being inuited vnto ſupper: and being at ſupper, he himſelfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length hee came. At his comming wee aſked of him what newes. Who anſwered vs, that either we muſt depart from him, or els he muſt goe ſeeke ſome other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaſter; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed & ſet ſaile: which we perceiued, and aſked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine & me, that he kept vs for his ſecurity, and that our men had purpoſed as is aforeſayd. When he came thwart our ſhippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being aſterne of them, hauing in her two Moores & two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worſe then before, & did threaten vs very ſore that we ſhould pay his voyage. In the meane time the Edward ſeeing vs paſt, weyed and ſet ſaile to go for England: and they did ſhare among them all the captaines victuals & mine, when they ſaw the Frenchman keepe vs as priſoners. So the next morning we went to ſeeke out the Frenchmans pinneſſe: which being at Laguna we ſhot off a piece, & ſo ſhe came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one Iohn Weſt, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; & he could not deny, but that there was ſuch a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinneſſe to ſeeke their boat: and in the meane time they would go to ſee if they could ouertake our ſhippe. And the next day we ſhould meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: ſo the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spanyards and Negros aboord of vs, requeſted to haue them. Our captaine deſired him to ſend his boat aboord our ſhippe, and he ſhould haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he ſent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboord the ſhip. They anſwered no. So that then Monſieur de la Barbotiere was ſatiſfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our ioyes.

The 12 of Auguſt 1593 our captaine was ſent aboord our ſhip: but before his departure he requeſted the captaine of the French ſhip that he would giue mee paſſage home with him, to certifie the owners what had paſſed in all the voyage, as alſo of the vnrulineſſe of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnauy, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

The laſt of Nouember 1593 Monſieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hiſpaniola. The 17 of December next inſuing it was his fortune to haue his ſhip caſt away vpon the Northweſt part of the iſle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themſelues at noone to be to the Southward of the iſland twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heigth: the which they had. And being, as it ſhould ſeeme, after they had their wine, careleſſe of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were caſt away: and I being but a ſtranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen & others, it pleaſed God to appoint me to be one of them that were ſaued, I hope to his ſeruice & glory. We made account at the firſt that we were caſt away hard by the ſhore, being hie cliffs, but we found our ſelues ſeuen leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made & towed at our boats ſterne, we were ſaued ſome 26 of vs; among whom were no more Engliſh but my ſelfe. Now being among ſo many ſtrangers, & ſeeing not roome for the one halfe, I durſt neither preſſe into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for feare leſt they ſhould haue caſt me ouerboord, or els haue killed me: ſo I ſtayed in the ſhip which was almoſt full of water, vntill the captaine being entred the boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it ſtood vpon life or death: and so I preſently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company

They wracked vpon Bermuda the 17 of December 1593.

The deſcription of the iſle of Bermuda.

The ſauing of the carpenters tooles was their preſeruation.

A bark ſtrāgely built & furniſhed.

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ỹ Eaſt part of Bermuda.

An excellent fiſhing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people nere Cape Briton vſe traffike of rich furres.

to the mercy of the ſea. After this we rowed all the day vntil an houre or two before night yet we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on ſhore, being all the day without drinke, euery man tooke his way to ſee if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found freſh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the freſh water that we found on ſhore. But there are in this Iſland many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be foūd ſtore of freſh water. This Iſland is diuided all into broken Iſlands: and the greateſt part I was vpon, which might be ſome 4 or 5 miles long, and 2 miles & a halfe ouer; being all woods, as Cedar & other timber, but Cedar is the chiefeſt. Now it pleaſed God before our ſhip did ſplit, that we ſaued our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recouered the aforeſaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, & in the end built a ſmall barke of ſome 18 tun, for the moſt part with tronnels and very few nailes. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ſhip before ſhe ſplit, and cut downe her ſhrowds, and ſo we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In ſtead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoiſes; and aſſoone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a ſmall ſticke in our hands, did plaiſter the morter into the ſeames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no ſooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a ſtone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water ſhould faile vs; and therfore made the more haſte away: and at our departure we were conſtrained to make two great cheſts, and calked them, and ſtowed them on ech ſide of our maine maſt, and ſo put in our prouiſion of raine-water, and 13 liue tortoiſes for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Iſland of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are ſo leane that you can not eat them, by reaſon the Iſland is ſo barren: but it yeeldeth great ſtore of fowle, fiſh and tortoiſes. And to the Eaſtward of the Iſland are very good harbours, ſo that a ſhippe of 200 tun may ride there landlocked, without any danger, with water enough. Alſo in this Iſland is as good fiſhing for pearles as is any in the Weſt Indies, but that the place is ſubiect to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleaſed God to ſet vs cleere of the Iſland, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the ſame almoſt the ſpace of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a freſh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballaſt. And here the people of the countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred ſide vnto their ſkins, & brought with them furres of ſundry ſorts to ſell, beſides great ſtore of wild ducks: ſo ſome of our company hauing ſaued ſome ſmall beads, bought ſome of their ducks. Here we ſtayed not aboue foure houres, and ſo departed. This ſhould ſeeme to be a very good countrey. And we ſaw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleaſed God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ſhip, wherein I left capitan de la Barbotier my deere friend, and all his company, and ſtayed my ſelfe aboord the Engliſh barke: and hauing paſſage in the ſame, in the moneth of Auguſt I arriued at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. *Robert Duddeley*, now knight, to the Iſle of *Trinidad*, and the coaſt of *Paria:* with his returne home by the Iſles of *Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Iuan de puerto rico, Mona, Zacheo*, the ſhoalds called *Abreojos*, and the iſle of *Bermuda*. In which voyage he and his company tooke and ſunke nine Spaniſh ſhips, wherof one was an *armada* of 600 tunnes. Written at the requeſt of M. *Richard Hakluyt*.

Hauing euer ſince I could conceiue of any thing bene delighted with the diſcoueries of nauigation, I foſtered in my ſelfe that diſpoſition till I was of more yeres and better ability to vndertake ſuch a matter. To this purpoſe I called to me the aduiſe of ſufficient ſeamen, and principally vndertooke a voyage for the South ſeas; but by reaſon that many before had miſcaried in the ſame enterpriſe, I could not be ſuffered to hazard more of her Maieſties ſubiects vpon ſo vncerteine a ground as my deſire: which made me by conſtraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another courſe for the Weſt Indies, without hope there to doe any thing worth note: and ſo common is it indeed to many, as it is not worth the regiſtring. Neuertheleſſe, I haue yeelded to your former importunity, and ſent you this my iournall to ſupply a vacant roome amongſt your more important diſcourſes.

Nowe being prouided for this laſt enterprize, rather to ſee ſome practiſe and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the ſixth of Nouember 1594. But the winde falling ſcant, it was the 17. day of the ſame moneth before I could put into the Sea. Vpon this day my ſelfe in the Beare a ſhippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two ſmall pinneſſes called the Frisking and the Earewig paſſed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My buſines at this port-towne diſpatched, I ſet ſaile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great miſfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it miſfortune; for by this meanes I vtterly (for all the voyage) loſt my vice-admirall; which was the cauſe likewiſe of looſing mine owne pinneſſe, which three were the principall ſtay of my voyage. For at this laſt leauing of England in a ſtorme I loſt mine owne pinneſſe, as is beforeſaid. Notwithſtanding all theſe croſſes all alone I went wandering on my voyage, ſailing along the coaſt of Spaine within view of Cape Finiſter, and Cape S. Vincent, the North & South capes of Spaine. In which ſpace hauing many chaſes, I could meet with none but my coūtreymen or countreys friends. Leauing theſe Spaniſh ſhores I directed my courſe the 14. of December towards the iſles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reaſons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get ſome veſſel to remoue my peſtered men into, who being 140. almoſt in a ſhip of 200. tunnes, there grew many ſicke. The firſt hope was fruſtrated, becauſe my vice-admiral was returned into England with two prizes. The ſecond expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Carauels vnder the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreſhed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. ſailes. In the one Carauel called The Intent, I made Beniamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a deſolate traueller with the company of my ſmall and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpoſe for the Weſt Indies, and firſt for Cape Blanco in Africa vpon the deſerts of Libya. My laſt hope was to meete my loſt ſhip, and withall to renue my victuals vpon the Canthers, which are Portugal fiſhermen: but the Canthers had bene ſo frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding vnder this White Cape two daies, and walking on ſhore to view the countrey, I found it a waſte, deſolate, barren, and ſandie place, the ſand running in drifts like ſnow and being very ſtony; for ſo is all the countrey ſand vpon ſtone (like Arabia deſerta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with ſome wilde beaſts and people which be tawny Moores, ſo wilde, as they would but call to my Carauels from the ſhore, who road very neere it. But not deſirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reaſon of the moſt infectious ſerenas or dewes that fall all along theſe coaſts of Africa, I cauſed my Maſter Abraham Kendall to ſhape his courſe directly for the iſle of Trinidad in the Weſt Indies; which after 22. dayes we deſcried, and the firſt of February came to an anker vnder a point thereof called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eaſtwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which gliſter like golde (but all is not gold that gliſtereth) for ſo we found the ſame nothing worth, though the Indians did aſſure vs it was Caluori, which ſignifieth gold with them. Theſe Indians are a fine ſhaped and a gentle people, al naked & painted red, their cōmanders wearing crownes of feathers. Theſe people did often reſort vnto my ſhip, & brought vs hennes, hogs, plantans, potatos, pinos, tabacco, & many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with vs for hatchets, kniues, hookes, belles, and glaſſebuttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I deſired rather to ride, becauſe it was a cōuenient place to water, balaſt, ground, & graue my Carauels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on ſhore, after I had cauſed to be made for them a little ſkonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being iealous of the Spaniards, of whoſe eſtate I could gather no certaintie, till frō Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten ſome 300. ſouldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, hauing then but 50. men, becauſe my Carauels before their comming were ſent away. The Simerones of the yland traded with me ſtil in like ſort. And the Spaniards now prouided for me, began to ſend meſſengers to me in kindneſſe. Notwithſtanding though I had no reaſon to aſſault them, becauſe they were both poore & ſtrong, yet for my experience and pleaſure I marched 4. long marches vpon the yland, & the laſt from one ſide of the yland to the other, which was ſome 50. miles: going and comming through a moſt monſtrous thicke wood (for ſo is moſt part of the yland) and lodging my ſelfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, ſtrange beaſts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions & parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to ſtay here ſome time about diſcouering the maine right againſt the ſame (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being ſhewed the diſcouery thereof by Captaine Popham, who receiued the diſcouery of the ſaide empire frō one captaine Harper, which being a priſoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries

in

This M. Beniamin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. ſent forth with two ſhips, and certaine pinneſſes vpon a voyage for the South ſeas and for China, at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley.

A deſcription of Cape Blanco in Africa.

The yſle of Trinidad deſcried.

Punta de Curiapan.

Paracoa, or Parico.

They inſkonce themſelues.

A treaſonable practize of the Spaniards.

They march from one ſide of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

His two Carauels ſent to range the Indies.

Seawano called perhaps in ſir Walter Raleghs diſcouery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Ralegh ſpeaketh of Saima, and Wikeri in his diſcouery.

This Indians name was Balthaſar, who afterward gaue our men the ſlip at their greateſt need.

A riuer called Cabota.

The riuer of Amana and the kingdome of Tiuitiuas are both mentioned by ſir Walter Ralegh.

A people ſprinkled with poulder of gold.

in the ſelfe ſame maner almoſt, as ſir Walter Ralegh very diſcreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceiue, the Captaine hath yet to ſhew in Spaniſh. This diſcouery of Guiana I greatly deſired: yet leaſt I ſhould aduenture all occaſions vpon it onely, I ſent my two Carauels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies, not appointing any other place to meet but England, furniſhing them with all the prouiſion that I could ſpare, and diuiding my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ſhips. The Carauels being gone, I began to enquire priuately of the Sauages concerning the maine ouer againſt vs, and learned that the names of the kingdomes ioyning to the Sea-coaſt were in order theſe. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdome of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdome of Yguirie, and right againſt the Northermoſt part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the reſt a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene ſtone called Tacarao, which is good for the ſtone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon. Of Waliame I will ſpeake laſt, becauſe therein I made moſt diſcouery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Iſlanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I coule learne) or very baſe gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by diuers of theſe Indians, that there was ſome Perota, which with them is ſiluer, and great ſtore of moſt excellent Cane-tabacco. But laſtly to come to Waliame, it is the firſt kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I vnderſtood to be therein, and the aſſurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the Riuer (as he called it) of Owrinoicke was much to be eſteemed. This Indian ſpake Spaniſh, and whatſoeuer he knew, he reueiled it to my ſelfe onely by a priuate interpreter, not in words alone, but offered vpon paine of life to be guide himſelfe to any place that he ſpake of. This diſcouery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined againſt my going, becauſe they ſomething feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my loſt pinneſſe, and was conſtrained to ſend 14. men in my ſhip-boat for this diſcouery, wich moſt of the diſcreeteſt men in my ſhip, & gaue them their directions to follow, written vnder mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which riuer goeth vnder the name of the great Riuer Orenoque, the foreland whereof was called Capulio bearing South & by Weſt, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforeſaid, being 4. leags diſtant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of freſh Riuers running one into another, abounding with fiſh, and a land al woody, ſeeming to haue great ſtore of ſtrange beaſts and foules, & very populous. They entred into a ſmall riuer called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next riuer they paſſed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tiuitiuas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpoſe ſent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this anſwere, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refuſed them, but if they would come thither, hee himſelfe would make them anſwere. Vpon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with ſome 100. men in Canoas, and tolde them that by force they ſhould haue nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, kniues, and Iewes-harps, he bid them aſſure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, & would trade with me: for token whereof he ſent me 3. or 4. Croiſſants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of ſiluer. Alſo he told them of another rich nation, that ſprinkled their bodies with the poulder of golde, and ſeemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with many other things. My men being ſatiſfied, and thinking their company too fewe to ſtay among theſe Sauages, and their victuall ſpent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which diſtreſſe cauſed them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a Riuer called Braha by the high land of Paria, and ſo to my ſhip. They accompted Orocoa 150. miles diſtant, ſo they rowed in my boate aboue 250. miles. Their abſence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worſe then before; for vnleſſe I would haue gone my ſelfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commiſſion to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull caſe almoſt dead for famine; and indeed ſuch was their miſery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for ſo long they were out of the freſh Riuers, before they recouered the ſhippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

Captaine Pophams arriual.

In this time of my boates abſence there came to me a pinneſſe of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gaue vs great comfort. And if I had not loſt my pinneſſes, wherein I might haue caried victuals and ſome men, we had diſcouered further the ſecrets of thoſe places. Alſo this Captaine and I ſtayed ſome ſixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Ralegh (who, as wee ſurmized, had ſome purpoſe for this diſcouery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might haue done ſome good: but it ſeemed he came not in ſixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not conuenient to ſtay any longer: therefore new watering our ſelues at Paracoa, we ſet ſaile to ſee further of the Indies, leauing the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a ſmall prize of ſackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I ſailed by, called Granata. This prize refreſhed vs well: yet meaning to ſel her at the yle of Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, and ſhaping our courſe thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Infierno, I coaſted all the South ſide of the ſaid yle of S. Iohn, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Iuan de puerto rico buy my prize) I vnladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I diſemboqued (where fewe Engliſhmen had done before, by reaſon of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Iuan de puerto rico and Hiſpaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the ſhouldes of Abreojos, I cauſed the Maſter, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spaniſh fleete ment now to put out of Hauana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete diſperſed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to ſcatter many fleetes; which companion left mee not in greateſt extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cueruo: whither I made the more haſte, hoping to meete ſome great Fleete of her Maieſtie my ſouereigne, as I had intelligence, and to giue them aduiſe of this rich Spaniſh fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almoſt ſpent, I directed my courſe for England.

They depart from the yle of Trinidad.

A prize taken North of the yle of Granata.

The yles of Santa Cruz and Infierno.

Cape Roxo.

They diſemboque by the yle of Zacheo.

The ſholds called Abreojos, that is, Open thine eyes, or looke out.

Bermuda.

Flores and Cueruo.

Returning alone, and worſe manned by halfe then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of ſome 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all poſſibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of ſixe hundreth tunnes. And hauing ſpent all my powder I was conſtrained to leaue her, yet in ſuch diſtreſſe without ſailes and maſtes, and hull ſo often ſhot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare ſay, it was impoſſible for her to eſcape ſinking. Thus leauing her by neceſſitie in this miſerable eſtate, I made for England, where I arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the latter ende of May 1595, ſcaping moſt dangerouſly in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

A fight of two dayes with a Spaniſh Armada of 600. tunnes.

They arriue at S. Iues in Cornwall in May 1595.

Thus by the prouidence of God landing ſafely, I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a ſhort time learned more certaintie of the ſinking of that great ſhippe, being alſo reputed rich by diuers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then ſuppoſed not, & were doubtfull whether ſhe had bin of Biſcay or S. Iohn de Luz in France laden with fiſh onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, ſunke and burnt nine Spaniſh ſhips; which was loſſe to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of *Trinidad* which I obſerued at my being there.

GVttemock.	A man.	Dacutti	The feete.
Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra.	The heare of ones head.	Cattie	The moone.
Deſſie	The forehead.	Tauraroth	A rope.
Daſereth, or Dacoſi	An eye.	Arkeano	A paire of cizers.
Dalacoack	The mouth.	Weeuah	The heauen.
Areheh	The teeth.	Harowa	A ſtone good for the head ache.
Daria	The gummes.	Mointiman	Yron or ſteele.
Deſire	The lips.	Howa	Monkeis in generall.
Dill	The tongue.	Carotta	A thing like pappe.
Dudica	The eares.	Sakel	It is well, or I am well.
Dacan	A hand.	Techir	A bracelet.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.	Bodad	A boxe or cheſt.
Dadena	The wriſt.	Mentinie	A tree.
Dacurle	A knee.	Addehegaeno	A glaſſe.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.	* Calcouri	Gold.
Dabodda	The toes.	Perota	Siluer.

*It is before in this voyage called Caluori.

Tacorao

Tacorao	a green ſtone.
Arrara	copper.
Caulpiri	A white ſtone.
Caſparo	A ſword.
Tibetebe	cockles.
Marrahabo	a bow.
Semaro	an arrow.
Huculle	A bow-ſtring.
Halete	A Potato roote.
Caerwoda	A ſweete root.
Mauriſſe	Wheat.
Queca	A baſket.
Yeddola	A knife.
Sambolers	A hat.
Beyou	A pipe.
Callit	Bread.
*Oronuic	Water.
Arguecona	A paire of cizzers.
Heldaro	A ſpoone.
Hemachugh	A bread which they eate.
Hicket	Fire.
Walrowa	A parrot.
Vreit	Tabacco.
Barudda	A combe.
Addoth	A ſticke.
Barrennaire	A button, or beads.
Curaballa & Sibath,	for 2 ſundry ſtones: but Sibath in general ſignifieth a ſtone.
Tolletillero	bels.
Vllaſſo	a Tuny-fiſh.
Bohery	A flying fiſh.
Bara	Water.
Haddalle	The Sunne.
Babage-Canoaſeen	The maner of the Indians hailing of a ſhip, calling it after the name of their Canoas.
Non quo, Or Non quapa	I know not, Or I cannot tell.

*The name of the riuer Orenoque may ſeeme to be deriued from this word.

The victorious voyage of Captaine *Amias Preſton* now knight, and Captaine *George Sommers* to the Weſt *India*, begun in March 1595.

Wherein the yle of *Puerto Santo*, the yle of *Coche* neere *Margarita*, the fort and towne of *Coro*, the ſtately city of *S. Iago de Leon* were taken ſacked and burned, and the towne of *Cumana* ranſomed, & *Iamaica* entred. Written by *Robert Dauie* one of the company.

CAptaine Amias Preſton, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen & diſcreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ſhips, the Aſcenſion and the Gift, and a ſmall pinneſſe at Plimmouth, for the ſpace of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Iones their conſort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of thoſe which he put in truſt, could not make his ſhip in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. ſet forward on their voyage for the Weſt Indies. We with captaine Iones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowſe in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the ſaid moneth. The laſt of March, captaine Preſton by giuing chaſe to a ſaile, was ſeparated from captaine Sommers, and his pinneſſe, ſo that they vtterly loſt ſight ech of other: whereupon captain Preſton in his ſhip alone, reſolued to ſurpriſe the yle of Puerto ſanto, and ſhortly after came before the ſame. This yland ſtandeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old ſouldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde ſeruices, by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, & oile; and hath good ſtore of ſheep, aſſes, goats & kine: they haue alſo plenty of foules, fiſhes & fruits. Captaine Preſton cõming before this yland with one ſhip only ſought with 2. long boats to land his men & to force the ſame: but the people were on ſhore in warlike array, with baricados & trenches made, ready to withſtand them. Wherupon, conſidering the great danger, and diſaduantage of the place, he cauſed his people to returne abord againe. And the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater ſecurity, with 60 men onely, who lay cloſely in a chapel, to defend themſelues from the raine til break of the day, and ſo marched forward vpon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados vpon the ſhore. By this time the enemie was 500 ſtrong. But, being ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed, after ſome reſiſtance of our muſkets, when they ſaw our pikes approch, and had taſted ſomewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets & ſhrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no loſſe at all, our men diſlodged them of that place alſo. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new ſtand at a certaine houſe by the way, from whence they were repulſed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were ſlaine, and an enſigne, which one captaine Haruey an Engliſh man had loſt not long before, was recouered: and the chiefe towne it ſelfe was by our men wholly woon and poſſeſſed. But before the entrance of our men they had conueighed their wiues, their children, and the reſt of their goods into an exceeding high hil which ſtandeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding loſſe. Although they ſent diuers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they vſed towards captaine Haruey and his people, captaine Preſton would ſhew them no fauour, but vtterly burnt their towne to aſhes, and ſent his men to waſt the reſt of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour & iuſt reuenge of his country men, before his owne priuate gaine, & commodity. And ſo with ſmall pillage and great honour he retired in ſafetie and all his ſmall company with him, from the conquered yland vnto his ſhip. But we in our ſhip met not with him, vntil the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling

The yle of Puerto Santo taken and the chiefe towne in it burnt.

ling purſuing our voiage, had ſight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the ſame, we watered on the Southeaſtſide of the grand Canaria. There we met with capt. Sommers, & his pinneſſe, & 3 ſhips of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to ſeeke captaine Preſton: and ſtanding ouer towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ſhip. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recouered Tenerif, & the ſame day towards night we ankered vnder the ſouthſide of the ſame. There I went a land in our boat, & found 3 or 4 fiſherboats, and brought one of them off. The reſt bulged themſelues. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we ſet ſaile to find captaine Amias Preſton: and ſtanding towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had ſight of him. Then we thought to haue landed in Gomera: but the wind blew ſo much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with ioy the 13 of April, & ſet our courſe for the Weſt Indies. And the 8 of May next enſuing, we arriued at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened vnto vs ſauing this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral loſt her long boat in towing. We ſtaied at Dominica til the 14 of May, to refreſh our ſicke men. Here the Indians came vnto vs in canoas made of an whole tree, in ſome wherof were 3 men, in ſome 4 or 6, & in others 12 or 14, & brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with vs, for hatchets, kniues, & ſmal beadſtones. Here in refreſhing of our men, we found an hot bath hard ioyning to a cold riuer ſide: wherein our ſick men bathed themſelues, and were ſoone recouered of their ſickneſſes. This is a goodly yland, and ſomething high land, but al ouergrowen with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, & the 16 ſailing Southweſtward, we had ſight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arriued at the Teſtigos & ankered there, and conſorted with the 3 ſhips of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men & tooke view and muſter of all, & the ſame night ſet ſaile away. The 19 we had ſight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fiſh for pearle: we ſtood in very neere the rode, but ſaw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but ſtood from it againe. The ſame day toward night, we had ſight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita & the maine, called Coche. We came neer it in the night with our ſhips within ſome 3 leagues, & there ankered vnder the maine ſide, and about midnight we manned our pinneſſes & boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherin are few or none inhabitants, but they cōmonly come frō Margarita in boats on the munday, and remaine there fiſhing for pearles vntill the ſaturday, and then returne & cary al that they haue taken to Margarita. Here we tooke ſome few Spaniards and Negros their ſlaues with them, and had ſome ſmal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fiſhing with our ſeine, and tooke good ſtore of mullets and other fiſh, and amongſt the reſt drew a ſhore in the ſeine a fiſh called by the Spaniards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, & wil deuour men. Some of theſe Lagartos are in length 16 foot, ſome 20 foot, and ſome 30 foot: they haue muſke in them, and liue as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to haue gotten in that night to haue landed: but the current ſtriketh ſo ſtrong out of the bay that we could not recouer the towne till daylight. In the morning we eſpied 2 ſailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied too and againe in the ſound all the forenoone, but could not get vp ſo farre as the towne. Theſe 2 ſailes came roome to vs, after they ſaw that we were at an anker, & came ſomewhat neere vs, and ſent their ſkyphs abord our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, & had ſecretly aduertiſed the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our firſt arriuall. Here they of Cumana perceiuing that we would land, came to parle with vs, and tolde vs, if we would land, we might eaſily take the towne, for they ment not to withſtand vs, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but, if we would not land to burne and ſpoile the towne, they would giue vs ſome reaſonable ranſome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, receiued their ranſome, and departed without landing. But at our firſt arriual in this bay, our generals long boat was ſent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Carauels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: ſauing in one were ſome ſides of bacon, and ſome maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we ſtaied til the 23 of May, & in the euening we ſet ſaile, and departed frō thence. And the 26 of the ſame we thought to haue landed at a fort that ſtandeth by the ſea-coaſt in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marueilous high land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here ouer night, by reaſon of the roughnes of the ſea, which goeth in that place, & there is but one litle creeke againſt the fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiuing no fit place to land, by reaſon of the ſea, ſtood away ſome league to the Weſt-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in ſafety, none reſiſting vs. Then we preſently ſet our ſelues in aray, and marched toward the fort, & tooke it with-

They water vpon the grand Canaria.

Dominica.

An excellent holeſome hot bath found in Dominica.

The yles called Teſtigos.

Certaine Spaniards and Negros taken in the yle of Coche where they fiſh for pearle.

Two flieboats of Middleburgh forewarne the Spaniards of our comming.

The towne of Cumana ranſomed.

Three Carauels taken.

A fort nere the Caracos taken.

out

Al our actions betrayed by dangerous ſpies out of England.

out any reſiſtance. Here we remained al the reſt of this day vntil the 28, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone. We found nothing in this fort but a litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reaſon of ſome diſorder amongſt the company ouercharging themſelues with the wine, our general for the moſt part cauſed to be ſpilt. While we remained here, ſome of our company ranging the woods, found the gouernor of the fort where he lay aſleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the ſtate of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared vnto vs that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our comming: and that if we did go the cōmon beaten way, it was neuer poſſible for vs to paſſe, for that they had made in the midſt of the way betweene this fort and the ſaid city, an exceeding ſtrong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the paſſage being not aboue 25 or 30 foot in bredth, & on each ſide marueilous ſteep-vpright, and the woods ſo thicke that no man could paſſe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Vpon which ſpeeches our general demanded of him if there were not any other way: who anſwered, there is another way marueilous bad and very ill to trauel which the Indians do cōmonly vſe: but he thought that the Spaniards had ſtopt the ſame, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and ſickly man not able to trauel, ſo our generall ſent him abord his ſhip, & there kept him. In the taking of our 3 ſmall Carauels at Cumaná, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had trauelled theſe wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told vs he would cary vs thither by any of both theſe wayes, if afterward we would ſet him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters ſide, the Spaniards came downe vnto vs by the great & beaten way on horſebacke, who being diſcouered, our generall ſent out to meete them captaine Roberts with ſome 40 or 50 muſketeirs, who came to ſkirmiſh with them, but they would not ſtay. The ſame day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, & tooke the Indians way called The vnknowen way. In our march we came to diuers Indians houſes, which we neuer hurt, but paſſed by and left them vntouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched vntil it was night ouer ſuch high mountaines, as we neuer ſaw the like, and ſuch a way as one man could ſcarſe paſſe alone. Our general being in the forward, at length came whereas a riuer deſcended downe ouer the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spaniſh gouernours confeſſion to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in diuers places with trees, & other things in ſuch ſort, that we were driuen to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with vs for that purpoſe. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we ſet forward to recouer the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were ſo extreeme high and ſo ſteep-vpright, that many of our ſouldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came vnto them, and firſt entreated them to goe, they anſwered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulſion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not, nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, & to leaue them there lying on the ground. To be ſhort, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a ſtand til all the company was come vp, and would haue ſtayed longer to haue refreſhed our men: but the fogge and raine fell ſo faſt, that wee durſt not ſtay. So wee made haſt to deſcend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: becauſe that in theſe high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themſelues, it doeth almoſt continually raine. Aſſoone as we were deſcended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceaſed, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we ſaw the towne not farre diſtant from vs. Here we all cleared our muſkets: and when our colours came in ſight, we diſcharged a ſecond volee of ſhot to the great diſcouragement of the enemie. Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemie was in readineſſe a little without the towne to encounter vs on horſebacke. Being nowe fully deſcended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champien fielde, without either hedge, buſh or ditch, ſauing certaine trenches which the water had made, as it deſcendeth from the mountaines. Here we ſet our ſelues in a readineſſe, ſuppoſing the enemie would haue encountered vs: but hauing pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them ſome looſeſhoot, and marched in all haſt toward the enemie before the maine battell, wherein was our generall with capt. Sommers and came to ſkirmiſh with them: but it was ſoone ended: for the enemie fled. One Spaniard was ſlaine in this ſkirmiſh, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We ſoone marched into the towne, and had it without any more reſiſtance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conueyed all into the mountaines, except ſuch goods as they could not eaſily cary, as wine, and iron, and ſuch things. By three of the

The Citie of S. Iago de Leon taken the 29. of May.

clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained vntil the 3 of June without anie great diſturbance, ſauing ſometime by night they would come on horſe-backe hard vnto our Corps du guard, and finding vs vigilant, and readie for them, would depart againe.

The firſt of June, there came a Spaniard neere vnto vs alone: the Corps du guard perceiuing him, called our General, who ſoone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made ſignes that he ſhould lay aſide his armes: which he refuſed to doe, but promiſed as he was a ſouldier, if he would come, hee ſhould haue free paſſage. Vpon which promiſe hee came to him on horſe-backe, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he anſwered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ranſome of it ſhould be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So hauing had ſome other conference together, hee ſhewed him that hee had bene a ſouldier in Flanders a long time, and now was ſent thither by his kings commandement. Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reaſon was they had not walled the citie, being ſo faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee ſtronger walled then anie citie in the world, meaning, by thoſe huge & high mountains which the enemie muſt paſſe ouer before he can approch it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire ſpeeches, he tooke his leaue for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go ſpeake with the gouernour: (but it might be himſelfe, for any thing we know) howbeit becauſe our General had granted him free comming and going, he ſuffred him to depart: who before his departure, requeſted to haue a token of our General, that he might ſhew to the Gouernour how he had ſpoken with vs, or elſe he doubted, that he would not beleeue him. Wherupon our General gaue him a piece of 12 pence: ſo he departed and promiſed the next day by ten of the clocke to returne vnto vs with an anſwere: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of June, at his houre appointed, he returned wͭ his Indian running by his horſes ſide. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the gouernours houſe that was. The dinner ended, with the beſt entertainement which could be giuen him, they communed again about the ranſome of the citie. Our General propoſed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard firſt proffered him 2000, then 3000, laſt of all 4000, and more he would not giue. Our General counting it a ſmall ſumme of money among ſo many, did vtterly refuſe it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him againe before the next day noone, with the ranſome which he demanded, he would ſet all on fire. That whole day paſt, and the night alſo without any thing of momẽt, except ſome ſhew of aſſault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe againe. The 3 day being come, in the morning ſome of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, & ſome two leagues and more vnto certaine villages thereabout, & ſet them on fire: but the enemy neuer came to reſiſt them, ſo they returned backe againe ſafe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian priſoners with them, among whom there was one which ſpake broken Spaniſh, which being examined, confeſſed vnto vs of his own accord, how the General had ſent to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we vnderſtood this, we grew into ſome diſtruſt of the Spaniards trechery, and thought vpon the meſſenger, how he had vſed long delayes with vs: wherupon we were commanded preſently, euery man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which foorthwith was done. And after we had ſeene it all on fire, & burnt to aſhes, we tooke our leaues and ſo departed, & marched away that day being the 3 of June, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters ſide, we came vnto that ſtrong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spaniſh captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters ſide: for this baricado was of ſuch force, that 100 men in it wel furniſhed, would haue kept backe from paſſing that way 100000: firſt by reaſon of the huge and high mountaines, next the ſteepenes of them, on both ſides, laſt of all in regard of the fine contriuing of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I ceaſe to recite. The fourth day of June in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee ouerthrew on the one ſide of the ſteepe hill two baſes of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and ſo ſet forward toward our ſhips, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters ſide, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, vntill the fift day at night: in which time we laded ſome ſmall quantity of hides, and Salſa-perilla, which we found there at our firſt landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before wee departed, wee ſet fire in the fort, and all the Indians houſes that were about it, and burnt them. Then we ſet ſayle,

Certain villages about Santiago fired.

The citie of S. Iago burned.

A fort and certain Indians houſes by the waters ſide burnt.

and ſtanding along the coaſt, our Spaniſh guide ſignified vnto vs, that there were foure ſayles of ſhips about fiue leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the *6* day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall ſent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, vnto thoſe places, where they found 3 of the ſhips: but the Spaniards had conueyed their ſailes aſhore into the woods, ſo that they could not bring them off, but ſet fire in them and burnt them. From hence we ſtood along the ſhore, ſailing vntill the ninth day of Iune, on which day toward the euening we imbarked our ſelues in our pinneſſes and ſmall carauels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainely: wherefore we ankored that night ſome two leagues to the Eaſtward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to ſee if we could diſcouer the towne, but we could not, wee went aboue a league vp into the countrey, but could not ſee any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with diuers others which came aſhore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could ſee nothing, & ſo returned. At the water ſide captaine Prowſe died. There we remained all that day on land, by reaſon the wind blew ſo much that wee could not get aboord vntill the euening. After our comming aboord a boat which we ſent into the bay, returned and brought vs newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne ſhould be there. So preſently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and ſome of the ſmall carauels. The tenth day in the morning, the reſt of our ſhipping came into the bay, and our men landed the ſame day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, & ſo marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very ſtrongly. Notwithſtanding the courage of our men was ſuch, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leaue their forces, and flie. Hauing wonne this baricado they there remained vntill the next day being the 11 of Iune, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemie often times came to ſkirmiſh with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great loſſe of men, God be thanked. Hauing gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had vſed them before, which cauſed them to conuey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall cauſed it to be ſet on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ſhips: and the greateſt cauſe was by reaſon of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a moſt furious tempeſt, being in the pinneſſe, with ſome 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and loſt all his ankers, and ſo was faine to put to ſea to ſaue himſelfe, otherwiſe they had bene in danger of periſhing. Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themſelues, and departed away with all ſpeede to ſeeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two baſes, which they had made for to ſtay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was ſo deepe and ſhould withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had ſtood in two daies & a night. So we ſayled ouer toward the Iſle of Hiſpaniola the ſixteenth of Iune: and the twentieth day we ſaw it. The 21 we ankored vnder Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and ſtayed vntill the 25 of the ſame. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great ſicknes fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the ſame. This ſickneſſe was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common diſeaſe in that countrey. We remayned about this Iſland vntill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the ſecond of Iuly arriued at the Iſland of Iamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ſhips of Hampton had forſaken vs, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Iones, was ſent to diſcouer ſome other ſecret matter, in which diſcouery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a ſmall pinneſſe. We ſtayed at this Iſle of Iamaica vntil the ſixt of Iuly, in which meane time we landed to ſee if we could kill any beeues, but we could not, they were ſo wild: here is great ſtore of them, and great plenty of freſh-fiſh. We departed hence the *6* of Iuly, and paſſed by the Iſlands, called Caimanes, and the Iſle de Pinos, and the 12 of the ſaid moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the ſame night, wee ſet ſaile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the weſtermoſt part of the Iſle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were vnder this cape, and the ſame day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his paineful, and happie diſcouery of Guiana, and his ſurpriſe of the Iſle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ſhips company till the twentieth day at night, what time we loſt them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, ſaue that we gaue chaſe to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

Three Spaniſh ſhips burnt.

A baricado woon.

The towne of Coros taken & burnt.

The bay of Laguna.

Hiſpaniola.

Iamaica.

The death of captaine Iones.

Cape de Corrientes.

Afterward we plyed to recouer Hauana, vntill the fiue and twentieth of Iuly: then we ſet our courſe for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in ſight of them. The 28 wee entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we ſet our courſe homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fiſh there the 20 day of Auguſt. The ſame night we ſet ſayle to come home, by reaſon the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arriued in ſafety (God be thanked) in Milford hauen in Wales, hauing performed ſo long a voyage in the ſpace of ſixe moneths, or ſomewhat leſſe.

The Banke of Newfoundland.

The voyage truely diſcourſed, made by ſir *Francis Drake*, and ſir *Iohn Hawkins*, chiefly pretended for ſome ſpeciall ſeruice on the Iſlands and maine of the *Weſt Indies*, with ſixe of the Queenes ſhips, and 21 other ſhippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foreſayd knights died by ſickneſſe.

WEe brake ground out of the ſound of Plimmouth on Thurſday the 28 of Auguſt, and that night ankored againe in Cauſon bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we ſet ſayle and ſtoode Southweſt: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein ſir Thomas Baskeruil went, ſtrake vpon the Edy ſtone, and ſhot off a piece, but after cleared herſelfe wel enough.

On Munday at ſixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northweſt and by North, and then we ſtoode away Southweſt and by South for the coaſt of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two ſmall Flemiſh fliboats bound for Barbary; which we caried a while with vs and afterward diſmiſſed them without doing them any harme: only wee learned newes of them, and ſtayed them from diſcrying our fleete to the enemie.

The 26 we ſaw Forteuentura, being one of the Iſlands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had ouer-ſhot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeaſt, and then ſtood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eaſtward of the towne ſome league. At one of the clocke wee offred to land one thouſand and foure hundreth men in the ſandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the ſandie bay and planted Ordinance: ſo that by reaſon thereof, and the great breach of the ſea that went then on ſhore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horſemen and footmen ſome 900. which played vpon vs out of their trenches, moſt of them being ſhot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket ſhot of the ſhore, & rode there at ankor ſome three houres, the Salomon, the Bonauenture, the Elizabeth Conſtance, the Phenix, the Iuell, the Little Iohn, the Delight, the Pegaſus, the Exchange, the Francis, the carauell, and the two catches: But when the Generall ſir Francis Drake gaue ouer the landing being in his barge, the ſhips weighed being in ſome danger, and ſtoode off againe to the great ſhips. Then we went to the Weſt end of the Iſland and there watered: where captaine Grimſton going vp the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was ſet vpon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and ſtaues killed the captaine and three or foure of his company: the reſt were ſore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken priſoner, who diſcloſed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: ſo as the Viceroy ſent a carauel of aduiſo into the Indies, vnto all ſuch places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of Auguſt, which was three weekes before we ſet foorth of England: as alſo by a Fleming that had ſeene all our prouiſion at London.

The 28 being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee ſet ſaile, and ſtood away Southweſt and Southſouthweſt ſome 200 leagues, vntil we came in the height of the Iſlands of Cape Verde, and then more Weſterly for Martinino, one of the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, which we ſaw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a ſtorme, in which ſir Francis with foure or fiue other ſhips bearing on head of the fleete was ſeparated. Then we ſtood for Dominica, an Iſland full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not paſt ten leagues diſtant from Martinino. In it groweth great ſtore of Tabacco: where moſt of our Engliſh and French men barter kniues, hatchets, ſawes, and ſuch like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Dominica.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his courſe, and went for Marigalante, which we had ſight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeaſt ſide a ſaker ſhot off the ſhore in 13 fathomes water faire ſholding. There the Generall went on ſhore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gaue a yellow waſtcoate of flanell and an hankerchiefe; and they gaue him ſuch fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch ſome fruits which they ſowe and plant in diuers places of that Iſland, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and ſtoode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Iſlands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing vpon theſe Iſlands but wood. We came to the Southeaſt ſide of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the ſhore: the Southweſt ſide of the Iſland is deepe water and good ankorage: where that day ſir Iohn Hawkins came to vs againe ſtanding vp from the South ſide of Dominica. There we watered, waſhed our ſhips, ſet vp our pinneſſes, and refreſhed our ſouldiers on ſhore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the ſternmoſt of ſir Iohn Hawkins fleete was chaſed by fiue of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ſhips of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpoſe with 3 other Zabras for the treaſure of S. Iuan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, ſuppoſing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in ſight of our carauel. They left the Francis driuing in the ſea with 3 or 4 hurt and ſicke men, and tooke the reſt of our men into their ſhips, as the priſoners which wee tooke at S. Iuan de Puerto rico told vs.

The 4 of Nouember we began to vnlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day vnladen, vnrigged and then ſunken. Then we ſtood Northweſt & by North: and the next morning ſaw the Iſlands of Monſerrata, Redonda, Eſtazia, S. Chriſtopher and Saba. The biggeſt of theſe Iſlands is not paſt 8 leagues long. There is good ankorage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water faire white ſand. Then we ſtood away Southweſt, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker ſome 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Iſlands called las Virgines, which haue bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 ſails of ſhips in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire ſand and good ankorage, high Iſlands on either ſide, but no freſh water that we could find: here is much fiſh to be taken with hookes and nets: alſo we ſtayed on ſhore and fowled. Here ſir Iohn Hawkins was extreme ſicke; which his ſicknes began vpon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and ſtoode North and by Eaſt into a leſſer ſound, which ſir Francis in his barge diſcouered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, hauing hie ſteepe hils on either ſide, ſome league diſtant from our firſt riding.

The death of ſir Iohn Hawkins.

The 12 in the morning we weied and ſet ſayle into the ſea due South through a ſmall ſtreit but without danger, and then ſtode Weſt and by North for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 ſmall Iſlands called The paſſages to the Southward of vs, and that night came vp to the Eaſtermoſt end of S. Iohn, where ſir Iohn Hawkins departed this life: vpon whoſe deceaſe ſir Thomas Baskeruil preſently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the eſtermoſt ſide of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a ſandie bay 2 miles off: where we receiued from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance ſome 28 great ſhot, the laſt of which ſtrake the admirall through the miſen, and the laſt but one ſtrake through her quarter into the ſterage, the Generall being there at ſupper, and ſtrake the ſtoole from vnder him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the ſame table ſir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and maſter Browne died of their hurts.

Then wee ſet ſayle and ſtood to the Eaſtward, and at midnight tacked about to the Weſt, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Weſtwards by the 3 Iſlands.

The fight at S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

The 13 we rode ſtill vntill night, when in the beginning with twenty fiue pinneſſes, boats and ſhallops manned and furniſhed with fire-workes and ſmall ſhot wee went into the rode within the great caſtels, and in deſpite of them fired the fiue Zabras or frigats, all ſhips of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greateſt ſhippe of them all, and alſo mightily ſpoiled the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithſtanding the caſtles and ſhips gaue vs a hundreth eightie and fiue great ſhot, beſides ſmall ſhot abundance. They had alſo ſunke a great ſhippe in the mouth of the chanell and rafted it ouer with her maſtes almoſt to the very fortes and caſtles, ſo as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of braſſe, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was ſilke, oyle, and wine. The treaſure which they went to fetch, which was brought thither in a ſhip called the Vigonia, was conueyed into the ſtrongeſt and ſureſt caſtell of defence; being, as one of the priſoners confeſſed, three millions of ducats or fiue and thirty tunnes of ſiluer. Alſo they had ſent all the women, children, and vnable perſons into the woods, and left none but ſouldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our ſide was reſolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee loſt ſome forty or fifty men, and ſo many were hurt. There was alſo great death of the Spaniards aboord the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and beſides ſome taken priſoners.

The 14 we rode ſtil, being within ſhot of the vttermoſt caſtell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe vp the other 4 frigats, beginning firſt with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes wee ſaw to ſinke; and as wee ſuppoſe ſo did they with all the reſt, or elſe by ſtealth got vp farther within their chiefeſt forces.

The 15 alſo we rode ſtill, and at afternoone wee eſpied a carauell comming from the caſtell point: but before our pinneſſes could fetch her vp, ſhe ranne on ſhore, where our boates could not come at her becauſe of the breach, and alſo many of the Iſlanders came downe to guard her with ſhot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and ſtoode one houre to the Eaſt, and then tacked about to the Weſt.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 alſo we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southweſt point of the Iſland, giuing the point a birth becauſe of a ſhoald of ſand that lieth ſome two cables length off: there we rode in foure, fiue, and ſixe fadomes faire white ſand, where wee ſet vp more pinneſſes, waſhed our ſhips, and refreſhed our men on ſhore. Here the Generall tooke a pinneſſe of Hiſpaniola with diuers letters, ſignifying that two Engliſhmen of warre had done great hurt along their Iſland.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the carauell, and cauſed them to wey and anker right againſt the mouth of a freſh riuer in two fadomes water in ozie ſand to the Southward of the other ſhips ſome league or more. The Generall went into this riuer three or foure leagues vp, and tooke horſes in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskeruil rowed vp the riuer and ſtayed there all night, and went vp into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee diſcharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to ſet ſaile, there came aboord the Defiance our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared ſome great torment for not hauing repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Iſland, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete ſhould repaire to the towne to defend it againſt vs. Then we ſtood againe Weſt and by North becauſe of a ledge of rocks that lie ſunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southſide of the Iſland.

The 25 we ſtood away Southweſt, and ſaw Mona being a lowe flat Iſland betweene Hiſpaniola and S. Iuan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter ſpent her boultſprite; and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was ſent backe to ſeeke her: which by Gods helpe that night met with her, and kept her company vntil the next morning, then taking in a ſmall cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning ſhe ſpent her maine maſt and ſplit her foreyard, breaking alſo her tow: ſo as they were faine to ſaue ſome trifles out of her and the men, and to ſinke the hull. Then we ſtood away South and South and by Weſt after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had ſight of the fleete againe.

Mona.

The 29 we had ſight of the Iſland called Curaçao within 8 leagues of the maine, and on the Northweſt ſide came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboord the ſhore without any danger: but the Generall weyed preſently and ſtoode away Northweſt and by Weſt, and Northnorthweſt for the maine, and that night ſaw Aruba, being ſomewhat a leſſe Iſland then the other: we left it ſome three leagues to the Southward of vs.

The Iſle of Curazao.

Aruba.

On Sunday morning being the laſt of Nouember wee ſaw three or foure little Iſlands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we ſawe the maine, where we ſaw a great current ſetting to the Weſtward, and alſo the water changing very white. The Phenix, the carauell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came vnder Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the reſt of the fleete came to anker vnder the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire ſholding and ſandie ground, fourteene, twelue, and tenne fadoms neere the ſhore. Toe Cape is a bare land without trees or ſhrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeaſt and Northweſt: and a ſaker ſhot off the point ſtandeth a little Iſland like Meweſtone neere Plimmouth, but ſomewhat bigger. In the morning the firſt of December wee imbarked all our ſouldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Weſtwards, one of the ancienteſt in all the maine, although not very bigge: but it ſtandeth in a moſt fertile and pleaſant ſoyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clock in the night. The ſhips beating all that night and the day before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the leſſer ſhips in 2 fadomes and an halfe water: the Phenix went ſo neere the ſhore by the Generals commandement, that ſhee ſtrake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eaſtward of the towne ſome mile thereabout a ſhold of ſand: therefore giue a birth ſome halfe league or more before you come right againſt the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ſhips rode off in fiue and ſixe fadomes.

Monjes.

Cape de la Vela

Rio de la Hacha taken.

A ſhold of ſand

A freſh riuer. There is a freſh riuer about a bow-ſhot to the Eaſtward of the towne; whereinto our pinneſſes could ſcarſe enter by reaſon of a barre of ſand in the riuers mouth, but within it is nauigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes ſome ſixe or eight leagues vp.

The ſixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ranſome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskeruil marched vp into the countrey to ouer-runne thoſe parts: and the Generall the ſame night with ſome hundreth and fiftie men went by water ſixe leagues to the Eaſtward, and tooke the Rancheria a fiſher towne, where they drag for pearle.

La Rancheria taken.

The people all fled except ſome ſixteene or twenty ſouldiers, which fought a little, but ſome were taken priſoners, beſides many Negros, with ſome ſtore of pearles and other pillage. In the houſes we refreſhed our ſelues, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had ſight of a brigandine or a dredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chaſe with his two barges: ſhe had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and ſome ſiluer and pearle, but of ſmall value.

On Saturday the ſeuenth, maſter Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of ſicknes, and then maſter Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and maſter Ionas Bodenham captaine of the Aduenture, and maſter Charles Cæſar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ranſome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one priſoner promiſed to pay for his ranſome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ranſome in pearles, but rated ſo deare as the Generall after conference with them, miſliking it, ſent it backe againe, giuing them foure houres reſpite to cleere themſelues with their treaſure.

The ſixteenth the gouernour came into the towne about dinner, and vpon conference with the Generall told him plainely, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ranſome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or conſent, and that his detracting of time ſo long was onely to ſend the other townes word, that were not of force to withſtand vs, whereby they might conuey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the Generall gaue the gouernour leaue to depart according to promiſe, hauing two houres to withdraw himſelfe in ſafety.

The ſeuenteenth Sir Thomas Baskeruil with the Elizabeth Conſtance, the Phenix, the carauel with foure or fiue pinneſſes went ſome fiue leagues to the Weſtward, & landing, marched ſome foure leagues vp into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke & burned certain villages and ferme houſes about it. He had ſome reſiſtance as he paſſed ouer a riuer, but had but one man hurt, which he brought abord aliue with him: he marched one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and ſo returned with ſome priſoners, the ſouldiers hauing gotten ſome pillage.

Tapia taken.

Sallamca burnt.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies houſe onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preſerued. That day wee ſet ſayle and fell to lee-ward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskeruil.

The 19 we weighed and ſtood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at ſunne riſing we ſaw. It is a Cape ſubiect much to flawes, by reaſon it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Iſland within the mouth of the ſound, which hath a white cliffe or ſpot in the Weſtnorthweſt part of the Iſland. The land all about the cape riſeth all in hemocks or broken ſteepie hils. A league Southweſt within that, (for ſo falleth the land thereabout) there ſtandeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-houſe: and a little within that a ſmall Iſland: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you luſt: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha, which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled, except a few Spaniards, Negros & Indiãs, which in a brauado at our landing gaue vs ſome 30 or 40 ſhot, & ſo ran away.

Cape de Aguja.

Santa Martha taken.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and ſome little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houſes ſwept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in euery place, and alſo in the ſand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reaſon of a ſmall moone, for euery ſmall moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall cauſed the towne to be burnt, and all the ſhips to wey, and ſtood out, many of the ſouldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the ſmall ſhips which rode neereſt the ſhore. We loſt that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Auſtin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinneſſe, which ſtood along the ſhore, and being chaſed off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the reſt came ſafe to our fleete.

The 26 we ſaw the Ilands ſome twelue leagues to the Eaſtward of Nombre de Dios ſtanding in toward the ſhore, but toward night we ſtood to the offin vntill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except ſome 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played vpon vs, hauing in the fort ſome 3 or 4 ſmall pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in diſcharging at vs. They gaue vs alſo a voley of ſmall ſhot: but ſeeing our reſolution in running vpon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

Nombre de Dios taken.

The towne was bigge, hauing large ſtreetes, houſes very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large wrought all of timber likewiſe. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a ſhew in their ſhops of great ſtore of marchandiſes that had bene there. There was a mill aboue the towne, and vpon the toppe of another hill in the woods ſtood a little watch-houſe, where we tooke twentie ſowes of ſiluer, two barres of gold, ſome money in coyne, beſides other pillage.

The towne was ſituated in a waterie ſoile, and ſubiect much to raine, very vnhealthy as any place in the Indies, hauing great ſtore of Orenges, plantans, caſſauy-roots, & ſuch other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diſeaſes. To the Eaſtwarde of the towne within the bay runneth out a freſh riuer of excellent good water, with houſes, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due Eaſt into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our paſſage, where they lay in ambuſh with ſome twentie or thirtie ſmall ſhot, and bowes and arrowes, ſet vpon vs, and killed Lieutenant Iones, hurt three or foure and ſo fled into the woods, ranne before vs and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diuerſe other houſes in purſuing them, and ſo returned againe: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Riuers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about ſome myle from vs.

An Indian towne fired.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each ſide, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger becauſe they are in ſight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Caſtle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their ſtrength. For they had no Caſtle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforeſaid ſtanding on the top of an hill, although they might haue made it ſtronger if they would.

The 29 ſir Thomas Baskeruil with 750 armed men, beſides Chirurgians and prouand boyes, went for Panama.

The laſt of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the firſt of Ianuarie burnt the reſt, with all the Frigats, Barks & Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on ſhore, hauing houſes built ouer them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The ſecond of Ianuary ſir Thomas returned with his ſouldiers both weary and hungry, hauing marched more then halfe the way to the South ſea. The Spaniards played diuers times vpon vs both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods & rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was ſo ſore as neuer Engliſh man marched before. Hauing marched ſome ten leagues in a maruellous ſtraite way, vpon the top of an hill, through which we muſt needes paſſe, the Spaniards had ſet vp a Fort and kept it with ſome 80 or 90 men, who played vpon vs as we came vp, before wee were aware of them, and ſo killed ſome twentie or more of vs, amongſt whom was Captaine Marchant quarter-maſter Generall, and Enſigne Sampſon, Maurice Williams one of her Maieſties guard, beſides diuerſe were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskeruil a valiant gentleman, with diuers others. Then ſir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they muſt paſſe two ſuch Forts more, if he got that, beſides Panama to be very ſtrong, the enemie knowing of our comming long before.

Alſo our ſouldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which conſiderations cauſed ſir Thomas to returne and giue ouer his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and ſent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we ſet ſaile at 12 of the clocke, and ſtood to the Weſtward.

The 10 day we ſaw an Iland lying Weſtward ſome 30 leagues called Eſcudo, where wee came to anker on the Southſide in 12 fadoms water, faire ſand and good ankorage. If you come into the Eaſterne point, giue it a birth, becauſe of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Iſland: comming to anker we ſawe a roader, who ſeeing vs, ſet ſayle, but that night with our Pinneſſes we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confeſſed him to be an Aduiſor ſent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports

The Ile of Eſcudo.

along the coaſt Weſtward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 leagues from the maine, & is not paſt two leagues long full of wood, and hath great ſtore of freſh water in euery part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a ſickly climat alſo, and giuen to much raine: here we waſhed our ſhips, and ſet vp the reſt of our Pinneſſes.

The 15 day captaine Plat died of ſickneſſe, and then ſir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a ſcowring or fluxe.

The 23 we ſet ſaile and ſtood vp again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Weſtwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of ſir Francis Drake

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall ſir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely ſicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to ſtop on him. He vſed ſome ſpeeches at or a little before his death, riſing and apparelling himſelfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes ſonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gaue to captaine Bodenham.

Puerto Bello.

The ſame day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the beſt harbour we found al along the maine both for great ſhips and ſmall. There ſtandeth a ſaker ſhot off the ſhore at the Eaſterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine & that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the beſt comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland & another Iland that lyeth to the weſtward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houſes, beſides a great new houſe which they were in building for the Gouernour that ſhould haue bene for that place: there was alſo a very ſtrong Fort all to the waters ſide with flankers of great trees and ſtones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming diſappointed their pretence, they would haue made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in all the maine. There they ment to haue builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of braſſe ordinance ſunke in the ſea, which we weighed vp, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Up within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great freſh riuer, our men rowing vp ſome two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and ſome ſmall quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the ſolemne buriall of our Generall ſir Francis in the ſea: Sir Thomas Baskeruill being aboord the Defiance, where M. Bride made a ſermon, hauing to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, ſir Thomas commanded all aboord the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, & there ſhewing his Commiſſion was accepted for General, & captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, & M. Sauill captaine of ẏ Aduenture.

The 27 died captaine Ioſias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foreſight, and Iames Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, waſhed our ſhips & made new ſailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne vp againe for Santa Martha, we ſhould, if not, to goe directly for England. Here alſo we tooke in ſome balaſt as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was diſcharged and ſunke, and that day the Pegaſus iolly was going on ſhore for water, carying no guarde: The Spaniards perceiuing it came downe vpon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 priſoners, and ſo ranne vp into the woods againe.

The ſeuenth the Delight and captaine Edens frigat were diſcharged and ſunke becauſe they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ſhips wanted ſaylers.

That day our men being muſtered we had ſicke and whole 2000. And the next day we ſet on ſhore all our priſoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our firſt comming to Puerto Bello ſir Thomas ſent two of thoſe Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ranſome for ſome of the chiefeſt priſoners, but they neuer returned againe. As we were ſetting ſaile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well vſed, adding that if he would ſtay 8 or 10 dayes longer they ſhould be brought from Panama. We ſuppoſed this to haue bene but a delay to haue kept vs there while the kings forces had come about by ſea, as they dayly expected. We ſet ſaile the 8 of Februarie, turning vp for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we ſaw the Ilands of Baru ſome 14 leagues to the Weſtward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told vs he would ſtand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew ſo much winde and continued that ſmall moone, that the ſame night we loſt the Foreſight, and the next day ſtanding againe to make the land which we had made, we loſt companie of the Suſan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegaſus. Then the next day we put ouer for Cape S. Antonie, and gaue ouer Santa Martha.

The Grand Cayman.

The 25 we ſaw the Iland of Grand Cayman ſome 30 leagues to the Northweſtward of Iamaica, being a low ſandie Iland, hauing many tortoyſes about it.

The Ile of Pinos.

The 26 we ſaw the hie land of Cuba to the Eaſtward of the broken Ilands, to the Eaſt of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among thoſe dangerous places. But perceiuing it, we ſtood out againe Southſoutheaſt and ſo got cleere, and then ſtood away Weſt and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we ſaw the firſt of March. It is a low land with wood and freſh water to the Weſtern end. If you come in with the middeſt of it you ſhall ſee riſe vp aboue the reſt of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Weſtermoſt hath three in one.

Being ſhot foorth with the Weſt end, and ſtanding in for to water we eſpied 20 ſayle of ſhips about one in the afternone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king ſent for Carthagena, the reſt of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 ſailes ſent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded whereſoeuer they heard we were, to come vpon vs with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came ſtanding for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreſhed at Hauana.

The fight betweene the Engliſh and the Spaniſh fleetes.

Aſſoone as they diſcried vs, they kept cloſe vpon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of vs: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the reſt of our fleet were right in the windes eye of them, ſir Thomas Baskeruil putting out the Queenes armes, and all the reſt of our fleete their brauerie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to ſhoot, but to keepe cloſe by to ſecond him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ſhip then any of ours, and the beſt ſayler in all their fleete looſed vp and gaue the Concord the two firſt great ſhot, which ſhe repayed preſently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonauenture bare full with her, ringing her ſuch a peale of ordinance and ſmall ſhot withall, that he left her with torne ſides. The Admirall alſo made no ſpare of powder and ſhot. But the Defiance in the middeſt of the Spaniſh fleete thundering of her ordinance and ſmall ſhot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her conſorts were forced to tacke about to the Eaſtward, leauing their admirall and the reſt of the fleete, who came not ſo hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres & better. At ſunne ſet all the fleete tacked about to the Eaſtward, we continued our courſe to the Weſtward for cape de los Corrientes, ſuppoſing we ſhould haue met with more of their conſorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had fiue men ſlaine, three Engliſh men, a Greeke and a Negro. That night ſome halfe houre after, their fleete keeping vpon their weather quarter, we ſaw a mightie ſmoke riſe out of one of their great ſhips which ſtayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and preſently after ſhe was all on a light fire, and ſo was conſumed and all burnt, as we might well perceiue.

One of the Spaniſh great ſhips burnt.

Cape Sant Antonio.

The next day being the ſecond of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, hauing a buſh of trees higher then the reſt ſome mile to the Eaſtward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southſide. The Spaniſh fleete which then were but 14 no more then we were, kept ſtill vpon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with vs although our Admirall ſtayed for them. Aſſoone as we had cleered our ſelues of the Cape 3 of their beſt ſaylers came roome with the Salomon, which was ſo neere the land that ſhe could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eaſtward, & ſo was both a ſterne and alſo to leeward of all our fleete: But when we ſaw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to reſcue her: which the Spaniards ſeeing, & hauing not forgotten the fight which ſhe made the night before, they looſed vp into the middeſt of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete ſtayed vntill the Salomon came vp, and ſo ſtood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in ſight of by two in the after noone, being a low cape alſo, and to the Southweſt a white ſandie bay where 3 or 4 ſhips may very well water. There is a good road for North & Eaſterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a ſterne. That night wee ſtood away a glaſſe or two Northweſt, and Northnorthweſt, and Northeaſt, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had ſight of Cuba about the Eaſt part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off vpon the North part of Cuba, preſently aſſoone as you paſſe Cape S. Anthonie: then we ſtood to the Eaſtward of the land, the winde at Southſouthweſt, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came ſcant. The 7 we ſawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth ſo 13 or 14 leagues to the Weſtward of Hauana, and another place in Cuba called The Table, 8 leagues to the Eaſtward of the crowne. The land ouer Hauana maketh two ſmall mountaines like a womans breaſts or paps. Here we found no great current vntill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

The Crowne.

The cape of Florida.

The 10 we ſaw the Cape of Florida being but a reaſonable low land and broken Ilands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we loſt ſight of the land 12 leagues to the Northward of the Cape. After we had diſemboqued, we ſtood Weſt till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then ſtood Northeaſt till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind ſcanted with a great ſtorme, in which we loſt the Bonauenture, and the Little Iohn, they bearing on head. Then we ſtood with our larbord tacked Eaſtſoutheaſt.

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our courſe Eaſtnortheaſt. The 21 we had a great ſtormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the reſt of our fleete fell a ſterne except the Hope, which bare a head: ſo that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and ſtood away for Flores, which the 8 of Aprill we ſaw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southſide, where we watered becauſe the Defiance when we came in had but two buts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for ſome freſh victuals, and ſet here on ſhore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which ſir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Eaſter-eue at night we ſet ſaile the winde ſeruing vs to lie ſome ſlent in our courſe. That night and Eaſter day we had much raine: the winde came vp at Northeaſt, wee beate it vp ſome 30 leagues to the Eaſtward, & then about to the Weſt, and ſo againe to the Eaſt, and tryed, and the next boord to the Weſt. On Thurſday towards night, being the 16 wee had ſight of Coruo againe, we tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Weſtward of the point of Santa Cruz vnder Flores: but before midnight we draue, and ſet ſaile the next day ſtanding away Northeaſt. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp againe at North. On ſunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an Eaſt way: and then the winde came vp a good gale at Northweſt, and ſo Northeaſt with a flowne ſheete we made the beſt way we could: but being diſperſed by bad weather we arriued about the beginning of May in the Weſt parts of England. And the laſt ſhips which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

A Libell of Spaniſh lies written by *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda*, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning ſome part of the laſt voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*; together with a confutation of the moſt notorious falſehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. *Henrie Sauile* Eſquire: and alſo an approbation of both by ſir *Thomas Baskeruil* Generall of her Maieſties Armada after the deceaſe of ſir *Francis Drake*.

To the courteous Reader.

VHereas *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda*, Generall of the Spaniſh fleete, hath by his printed letters publiſhed to the world diuerſe vntruthes, concerning our fleete and the Commanders thereof, ſeeking thereby his owne glorie, and our diſgrace; I haue taken vpon me (though of many leaſt able) to confute the ſame, the rather for that the printed copie came firſt into my hands, hauing my ſelfe bene Captaine of one of her Maieſties ſhips in the ſame voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and loue to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a ſouldier and Nauigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publiſh ſome greater labour.

HENRY SAVILE.

The true copie of a letter found at the ſacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Nauie in the Weſt Indies, ſent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, Preſident of the contractation houſe for the Indies, and by him put in print with priuilege: wherein are declared many vntruthes, and falſe reports, tending to the diſgrace of the ſeruice of her Maieſties Nauie, and the commanders thereof, lately ſent to the Weſt Indies, vnder the command of ſir Francis Drake, and ſir Iohn Hawkins Generals at the ſea; and ſir Thomas Baskeruill Generall at land: with a confutation of diuers groſſe lies and vntruthes, contayned in the ſame letter: together with a ſhort relation of the fight, according to the truth.

Copia

Copia de vna carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, General de la Armada de ſu Mageſtad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Preſidente de la caſa de la Contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del ſuceſſo de la Armada de Ynglatierra, deſpues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Franciſco Draque, y de ſu muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vueſtra Merced como ſali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en buſca de la armada Yngleſa, aunque por la mucha prieſſa, no ſe pudieron reparar tanbien los Galeones como fuera neceſſario, y con el tiempo ſe perdio uno, y por deſgracia ſe quemo vn Filibote, y auiendo andado muchos dias en buſca del enemigo, haſta que llegue a Cartagena, donde auiendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Gouernador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha neceſſidad de agua, y reparar los Nauios por que venian faltos della, me detuue en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por vn Auiſo, que Franciſco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena de auer perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque deſpues ſe ſupo mas por eſtenſo. Y auiendo dado a vueſtra Merced cuenta de lo que haſta alli a ſucedido, agora la doy de que ſali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Hauana, donde entendi hallarlo: y auiendo hecho la diligencia poſible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos deſpues de medio dia, al ſalir de la Yſla de Pinos, en la enſenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yua con catorze Nauios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por ſuyo, y el Almiranta que yua mas al viento con otros dos Nauios commenço arrimarſele, y aunque vino ſobre ella con todos los ſuyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarſele para que quiſieſſe enueſtir:los que eſtauamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos haſta jugar la artilleria, Moſqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como ſuele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimauamos, con mas diligencia de lo que ſe puede creer ſe deſembaraço de todos, poniendoſe en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le ſegui con nueue Nauios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, haſta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las inſtruciones de ſu Mageſtad: ſiruio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Nauios, ni todas las diligencias que ſe hizieron, para que ſe inclinaſe a eſperar ni abordar, ni tirar vn arcabuz, ni vna pieça, porque el ſe dio la diligencia que pudo, porque ſus Nauios los auia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y eſtos acabaua de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde ſe eſtuvo mas de quarenta dias, y anſi venian muy reparados; y yo ſaque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para adereçarlos. A que nauego dos meſes y medio, y traygo la capitana, que deſde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que ſali ſe me lo arrimo vna Zabra con eſta neceſſidad; la Almiranta y los demas Nauios vienen con el miſmo trabajo, pero ſin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha ſeria apoderarſe del, ſino es hallarlo ſobre el Ferro. Con todo eſſo me an dexado vn Nauio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Yngleſa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que ſe a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no ſe como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deuen de ſer ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, ſegun ſe echa de ver en ellos. No ſe ofrece otra coſa: nueſtro ſennor guarde a vueſtra Merced, como puede, y yo deſſeo. De la Hauana. 30 de Março, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Aſſiſtente deſta ciudad de Seuilla y ſu tierra, que hago officio de Aſſiſtente della por auſencia de ſu Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Franciſco Draque. La qual haga por dos meſes, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil marauedis para la camara de ſu Mageſtad. Fecha en Seuilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y nouenta y ſeys annos.

El Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudez y Figueroa.

Por ſu mandado, Gregorio Gutierez, Eſcriuano.

The Spaniſh letter Engliſhed.

The Copie of a letter which *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda,* Generall of the king of *Spaine* his armie, ſent vnto Doctor *Peter Florez,* Preſident of the contractation houſe for the *Indies,* wherein he maketh mention of the ſucceſſe of the Engliſh armie, after they departed from *Pañama,* whereof was Generall *Francis Drake,* and of his death.

FRom Cartagena I gaue relation vnto your Worſhip how I departed from the citie of Lisbone, in the purſuite of the Engliſh armie: although for the great haſte the Galeons could not be ſo well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was loſt, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And hauing ſayled many dayes in purſuite of the enemie, vntill I arriued at Cartagena, and there taking the aduiſe of Don Pedro de Acunna, Gouernour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our ſhippes) we ſtayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had loſt ſo many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifeſtly knowen. Thus hauing giuen you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you vnderſtand, that I left this Port the ſecond of March, and tooke our courſe towardes Hauana, where I thought to haue found the Engliſh fleete. And hauing vſed all the diligence poſſible, vpon Munday the eleuenth of the ſaid moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Iſle of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the Engliſh fleete, being fourteene very good ſhips: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of vs, and our Admirall who bore vp towards the winde, with other two ſhips beganne to draw neere them, and although we ſet thus vpon them, three times with all their ſhips, yet would they not ſet againe vpon vs, and thoſe of our men which were fartheſt off cryed to them amaine, being both within ſhot of artillerie, muſkets, and caliuers, whereby they receiued euident hurt by vs: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and eſpecially their Viceadmirall, and ſeeing our reſolution how ſharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and ſpeede poſſible prepared to flie away, hoyſing ſailes and leauing their boates for haſte in the ſea: but I followed them, with nine ſhips all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the courſe towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the inſtructions from his Maieſtie. It little auailed vs to be ſeene, with leſſe number of ſhips, neither yet all the diligence we could vſe, could cauſe them to ſtay or come neere vs nor to ſhoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as faſt as they could, and their ſhippes were halfe diminiſhed, and that the beſt part of them; the reſt they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and ſo by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our ſhippes were very foule, becauſe the time would not permit vs to trim them: I haue ſayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, ſince we departed from Cartagena, we haue not repaired their pumpes nor clenſed them: and the ſame day I departed thence, there came vnto me a ſmall Pinneſſe in the like diſtreſſe: our Viceadmirall and the reſt of our ſhips haue the like impediment, but no great hinderance vnto vs, for ought I could perceiue by our enemies: It is manifeſt what aduantage they had of vs, and by no meanes was it poſſible for vs to take them, vnleſſe we could haue come to haue found them at an anker. Neuertheleſſe they left vs one good ſhippe behinde for our ſhare, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they haue made for Generall of the Engliſh fleete the Colonel Quebraran: and alſo by meanes of the ſmall time, being ſtraightly followed by vs, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or fleſh, and they are alſo in ſuch bad caſe, that I know not how they will be able to arriue in England. The number of men we haue taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fifteene noble captaines of their beſt ſort, and ſome of them rich, as well may appeare by their behauiour: I haue no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who beſt can, and as I deſire. From Hauana the 30 of March, 1596.

DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO
DE AVELLANEDA.

THe Licenciat *Don Iohn Bermudes* of *Figueroa* Lieutenant of the Aſſiſtants of the citie of *Siuill*, and the Prouince thereof, who doth ſupply the office of the Aſſiſtant in the abſence of the Right honourable the Earle of *Priego*, giueth licence to *Roderigo de Cabriera* to imprint the Relation of the death of *Francis Drake*, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the ſame within the ſaid terme, vpon paine of tenne thouſand Marauedis for his Maieſties chamber. Giuen in *Siuill* the 15 of May, 1596.

The Licenciat *Don Iohn Bermudes* of *Figueroa*.

By his Aſſigne *Gregorie Gutierez*
Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall Don Bernaldino ſent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis Drake and their ſuppoſed victorie, was altogether receiued for an vndoubted trueth, and ſo pleaſing was this newes vnto the Spaniarde, that there was preſent commandement giuen to publiſh the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be pertakers of this common ioy: the which letter printed in Siuill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Sauile Eſquire, who being employed in that ſeruice for the Weſt Indies, and Captaine of her Maieſties good ſhippe the Aduenture, vnder the conduct of ſir Francis Drake, and ſir Iohn Hawkins, hath cauſed the ſaid printed letter to be tranſlated into Engliſh. And that the impudencie of the Spaniſh Generall may the more plainely appeare, the ſayde Henrie Sauile doth anſwere particularly to euery vntrueth in the ſame letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The anſwere to the Spaniſh letter.

Firſt the Generall doth ſay, that *Francis Drake* died at *Nombre de Dios*, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

THe Generall ſent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and ſeale of Armes: It is the firſt newes in his letter, and it was the beſt newes that he could ſend into Spaine. For it did eaſe the ſtomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him, whoſe life was a ſcourge and continuall plague vnto them: But it was a point of great ſimplicitie, and ſcarcely beſeeming a Generall, to tie the credite of his report locally to any place vpon the report of a ſilly Indian ſlaue. For it had bene ſufficient to haue ſayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publiſhing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is moſt certaine ſir Francis Drake died t'wixt the Iland of Eſcudo, and Puerto Bello: but the Generall being rauiſhed with the ſuddaine ioy of this report as a man that hath eſcaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an inſolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie vpon another, doth not ceaſe vntill he hath drawen them into ſequences, and ſo doth commende them vnto Peter the Doctor, as cenſor of his learned worke.

The Generals firſt newes, & his beſt newes is in part lying newes.

Secondly, The Generall doth write vnto the Doctor, that *Francis Drake* died for very griefe that he had loſt ſo many barkes and men.

A Thing very ſtrange that the Generall or the Indian, whom hee doth vouch for his lie, ſhould haue ſuch ſpeculation in the bodie of him whom they neuer ſaw, as to deliuer for truth vnto his countrie, the very cauſe or diſeaſe whereof hee died: and this ſecond report of his is more groſſe then the firſt. For admit the miſtaking of the place might be tollerable; notwithſtanding, this preciſe affirming the cauſe of his death doth manifeſtly prooue that the Generall doth make no conſcience to lie. And as concerning the loſſe of any Barkes or men in our Nauie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one ſmall Pinneſſe excepted) which we aſſuredly know was taken by chance, falling ſingle into a fleete of fiue Frigates (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere vnto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour Don Bernaldino: the which fiue Frigates of the kings afterwardes had but ill ſucceſſe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Iuan de Puerto rico,

Don Bernaldino doth lie impudently.

The ſucceſſe of the kings fiue Frigats.

and one other was ſunke in the ſame harbour, and the other three were burnt amongſt many other ſhippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wiſe mens iudgements, will ſeeme a ſilly cauſe to make a man ſorrowe to death. For true it is, ſir Francis Drake died of the fluxe which hee had growen vpon him eight dayes before his death, and yeelded vp his ſpirit like a Chriſtian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall ſhall ſuruey his loſſe, he ſhall finde it more then the loſſe of the Engliſh, and the moſt of his, deſtroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of ſo great comfort vnto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a ſufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had beene vtterly loſt.

The certaine cauſe whereof ſir Francis Drake died.

Thirdly, the Generall doth ſay of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleuenth of March laſt he met the Engliſh fleete at the Ile of *Pinos*, being fourteene good ſhippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he ſet vpon them three times with all their ſhippes: but the Engliſh fleete fled, and refuſed to fight, ſhooting now and then a ſhot, but eſpecially the Viceadmirall.

This third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda (whoſe name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawen ſomewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iuſt proportion in meaſure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoça his countreyman, concerning the ouerthrowe of hir Maieſties Nauie in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpoſe to winne the whetſtone from Don Bernardino de Mendoça the olde Spaniſh lyer; I cannot coniecture why he ſhould write to his countrey for a truth, that he chaſed the Engliſh Nauie with nine ſhippes, and did three ſeuerall times giue the onſet to the Engliſh fleete, who being fourteene good ſhippes (as he ſaith) did flie and refuſe to fight; conſidering that the Spaniſh Viceadmirall (if he be liuing) and many other, can witneſſe the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered ſhippe to ſaue her from ſinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spaniſh fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will ſay they were leſſe then twentie ſayle of ſhippes when they met the Engliſh fleete: and the Spaniſh Nauie can witneſſe that they receiued ſuch ſtore of bullets from the Engliſh fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in deſpight of them the Engliſh nauie did holde their determined courſe: And taking a viewe of the Spaniſh fleete the next day, their number was not aboue thirteene ſhips, which did argue that they were either ſunke or fled to harbour to ſaue themſelues.

A parie of Spaniſh liers.

The Spaniſh Viceadmirall a man of valour.

The number of Spaniſh ſhips after the fight.

Fourthly, the General ſaith, that the Engliſh fleete fled away, and left their *oares for haſt behind them in the ſea.

* The tranſlation of the Spaniſh word Lanchas is here miſtaken.

IT was ſtrange that they ſhould leaue behinde them oares in the ſea, ſithence there was not in the Engliſh fleete either Galley or Galliaſſe, which required the vſe of oares: as for the oares of their ſhip-boates and other ſuch ſmall veſſels, they had ſtowed them aboord their ſhippes, and were no impediment vnto them, but moſt neceſſarie for them to vſe, and therefore not likely they would caſt them ouerboord: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into ſome pleaſant dreame at Sea, wherein he did ſee a falſe apparition of victorie againſt the Engliſh, and for lacke of matter did ſet this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is ſinne to belie the Deuill, and therefore the Generall ſhall haue his right: the letter is ſo well contriued, and yet with no great eloquence, but with ſuch art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which ſhewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perſwaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter ſhould haue beene printed, he would haue omitted many things conteined in the letter: for the Doctor did vſe him ſomewhat hardly in ſhewing the letter openly, and more in ſuffering it to bee printed: for friendes may like good fellowes ſend lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with ſome ſmall taſte thereof, ſo it be kept cloſe, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the ſimplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot ſee but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his ſhoulders.

This lie was made in the Generals own forge.

Fiftly, the Generall doth ſay in his printed letter, that notwithſtanding all the diligence he could vſe, he could not cauſe the Engliſh fleete to ſtay nor come neere them, nor diſcharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as faſt as they could.

And this lie alſo he doth not receiue by intelligence from any other, but himſelfe was an eye-witneſſe in the action, which made him bold to ſende this with the reſt into his countrey for current newes: but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde then wiſe, for the torne and battered ſides of his Galeons, being compared with her Maieſties ſhippes, and others that ſerued in that fight, doe declare, that his ſhips receiued at leaſt two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreymen (if any do fauour truth) may eaſily ſee the loſſe, and late reparations, done vnto the kings fleete, ſithence they did encounter with the Engliſh Nauie, whenſoeuer they that remaine ſhall arriue in Spaine. But the Generall ſeemeth to be a very good proficient in his profeſſion, and wareth ſomewhat bold, treading the true ſteps of olde Bernardino de Mendoça: and yet Mendoça was ſomewhat more warie in his lies, for he had ſometime the colour of intelligence to ſhadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldneſſe to impudencie maketh no ſcruple to ſay, that the Engliſh Nauie fled as faſt as they could without diſcharging any harquebuze or peece of artillerie, when as the battered ſides of his ſhips doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behaue himſelfe ſo valiantly, that he was alwayes fartheſt off in the fight, and had ſo great care of his owne perſon, that he ſtoode cleare from the danger of musket or any ſmall ſhot, and durſt not approch; whereas our Generall was the formoſt, and ſo helde his place, vntill by order of fight other ſhippes were to haue their turnes, according to his former direction: who wiſely and politikely had ſo ordered his vangarde, and rereward, that as the manner of it was altogether ſtrange to the Spaniarde, ſo might they haue bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any iudgement in ſea-fights: I knowe no reaſon why the Engliſh Nauie ſhould flie from him; for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that euer he did winne from the Engliſh: Peraduenture ſome ſilly nouice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of ſo many ſillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of coniuration, and for feare of rayſing a ſpirit, might flie from him as from the Deuill: or ſome ſimple Indian ſlaue hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might ſuppoſe it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the Engliſh Nauie were men of ſuch reſolution, that no Spaniſh bragges could diſmay them (for they haue often met them with their Pikes in their Spaniſh beardes) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowtred in his gilt leather buſkins, and his Toledo rapier.

The torn ſides of the Spaniſh ſhips doe condemne Don Bernaldino of lying.

The order of the Engliſh Nauie.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his gaine.

Spaniſh brags are of no value with the Engliſh.

Sixtly, the Generall ſaith in his letter, that notwithſtanding their flying away ſo faſt, the Engliſh left them one good ſhip well manned, who tolde him that *Drake* dyed in *Nombre de Dios:* in which ſhip were one hundred and fortie men, and fifteene noble captaines of the beſt ſort.

The Generall Don Bernaldino, like a reſolute Spaniarde hauing already gone ouer his ſhooes, maketh no danger to wade ouer his bootes alſo: and as he hath begunne, ſo hee doth conclude. I maruaile that he did not in writing his diſcourſe remember this old ſaying: that is, A liar ought to haue a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to reuoke the teſtimonie which he ſaith he had from the Engliſhmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and ſtand to the intelligence receiued from the ſilly Indian ſlaue, as it appeareth in his firſt lie: for without all doubt there is no Engliſh man that will ſay (if he haue his right ſenſes) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General auouch that he receiued intelligence from any Engliſh man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth moſt falſely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and friuolous letter) ſeeing that this name was ſtrange & vnknowen to any in the Engliſh Nauie. Neither do I imagine that any of thoſe which the Generall ſaith he hath taken, were ſo forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of ſo new and ſtrange a name to the Engliſh Generall, doth prooue that Don Bernaldino is not vnfurniſhed of a forge and ſtorehouſe of lies, from whence as frõ an euerflowing fountaine, he ſendeth forth lies of al ſorts ſufficient for his own ſtore,

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in coyning a new and ſtrange name.

The ſchoolemē of modeſty doe vſe this kind of reprehenſion, when they doe thinke the author to erre.

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskeruill.

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a diſtreſſed ſhip, which is ſuppoſed not to ſtrike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines cōtrary to the Generals lying occupation, wil proue but three.

The firſt diſcouery of the Generals printed letter.

and great plentie to furniſh his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gaue him the name Bernaldino, which we in Engliſh doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of priuilege from being ſharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common ſaying amongſt the ſchoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard ſeeth not all things, (when he doth diſſent from their opinions) the which fauour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name ſake, if he were not taken with ſo many manifeſt and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that Sennor Bernaldino will ſay, that he ſawe all that he hath written, be it ſpoken in councell for ſhaming the Generall: for is there any man ſo voide of reaſon as to thinke, that any Engliſhman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or ſpeake Quebraran for Baskeruil. So much difference there is in the ſound of the ſillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But ſuch are the Generals rare gifts, (be it ſpoken to his ſmall prayſe) that we Engliſhmen muſt of force confeſſe, that the Generall hath giuen a proud onſet to carrie the whetſtone from Sennor Bernardino de Mendoça: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fifteene noble Captaines (which he ſaith he did take, of whom he might haue bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giuing the name of Quebraran to the Engliſh Generall. As for the good ſhippe well manned, which he ſaith the Engliſh left them after the fight, I am perſwaded he hath no man to witneſſe that lie, for the ſhip was ſeparated by weather from the Engliſh fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spaniſh Nauie, and neuer to any mans knowledge came more in ſight of the Engliſh fleete. If the Spaniſh ſhip by chance did take the ſaide well manned ſhip (as they call her) I doubt not but they haue the ſhip, the hundred and forty men, and the fifteene noble Captaines to ſhew: But euermore I geſſe the Spaniſh reckoning will fall ſhort when it is examined, for the fifteene noble Captaines will prooue (as I take it) but three, whoſe loſſe I grieue to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we looſe or leaue them for cowardiſe, as moſt vntruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a prouident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and country, taketh vpon him (amongſt other his miracles performed before the Engliſh fleete) by way of amplification to make ſmall matters ſeeme great, as a little ſhooe to ſerue a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to paſſe, he doth ſo ſtretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to breake: and yet notwithſtanding al this will not ſerue his purpoſe; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth ſuch matter in queſtion, as the Generall doth wiſh might be concealed, and were he not of ſo drie and cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would bluſh for very ſhame in publiſhing ſo impudently ſuch manifeſt vntruthes. For ſithence his meeting with the Engliſh fleete at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie Engliſh Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongſt other exploites hauing taken the citie of Cadiz, in the ſacke thereof was found ſome of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that ſerued in Sir Francis Drakes laſt voyage to the Weſt Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the ſlanders to the Engliſh Nauie contained in the ſaide letter) to quote the errors, that the trueth onely may appeare, to all ſuch as haue a deſire to be rightly informed of ſuch accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the Weſt Indies: and this may ſuffiſe to ſhew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda his great iudgement in amplyfying ſmall matters, or of nothing to make in ſhewe ſomewhat. And now hauing thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the ſlanderous, falſe, and vntrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true diſproofe to ſome of the groſſeſt of his lies, I will leaue him with the reſt of his lying letter, and the circumſtances therein contained to your cenſures: who in diſcretion may eaſily diſcerne the ſame: And haue here following plainely and truely ſet downe the courſe and order of our whole fight after we met.

The meeting of our Engliſh Nauie and the Spaniſh fleete, and the order of our encounter.

The firſt diſcouery of the Spaniſh fleete.

MUnday the firſt of March, according to our computation, wee deſcryed the Iland of Pinos, where haling in for the Weſterne part thereof, thinking there to haue watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, we ſent in three of our Pinneſſes to diſcouer the harbour, and to ſound afore vs, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the ſame day we diſcouered a fleete of twentie ſailes, and deeming them to be the Spaniſh fleete, we kept our looſe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with diuers other ſhips went about to cut off our Pinneſſes; ſo that our Generall with ſome other of our ſhippes, was forced to tacke about vpon the larbourd tacke, and ſo ranne in towardes the lande keeping the winde, ſo as we recouered our Pinneſſes; which forced the enemies ſhippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere vnto them they ſhot at vs; we ſtill approched, hauing our cloſe fights vp, our flags, enſignes and ſtreamers diſplayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight vntill our Generall beganne, and gaue vs warning to come in and fight, by ſhooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: ſo being within muſket ſhot, the Viceadmirall of the Spaniſh fleete came neereſt vnto vs, to whom our Viceadmirall Iohn Traughton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonaduenture gaue fight, betwixt whom there was the greateſt voley of ſmall ſhot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spaniſh fleete came in to fight. Our Generall ſir Thomas Baskeruill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next ſhippe vnto the Elizabeth Bonaduenture) bare vp to the enemie, playing with his great ordinance hotly vntill he came within muſket ſhot. Ionas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Sauile Captaine of the Aduenture, came likewiſe in to fight with them. After the Garland being within muſket ſhot played her part, and made good fight for the ſpace of an houre. The Defiance bare vp likewiſe and had her turne: after came the Aduenture againe within muſket ſhot, who hauing changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight,& continued it an houre with ſmall ſhot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who laſt of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queenes ſhippes their courſe: The marchants ſhips with other ſmall veſſels being without the Queenes ſhips, ſhot when they ſaw opportunitie. After the enemie finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from vs, the Aduenture playing vpon them with her great ordinance, made three of the laſt ſhot at them: their Viceadmirall with diuers others of their ſhips, were ſo beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durſt not lie of either boord by reaſon of their many and great leakes, which they had receiued by our great ſhot. The Generall with the reſt of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee ſought to hinder. But our Generall ſeeing that in holding the winde we ſhould ſhoot our ſelues into the bay, gaue them the winde. All that night they kept themſelues vpon our brode ſide, notwithſtanding our Admiral carried his creſſet-light all night, hauing great care of our ſmalleſt ſhippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were ſlaine ſo few perſons of our Engliſh fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with ſo little loſſe of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leaue to your iudgements. Yet our eyes can witneſſe their ſhips were ſore beaten and raked thorough, whereby there was ſuch falling backe and lying by the lee to ſtoppe their leakes, as ſome of them were driuen to haſte away, and rather to runne on ſhore to ſaue themſelues then ſinke in the Sea: beſides within two houres after our fight with them, we ſawe one of their great ſhippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the ſterne of another of their ſhips blowen vp: And in the morning a ſhippe of our fleete was runne ſo neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he muſt of neceſſitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemie, which cauſed our Generall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two ſhips forced the three ſhips of the enemies (which were put foorth to take our ſhippe, or elſe to cauſe her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to ſaue themſelues, hoyſing all their ſayles for haſte: This morning they were faire by vs hauing the winde of vs, being but thirteene ſayle of their twentie to be ſeene: then we ſtroke our toppe ſayles thinking to haue fought with them againe, which they perceiuing tacked about from vs, and after that neuer durſt nor would come neere vs: What became of the reſt of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great diſtreſſe mightily beaten and torne, by hauing receiued many bullets from vs. All this day wee had ſight of them, but they ſhewed little will to fight or come neere vs, ſo we keeping our courſe Weſt, and by North, about ſixe of the clocke at night loſt the ſight of them. And this is a true diſcourſe of our fight with the Spaniſh fleete. The which the author hereof will iuſtifie with the aduenture of his life, againſt any Spaniarde ſeruing in that action, that ſhall contradict the ſame.

The incounter betwixt the Engliſh and the Spaniſh ſhips.

The Spaniſh Viceadmirall can witneſſe, what ſucceſſe they had in this fight.

The Engliſh Admirall carried his Creſſet light, notwithſtanding the enemie was vpon his broad ſide.

The Engliſh receiued little loſſe in this conflict.

The remainder of the Spaniſh fleete were but thirteene ſayles.

HENRY SAVILE.

Thomas Baskeruil knight, his approbation to the former twofold diſcourſe of Captaine *Sauile*.

I Thomas Baskeruill knight, Generall of her Maieſties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spaniſh fleete and vs, hauing peruſed the Spaniſh letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Nauie, and alſo hauing peruſed captaine Henrie Sauile his anſweres vnto the ſixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his diſcourſe of the manner of our fight with the Spaniſh fleete, doe ſay that the ſaid Henrie Sauile hath anſwered the letter, and ſet downe the order of the fight ſincerely according to truth, for teſtimonie of which I haue hereunto ſet my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda the Generall ſhall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or ſtand in the iuſtification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, Preſident of the Contractation houſe for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then ſay that he falſely lyed, and that I will maintaine againſt him with whatſoeuer armes he ſhall make choyce of. And becauſe the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reaſon of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I haue written) let him make choiſe of any indifferent kingdome of equall diſtance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I haue written: But if by my imployments into France I be ſo ſtayed by her Maieſties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot ſee why he ſhould take any exception to that, conſidering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our Princes be there reſident.

THOMAS BASKERVILE.

A true relation of the voyage vndertaken by Sir *Anthony Sherley* Knight in Anno 1596. intended for the Ile of *San Tomé*, but performed to *S. Iago*, *Dominica*, *Margarita*, along the coaſt of *Tierra firma*, to the Ile of *Iamaica*, the bay of the *Honduras*, 30 leagues vp *Rio Dolce*, and homewarde by *Newfoundland*. With the memorable exploytes atchieued in all this voyage.

WE departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ſhips and a gallie. The Beuice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rereadmirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little Iohn 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinneſſe. All which ſhips we ſufficiently victualled and furniſhed for ten monethes, with all neceſſaries fit for the voyage. They were alſo manned with ſouldiers and ſaylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture neceſſarie for the intended purpoſe of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably & orderly diſtributed into euery ſhip. We arriued at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Eſſex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ſhips and 500 ſouldiers well victualed and furniſhed. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Beuice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinneſſe, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with vs our Generals purpoſe was to haue firſt ſackt the Madera Ile, and ſo to haue proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arriued vpon the coaſt of Spaine, coaſting all the ſhore, hoping to meete with ſome of the kings ſhips. From thence we paſt in ſight of the coaſt of Barbary, and came to Maſagant, within ſhot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in ſtrong garriſon. And bending our courſe for the Canarie Iles there purpoſing to water, our galley loſt her rudder; ſo our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Betweene which place and the Canarie Iles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Braſill, hauing nothing aboord her but ſome ſmall portion of victuals for their reliefe. The Captaine of this Flybote tooke vpon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly conſented to ſtay with vs, being a Fleming. Hauing watered at the Canaries, by the counſell of this Fleming we ſhaped our courſe for the Iles of Cape Verde, he aſſuring vs that we ſhould there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was ſo farre paſt, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

The Fort of Maſagant.

A Flieboat taken.

The firſt of July we fell with the Iſle Maio, where wee ſaw ſmall hope of any fleete to bee expected, & therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete vs: where we arriued the fift of July, and there found him. And ſo inſtantly we proceeded for our voyage, becauſe the yeere was farre ſpent. At this place moſt vnfortunately our Generall fell exceeding ſicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Peſcadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many ſkirmiſhes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopeleſſe of life, and we all diſmayed and comfortleſſe through that his exceeding extremity, hauing his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Maſters, and officers vnto him, vnto whom he made a very pithie and briefe ſpeech, tending to this purpoſe: That as we were Chriſtians and all baptiſed and bred vp vnder one and the true faith, ſo wee ſhould liue together like Chriſtians in the feare and ſeruice of God: And as we were the ſubiects of our moſt excellent ſouereigne, and had vowed obedience vnto her: ſo we ſhould tend all our courſes to the aduancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any baſe or vnfit actions. And becauſe we came for his loue into this action that for his ſake we would ſo loue together as if himſelfe were ſtill liuing with vs, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him, vnto whom vnder his hand he would giue commiſſion to ſucceede himſelfe: all which with ſolemne proteſtation we granted to obey. Then for that the yeere was paſt, and finding the coſt of Guynea moſt tempeſtuous, hee ſaw in reaſon that the bay of Æthiopia would be our vtter ouerthrow, and infect vs all to death: whereupon he aduiſed vs to be reſpectiue of our ſelues, and to diuert our purpoſe from S. Tomé, either for Braſil or the Weſt India, yeelding many reaſons that it was our beſt courſe: but we all with one voice deſired to proceede for S. Tomé. And ſo departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our courſe for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the ſholds of Madrabomba, but very dangerouſly ran into ſhold water, ſtill hoping of the beſt. In fine we were enforced to beare vp & take ſome other courſe; for the time waſted, our men fell ſicke, and the coaſt was contagious alwayes raging & tempeſtuous. The water falling from the heauens did ſtinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell, either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

The Iſle of Mayo.

A moſt contagious & filthy place.

So by a general conſent it was held to be our beſt courſe to goe for the Weſt India; & ſo much the rather, becauſe we had good pilots for that place, who vndertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our courſe for the Iſles of Cape Verde, & arriuing at the Iſle of S. Iago the 30 of Auguſt, we preſently landed at Praia, where we found a ſmal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

After we were departed from this vile coaſt of Guyny our General to our great comforts began to recouer ſtrength; ſo that being now at Praia, he was able to land with vs. In our landing the people made a ſhew of great reſiſtance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, hauing a ſmall fort in it, with 6 or 8 caſt pieces.

The towne of Praya vpon the Iſle of S. Iago taken.

Being here on ſhore, and finding nothing left in the towne, diuers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded conſent, and ſo we marched towards the citie with 280 ſouldiers. As we paſſed by the Negros and herdſmen, they would crie vnto vs Guarda S. Iago. That night we loſt our way, & lay vnder a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was ſhot off to giue vs notice where the towne was: ſo wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all ſpred ouer with people made ſhew of feare only to draw vs into the town: but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by vs and viewing vs very much. But when we came in ſight of the towne, we could ſee no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very ſteepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The ſtrength and ſituation of this towne was ſufficient to haue danted a man of very good courage, for it ſtandeth between two ſteepe cliffes ſtrongly houſed, & three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefeſt and beſt ſtanding vpon the top of the hill right ouer the towne: ſo that from thence with muſkets they command euery ſtreete, the other 2 forts ſtanding by the waters ſide, all three commanding the rode, and theſe two euery ſtreete in the towne. Upon the front of the towne the ſea beateth, the reſt ſtandeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not acceſſible but by one ſmall path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall ſeeing himſelfe thus ſtraighted, and perceiuing the drift of the Spaniard was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reaſon of many ſtraights and aduantageable places, with an excellent reſolution (like vnto himſelfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: aſſure your ſelues that the deuice of the Spaniard ſhall ſerue our turne this day: for they will ſuffer vs quietly to paſſe downe into their ſuppoſed trappe, and then will purſue vs, then which nothing can

A deſcription of the town of S. Iago taken by ſir Francis Drake 1585.

can happen better. The day is ours now ſhew your ſelues as I know you will: and ſo preſently we deſcended into the trench. And being downe the enemy purſued with a mightie crie, and all the cliffes on both ſides were beſet full of men; ſhot, and ſtones we wanted none from them on euery ſide in great plenty; for this naturall trench was not halfe a muſket ſhot ouer. Thoſe that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were ſo receiued that they made a ſtand, and neuer more came neere vs. We had nowe halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were receiued with the ſtreetes full of ſouldiers, who ioyned with vs at the puſh of the pike. But their captaine and diuers of them being ſlaine (feare poſſeſſing them) they fled: and our Generall purſuing with ſuch furious ſpeede, did ſo diſmay them that they fled the towne, and the third of Auguſt we poſſeſſed both the lower forts.

The towne of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley.

Being now maſters of the towne, we preſently by the Generals direction (whoſe ſkill, ſpirit, and diligence can neuer haue ſufficient commendation) baricadoed vp all the ſtreets, and brought our ſelues into a very conuenient ſtrength. After we had bene ſixe houres in the towne the Portugals ſtill comming in great multitudes to the vpper fort, began to ſally downe vpon vs, and to aſſault vs at euery baricado: ſo that in the firſt aſſault they ſlew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had ſmall cauſe of triumph, for their loſſe was thriſe more then ours: but they ſtill proſecuted their aſſault, not giuing vs time either to ſleepe or eate, ſo that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increaſe to the number of three thouſand perſons: but we dayly loſt of our poore number. Whileſt we were thus keeping the towne, our ſhips came about vnto vs, who receiued many dangerous ſhot from the vpper caſtle. Our Generall finding himſelfe thus ſtreighted, & diſcreetely looking into the policie and ſtrength of the enemy, and ſcarſe able to defend any one aſſault more, ſent to the forts and to his ſhips that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they ſhould ſhoote at the vpper fort with all poſſible diligence, and ſend all the boates aſhore, which was accordingly perfourmed. And wee likewiſe keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemie ſuppoſing that our purpoſe was to aſſault the vpper fort, (which God knowes was moſt impregnable for vs) retyred from their plotted purpoſe for the defence thereof. So we in a ſouldierlike order with very good ſafety departed the towne, although the Portugals hauing eſpied our Generals policie came very furiouſly vpon the backe of vs, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

Iſla del Fuego.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ſhip with wine and cloth, which did greatly refreſh our men. From hence we ſayled to an Iſle called Fuego, being a very ſmall Iſle, with a very high hill in the midſt of it, which continually burneth: this Iſle is inuincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent ſearch we found a ſmall path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and ſo were maſters of the Iſle the eleuenth of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Iſle yeelded vs nothing but miſerable infection. One night wee had a ſhowre of aſhes which fell ſo thicke into our ſhips from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger vpon the vpper decke.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we ſhaped our courſe for Dominica an Iſle in the Weſt India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, ſo that the hole could not relieue the ſicke, the diſeaſe was ſo vile that men grew lothſome vnto themſelues, franticke and deſperately rauing, among whom our good Generals part was not the leaſt; for his diſeaſe was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the loſſe of thoſe whom he loued were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himſelfe vnto. But had not his mind bene inuincible and his deſires aboue the ordinary courſe of men, it had bene impoſſible that life ſhould now haue reſted in him: but God (I hope) hath preſerued him to ſome exceeding good purpoſe.

Dominica.
Two excellent hote bathes.

Arriuing at Dominica the ſeuenteenth of October, with all our men ſicke and feeble, wee found there two hote bathes, wherein our weake men waſhing themſelues were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place vſed vs with great kindneſſe, ſo that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we ſtayed vntill the 25 of Nouember. From Dominica we ſayled to Margarita, betweene the Iſle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we ſawe a Flemiſh ſhip riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboord vs, and brought with them my lord Admirals paſſe. By which meanes our General would in no ſort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Iſle Buen aire our Fliboat was caſt away, & ſome of the men loſt, but the moſt part ſaued. Coaſting all the ſhore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a ſmall frigat laden with Guiny corne, the eleuenth of September: ſhe had in her money to the valew of 500 pound, linnen-

Margarita.

linnen cloth and China ſilke, all which our General beſtowed vpon his company to comfort them after their long ſuſtained miſeries: Out of which frigat we had 2 good pilots for thoſe coaſts: for our pilot, that promiſed many things before we came thither, was now abſent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully looſe vs. Arriuing at S. Martha, two leagues Weſt from the towne in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, & ſo marched to the towne being often times encountred by the way, and in a narrow way at our deſcent downe a hill, they had placed two caſt pieces of braſſe, which we recouered, and ſo entred the towne, the enemie flying before vs. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Caſtilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great traueller, who knew the whole ſtate of the Weſt India, Malucos, & Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpoſe was to ſaue the towne from burning, wherein he preuailed, but ranſome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great proteſtations of great pouerty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a priſoner loſt there by ſir Francis Drake, with ſome reliefe of victuals. Hauing ſtayed there al the time of Chriſtmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great ſubmiſſion vnto him, for they were now within a league of vs with 700 ſouldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithſtāding intreat fauour with great humilitie. Whileſt we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe vnto vs: ſo wee ſhaped our courſe for Iamaica, and miſſing the rode, were conſtrained to ſaile round about the Iſle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe abſolutely againe forſooke vs with the ſmal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods fauourable help wee arriued in the road of Iamaica the 29 of January, which is very dangerous to enter by reaſon of the ſholds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the countrey, where the towne ſtandeth; the people all on horſebacke made ſhew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being maſters of the towne and whole Iſle, the people ſubmitted themſelues to our Generals mercy: and here they prouided for vs great ſtore of dried beefe, and Caſſaui meale, a baſe food, yet the beſt that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at ſea. This Iſle is a marueilous fertil Iſle, & is as a garden or ſtore houſe for diuers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the reſt of the Indies we haue not ſeene: it aboundeth with beeues and Caſſaui, beſides moſt pleaſant fruits of diuers ſorts. We haue not found in the Indies a more pleaſant and holſome place. During the time that we remained in this Iſle the captaine of the Iſle came often aboord vs, we hauing pledges for the ſecurity of their promiſe. They were in fine at our Generals deuotion, to diſpoſe of al things, and in all things as he pleaſed, ſo that now we were as one people & in one peace together. Being almoſt ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ſhips boat the ſecond of March, with whom our Generall conſorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perſwaſion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing frō Iamaica the 6 of March, we ſailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better ſtrength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we purpoſed to entrap the watch, & ſo to ſacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch diſcouering vs, made great fires, and the towne preſently ſhot off a great piece, and anſwered with fires. Notwithſtanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ſhips vnder the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpoſe: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is inuincible by nature. It ſtandeth vpon the top of a very ſteepe hill, bordering cloſe to the ſea: ſo enuironed with woods of ſuch exceeding thicknes, that there is no paſſage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing vp the hill, only hauing one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very ſtrongly fortified, ſo that it is not to be approched vnto, ſo that with the loſſe of ſome few men, we retired from this enterpriſe, being altogether impoſſible to be atchieued by our few and weake men.

Santa Martha taken.

The Iſle and chiefe towne of Iamaica taken.

We departed from Truxillo the ſecond of April and went for Puerto de Cauallos lower down in the bay, ſtil nouriſhing our hope of good ſucceſſe: and comming thither found it reaſonably fortified, but wee preſently preuailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the moſt poore and miſerable place of all India. Now our hopes were all fruſtrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voiage: our General reſeruing vnto himſelfe his ſilent inward impatience, laboured to doe ſome memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to ſearch with his boats ſome narrow paſſage or Iſthmos for the South ſea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it ſhould ſerue him to great purpoſe; againſt which there could be no reaſonable contradiction. All his chiefeſt ſea men conſented hereunto, but eſpecially the Captaine of the Admirall. So ſayling with the ſhips to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leauing the

Puerto de Cauallos taken.

the ſhips well mored the tenth of Aprill he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his paſſage through the land. Up this riuer by many uncertaine windings we paſſed 30 leagues and better, where we found a ſtrong built fort, a towne, and diuers ſtore-houſes: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miſerable people that we tooke, that the South ſea was 20 leagues from the nereſt of that riuer, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonſonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to march unto: ſo that now we were in worſe caſe then before: for wee were fallen ſicke with the unholſomeneſſe of this ayre, and our victuals ſo waſted, as that we were deſperate how to recouer our countrey. Whereupon with moſt unwilling minds we returned to our ſhipping, and with all poſſible expedition weyed, & ſo laboured upon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of land. Being out of the bay, wee ſhaped our courſe for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whoſe reſtles ſpirit continually laboured to auoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Beuice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to reuictual, and to haue freſh men, of which we ſtood in good aſſurance, & ſo to depart for the ſtreits of Magellan, and ſo by his very good policie would haue concluded his voyage in the Eaſt India, which plat I thinke it unneceſſary here to reueale, being put in principall truſt by him.

Guatimala, Sonſonate, and Sacatocaluca.

Their returne

Being thwart Hauana, by what chance I know not, but all his ſhips forſooke him the 13 of May, and here in a deſperate place hee was left deſperately alone. The George departed by conſent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our miſery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ſhip that was euer before in the Indies, beſides our miſerable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithſtanding we were enforced without ſtay to diſemboque: which happily being performed, we ſhaped our courſe for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arriued there the fifteenth of June, not hauing one houres victuals to ſpare, and there by our countreymen we were well refreſhed: where we ſtayed till the 24 of June, ſtill expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his laſt purpoſe: but ſhe not comming, and that plat ouerthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erle of Eſſex bound to the ſeas, with whom wee preſently departed in his lordſhips ſhip, to doe him our humble ſeruice.

A voyage of Maſter *VVilliam Parker* of *Plimmouth* gentleman, to *Margarita, Iamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cauallos* ſituate within the bay of *Honduras*, and taken by ſir *Anthony Sherley* and him, as likewiſe vp *Rio dolce*: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize vpon *Campeche* the chiefe towne of *Iucatan*, which he tooke and ſacked with ſixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and ſurprized alſo the towne of *Sebo*.

IN the yeere 1596, Maſter William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman being furniſhed with a tall ſhippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ſhip called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himſelfe went captaine, and the barke called the Aduenture of fiue and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed frō the foreſayd hauen of Plimmouth in the moneth of Nouember, hauing one hundreth men in his company.

Margarita.

Sixe Engliſh men redeemed

Truxillo aſſailed

The firſt place where wee touched in the Weſt Indies was the Iſle of Margarita on the coaſt of Tierra firma, where we tooke a Spaniſh gentleman and others, who for his ranſome ſet at libertie Maſter Iames Willis, and fiue other Engliſhmen which were priſoners in Cumaná, who otherwiſe were neuer like to haue come from thence. Thus paſſing from thence, wee ſayled ouer to the Iſle of Iamaica, where the ſecond of March we met with ſir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Iſland, and was now almoſt in a readines to depart. And here conſorting our ſelues with him, we departed from Iamaica the ſixt of March, and reſolued to ſet upon the ſtrong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And hauing ſayled to Cape de Corrientes upon Cuba, to ſeeke a barke of mine for our better ſtrength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purpoſed to intrap the watch, and ſo to haue ſacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch diſcouering us, made great fires, and the towne preſently ſhot off a great piece, and anſwered with fires. Notwithſtanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ſhips under the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpoſe, for the towne is inuincible by nature, and ſtandeth vpon the top of a very ſteepe hill ioyning cloſe to the ſea, enuironed with woods of ſuch exceeding thicknes, that there is no paſſage through the trees: there is alſo but one very narrow and ſteepe lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very ſtrongly fortified; ſo that it is not to be approched vnto, vnleſſe it be vpon the ſudden, and with ſurprize of the watch: wherefore with the loſſe of ſome few men wee retired from this enterprize.

From hence we paſſed vp farther into the gulfe the ſecond of April, with intention to inuade the towne of Puerto de Cauallos, where wee arriued the ſeuenth of April, and tooke the ſame, finding it well fortified, but nothing anſwering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto fruſtrate of our hopes, reſolued here to enter vp to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to paſſe ouerland vnto the South ſea. Wherefore wee ſet forward, and entred aboue thirty leagues vp the ſayd Rio dolce, thinking to haue paſſed ouerland with two companies of men, and to haue caried a pinneſſe in ſixe quarters to be ſet together with ſkrewes, and therein to haue embarked our ſelues in the South ſea, and there for a time to haue tried our fortune; and to haue returned ouerland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke no effect, becauſe of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was giuen out at the firſt. Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

Puerto de Cauallos taken.

They paſſe aboue 30 leags vp Rio dolce.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I ſet my courſe for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the Eaſt part of Iucatan from whence I ranged al the North coaſt of the ſaid promontory of Iucatan, vntill I came vnto Cape Deſconoſcido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leauing my ſhip ſixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning * I landed hard by the monaſterie of San Franciſco, and tooke the ſayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein fiue hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes cloſe adioyning to the ſame eight thouſand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled vpon my firſt aſſault by ten of the clocke in the morning aſſembling together renued their ſtrength, and ſet furiouſly vpon me and my ſmall company. In which aſſault I loſt ſome ſixe of my men, and my ſelfe was ſhot vnder the left breſt with a bullet, which bullet lieth ſtill in the chine of my backe. Being thus put vnto our ſhifts wee deuiſed on the ſudden a newe ſtratagem: for hauing diuers of the towneſmen priſoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in ſtead of a baricado to defend vs from the fury of the enemies ſhot. And ſo with enſigne diſplayed, taking with vs our ſixe dead men, wee retired with more ſafetie to the hauen, where we tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in ſiluer and other good commodities, *which were preſently to bee tranſported to S. Iuan de Vllua, and brought the ſame and our Periago or Canoa to my ſhip, which lay in two fadome water ſixe leagues from the town, being not able to come any neerer for the ſholds vpō that coaſt. Ouer againſt the place where our ſhip rode, ſtoode a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo, which we likewiſe tooke, where wee found Champeche-wood good to dye withal, with waxe, and hony. This done we left this coaſt, and turned vp to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored euery day at noone, becauſe of the brizes, and in turning vp I loſt my barke called the Aduenture, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as ſince we vnderſtand by ſome Spaniſh priſoners that were taken in thoſe parts. After we had ſtayed fiue weekes on this coaſt, wee ſhaped our courſe for Hauana, where finding nothing, we diſemboqued, and came along by the Iſle of Bermuda, and croſſed ouer to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence ſayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the firſt of Iuly, and within two dayes after arriued at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Eſſex ſetting forth with a great fleet for the Iſles of the Açores.

Cabo de Cotoche.

Cabo deſconoſcido.

* On Eaſter euen 1597.

The towne of Campeche takē.

A new ſtratagem.

* To the value of 5000 pound

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

An excellent ruttier for the Iſlands of the *VVeſt Indies*, and for *Tierra firma*, and *Nueua Eſpanna*.

If a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee muſt ſteere Southweſt vntil hee hath ſight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Iſle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be theſe. An high point ſloping to the ſea, & at the Eaſter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they ſhew to be ſeparated from the maine of the Iſland & ſtand in 28 degrees & a halfe. And if thou wilt haue ſight of the Grand Canaria, and findeſt thy ſelfe with Punta de Naga, thou ſhalt then ſteere Southweſt and by South, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Canaria which ſtandeth in 28 degrees. And thou muſt come to ankor on the

Southeaſt ſide of the Iſland. But I aduiſe thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another courſe, and that as followeth.

The courſe that a man muſt keepe departing in winter for the *Indies* from *Sant Lucar.*

Cape Cantin.

A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin.

DEparting from Sant Lucar in winter thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South keeping along the coaſt, becauſe if thou goe farre from the coaſt, thou ſhalt meete with the wind off the ſea vntill thou be as high ſhot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the ſea. And thou ſhalt ſee a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Caſa del Cauallero. And from thence thou ſhalt ſteere thy olde courſe, that is Southweſt and by South for the Iſles of Alegrança and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegrança, thou ſhalt ſteere thence Southweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt ſee the Canaria, which is a round high land, and ſtandeth in twentie eight degrees.

What thou muſt doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the ſhore.

The bay of Cadiz.

San Pedro.

San Sebaſtian.

Los Puercos.

The Diamant.

WHen thou art fifty leagues ſhot on thy way into the ſea Southweſt off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the ſea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou ſhalt ſteere Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and ſhalt hall with ſight of Cabos del Plata, which ſhew when thou art a ſeaboord ſo farre as thou mayeſt deſcrie them, to be like two points of white ſand: and if it be cleere thou ſhalt ſee within the land certain high hilles lying Northweſt and by Weſt called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou ſhalt haue thirtie fadomes water, and ſand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou ſhalt goe along Northweſt by the coaſt: and if thou be in thirtie or forty fadomes, thou ſhalt haue oaze; but if thou bee in leſſe then thirtie fadomes, thou ſhalt haue other ſounding; which if it chance, then thou art againſt S. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou ſhalt ſee the Ermitage of Sant Sebaſtian, which ſeemeth to be a ſhippe vnder ſayle. And thou ſhalt goe into the bay taking heede of the Puercos, giue them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou falleſt with the bay, and wouldeſt goe into the bay, thou ſhalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be ſounding: and finding thy ſelfe in rockie ground, thou ſhalt ſteere North becauſe of ſhunning the Puercos: and yet giue them not too great a birth becauſe of The Diamant, and ſo thou mayeſt goe in, ſounding when thou thinkeſt good. And being benighted and then not Eaſt and Weſt with the bay, and if thou doeſt not goe into it, then make the largeſt boord thou canſt keeping off till day.

The Canaries.

The Iſle Deſeada in the Weſt Indies ſtandeth in 15 degrees of latitude.

If thou be at the Canaries and wouldeſt ſayle to Nueua Eſpanna, thou ſhalt ſayle foure and twenty houres South becauſe of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou ſhalt goe Weſtſouthweſt, vntill thou finde thy ſelfe in twenty degrees. And then thou muſt goe Weſt and by South, which is the courſe for the Iſle Deſeada. And from Deſeada thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by North, becauſe of the variation of the compaſſe. And falling with Deſeada, thou ſhalt finde it to riſe low with the ſea: and it ſtandeth in 15 degrees. And the eaſtermoſt part is the ſharpeſt, and ſmaller then the Weſt point.

Markes to know Dominica by.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South vntill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northweſt ſide is a riuer, where thou mayeſt water. The marks to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And ſeeing it when thou art farre off to the ſeaward, it maketh in the middeſt a partition; ſo that a man would thinke it deuided the Iſland in two parts. And this Iſland ſtandeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

Guadalupe. Monſerate.

Santa Cruz.

I aduiſe thee that if thou wouldeſt goe for Nueua Eſpanna, and ſo doeſt paſſe betweene Guadalupe and Monſerate to the Weſtward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou ſhalt go Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo ſhalt haue ſight of Santa Cruz, which ſtandeth in ſeuenteene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to know it be theſe. It is an Iſland not very high, and lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, and at the Eaſt end it is lower then at the Weſt end.

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Cape Roxo.

And going forward on thy courſe thou ſhalt runne Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt goe to haue ſight of the Iſle of San Iuan de Puerto rico, which is an Iſland lying Eaſt and Weſt, and ſtandeth in eighteene degrees. And the markes be theſe. That on the Weſt end it is loweſt, and the Eaſtermoſt is the higheſt. And if thou fall with the middeſt of the Iſland, then thou ſhalt goe a long it to the Weſt vnto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Iſle. And from thence the coaſt runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou muſt ſteere Weſt and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Mona. And the marks thereof be theſe, it is a low land lying Eaſt and Weſt: and on the Eaſt end it is higheſt, it hath a ſlope towards the ſea, and ſtandeth in 18. degrees, rather leſſe then more. And if it be by day, then thou ſhalt runne Weſt and ſhalt ſee Saona: which is an Iſland lying without Hiſpaniola, and lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, and is full of trees; and hath certaine ſandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou ſhalt ſee within the land of Hiſpaniola certaine hie hils called las Sierras de Yguey. And being benighted vpon Mona, then thou ſhalt ſteere Weſt and by South, becauſe of certaine ſhoalds that lye off Saona: but hauing day light and no ſight of land, thou ſhalt looſe vp Northweſt and ſo paſſe by it, and as thou goeſt along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and ſeeſt the ſea to be caſt vp into the aire, then thou ſhalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and theſe mountings vp are called The Spoutes.

Mona.

Saona.

Las Sierras de Yguey.

Los Buffaderos or The ſpoutes.

But I aduiſe thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou falleſt with Santo Domingo, then thou muſt keepe the hils called Sierras de las minas viejas to the Northweſt. And if thou wouldeſt goe into Santo Domingo, and meeteſt there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the beſt way is to runne Eaſt till it be day. And hauing daylight thou ſhalt caſt about, and ſo thou muſt ply to wind-ward vntill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is paſt, make all the ſaile thou canſt to hale with the ſight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou haſt ſight thereof thou ſhalt lye with thy ſtemme with a ſandie Bay, which lyeth on the other ſide: and thou muſt take in thy maine ſaile, and go ſo till thou bring thy ſelfe open with the midſt of the riuer; and ſo hauing opened the riuer, thou muſt go with great care in the middeſt of the ſame, with all thy ſailes vp, except thy maine ſaile, and thou muſt haue thy boat out, if it be needefull to ſound or to tow thy ſhip, if ſhe caſt too much to the looſe, for the currents will caſt here to the looſe: wherefore bee ſure to haue thy boat out to helpe thy ſteerage: and this is the way whereby thou muſt worke.

Santo Domingo.

Calle de las Damas.

The courſe from *Santo Domingo* to go for *Nueua Eſpanna.*

I Aduiſe thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueua Eſpanna, thou ſhalt goe Southweſt and by South, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Punta de Niçao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Vieias, and towards the Northweſt of them thou ſhalt ſee a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou ſhalt ſtirre from this poynt of Niçao Weſtnorthweſt, and thou ſhalt ſee the point of Puerto Hermoſo, and the Bay that it maketh: and thou muſt be ſure to keepe neere the ſhore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker till thou be paſt all the riuers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, becauſe it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou muſt be ready, that when thine anker commeth home, thou haue thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on ſhore with foure or fiue men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayeſt let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayeſt ſend on ſhore to moare, ſo ſhalt thou be beſt moared.

Punta de Nizao.

Hocoa.

Puerto Hermoſo.

The courſe from *Hocoa* to *Nueua Eſpanna.*

GOing from Hocoa to Nueua Eſpanna thou ſhalt ſtirre Southweſt: and this way thou ſhalt find the Iſles Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath theſe marks: It is a low land with the ſea, and full of trees: and on the Eaſt ſide an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath theſe markes. A blacke round land, and the Eaſtermoſt part thereof is higheſt, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou ſhalt go Weſt, vntill thou be ſo farre ſhot as the Frailes: and from thence goe Weſt and by North, and keeping this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this courſe thou haue ſight of a little Iſland, thou mayeſt make account it is the Iſle of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou ſhalt go Weſt, keeping thy ſelfe out vntill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou muſt go Weſt and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in ſome part thereof certaine white cliffes.

Beata, and the marks therof.

Alto velo, and the marks therof.

Frailes.

The Iſle of Baque.

Cape de Tiburon.

I aduiſe thee that when thou art againſt Cape de Tiburon, thou ſtirre Northweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Cuba, which lyeth Eaſt and Weſt: and thou ſhalt ſee certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the higheſt of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy ſelfe ſo, thou mayeſt runne Weſt vnto Cape de Cruz. And before thou ſeeſt Cape de Cruz thou ſhalt ſee the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from theſe hils to Cape de Cruz the

Cuba.

S. Iago de Cuba.

Sierras de Tarquino.

The nine fathoms.

land wareth lower and lower, and it is loweſt of all at the Cape it ſelfe. And if thou chance to haue the water troubled, as though thy ſhip did raiſe vp the ſand from the ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou ſhalt find no leſſe water vpon it, and it is the ſhalloweſt water that thou ſhalt haue.

Cape de Cruz in 19. deg. and better.

Thou muſt marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coaſt that commeth from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and beginneth the courſe that goeth North and South, and ſtandeth in 19. degrees, rather more then leſſe.

Los Iardines.

The Iſle de Pinos.

From Cape de Cruz thou muſt ſtirre Weſtnorthweſt: and this way thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſle de Pinos, and if thou haue faire weather, then thou muſt goe Northweſt and by Weſt, becauſe of the currents that will ſet thee out to ſea. And keeping this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Iſles called los Iardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Weſtſouthweſt vntill thou haue brought thy ſelfe out from The Iardines. And being by day thou ſhalt keepe off the land, and ſhalt goe Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt ſee the Iſle de Pinos.

The markes to know the *Cape de Santo Antonio.*

Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Sant Anton in 22. degrees.

The headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and vpon the Cape it ſelfe it hath two or three thicke woods, and the coaſt lyeth Northweſt and Southeaſt. And thou muſt alſo take good heed that thou haue ſight on the ſame coaſt of a white ſandie Bay; and it is on the ſame coaſt that lyeth Northweſt and Southeaſt. And theſe be the markes from Punta de las Arenas, or The poynt of the ſands, to the Cape of Saint Anthonie, and from the Cape de Corrientes to Punta de las Arenas thou ſhalt haue a great Bay, being ſo long, that if thou be not very neere the ſhore thou canſt not ſee land, it is ſo low. And if thou ſee not the land well, it will ſhew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony ſtandeth in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man muſt keepe from *Dominica* to *Martinino*, and ſo to *Tierra firma.*

The Teſtigos.

Frailes.

Puerto de Iuan Griego.

I Aduiſe thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldeſt goe for Margarita, that thou ſtirre South and by Weſt, becauſe of the great currents that goe here, and ſet Northweſt. And by this courſe thou ſhalt find the Teſtigos, which be 4 or 5 Iſlands: and if thou wilt not goe ſo much to windward, then thou ſhalt ſee Frailes, which bee three ſmall Iſlands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is preſently in doubling of the point on the Eaſt ſide to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Iuan Griego, which lieth on the Northſide, then go neere the land, and along the coaſt of the Weſt, and preſently thou ſhalt haue ſight of puerto de Iuan Griego; it ſtandeth in 11. degrees.

Curaçao.

Aruba.

Monjes three litle Iſlands.

Coquebacoa.

I aduiſe thee that going from Matalino, which ſtandeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldeſt goe to Cartagena, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South, and by this way thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſles of Curaçao and Aruba, which ſtand in 12. degrees: from theſe Iſlands thou ſhalt go Weſt; and when thou art North and South with Monjes, thou ſhalt ſee them to be three little white Iſlands, and they are white becauſe of the multitude of birds that are there: they ſtand in a triangle. From thence thou ſhalt goe Weſt, if it be by day, and ſo ſhalt haue ſight of Coquebacoa that ſtandeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northweſt: and by day thou ſhalt caſt to goe for the land againe Weſtſouthweſt. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou ſhalt ſee in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Auite.

Baia honda.

Portete.

Going from this poynt of Coquebacoa thou ſhalt run Weſt, and ſhalt run along the coaſt, and ſhalt go to haue the ſight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land euen with the ſea.

Cape de la vela.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde ſhewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

Cape del Aguja.

And going from this Cape to haue ſight of Cape del Aguja thou muſt ſtirre Southweſt, and thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Neuadas. And then preſently thou ſhalt ſee the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are theſe: It is a low Cape, and vpon it is a copple not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Neuadas, or ſnowy mountaines.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the courſe abouesayd, and commeſt into a whitiſh water, then ſound and thou ſhalt find 40. fathoms, and thy ſound will be certaine ſmal ſandy white oaze, and ſome ſmal weeds. And then thou mayeſt make account that thou art North and South with the riuer called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midſt of the Sierras Neuadas. And being benighted thou ſhalt go Weſtnorthweſt, or Weſt and by North vntil day: and being day then thou mayeſt hale in with ſight of the land Southweſt, becauſe thou mayeſt be ſure to come right in with it.

Rio de Palominos.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South, and ſhalt goe to haue ſight of Morro Hermoſo, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Weſtward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ſhip of ſaile, and drawing towards night, then thou muſt come to anker behind Morro hermoſo: and after the firſt watch thou muſt ſet ſaile, and go out Weſt and by North, becauſe thou muſt be ſure to keepe a ſeabord from the Iſland de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to ſeaward right againſt Samba.

Morro hermoſo.
Rio grande.
Iſla de Arenas.
Samba or Zamb

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by North: and ſo thou ſhalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou ſhall goe along the coaſt, and ſhalt ſee Morro hermoſo, which, as I haue ſayd, lyeth to the Weſt of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoſo, thou muſt goe Weſt, and muſt take heede, as I ſayde before, of the Iſle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South off Samba. Samba hath for a marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou ſhalt ſee El buio del Gato, which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the ſeaward: and alſo more to the Weſt thou ſhalt ſee the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land euen with the water: and there endeth the coaſt which lyeth Eaſt and Weſt. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt.

El Buio del Gato.
Punta de la canoa
Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted againſt Samba, thou ſhalt take in thy ſailes, & lye off to the offward vntil midnight without any ſaile abroad vntil midnight: and from midnight forward thou ſhalt lye ſo into the land without ſayle: and if in the breake of day thou ſee no land, then goe Southweſt, and if this way thou haue ſight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ſhip bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meane thou mayeſt not with a great ſhip come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa vntill thou come to Cartagena, becauſe in many places there are not aboue 3 or 4 fathoms at the moſt. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right ouer the harbour of Cartegena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that neuer was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying Eaſt and Weſt, and all the land is low, and ſeemeth to be full of trees. Hauing theſe ſights, then make account thou art againſt Cartagena, and to goe in thou haſt nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thy ſelfe hard aboord the poynt of Ycacos: and then when thou commeſt to double the poynt del Iudeo, giue a breadth off, becauſe there is a ſhoald.

The land markes of Cartagena.
The poynt of Ycacos.
A ſhoald.

I aduiſe thee that if thou be benighted when thou art at The poynt de la canoa, and wouldeſt enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a ſhoald that lyeth halfe a league to the ſea, and ſo thou ſhalt goe in 8 fathoms, and ſandie ground. And when thou findeſt thy ſelfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbout will bee open before thee. And if thou haue any freſh Northerne winds, then looſe vp to the ſeaward, and lye with thy ſtemme Eaſt-ſoutheaſt, and ſo thou mayeſt goe in Eaſt through the middeſt of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayeſt goe in ſafely, becauſe it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſland called Cares, and it is an high land.

A ſhoald halfe a league to the ſea.
The Iſle of Cares.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou muſt bring thy ſelfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence ſtirre Weſt till thou bring thy ſelfe North and South with Cabeça de Catiua: and then goe Southweſt and by Weſt, and thou ſhalt ſo fall with Rio de Franciſco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hils lying Eaſt and Weſt. And on the Weſt of the riuer of Franciſco thou ſhalt ſee certaine cliffes that bee ſixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the ſea.

Sal Medina.
Cabeza de Catiua.
Rio de Franciſco.

I aduiſe thee that going this courſe aboue written; if thou ſee 3 or 4 Iſles lying lowe with the ſea, and alſo lying Eaſt and Weſt, thou mayeſt make account that they be the Iſlands de Catiua, and then runne Weſt, and ſo thou ſhalt go along the coaſt. And if thou ſee by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and vpon it thou ſhalt ſee a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

The Iſles de Catiua.
Punta de Samblas.
Sierras de Santa Cruz.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the ſea winds, when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by North, that thou mayeſt haue ſea-roome, and take the Briſas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southweſt, and if by this way thou ſee a row of high hils on a coaſt that lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Hauing kept this courſe aboueſaid, and hauing ſight of the former marke, thou mayeſt account that thou art on the Weſt ſide of Nombre de Dios.

Sierras de las minas viejas.
Puerto de velo alto.
Nombre de Dios.

Furthermore when thou haſt ſight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou ſeeſt as it were a litle table, if it be higheſt toward the Eaſt, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I ſay, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou muſt keepe thy prow right againſt this hill, and comming neerer to the ſhore, thou ſhalt ſee a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou mayeſt goe in what depth thou thinkeſt good, or at which place thou findeſt moſt water in. And to the Weſt of the harbor thou ſhalt ſee two or three Iſlands called Iſlas de los Baſtimentos.

Sierra de Capira.
A ledge of rocks.
Iſlas de los Baſtimentos.

The courſe to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Briſas or Northerne winds, and wouldeſt goe for Cartagena, thou ſhalt come out in the morning, and ſhalt go Northnorthweſt vntill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then caſt about to the land, vntill thou be hard aboord the ſhore, and ſo thou muſt go turning vntill thou haſt doubled Cabeça de Catiua: and hauing doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayeſt: and if thou be Eaſtnortheaſt off it, then thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſlands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Iſlands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then preſently thou ſhalt haue ſight of the gallie that is ouer Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

Iſlas de Baru.

I aduiſe thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time aboueſayde, and commeſt from Cabeça de Catiua, if the wind will not ſuffer thee to lye but Weſt, then going thus if thou ſeeſt a great high Iſland full of mountaines, and on the North ſide thereof thou ſee a ledge of rocks two leagues into the ſea, thou mayeſt be ſure it is Iſla fuerte: but if thou ſee not the rocks, giue them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayeſt ride well on the Weſt ſide of them, betwixt the maine and them in fifteene fathomes; and the ſounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Iſlands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayeſt goe ſafely. And if any man aſke thee how thou knoweſt the Iſlands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayeſt anſwere truely, that the Iſles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine ſandie bayes to ſeaward; and the ſayd Iſles haue a good depth two or three leagues to the ſea: and this depth is called The Bacilla. And theſe are all the markes for the Iſlandes of San Barnardo. And touching the Iſles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Iſlands and very euen with the ſea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Iſla fuerte.
A ledge of rocks.
Iſlas de San Barnardo.
La Bacilla.

A ruttier from *Cartagena* to *Hauana* in *Cuba*.

Comming from Cartagena to goe to Hauana, thou muſt goe Northnorthweſt vntill thou be in fouretcene degrees: and then forwardes thou ſhalt goe with great care to anker euery night, and when it is day ſet ſayle. And this is to bee done in this place becauſe of the ſhoalds of Serrana: and ſo thou mayeſt procecde with a care to anker when thou commeſt about Serranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And vpon it thou ſhalt ſee a lowe flatte land lying Northeaſt and Southweſt: and the ſea beateth vpon it round about, except that on the Southeaſt part it hath certaine ſhelues of ſand, and on the Weſt ſide it hath a certain litle copple, which from ſea ſeemeth to bee a ſhippe vnder ſayle: and being Northeaſt and Southweſt off it, ſcant a league from the ſhoald commeth out on the Weſt ſide a certayne ſhoald, whereupon the ſea doth alwayes beate.

The ſhoalds of Serrana.
Serranilla.

I aduiſe thee that if thou canſt not paſſe on the Weſt ſide, then thou muſt goe betwixt the ſayd little copple that is like a ſayle and the ſhoald; for the paſſage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northweſt, and ſeeſt a lowe land with the ſea, and certaine white ſandy bayes, and on the Weſt ſide ſeeſt a low land, and on the Eaſtſide a little coaſt lying Eaſt and Weſt, thou mayeſt make account it is Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Corrientes.
Cape de San Antonio.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou muſt goe Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white ſandie bayes: and vpon the Cape it ſelfe thou ſhalt ſee two thicke groues of great trees, and they be vpon the Cape it ſelfe.

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Hauana in the time of the North winds, thou ſhalt goe Northweſt vntill thou be cleere of all the ſhoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canſt poſſibly, vntill thou bring thy ſelfe vnto 24. degrees, and there ſound, and thou ſhalt find it the Tortugas, and thy ſounding will be white ſand.

The Tortugas.

Thou muſt take heede what is ſaid in the Chapter before: for he that writ the ſame hath ſeene it, and bene witneſſe to this: that comming from Seranilla, and ſtirring North and by Eaſt he had ſight of an Iſland ſtanding in 16. degrees, and it is on the ſhoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou haue the wind large, goe Northeaſt and by Eaſt, becauſe of the variation of the compaſſe, and thou ſhalt make thy way Eaſtnortheaſt, and thou ſhalt fall with Iſla de Pinos. This I I ſay, becauſe the currents ſet ſometime Weſt: and ſo it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforeſayd Iſle ſtirring North and by Eaſt, for the wind would not ſuffer vs to lye neerer the Eaſt, and one euening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the ſame markes to our iudgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and becauſe night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, ſtirring Weſt: and about midnight we had land all high right ahead, & the coaſt lying Southweſt: and then we caſt and lay Northeaſt till day: And being day, wee ſaw the land all ahead, and we plied to wind-ward to the Eaſt, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southweſt. And to be ſhort, we went here on land in the ſame place that we firſt fell with in the euening before: and it was an Iſland called Coçumel, lying on the coaſt of Iucatan. And this Iſland was the land which we ſaw firſt, ſeeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middeſt of the Iſland, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gaue vs all things which we needed for our money: and wee carried our Aſtrolabs on ſhore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Iſland and the coaſt of Iucatan, and the Cape de Cotoche at pleaſure Northeaſt; and the water wil ſet in thy fauour: and thou muſt go till thou be in 24. degrees, and ſo thou ſhalt haue the ſounding of the Tortugas.

Seranilla.
An Iſland in 16. degrees.
Baxos de Cabo de Camaron.
The variation of the compaſſe.
Iſla de Pinos.
The currents ſet here ſometimes Weſt.
Iſla de Cozumel.
The latitude of Cozumel in 19. deg. and one tierce.
Las Tortugas.

The courſe to be kept from the *Cape de Santo Antonio* for *Nueua Eſpanna.*

If thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Eſpanna, and beeing late, thou ſhalt ſtirre Weſtnorthweſt till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou ſhalt ſtirre ſomething to the Weſt, vntil thou bring thy ſelfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art ſo, thou ſhalt go Southweſt, & by this way thou ſhalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees & a halfe, and the ſignes be theſe. Thou ſhalt find a ledge of high hils lying Northeaſt and Southweſt. But if thou chance to fall with a coaſt that lieth North and South, then thou mayeſt account, that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath theſe markes. It is a land not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou haue cleare weather, thou ſhalt ſee within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

The little Iſle called Vermeja.
Markes of Villa Rica.
The low ground of Almeria.
Las Sierras de Papalo.

And I aduiſe thee that beeing ſo farre ſhotte as the poynt called Punta delgada, which is the ende of all thoſe hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayeſt ſtirre thence South and by Weſt, and thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt, and ſhalt ſee a lowe land, and with this land thou ſhalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being ſo farre ſhotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou muſt ſtirre Southweſt: and this is the courſe that thou muſt keepe being ſhotte into the Bay. And thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt of the lowe land in ſight thereof: and keeping this courſe thou ſhalt ſee on the other ſide a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth ouer the houſe of Buytron: and as thou doeſt come neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou muſt bee ſure to keepe thy lead going, and ſhalt haue foure fathomes and a halfe or fiue fathomes, and ſo thou mayeſt goe through the middeſt of the chanell. And comming againſt the caſtle, thou ſhalt giue it ſome breadth off towards the Arreciſe or rocke: and hauing doubled the caſtle, thou ſhalt goe from thence and ſhalt bring thy ſelfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou ſhalt ride againſt the hoſpitall.

Saint Paul.
Monte de Carneros.
Caſa de Buytron.
The caſtle of S. Iuan de Vllua.
The hoſpitall.

I aduiſe thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meeteſt with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy beſt way is to bring thy ſelfe into thy coarſes, and lye by, plying to windward, and to ſeaward in 20. fathomes, which depth thou ſhalt haue neere the ſhore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canſt beſt, obſeruing what is aboueſaid.

And I aduiſe thee if thou come from Villa Rica, and findeſt thy ſelfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and ſeeſt no land, and ſeeſt that the water doth alter, thou ſhalt ſound 60. fathomes water: and if

The riuer of Almeria.

in this depth thou haſt oaze, make account thou art Eaſt and Weſt with the riuer of Almeria. This courſe is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueua Eſpanna without or aſeaboord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the *Alacranes* and the maine.

Alacranes or Scorpions.

The triangle.

Surta or Zarza.

The high hils of S. Martin.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldeſt goe for Nueua Eſpanna within the Alacranes, thou muſt ſtirre Weſt and by South, and by this way thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe in 20. fathoms; and if thou keeping this courſe findeſt leſſe water, then go Weſt and by North, and that way thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe into 20. fathomes againe, vntill thou haue brought thy ſelfe North and South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou ſhalt be alſo North and South with Surta: from thence thou ſhalt go Southweſt: and by this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northweſt and Southeaſt, and they haue a partition in the midſt, and to the Northweſt they be higheſt: and on the Southeaſt part within the land, thou ſhalt ſee ſomething an high land, called Pan de Minſapa, that is, the loafe of Minſapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

The hils of S. Martin ſtand in 18. degrees leſſe one fift part.

I aduiſe thee, that when thou falleſt with Saint Martin, and wouldeſt go with Saint Iohn de Vllua, then thou ſhalt goe Weſtnorthweſt: and this is the courſe that thou muſt keepe, if thou bee farre off at ſea, I meane ſo farre off as thou mayeſt well diſcrie the hils of S. Martin.

Rio de Medelin.

S. Iuan de Vllua in 18. deg. and a halfe.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou muſt goe Northweſt and by Weſt, and thou ſhalt ſo come along the coaſt, and thou ſhalt find the coaſt to bee low land: and comming this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of certaine little hilles not very high: then thou ſhalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro: and theſe hilles lye ouer the riuer of Medelin. And if when thou art Eaſt and Weſt, with The Volcan or hill that caſteth out fire, any man doe aſke thee, where the harbour of Sant Iuan de Vllua is, thou mayeſt truely anſwere, Weſt and by South, and it ſtandeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

The courſe to be kept from *Nueua Eſpanna* to the maine of *Spaine* in *Europe*.

The Tortugas.

The currents to the Eaſt.

Pan de Cabanas

Hauana.

COmming from S. Iuan de Vllua to goe for Spaine, thou ſhalt ſtirre Northeaſt vntill thou be in 24. degrees: and ſo beeing thou ſhalt goe Eaſt vntill thou bring thy ſelfe in the ſoundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground wil be white ſand. I aduiſe thee, that if it be by night, thou goe Eaſt; and finding the water to waxe ſhoalder, then goe Southweſt, with a care to keepe thy lead going, vntill thou looſe ground, and come into great depth, becauſe thou mayeſt fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this ſound for Hauana thou muſt ſtirre Southſoutheaſt, becauſe of the currents that carrie thee to the Eaſt. And if by this way thou haue ſight of an hie land, that ſeemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the Eaſt of this loafe thou ſhalt ſee a land that hath a plaine. It ſheweth to be low, euen with the ſea, and as ſmooth as the ſea: and from this land to the Eaſt the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Hauana thou muſt goe Eaſt. And if the wind will not let thee go that courſe, thou muſt turne vp till thou be vpon the harbour of Hauana.

The marks of the poynt of Hauana be theſe, that on the Eaſt ſide it hath an hie blacke land, which is ſloping to the ſea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goeſt into the port, thou muſt keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, ſtrike thy toppeſayles in ſigne of peace to the caſtle, leaſt it ſhoote at thee.

What courſe the Spaniards keepe from *Hauana* to *Spaine*.

Los Martyres.

IF from Hauana thou wouldeſt ſet thy courſe for Spaine, thou muſt goe Northeaſt, and ſhalt ſo haue ſight of the Martyres, which ſtand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coaſt lieth Eaſt and Weſt. The marks be theſe, it ſheweth like heads of trees, and in ſome places certaine rocks with white ſandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayeſt go Eaſt and by South vntill thou ſee the coaſt to lye Northeaſt and Southweſt: and if the wind be ſcant, then go turning vp: and take good heed that euery euening at Sunne going downe thou haue ſight of the land, and ſo thou muſt do being in the chanell, vntill thou bring thy ſelfe into the middeſt of the chanell: and thou muſt lye off from the going downe of the ſunne, vntill the ende of the firſt watch with thy coarſes alone, without any more ſayle; and from midnight forwards caſt about, and lye the other way with the like ſayle vntill day: and thus thou muſt doe vntill thou bring thy ſelfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou ſhalt ſtirre Northeaſt, with a care to goe cleane off the ſholds of the Mimbres or the Oſiars. And if being in the chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou muſt turne with a litle ſaile 4.glaſſes one way, and 4.another, as thou thinkeſt good. And if thou canſt not beare ſayle, then thou mayeſt goe with all thy ſayles downe, except when thou wouldeſt caſt about, thou mayeſt looſe ſome ſmall ſayle to winde thy ſhip.

The ſholds of Mimbres, that is, of Oſiars.

I aduiſe thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou ſhalt be in 28.degrees. And if it be in ſummer, thou ſhalt goe Northeaſt vntill thou be in 39.degrees and ½, which is the height of Flores: and thou ſhalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to haue the ſeawinds, thou ſhalt goe by the ſame height, as I haue ſayd: and if thou ſhalt finde the winde off the ſea, thou haſt no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou ſhalt goe Eaſt and by South: and thou muſt goe thus becauſe of the variation of the Compaſſe. And thus thou ſhalt find the iſles of Flores and Cueruo, which ſtand in 39.degrees ½, and in 40.large. The markes be theſe. *

The Chanell reacheth to 28.degrees.
La Bermuda.
The variation of the Compaſſe.

Thou mayeſt goe from betwixt Flores and Cueruo, and muſt goe Eaſt Southeaſt, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſland of Sayles, which is the Iſland of S. George. And beeing at the land thou ſhalt goe along it, and when thou haſt doubled a certaine litle Head-land that lyeth in the Eaſt poynt, then thou ſhalt ſtirre Eaſt and by North, and Eaſt. And thus going, thou ſhalt haue ſight of Terçera, which is in 39.degrees. The markes bee theſe. * And behinde a certaine blacke land ſomething high, which is called el Braſil, ſtandeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terçera, thou ſhalt runne Eaſt Northeaſt, vntill thou bring thy ſelfe Northweſt, and Southeaſt with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayeſt worke thus being in ſummer: for alwayes thou ſhalt haue the windes at Northweſt. And beeing Northweſt and Southeaſt with this Cape, thou ſhalt ſtirre Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and thou ſhalt ſo fall with the land 6.or 7.leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coaſt, which lyeth North and South: then thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt to the South, vntill thou ſee the Cape. And the Cape ſtandeth in 37.degrees: the markes be theſe. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, ſloping to the ſea. And from thence thou ſhalt double the Aſagreſal Southeaſt: and ſo running, thou ſhalt then goe Eaſt vnto the cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe Eaſt Northeaſt, and ſo thou ſhalt runne to haue ſight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou ſhalt ſee preſently a little hill towardes the Eaſt which is called Cabeça de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8.or 9.fathoms, then I wiſh thee to come to anchor, vntill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by ſome meanes carie thee into harbour.

Flores and Cueruo.
Saint George.
Terzera.
The Cape of S. Vincent.
The windes are alwayes at Northweſt in the ſummer.
The markes of Cape S. Vincent.
The Aſagreſal.
The Cape of Saint Mary.

I aduiſe thee, if in the Winter time thou bee ſhot out of the narroweſt of the Chanel of Bahama, and wouldeſt goe for Spaine, that thou muſt goe Eaſt Northeaſt, vntill thou be in 30.degrees rather leſſe then more; and then thou mayeſt goe Eaſt and by South, becauſe of the variation of the Compaſſe. And ſtirring hence Eaſt Southeaſt, thou ſhalt goe on the Southſide of Bermuda: and muſt goe with great care, becauſe many haue bene loſt heere about this Iſland, becauſe of their negligence. And when thou art ſure thou art paſt this Iſland, then goe Eaſt Northeaſt, vntill thou bee in the height of ſeuen and thirtie degrees: which is in the heigth of the Iſland of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not ſeeing Land, but ſeeing the Sea to breake, make accompt it is the rocks called las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou ſhalt goe till thou be in 38.degrees ½ ſcant, and then thou ſhalt goe Eaſt, and ſo ſhalt haue ſight of Faial. The markes of it be theſe. *

The courſe in winter from the chanel of Bahama.
The variation of the Compaſſe.
Many loſt vpon Bermuda by negligence.
The Iſle of S. Marie.
Faial.

Comming out from Faial, and leauing all the Iſlandes, then goe Eaſt and by South vntill thou bring thy ſelfe in 37.degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe Eaſt, and thou ſhalt ſee the Cape hauing the markes aforeſayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou muſt goe Eaſt Southeaſt, till thou be Northeaſt, and Southweſt, with the barre of S. Lucar: and then goe Northeaſt for the Barre.

The barre of S. Lucar.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37.degrees thou haue not ſight of Cape S. Vincent, and haſt ſight of certaine hie hils, make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

Sierras de Monchico.

I aduiſe thee, that if thou ſtand in feare of men of warre about the Cape of S. Vincent, then goe in 36.degrees ⅓. And finding thy ſelfe within the Cape, if thou ſee many ſignes of greene weedes, then caſt about to the North Northeaſt, and by this way finding land, and the ſame ſhewing white, be ſure it is the caſtle of Aimonte.

To auoyde men of warre.
The caſtle of Aimonte.

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the Eaſt point of *Cuba* by the North ſide thereof to *Hauana*.

The Cape of S.Nicolas on the Eaſt ende of Cuba.
Punta de Mayaci.
Baracoa.

GOing from the Cape of S.Nicolas, thou ſhalt goe North Northweſt, but thou muſt keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayeſt weather it, & it is called the poynt of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and ſmooth: and aboue vp within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that poynt to Baracoa is 7. leagues.

A ſhold on the Eaſt ſide of Baracoa.

And being diſpoſed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-ſhore all along, vntill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke vpon the South ſide; and thou ſhalt ſee an Hill by it ſelfe, which maketh as it were a crowne vpon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, ouer the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou muſt take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the Eaſt ſide, and thou muſt keepe the Weſt ſide: and goe not much from the Shoald, becauſe the foote of the Shoald that ſhooteth Weſtward hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou muſt goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: and looke that thou come not much on the Eaſt ſide, for it is ſhoaldie.

Cayo de Moa. This worde Cayo in the Biſkayne tongue ſignifieth a flat or a ſhoald.
Pracellas.
The Moſowes.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to paſſe through the old chanel, you ſhal ſet your courſe Northweſt vntil you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the ſhoald of Moa, vntill you thinke you are Northeaſt and Southweſt with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and you ſhal know that you are vpon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2. leagues or more, you ſhall vnderſtand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and vpon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you ſhall ſee alwayes, before you ſee the point: and it is like a ſayle. From thence to The Pracellas or Flats you ſhall ſtirre Northweſt two parts of your way, that you haue to runne from Cayo de Moa to the ſayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northweſt and by Weſt. And this way you ſhall ſee The Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the ſhoald aboue the water, for all the breach of the ſea. The Moſowes bee from the Pracell Weſt, and you ſhall leaue them to windward.

Camoloquea.
The Flats of Mecala to be auoyded.
Cropeda a flat Iſland.
2. Rockes of ſtone.
Punta de Caucus.
Matanzas.
The currents.
The Teates of Hauana.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you ſhall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe ſure without danger a Northweſt courſe vntilll you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe vpon the Shoald, you ſhall goe vpon that depth, vntill you haue runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you ſhall ſet your courſe Southweſt, till you ſee the Flattes of the maine land. You ſhall then ſee to the Weſtward a rocke diuided into 3. partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southweſt, you haue certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you ſhall ſet your courſe Weſt Northweſt vntill day: and when it is day, you muſt beare cloſe aboord the ſhore, and then you ſhall ſee a flat Iſland with many broken ſands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, ſomewhat to the Northward. Off that you ſhall ſee 2. Rocks of ſtone, which are the poynt of all the Flats: And two leagues from them on the mayne land you ſhall ſee a poynt which ſheweth like broken land. This is called The poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Matanças on the Northſide of Cuba are 12. leagues, and your courſe lieth Weſt and by North: and then you muſt borrow vpon the land all that you can, becauſe of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Chanell. And being at Matanças, you muſt runne all along the ſhore, becauſe of the currents. Remember that when you ſee one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath vpon it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the ſea is an Hill, and the Hil is not very hie, it ſtandeth Eaſt and Weſt, and vpon it are ſome little riſings and they are not very high, and vpon theſe riſings ſtand two round homocks cloſe together, you ſhall ſee the Teates of Hauana.

The harbour of Xaroca.
Markes to know the harbour of Hauana.

To know along the ſhore when you are againſt the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are theſe. A little to the Weſtward one league, you ſhall ſee along the ſhore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hill is ouer the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Weſtward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you ſhall ſee that North and South from theſe broken hils is a Flat off. And from that to Hauana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the ſhore till you come to Hauana. To know the harbour of Hauana, you ſhall ſee before you come at it one litle rocke of ſtone not very hie, and ſmooth toward the ſea: vpon the rocke ſtandeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you haue the winde large, you ſhall ſee the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

Your ſhippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the Weſt ſide, becauſe on the Eaſt ſide, on the Weſt end of the Rocke aforeſayde, there lieth a ledge to the Weſtward, which hath but three or foure fathoms ½ vpon it. If your ſhip be of ſmall burthen, you may run along the weather ſhore, vntill you come right againſt the Caſtle; and then halfe the Bay ouer you may come to an anchor.

How to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe ouer the *Pracellas* or ſhoalds.

If you will come through the olde Chanel, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming vpon your courſe from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or ſhoald: and then ſet our courſe Weſt vnto the low iſlands of the Firme land. And vpon this courſe you ſhal ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romano: and within it is one Flat higher then the other, and ſmooth vpon, and in the middeſt it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you muſt take heede you come not neere the ſhore by 2. leagues, and by your ſounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you muſt take heede ſtil when yͤ night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the ſhoalds. And in the night you muſt goe Northweſt as is aforeſaid. And alſo you muſt take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the ſhoald. And finding much wind & being benighted, from midnight till day ſtirre Weſt Northweſt, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforeſaid.

Caio de Moa.

Caio Romano.

And as you ſtirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the inwards of the Chanell, you ſhall ſee the firme land of Cuba, and other markes; and among the reſt, a round hamocke, which you may eaſily know. It is called Alcane de Baraſoga. And from thence to Sauano and to Baſquo is 6. leagues, and likewiſe Hauana 6. leagues. And from thence to croſſe vnder the Fort is 45. leagues. And ſtirre hence vpon your courſe aforeſaid. And if you haue gone from Baraſoga 30. leagues, you ſhall ſee none of the Flats of Mecala: And giue them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your courſe Weſt Northweſt, as aforeſayd, vntill it be day, and preſently you may edge round to the Flats. And thus ſtirring, keepe your courſe vntill you ſee the hilles of Camaloqua.

Alcane de Baraſoga.

Sauano, Baſquo.

The Flats of Mecala.

Take heede of that which is here ſayd, for it hath litle reaſon.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or ſhoald by night cloſe by it, you ſhall not ſee what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning you ſhall ſet your courſe as is aforeſayd, vntill you ſee the ſhoald, and in ſeeing it, you may ſtirre on your courſe as is aboue mentioned, vntill you come to Hauana.

Sierras de Camaloquea.

Caio de Moa, Pracellas. Hauana.

For to ſet your courſe from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you ſhall ſtirre thence Weſt Northweſt, vntil you thinke you be Northeaſt and Southweſt with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and ſmooth to the ſeaſide. And from this hill to Caio Romano you ſhall ſtirre Northweſt and by Weſt: and vpon this courſe you may be bolde to ſee Caio Romano. And the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and ſmooth vpon the top: and in the middeſt of it, it ſheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you muſt take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, becauſe it is fowle. And looke that you bring not your ſelfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you muſt take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it vntill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your courſe vntill you ſee it, and then ſet your courſe, as is aboueſaid.

Punta de Mance.

Sierra del Hama.

Caio Romano.

The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

A principal ruttier conteining moſt particular directions to ſaile from *S. Lucar* in *Andaluzia* by the Iſles of the *Canaries*, the ſmall Iſles called *Las Antillas*, along the South parts of the Iſles of *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba:* and from *Cabo de Corrientes*, or *Cabo de S. Anton* without and within the litle Iſles called *Los Alacranes*, to the port of S. *Iuan de Vllua* in *Nueua Eſpanna:* and the courſe from thence backe againe by *Hauana*, and through the Chanell of *Bahama* to *Spaine:* together with the ſpeciall markes of all the Capes, Iſlands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

If you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the Weſt Indias in the Summer time, you muſt ſtirre away Southweſt vntill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga vpon the Iſle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the ſayd barre in the Winter, you muſt ſtirre away Southweſt and by South, vntill you come to the height of Cape Cantin on the coaſt of Barbarie: the markes and ſignes whereof be theſe following.

Punta de Naga.

The

The markes to know *Cape Cantin*.

CApe Cantin is a lowe Cape and ſmall to the ſea-ward, and maketh a ſnowt like the noſe of a galley, and hath vpon the top of the poynt a Heath or ſhrubby place, and on the toppe thereof ſtand two homocks, that to the ſea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther ſide ſheweth like a tower: and this Cape is in 32. degrees and ½.

And he that wil ſeeke from this Cape to diſcouer Punta de Naga beforeſayd, muſt ſtirre away Southweſt and by Weſt, vntill hee bring himſelfe Northeaſt and Southweſt with the ſame point, and then he muſt ſtirre away South to fetch the ſaid point.

The ſignes of *Punta de Naga*.

Punta de hidalgo.

THe ſaid point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine vpon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Iſlands; and vpon the North ſide of the ſaid point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and vpon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like vnto the eares of a Hare.

The courſe from the *Canaries* to the *VVeſt Indies*.

The calmes of Fierro.

IF you ſet ſaile from any of the Iſlands of the Canaries for the Weſt Indias, you muſt ſtirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may auoid the calmes of the Iſland of Fierro: and being ſo farre diſtant from the ſaid Iſland, then muſt you ſtirre away Weſt Southweſt, vntill you finde your ſelfe in 20. degrees, and then ſaile Weſt and by South vntill you come to 15. degrees and ½. And from thence ſtirre away Weſt and by North; and ſo ſhall you make a Weſt way by reaſon of the Northweſting of the Compaſſe: which Weſt way will bring you to the Iſland of Deſeada.

The variation of the compaſſe.

The markes of the Iſland of *Deſeada*.

THis Iſland Deſeada lieth Eaſt Northeaſt, and Weſt Southweſt, hauing no trees vpon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeaſt ende thereof maketh a lowe noſe like the ſnowt of a galley; and by comming neere it, and paſſing by the Norther ende thereof, you ſhall perceiue white broken patches like heapes of ſand with red ſtrakes in them: & the Southweſt end of this Iſland maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Iſland ſtandeth in 15. degrees and ½.

Deſeada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

Markes of the Iſland of *Monſerate*.

MOnſerate is an high Iſland, and round, full of trees, and vpon the Eaſt ſide thereof you ſhall perceiue certain white ſpots like ſheetes; and being vpon the South ſide at the very point of the Iſland, ſomewhat off the land, it maketh like a litle Iſland: and putting your ſelfe either Eaſt or Weſt from that point, in the midſt thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Iſland of *Marigalanta*.

MArigalanta is a ſmooth Iſland, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the faſhion of a galley vpon her decke: and being on the Southeaſt ſide about halfe a league off you ſhall make certaine homocks of blacke ſtones, and certain white patches: but on the Weſt ſide appeare faire white ſandy ſhores or plaines.

Markes of the Iſle of *Dominica*.

THe Iſland of Dominica lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt, and vpon the Northweſt ſide it ſheweth more high: and if you come neere it at full ſea, it will ſhew like two Iſlands, but by comming neerer vnto it, you ſhall perceiue it to be but one: and vpon the Southeaſt ſide you ſhall make or ſee a plaine and long point, and vpon the ſame point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon; and vpon the North ſide a litle from the land it ſheweth like a litle Iſland, and vpon the top thereof is, as it were, an high ſteeple, and vpon the Norther ſide you ſhall perceiue it like many white ſheetes.

Markes of the Iſland of *Guadalupe*.

THe Iſland of Guadalupe lieth on the Weſt of Deſeada, and vpon the Southweſt part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but vpon the Eaſt ſide it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Iſland is cut North and South; ſo that the Canoas of India do paſſe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Iſlands.

Markes of the Iſle of *Matalina*, or *Martinino*.

The Iſle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, hauing in the midſt thereof 3. homocks: the middlemoſt homocke being higheſt ſheweth like the great bowle of an hat. And vpon the North ſide it appeareth like three litle Iſlands. And in this Iſland there are warlik Indians like thoſe of Dominica.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like thoſe of Dominica.

Markes of the three ſmall Iſlands called *Iſlas de Los Santos*, or the Iſlands of Saintes.

Los Santos are 3. Iſlandes lying one cloſe by another vpon the South ſide of Guadalupe. For to goe with S. Iuan de Puerto rico you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt, vntill you fall with the Iſle of Saba.

Markes to know the Iſle of *Saba*.

Saba is a litle Iſland, and round about it you ſhall ſee the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you ſhall ſee; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white ſand; and by the ſide thereof it ſheweth like a Ship vnder ſaile: but follow that direction that I haue giuen, and you ſhall ſee La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Iſle called *La virgin gorda*.

La virgin gorda is an high Iſland and round, and ſeeing it, you ſhall eſpie all the reſt of the Virgines which lye Eaſt and Weſt one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them vntil you ſee the litle gray Iſland, which you ſhal ſee by it ſelfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the ſayd Iſland, ouer that you ſhall by and by rayſe ſight of the white litle Iſland, which ſeemeth like a ſhip vnder ſaile. And if you will paſſe betweene this litle white Iſland or bare rocke, and the greene Iſland, you muſt beware that you leaue the white Iſland on the larbourd ſide of you, and come no neerer it then a Calieuer-ſhot, and ſo ſhall you paſſe through 12. fadome-water: and then ſtirre away Northnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you enter into the Hauen of Puerto rico: and if you chance to paſſe the ſayd Iſland by night, goe by the foreſaid direction, vntill the firſt watch be out, and then take in your ſayles, and ſo driue vntill it bee neere day: and then hoiſe ſayles, and ſtirre away Southweſt, ſeeking the ſayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you muſt ſtay till 10. of the clocke for the ſea-turne. And know, that hauing the Loguilo at Southweſt, then ſhall the Harbour be off you North and South.

Theſe 2. the white and the gray Iſlands are rather bare rockes in the ſea, for ſo doth Farrallon the Spaniſh word ſignifie. But I interprete it Iſland, becauſe all the rocks ſeparated frõ the bigger Iſlands are ſayd to be litle Iſlands. This white & bare Iſland is made white by the dung of birdes and ſea-foules that reſort vnto it.

Directions from *Monſerate* to *Santa Cruz*.

He that departeth from Monſerate to Santa Cruz, muſt ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt: and by the ſame courſe you ſhall ſeaze vpon S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Iſle of *Santa Cruz*.

Santa Cruz is an Iſland not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full ſea, it will ſhew like the Virgines: and vpon the Eaſt ſide there are two homocks higher then all the reſt. And by this courſe you may goe to the Iſle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico; and hauing found it, you may ſayle along the South coaſt Eaſt and Weſt, vntill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know *Cape Roxo*.

Cape Roxo is a low Cape and trayling to the ſea-ward, hauing certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full ſea the ſame ſheweth like a litle Iſland from the land by it ſelfe, but comming neere vnto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from *Cabo roxo* to the Iſle of *Mona*.

If you will ſeeke Mona frõ Cape roxo, you muſt ſtirre away Weſt and by North.

Markes of the Iſle of *Mona*.

The Iſle of Mona is a low, round, and ſmooth Iſland, lying lowe by the ſea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Iſle of Saona you muſt ſtirre away Weſt; and if you fall with it in the night ſeaſon, and come any thing neere the land, then ſtirre away Weſt and by South, vntill it be neere day, that you may keepe your ſelfe by the land; and if ſo be that in the Morning you ſee it not, then ſtirre away Northweſt, and ſo ſhall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceiue that the current hath ſet you to the Southweſt, then ſtirre away Northnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes of the Iſle of *Saona.*

If you chance to ſee the Iſle of Saona, it is an Iſland ſmooth with the ſea, and lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and you ſhall ſee the trees before you ſee the Iſland: and on the Southweſt end of this Iſland appeareth a great high banke of white ſand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Iſland to Santa Catelina, you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt.

Markes of the Iſle of *Santa Catelina.*

Santa Catelina is a litle lowe Iſland all full of low rockes euen from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is cloſe by the land; and if you doe not run along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, you ſhall not ſee it: and from that Iſland to goe to Saint Domingo, you ſhall ſayle along as the land lyeth, Weſt and by North: and before you come to the point called Cauſedo, you ſhall ſee certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongſt as the rocks doe that caſt vp the water, which will ſhew like to the ſpouting of Whales. And a litle ahead off that, you ſhall ſee the point of Andreſa: and ahead thereof the poynt of Cauſedo. This poynt of Cauſedo lyeth lowe cloſe by the water, and paſſing thereby, the coaſt will make to thee Northweſt and Southeaſt; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop vp at North vpon you, by meanes whereof you ſhould be caſt off from the coaſt or Port, and that you happen to ſee the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northweſt off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then ſhal you be North and South with the harbour; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then ſhall you be below the harbour.

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the ſpouters.
The point of Cauſedo.
San Domingo.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Directions from Saint *Domingo* to *Nueua Eſpanna.*

If you will ſayle from Saint Domingo in Hiſpaniola to Nueua Eſpanna, ſtirre away Southſouthweſt, vntil you come vp as farre as the point of Niçao: and from thence ſtirre away Weſtſouthweſt, and ſo you ſhall finde the Iſle of Beata. And if you ſaile from this point of Niçao for Ocoa, you muſt paſſe along the coaſt Weſt and by North, vntill you come to Puerto Hermoſo, or The beautifull hauen, which is 18. leagues diſtant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoſo for Nueua Eſpanna, you muſt ſtirre away Southſouthweſt, vntill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

The point of Niſao
The Iſle of Beata.
Ocoa.
Puerto hermoſo.

The Iſle of Alto Velo.

Markes of the Iſle of *Beata.*

Beata is a ſmall Iſland and not very high: you may paſſe along the outſide thereof, and there is no danger but that you may ſee; and by and by you ſhall raiſe Alto velo: and from thence you muſt ſtirre away Weſt and by South, to giue a birth from the Iſlands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre ahead as the Frailes, then muſt you ſtirre away Weſt and by North, and ſo ſhall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you ſhall ſee high craggie cliffes, and at the deſcending of them white paths like great ſheetes; theſe high craggie mountaines are called Las ſierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the ſayde point of Bacoa, you ſhall diſcouer a little lowe Iſland euen with the Sea and full of trees, which is called Iſla Baque.

Los Frailes.
Bacoa.
Las ſierras de donna Maria.
Iſla Baque.

Directions from *Iſla Baque* to *Cape Tiburon.*

If you will goe from the Iſland Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the iſle of Nauaza, you muſt ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt, and edge in ſomewhat to the Northweſt, and you ſhall paſſe betweene Nauaza and Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon.
The Iſle of Nauaza.

Markes of *Cape Tiburon,* which is the Weſtern cape of *Hiſpaniola.*

Cape Tiburon lyeth ſliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a ſharpe cliffe like the ſnout of a Tiburon or ſharke-fiſh; and vpon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines vpon it, which are cauſed by the paſſage of the water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Iſle of *Nauaza.*

Nauaza is a litle round Iſland full of low trees or ſhrubs, and it lyeth Eaſt and Weſt from Cape Tiburon, and from this ſmall Iſland to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of Copper vpon the Southeaſt part of Cuba, you muſt ſtirre away Northnorthweſt.

Directions from *Cape Tiburon* to *Cabo de Cruz* in *Cuba*.

If you will ſaile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt, and you ſhall ſee the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coaſt Weſt towardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you ſhall ſee The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you ſhall haue to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the higheſt land vpon all that coaſt; and then by and by you ſhall ſee the leſſer Tarquino, from whence to the foreſayd Cape you haue 12. leagues, and ſo ſhall you goe diſcouering the coaſt, vntill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Sierras de Cobre.

Sierras de Tarquino.

Markes of *Cabo de Cruz*.

Cape de Cruz is a low Cape full of ſhrubs; and from thence Weſtward you ſhall ſee no land; for the diſtance or bay is great betweene the ſayd Cape and the Iſles called Los Iardines.

Directions from *Cape de Cruz* to *Iſla de Pinos*.

If you ſayle from Cape de Cruz to ſeeke the Iſland of Pinos, you muſt ſtir away Weſtnorthweſt. And note, that if in this courſe you happen to ſounde, doe not feare; for you haue nine fathoms. If alſo going this courſe, you meete with certaine little Iſlands vpon the larboord ſide, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, hauing ſight of them, ſtir away Northweſt, and ſo ſhall you finde the Iſland of Pinos. And if by ſeeing the ſayde Iſlands called Caimanes you are amazed, you ſhall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee The Iardines or no: for if you finde your ſelfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you ſure they are The Iardines, and then ſtir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you haue brought them North of you, then may you ſtirre away Weſt, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, Weſt and by South, till you ſee the Iſland of Pinos.

Los Caimanes.

Los Iardines.

The markes of *Iſla de Pinos*.

The Iſland of Pinos ſtretcheth it ſelfe Eaſt and Weſt, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to ſee it at full ſea, it will ſhewe like 3. Iſlands, as though there were diuers ſoundes betweene them, and that in the midſt is the greateſt; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and vpon the Eaſt ſide of theſe three homocks it will ſhewe all ragged; and on the Weſt ſide of them will appeare vnto you a lowe point euen with the ſea, and oftentimes you ſhall ſee the trees before you ſhall diſcerne the point.

Directions from the Iſle of *Pinos* to *Cape de Corrientes*.

If you ſaile from the foreſayde Iſle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes, ſtir away Weſt and by North; and before you come to the ſayd Cape vpon the Northſide of you, you ſhall ſee certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguanico, and that vpon the Weſt part hath more homocks then that on the other.

Las ſierras de Guanaguarico.

Markes of *Cape de Corrientes*.

Cape de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not ſo low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it: for it is more lowe, and hath vpon it 4. or 5. great ſplats like vnto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white ſand: and from thence Weſtward you ſhall diſcerne no lande, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you muſt ſaile to Cape de Sant Anton.

Markes of *Cape de Sant Anton*.

The cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the ſea, and all full of ſhrubs or trees; and you ſhall ſee within the land a lake of freſh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and vpon the North ſide of the ſaid Cape you ſhall diſcerne a palme tree higher then the reſt of the trees, and it ſheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ſhip: and North from the Cape are certaine ſholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

A conuenient watering place.

Directions from the *Cape de S. Anton* to *Nueua Eſpanna* on the outſide of the ſmall Iſlands called *Los Alacranes* or *The Scorpions*.

If you will ſayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueua Eſpanna with a North winde, then ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt from 21. to 22. degrees, and then ſound vpon the pracel or flat; and if you ſee by this direction, that you holde water, then ſtir away Northweſt, vntill you loſe the ground;

The Iſle Vermeja.
Villa rica.

and then follow your courſe againe, vntill you haue brought your ſelfe into 24. degrees and ½. and then ſaile Weſt vntill you bring your ſelfe North and South with the Iſle Vermeja, or The red Iſle: then ſtir away Southweſt, and by this way you ſhall finde Villa rica on the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna. And if by going this courſe you be in 19. degrees and ½. and chance not to ſee the lande, then ſtir away Weſt vntill you ſee Villa rica, and from thence ſaile you South for the harbour of S. Iuan de Villua: and if you ſhould be neere the land you muſt ſtir South and by Weſt towardes the ſame harbour. And if you chance to ſee the Volcan or burning hill to beare weſt & by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Iuan de Villua ſhalbe Eaſt and weſt off you.

S. Iuan de Villua.
A volcan or burning hil.

Markes of *Villa rica.*

Villa rica ſtandeth in 19. degres and ½. and the ſignes thereof are certaine high hilles full of homocks of many heads, which haue on the top of thē certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and theſe hils lie Northeaſt and Southweſt. And if you doubt whether theſe be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or ſound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and ſaile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, ſo much will they ſeeme lower vnto you: but ſo doe not the hilles of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you: and likewiſe if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you ſhall not finde bottome, but euen at land it ſelfe.

Sierras de Sant Martin.
Sierras de Villa rica.

Markes of *Rio de las palmas*, and of the riuer of mountaines called *Rio de las montannas.*

Rio de las palmas.
Rio de las montannas.
Rio de Panuco.
Rio Hermoſo, or The beautifull riuer.
The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the Eaſt) ſetteth to the North, and 40. leagues from the ſhore to the Northeaſt.

If you ſhould chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The riuer of palmes, or els with the riuer of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of ſand, and all this along by the ſea ſide: and if you went by land to the riuer of Panuco, you ſhall haue many mouthes or openings of plaias or ſtrands, where alſo are many lizas or oazy places, which ſtretch to Rio Hermoſo.

You muſt beware what part ſoeuer you happen of this coaſt to fall withall, to diſcouer it, and although you knowe it, you muſt ſound the depth; becauſe if the windes bee Eaſterly, the current ſetteth there much to the North: but if you ſhould be 40. leagues at ſea, then this current ſetteth to the Northeaſt.

Markes of *Rio Hermoſo* or *The beautifull riuer.*

If you wil ſeeke the riuer called Rio Hermoſo, looking well within the land, you ſhal ſee three homocks of an high hill, and thoſe two which are to the landward within, are rounder thē the other which is neereſt the ſea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you ſhall be 4. leagues at ſea when you ſhall ſee them: and they are called The ſierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the riuer of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and euen with the ſea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of Tamaclipa.

Markes of the riuer of *Panuco.*

If you fall with the riuer of Panuco (betweene which and the foreſayde Villa rica ſtandeth the Iſland called Iſla de Lobos or The Iſle of ſeales) the markes bee theſe. From the mouth of the riuer it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay vpon the Northſide there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place vpon the Weſt ſide it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you ſee the aforeſayde cliffe, you ſhall bee in the opening of the mouth of the ſayd riuer, and then ſhall you ſee a little low tower hauing on the top of it a croſſe, which the fiſhermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and ½. and you neede not to ſtay for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I haue mentioned, or not, you ſhall ſee certaine hils at Weſt Southweſt, which are called Las ſierras de Tarquia; and forthwith alſo you ſhall ſee the oazy place that I ſpeake of, which goeth to the mouth of the riuer, where ſtandeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you haue 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the riuer of Panuco.
Las ſierras de Tarquia.
S. Luis de Tampice.

The markes of *Iſla de lobos*, or *The Iſle of ſeales.*

Iſla de lobos is a ſmall Iſland nothing ſo big as the carde doth ſhew it, and in it is a litle groue or wood of palme trees, and all the reſt of the Iſland is without trees, and round about it are ſundry

Playas or ſtrandes, and it is incloſed round about with arraçifes or ſhoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or The red Cape are 3. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Iſland to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South ſide cloſe by the poynt that ſtretcheth to the Weſtward, and you may paſſe by the Eaſt ſide of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and untill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Cabo Roxo. A watering place.

Markes of the riuer of *Tuſpa.*

If you fall with the riuer of Tuſpa, you muſt beware the ſholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the ſea: and vpon this riuer of Tuſpa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeaſt and Southweſt, and haue their ending vpon the bay of Caſſones: and vpon the riuer you ſhall perceiue a white cliffe, which will ſhew vnto you like the caſtle of S. Iuan de Vllua.

The bay of Caſſones.

Markes of the riuer of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul.*

If you chance to fall with the bay of Caſſones, and vpon the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the ſayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuſpa haue their ending vpon this bay. And in the mouth of this riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul are two homockes of white ſand, the Weſtermoſt being bigger then that on the Northeaſt. And by and by you ſhall perceiue the water to change white which commeth out of the riuer, and ſounding you ſhall finde ſande mixed with clay vpon your lead; and looke vpon the Weſt ſide, and you ſhall ſee the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North ſide is higher then the other.

All theſe are vpon the coaſt of Tabaſco. Las ſierras de S. Pablo.

Markes of *Almeria.*

If you ſhould chance to fall or come vpon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many homocks, ſome with tuftes of trees on them, and ſome bare with white ſand, and in 60. fathoms you ſhall haue clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward ſand. And from thence to Punta de hidalgo or Punta delgada the coaſt lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt.

Punta delgada, or The ſlendor point.

Soundings of *Villa rica.*

If you fall with Villa rica in 30. fathoms, you ſhall finde clay or oaze, and in ſome places ſtones, and neere the lande you ſhall haue ſand: and vpon the port of S. Iuan de Vllua you ſhall haue in ſome places clay or oaze, and in ſome places herring bones, and in other places maſe and and vpon the rocks called Cabeças anegadas you ſhall haue ſmall blacke ſande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you ſee a coaſt that lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and another Northweſt and Southeaſt, you ſhall be vpon S. Paul: and if you ſhould be vpon Cabeças anegadas, you ſhall finde in 30. fathoms great ſand & blacke, and in 28. fathoms you ſhall haue the ſand white like the ſhauings of free ſtone: and from S. Paul to the barre of Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Iuan de Vllua you haue many deeps, which at one ſounding bring you clay, and at another ſand, and at another clay and maſe together, and herring bones: and in ſome 35. or 40. fathom you ſhal finde rockie ground, and in ſome places ſand, and in ſome other places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de peſcado, or The foode of fiſhes.

Cabeças anegadas are ſunken heads of rocks vnder water.

Comedera de Peſcado.

The courſe from *Cabo de Corrientes* and *Cabo de S. Anton* vpon the Weſt end of *Cuba*, towards *Nueua Eſpanna*, within the Iſles called *Los Alacranes*, or *The Scorpions.*

If you ſaile from Cape de Corrientes towarde Nueua Eſpanna on the inſide of The Alacranes, you muſt ſtir Weſt: and when you thinke you haue ſailed 35. or 40. leag. you ſhall ſound vpon the pracel, and you ſhall come vpon many briſtlings of waters, which, if it were faire weather, would ſeeme a ſkull of fiſh. And before you come out of the briſtlings, if you ſound you ſhal haue depth as I haue ſayd. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inſide of The Alacranes, you muſt ſtir away Weſt and by South, and you ſhall finde ſounding in the ſame order as I haue ſayd: you ſhall haue white ſand, and neere the land you ſhall finde it like the ſhauings and peckings of free ſtone, and white ſand like houre-glaſſe-ſand, and ſometimes periwinkles or ſmall ſhelles. Alſo if you ſound in deepe water, and on the ſudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are vpon The Alacranes, and then ſtir away Weſtſouthweſt vntill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your ſelfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then ſtir away Weſt, and by theſe depths you ſhall go ſounding; and then taking your heigth by ſunne or ſtarre, you muſt beware that you paſſe not 21. degrees & ⅓. or 21. degrees

Cabo de Corrientes.

Cabo de S. Anton.

Cape Siſal vpon the coaſt of Campeche in Iucatan.

Or Iſla de Arenas.

and ½. at the moſt; and in this heigth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you ſhall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northweſtward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southweſtward, vntill you haue gotten ſo farre ahead as Cape Siſal, and diſcouered the coaſt of Campeche, which coaſt lyeth North and South, and you ſhall take vp on your lead white ſande like houreglaſſe-ſand, and ſometime periwinkles or ſmall ſhelles; and by and by you ſhall goe increaſing depth, vntil you loſe it, and ſo ſhal you paſſe between the Triangle and the Sandy Iland.

The courſe betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Iſland to *S. Iuan de Vllua.*

Sierras de S. Martin.

Roca partida.

Or Minſapa.

When you haue loſt your depth, ſtirre away Southweſt to fetch the Sierras or hils of S. Martin: and to knowe the hils of S. Martin, there are 2. hils ſtretching Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the Southweſt is greater then that on the Northeaſt, but the Northermoſt hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Iſland which is called Roca partida, or The clouen rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southweſt ſide an high lande like a top-ſaile will appeare, and then ſhall you bee North and South with The Pan or Loafe of Niſapa. Note, that theſe Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no ſhewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, ſo much the higher will they ſhewe vnto you: neither ſhall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very ſhoare.

The courſe from *Roca partida* or *The clouen rocke* to *S. Iuan de Vllua.*

Or Antoniſerro.

If you depart from Roca partida or The clouen rocke for Sant Iuan de Vllua, you muſt ſtir away Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton Millardo: and if you happen to ſound vpon The ſunken rocks called Cabeças anegadas, you ſhall haue black ſand and 17. fathom water, and you ſhall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you ſhall haue 34. fathoms.

The courſe from *Sant Iuan de Vllua* in the bay of *Mexico* to *Spaine* in *Europe.*

Las Tortugas.

If you depart from S. Iuan de Vllua to Hauana, you muſt ſtir away Northeaſt vntill you bring your ſelfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you muſt ſtir away Eaſt from the little Iſlands called Las Tortugas, vntill you haue the ſounding of them; and if you finde white ſande very ſmall, you ſhall bee Eaſt and Weſt with them, and if your ſounding bee ſhellie ground and periwinkles, or ſmall ſhelles or ſkales, then ſhall you be Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the ſhelles or ſkales muſt bee red, and if at ſome time you take vp blacke ſande, then are you North and South with the ſayd Tortugas.

Markes of *The Tortugas.*

If you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Iſlands of white ſand, lowe and cloſe by the ſea, ſauing one which hath on it ſome ſhrubs or buſhes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The courſe from *The Tortugas* toward *Hauana.*

The hilles called Los Organos vpon Cuba neere Hauana.

Rio de puercos.

Baya honda.

La quadrilla de ſierras.

El pan de Cabannas.

La meſa de Marien.

If you depart from The Tortugas towards Hauana with a freſh winde, you muſt ſtir away Southweſt: and if it be faire weather, and a ſmall gale of winde, then ſtir South, that the current may not draw you in, nor ſet you too much to the Weſtward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many ſharpe heads like vnto Organ pipes, and at the entring thereof on the South ſide is Rio de puercos, or The riuer of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to ſay, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place vntill you come to Cape de S. Anton all is ſholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the ſea, euen as farre as the ſayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Hauana, all the coaſt is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de ſierras, which is as much to ſay, as A companie of hilles together like ſouldiers on a heape; and more to the Eaſtward you ſhall deſcry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Hauana, you ſhall ſee on the Southweſt ſide an hill called La meza de Marien, or The Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you ſhall ſee lower to the Weſtwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You muſt note, that about

bout Hauana it is all lowe land euen with the ſea, till you come to Mela de Marien, and then looke well within the lande, and you ſhall ſee 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breaſts; and bringing your ſelfe North and South, you ſhall be with the harborough of Hauana, and then ſhall you ſoone perceiue the tower that is vpon the cliffes of Hauana.

The tower of Hauana.

Markes of the hauen or port called *Puerto de Marien.*

Puerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you muſt borrow on the Weſt ſide, by reaſon of the rockes and ſhelues, and when you are within, then borrow on the Eaſt ſhoare, and leaue the other ſide, and ſo ſhall you enter ſafe: and from this place to Hauana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you ouerpaſſe the harborough of Hauana to the Eaſtward, or if the current hath ſet you paſt it by meanes of calmes, then ſhall you perceiue at full ſea vpon the coaſt certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, becauſe the lande is lowe; and comming neere the ſhoare you ſhall ſee in ſome places of the coaſt Playas or ſtrandes of ſande which ſhew like vnto Chipiona: and looking Eaſtward along the ſea coaſt, you ſhall ſee a round loafe which is called El pon de Matanças: and alſo you ſhall perceiue in certaine places round white heapes of ſande called Barrancas. If you will recouer Hauana, go along the coaſt cloſe by the lande, for the current runneth very ſwift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may ſee; for all the coaſt is cleane ground.

Note.

Chipiona a towne ſtanding vpon the coaſt of Andaluzia next vnto S. Lucar.

El pan de Matanzas.

Barrancas alſo ſignifie creeks or broken entrances of landes.

The courſe from *Hauana* to *Spaine.*

If you will ſaile from Hauana to Spaine, you muſt ſtirre away Northeaſt, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeça de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the ſaid head, that the winde ſhould chop vp at North on you, then ſtand to the Eaſtward, vntill you bring your ſelfe as farre ahead as Matanças; then caſt about to the Weſt, to diſcouer the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not ſet you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you ſee The Pan de Matanças at ful ſea, it hath theſe markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Weſterne ſide thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoiſe: and betweene this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were ſunken places, and vpon the Eaſt ſide of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you ſhall ſee no high lande at all: and being ſo farre ſhot, that this Pan de Matanças ſhall beare Weſtnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt off you, and being deſirous alſo to auoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, ſtir away Northnortheaſt, and by this courſe you ſhall paſſe the chanell, and win the coaſt of Florida.

Cabeza de los Martires.

Which Martires are a number of ſmall Ilands lying ahead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The markes of Pan de Matanzas.

Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

Markes of the head of *The Martires* called *Cabeza de los Martires.*

The head of The Martires are three heapes of white ſande full of trees, and that in the midſt hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white ſande, and is higher and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coaſt lyeth off you; and if you perceiue that the coaſt beareth off you Eaſt and Weſt, you are not in the chanell; but if the coaſt ſhould beare off you Northeaſt and Southweſt, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you ſhall know: for if you finde your ſelfe in 24. degrees and ½, then are you Eaſt and Weſt with the head of The Martires: and if you ſee the coaſt beare off you Northeaſt and Southweſt, (as I haue ſayde) ſtir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off; and then ſtir away Northeaſt: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you ſhall be ſhot out of the chanell, and then ſhall you be Eaſt and Weſt with Cape de Cannaueral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

Cabo de Cannaueral in 28. deg and a halfe.

The courſe to come through the chanell of *Bahama* homeward for *Spaine.*

If in Winter you ſhould paſſe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, ſtirre away the firſt Sangradura or courſe Eaſtnortheaſt, and afterward Eaſt and by North, and ſo ſhall you paſſe by the South ſide of Bermuda: and you muſt take heede that you goe theſe foure hundred or fiue hundred leagues, becauſe you ſhall not come neere the ſaid Iſle of Bermuda; & when you are gone this courſe, then put your ſelfe in what heigth you will, and make your way as you will your ſelfe. But if you paſſe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, ſtir away Eaſtnortheaſt, and you ſhall paſſe by the North ſide of Bermuda; and when you haue brought your ſelfe in 35. degrees, ſtirre Eaſt and by North, vntill you bring your ſelfe to 25. degrees and ½, and from thence ſtir away Eaſt for the Iſle of Fayal or of Flores.

The courſe in Winter.

The Iſle of Bermuda.

The courſe in the Summer more Northerly.

Markes to know the Iſle of Fayal.

Puerto Pini.

THe Iſland called Fayal vpon the Southweſt ſide, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Braſilla in the Iſland of Terçera; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and vpon the Eaſt ſide it maketh a little plaine Iſland; and vpon the North ſide there ſtandeth a rocke or Iſland by it ſelfe. And from this Iſland being one of The Açores, you may ſhape your courſe to which of the Iſlands you pleaſe, or to any other place which you know.

Markes to know the Iſle of *Flores*.

IF you happen to fall with Flores firſt, by this you ſhall know it: the Iſland lyeth Northeaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the Weſt ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you ſhall ſee two little Iſlands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betweene that and the village, in euery bay you may likewiſe ride and water: and you ſhall ſee the water run into the ſea in euery part that you looke on.

El Paſſaje a place on the Northeaſt part of the Iſle of S Iuan de Puerto rico.

Now followeth the courſe and direction to ſaile from *Paſſage* on the Northeaſt part of *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, vnto *Hauana*, by the North ſide of the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, and by *The old chanell*.

Cabo del Enganno the moſt Eaſterly Cape of Hiſpaniola, Or Samana.

Las Ouejas.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Puerto rico to ſeeke Cabo del Enganno, you muſt ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you ſee a round heape or loafe in the ſea, which lieth on the Southweſt ſide of the gulfe of Semana; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, & this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it ſhould be neere night when you ſee this lande, ſtir away Northweſt with a ſmall ſayle, becauſe of certaine rockes called Las Ouejas, or The Sheepe: and in the morning caſt about to ſee the land to the Southweſtward; and if when you ſee the land, it ſeemeth vnto you a ſmall iſland at full ſea like a round mountaine, then is it The cape del Enganno: and from thence ſtir away Weſt and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco.

Markes of *Cabo Franco*.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.

Iſla de Tortugas otherwiſe called Hinagua.

The Iſle of Iaico.

Las ſierras de Cabanca.

Cayo Romano.

This word Cayo in the Biſcaian tongue ſignifieth a flat or a ſhold.

Cabo de Cruz.

CAbo Franco is a low Cape euen with the ſea, and hath theſe markes *
And from thence ſtir away Weſt, and you ſhall ſee an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat,; and at the foote of this hill is the hauen or harbour called El puerto de plata, And if you will goe into this port, you muſt leaue the Iſland on the Weſt ſide, and then take heede of that which you ſee, and borrow on the caſtles ſide. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt, vntill you come out of ſight of lande, and then ſtir away Weſt and by North, and ſo ſhall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teats which looke like 3. crownes. And you ſhall paſſe betweene the Iſle of Tortugas or Hinagua, and the Iſland of Iaico; and from thence run alongſt the coaſt Northeaſt and Southweſt; and hauing doubled the outmoſt high hill or mountaine, you ſhall ſee in the midſt thereof a round hill, and vpon the Southweſt ſide by the ſea you ſhall ſee a lowe euen lande foure or fiue leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called Las ſierde Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the ſierras you ſhall ſee a rounde loafe which is in the midſt of the ſame bay, and ahead of that you ſhall ſee a hill flat on the top like a table ſixe or ſeuen leagues, which hill is not very high, and from theſe hilles to Cayo Romano you haue fiue and thirtie leagues, and you muſt ſtirre the one halfe of the courſe Northweſt, and the other halfe Northweſt and by Weſt, and ſo ſhall you make or ſee the ſayd Cayo Romano vpon the larboord ſide of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you haue three leagues, ane they lie North and South one from another.

Markes of *Cayo Romano*.

This Iſland lyeth 100. leagues from Hauana.

CAyo Romano is an high Iſland, and lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and ſtretcheth it ſelfe as it were 4. leagues; and comming on it Northeaſt & Southweſt, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midſt there are two ſaddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other ſide; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe ſend or ſaddle in the midſt. And if night ſhould come on you at this Cayo Romano, enter not the chanell, becauſe in the mid way is an Iſle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romano, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full ſea you ſhall diſcerne a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midſt of it, which is like to a ſaile; but al night beare but your foreſaile a glaſſe one way and another glaſſe the other way vntill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leaue theſe Cayos, on the larbourd ſide of you. Note, that if you bee within ſight of the Parcel, and ſee two litle Iſlands of white ſand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coaſting the Parcell, about fifteene leagues, you ſhall ſee three Iſlands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all theſe three Iſlands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Hauana, if it be by day, ſtir away Weſt Northweſt; but if it be by night, then ſtir a point more to the Weſtward: and if in this courſe you chance to ſee the Parcell, feare not; for in the loweſt water there are ſixe fathomes; then caſt about to the Southweſtward to get out about two glaſſes, and then ſtir away Weſtnorthweſt vntill it be day and ſo ſhall you goe by the Cayos: and in this courſe you muſt keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz ſixe or ſeuen leagues lyeth another Cayo vpon the Northeaſt and by North, which is great and white, and all euen; But the point on the Southweſt is ſmaller, and vpon the ſaid point is a ſhrub or buſh which ſheweth like a ſaile: alſo there is a banke of white ſand along by the ſea-ſide, which in the middeſt thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that ſeemeth like a ſadle: and vpon the Northeaſt ſide (for on this maner the coaſt lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you ſhal ſee certaine hilles eighteene or twentie leagues long lying Northeaſt and Southweſt being all ſaddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southweſt off you, you ſhall be in the middeſt of the chanell: and from thence you haue as farre to Matanças as to Cayo Romano. Likewiſe from thence on the ſide of Hauana you ſhall ſee certaine hilles which ſhewe to be three, and ly Northeaſt and Southweſt, and that on the Southweſt is higheſt: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which ſtretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the ſayde flatte there is a little Iſland of white ſand: and from thence you muſt ſayle to Cruz del Padre.

The great Parcel.

Las Anguillas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

El Puerto de Matanzas or The hauen of ſlaughters.

Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

Markes of *Cruz del Padre*.

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you muſt ſtir away Northeaſt, becauſe of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay ſtretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the ſayd point: and then ſtir away Weſt Northweſt to goe with the Port of Matanças, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baia de Conel.

La Baia de Caos, or Cayos.

Markes of the hilles of *Camoniaca*.

THe hilles of Camoniaca ly Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the Southeaſt ſide is lowe land and euen: alſo vpon the Northeaſt ſide it is euen land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanças, and in the middle of theſe hilles there is one high hill, and vpon the Northeaſt ſide there appeareth a round heape: and if you ſee this hill at Weſt Southweſt, the Pan or round heape of Matanças will beare off you Weſt and by South.

Or Camoloquea.

Markes of the round hill called *El pan de Matanças*.

THis Pan is a round heape ſtanding on a lowe land: and if you bring your ſelfe North and South with it, it will make you two ſaddles; and on the Weſt ſide it maketh a great parted lande as it were ſinking with the ſea. Note that wheresoeuer you ſhall goe to ſeeke the Tortugas, and ſhall come with the coaſt and finde it beare off you Northeaſt and Southweſt, I aduiſe you to goe along the coaſt to the Southweſtward: you may not deepen more then fortie fiue fathomes, for if you doe, you ſhall caſt your ſelfe without the Tortugas.

Alſo you muſt note, that if by chance you finde your ſelfe ſhotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-ſide of the ſayde Tortugas, then cauſe one to goe to the top, to ſee if you can deſcry them; and if you cannot ſee them, ſtir away Southweſt vntill you ſee them; and hauing gotten ſight of them, ſounde, and you ſhall finde eighteene or nineteene fathomes; and ſo ſholding ſtir away South and by Weſt, and goe by this courſe. And feare you not the ſholding, for you ſhall meete with 12 fathoms, and ſhall haue blacke ſand in your ſounding. And going neerer to the ende of the ſaid Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe ſhall ſee them all) as you paſſe by, you ſhall finde but eight fathomes, and ſtony ground, and

Note.

that is the ſholdeſt water you ſhall haue. And you ſhall paſſe by a buſtling of a tyde, that ſhoules out of the chanel that way: but you neede not feare any thing for you ſhall haue no leſſe then eight fathome water: and being paſt the ſaid buſtling but a minion ſhot, you ſhal looſe the ground and be in the chanell.

An aduertizment.

When you ſhall paſſe this courſe, goe not out of ſight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Hauana, hauing a faire winde, ſtir away Southweſt becauſe the current may not ſet you off: and if with a freſh winde and Northerly, then ſtir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Iſlands, as well of *Madera*, The *Canaries*, and the *Weſt Indies*, as of the *Açores and the Iſles of Cabo Verde.*

	Degrees of latitude.
The iſland called Puerto ſanto ſtandeth in	33
The iſle of Madera ſtandeth in	32 ½
The iſle Saluaja in	30
The iſle of Alagrança in	29 ½
The iſle Fuerte ventura in	28 ½
The Grand Canaria in	28 ½
The iſle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Tenerif in	28 ½
The iſle of Gomera in	27 ½

The latitudes of the Iſlands of the *VVeſt Indies*

	Degrees of latitude.
The iſland of Fonçeca ſtandeth in	11 ¼
The iſle Tabago in	*skant* 11
The Barbudos in	13
The iſle of Trinidad vpon the North ſide in	10
The iſle of Granata in	11 ¼
The iſle of Sant Vincent in	12
The iſle of ſanta Lucia in	12 ¾
The iſle of Dominica in	14
The iſle of Matalina or Martinino in	14 ½
The iſle of Marigalante in	15
The iſle of Deſeada in	15 ½
The iſle of Monſerate in	16
The iſle called La Antigua in	17
The iſle called La Baruada in	17
The iſle of S. Bartholomew in	17
The iſle of S. Martin in	17 ½
The iſle called La Anguilla in	*skant* 18
The iſle of Sombrero in	18 ½
The iſle Anegada in	18 ⅔
The iſle called La iſla de Avez in	15 ½
The iſles called Las Virgines in	18
The iſle of Santa Cruz in	17
The iſle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico — On the North ſide in	18 ½
On the South ſide in	17 ¾
Cape del Enganno vpon the Eaſt part of Hiſpaniola in	18 ½
The point of the iſle of Saona in	17 ½
The Cape called Punta de Niçao neere S. Domingo in Hiſpaniola in	17 ½
The iſle Beata on the South ſide of Hiſpaniola in	17
The point of Bacao on the South ſide of Hiſpaniola in	17 ½
Cape Tiburon vpon the Weſt part of Hiſpaniola, and the iſle of Nauaza in	18 ⅓

The iſle of Iamaica { On the South ſide in	17 ¼	
{ On the North ſide in	18 ½	
Cape de Cruz on the South ſide of Cuba in	20	
The 3 iſles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in	19 ¼	
The dangerous iſles called Los Iardines South of Cuba in	21	
The iſle of Pinos in	21	
Cape de Corrientes vpon the Southweſt part of Cuba in	21 ½	
Cabo de ſant Anton being the moſt weſterly Cape of Cuba in	22	
The litle iſles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions, in	22	
The iſles called Nigrillos in	23 ½	
Iſla de Lobos, or The iſle of ſeales neere the maine of Nueua Eſpanna, in	22	
The Cape of Iucatan called Cabo de Cotoche in	21	
The iſland called Iſla de Ranas in	21 ½	large.

The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coaſt of *Nueua Eſpanna*, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to *Spaine*.

	Degrees of latitude.	
Villa rica ſtandeth in	19 ½	
Sant. Iuan de Vllua in	18 ¾	
From ſant Iuan de Vllua ſayling to the Tortugas you muſt ſound in	27 ½	
The ſmall iſles called Las Tortugas ſtand in	25	
The Port of Hauana vpon the Northweſt part of Cuba in	23 ½	
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25	
The Mimbres are in	26 ½	
The Chanel of Bahama in	27 ½	
The Cape de Cannaueral vpon the coaſt of Florida in	28 ⅓	
The Iſle of Bermuda in	33	
The * iſle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez in	41 ¼	This is a very commodious Iſle for vs in our way to Virginia.

The latitudes of the Iſles of the Açores.

	Degrees of latitudes.	
The iſle of Flores ſtandeth in	39 ½	
The iſle of Cueruo in	40	
The iſle of Fayal in	38 ½	
The iſle of Pico and the iſle of ſant George both in	38 ½	
The iſle of Terçera in	39	
The iſle of Graciosa in	39 ½	
The iſle of ſanta Maria in	37	
The iſle of ſant Michael in	38	
Cape ſant Vincent vpon the coaſt of Spaine	37	
The Rocke in	39	
The Burlings in	40	
Bayona in	42 ½	
Cape Finiſter in	43 ½	
The enterance of the ſtreights of Gibraltar is in	36	
Cape Cantin vpon the coaſt of Babarie in	32 ½	
Cape Bojador vpon the coaſt of Barbarie in	27 *	large.
Rio del oro, or The riuer of Gold, in	23 ½	
Cabo de Barbas in	22	
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20 ¾	

The latitude of the iſles of Cabo verde.

The iſles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas ſtand all in	18 ⅓	
Iſla del Sal, or The iſle of ſalt, in	17 ¼	
The iſle called Buena viſta in	16	
The iſle of ſant Iago in	15	

The

The latitudes of diuers Iſlands, Capes, and other places, from the Iſle of *Margarita* vpon the coaſt of *Cumana* Weſtward along the coaſt ot *Tierra Firma.*

	Degrees of latitude.
The iſles of Aruba, Curaçao, and Buinaro ſtand all in	12
The iſle of Margarita in	11
The iſlandes called Los Teſtigos in	$11\frac{1}{4}$
The coaſt of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth Eaſt and Weſt in	12
Cape del Aguja in	$11\frac{1}{2}$
The rockes of Serrana in	14
The Roncador in	$13\frac{1}{2}$
The iſle of Santa Catelina in	$13\frac{1}{2}$
The iſle of Sant Andrew in	$12\frac{1}{2}$
The Seranilla in	$15\frac{1}{2}$
The iſle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	$17\frac{1}{4}$
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	$16\frac{3}{4}$
Genaza in	$16\frac{1}{2}$

Here followeth a declaration of the longitudes, or Weſtern and Eaſtern diſtances, from *Spaine* to *Newe Spaine* in *America*, and from thence backe againe to *Spaine*.

	Leagues.
From Sal Medina vpon the Coaſt Andaluzia till you bring your ſelfe North and South with Cape Cantin vpon the Coaſt of Barbary	85
From Sal Medina to the iſland of Gran Canaria	200
From the Gran Canaria to Deſeada	850
From Deſeada to Monſerate	20
From Monſerate to ſanta Cruz	58
From ſanta Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southweſt Cape of ſant Iuan de Puerto Rico	45
From Cape Roxo to Saona.	25
From Saona to ſant Domingo	25
From ſant Domingo to Ocoa	18
From Ocoa to Beata	20
From Beata to the iſle Baque	43
From the iſle Baque to Nauaza	33
From Nauaza to ſant Iago of Cuba	32
From ſant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
From Cabo de Cruz to the firſt Cayman	40
From the firſt Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
From the great Cayman to the iſle of Pinos.	48
From Cabo de Cruz to the iſle of Pinos by the forſaid courſe	106
From the iſle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de ſant Anton	20

The courſe from *Cabo de ſant Anton* to *ſant Iuan de Vllua* by the outſide or North of the Iſles called *Alacranes.*

From Cabo de ſant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
From the Nigrillos, untill you bring your ſelfe North and South with the iſle Vermeja	25
From the iſle Vermja to Villa Rica	96
From Villarica to Sant Iuan de Vllua	12

The courſe from *Cabo de Corrientes* to *ſant Iuan de Vllua* on the inſide or South of the *Alacranes.*

From Cabo de Corrientes to the firſt ſounding	45
From the firſt ſounding till you come ſo farre a head as the iſland called Iſla de Ranas	80
From Iſla de Ranas vnto	

The

The longitudes from *New Spaine*, backe againe to *Spaine*.	*Leagues.*
From Saint Iuan de Vllua to the Tortugas.	280
From the Tortugas to Hauana.	36
From Hauana to the head of the Martyrs:	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres.	30
From the Mimbres to Bahamá	22
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaueral.	62
From Cabo de Cannauerall to Bermuda.	350
From Bermuda to the Iſle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez	320
From the Iſle of Iohn Luis or Aluarez to Flores.	300
From Flores to Fayal.	28
From Fayal to Terçera.	28
From Terçera to Saint Michael.	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent.	218
From Terçera to Cape Saint Vincent.	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de ſanta Maria vpon the coaſt of Algarbe.	22
From Cabo de ſanta Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia.	32

THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH, and Beautifull Empire of *Guiana*, with a relation of the great and golden Citie of *Manoa* (which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*) and the Prouinces of *Emeria*, *Aromaia*, *Amapaia*, and other Countries, with their riuers adioyning.

Performed in the yeere *1595* by Sir *Walter Ralegh* Knight, Captaine
of her Maieſties Guard, Lorde Warden of the Stanneries,
and her Highneſſe Leiutenant generall of the
Countie of *Corne-wall*.

To the right Honourable my ſingular good Lord and kinſman *Charles Howard*, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counceller, and of the Admirals of *England* the moſt renowmed: and to the right Honourable Sir *Robert Cecyll* knight, Counceller in her Highneſſe Priuie Councels.

FOr your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I haue hitherto onely returned promiſes, and now for anſwere of both your aduentures, I haue ſent you a bundle of papers, which I haue deuided betwene your Lordſhip, and Sir *Robert Cecyll* in theſe two reſpects chiefly: Firſt for that it is reaſon, that waſtful factors, when they haue conſumed ſuch ſtockes as they had in truſt, doe yeeld ſome colour for the ſame in their account; ſecondly for that I am aſſured, that whatſoeuer ſhall bee done, or written by me, ſhall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me ſtill preſume, that you wil be pleaſed (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forewarned enemies) to anſwer that out of knowledge, which others ſhal but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times as I did eſpecially Hon. you both, ſo I found that your loues ſought mee out in the darkeſt ſhadow of aduerſitie, and the ſame affection which accompanied my better fortune, ſored not away from me in my many miſeries: al which though I can not requite, yet I ſhal euer acknowledge: & the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confeſſe to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, ſo they haue yeelded very grieuous effects, & if ought might haue bene deſerued in former times to haue counterpoyſed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it ſeemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, & the dead ſtocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake theſe trauels, fitter for bodies leſſe blaſted with miſ-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were poſſible, I might recouer but the moderation of exceſſe, & the leaſt taſt of the greateſt plenty formerly poſſeſſed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I could cõceiue what farther meanes I might yet vſe, but euen to appeaſe ſo powreful diſpleaſure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold faſt my ſoule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I haue waſted in effect all herein. I haue vndergone many conſtructions

I haue bene accompanyed with many ſorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, ſickenes, & perill: it appeareth notwithſtanding that I made no other brauado of going to the ſea, then was ment, and that I was neuer hidden in *Cornewall*, or els where, as was ſuppoſed. They haue groſſly belied me, that foreiudged, that I would rather become a ſeruant to the Spaniſh king, then returne, and the reſt were much miſtaken, who would haue perſwaded, that I was too eaſefull and ſenſuall to vndertake a iourney of ſo great trauell. But, if what I haue done, receiue the the gracious conſtruction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchaſe the leaſt remiſſion, I ſhall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the reſt many miſeries. But if both the times paſt, the preſent, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in eternall diſtaſt; I doe not then know whether I ſhould bewaile my ſelfe, either for my too much trauell and expence, or condemne my ſelfe for doing leſſe then that, which can deſerue nothing. From my ſelfe I haue deſerued no thankes, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore eſtate, it ſhall appeare by the following diſcourſe, if I had not onely reſpected her Maieſties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picory, it had ſorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Maieſties grace I hold this day in *England*, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres ſince, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of *Guiana*, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and the naturals *Manoa*, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger ſonne of *Guamacapa* Emperour of *Peru*, at ſuch time as *Franciſco Piçarro* and others conquered the ſaid Empire, from his two elder brethrē, *Guaſcar*, and *Atabalipa*, both then contending for the ſame, the one being fauoured by the *Orejones* of *Cuzco*, the other by the people of *Caxamalca*. I ſent my ſeruant *Iacob Whiddon* the yere before, to get knowledge of the paſſages, and I had ſome light from Captaine *Parker*, ſometime my ſeruant, and nowe attending on your Lordſhip, that ſuch a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of *Charuas*, or *Guanipa*: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they ſuppoſed, and many other impediments to them vnknowen and vnheard. After I had diſplanted *Don Antonio de Berreo*, who was vpon the ſame enterprize, leauing my ſhips at *Trinidad*, at the Port called *Curiapan*, I wandred 400 miles into the ſaid countrey by lande and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following diſcourſe. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the beſt partes of the *Indies*, or *Peru*: All the moſt of the kings of the borders are already become her Maieſties vaſſals: and ſeeme to deſire nothing more then her Maieſties protection and the returne of the Engliſh nation. It hath another ground and aſſurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the *Weſt Indies*, an eaſier way to inuade the beſt parts thereof, then by the common courſe. The king of *Spaine* is not ſo impoueriſhed, by taking three or foure Port townes in *America*, as wee ſuppoſe, neither are the riches of *Peru*, or *Nueua Eſpanna* ſo left by the ſea ſide, as it can bee eaſily waſht away with a great flood, or ſpringtide, or left dry vpon the ſandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in reſpect of the reſt within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receiue the treaſure for *Spaine*: and we might thinke the *Spaniards* very ſimple, hauing ſo many horſes and ſlaues, if they could not vpon two dayes warning cary all the golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, eſpecially the *Indies* being (as they are for the moſt part) ſo mountanous, ſo full of woodes, riuers, and mariſhes. In the Port townes of the Prouince of *Veneçuela*, as *Cumana*, *Coro* and S. *Iago* (whereof *Coro* and S. *Iago* were taken by Captaine *Preſton*, and *Cumana* and S. *Ioſepho* by vs) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of *Barquaſimeta*, *Valencia*, S. *Sebaſtian*, *Cororo*, S. *Lucia*, *Laguna*, *Maracaiba*, and *Truxillo*, are not ſo eaſely inuaded: neither doeth the burning of thoſe on the coaſt impoueriſh the king of *Spaine* any one ducat: and if we ſacke the riuer of *Hacha*, S. *Marta*, and *Cartagena*, which are the Portes of *Nueuo reyno*, and *Popayan*; there are beſides within the land, which are indeed riche and populous, the townes and Cities of *Merida*, *Lagrita*, S. *Chriſtophoro*, the great Cities of *Pamplon*, S. *Fe de Bogota*, *Tunxa* and *Mozo* where the *Eſmeralds* are found, the townes and Cities of *Marequita*, *Velez*, *la Villa de Leua*, *Palma*, *Unda*, *Anguſtura*, the great citie of *Timana*, *Tocaima*, S. *Aguila*, *Paſto*, *Iuago*, the great Citie of *Popaian* it ſelfe, *Los Remedios*, and the reſt. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of *Vraba* in the kingdom or riuers of *Dariene*, and *Caribana*, the Cities and townes of S *Iuan de Roydas*, of *Caſſaris*, of *Antiocha*, *Caramanta*, *Cali*, and *Anſerma* haue gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not eaſily inuaded by the way of the *Ocean*: or if *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* be taken in the Prouince of *Caſtilla del oro*, and the villages vpõ the riuers of *Cenu* & *Chagre*; *Peru* hath beſides thoſe & beſides the magnificent cities of *Quito* & *Lima* ſo many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I ſhould name them with the reſt, it would ſeem incredible to the reader: of all which, becauſe I haue written a particular treatiſe of the *Weſt Indies*, I wil omit the repetition at this time, ſeeing that in the ſaid treatiſe I haue anatomized the reſt of the ſea-townes aſwel of *Nicaragua*, *Iucatan*, *Nueua Eſpanna*, & the ylands, as thoſe of the *Inland*, & by what meanes they may be beſt inuaded, as far as any meane iudgement can cõprehend. But I hope it ſhal appeare that there is a way found to anſwer euery mans longing, a better *Indies* for her Maieſtie then the King of *Spaine* hath any: which if it ſhal pleaſe her highnes to vndertake, I ſhal moſt willingly end the reſt of my daies in folowing the ſame: if it be left to the ſpoile & ſackage of cõmon perſons, if the loue & ſeruice of ſo many nations be deſpiſed, ſo great riches, & ſo mighty an empire refuſed, I hope her maieſty wil yet take my humble deſire and my labor therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in reſpect of her highnes future honor & riches, could haue laid hands on & ranſomed many of the kings & *Caſiqui* of the country, & haue had a reaſonable proportion of gold for their redemptiõ: but I haue choſen rather to beare the burden of pouerty, then reproch, & rather to endure a ſecond trauel and the chances therof, then to haue defaced an enterpriſe of ſo great aſſurance, vntill I knew whether it pleaſed God to put a diſpoſitiõ in her princely & royal heatt either to folow or foreſlow the ſame: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, & do humbly pray that your honors wil excuſe ſuch errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part of the folowing diſcourſe, in which I haue neither ſtudied phraſe, forme nor faſhion, that you will be pleaſed to eſteeme mee as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I ſhall euer remaine ready to do you all honour and ſeruice. *W. R.*

A treatiſe of the Weſt Indies.

¶ *To the Reader.*

BEcauſe there haue bin diuers opiniõs cõceiued of the gold oare broght frõ *Guiana*, and for ỷ an Alderman of *London* & an officer of her Maieſties Mint, hath giuen out that the ſame is of no price, I haue thought good by the additiõ of theſe lines to giue anſwer aſwel to the ſaid malicious ſlãder, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of *Trinidad*, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far frõ the Port, where we ancored, there were found certaine mineral ſtones which they eſteemed to be gold, & were thereunto perſwaded the rather for that they had ſeene both *Engliſh* and *Frenchmen* gather, & imbark ſome quantities therof: vpon this likelyhood I ſent 40. men & gaue order that each one ſhould bring a ſtone of that mine to make trial of ỷ goodnes: which being performed, I aſſured them at their returne that the ſame was *Marcaſite*, & of no riches or value: notwithſtãding diuers, truſting more to their owne ſence, then to my opinion, kept of the ſaid *Marcaſite*, & haue tried therof ſince my returne in diuers places. In *Guiana* it ſelfe I neuer ſaw *Marcaſite*, but al the rocks, mouͦtains, al ſtones in ỷ plaines, woods, & by the riuers ſide are in effect throughſhining, and ſeem maruelous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcaſite*, are the true ſignes of rich minerals, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is ſaid by others the ſcum of gold: of diuers ſorts of theſe many of my company brought alſo into *Englãd*, euery one taking ỷ faireſt for the beſt, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not coũtermand any mans deſire, or opinion, & I could haue aforded them litle if I ſhould haue denied them the pleaſing of their owne fancies therein: but I was reſolued that gold muſt be foũd either in graines ſeparate frõ the ſtone (as it is in moſt of the riuers in *Guiana*) or els in a kind of hard ſtone, which we call *The white ſpar*, of which I ſaw diuers hils, & in ſundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor inſtruments fit for labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I found of the ſaid *White ſparre* or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endeuoured to breake by al the meanes I could, becauſe there appeared on the outſide ſome ſmal graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the ſame vpon the vpper part, ſeeking the ſides and circuit of the ſaid rocke, I found a clift in the ſame from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out ſome ſmal quantitie therof, of which kind of white ſtone (wherin gold ingendred) we ſaw diuers hils and rocks in euery part of *Guiana*, wherein we traueiled. Of this there haue bin made many trials, and in *London* it was firſt aſſaid by M. *Weſtwood* a refiner dwelling in *Woodſtreet*, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another ſort was afterward tried by M. *Bulmar* & M. *Dimock* Aſſay-maſter, & it held after the rate of 23000 li. a tunne. There was ſome of it againe tried by M. *Palmer* comptroller of the Mint, and M. *Dimock* in goldſmiths hal, & it held after 26900. li. a tun. There was alſo at the ſame time, & by the ſame perſons a trial made of the duſt of the ſaid mine which held 8. li. 6. ounces weight of gold in the 100: there was likewiſe at the ſame time a triall of an image of copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third part of gold, beſides diuers trials made in the coũtrey, & by others in *Lõdon*. But becauſe there came ill with the good, & belike the ſaid Alderman was not preſented with the beſt, it hath pleaſed him therefore to ſcandall all the reſt, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath alſo bene concluded by diuers, that if there had bin any ſuch oare in *Guiana*, and the ſame diſcouered, that I would haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: firſt I was not bound to ſatisfie any man of the quantitie, but ſuch onely as aduentured, if any ſtore had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of maſſie gold, it was impoſſible for vs to haue made any longer ſtay to haue wrought the ſame: and whoſoeuer hath ſeene with what ſtrength of ſtone the beſt gold oare is inuironed, hee will not thinke it eaſie to be had out in heapes, and eſpecially by vs, who had neither men, inſtruments, nor time (as it is ſaid before) to performe the ſame. There were on this diſcouery no leſſe then 100. perſons, who can all witneſſe, that when we paſt any branch of the riuer to view the land within, and ſtaied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if wee attempted the ſame, the day following it was impoſſible either to ford it, or to ſwim it, both by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe, and alſo for that the borders were ſo peſtred with faſt woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in Iune, Iuly, Auguſt and September, it is impoſſible to nauigate any of thoſe riuers: for ſuch is the fury of the current, and there are ſo many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if any boat but touch vpon any tree or ſtake, it is impoſſible to ſaue any one perſon therein: and yet we departed the land it ranne with ſuch ſwiftnes, as wee draue downe moſt commonly againſt the wind, little leſſe then 100. miles a day: Beſides our veſſels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a ſmall cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in haſt for that purpoſe at *Trinidad*, and thoſe little boats had 9. or 10. men a piece, with all their victuals, and armes, It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ſhips, and had bene a moneth from them, which alſo we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promiſed our returne in 15. dayes. Others haue deuiſed that the ſame oare was had from *Barbary*, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: ſurely the ſingularitie of that deuice I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not ſo much in loue with theſe long voyages, as to deuiſe, therby to cozen my ſelfe, to lie hard, to fare worſe, to be ſubiected to perils, to diſeaſes, to ill ſauors, to be parched & withered, and withall to ſuſtaine the care & labour of ſuch an enterprize, except the ſame had more comfort, then the fetching of *Marcaſite* in *Guiana*, or buying of gold oare in *Barbary*. But I hope the better ſort wil iudge me by themſelues, & that the way of deceit is not the way of honor or good opinion: I haue herein conſumed much time, & many crownes, & I had no other reſpect or deſire then to ſerue her Maieſtie and my country thereby. If the Spaniſh nation had bene of like beliefe to theſe detracters, we ſhould litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now cõſider of the actions both of *Charles* the 5. who had the maidenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant treaſures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spaniſh king now liuing, what territories he hath purchaſed, what he hath added to the acts of his predeceſſors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, gariſons, & nauies he hath and doth mainteine, the great loſſes which he hath repaired, as in 88. aboue 100. saile of great ſhips with their artillery, & that no yere is leſſe vnfortunate but that many veſſels, treaſures, and people are deuoured, and yet notwithſtanding he beginneth againe like a ſtorme to threaten ſhipwrack to vs all: we ſhall find that theſe abilities riſe not frõ the trades of ſacks, and *Siuil* oringes, nor from ought els that either *Spaine*, *Portugal*, or any of his other prouinces produce: it is his *Indian* gold that indangereth and diſturbeth all the nations of *Europe*, it purchaſeth intelligence, creepeth into counſels, and ſetteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greateſt Monarchies of *Europe*. If the Spaniſh king can keepe vs from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of inuaſion, or by beſieging vs in *Britaine*, *Ireland*, or elſewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Thoſe princes which abound in treaſure haue great aduantages ouer the reſt, if they once conſtraine them to a defenſiue war, where they are driuen once a yere or oftner to caſt lots for their own garmẽts, and frõ ſuch ſhal all trades, & entercourſe be taken away, to the general loſſe and impoueriſhment of the kingdom and common weale ſo reduced: beſides when our men are conſtrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are preſt & incouraged by the deſire of ſpoile & riches. Farther, it is to be douted how thoſe that in time of victory ſeeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the firſt view of miſfortunes, or il ſucceſſe; to truſt alſo to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull & vncertaine aduenture, ſeeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile,as vertue. It ſhall not be neceſſary to alleage all that might bee ſaid, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatſoeuer kingdome ſhalbe inforced to defend it ſelfe may be compared to a body dangerouſly diſeaſed, which for a ſeaſon may be preſerued with vulgar medicines,but in a ſhort time,and by litle and litle, the ſame muſt needs fall to the ground,& be diſſolued. I haue therefore laboured all my life,both according to my ſmal power,& perſwaſion, to aduance al thoſe attempts,that might either promiſe return of profit to our ſelues,or at leaſt be a let and impeachment to the quiet courſe and plentifull trades of the Spaniſh nation,who in my weake iudgement by ſuch a warre were as eaſily indangered & brought frō his powerfulnes,as any prince of *Europe*, if it be conſidered from how many kingdomes and nations his reuenues are gathered,& thoſe ſo weake in their owne beings, and ſo far ſeuered from mutual ſuccour.But becauſe ſuch a preparation and reſolution is not to be hoped for in haſt,& that the time which our enemies embrace,cannot be had againe to aduātage,I wil hope that theſe prouinces,and that Empire now by me diſcouered ſhal ſuffice to inable her Maieſtie & the whole kingdome,with no leſſe quantities of treaſure,then the king of *Spaine* hath in all the *Indies* Eaſt and Weſt,which he poſſeſſeth,which if the ſame be conſidered and followed,ere the Spaniards enforce the ſame,and if her Maieſtie wil vndertake it, I wil be contented to loſe her highneſſe fauour & good opinion for euer,and my life withall,if the ſame be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatſoeuer is in this diſcourſe promiſed or declared. I wil now referre the Reader to the following diſcourſe,with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and indeuors of ſuch as thereby ſeeke the profit and honour of her Maieſtie, and the Engliſh nation, ſhall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue ſuch conſtruction, and good acceptance,as themſelues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like. *W. R.*

¶ The diſcouerie of *Guiana*.

ON thurſday the 6.of February in the yere 1595.we departed England,and the Sunday following had ſight of the North cape of Spaine,the winde for the moſt part continuing proſperous:we paſſed in ſight of the Burlings,& the Rocke,and ſo onwards for the Canaries,and fel with Fuerte ventura the 17 of the ſame moneth,where we ſpent two or three dayes,and relieued our companies with ſome freſh meat. From thence we coaſted by the Grand Canaria,& ſo to Tenerif,and ſtayed there for the Lions whelpe your Lordſhips ſhip, and for Captaine Amyas Preſton and the reſt. But when after 7.or 8.dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our courſe for Trinidad with mine owne ſhip,and a ſmall barke of captaine Croſſes onely(for we had before loſt ſight of a ſmal Galego on the coaſt of Spaine,which came with vs from Plimmouth:) we arriued at Trinidad the 22.of March, caſting ancker at point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call punta de Gallo,which is ſituate in 8.degrees or there abouts:we abode there 4.or 5.dayes,& in all that time we came not to the ſpeach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coaſt we ſaw a fire,as we ſailed frō the point Carao towards Curiapan,but for feare of the Spaniards none durſt come to ſpeake with vs. I my ſelfe coaſted it in my barge cloſe aboord the ſhore and landed in euery Coue,the better to know the yland,while the ſhips kept the chanell. From Curiapan after a few dayes we turned vp Northeaſt to recouer that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Eſpannoles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia,and as before (reuictualing my barge) I left the ſhips and kept by the ſhore, the better to come to ſpeach with ſome of the inhabitants, and alſo to vnderſtand the riuers, watering places,& ports of the yland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpoſe is to ſend your Lordſhip after a few dayes. From Curiapan I came to a port and ſeat of Indians called Parico, where we found a freſh water riuer, but ſaw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea: In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of freſh water and one ſalt riuer that had ſtore of oiſters vpon the branches of the trees,and were very ſalt and well taſted. All their oiſters grow vpon thoſe boughs and ſprayes,and not on the ground: the like is commonly ſeene in other places of the Weſt Indies, and elſe where. This tree is deſcribed by Andrew Theuet in his French Antarctique,and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very ſtrange, and by Plinie in his 12.booke of his naturall hiſtorie. But in this yland,as alſo in Guiana there are very many of them.

The yle of Trinidad.

Curiapan.

Parico.

Tierra de Brea.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche there is that abundance of ſtone pitch, that all the ſhips of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our ſhippes to be moſt excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ſhippes trading the South parts very profitable. From thence wee went to the mountaine foote called Annaperima, and ſo paſſing the riuer Carone on which the Spaniſh Citie was ſeated, we met with our ſhips at Puerto de los Eſpannoles or Conquerabia.

This yland of Trinidad hath the forme of a ſheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the ſoile is very excellent and will beare ſuger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath ſtore of deare, wilde porks, fruits, fiſh and foule: it hath alſo for bread ſufficient maiz, caſſaui, and of thoſe rootes and fruites which are common euery where in the Weſt Indies. It hath diuers beaſtes which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confeſſed that they found graines of golde in ſome of the riuers, but they hauing a purpoſe to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to ſpend time in the ſearch thereof any further. This yland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are diuers nations: thoſe about Parico are called Iaio, thoſe at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Saluajos, betwene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepoios, and thoſe about the Spaniſh citie terme themſelues Carinepagotes: Of the reſt of the nations, and of other ports and riuers I leaue to ſpeake here, being impertinent to my purpoſe, and meane to deſcribe them as they are ſituate in the particular plot and deſcription of the yland, three parts whereof I coaſted with my barge, that I might the better deſcribe it.

The death of Captaine Whiddon.

Meeting with the ſhips at Puerto de los Eſpannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the deſcent, and they offering a ſigne of peace, I ſent captaine Whiddon to ſpeake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the ſaid yland after my returne from Guiana, being a man moſt honeſt and valiant. The Spaniards ſeemed to be deſirous to trade with vs, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne ſtrength then for ought elſe, and in the ende vpon pledge, ſome of them came abord: the ſame euening there ſtale alſo abord vs in a ſmall Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Caſique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman, wee vnderſtood what ſtrength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the gouernour, who was ſaid to be ſlaine in his ſecond attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Eſpannoles ſome Spaniards came abord vs to buy linnen of the company, and ſuch other things as they wanted, and alſo to view our ſhips and company, all which I entertained kindly and feaſted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the eſtate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for thoſe poore ſouldiers hauing bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and paſſages, my ſelfe ſeeming to purpoſe nothing leſſe then the enterance or diſcouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of thoſe Engliſh which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forſt me from the ſaid coaſt.

8. Engliſhmen betrayed by Antony Berreo.

I found occaſions of ſtaying in this place for two cauſes: the one was to be reuenged of Berreo, who the yere before 1594. had betraied eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to ſeeke the Edward Bonauenture, which arriued at Trinidad the day before from the Eaſt Indies: in whoſe abſence Berreo ſent a Canoa abord the pinneſſe onely with Indians and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wiſe men in the abſence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no ſooner one harquebuze ſhot from the ſhore, but Berreos ſouldiers lying in ambuſh had them al, notwithſtanding that he had giuen his word to Captaine Whiddon that they ſhould take water and wood ſafely: the other cauſe of my ſtay was, for that by diſcourſe with the Spaniards I dayly learned more and more of Guiana, of the riuers and paſſages, and of the enterpriſe of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to proſecute the ſame.

While wee thus ſpent the time I was aſſured by another Caſique of the North ſide of the yland, that Berreo had ſent to Margarita and Cumana for ſouldiers, meaning to haue giuen mee a caſſado at parting, if it had bene poſſible. For although he had giuen order through all the yland that no Indian ſhould come abord to trade with me vpon paine of hanging & quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the ſame, which I afterwards founde) yet euery night there came ſome with moſt lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had deuided the yland and giuen to euery ſouldier a part, that hee made the ancient Caſiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their ſlaues, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and ſuch other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the ſame, there were 5. of yͤ lords or litle kings (which they cal Caſiques in the Weſt Indies) in one chaine almoſt dead of famine, and waſted with torments: theſe are called in their owne language Acarewana, and now of late ſince Engliſh, French and Spaniſh are come among them, they call themſelues Capitaines, becauſe they perceiue that the chiefeſt of euery ſhip is called by that name. Thoſe fiue Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as alſo conſidering that to enter Guiana by ſmall boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ſhips, and to leaue a gariſon in my backe interreſted in the ſame enterprize, who alſo dayly expected ſupplies out of Spaine, I ſhould haue ſauoured very much of the aſſe: and therefore taking a time of moſt aduantage I ſet vpon the Corps du guard in the euening, and hauing put them to the ſword, ſent Captaine Calfield onwards with 60. ſouldiers, and my ſelfe followed with 40. more and ſo tooke their new City which they called S. Ioſeph by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a fewe ſhot, and all being diſmiſſed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me abord, and at the inſtance of the Indians I ſet their new citie of S. Ioſeph on fire.

The Citie of S. Ioſeph taken. Antony Berreo taken priſoner.

The ſame day arriued captaine George Gifford with your Lordſhips ſhip, and captaine Keymis whom I loſt on the coaſt of Spaine, with the Galego, and in them diuers gentlemen and others, which to our little armie was a great comfort and ſupply.

We then haſted away towards our purpoſed diſcouery, and firſt I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were ſome which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and waſt thoſe that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderſtand that I was the ſeruant of a Queene, who was the great Caſique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Caſiqui vnder her then there were trees in that yland: that ſhee was an enemie to the Caſtellani in reſpect of their tyrannie and oppreſſion, and that ſhe deliuered all ſuch nations about her, as were by them oppreſſed, and hauing freed all the coaſt of the Northren world from their ſeruitude, had ſent mee to free them alſo, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their inuaſion and conqueſt. I ſhewed them her Maieſties picture which they ſo admired and honoured, as it had bene eaſie to haue brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large diſcourſe I made to the reſt of the nations both in my paſſing to Guiana, and to thoſe of the borders, ſo as in that part of the world her Maieſtie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Caſſipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princeſſe or greateſt commander. This done we left Puerto de los Eſpannoles, and returned to Curiapan, and hauing Berreo my priſoner I gathered from him as much of Guiana as hee knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman wel deſcended, and had long ſerued the Spaniſh king in Millain, Naples, the Low countreis and elſewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great aſſuredneſ, and of a great heart: I vſed him according to his eſtate and worth in all things I could, according to the ſmall meanes I had.

I ſent Captaine Whiddon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my iourney at this time was to diſcouer and enter the ſame, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the countrey is ſituate aboue 600. Engliſh miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleeue it had bin, which afterward vnderſtanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who elſe would neuer haue bene brought to attempt the ſame: of which 600. miles I paſſed 400. leauing my ſhips ſo farre from mee at ancker in the Sea, which was more of deſire to performe that diſcouery, then of reaſon, eſpecially hauing ſuch poore and weake veſſels to tranſport our ſelues in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I cauſed to be faſhioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a ſhipboat of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. perſons and their victuals for a moneth in the ſame, being al driuen to lie in the raine and weather, in the open aire, in the burning Sunne, and vpon the hard bords, and to dreſſe our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were ſo peſtered and vnſauory, that what with victuals being moſt fiſh, with the wette clothes of ſo many men thruſt together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any priſon in England, that could bee found more vnſauorie and lothſome, eſpecially to my ſelfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a ſort farre more differing.

Sir W. Ralegh paſſed 400. miles toward Guiana.

If Captaine Preſton had not bene perſwaded that he ſhould haue come too late to Trinidad to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promiſed to tary for him there ere hee coulde recouer the coaſt of Spaine) but that it had pleaſed God hee might haue ioyned with vs, and that we had entred the countrey but ſome ten dayes ſooner ere the Riuers were ouerflowen, wee had aduentured either to haue gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at leaſt taken ſo many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleaſed not God ſo much to fauour mee at this time: if it ſhall be my lot to proſecute the ſame, I ſhall willingly ſpend my life therein, and if any elſe ſhalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the ſame, I aſſure him thus much, he ſhall perfourme more then euer was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Piçarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guaſcar, and Atabalipa, and whatſoeuer prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, that Prince ſhall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But becauſe there may ariſe many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become ſo populous, and adorned with ſo many great Cities, townes, temples and treaſures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now reigning is deſcended from thoſe magnificent princes of Peru, of whoſe large territories, of whoſe policies, conqueſts, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieça, Franciſco Lopez, and others haue written large diſcourſes: for when Franciſco Piçarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the ſaid Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa ſonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly cauſed his eldeſt brother Guaſcar to bee ſlaine, one of the yonger ſonnes of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thouſands of thoſe ſouldiers of the Empire called Orejones, and with thoſe and many others which followed him, hee vanquiſhed all that tract and valley of America which is ſituate betweene the great riuer of Amazones, and Baraquan, otherwiſe called Orenoque and Marannon.

The ſtatelines of Manoa.

Fran. Lopez de Gomara hiſt. gen. cap. 120.

The Empire of Guiana is directly Eaſt from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or moe great Cities then euer Peru had when it flouriſhed moſt: it is gouerned by the ſame lawes, and the Emperour and people obſerue the ſame religion, and the ſame forme and policies in gouernment as were vſed in Peru, not differing in any part: and I haue bene aſſured by ſuch of the Spaniards as haue ſeene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatneſſe, for the riches, and for the excellent ſeat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at leaſt of ſo much of the world as is knowen to the Spaniſh nation: it is founded vpon a lake of ſalt water of 200. leagues long like vnto Mare Caſpium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, & but read the report of Franciſco Lopez and others, it will ſeeme more then credible: and becauſe we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to inſert part of the 120. Chapter of Lopez in his generall hiſtorie of the Indies, wherein he deſcribeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, anceſtour to the Emperour of Guiana, whoſe very wordes are theſe. Todo el ſeruicio de ſu caſa, meſa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en ſu recamara eſtatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamãno de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de ſus reynos. Tenia aſſi meſmo ſogas, coſtales, ceſtas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que parecieſſen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia coſa en ſu tierra, que no la tuuieſſe de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna Iſla cerca de la Puna, donde ſe yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza haſta entonces nunca viſta. Allende de todo eſto tenia infinitiſſima cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que ſe perdio por la muerte de Guaſcar, ca los Indios lo eſcondieron, viendo que los Eſpannoles ſe lo tomauan, y embiauan a Eſpanna. That is, All the veſſels of his houſe, table and kitchin were of gold and ſiluer, and the meaneſt of ſiluer and copper for ſtrength and hardneſſe of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow ſtatues of gold which ſeemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigneſſe of all the beaſts, birds, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth foorth: and of all the fiſhes that the ſea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had alſo ropes, budgets, cheſtes and troughs of golde and ſiluer, heapes of billets of gold, that ſeemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they ſay, The Ingas had a garden of pleaſure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreat themſelues, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and ſiluer, an inuention, and magnificence till then neuer ſeene. Beſides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of ſiluer and golde vnwrought in Cuzco which was loſt by the death of Guaſcar, for the Indians hid it, ſeeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and ſent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. chapter Franciſco Piçarro cauſed the gold and ſiluer of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez ſetteth downe in theſe wordes following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y ſeys mil, y quinientos peſos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and two thouſand markes of good ſiluer, and one million, and three hundred twenty and ſixe thouſand and fiue hundred pezos of golde.

Now although theſe reports may ſeeme ſtrange, yet if we conſider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may eaſily beleeue the ſame: for we finde that by the abundant treaſure of that countrey the Spaniſh king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Caſtile, the greateſt monarch of this part of the world, and likely euery day to increaſe, if other princes forſlow the good occaſions offered, and ſuffer him to adde this empire to the reſt, which by farre exceedeth all the reſt: if his golde now indanger vs, hee will then be vnreſiſtable. Such of the Spanyards as afterward endeuoured the conqueſt thereof (whereof there haue bene many, as ſhall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now liuing is deſcended) tooke his way by the riuer of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the cōmandement of Gonzalo Piçarro, in the yere 1542) whoſe name the riuer alſo beareth this day, which is alſo by others called Marannon, although Andrew Theuet doeth affirme that betweene Marannon and Amazones there are 120 leagues: but ſure it is that thoſe riuers haue one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Theuet deſcribeth, is but a branch of Amazones or Orellana, of which I will ſpeake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little leſſe then 70 yeres ſince that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the ſame: and it was in the yeere 1542 that Orellana diſcouered the riuer of Amazones; but the firſt that euer ſaw Manoa was Iuan Martinez maſter of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ſhip; and this port is ſome 300 miles within the land, vpon the great riuer of Orenoque.

Iuan Martinez the firſt that euer ſaw Manoa.

I reſted at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ſhips at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the firſt that diſcouered Manoa) his ſucceſſe and ende are to bee ſeene in the Chancery of Saint Iuan de puerto rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greateſt incouragement aſwell to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the diſcouery and conqueſt. Orellana after he failed of the diſcouery of Guiana by the ſayd riuer of Amazones, paſſed into Spaine, and there obteined a patent of the king for the inuaſion and conqueſt, but died by ſea about the Iſlands, and his fleet ſeuered by tempeſt, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterpriſe, and departed Spaine with 600 ſouldiers, and 30 horſe, who arriuing on the coaſt of Guiana, was ſlaine in a mutiny, with the moſt part of ſuch as fauoured him, as alſo of the rebellious part, inſomuch as his ſhips periſhed, and few or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the ſayd Ordas, vntill Berreo found the anker of his ſhip in the riuer of Orenoque; but it was ſuppoſed, and ſo it is written by Lopez, that he periſhed on the ſeas, and of other writers diuerſly conceiued and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred ſo farre within the land, and arriued at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army reſted at the port of Morequito (who was either the firſt or ſecond that attempted Guiana) by ſome negligence, the whole ſtore of powder prouided for the ſeruice was ſet on fire; and Martinez hauing the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed foorthwith: Martinez being much fauoured by the ſouldiers, had all the meanes poſſible procured for his life; but it could not be obteined in other ſort then this: That he ſhould be ſet into a canoa alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and ſo turned looſe into the great riuer: but it pleaſed God that the canoa was caried downe the ſtreame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the ſame euening; and hauing not at any time ſeene any Chriſtian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be woondred at, and ſo from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great city of Manoa, the ſeat and reſidence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Chriſtian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guaſcar and Atabalipa were vanquiſhed by the Spanyards in Peru) and cauſed him to be lodged in his palace, and well enterteined. Hee liued ſeuen moneths in Manoa, but was not ſuffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was alſo brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, vntill he came to the entrance of Manoa it ſelfe, and was fourteene or fifteene dayes in the paſſage. He auowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they vncouered his face, and that he trauelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun riſing to Sun ſetting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had liued ſeuen moneths in Manoa, and began to vnderſtand the language of the countrey, Inga aſked him whether he deſired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly abide with him. But Martinez not deſirous to ſtay, obteined the fauour of Inga to depart: with whom he ſent diuers Guianians to conduct him to the riuer of Orenoque, all loden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gaue to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arriued

Diego de Ordas went foorth with 600 ſouldiers 1531.

Fran. Lopez hiſt. gen. de las Ind. cap. 87.

The great city of Manoa or El Dorado.

neere the riuers ſide, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treaſure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) ſaue onely of two great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiouſly wrought, which thoſe Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to paſſe: and ſo in canoas hee fell downe from the riuer of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and alſo to Saint Iuan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for paſſage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme ſickneſſe, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the Sacrament at the hands of his Confeſſor, he deliuered theſe things, with the relation of his trauels, and alſo called for his calabaças or gourds of the golde beads which he gaue to the church and friers to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that Chriſtened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed mee, vpon this occaſion: Thoſe Guianians, and alſo the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue ſeene, are maruellous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their ſolemne feaſts, when the emperour carowſeth with his captaines, tributaries, and gouernours, the maner is thus: All thoſe that pledge him are firſt ſtripped naked, and their bodies anointed all ouer with a kind of white balſamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongſt them, and it is of all other the moſt precious, whereof wee haue had good experience: when they are anointed all ouer, certeine ſeruants of the emperour, hauing prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes vpon their naked bodies, vntill they be all ſhining from the foot to the head: and in this ſort they ſit drinking by twenties, and hundreds, and continue in drunkenneſſe ſometimes ſixe or ſeuen dayes together. The ſame is alſo confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had ſeene. Vpon this ſight, and for the abundance of golde which he ſaw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armours, and ſhields of gold which they vſe in the warres, he called it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Piçarro, one Pedro de Oſua a knight of Nauarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called Oia, which riſeth to the Southward of Quito, and is very great. This riuer falleth into Amazones, by which Oſua with his companies deſcended, and came out of that prouince which is called Mutylonez: and it ſeemeth to mee that this empire is reſerued for her Maieſty and the Engliſh nation, by reaſon of the hard ſucceſſe which all theſe and other Spanyards found in attempting the ſame, whereof I will ſpeake briefly, though impertinent in ſome ſort to my purpoſe. This Pedro de Oſua had among his troups a Biſcain, called Agiri, a man meanly borne, who bare no other office then a ſergeant or alferez: but after certeine moneths, when the ſouldiers were grieued with trauels, and conſumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raiſed a mutiny, of which hee made himſelfe the head, and ſo preuailed, as he put Oſua to the ſword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpoſe not onely to make himſelfe emperour of Guiana, but alſo of Peru, & of all that ſide of the Weſt Indies: he had of his party ſeuen hundred ſouldiers, and of thoſe many promiſed to draw in other captaines & companies, to deliuer vp townes and forts in Peru: but neither finding by yͤ ſaid riuer any paſſage into Guiana, nor any poſſibility to returne towards Peru by the ſame Amazones, by reaſon that yͤ deſcent of the riuer made ſo great a current, he was inforced to diſemboque at the mouth of the ſayd Amazones, which can not be leſſe then a thouſand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coaſted the land till he arriued at Margarita to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there ſlew Don Iuan de villa Andreda, gouernour of Margarita, who was father to Don Iuan Sarmiento, gouernor of Margarita when ſir Iohn Burgh landed there, and attempted the Iſland. Agiri put to the ſword all other in the Iſland that refuſed to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other deſperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there ſlew the gouernour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee ſpoiled all the coaſt of Caracas, and the prouince of Venezuela, and of Rio de la hacha; and as I remember, it was the ſame yere that ſir Iohn Hawkins ſailed to Saint Iuan de Vllua in the Ieſus of Lubeck: for himſelfe tolde me that he met with ſuch a one vpon the coaſt that rebelled, and had ſailed downe all the riuer of Amazones. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and ſacked it alſo, putting to death ſo many as refuſed to be his followers, purpoſing to inuade Nueuo reyno de Granada, and to ſacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the reſt of the cities of Nueuo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the ſayd Nueuo reyno he was ouerthrowen, and finding no way to eſcape, he firſt put to the ſword his owne children, foretelling them that they ſhould

not

The author of the name of El Dorado.

The ſubſtance of this report is in the end of the nauigation of the great riuer of Maranon, written by Gonzalo Fernando de Ouiedo to cardinall Bembo, Ramuſio. Vol. 3. fol. 416.

Sir Robert Duddeley.

Reade Ioſephus Acoſta.

The voyage of ſir Iohn Burgh to the Weſt Indies.

not to liue to be defamed or vpbraided by the Spanyards after his death, who would haue termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that ſithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliuer them from ſhame and reproch. Theſe were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana; Ozua, and Agiri.

Alſo ſoone after Ordas followed Ieronimo Ortal de Saragoſa with 130 ſouldiers, who failing his entrance by ſea, was caſt with the current on the coaſt of Paria, & peopled about S. Miguel de Neueri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silua, a Portugues of the family of Ruigomes de Silua, and by the fauour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was ſet out, but he alſo ſhot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleet, he entered by Marannon and Amazones, where by the nations of the riuer, and by the Amazones hee was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himſelfe and all his armie defeated, onely ſeuen eſcaped, and of thoſe but two returned.

1534. Gomar. cap. 84. & 86.

Don Pedro de Silua.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the Weſt Indies, taking his iourney by land towards Orenoque, which may be ſome 120 leagues: but yer he came to the borders of the ſayd riuer, hee was ſet vpon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and ouerthrowen in ſuch ſort, that of 300 ſouldiers, horſemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the firſt ciuill towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preſton in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very reſolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman priſoner, who died in his ſhip, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and ſaued among thoſe that eſcaped, who witneſſed what opinion is held among the Spanyards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spanyard was brought aboord me by captaine Preſton, who told me in the hearing of himſelfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campe-maſter at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he ſaw with him forty of moſt pure plates of golde curiouſly wrought, and ſwords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garniſhed with golde, and diuers rarities which he caried to the Spaniſh king.

Pedro Hernandez de Serpa.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was vndertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Caſada, who was one of the chiefeſt in the conqueſt of Nueuo reino, whoſe daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo maried. Gonzales ſought the paſſege alſo by the riuer called Papamene, which riſeth by Quito in Peru, & runneth Southeaſt 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he alſo failing the entrance, returned with the loſſe of much labour and coſt. I tooke one captaine George a Spanyard that followed Gonzales in this enterpriſe. Gonzales gaue his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth & honour to follow the enterpriſe to the laſt of his ſubſtance and life, who ſince, as he hath ſworne to me, hath ſpent 300000 ducats in the ſame, & yet neuer could enter ſo far into the land as my ſelfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, ſouldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, & of all ſorts: neither could any of the forepaſſed vndertakers, nor Berreo himſelfe, diſcouer the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yer he vnderſtood ought, or could finde any paſſage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al theſe forenamed, and diuers others, and was perſwaded of their errors and miſtakings. Berreo ſought it by the riuer Caſſamar, which falleth into a great riuer called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is alſo called Orenoque.

Don Gonzales Ximenes de Caſada.

Antonio Berreo.

He tooke his iourney from Nueuo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in thoſe parts: he was followed with 700 horſe, he draue with him 1000 head of cattell, he had alſo many women, Indians, and ſlaues. How all theſe riuers croſſe and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the paſſage of Ximenes and Berreo, mine owne diſcouery, and the way that I entred, with all the reſt of the nations and riuers, your lordſhip ſhall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finiſhed, and which I ſhall moſt humbly pray your lordſhip to ſecret, and not to ſuffer it to paſſe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be preuented by other nations: for I know it is this very yeere ſought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was alſo tolde me yer I departed England, that Villiers the admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I ſpake with a captaine of a French ſhip that came from thence, his ſhip riding in Falmouth the ſame yere that my ſhips came firſt from Virginia.

A new & rich trade of the French to the riuer of Amazones.

There was another this yeere in Helford that alſo came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazones, which were both very rich. Although, as I am perſwaded, The ſeat of the Amazones.

Guiana cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence paſſeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of Amazones, and ſo it doth on euery hand far from the countrey it ſelfe; for thoſe Indians of Trinidad haue plates of golde from Guiana, and thoſe canibals of Dominica which dwell in the Iſlands by which our ſhips paſſe yerely to the Weſt Indies, alſo the Indians of Paria, thoſe Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all thoſe other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from Paria thorow the prouince of Veneſuela, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Aſſawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the reſt (all which ſhall be deſcribed in my deſcription as they are ſituate) haue plates of golde of Guiana. And vpon the riuer of Amazones, Theuet writeth that the people weare croiſſants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians moſt commonly make them: ſo as from Dominica to Amazones, which is aboue 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of thoſe plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly thoſe that trade Amazones returne much golde, which (as is aforeſayd) commeth by trade from Guiana, by ſome branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into Amazones, and either it is by the riuer which paſſeth by the nations called Tiſnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongſt the moſt ancient and beſt trauelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the riuers betweene Orenoque & Amazones, and was very deſirous to vnderſtand the truth of thoſe warlike women, becauſe of ſome it is beleeued, of others not. And though I digreſſe from my purpoſe, yet I will ſet downe that which hath bene deliuered me for trueth of thoſe women, & I ſpake with a caſique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the riuer, and beyond it alſo. The nations of theſe women are on the South ſide of the riuer in the prouinces of Topago, and their chiefeſt ſtrengths and retracts are in the Iſlands ſituate on the South ſide of the entrance ſome 60 leagues within the mouth of the ſayd riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient aſwell in Africa as in Aſia: In Africa thoſe that had Meduſa for queene: others in Scithia nere the riuers of Tanais and Thermadon: we finde alſo that Lampedo & Martheſia were queenes of the Amazones: in many hiſtories they are verified to haue bene, and in diuers ages and prouinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders aſſemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes haue choſen, the reſt caſt lots for their Ualentines. This one moneth, they feaſt, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a ſonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nouriſh it, and reteine it: and as many as haue daughters ſend vnto the begetters a preſent; all being deſirous to increaſe their owne ſex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the breſt, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther told me, that if in theſe warres they tooke any priſoners that they vſed to accompany with thoſe alſo at what time ſoeuer, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are ſayd to be very cruell and bloodthirſty, eſpecially to ſuch as offer to inuade their territories. Theſe Amazones haue likewiſe great ſtore of theſe plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene ſtones, which the Spanyards call Piedras hijadas, & we vſe for ſpleene ſtones: and for the diſeaſe of the ſtone we alſo eſteeme them. Of theſe I ſaw diuers in Guiana: and commonly euery king or caſique hath one, which their wiues for the moſt part weare; and they eſteeme them as great iewels.

But to returne to the enterpriſe of Bereo, who (as I haue ſayd) departed from Nueuo reyno with 700 horſe beſides the prouiſions aboue rehearſed, he deſcended by the riuer called Caſſanar, which riſeth in Nueuo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuuia, from which mountaine alſo ſpringeth Pato; both which fall into the great riuer of Meta: and Meta riſeth from a mountaine toyning to Pamplon in the ſame Nueuo reyno de Granada. Theſe, as alſo Guaiare, which iſſueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they loſe their names; and Baraquan farther downe is alſo rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other ſide of the city and hilles of Timana riſeth Rio grande, which falleth in the ſea by Sancta Marta. By Caſſonar firſt, and ſo into Meta, Berreo paſſed, keeping his horſemen on the banks, where the countrey ſerued them for to march, and where otherwiſe, he was driuen to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpoſe, and ſo came with the current downe the riuer of Meta, and ſo into Baraquan. After he entred that great & mighty riuer, he began dayly to loſe of his companies both men and horſe; for it is in many places violently ſwift, and hath forcible eddies, many ſands, and diuers Iſlands ſharpe pointed with rocks: but after one whole yeere, iourneying for the moſt part by riuer, and the reſt by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by ſickneſſe, and by encountring with the people of thoſe regions, thorow which he trauelled, his companies were much waſted, eſpecially by diuers encounters with the Amapaians: and in all this time hee neuer could learne of any paſſage into Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to a further border of the ſayd Amapaia, eight dayes iourney from the riuer Caroli, which was the furtheſt riuer that he entred. Among thoſe of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of theſe people accoſted Berreo, or would trade with him the firſt three moneths of the ſix, which he ſoiourned there. This Amapaia is alſo maruellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confeſſed and thoſe of Guiana with whom I had moſt conference) and is ſituate vpon Orenoque alſo. In this countrey Berreo loſt 60 of his beſt ſouldiers, and moſt of all his horſe that remained in his former yeeres trauell: but in the end, after diuers encounters with thoſe nations, they grew to peace; and they preſented Berreo with tenne images of fine golde among diuers other plates and croiſſants, which, as he ſware to me & diuers other gentlemen, were ſo curiouſly wrought, as he had not ſeene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countreys: & he was reſolued, that when they came to the hands of the Spaniſh king, to whom he had ſent them by his campmaſter, they would appeare very admirable, eſpecially being wrought by ſuch a nation as had no yron inſtruments at all, nor any of thoſe helps which our goldſmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gaue him theſe pieces, are called Anebas, and the riuer of Orenoque at that place is aboue 12 Engliſh miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the ſea 700 or 80 miles.

This prouince of Amapaia is a very low and a mariſh ground nere the riuer; and by reaſon of the red water which iſſueth out in ſmall branches thorow the fenny and boggy ground, there breed diuers poiſonfull wormes and ſerpents; and the Spanyards not ſuſpecting, nor in any ſort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grieuous kinde of fluxe by drinking thereof; and euen the very horſes poiſoned therwith: inſomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode there, of all their troups, there were not left aboue 120 ſouldiers, & neither horſe nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to haue found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they ſuſteined much want, and much hunger, oppreſſed with grieuous diſeaſes, and all the miſeries that could be imagined. I demanded of thoſe in Guiana that had trauelled Amapaia, how they liued with that tawny or red water when they trauelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the ſkie, they vſed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the ſetting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night ſtrong poiſon. I learned alſo of diuers other riuers of that nature among them, which were alſo (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very ſafe to drinke, and in the morning, euening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this prouince Berreo haſted away aſſoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and ſought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South ſide; but there ran a ledge of ſo high and impaſſable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march ouer them, continuing from the Eaſt ſea into which Orenoque falleth, euen to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition ouer thoſe craggie, high, and faſt hilles, being all woody, & thoſe ſo thicke and ſpiny, & ſo full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impoſſible to creepe thorow them: hee had alſo neither friendſhip among the people, nor any interpreter to perſwade or treat with them: and more, to his diſaduantage, the caſiques and kings of Amapaia had giuen knowledge of his purpoſe to the Guianians, and that he ſought to ſacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their ſo great abundance and quantities of golde: he paſſed by the mouthes of many great riuers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbeare to name for tediouſneſſe, and becauſe they are more pleaſing in deſcribing then reading.

Many great riuers falling into Orenoque.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the leaſt was as big as Rio grande, that paſſed betweene Popayan and Nueuo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being eſteemed one of the renowmed riuers in all the Weſt Indies, and numbred among the great riuers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of theſe, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they deſcended, neither to what prouinces they led; for he had no meanes to diſcourſe with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in theſe things, being vtterly vnlearned, and not knowing the Eaſt from the Weſt. But of all theſe I got ſome knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne trauell, and the reſt by conference: of ſome one I learned one, of others the reſt, hauing with me an Indian that ſpake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I ſought out all the aged men, and ſuch as were greateſt trauellers, and by the one and the other I came to vnderſtand the ſituations, the riuers, the kingdomes from the Eaſt ſea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazones or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, & of all the kings of prouinces, and captaines of townes and villages, how they ſtood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conqueſt in thoſe parts, nor elſwhere: for by the diſſention betweene Guaſcar and Atabalipa, Piçarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious ouer Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterpriſe, and of the great honour and riches which they atteined vnto.

The prouince of Emeria inhabited by gentle Indians.

Carapana.

Now Berreo began to grow into diſpaire, and looked for no other ſucceſſe then his predeceſſor in this enterpriſe, vntill ſuch time as hee arriued at the prouince of Emeria towards the Eaſt ſea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauourable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wiſe, ſubtill, and of great experience, being little leſſe then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was ſent by his father into the Iſland of Trinidad, by reaſon of ciuill warre among themſelues, and was bred at a village in that iſland, called Parico: at that place in his youth hee had ſeene many Chriſtians, both French and Spaniſh, and went diuers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumaná in the Weſt Indies (for both thoſe places haue euer beene relieued with victuall from Trinidad) by reaſon whereof he grew of more vnderſtanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the ſtrength and armes of his countrey with thoſe of the Chriſtians, and euer after temporized ſo, as whoſoeuer els did amiſſe, or was waſted by contention, Carapana kept himſelfe and his countrey in quiet & plenty: he alſo held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whoſoeuer els had warre.

Berreo ſoiourned and reſted his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana ſixe weeks, and from him learned the way and paſſage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then vtterly diſable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his prouiſions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for aſwell out of Spaine as from Nueuo reyno, where hee had left his ſonne Don Antonio Ximenes to ſecond him vpon the firſt notice giuen of his entrance, and ſo for the preſent imbarked himſelfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arriued at Trinidad, hauing from Carapana ſufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coaſted Paria, and ſo recouered Margarita: and hauing made relation to Don Iuan Sermiento the gouernour, of his proceeding, and perſwaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obteined from thence fifty ſouldiers, promiſing preſently to returne to Carapana, and ſo into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing leſſe at that time; for he wanted many prouiſions neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe, and therefore departed from Margarita, ſeated himſelfe in Trinidad, and from thence ſent his camp-maſter, and his ſergeant-maior backe to the borders to diſcouer the neereſt paſſage into the empire, as alſo to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and loue; without which, he knew he could neither paſſe ſafely, nor in any ſort be relieued with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, aſſuring them that no man could deliuer ſo much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but fiue dayes iourney from Macureguarai, the firſt ciuill towne of Guiana.

Morequito.

Vides the gouernour of Cumana competitor with Berreo in the conqueſt of Guiana.

Now your lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand, that this Morequito, one of the greateſt lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumaná and at Margarita, in the Weſt Indies, with great ſtore of plates of golde, which he caried to exchange for ſuch other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feaſted, & preſented by the gouernours of thoſe places, and held amongſt them ſome two moneths, in which time one Vides gouernour of Cumaná wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by thoſe croiſſants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as alſo by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides ſent into Spaine for a patent to diſcouer and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was ſigned before that of Vides: ſo as when Vides vnderſtood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his deſire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practiſed with Morequito to hinder and diſturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to ſuffer him to enter thorow his ſignorie, nor any of his companies; neither to victuall, nor guide them in any ſort; for Vides gouernour of Cumaná, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, aſwell for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as alſo in that he was by Berreo preuented in the iourney of Guiana it ſelfe: howſoeuer it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time diſſembled his diſpoſition, ſuffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had ſent to diſcouer Manoa) to trauell thorow his countrey, gaue them a guide for Macureguaray, the firſt towne of ciuill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furniſhed with thoſe things which they had learned of Carapana were of moſt price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleuen dayes arriued at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certeine: although

Macureguaray.

Ten Spanyards arriue at Manoa.

I

could not be aſſured thereof by the lord which now gouerneth the prouince of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this ſide Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he ſayd) built like the townes of Chriſtians, with many roomes.

When theſe ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaia, the people of Morequito ſet vpon them, and ſlew them all but one that ſwam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of forty thouſand pezos of golde: and one of them onely liued to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine ſouldiers and holy father were benighted in the ſaid prouince. I my ſelfe ſpake with the captaines of Morequito that ſlew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo inraged herewithall, ſent all the ſtrength he could make into Aromaia, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito ſuſpecting the ſame, fled ouer Orenoque, and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recouered Cumaná, where hee thought himſelfe very ſafe, with Vides the gouernour. But Berreo ſending for him in the kings name, and his meſſengers finding him in the houſe of one Faſhardo on the ſudden yer he was ſuſpected, ſo as he could not then be conueyed away, Vides durſt not deny him, aſwell to auoid the ſuſpition of the practiſe, as alſo for that an holy father was ſlaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Faſhardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him eſcape: but the poore Guianian, betrayed on all ſides, was deliuered to the campe-maſter of Berreo, and was preſently executed.

Aromaia.

Saima and Wikiri.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the ſouldiers of Berreo ſpoiled his territorie, and tooke diuers priſoners, among others they tooke the vncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaia (whoſe ſonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great vnderſtanding and policy: he is aboue an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine ſeuenteene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & Emeria, the prouince of Carapana aforeſayd, and he was at laſt redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and diuers ſtones called Piedras Hijadas, or Spleene-ſtones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, ſpoiles, and ſlaughters done in Aromaia, hath loſt the loue of the Orenoqueponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not ſend any of his ſouldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reſide in Carapanas towne, by whoſe fauour, and by being conducted by his people, thoſe ten ſearched the countrey thereabouts, aſwell for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana to the port of Guiana.

They alſo haue gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they haue Chriſtened, and named Don Iuan, of whom they haue great hope, endeuouring by all meanes to eſtabliſh him in the ſayd prouince. Among many other trades, thoſe Spaniards vſed canoas to paſſe to the riuers of Barema, Pawroma, & Diſſequebe, which are on the South ſide of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets ſell the ſonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and ſiſters, and for ſomewhat more, euen their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelue or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they ſell them againe at Margarita in the Weſt Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is ſo many crownes.

Some fewe Spaniards are now ſeated in Diſſequebe.

The maſter of my ſhippe, Iohn Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be ſolde, and the moſt of them eſcaped; yet of thoſe he brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well ſhaped as euer I ſaw any in England, and afterward I ſaw many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to any of Europe. They alſo trade in thoſe riuers for bread of Caſſaui, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and ſell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They alſo recouer great ſtore of Cotton, Braſill wood, and thoſe beds which they call Hamacas or Braſill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards vſe to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our ſelues while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ranſome of diuers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, Berreo recouered ſome ſtore of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and diuers birdes, and diſpatched his campe-maſter for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to leuie ſouldiers, and by the ſhew thereof to draw others to the loue of the enterpriſe. And hauing ſent diuers images aſwell of men as beaſts, birds & fiſhes, ſo curiouſly wrought in gold, he doubted not but to perſwade the king to yeeld to him ſome further helpe, eſpecially for that this land hath neuer beene ſacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the Indies their works were well ſpent, and the golde drawen out with great labour and charge. He alſo diſpatched meſſengers to his ſonne in Nueuoreyno to leuie all the forces he could, & to come downe the riuer Orenoque to Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, to meet him: he had alſo ſent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coaſt of the Caracas, to buy horſes and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings paſt and purpoſed, I told him that I had reſolued to ſee Guiana, and that it was the end of my iourney, and the cauſe of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpoſe I ſent Iacob Whiddon the yeere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himſelfe had ſpeech at that time, and remembred how inquiſitiue Iacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was ſtricken into a great melancholy and ſadneſſe, and vſed all the arguments he could to diſſwade me, and alſo aſſured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour loſt, and that they ſhould ſuffer many miſeries if they proceeded. And firſt he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with any barke or pinneſſe, or hardly with any ſhips boat, it was ſo low, ſandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelue inches water. Hee further ſayde, that none of the countrey would come to ſpeake with vs, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and beſides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to ſwell, it was impoſſible to ſtem the current, and that we could not in thoſe ſmall boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed moſt diſcouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for golde, becauſe the ſame would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Chriſtians meant to conquer and diſpoſſeſſe them of all together.

Many and the moſt of theſe I found to be true, but yet I reſoluing to make triall of all whatſoeuer happened, directed captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eaſtward, againſt the mouth of a riuer called Capuri, whoſe entrance I had before ſent captaine Whiddon, and Iohn Dowglas the maſter, to diſcouer, who found ſome nine foot water or better vpon the flood, and fiue at low water, to whom I had giuen inſtructions that they ſhould anker at the edge of the ſhoald, and vpon the beſt of the flood to thruſt ouer, which ſhoald Iohn Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it vp altogether ſo farre to the Eaſt, neither did the flood continue ſo long, but the water fell yer they could haue paſſed the ſands; as wee after found by a ſecond experience: ſo as now wee muſt either giue ouer our enterpriſe, or leauing our ſhips at aduenture foure hundred mile behinde vs, muſt run vp in our ſhips boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for ſo long a time in ſuch bables, or any ſtrength of men, eſpecially for that Berreo aſſured vs that his ſonne muſt be by that time come downe with many ſouldiers, I ſent away one King, maſter of the Lions whelpe, with his ſhipboat, to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the ſmall ſhips to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the reſt, but ſtayed not to diſcouer it thorowly, becauſe he was aſſured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would aſſaile them with many canoas, and that they ſhot poiſoned arrowes; ſo as if he haſted not backe, they ſhould all be loſt.

The riuer of Capuri.

In the meane time, fearing the worſt, I cauſed all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to caſt off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the beſt they could, ſo as ſhe might be brought to draw but fiue foot, for ſo much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I ſent Iohn Dowglas againe in my long barge, aſwell to relieue him, as alſo to make a perfect ſearch in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatſoeuer ſhip or boat ſhall fall therein, can neuer diſemboque againe, by reaſon of the violent current which ſetteth into the ſayde bay, as alſo for that the brize and Eaſterly winde bloweth directly into the ſame. Of which opinion I haue heard Iohn Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greateſt experience of England, and diuers other beſides that haue traded to Trinidad.

Iohn Hampton captaine of the Minion vnder ſir Iohn Hawkins in his voyage to S. Iuan de Vllua.

I ſent with Iohn Dowglas an olde caſique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eaſtward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and ſo returne in foure dayes. Iohn Dowglas ſearched thoſe riuers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the leaſt was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was ſhoald, and but ſixe foot water: ſo as we were now without hope of any ſhip or barke to paſſe ouer, and therefore reſolued to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thruſt 60 men. In the Lions whelps boat & whery we caried 20, Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge other tenne, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to cary victuall for a moneth in the ſame, and alſo to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dreſſe our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him maſter Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his whery, with all their victuall, weapons, and prouiſions. Captaine Calfield had with him my couſin Butſhead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my ſelfe had captaine Thin, my couſin Iohn Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Vpton, captaine Facy, Ierome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and aboue fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, ſo farre to wind-ward, as it was impoſſible for vs to recouer: for wee had as much ſea to croſſe ouer in our wheries, as betweene Douer and Calice, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very ſtrong, ſo as we were driuen to goe in thoſe ſmall boats directly before the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of ſome one of thoſe riuers which Iohn Dowglas had laſt diſcouered, and had with vs for pilot an Indian of Barema, a riuer to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazones, whoſe canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the ſayd Barema, laden with Caſſaui-bread, to ſell at Margarita. This Arwacan promiſed to bring me into the great riuer of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not ſeene it in twelue yeeres before; at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement: and if God had not ſent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of riuers, yer wee had found any way, either out or in, eſpecially after wee were paſt ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes: for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of ſtreames and branches, the one croſſing the other ſo many times, and all ſo faire and large, and ſo like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compaſſe, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were alſo caried in a circle amongſt multitudes of Iſlands, and euery Iſland ſo bordered with high trees, as no man coulde ſee any further then the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a riuer, (which becauſe it had no name, wee called the riuer of the Red croſſe, our ſelues being the firſt Chriſtians that euer came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing vp the ſame, wee eſpied a ſmall canoa with three Indians, which (by the ſwiftneſſe of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke yer they could croſſe the riuer, the reſt of the people on the banks ſhadowed vnder the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall thoſe three which we had taken. But when they perceiued that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then beganne to ſhew themſelues on the banks ſide, and offered to traffique with vs for ſuch things as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all ſtayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

The bay of Guanipa.

Barema.

A woonderful confluence of ſtreames.

The riuer of the Red croſſe.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe aſhore to their village, to fetch ſome fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and alſo to ſee the place, and know the lord of it againſt another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the iourney: when they came to the village of theſe people, the lord of the Iſland offered to lay hands on them, purpoſing to haue ſlaine them both, yeelding for reaſon that this Indian of ours had brought a ſtrange nation into their territory, to ſpoile and deſtroy them. But the pilot being quicke, and of a diſpoſed body, ſlipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we ſtayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was ſlaine: with that we ſet hands on one of them that was next vs, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, aſſuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would preſently cut off his head. This olde man being reſolued that he ſhould pay the loſſe of the other, cried out to thoſe in the woods to ſaue Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithſtanding, and hunted after him vpon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with ſo maine a crie, that all the woods eckoed with the ſhout they made: but at the laſt this poore chaſed Indian recouered the riuer ſide, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coaſting, leaped downe and ſwamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we handfaſted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of thoſe riuers, we aſſured our ſelues hee knew the way better then any ſtranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had neuer found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ſhips: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himſelfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Thoſe people which dwell in theſe broken

Two nations of the Tiuitiuas, called Ciawani, and Waraweete.

iſlands and drowned lands, are generally called Tiuitiuas; there are of them two ſorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

A deſcription of the mightie riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan.

The great riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North ſide of his owne maine mouth: on the South ſide it hath ſeuen other fallings into the ſea, ſo it diſemboqueth by ſixteene armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Iſle of Wight, and bigger, and many leſſe. From the firſt branch on the North to the laſt of the South, it is at leaſt 100 leagues, ſo as the riuers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the ſea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazones. All thoſe that inhabit in the mouth of this riuer vpon the ſeuerall North branches, are theſe Tiuitiuas, of which there are two chiefe lords which haue continuall warres one with the other. The Ilands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the riuer by which Iohn Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

What maner of people the Tiuitiuas are.

Theſe Tiuitiuas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and haue the moſt manly ſpeech and moſt deliberate that euer I heard, of what nation ſoeuer. In the Summer they haue houſes on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spaniſh ſtory of the Weſt Indies, that thoſe people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Vraba: for betweene May & September the riuer of Orenoque riſeth thirty foot vpright, and then are thoſe ilands ouerflowen twenty foot high aboue the leuell of the ground, ſauing ſome few raiſed grounds in the middle of them: and for this cauſe they are inforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eat of any thing that is ſet or ſowen: and as at home they vſe neither planting nor other manurance, ſo when they come abroad, they refuſe to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They vſe the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deere, fiſh, and porks, for the reſt of their ſuſtenance. They haue alſo many ſorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

And if to ſpeake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, ſurely we ſaw in thoſe paſſages of very rare colours and formes, not elſewere to be found, for as much as I haue either ſeene or read. Of theſe people thoſe that dwell vpon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the moſt part carpenters of canoas, for they make the moſt and faireſt canoas, and ſel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tabacco, in the exceſſiue taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and notwithſtanding the moiſtneſſe of the aire in which they liue, the hardneſſe of their diet, and the great labours they ſuffer to hunt, fiſh and fowle for their liuing; in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I neuer behold a more goodly or better fauoured people or a more manly. They were woont to make warre vpon all nations, and eſpecially on the Canibals, ſo as none durſt without a good ſtrength trade by thoſe riuers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they vſe great lamentation, and when they thinke the fleſh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcaſe againe, and hang it in the caciques houſe that died, and decke his ſcull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Thoſe nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are diſperſed in many other places, and doe vſe to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their ſeuerall ſorts of drinks.

The Arwacas on the South ſide of Orenoque.

The port of the Ciawani.

After we departed from the port of theſe Ciawani, wee paſſed vp the riuer with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this ſort we went onward. The third day that we entred the riuer, our galley came on ground, and ſtucke ſo faſt, as we thought that euen there our diſcouery had ended, and that we muſt haue left foureſcore and ten of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with thoſe nations: but the next morning, after we had caſt out all her ballaſt, with tugging and halling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but ſoone after the flood of the ſea left vs; and being inforced either by maine ſtrength to row againſt a violent current, or to returne as wiſe as we went out, we had then no ſhift but to perſwade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore deſired them to take paines, euery gentleman & others taking their turnes to row, and to ſpell one the other at the houres end. Euery day we paſſed by goodly branches of riuers, ſome falling from the Weſt, others frõ the Eaſt into Amana, but thoſe I leaue to the deſcription in the Cart of diſcouery, where euery one ſhalbe named with his riſing and deſcent. When three dayes more were ouergone, our companies began to deſpaire, the weather being extreame hote,

A riuer called The great Amana.

the riuer bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current againſt vs euery day ſtronger then other: but we euermore commanded our pilots to promiſe an ende the next day, and vſed it ſo long, as we were driuen to aſſure them from foure reaches of the riuer to three, and ſo to two, and ſo to the next reach: but ſo long we laboured, that many dayes were ſpent, and wee driuen to drawe our ſelues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the laſt, and no drinke at all; and our men and our ſelues ſo wearied and ſcorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee ſhould euer performe it or no, the heat increaſing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in fiue degrees.

They are in fiue degrees.

The further we went on (our victuall decreaſing and the aire breeding great faintneſſe) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had moſt need of ſtrength and abilitie; for hourely the riuer ranne more violently then other againſt vs, and the barge, wheries, and ſhippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had ſpent all their prouiſions; ſo as we were brought into deſpaire and diſcomfort, had wee not perſwaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to atteine the land where wee ſhould be relieued of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were ſure to ſtarue by the way, and that the world would alſo laugh vs to ſcorne. On the banks of theſe riuers were diuers ſorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of ſuch variety, as were ſufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals: we relieued our ſelues many times with the fruits of the countrey, and ſometimes with fowle and fiſh. Wee ſaw birds of all colours, ſome carnation, ſome crimſon, orenge-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other ſorts both ſimple and mixt, and it was vnto vs a great good paſſing of the time to beholde them, beſides the reliefe we found by killing ſome ſtore of them with our fowling pieces; without which, hauing little or no bread, and leſſe drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the riuer, we had beene in a very hard caſe.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I ſayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leaue the galley at anker the while in the great riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the Arwacas, where we ſhould finde ſtore of bread, hennes, fiſh, and of the countrey wine; and perſwaded vs, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne yer night. I was very glad to heare this ſpeech, and preſently tooke my barke, with eight muſketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with himſelfe and foure muſketiers, and captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many; and ſo we entred the mouth of this riuer: and becauſe we were perſwaded that it was ſo nere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all. When we had rowed three houres, we maruelled we ſaw no ſigne of any dwelling, and aſked the pilot where the towne was: he tolde vs a little further. After three houres more, the Sun being almoſt ſet, we began to ſuſpect that he led vs that way to betray vs; for hee confeſſed that thoſe Spanyards which fled from Trinidad, and alſo thoſe that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were ioyned together in ſome village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night; and wee demanded where the place was: hee tolde vs but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure, we ſaw no ſigne; and our poore water-men, euen heart-broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghoſt: for wee had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the laſt we determined to hang the pilot; and if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, hee had ſurely gone; but our owne neceſſities pleaded ſufficiently for his ſafety: for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuer began ſo to narrow it ſelfe, and the trees to hang ouer from ſide to ſide, as wee were driuen with arming ſwords to cut a paſſage thorow thoſe branches that couered the water. Wee were very deſirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feaſt, becauſe wee made but a ſhort breakefaſt aboord the galley in the morning, and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our ſtomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was beſt to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, ſuſpecting treaſon in the pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer aſſured vs that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning: and at the laſt about one a clocke after midnight wee ſaw a light; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with diuers canoas aboue foure hundred miles off, vpon a iourney towardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward vnfortunately paſſed by vs as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came ſo neere vs, as his canoas grated againſt our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee vnderſtood that hee had brought thirty yoong women, diuers plates of golde, and had great ſtore of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his houſe we had good ſtore of bread, fiſh, hennes, and Indian drinke, and ſo reſted that night, and in the morning after we had traded with ſuch of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with vs ſome quantity of bread, fiſh, and hennes.

A moſt beautifull countrey.

The riuer of Lagartos, or Crocodiles.

Two canoas taken.

Three Spanyards eſcaped.

On both ſides of this riuer, we paſſed the moſt beautifull countrey that euer mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had ſeene before was nothing but woods, prickles, buſhes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the graſſe ſhort and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themſelues, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world ſo made of purpoſe: and ſtill as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters ſide, as if they had beene vſed to a keepers call. Upon this riuer there were great ſtore of fowle, and of many ſorts: we ſaw in it diuers ſorts of ſtrange fiſhes, and of maruellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thouſands of thoſe vgly ſerpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The riuer of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper yoong fellow, who leaping out of the galley to ſwim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our ſights taken and deuoured with one of thoſe lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all loſt, (for wee promiſed to returne before night) and ſent the Lions whelps ſhippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow vs vp the riuer; but the next day, after we had rowed vp and downe ſome foureſcore miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer; and when we were euen at the laſt caſt for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being before the galley and the reſt of the boats, ſeeking out ſome place to land vpon the banks to make fire, eſpied foure canoas comming downe the riuer; & with no ſmall ioy cauſed his men to trie the vttermoſt of their ſtrengths, and after a while two of the foure gaue ouer, and ranne themſelues aſhore, euery man betaking himſelfe to the faſtneſſe of the woods, the two other leſſer got away, while he landed to lay holde on theſe; and ſo turned into ſome by-creeke, we knew not whither. Thoſe canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the Weſt Indies, which thoſe Indians (called Arwacas) purpoſed to cary thither for exchange: but in the leſſer there were three Spanyards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in Trinidad, and that we purpoſed to enter Guiana, came away in thoſe canaos; one of them was a cauallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde vs, another a ſouldier, and the third a refiner.

The Spaniſh golde finers baſket & other things taken.

The richeſt mines defended with the white ſpar.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue bene more welcome to vs, next vnto gold, then the great ſtore of very excellent bread which we found in theſe canoas; for now our men cried, Let vs goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks ſide with a dozen ſhot, where the canoas firſt ranne themſelues aſhore, and landed there, ſending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow thoſe that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the buſhes, I ſawe an Indian baſket hidden, which was the refiners baſket; for I found in it his quick-ſiluer, ſalt-peter, and diuers things for the triall of metals, and alſo the duſt of ſuch ore as he had refined, but in thoſe canoas which eſcaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered fiue hundred pound to what ſouldier ſoeuer could take one of thoſe three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themſelues into one of the ſmall canoas: and ſo while the greater canoas were in taking, they eſcaped. But ſeeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefeſt for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I vnderſtood where and in what countreyes the Spanyards had laboured for golde, though I made not the ſame knowen to all: for when the ſprings began to breake, and the riuers to raiſe themſelues ſo ſuddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, eſpecially for that the richeſt are defended with rocks of hard ſtones, which wee call the White ſpar, and that it required both time, men, and inſtruments fit for ſuch a worke, I thought it beſt not to houer thereabouts, leaſt if the ſame had beene perceiued by the company, there would haue beene by this time many barks and ſhippes ſet out, and perchance other nations would alſo haue gotten of ours for pilots; ſo as both our ſelues might haue beene preuented, and all our care taken for good vſage of the people bene vtterly loſt, by thoſe that onely reſpect preſent profit, and ſuch violence or inſolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their deſire of our loue and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer ſtay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath beene often obiected) whoſoeuer had ſeene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it beganne to ariſe, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our ſhippes, leauing them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned ſomewhat ſooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde, or rich ſtones. And to ſay the truth, all the branches and ſmall riuers which fell into Orenoque were raiſed with ſuch ſpeed, as if we waded them ouer the ſhooes in the morning outward, we were couered to the ſhoulders homeward the very ſame day: and to ſtay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenij: ſuch a quantitie as would haue ſerued our turnes we could not haue had, but a diſcouery of the Mines to our infinite diſaduantage wee had made, and that could haue bene the beſt profite of farther ſearch or ſtay: for thoſe Mines are not eaſily broken, nor opened in haſt, and I could haue returned a good quantitie of gold ready caſt, if I had not ſhot at another marke, then preſent profit.

This Arwacan Pilot with the reſt, feared that wee would haue eaten them, or otherwiſe haue put them to ſome cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the paſſage towards Guiana or in Guiana it ſelfe might come to ſpeach with vs, perſwaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had ſeene vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euery one ſomething or other, which was rare and ſtrange to them, they beganne to conceiue the deceit and purpoſe of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confeſſed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dayly, and vſed them for the ſatiſfying of their owne luſts, eſpecially ſuch as they tooke in this maner by ſtrength. But I proteſt before the Maieſtie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleeue, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwiſe, euer knew any of their women, and yet we ſaw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of thoſe very yong, and excellently fauoured, which came among vs without deceit, ſtarke naked.

The Spaniards diuelish lies.

Nothing got vs more loue amongſt them then this vſage: for I ſuffered not any man to take from any of the nations ſo much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man ſo much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which courſe ſo contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drewe them to admire her Maieſtie, whoſe commaundement I tolde them it was, and alſo wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confeſſe it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner ſort from ſpoyle and ſtealing, when wee came to their houſes: which becauſe in all I coulde not preuent, I cauſed my Indian interpreter at euery place when wee departed, to knowe of the loſſe or wrong done, and if ought were ſtolen or taken by violence, either the ſame was reſtored, and the partie puniſhed in their ſight, or elſe was payed for to their vttermoſt demand.

A notable courſe of iuſtice.

They alſo much wondered at vs, after they heard that we had ſlaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before reſolued, that no nation of Chriſtians durſt abide their preſence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that her Maieſties armie and Fleete had giuen them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this ſupply of bread, with diuers baſkets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were eſcaped, and when I had diſmiſſed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was chriſtened Martin) I ſent backe in the ſame Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my firſt Pilot, and gaue them both ſuch things as they deſired, with ſufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ſhips, which they promiſed to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or ſecond day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to caſt her away, with all our victuall and prouiſion, and ſo lay on the ſand one whole night and were farre more in deſpaire at this time to free her then before, becauſe wee had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in miſhaps: but we faſtened an ancker vpon the lande, and with maine ſtrength drewe her off: and ſo the fifteenth day wee diſcouered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a ſlent of a Northerly winde that blewe very ſtrong, which brought vs in ſight of the great Riuer Orenoque; out of which this Riuer diſcended wherein wee were: wee deſcried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could diſcerne them, after whom wee haſtened with our barge and wherries, but two of them paſſed out of ſight, and the thirde entered vp the great Riuer, on the right hande to the Weſtward, and there ſtayed out of ſight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eaſtward towards the prouince of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vpwards to Guiana, the people in thoſe parts being all their enemies, and thoſe in the Canoas thought vs to haue bene thoſe Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had eſcaped killing: and when wee came ſo farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they ſlipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly abord vs: and of ſuch

They come on ground with their gally.

fiſh and Tortugas egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promiſed in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other ſeruices they could.

Two branches of the riuer Orenoque.

That night we came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Riuers (the one was the Riuer of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which croſſed from the West and ranne to the Sea towardes the Eaſt) and landed vpon a faire ſand, where wee found thouſands of Tortugas egges, which are very wholeſome meate, and greatly reſtoring, ſo as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neereneſſe of the land of Guiana which appeared in ſight.

Toparimaca.

In the morning there came downe according to promiſe the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with ſome thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought vs diuers ſorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fiſh, and fleſh, whom wee alſo feaſted as wee could, at leaſt wee dranke good Spaniſh wine (whereof wee had a ſmall quantitie in bottles) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried vs from thence ſome mile and a halfe to his Towne, where ſome of our Captaines karouſed of his wine till they were reaſonable pleaſant, for it is very ſtrong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers hearbes, and fruites digeſted and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelue galons very cleane and ſweete, and are themſelues at their meetings and feaſtes the greateſt karouſers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Caſiques, whereof one was a ſtranger that had bene vp the Riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anckered, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call braſill beds, and two women attending them with ſixe cuppes and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and ſo they dranke each of them three of thoſe cups at a time one to the other, and in this ſort they drinke drunke at their feaſtes and meetings.

That Caſique that was a ſtranger had his wife ſtaying at the port where wee anckered, and in all my life I haue ſeldome ſeene a better fauoured woman: Shee was of good ſtature, with blacke eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almoſt as long as her ſelfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it ſeemed ſhee ſtood not in that awe of her huſband, as the reſt, for ſhee ſpake and diſcourſed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleaſant, knowing her owne comelineſſe, and taking great pride therein. I haue ſeene a Lady in England ſo like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would haue ſworne might haue bene the ſame.

The towne of Arowocay.

The great breadth of the riuer Orenoque.

The ſeat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleaſant, ſtanding on a little hill, in an excellent proſpect, with goodly gardens a mile compaſſe round aboute it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fiſh adioyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I ſawe very aged people, that wee might perceiue all their ſinewes and veines without any fleſh, and but euen as a caſe couered onely with ſkinne. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and trauelle, and knew the Riuer moſt perfectly both by day and night: and it ſhall bee requiſite for any man that paſſeth it, to haue ſuch a Pilot, for it is foure, fiue, and ſixe miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and ſtrong currents, many great ylands, and diuers ſholds, and many dangerous rockes, and beſides vpon any increaſe of winde ſo great a billowe, as wee were ſometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the ſmall boates durſt not come from the ſhoare, but when it was very faire.

They enter the riuer Orenoque, which runneth Eaſt and Weſt.

The yle of Aſſapana.

The yland of Iwana.

The next day we haſted thence, and hauing an Eaſterly winde to helpe vs, we ſpared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the Riuer lieth for the moſt part Eaſt and Weſt, euen from the Sea vnto Quito in Peru. This Riuer is nauigable with barkes, litle leſſe then a thouſand miles, & from the place where we entred, it may be ſailed vp in ſmall pinneſſes to many of the beſt parts of Nueuo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of theſe parts of the Indies be ſo eaſily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day wee ſailed vp a branch of that Riuer, hauing on the left hand a great yland which they call Aſſapana which may conteine ſome fiue and twentie miles in length, and ſixe miles in breadth, the great body of the Riuer running on the other ſide of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is alſo another yland in the Riuer called Iwana, which is twiſe as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ſhips. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at leaſt thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which deuide the branches in it, for afterwards I ſought alſo both the other branches.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Aſſapana, a little to the Weſtward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great Riuer, and beyond it on the ſame ſide, wee anckered for that night, by another yland ſixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who ſucceeded Morequito, whom (as you haue heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, ſo as we ankered againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bigneſſe much like the other, which they call Putapayma, ouer againſt which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we coueted to ancker rather by theſe ylands in the Riuer, then by the maine, becauſe of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and alſo becauſe the ground ſerued better for vs to caſt our nets for fiſh, the maine bankes being for the moſt part ſtonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like vnto the beſt ſteele-ore, which I aſſuredly take it to be: of the ſame blew ſtone are alſo diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The yle of Ocaywita.

The yle of Putapayma.

Steele-ore.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increaſing, we ſailed alwayes Weſt vp the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right ſide, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes ſhewed very perfect red. I therefore ſent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Caifield, my coſen Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Maſter Edward Porter, and my coſen Butſhead Gorges, with ſome fewe ſouldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to diſcouer what maner of countrey it was on the other ſide, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could diſcerne, from the higheſt tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell, brother to the Caſique Toparimica tolde mee, that thoſe were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the ſame leuell reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the Weſt Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The firſt were the Sayma, the next Aſſawai, the thirde and greateſt the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as hee paſſed with three hundred horſe from Cumaná towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but haue ſmooth haire, and theſe are very valiant, or rather deſperate people, and haue the moſt ſtrong poyſon on their arrowes, and moſt dangerous of all nations, of which poyſon I will ſpeake ſomewhat being a digreſſion not vnneceſſary.

The plaines of Sayma ſtretching to Cumaná, and the Caracas.

Aroras a blacke people vſing venemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of theſe poyſoned arrowes: for beſides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie ſhotte indureth the moſt inſufferable torment in the world, and abideth a moſt vgly and lamentable death, ſometimes dying ſtarke mad, ſometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are preſently diſcoloured as blacke as pitch, and ſo vnſauory, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more ſtrange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard either by gift or torment that could atteine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of theſe Indians know it not, no not one among thouſands, but their ſoothſayers and prieſtes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the ſonne.

Thoſe medicines which are vulgar, and ſerue for the ordinarie poyſon, are made of the iuice of a roote called Tupara: the ſame alſo quencheth marueilouſly the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the beſt way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poyſons. Some of the Spaniards haue bene cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poyſoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that ſhall hereafter trauel the Indies where poiſoned arrowes are vſed, that they muſt abſtaine from drinke, for if they take any licour into their body, as they ſhall bee marueilouſly prouoked thereunto by drought, I ſay, if they drinke before the wound bee dreſſed, or ſoone vpon it, there is no way with them but preſent death.

The iuice of garlike good againſt ordinary poyſon. Speedy drinking to be auoyded of ſuch as are wounded with poyſoned arrowes.

And ſo I will returne againe to our iourney which for this thirde day we finiſhed, and caſt ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no ſtay here but till midnight, for I feared hourely leaſt any raine ſhould fall, and then it had bene impoſſible to haue gone any further vp, notwithſtanding that there is euery day a very ſtrong brize, and Eaſterly winde, I deferred the ſearch of the countrey on Guiana-ſide, till my returne downe the riuer.

The yle of Manoripano.

The next day we ſailed by a great yland in the middle of the riuer called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of vs, there came for vs from the maine a ſmall Canoa with ſeuen or eight Guianians, to inuite vs to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Caſique to whom thoſe Nepoios went, which came with vs from the towne of Toparimaca: and ſo the fift day we reached as high vp as the prouince of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the Weſt of an yland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and fiue broad: and that night the Caſique Aramiary, (to whoſe towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the riuer of Amana) paſſed by vs.

The prouince of Aromaia.
The yle of Murrecotima.

The next day wee arriued at the port of Morequito, and anckered there, ſending away one of our Pilots to ſeeke the king of Aromaia, vncle to Morequito ſlaine by Berreo as aforeſaid. The next day following before noone hee came to vs on foote from his houſe, which was foureteene Engliſh miles (himſelfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the ſame day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring vs downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as veniſon, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fiſh, with diuers ſorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow vnder the Sunne, eſpecially thoſe of Guiana. They brought vs alſo ſtore of bread, and of their wine, and a ſort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other ſorts both ſmall and great: one of them gaue mee a beaſt called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Caſſacam, which ſeemeth to be all barred ouer with ſmal plates ſomewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge a great hunting horne, which they vſe to winde in ſtead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafeneſſe.

After this olde King had reſted a while in a little tent, that I cauſed to bee ſet vp, I beganne by my interpreter to diſcourſe with him of the death of Morequito his predeceſſour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cauſe of my comming thither, whoſe ſeruant I was, and that the Queenes pleaſure was, I ſhould vndertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large, (as I had done before to thoſe of Trinidad) her Maieſties greatneſſe, her iuſtice, her charitie to all oppreſſed nations, with as many of the reſt of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expreſſe, or they conceiue: all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and marueilouſly admired, I beganne to ſound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the ſtate thereof, what ſort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what ſtrength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adioyning, and finally of the diſtance and way to enter the ſame: hee tolde mee that himſelfe and his people with all thoſe downe the Riuer towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themſelues Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and thoſe mountaines in ſight called Wacarima, were of the ſame caſt and appellation: and that on the other ſide of thoſe mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I diſcouered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were alſo of the ancient Guianians.

The valley of Amariocapana.

I aſked what nations thoſe were which inhabited on the farther ſide of thoſe mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee anſwered with a great ſigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the loſſe of his Countrey and libertie, eſpecially for that his eldeſt ſonne was ſleine in a battell on that ſide of the mountaines, whom hee moſt entirely loued) that hee remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himſelfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from ſo farre off as the Sunne ſlept, (for ſuch were his owne wordes) with ſo great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor reſiſted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimſon colour, which colour hee expreſſed, by ſhewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was ſupported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, thoſe that had ſlaine and rooted out ſo many of the ancient people, as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had nowe made themſelues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called Curaa, ſauing onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Caſſipagotos, and that in the laſt battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldeſt ſonne was choſen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there ſlaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remayning but one ſonne: and farther tolde mee that thoſe Epuremei had built a great Towne called

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop de Gomar. Hiſt. gen, cap. 119.

The towne of Macareguarai.

Macureguarai at the ſaid mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which haue no ende: and that their houſes haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great King of the Orcjones and Epuremei kept three thouſande men to defend the borders againſt them, and withall dayly to inuade and ſlay them: but that of late yeeres ſince the Chriſtians offered to inuade his territories, and thoſe frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, ſauing onely the Iwarawaqueri, and thoſe other nations vpon the head of the riuer of Caroli, called Caſſipagotos, which we afterwards diſcouered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemie.

After hee had anſwered thus farre, he deſired leaue to depart, ſaying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was alſo his owne phraſe: I deſired him to reſt with vs that night, but I could not intreate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey aboue, hee would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the beſt he could, of all that his countrey yeelded: the ſame night hee returned to Orocotona his owne towne, ſo as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being ſituate betweene foure and fiue degrees of the Equinoctial.

Orotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdeſt, and wiſeſt of all the Orenoqueponi, and ſo hee behaued himſelfe towardes mee in all his anſweres at my returne, as I marueiled to finde a man of that grauitie and iudgement, and of ſo good diſcourſe, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we alſo left the port, and ſailed Weſtward vp to the Riuer, to view the famous Riuer called Caroli, as well becauſe it was marueilous of it ſelfe, as alſo for that I vnderſtode it ledde to the ſtrongeſt nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are ſubiects to Inga, Emperour of Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we anckered at another yland called Caiama, of ſome fiue or ſixe miles in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of Caroli. When we were ſhort of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great rore and fall of the Riuer, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking to haue gone vp ſome fourtie miles to the nations of the Caſſipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one ſtones caſt in an houre, and yet the Riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both ſides, and the middle, and euery part of the Riuer, ſo as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and ſent off our Orenequepone (which came with vs from Morequito) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the Riuer of our being there, and that wee deſired to ſee the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that Riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this Riuer ſide that Morequito ſlewe the Frier, and thoſe nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thouſande pezos of golde) ſo as the next day there came downe a Lord or Caſique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all ſtore of prouiſions to entertaine vs, as the reſt had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiawari, ſo did I acquaint this Caſique therewith, and howe I was ſent by her Maieſtie for the purpoſe aforeſaide, and gathered alſo what I could of him touching the eſtate of Guiana, and I founde that thoſe alſo of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but moſt of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this Riuer were three mighty nations, which were ſeated on a great lake, from whence this Riuer deſcended, & were called Caſſipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all thoſe either againſt the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would ioyne with vs, and that if wee entred the land ouer the mountaines of Curaa, we ſhould ſatiſfie our ſelues with gold and all other good things: he told vs farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before ſpoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the firſt ciuill towne of Guiana, of the ſubiects of Inga the Emperour.

The yle of Caiama.

They arriue at the mouth of the riuer Caroli.

Wanuretona.

Caſſipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations ſeated on a lake at the head of the riuer Caroli.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great ſiluer Mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the ſaide riuer. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the reſt of the riuers were riſen foure or fiue foote in height, ſo as it was not poſſible by the ſtrength of any men, or with any boat whatſoeuer to rowe into the Riuer againſt the ſtreame. I therefore ſent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gylbert, my coſen Butſhead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and ſome thirtie ſhotte more to coaſt the Riuer by land, and to goe to a towne ſome twentie miles ouer the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Caſique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefeſt friend) becauſe this towne and prouince of Capurepana adioyned to Ma-

A great ſiluer Mine.

Amnatapoi a towne.

cureguarai,

The ſtrange ouerfals of Caroli.

A moſt beautifull countrey.

Abundance of minerall Sparre.

cureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my ſelfe with Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and ſome halfe a doſen ſhotte marched ouer land to viewe the ſtrange ouerfals of the riuer of Caroli which rored ſo farre off, and alſo to ſee the plaines adioyning, and the reſt of the prouince of Canuri: I ſent alſo Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and ſome eight ſhotte with them, to ſee if they coulde finde any Minerall ſtone alongſt the riuer ſide. When we were come to the tops of the firſt hilles of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might from that mountaine ſee the riuer howe it ranne in three parts, aboue twentie miles off, and there appeared ſome tenne or twelue ouerfals in ſight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church-tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it ſeeme, as if it had bene all couered ouer with a great ſhower of raine: and in ſome places wee tooke it at the firſt for a ſmoke that had riſen ouer ſome great towne. For mine owne part I was well perſwaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the reſt were all ſo deſirous to goe neere the ſaide ſtrange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next valley where we might better diſcerne the ſame. I neuer ſaw a more beautifull countrey, nor more liuely proſpects, hils ſo raiſed here and there ouer the valleys, the riuer winding into diuers branches, the plaines adioyning without buſh or ſtubble, all faire greene graſſe, the ground of hard ſand eaſie to march on, either for horſe or foote, the deere croſſing in euery path, the birdes towards the euening ſinging on euery tree with a thouſand ſeuerall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimſon, and carnation pearching in the riuers ſide, the aire freſh with a gentle Eaſterly winde, and euery ſtone that we ſtouped to take vp, promiſed either golde or ſiluer by his complexion. Your Lordſhip ſhall ſee of many ſorts, and I hope ſome of them cannot bee bettered vnder the Sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being moſt hard of that minerall Sparre aforeſaide, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and beſides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requiſite ſaue onely our deſires and good will to haue performed more if it had pleaſed God. To be ſhort, when both our companies returned, each of them brought alſo ſeuerall ſorts of ſtones that appeared very faire, but were ſuch as they found looſe on the ground, and were for the moſt part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet ſuch as had no iudgement or experience kept al that gliſtered, and would not be perſwaded but it was rich becauſe of the luſtre, and brought of thoſe, and of Marqueſite with all, from Trinidad, and haue deliuered of thoſe ſtones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the reſt is of the ſame: yet ſome of theſe ſtones I ſhewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of gold, and that the Mine was farther in the ground.

But it ſhall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my ſelfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I ſo farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diſeaſes, ill ſauours, bad fare, and many other miſchiefes that accompany theſe voyages, as to woo my ſelfe againe into any of them, were I not aſſured that the Sunne couereth not ſo much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of ſtones like Saphires, what they may proue I know not. I ſhewed them to ſome of the Orenoqueponi, and they promiſed to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wiſe: whether it be Chriſtall of the mountaine, Briſtol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the beſt, ſure I am that the place is as likely as thoſe from whence all the rich ſtones are brought, and in the ſame height or very neere.

Caſſipa a great lake.

On the left hand of this riuer Caroli are ſeated thoſe nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembred, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adioyning to the great lake Caſſipa, are ſituate thoſe other nations which alſo reſiſt Inga, and the Epuremei, called Caſſepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther vnderſtood that this lake of Caſsipa is ſo large, as it is aboue one dayes iourney for one of their Canoas to croſſe, which may bee ſome fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall diuers riuers, and that great ſtore of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in thoſe branches.

The riuer of Arui.

The riuers of Atoica and Caora.

Ewaipanoma a ſtrange headleſſe nation.

There is alſo another goodly riuer beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which alſo runneth thorow the lake Caſsipa, and falleth into Orenoque farther Weſt, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewiſe a moſt beautifull countrey. Next vnto Arui there are two riuers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whoſe heads appeare not aboue their ſhoulders; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am reſolued it is true, becauſe euery childe in the prouinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the ſame: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to haue their eyes in their ſhoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breaſts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their ſhoulders. The ſonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the moſt mighty men of all the land, and vſe bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a priſoner of them the yeere before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I ſeemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeeres ſlaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but ſpoken one worde of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandeuile, whoſe reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet ſince the Eaſt Indies were diſcouered, we find his relations true of ſuch things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I ſaw them not, but I am reſolued that ſo many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the Weſt Indies afterwards by chance I ſpake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and ſo farre directly Weſt as Caroli, the firſt queſtion hee aſked me was, whether I had ſeene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are thoſe without heads: who being eſteemed a moſt honeſt man of his word, and in all things elſe, tolde mee that hee had ſeene many of them: I may not name him, becauſe it may be for his diſaduantage, but hee is well knowen to Monſieur Mucherons ſonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemiſh ſhippe that was there in trade, who alſo heard what he auowed to be true of thoſe people.

The fourth riuer to the Weſt of Caroli is Caſnero which falleth into Orenoque on this ſide of Amapaia, and that riuer is greater then Danubius, or any of Europe: it riſeth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which deuide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee nauigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor ſeaſon of the yeere, to ſearch thoſe riuers for the cauſes aforeſayd, the Winter being come vpon vs, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees euer ſenſibly loſe their leaues, but haue alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and moſt of them both bloſſome, leaues, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely conſiſteth of terrible raines, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with many great ſtormes and guſtes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

The riuer of Caſnere.

The Winter of Guiana.

On the North ſide, the firſt riuer that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the ſame ſide is the riuer of Limo, betweene theſe two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them ſold into the Weſt Indies. To the Weſt of Limo is the riuer Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great riuer of Meta, by which Berreo deſcended from Nueuo reyno de Granada. To the Weſtward of Capuri is the prouince of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had ſo many of his people poyſoned with the tawny water of the marſhes of the Anebas. Aboue Amapaia toward Nueuo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Caſſanar. To the Weſt of thoſe towards the prouinces of the Aſhaguas and Catetios are the riuers of Beta, Dawney, and Vbarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the prouinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adioyning to Quito in the North ſide of Peru are the riuers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other ſide of the ſayd mountaynes the riuer of Papamene which deſcendeth into Marannon or Amazones paſſing thorough the prouince Mutylones where Don Pedro de Oſua who was ſlaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearſed, built his brigandines, when he ſought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

Meta, Pato, Caſſanar.

Papamene.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Iſland in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for aboue Meta it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ſhips of burden cannot paſſe by reaſon of a moſt forcible ouerfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al ſmaller veſſels may be drawen euen to Peru it ſelfe: But to ſpeake of more of theſe riuers without the deſcription were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the reſt to the deſcription. This riuer of Orenoque is nauigable for ſhips little leſſe then 1000 miles, and for leſſer veſſels neere 2000. By it (as aforeſayd) Peru, Nueuo reyno, and Popaian, may be inuaded: it alſo leadeth to the great empire of Inga, & to the prouinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound

The Iſle of Baraquan.

Orenoque a mighty riuer by which Peru, Nueuo reyno, & Popaian may be inuaded.

Canuri.

They returne

in gold: his branches of Coſnero, Manta, Caora deſcended from the middle land & valley, which lieth betweene the eaſter prouince of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the ſea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours ſhall better perceiue in the general deſcription of Guiana, Peru, Nueuo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the prouince of Veneçuela, to the bay of Vraba, behind Cartagena Weſtward: and to Amazones Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coaſt of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had found out ſo many ſeueral people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time loſt to linger any longer in that place, eſpecially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten vs with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day paſſed, but the riuer began to rage and ouerflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible ſhowers, and guſtes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of ſhift, for no man had place to beſtowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly waſht on his body for the moſt part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, euery day paſſing to the Weſtward farther and farther from our ſhippes. Wee therefore turned towards the Eaſt, and ſpent the reſt of the time in diſcouering the riuer towards the ſea, which we had not viewed, and which was moſt materiall.

The laſt conferēce of ſir Walter Ralegh with Topiawari, whoſe ſonne he brought into England.

Counſell to be followed in other conqueſts

Macureguarai yͤ firſt towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arriued againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for paſſing downe the ſtreame we went without labour, and againſt the winde, little leſſe then a hundreth miles a day. Aſſoone as I came to ankor, I ſent away one for olde Topiawari, with whom I much deſired to haue further conference, and alſo to deale with him for ſome one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe ſpent of any longer ſtay there. Within three houres after my meſſenger came to him, he arriued alſo, and with him ſuch a rabble of all ſorts of people, and euery one loden with ſomewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies cluſtered thicke and threefold among their baſkets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had reſted a while in my tent, I ſhut out all but our ſelues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other ſought to regaine the ſame from them both: and therefore I deſired him to inſtruct me what he could, both of the paſſage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the ciuill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gaue mee an anſwere to this effect: firſt that hee could not perceiue that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere ſerued, neither could hee perceiue any ſufficient numbers for ſuch an enterprize: and if I did, I was ſure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that ſtrength, as that many times ſo many men more were too fewe: beſides hee gaue mee this good counſell and aduiſed mee to holde it in minde (as for himſelfe hee knewe, hee could not liue till my returne) that I ſhould not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the ſtrong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all thoſe nations which were alſo their enemies: for that it was impoſſible without thoſe, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in ſo great heate, and trauell, vnleſſe the borderers gaue them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembred that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they paſſed the frontier, were enuironed on all ſides, and the people ſetting the long drie graſſe on fire, ſmoothered them, ſo as they had no breath to fight, nor could diſcerne their enemies for the great ſmoke. He told me farther that 4 daies iourney from his towne was Macureguarai, and that thoſe were the next and neereſt of the ſubiects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the firſt towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all thoſe plates of gold which were ſcattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the ſayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that thoſe of the land within were farre finer, and were faſhioned after the images of men, beaſtes, birds, and fiſhes. I aſked him whether hee thought that thoſe companies that I had there with me, were ſufficient to take that towne or no: He told me that he thought they were. I then aſked him, whether he would aſſiſt me with guides, and ſome companies of his people to ioyne with vs: He anſwered that he would go himſelfe with al the borderers, if the riuers did remaine foordable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my returne againe fifty ſouldiers, which hee vndertooke to victuall: I anſwered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the reſt were labourers and rowers, & that I had no prouiſion to leaue with them of powder, ſhot, apparell, or ought elſe, and that without thoſe things neceſſary for their defence, they ſhould bee in danger of the Spaniards in my abſence, who I knewe would vſe the ſame meaſure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although vpon the motion Captaine Calfeild, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert and diuers others were deſirous to ſtay, yet I was reſolued that they muſt needes haue periſhed, for Berreo expected daylie a ſupply out of Spaine, and looked alſo hourely for his ſonne to come downe from Nueuo reyno de Granada, with many horſe and foote, and had alſo in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horſe ready to march, and I could not haue ſpared aboue fortie, and had not any ſtore at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other prouiſion, either ſpade, pickeaxe, or ought elſe to haue fortified withall.

When I had giuen him reaſon that I could not at this time leaue him ſuch a companie, he then deſired mee to forbeare him and his countrey for that time, for he aſſured mee that I ſhould bee no ſooner three dayes from the coaſt, but thoſe Epuremei would inuade him, and deſtroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee ſhould any way either guide vs or aſſiſt vs againſt them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards ſought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that prouince, ſo they had him ſeuenteene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, vntill hee had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and diuers chaines of Spleen-ſtones for his ranſome: and nowe ſince he became owner of that prouince, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more vehement, when they ſhould vnderſtand of his conference with the Engliſh, and becauſe, ſayd hee, they would the better diſplant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they haue Chriſtened Don Iuan, and his ſonne Don Pedro, whom they haue alſo apparelled and armed, by whom they ſeeke to make a partie againſt me in mine owne countrey: hee alſo had taken to wife one Louiana of a ſtrong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my ſelfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to trauell nor to ſhifte, as when I was of yoonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to ſerue vs, and then alſo it would bee more ſeaſonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeere, wee ſhould not bee able to paſſe any riuer, the waters were and would bee ſo growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not deſire ſo much to inuade Macureguari, and the reſt of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cauſe that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were ſpoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, ſo as for their owne parts they deſired nothing of the golde or treaſure, for their labours, but onely to recouer women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very ſadly (as it had beene a matter of great conſequence) that whereas they were wont to haue tenne or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themſelues with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys deſire many children of their owne bodies, to increaſe their races and kinreds, for in thoſe conſiſt their greateſt truſt and ſtrength. Diuers of his followers afterwards deſired mee to make haſte againe, that they might ſacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They anſwered, of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of thoſe many of women they more deſire the war, then either for gold, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the ſubiects of Inga, and the Spaniards, thoſe frontiers are growen thinne of people, and alſo great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I receiued this anſwere of the old man, we fell into conſideration, whether it had bene of better aduice to haue entred Macureguarai, and to haue begun a warre vpon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things elſe had ſorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any ſuch ſtrength as was requiſite, and durſt not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ſhips) I though it were euill counſell to haue attempted it at that time, although the deſire of gold will anſwere many obiections: but it would haue bin in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the ſame ſhould be hereafter by her Maieſty attẽpted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were ſent by her Maieſty to relieue them) they would as good cheap haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, whẽ they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both ſought but to ſacke & ſpoile them, but as yet our deſire of gold, or our purpoſe of inuaſion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Maieſtie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather ſubmit themſelues to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whoſe cruelty both themſelues and the borderers haue already taſted: and therefore till I had knowen her Maieſties pleaſure, I would rather haue loſt the ſacke of one or two townes (although they might haue beene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of ſo many millions, & the great good, & rich trade which England may be poſſeſſed of thereby. I am aſſured nowe that they will all die euen to the laſt man againſt the Spaniards in hope of our ſuccour and returne: whereas otherwiſe if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ranſommed the lords, as Berreo did, or inuaded the ſubiects of Inga, I know all had beene loſt for hereafter.

Francis Sparrow.

The lake of Manoa.

After that I had reſolued Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he deſired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize againſt the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely ſonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himſelfe had but a ſhort time to liue, yet that by our meanes his ſonne ſhould be eſtabliſhed after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a ſeruant of captaine Gifford, (who was deſirous to tarie, and could deſcribe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language. I after aſked the maner how the Epuremei wrought thoſe plates of golde, and howe they could melt it out of the ſtone; hee tolde mee that the moſt of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not ſeuered from the ſtone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as ſmall ſtones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwiſe they could not worke it, and that they vſed a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they faſtened canes to the holes, and ſo with the breath of men they increaſed the fire till the metall ran, & then they caſt it into moulds of ſtone and clay, and ſo make thoſe plates and images. I haue ſent your Honors of two ſortes ſuch as I could by chance recouer, more to ſhewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any ſort make my deſire of gold knowen, becauſe I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of gold, then I receiued, of the new money of 20 ſhillings with her Maieſties picture to weare, with promiſe that they would become her ſeruants thenceforth.

Moſt rich gold ore.

I haue alſo ſent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know ſome is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is ſufficient, if nothing elſe were to bee hoped for. But beſides that we were not able to tarrie and ſearch the hils, ſo we had neither pioners, barres, ſledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee ſaw all the hilles with ſtones of the colour of gold and ſiluer, and we tried them to be no Marqueſite, and therefore ſuch as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an vndoubted aſſurance of the generall abundance; and my ſelfe ſaw the outſide of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the ſame that all couet in this world, and of thoſe, more then I will ſpeake of.

The lake of Caſſipa.

Guiana on the Southſide.

Hauing learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and receiued a faithfull promiſe of the principalleſt of thoſe prouinces to become ſeruants to her Maieſtie, and to reſiſt the Speniards, if they made any attempt in our abſence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Caſſipa, and thoſe Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and receiued his ſonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforeſayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gaue inſtructions to trauell to Marcureguarai, with ſuch merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were poſſible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed ankor, and coaſted the riuer on Guiana ſide, becauſe wee came vpon the North ſide, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

Mana.

There came with vs from Aromaia a Caſſique called Putijma, that commanded the prouince of Warapana, (which Putijma ſlewe the nine Spaniards vpon Caroli before ſpoken of) who deſired vs to reſt in the Porte of his countrey, promiſing to bring vs vnto a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had ſtones of the colour of golde, which hee perfourmed. And after wee had reſted there one night, I went my ſelfe in the morning with moſt of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer land towards the ſaid mountaine, marching by a riuers ſide called Mana, leauing on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, ſtanding in the Prouince of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the ſayd valley, whoſe plaines ſtretch themſelues ſome ſixtie miles in length, Eaſt and Weſt, as faire ground, and as beautifull fields, as any man hath euer ſeene, with diuers copſies ſcattered here and there by the riuers ſide, and all as full of deere as any forreſt or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuer the like abundance of fiſh and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord.

Oiana.

From the riuer of Mana, we croſt another riuer in the ſaid beautiful valley called Oiana, & reſted our ſelues by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the ſaid Oiana, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two ſtickes, wee ſtayed a while to drie our ſhirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heauie on our ſholders. Afterwards wee ſought the ford to paſſe ouer towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where Putijma foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we ſaw one of the great fiſhes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being moſt excellent and holſome meate. But after I perceiued, that to paſſe the ſaid riuer would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my ſelfe to indure it, and therefore I ſent Captaine Keymis with ſixe ſhot to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leiſure, and to march downe the ſayd valley, as farre as a riuer called Cumaca, where I promiſed to meete him againe, Putijma himſelfe promiſing alſo to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana, and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas houſe, downe the ſayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the ſame day to the riuers ſide, ſaw by the way many rockes, like vnto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which conſiſted of minerall ſtone.

Great fiſhes called Manati moſt excellent meate.

From hence we rowed downe the ſtreame, coaſting the prouince of Parino: As for the branches of riuers which I ouerpaſſe in this diſcourſe, thoſe ſhall be better expreſſed in the deſcription with the mountaines of Aio, Ara, and the reſt, which are ſituate in the prouinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as farre down as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque deuideth it ſelfe into three great branches, each of them being moſt goodly riuers) I ſent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greeneuile with the galley, the neereſt way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the prouince of Carapana, and towards the Eaſt ſea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had ſent ouer land, as alſo acquaint my ſelfe with Carapana, who is one of the greateſt of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the riuer of Cumaca (to which Putijma promiſed to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and maſter Porter in the ſayd riuer to expect his comming, & the reſt of vs rowed downe the ſtreame towards Emeria.

Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were alſo many goodly Iſlands, ſome of ſixe miles long, ſome of ten, and ſome of twenty. When it grew towards ſunne-ſet, we entred a branch of a riuer that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Chriſtall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill ſeaſon of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee ſaw it afarre off and it appeared like a white Curch-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth ouer it a mighty riuer which toucheth no part of the ſide of the mountaine, but ruſheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with ſo terrible a noyſe and clamor, as if a thouſand great bels were knockt one againſt another. I thinke there is not in the world ſo ſtrange an ouer-fall, nor ſo wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious ſtones on it, and that they ſhined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durſt he or any of his men aſcend to the top of the ſayd mountaine, thoſe people adioyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it ſo impaſſable.

Winicapora.

A mighty cataract or ouer-fall of water.

Diamonds & other precious ſtones.

Vpon this riuer of Winicapora wee reſted a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the riuer, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who alſo offered to conduct mee to the top of the ſayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in firſt to the houſe of the ſayd Timitwara, being vpon one of their ſayd feaſt dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without reſt: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a ſmall quantitie ſatiſfied vs, their drinke being very ſtrong and headie, and ſo reſted our ſelues a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our ſelues backe to our boats, vpon the riuer and there came to vs all the lordes of the countrey, with all ſuch kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other prouiſions, and of thoſe ſtones which wee call Spleeneſtones.

Wacarima.

Wee vnderſtood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in ſight, & that he was fled to Cairamo, adioyning to the mountains of Guiana, ouer the valley called Amariocapana, being perſwaded by thoſe tenne Spaniards which lay at his houſe, that we would deſtroy him, and his countrey.

But after theſe Caſsiques of Winicapora & Saporatona his followers perceiued our purpoſe, and ſaw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not ſo much as harmed any of thoſe nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne ſeruants, they aſſured vs that Carapana would be as ready to ſerue vs, as any of the lords of the prouinces, which we had paſſed; and that he durſt doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying ſo directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that ſhould be made in Guiana on that ſide.

And they farther aſſured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooued, but to be acquited of the Spaniards or any other that ſhould come hereafter. For the prouince of Cairoma is ſituate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any ſhould come in our abſence into his townes, hee would ſlip ouer the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durſt not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I aſſure my ſelfe, that Carapana (being a notable wiſe and ſubtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne ſtrong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuſe his departure to the Spaniards, and ſay it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootleſſe to rowe ſo farre downe the ſtreame, or to ſeeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the riuer of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eaſtward thoſe foure riuers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below thoſe foure are alſo theſe branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the Eaſt ſea, whereof the firſt is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the ſixt Paroma, the laſt Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 riuers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a weariſome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer Carerupana, by which we deſcended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred firſt.

All the night it was ſtormie and darke, and full of thunder and great ſhowers, ſo as wee were driuen to keepe cloſe by the bankes in our ſmall boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the riuer. By the next morning we recouered the mouth of the riuer of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynus and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis ouer land: but when wee entred the ſame, they had heard no newes of his arriuall, which bred in vs a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, ſhooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there. And the next morning wee heard them anſwere vs alſo with a piece: wee tooke them aboord vs, and tooke our leaue of Putima their guide, who of all others moſt lamented our departure, and offered to ſend his ſonne with vs into England, if we could haue ſtayed till he had ſent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increaſe of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the Weſt, till we had recouered the parting of the three branches aforeſayd, that we might put downe the ſtreame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Iſland of Aſſapano (which deuideth the riuer from that branch by which we ſent downe to Emeria) and there feaſted our ſelues with that beaſt which is called Armadilla preſented vnto vs before at Winicapora, and the day following we recouered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, & the ſame euening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and ſhowers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the beſt was, we went no leſſe then 100 miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impoſſible to returne, for that the riuer of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be ſayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the ſea were ſo forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the ſea Eaſtward of our ſhips, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to croſſe of the maine ſea after we came to the riuers mouth, as betweene Grauelyn and Douer, in ſuch boats as your Hon. hath heard.

The port of Toparimaca.

To ſpeake of what paſt homeward were tedious, either to deſcribe or name any of the riuers, Iſlands, or villages of the Tiuitiuas which dwell on trees: we will leaue all thoſe to the generall mappe: and to be ſhort, when we were arriued at the ſea ſide, then grew our greateſt doubt, and the bittereſt of all our iourney forepaſſed, for I proteſt before God, that we were in a moſt deſperate eſtate: for the ſame night which we ankored in the mouth of the riuer of Capuri, where it falleth into the ſea, there aroſe a mightie ſtorme, and the riuers mouth was at leaſt a league broad, ſo as we ranne before night cloſe vnder the land with our ſmall boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but ſhe had as much a doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her ſinking, and all thoſe in her: for mine owne part I confeſſe, I was very doubtfull which way to take, either to goe ouer in the peſtred Galley, there being but ſixe foote water ouer the ſandes, for two leagues together, and that alſo in the channell, and ſhe drew fiue: or to aduenture in ſo great a billow, and in ſo doubtfull weather, to croſſe the ſeas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worſe it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfeild, and my coſen Greeneuile into my barge; and after it cleared vp, about midnight we put our ſelues to Gods keeping, and thruſt out into the ſea, leauing the Galley at anker, who durſt not aduenture but by day-light: And ſo being all very ſober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to ſhewe courage, it pleaſed God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee deſcried the Ilande of Trinidad, and ſtearing for the neereſt part of it, wee kept the ſhore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our ſhippes at ankor, then which there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull ſight.

Now that it hath pleaſed God to ſende vs ſafe to our ſhippes, it is time to leaue Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worſhippe, and ſteare away towardes the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finiſh the diſcouery thereof. Of the ſeuerall nations which we found vpon this diſcouery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our firſt enterance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly againſt Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which inhabite the riuers of Guanipa and Berbeeſe; in the ſame bay there is alſo a third riuer which is called Areo, which riſeth on Paria ſide towards Cumaná, and that riuer is inhabited with the Wikiri, whoſe chiefe towne vpon the ſayd riuer is Sayma; In this bay there are no more riuers, but theſe three before rehearſed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thruſt ſo great abundance of water into the ſea, as the ſame is taken vp freſh, two or three leagues from the land. In the paſſages towardes Guiana (that is, in all thoſe landes which the eight branches of Orenoque faſhion into Ilands) there are but one ſort of people called Tiuitiuas, but of two caſtes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and thoſe warre one with another.

A rehearſall & deſcription of all the nations and riuers found in this diſcouerie.

On the hithermoſt part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, thoſe are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which ſtandeth in Aromaia, and all thoſe in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Vpon the riuer of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Prouince) who came farre off to ſee our Nation, and aſked me diuerſe queſtions of her Maieſtie, being much delighted with the diſcourſe of her Maieſties greatneſſe, and wondering at ſuch reports as we truely made of her Highneſſe many vertues. And vpon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Caſſipa, are the three ſtrong Nations of the Caſſipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond thoſe adioyning to Macureguarai (the firſt citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all theſe are profeſſed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei alſo. To the Weſt of Caroli are diuerſe nations of Canibals, and of thoſe Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly Weſt are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are alſo marueilous rich in gold. The reſt towards Peru we will omit. On the North of Orenoque, betweene it and the Weſt Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the reſt before ſpoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South ſide of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazones.

To make mention of the ſeuerall beaſts, birds, fiſhes, fruits, flowers, gummes, ſweet woods, and of their ſeuerall religions and cuſtomes, would for the firſt require as many volumes as thoſe of Geſnerus, and for the reſt another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the ſame which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru vſed, which may be read in Cieça, and other Spaniſh ſtories, how they beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoule, worſhip the Sunne, and burie with them aliue their beſt beloued wiues and treaſure, as they likewiſe doe in Pegu in the Eaſt Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wiues with them, but their iewels, hoping to

Pedro de Cieça.

inioy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wiues and friends drinke them in powder. In the graues of the Peruuians the Spaniards found their greateſt abundance of treaſure: the like alſo is to be found among theſe people in euery Prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lords-fiue fould to the common ſort: their wiues neuer eate with their huſbands, nor among the men, but ſerue their huſbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by themſelues. Thoſe that are paſt their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all elſe of ſeruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fiſh, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

Great riches.

I will enter no further into diſcouſe of their maners, lawes and cuſtomes: and becauſe I haue not my ſelfe ſeene the cities of Inga, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in Guiana, as his anceſtors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rareneſſe moſt maruellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which alſo the Spaniards (which I had) aſſured me to be true, as alſo the Nations of the borderers, who being but Saluages to thoſe of the in-land, doe cauſe much treaſure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Caſſiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arriuall, a chaire of golde moſt curiouſly wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adioyning, or in Manoa: but if we ſhould haue grieued them in their religion at the firſt, before they had bene taught better, and haue digged vp their graues, we had loſt them all: and therefore I helde my firſt reſolution, that her Maieſtie ſhould either accept or refuſe the enterpriſe, ere any thing ſhould be done that might in any ſort hinder the ſame. And if Peru had ſo many heapes of golde, whereof thoſe Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted ſo much therin; no doubt but this which now liueth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the ſame honour, and I am aſſured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the Weſt Indies.

Exceeding cõmendation of the riuer of Orenoque.

For the reſt, which my ſelfe haue ſeene, I will promiſe theſe things that follow, which I know to be true. Thoſe that are deſirous to diſcouer and to ſee many nations, may be ſatiſfied within this riuer, which bringeth foorth ſo many armes and branches leading to ſeuerall countries, and prouinces, aboue 2000 miles Eaſt and Weſt, and 800 miles South and North, and of theſe, the moſt eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common ſouldier ſhall here fight for golde, and pay himſelfe in ſteede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Thoſe commanders and chieftaines that ſhoot at honour and abundance, ſhall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more ſepulchres filled with treaſure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, or Piçarro in Peru: and the ſhining glorie of this conqueſt will eclipſe all thoſe ſo farre extended beames of the Spaniſh nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleaſure to the inhabitants, either for thoſe common delights of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, fowling, or the reſt, then Guiana doth. It hath ſo many plaines, cleere riuers, abundance of Pheſants, Partriges, Quailes, Railes, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all ſorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other ſortes of beaſtes, either for chaſe, or food. It hath a kind of beaſt called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an Engliſh beefe, and in great plentie.

The holſomeneſſe of the countrey.

To ſpeake of the ſeuerall ſorts of euery kind, I feare would be troubleſome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleaſure, and riches I am reſolued it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the Eaſt or Weſt. Moreouer the countrey is ſo healthfull, as of an hundred perſons & more (which lay without ſhift moſt ſluttiſhly, and were euery day almoſt melted with heate in rowing and marching, and ſuddenly wet againe with great ſhowers, and did eate of all ſorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of freſh fiſh without ſeaſoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all ſorts good and bad, without either order or meaſure, and beſides lodged in the open aire euery night) we loſt not any one, nor had one ill diſpoſed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of thoſe peſtilent diſeaſes which dwell in all hot regions, and ſo neere the Equinoctiall line.

Gold.

Braſil wood.
Excellent dyes.

Cotton, ſilke, Balſamum, gummes, and pepper.

Where there is ſtore of gold, it is in effect needleſſe to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the riuer, great quantities of Braſil-wood, and diuerſe berries that die a moſt perfect crimſon and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the Eaſt Indies yeelde none ſuch: For the more the ſkin is waſhed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen thoſe browne and tawnie women ſpot themſelues, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of ſilke, of balſamum, and of thoſe kindes moſt excellent, and neuer knowen in Europe, of all ſortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what elſe the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and ſearch. The ſoile beſides is ſo excellent and ſo full of riuers, as it will carrie ſugar, ginger, and all thoſe other commodities, which the Weſt Indies haue.

The ſhort, eaſie, and commodious nauigation to Guiana.

The nauigation is ſhort, for it may be ſayled with an ordinarie winde in ſixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee ſhore, enemies coaſt, rockes, nor ſandes, all which in the voyages to the Weſt Indies, and all other places we are ſubiect vnto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the Weſt Indies, cannot well be paſſed in the Winter, & when it is at the beſt, it is a perilous and a fearefull place. The reſt of the Indies for calmes, and diſeaſes very troubleſome, and the ſea about the Bermudas a helliſh ſea for thunder, lightning, and ſtormes.

This very yeere *there were ſeuenteene ſayle of Spaniſh ſhips loſt in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to haue ſunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Iuan de Puerto rico. And ſo it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeere for the moſt part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leaue England is beſt in Iuly, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ſhips may depart thence in Aprill, and ſo returne againe into England in Iune, ſo as they ſhall neuer be ſubiect to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or ſtaying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greateſt comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) taſted in this voyage by the Weſt Indies ſo many calmes, ſo much heat, ſuch outragious guſtes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

1595.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, neuer ſackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and ſalt of the ſoyle ſpent by manurance, the graues haue not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with ſledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer bene entered by any armie of ſtrength, and neuer conquered or poſſeſſed by any chriſtian Prince. It is beſides ſo defenſible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue ſeene, the flood ſetteth in ſo neere the banke, where the channell alſo lyeth, that no ſhip can paſſe vp but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, firſt of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a ſufficient guarde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other ſeueral kingdomes, lying within the ſaid riuer, euen to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the eaſineſſe of the conqueſt of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the Weſt or Eaſt Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the ſea (if it hath that) for any veſſels of burden: ſo as whoſoeuer ſhall firſt poſſeſſe it, it ſhall be found vnacceſſible for any enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or elſe in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are ſo thicke two hundred miles together vpon the riuers of ſuch entrance, as a mouſe cannot ſit in a boat vnhit from the banke. By lande it is more impoſſible to approch, for it hath the ſtrongeſt ſituation of any region vnder the ſunne, and is ſo enuironed with impaſſable mountaines on euery ſide, as it is impoſſible to victuall any company in the paſſage: which hath bene well prooued by the Spaniſh nation, who ſince the conqueſt of Peru haue neuer left fiue yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or diſcouering ſome way into it, and yet of three and twentie ſeuerall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noblemen, there was neuer any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct ſhippes by ſea, any thing neere the ſaide countrie. Orellana, of whom the riuer of Amazones taketh name, was the firſt, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we diſplanted) the laſt: and I doubt much, whether he himſelfe or any of his yet know the beſt way into the ſayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any ſtrength be formerly ſet downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumſters or gallies built, and furniſhed vpon the riuer within: The Weſt Indies haue many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a ſhippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haſte, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whoſoeuer hearkened moſt after it.

Beſides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of ſtrength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatſoeuer companies ſhall be afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie ſeuerall Prouinces, thoſe ſhall be able all to reunite themſelues vpon any occaſion eyther by the way of one riuer, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the Weſt Indies there are fewe townes or Prouinces that can ſuccour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or ſea: By land the countries are either deſert, mountaynous, or ſtrong enemies: by ſea, if any man inuade to the Eaſtward, thoſe to the Weſt cannot in many moneths turne againſt the brize and Eaſtern wind, beſides the Spaniards are therein ſo diſperſed, as they are no where ſtrong, but in Nueua *Eſpanna* onely: the ſharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poyſoned prickles, the ſandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the ſmothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and beſt defence, which (becauſe thoſe nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to ſtay, neither haue any place to friend adioyning) doe ſerue them in ſteede of good armes and great multitudes.

The Weſt Indies were firſt offered her Maieſties grandfather by Columbus a ſtranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and beſides it was then thought incredible that there were ſuch and ſo many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maieſtie by her owne vaſſall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary ſubiect, ſo that it ſhall ill ſort with the many graces and benefites which I haue receiued to abuſe her Highneſſe, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie diſcouered, many nations wonne to her Maieſties loue and obedience, and thoſe Spaniardes which haue lateſt and longeſt laboured about the conqueſt, beaten out, diſcouraged and diſgraced, which among theſe nations were thought inuincible. Her Maieſtie may in this enterprize employ all thoſe ſouldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the firſt ſetting out in victualling and arming them: for after the firſt or ſecond yeere I doubt not but to ſee in London a Contractation houſe of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Siuill for the Weſt Indies.

And I am reſolued that if there were but a ſmall army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maieſtie by compoſition ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yeerely, as ſhould both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would beſides pay a garriſon of three or foure thouſand ſouldiers very royally to defend him againſt other nations: For he cannot but knowe, how his predeceſſors, yea how his owne great vncles Guaſcar and Atabalipa ſonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeres and euer ſince the ſaid conqueſt, the Spaniards haue ſought the paſſages and entrey of his countrey: and of their cruelties vſed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which reſpects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladneſſe, if not, he hath neither ſhot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may eaſily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confeſſed to me and others (which I proteſt before the Maieſtie of God to be true) that there was found among propheſies in Peru (at ſuch time as the Empire was reduced to the Spaniſh obedience) in their chiefeſt temples, amongſt diuers others which foreſhewed the loſſe of the ſaid Empire, that from Inglatierra thoſe Ingas ſhould be againe in time to come reſtored, and deliuered from the ſeruitude of the ſaid Conquerours. And I hope, as we with theſe few hands haue diſplanted the firſt garriſon, and driuen them out of the ſaid countrey, ſo her Maieſtie will giue order for the reſt, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empreſſe of the ſame. For whatſoeuer Prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, ſhall be greateſt, and if the king of Spaine enioy it, he will become vnreſiſtable. Her Maieſtie hereby ſhall confirme and ſtrengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, thoſe women ſhall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but alſo to inuade and conquer ſo great Empires and ſo farre remoued.

To ſpeake more at this time, I feare would be but troubleſome: I truſt in God, this being true, will ſuffice, and that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to poſſeſſe it, if not, I will iudge thoſe men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themſelues.

An abſtract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning *Guiana* and the countries lying vpon the great riuer *Orenoque*: with certaine reports alſo touching the ſame.

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

THoſe letters out of which the abſtracts following are taken, were ſurpriſed at ſea as they were paſſing for *Spaine* in the yeere 1594. by Captaine *George Popham*: who the next yeere, and the ſame that Sir *Walter Ralegh* diſcouered *Guiana*, as he was in a voyage for the *Weſt Indies*, learned alſo the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir *Walter*, as alſo ſo long after the writing of the former diſcourſe, hearing alſo of his diſcouerie: he made knowen and deliuered to ſome of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Councell & others. The which ſeeing they confirme in ſome part the ſubſtance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they ſhould be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertiſed, that although the Spaniards ſeeme to glorie much of their formall poſſeſſion taken before *Morequito* the Lord of *Aromaya*, and others thereabouts, which throughly vnderſtood them not at that time, whatſoeuer the Spaniards otherwiſe pretend: yet, according to the former diſcourſe, and as alſo it is related by *Cayworaco*, the ſonne of *Topiawary* now chiefe Lord of the ſaid *Aromaya*, who was brought into *England* by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and was preſent at the ſame poſſeſſion and diſcouerie of the Spaniards mentioned in theſe letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then hauing farther conſideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowen and heard of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elſewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them ſent and imployed for a farther diſcouery, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other maner of ſort then they had done before; that is to ſay, they ſlew them and buried them in the countrey ſo much ſought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete poſſeſſion, the which before they had but begunne. And ſo they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other poſſeſſion they haue had none ſince. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they proteſt, to giue them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in theſe letters the Spaniards ſeeme to call *Guiana* and other countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueuo Dorado*, becauſe of the great plentie of golde there in moſt places to be found. Alluding alſo to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martinez* to the great citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatiſe ſpecified. This is all I thought good to aduertiſe. As for ſome other matters, I leaue them to the conſideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

Letters taken at ſea by Captaine *George Popham*. 1594.

Alonſo his letter from the *Gran Canaria* to his brother being commander of *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

There haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly diſcouered called Nueuo Dorado, from the ſonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the diſcouery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the ſaid Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the courſe to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windeward of Margarita.

Alonſos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant *Lucar* concerning *El Dorado*.

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the writing, ſauing of a diſcouery lately made by the Spaniardes in a new land called Nueuo Dorado, which is two dayes ſayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in ſuch abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by ſome that were in the diſcouerie, vnto their parents here in this citie. I purpoſe (God willing) to beſtow tenne or twelue dayes in ſearch of the ſaid Dorado, as I paſſe in my voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make ſome good ſale of our commodities. I haue ſent you therewith part of the information of the ſaid diſcouerie, that was ſent to his Maieſtie.

Part of the Copie that was ſent to his Maieſtie, of the diſcouery of *Nueuo Dorado*.

In the riuer of Pato otherwiſe called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Wariſmero, the 23 of April 1593 Domingo de vera maſter of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in preſence of me Rodrigo de Carança Regiſter for the ſea, commanded all the ſouldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and ſouldiers, and Maſter of the campe ſtanding in the middeſt of them, ſaid vnto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderſtand long ſince that our Generall Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thouſand pezos of golde, diſcouered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke poſſeſſion to gouerne the ſame, but through want of his peoples health, and neceſſarie munition, he iſſued out at the Iland Magarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue ſent me to learne out and diſcouer the wayes moſt eaſily to enter, and to people the ſaid Prouinces, and where the campes and armies may beſt enter the ſame. By reaſon whereof I intend ſo to doe in the name of his Maieſtie, and the ſaide gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this croſſe that lieth here on the ground, which they ſet on end towardes the Eaſt, and the ſaid Maſter of the campe, the captaines and ſouldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the ſaide croſſe, and thereupon the maſter of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he alſo drewe out his ſworde and cut the graſſe off the ground, and the boughes off the trees ſaying, I take this poſſeſſion in the name of the king Don Philip our maſter, and of his Gouernour Antonio de Berreo: and becauſe ſome make queſtion of this poſſeſſion, to them I anſwere, that in theſe our actions was preſent the Caſſique or principall Don Antonio, otherwiſe called Morequito, whoſe land this was, who yeelded conſent to the ſaid poſſeſſion, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the ſaid Gouernour Antonio de Berreo. And the ſaid maſter of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and ſouldiers ſaid, that the poſſeſſion was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whoſoeuer would ſay the contrary. And the ſaid maſter of the campe hauing his ſword drawen in his hand ſaide vnto me: Regiſter, that art here preſent, giue me an inſtrument or teſtimoniall to confirme me in this poſſeſſion, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are preſent to witneſſe the ſame, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the poſſeſſion of all theſe landes whereſoeuer I ſhall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de vera, and vnderneath, Before me *Rodrigo de*
Carança, Regiſter of the armie.

AND in proſecution of the ſaid poſſeſſion, and the diſcouerie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the ſaid yeere, the maſter of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderſtand by meanes of Antonio Biſante the Interpretor, that his Maieſtie and Antonio de Berreo had ſent him to take the ſaid poſſeſſion. And the ſaid frier Francis Carillo by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he anſwered, that they vnderſtood him well and would become Chriſtians, and that with a very good will they ſhould aduance the croſſe, in what part or place of the towne it pleaſed them, for he was for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his maſter. Thereupon the ſaid maſter of the campe tooke a great croſſe, and ſet it on end towarde the Eaſt, and requeſted the whole campe to witneſſe it, and Domingo de vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done: And vnderneath. Before me
Rodrigo Carança, Regiſter of the armie.

THe firſt of May they proſecuted the ſaid poſſeſſion and diſcouerie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the ſaid Maſter of the campe paſſed to the towne of Toroco whoſe principall is called Topiawary being fiue leagues farther within the land then the firſt Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpretor they gaue to vnderſtand that his Maieſtie and the ſaid Corrigidor commanded them to take the poſſeſſion of that lande, and that they ſhould yeelde their obedience to his Maieſtie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the maſter of the campe in his name, and that in token therof he would place a croſſe in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the ſaid Caſſique anſwered they ſhould aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the ſaid Gouernour Antonio de Berreo whoſe vaſſall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboue fiue leagues thence, of all ſides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large houſe where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs

much

vs much Golde, and the interpreter aſking him from whence that golde was, he anſwered, From a Prouince not paſſing a dayes iourney off, where there are ſo many Indians as would ſhadowe the ſunne, and ſo much Golde as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feaſts) they take of the ſaid Golde in duſt and anoynt themſelues all ouer therewith to make the brauer ſhew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with ſtamped herbes of a gluwy ſubſtance: & they haue warre with thoſe Indians. They promiſed vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were ſuch infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being aſked how they gat yͤ ſame Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the graſſe by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to waſh at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feaſts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thouſand Indians, men and women all in peace and with much victuall, as Hennes and Veniſon in great abundance, and many ſortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his houſe, and to reſt that night in his Towne, being of fiue hundred houſes. The interpreter aſked whence hee had thoſe Hennes: he ſayde they were brought from a mountaine not paſſing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea ſo many as graſſe on the ground, and that theſe men had the points of their ſhoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had ſo many Hennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would haue any, wee ſhould ſend them Iewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him fiue hundred Harpes; the Hennes were ſo many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee ſayde wee would goe thither; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feaſts, and would kill vs. Wee aſked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true; hee ſayde it was moſt true. Wee aſked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feaſts; hee ſayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breaſts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian ſayde vnto vs, if wee would ſee them, wee ſhould giue him ſome Hatchets, and he would bring vs of thoſe Eagles. The Maſter of the Campe gaue him one Hatchet (hee would giue him no more becauſe they ſhould not vnderſtand we went to ſeeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Maſter of the Campe tooke it, and ſhewed it to the ſouldiers, and then threw it from him, making ſhewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and ſayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high ſhoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Maſter of the Campe, who commanded one to be giuen him: hee then tolde vs, thoſe Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the Maſter of the Campe cauſed his company to bee ſet in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about ſeuen leagues from thence to a Prouince, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill vp thoſe Plaines with Indians to fight with vs; but if wee came in peace, wee ſhould enter and bee well entertained of them, becauſe they had a great deſire to ſee Chriſtians: and there they tolde vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere ſet it downe, becauſe there is no place for it, but it ſhall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maieſtie: for if it ſhould heere bee ſet downe, foure leaues of paper would not containe it.

Indians with high ſhoulders.

The Letter of *George Burien Britton* from the ſayde *Canaries* vnto his couſin a French man dwelling in *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

Sir, and my very good couſin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new diſcouered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes ſeemeth to bee very certaine, becauſe it paſſeth for good amongſt the beſt of this Citie. Part of the information of the Diſcouery that went to his Maieſtie, goeth incloſed in Alonſos letters; it is a thing worth the ſeeing.

The report of *Domingo Martinez* of *Iamaica* concerning *El Dorado*.

He ſayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late diſcouery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the ſaid Dorado, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Chriſtianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they ſent their ſayd Idol vnto him in token they were become Chriſtians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the ſaid Frigat, reported Golde to be there in moſt abundance, Diamonds of ineſtimable value, with great ſtore of pearle.

The report of a French man called *Bountillier* of *Sherbrouke*, concerning *Trinidad* and *Dorado*.

1591.

Paracoa.

HE ſaith that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the ſayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad: and that within the Riuer of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Alſo in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought priſoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his priſon) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Diſcouery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nueuo Dorado. This Frenchman paſſed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabben neere a gentleman, one of the Diſcouerers that came from that place in the ſayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongſt other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the ſayd Dorado, being as they ſayd within the riuer of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of *Rio de Hacha*, concerning *El Nueuo Dorado*.

THey ſayd (aduancing the kings great treaſure in the Indies) that Nueuo Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was diſcouered a certaine Prouince ſo rich in Golde, as the report thereof may ſeeme incredible, it is there in ſuch abundance, and is called El Nueuo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the ſaid diſcouerie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with *Berreo* in the diſcouerie of *El Nueuo Dorado*.

THat the information ſent to the King was in euery poynt truely ſayde, that the riuer Orenoque hath ſeuen mouths, or outlets into the ſea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the ſayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the ſayd Dorado.

A Relation of the ſecond Voyage to *Guiana*, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by *Laurence Keymis* Gent.

TO THE APPROVED, RIGHT VALOROVS, AND worthy Knight, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine *of her Maieſties Guard, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.*

Pericles.

I Haue here briefly ſet downe the effect of this your ſecond Diſcouerie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, ſingle ſpeech beſt beſeemeth a ſimple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your perſon, leadeth mee to write of your ſelfe, vnto your ſelfe, that ſmall libertie which I haue therein vſed, ſhall, I doubt not, without offence or ſiniſter conſtruction, be giuen to the cauſe in hand: which, whether it ſuffer not detriment, by attributing leſſe then of right belongeth; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently ſhall weigh the conſequents of their euill purpoſe, who in ſeeking to detract from the Author of theſe Diſcoueries, doe ſo much as in thē lieth, wound, deface, & tread vnder foot the thing it ſelfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to theſe our dayes. For long ſince it hath bin ſaid, *Laudes eo vſque ſunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores ſe quoque facere poſſe exiſtimant: ſi maiora proferantur, inuident, non credunt.* The feruent zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of ſo honorable expectation, as it hath deſerued a recompence farre different, ſo needeth it not my poore ſuffrage to endeare the toyle, care and danger that you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publique. The praiſe-worthineſſe thereof doeth approue it ſelfe,and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wiſh, is that my life were a ſufficient pledge, to iuſtifie, how much more eaſie, and more materiall, the courſe for *Guiana* would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not ſo large benefit, and are ſubiect to more doubtfull euents. If vnto their wiſdomes who ſit in place and authority,it ſhall appeare otherwiſe,and that in following of other attempts there is leſſe difficultie,certainer profit,and needfuller offence vnto the enemie: the coſt and trauaile which you haue beſtowed, ſhall not, I hope,be altogether loſt, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amends is to be had,maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordſhips to be commanded in all ſeruice,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earneſtly deſired,though neuer ſo likely,we are ſtill ſuſpicious: thinking it more credite to our common wiſedome, to diſcredite moſt noble and profitable indeuours with diſtruſt, then touch to our valours and ſafeties,to lie wilfully idle. So that howſoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee eſteemed halfe performed; yet is this my iealous conceite concerning *Guiana*,that nothing is begun,before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue preſumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cauſe, and in ſtead of opening it throughly to thy prudent conſideration,to note only mine owne vnſatisfied affection: hoping that becauſe I doe name *Guiana* vnto thee, thou wilt vouchſafe *hoc nomine*, to vaile and couer all other my defects in the deſert of a good meaning. In publiſhing this Treatiſe,my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vnbeliefe, that either it may haue cauſe to ſhake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perſwaded; that our ſelfe-will may reſt inexcuſable. They that ſhall apply, and conſtrue this my doing,to ſerue the Spaniard his turne ſo wel as our owne; in ſo much as it may ſeeme to inſtruct,warne, and arme him: for their ſatisfaction herein,they muſt not be ignorant,that his eyes, in ſeeing our ſhipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place,as if it ſhould be credibly aduertiſed by ſome corrupt hireling, that we thinke,write,and diſcourſe of nothing els.Neither can I imagine,that to conceale our knowledge herein(which to conceale may perhaps proue,& be hereafter taken for worſe thē paricide) would be of better purpoſe,then to hoodwinke our ſelues,as who would ſay, No man ſhall ſee vs. Beſides, if the action were wholy to bee effected at her Maieſties charge; then might it at her Highneſſe pleaſure be ſhadowed with ſome other drift,and neuer be diſcouered,vntill it were acted. But ſince it craueth the approbation and purſes of many Aduenturers, who cannot be ſo prodigall both of their poſſeſſions and liues, as voluntarily to run themſelues out of breath, in purſuing they know not what: great reaſon it is,that where aſſiſtance is to be asked,due cauſes be yeelded to perſwade & induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not ſo ſimple, vnſetled, & vncertaine in his determinations,as to build them on our breath,or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor ſo ſlow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are ſufficiently ſtrengthened with the trauailes,reports,& ſubſtantial proofes of his own men,that haue aboue 60.yeres beaten round about this buſh. And to ſay a trueth,the expedition that he hath vſed in ſending ſo many ſhips in February laſt to people this country,& diſappoint vs; as it doth conſequently ſhew,that he findeth his chiefeſt force and ſinewes to conſiſt in golde: ſo doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remiſneſſe & long deliberations,that in 12.moneths ſpace haue done,or ſought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our Engliſh nation, intereſſed in ſo weighty buſineſſe. * His late prouiſion of a new ſupply of whole families to the number of 600. perſons, bound for *Guiana*,but that it pleaſed God, that by meanes of that right honourable ſeruice moſt reſolutely performed in the ſea-fight,and ſacking of *Cadiz*, the ſhips wherein they ſhould haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into aſhes: what might it ſignifie? Certes,as it doth euidently proue,that *El Dorado* hath vndoubted credit & account in their iudgemēts: ſo pointeth it at vs,whilſt we only to entertain idle time,ſit liſtening for *Guiana* newes,& inſtantly forget it,as if it were nought els,but a pleaſing dreame of a goldē fancy.

* In Iune 1596

If we with our ſelues ſhall expoſtulate, how this commeth to paſſe, that the aduantage wholy reſting on our ſide, in reſpect that *Berreo* was this laſt yere beaten out, the countrey throughly diſcouered, & the Inhabitants made deſirous of her ſacred Maieſties happy gouernment; they notwithſtanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten ẏ ſtart of vs: what may we thinke? Shal wee iudge that their natiue countrey is leſſe deare, or more weariſome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their *Peruleri*, who going bare & empty out of *Spaine*, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from *Peru*, rich and in good eſtate, doe apparantly diſproue all ſuch conceits of them. Shall wee ſay that they haue more ſpare men to be imployed in ſuch actions? It is no ſecret to know the contrary. Are they ſubiect to penury? In all parts of Chriſtendom, where money is not ſcant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to ſuſtain their numbers of people? They buy many ſlaues to follow their husbandry, & themſelues diſdaining baſe idlenes & beggery, do all honour military profeſſion, highly eſteeming it in their mercenaries and ſtrangers. Is it then want of ability, in thoſe that are willing, lacke of incouragement, or defaulc of ſpeedy order and direction for thoſe that doe voluntarily offer themſelues, their ſubſtance, & beſt indeuour to further this cauſe; that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The firſt is no queſtion. The later needeth no anſwere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to looſe opportunitie by delay, or to ſeeme feareful and diſmayed, where there is no cauſe of doubt. For as yet their poſt-haſte doeth no way preiudice our aduiſed leiſure in ſetting forward, ſince their preparations of *Negros* to worke in the mynes, their horſes, cattell, and other neceſſaries may (by the fauour of God) at our firſt comming, both ſtore vs ẇ quantities of gold oare, and eaſe vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we ſhould ſuppoſe our ſelues now to liue in the dayes of King *Henry* the ſeuenth of famous memory, and the ſtrange report of a Weſt *Indies*, or new world abounding with great treaſure ſhould entice vs to beleeue it: perhaps it might be imputed for ſome blame to the grauity of wiſe men, lightly to bee carried with the perſwaſion and hope of a new ſound *Utopia*, by ſuch a one as *Columbus* was, being an alien, and many wayes ſubiect to ſuſpition. But ſince the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heauy on our ſhoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we haue the perſonal triall of ſo honourable and ſufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman; let it be farre from vs to condemne our ſelues in that, which ſo worthily we reproue in our predeceſſors; and to let our idle knowledge content it ſelfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monaſtery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth conſiſt in action: we truely ſay, that *Otium* is *anima viua ſepultura*: we beleeue, that perfect wiſedome in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuſeth not with any price to purchaſe ſafetie: and we iuſtly do acknowledge that the Caſtilians from barelegged mountainers haue atteined to their greatneſſe by labour & induſtrie. To ſleepe then, becauſe it coſteth nothing; to imbrace the preſent time, becauſe it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kiſſe ſecurity, ſaying, What euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderſtanding heart, in time to ſee, and to ſeeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

De Guiana *carmen Epicum.*

WHat worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the world t'enuie and vs t'atchieue,
Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne
My limmes and euery ſenſe into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirſted action of my mind?
O *Clio*, *Honors Muſe*, ſing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his *Elsza*-conſecrated ſworde,
That in this peacefull charme of *Englands* ſleepe,
Opens moſt tenderly her aged throte,
Offring to powre freſh youth through all her vaines,
That fleſh of braſſe and ribs of ſteeele retaines.

Riches, and *Conqueſt*, and *Renowme* I ſing,
Riches with honour, *Conqueſt* without blood,

Enough to ſeat the Monarchie of earth,
Like to *Ioues* Eagle on *Elizas* hand.
Guiana, whoſe rich feete are mines of golde,
Whoſe forehead knockes againſt the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire *England* looking,
Kiſsing her hand, bowing her mightie breaſt,
And euery ſigne of all ſubmiſsion making,
To be her ſiſter, and the daughter both
Of our moſt ſacred Maide: whoſe barrenneſſe
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore ſauage corruption held
In barbarous *Chaos*; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then moſt admired Soueraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth vpon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our yron age,
And be the proſperous forewind to a Fleete,
That ſeconding your laſt, may goe before it
In all ſucceſſe of profite and renowme:
Doubt not but your election was diuine,
(Aſwell by *Fate* as your high iudgement ordred)
To raiſe him with choiſe Bounties, that could adde
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
Free from the Preſſe of ſquint-eyd *Enuies* feete,
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
And ſhroude it with broad leaues of *Rule* oregrowne
From all blacke tempeſts of inuaſion.

Thoſe Conqueſts that like generall earthquakes ſhooke
The ſolid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,
And leſſe perſwaſiue likelihoods then this;
Nor was there euer princely Fount ſo long
Powr'd forth a ſea of Rule with ſo free courſe,
And ſuch aſcending Maieſtie as you:
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,
That in the morning rends the Forreſts downe,
Shoues vp the ſeas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,
And toombes his waſtfull brauery in the Euen:
But as a riuer from a mountaine running,
The further he extends, the greater growes,
And by his thriftie race ſtrengthens his ſtreame,
Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious ſea
Diſdayning his repulſe, and in deſpight
Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
Taking on him his titles and commandes:
So let thy ſoueraigne Empire be encreaſt,
And with *Iberian Neptune* part the ſtake,
Whoſe *Trident* he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wiſe in Wiſdomes ſpight,
Directing with diſcredite of direction,
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.
With whom before you will inherite gold,

You will looſe golde, for which you looſe your ſoules;
You that chuſe nought for right, but certaintie,
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
Placing your faith in *Incredulitie*.
Sit till you ſee a wonder, *Vertue* rich:
Till *Honour* hauing golde, rob golde of honour,
Till as men hate deſert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deſerues not ought;
And vſe you gold-made men as dregges of men;
And till your poyſoned ſoules, like Spiders lurking
In ſluttiſh chinckes, in myſtes of Cobwebs hide
Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride.

O *Incredulitie*, the wit of Fooles,
That ſlouenly will ſpit on all things faire,
The *Cowards caſtle*, and the *Sluggards cradle*
How eaſie t'is to be an Infidel?

But you *Patrician* Spirites that refine
Your fleſh to fire, and iſſue like a flame
On braue indeuours, knowing that in them
The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
(Claiming the Rights of your creation)
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;
That are ſo farre from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardeſt y'are moſt confident:
You that know death liues, where power liues vnuſde,
Ioying to ſhine in waues that burie you,
And ſo make way for life euen through your graues;
That will not be content like horſe to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:
But where the ſea in enuie of your reigne,
Cloſeth her wombe, as faſt as t'is diſcloſde,
That ſhe like *Auarice* might ſwallow all,
And let none find right paſſage through her rage:
There your wiſe ſoules as ſwift as *Eurus* lead
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
And ſkorne to let your bodies choke your ſoules,
In the rude breath and priſoned life of beaſtes:
You that herein renounce the courſe of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the ſtarres,
That liue not for your ſelues, but to poſſeſſe
Your honour'd countrey of a generall ſtore;
In pitie of the ſpoyle rude ſelfe-loue makes,
Of them whoſe liues and yours one ayre doth feede,
One ſoile doeth nouriſh, and one ſtrength combine;
You that are bleſt with ſence of all things noble,
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is *Nature* at her heart corrupted,
(I meane euen in her moſt ennobled birth)
How in exceſſe of Sence is Sence bereft her!
That her moſt lightening-like effects of luſt
Wound through her fleſh, her ſoule, her fleſh vnwounded;
And ſhe muſt neede incitements to her good,
Euen from that part ſhe hurtes! O how moſt like
Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)

To this wrong'd ſoule of *Nature*, that ſuſtainſt
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
And ſhe much like a bodie numb'd with ſurfeits,
Feeles not thy gentle applications
For the health, vſe, and honour of her powers!
Yet ſhall my verſe through all her eaſe-lockt eares
Trumpet the Nobleſſe of thy high intent:
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault and bitter penance of the fault
Make red ſome others eyes with penitence,
For thine are cleare; and what more nimble ſpirits,
Apter to byte at ſuch vnhooked baytes,
Gaine by our loſſe; that muſt we needs confeſſe
Thy princely valure would haue purchaſt vs.
Which ſhall be fame eternall to thy name,
Though thy contentment in thy graue deſires,
Of our aduancement, faile deſeru'd effect.
O how I feare thy glory which I loue,
Leaſt it ſhould dearely grow by our decreaſe.
Natures that ſticke in golden-graueld ſprings,
In mucke-pits cannot ſcape their ſwallowings.

But we ſhall foorth I know; Golde is our Fate,
Which all our actes doth faſhion and create.

Then in the *Theſpiads* bright Propheticke Fount,
Me thinkes I ſee our Liege riſe from her throne,
Her eares and thoughts in ſteepe amaze erected,
At the moſt rare endeuour of her power.
And now ſhe bleſſeth with her woonted Graces
Th'induſtrious Knight, the ſoule of this exploit,
Diſmiſſing him to conuoy of his ſtarres.
And now for loue and honour of his woorth,
Our twiſe-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,
That is eſpouſde for vertue to his loue
With feaſts and muſicke, rauiſhing the aire,
To his *Argolian* Fleet, where round about
His bating Colours Engliſh valure ſwarmes
In haſte, as if *Guianian Orenoque*
With his Fell waters fell vpon our ſhore.
And now a wind as forward as their ſpirits,
Sets their glad feet on ſmooth *Guianas* breaſt,
Where (as if ech man were an *Orpheus*)
A world of Sauages fall tame before them,
Storing their theft-free treaſuries with golde,
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
There *Learning* eates no more his thriftleſſe bookes,
Nor *Valure* Eſtridge-like his yron armes.
There *Beautie* is no ſtrumpet for her wants,
Nor *Gallique* humours putrifie her blood:
But all our Youth take *Hymens* lights in hand,
And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.
There makes *Societie* Adamantine chaines,
And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth diſioin'd.
There healthfull Recreations ſtrow their meades,
And make their manſions daunce with neighbourhood,
That here were drown'd in churliſh *Auarice*.
And there do Pallaces and temples riſe

Out of the earth, and kiſſe th'enamored skies,
Where new *Britannia* humblie kneeles to heauen,
The world to her, and, both at her bleſt feet,
In whom the Circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad *Thomam Hariotum* Matheſeos, & vniuerſæ Philoſophiæ peritiſſimum, de *Guiana* Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

Montibus eſt Regio, quaſi muris, obſita, multis:
Circumſepit aquis quos Raleana ſuis.
Intus habet largos Guaiana receſſus:
hoſtili geſtans libera colla iugo.
Hiſpanus cliuis illis ſudauit, & alſit
ſeptem annos, nouies: nec tamen inualuit.
Numen, & omen ineſt numeris. Fatale ſit illi:
Et nobis virtus ſit recidiua, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via eſt duce & auſpice Ralegh
Menſe vno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte dieq́, datis velis, remiſque laborans,
Exegit ſumma dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expenſis magnis non ille pepercit,
Communi natus conſuluiſſe bono.
Prouidus excubuit ſimili diſcrimine Ioſeph:
Sic fratres, fratrem deſeruêre ſuum:
Fama coloratam deſignet ſi bona, veſtem:
Veſtis Sciſſa malis ſic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges. Aureſque animumque tuum arrige, Tellus
Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis inſtar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum eſt: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, ſola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia noſtra licet diues ſit, & vndique fœlix:
Anglia, ſi confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres, piſceſque feraſq́,
Prætereo: haud proſunt, quæ nouitate, placent.
Eſt ibi, vel nuſquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus, hanc Canaan poſſideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiſs. L. K.

The ſecond voyage to *Guiana*.

They fall with the Canary Iſles.

Cape Verde.

Munday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Diſcouerer, a ſmall pinneſſe, whom we loſt at ſea, in foule weather, the Thurſday next following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Iſlands, where we expected our pinneſſe, according to our appoyntment, ſeuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a paſſenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our ſhippe ſterne, ſteering Southſouthweſt for the Iſlands of Cape Verde. Therehence we ſet ſaile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Weſtſouthweſt courſe. In this paſſage wee found very ſmooth ſeas, faire weather, and ſteddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the Eaſt and Northeaſt poynts. Neere 30. leagues from theſe Iſlands, wee came into a growne ſea, the ſwollen waters making a ſtrange noiſe & hurtling together, as if it might be two ſtrong currents encountring ech other. The 12. of March wee ſounded, and had ſandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground ſandie oze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about ſome ſixe leagues from the ſhore, wee deſcried a low land in the bottome of a Bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the moſt part a Southſouthweſt courſe. The water in this place is ſmooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Weſtermoſt

moſt of the Cape Verde-Iſlands vnto this Bay I doe eſtimate the diſtance to be neere 550 leagues. It ſeemed to moſt of our ſea-men, to be the very banke of a ſhoald vpon a lee-ſhore: the rather becauſe without it, in the cleane greene ſea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no ſudden alteration in any part of the coaſt, and that the ſea is ſmootheſt neere the land, we alwayes at night ſought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtleſſe as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: ſo herein his mercifull prouidence is moſt admirable, that vpon a lee-ſhore ſubiect vnto a perpetuall Eaſterly gale, neither much winde can endanger ſhipping, by reaſon that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the ſoft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruiſe them: nor is there any ieopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the moſt forcible windes make the greateſt flood-tides, whereby the freſhets when they take their ordinarie courſe of ebbe, doe grow ſtrong and ſwift, ſetting directly off to ſea againſt the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this caſe, as alſo in the riuers, the vſe of a droue ſayle ſeemeth a good and readie helpe. The firſt place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great riuer. It ſtandeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell ſo farre to the Southwardes by your lordſhips direction. The barre without hath at the leaſt three fathome, at the ſhoaldeſt place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackiſh. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the ſea coaſt. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreys doe yeelde, as alſo the ſoundings, tydes, and how the coaſt lyeth &c. thinking it fitteſt to reduce theſe diſioyned and ſcattered remembrances to one place. As wee paſſed we alwayes kept the ſhore within viewe and ſtopped the floods, ſtill ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we ſawe two high mountaines like two Iſlands, but they ioyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthweſt neere 60. leagues, there fall into the ſea theſe ſeuerall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from theſe hilles, and filled all our caske with freſh water by the ſhippe ſide, for in the ſea thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuer it is freſh and good. This ſecond Bay extendeth it ſelfe aboue thirtie leagues to the Weſtward, and containeth within it theſe riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curaſſawini. Here leauing the ſhip at anker, I tooke into the boate Iohn Prouoſt, my Indian Interpreter, Iohn Linſey, and eight or nine others, intending to ſearch ſome of theſe riuers, and to ſeeke ſpeech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eaſtermoſt mountaine, where the riuer falleth into the ſea, wee found twentie or thirtie houſes, but not inhabited. Wee ſtayed there but one night. Wanari we ouerpaſſed, becauſe the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we ſailed ſome fourtie miles, but could ſee no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the ſide of a hill, wee tooke in ſo much Braſill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongſt other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleeue to be the ſame ſort of ſinamon, which is found in the ſtreights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee paſſed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted leaſt wee were Spaniſh. When my interpreter had perſwaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther ſpeech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs moſt friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chaſed by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houſes, and deſtroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee poſſeſſed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the moſt part ſerue and follow the Spanyards. Hee ſhewed me that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the ſea coaſt ſo farre as Trinidad, which they likewiſe poſſeſſed. Howbeit, that with a generall conſent, when the Spanyards firſt began to borrow ſome of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnited for the moſt part towards the riuer of Amazones. But the eſpeciall cauſe of his preſent remooue was, becauſe two or three yeeres paſt, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and ſought to take his beſt wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the reſt fledde, moſt of them ſore hurt. Now in this caſe hee thought it beſt to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Deſſekebe, is one of this mans ſubiects: By whom (as it may ſeeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princeſſe and countrey. For hee deſcended more

particularly

A notable obſeruation.

They anker in the mouth of Arrowari ſituate in one deg. 40. minutes.

A ſea of freſh water.

The Iaos a mightie nation.

Ferdinando the Indian pilote of ſir Walter Ralegh.

particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, aſſuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, haue earneſtly expected our returne from England theſe foure or fiue moneths. When I had anſwered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards aliue to annoy them; that we now came only to diſcouer, and trade with them; and that if her Maieſtie ſhould haue ſent a power of men, where no enemie was to reſiſt, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to inuade, then to defend them: He replied, that this courſe very wel ſorted with the report which they had heard of our Princeſſe iuſtice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whoſe power in beeing able to vanquiſh the Spaniards, and ſingular goodneſſe in vndertaking to ſuccour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now ſo generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes poſſible to aſſiſt vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceiued, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without moleſtation or intruſion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choiſe of dwelling places, if they forſooke one to liue in another: but ſtoode in neede of our preſence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or liuing. He then farther deſired, that he with his people might haue our fauour againſt the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houſes, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the beſt of whoſe fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall ſlauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deſerue ſome part of this friendſhip, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is vſually carried from theſe parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there ſold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ſhip neere his port, to put in her lading thereof. But becauſe moſt of our caſke was not preſt-bound, and in making ſtowage-way to remooue it, would haue bene the loſſe of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie: thinking it ſufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboord our ſhip, wee were inforced in a darke night to heaue all ouerboord: thinking our ſelues happy, to haue recouered thither at ſeuen dayes ende, with ſafetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where ſet foote on ſhore, but reſted day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our couertleſſe boate, which was ſometimes ready to ſinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without compariſon more raine, wind, and guſtes, then elſe where at any time. To bee briefe, my men became weake and ſicke, and if wee had ſtayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greateſt part of vs had euer come aboord againe. I afterwards vnderſtood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for moſt part of the yeere vſuall, neere the Iſland Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka ſome ſixe leagues into the ſea: and that they hold opinion how this Iland is kept by ſome euil ſpirit: for they verily beleeue, that to ſleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is preſent death. The only ſeaſon wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their ſpeech, they diuiding al times by their Moones) at our Winter Solſtice. The mother-wind of this coaſt is for the moſt part to the Northward of the Eaſt, except when the Sunne is on this ſide of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but moſt in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themſelues, thereby to bee knowen from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a ſmall beaſt like a Rat, they race ſome their faces, ſome their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the ſcratch of a pin, the print of which raſure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had ſometime conuerſed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to ſee our countrey. His ſufficiencie, truſtineſſe, and knowledge is ſuch, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you ſhall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to ſteed your Lordſhip in your deſignes and purpoſes. For beſides his preciſe knowledge of all the coaſt, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he ſpeaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a ſworne brother to Putima, who ſlewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then hee aſſuredly will performe.

Braſil wood.

Vnſeaſonable weather about the Iſle of Oncaiarie.

How the nation of the Iaos marke themſelues, to be knowen from other people.

To the Weſtward this Bay hath many good roads vnder ſmall Iſlands, whereof the greateſt named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and beſides the plenty of foule, fiſh, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane falles into the ſea, (for it ſtandeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes ſafe and good harbour in foure and fiue fathome for ſhips of great burthen. On all that coaſt we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Iſlands, which are the Weſtermoſt from

Port Howard otherwiſe called Gowateri.

from the reſt and ſtand in fiue degrees, which haue alſo ſtore of fiſh, foule, deere, and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, ſhippes, though they be many, may all ride ſecurely. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on ech ſide: for to the Eaſtward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Weſtward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Braſill wood is no farther to bee ſought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, ſilke, and Balſamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapaſſa are here moſt plentifull: I finde them in taſte nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable againſt the flire and headach. Theſe riuers, as alſo others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuer Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in moſt places within the vtmoſt hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth ſhort graſſe like Arromaiaries countrey.

Next adioyning vnto theſe, are the riuers Cunauamma, Vracco, Mawari, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwari, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Deſſekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coaſt trendeth two hundred leagues next hand Weſt-northweſt. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amonna amongſt the reſt powreth himſelfe into the ſea in a large and deepe chanell: his ſwifneſſe ſuffereth no barre, nor refuſeth any ſhipping of what burthen ſoeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull reſpectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eaſtward, doe neuer paſſe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eaſtward then Deſſekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which reſpect, and that no ſea-card that I haue ſeene at any time, doth in any ſort neere a truth, deſcribe this coaſt: I thought the libertie of impoſing Engliſh names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather becauſe occaſion thereby offereth it ſelfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue beene, and I hope will ſtill continue fauourers of this enterprize. The Indians to ſhew the worthineſſe of Deſſekebe (for it is very large and full of Iſlands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they paſſe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouiſion they carrie it on their ſhoulders one dayes iourney: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewiſe to the ſide of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of ſuch bigneſſe, that they know no difference betweene it & the maine ſea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I ſuppoſe) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa ſtandeth: In this riuer, which we now call Deuoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere ſince. Arromaiarie, who wan ſo great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiuitiuas of Amana, and making free the paſſage of that riuer (but now againe liueth in diſgrace, by reaſon that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed moſt of his followers, and burnt his townes) was preſent with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewiſe preſent, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chaſe, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom * Santiago forſaking his gouernour Berreo, ioyned himſelfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, euery day expecting ſentence of death. The occaſion hereof grew as followeth.

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200. leagues.

Deſſekebe called The brother of Orenoque.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado ſtandeth.

In September.

This Spaniard vnderſtandeth the Guianan language, and is reputed a very ſufficient man.

When Berreo, hauing loſt his men, was left with Faſſhardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compaſſe his intended conqueſt of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas and Margarita conſulting together, ſent with all ſpeede into Spaine, to aduertiſe their king, that Berreo was vtterly vnable to folow this enterpriſe, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now ſoiorne in his old dayes at Faſſhardo his houſe, minding nothing elſe but his ſolace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an Engliſh gentleman of ſuch reckoning, as they named your lordſhip to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderſtanding ſo much of the ſtate thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wiſe, could informe you of, who alſo in confirmation of friendſhip, had giuen you his onely ſonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured ſo farre, and in ſuch ſort as you did, onely to ſee, and knowe a certainty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to poſſeſſe ſo rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne preſently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his deceaſe, this enterpriſe by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduerſarie againſt your ſelfe, whom at all times you knew eaſily how to diſtreſſe: and that therefore it might be behoouefull for his maieſtie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vſe their ſeruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to vndertake the charge. Theſe newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-maſter, who was ſent into Spaine, fiue moneths before your arriuall at Trinidad, with a ſufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furniſh 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practiſe, ſo ſolicited this cauſe in Berreo his behalfe, that preſent order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ſhips to be ſent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore ſuch waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ſhips to ſtop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they ſaw that place ſecured from enemies.

Berreo ſuppoſing that theſe gouernours in ſending with ſuch ſpeede into Spaine, meant him no good: to approue his care and conſtancie, and that he neuer would yeelde vnder the burthen of his aduerſe fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduerſaries nor himſelfe; returned forthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fifteene men, being the ſcattered remnant of thoſe whom you lately diſpoſſeſſed of Trinidad. Theſe gouernours followed him, and aſſuring themſelues of preſent imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreo, and to diſpatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towardes Caroli, where hee ſtayed hoping for ſuccour from his ſonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuer from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices buſied themſelues, ſome in ſearching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eaſtward, of which number theſe were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago paſſed vp into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe ſir George Gifford his man priſoner, who with plentie of gold ranſomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinadad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when vnhappily to their ſmall comfort the eight and twentie ſayles arriued, and tooke Santiago priſoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vaniſhed, and in Canoas recouered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the ſaid ſhips leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinadad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis Sparrow taken priſoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, ſeruant to Berreo, that could ſpeake Spaniſh, whom I tooke in the riuer. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred vp with Berreo. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and ſo left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chaſed from their dwellings, doe ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to accord all the nations in one, ſo to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in ſhewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perſwaded, that by driuing theſe Arwaccas, who ſerue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth alſo hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to ſeeke habitation farther off, or at the leaſt in time conſume and be waſted.

They anker within Raleana, or Orenoque.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuer Raleana, hauing ſpent twentie and three dayes in diſcouerie vpon this coaſt. The chanell of this riuer hath ſixe or ſeuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at ſea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue fiue foote, except at a ſpring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the firſt night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furniſhed and prouided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. Theſe Caſſiques, when the Spaniards made the laſt inrode in thoſe parts, were in the in land amongſt the Iwarewakeri their neighbours, by which occaſion hauing loſt ſome of their wiues (for notwithſtanding their profeſſion of Chriſtianitie, ſome of theſe Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themſelues wel and ſurely bleſſed, howſoeuer they liue, if their towne and houſes be religiouſly croſſed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recouer this loſſe vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their abſence had done this wrong. They ſhewed me this their purpoſe, & required to be ioyned in league of frindſhip with vs againſt our enemies. When of them I had learned ſo much of the preſent eſtate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ſhip: I anſwered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this preſent that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleete will haſten to ſet forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would

Spaniſh Paganiſme.

now viſite our friendes, and helpe them ſo farre as wee could in any thing that wee ſhould finde needefull preſently to bee done. After long diſcourſe (for their chiefe man ſtayed with mee all night) when hee had cauſed mee to ſpit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they vſe in confirming friendſhippe, hee went to the ſhoare, and one of his Canoas hee ſent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee cauſed to goe vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made ſmall fyers, and ſitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one ſorted himſelfe with his companion, recounting amongſt themſelues the worthieſt deedes, and deaths of their Anceſtours, execrating their enemies moſt deſpitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayſes and honour, that may bee deuiſed. Thus they ſitte talking, and taking Tabacco ſome two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all ſpent (for by them they meaſure the time of this their ſolemne conference) no man muſt interrupt, or diſturbe them in any ſort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a preciſe faſt one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patroneſſe and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanyed vs, and in their way ſhewed vs, where the ſhoaldes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguerai the firſt towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is ſeated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northweſterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney diſtant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but ſixe dayes farther. That they themſelues doe paſſe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directeſt, yet it is the readieſt way to Macureguerai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in ſome places dificult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Caſſanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth firſt take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of ſalt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, paſſeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa ſtandeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: ſixteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the beſt way vnto it, is not by Macureguerai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high vp in Orenoque, knowe moſt of the inlande, and of thoſe nations, and they ſpeake no other language, then ſuch as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderſtand. Hee certified mee of the headleſſe men, and that their mouthes in their breaſtes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I haue heard of a ſorte of people more monſtrous, I omit to mention, becauſe it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwiſe will appeare fabulous. Laſtly hee tolde mee of an inland Riuer, named Cawrooma, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly acceſſible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bigneſſe, and great ſtore of vnmanned horſes of the Caracas breed: and they dwell fiue dayes iourney vp the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where theſe Indians dwelt, to buy Caſſaui bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Port.

Her Maieſtie.

Muchikeri the name of the Prouince where Macurigueray the firſt towne of Guiana is ſituate

Parime an Inland ſea of ſalt water.

They haue eminent heads like dogs, and liue all the day time in the ſea, they ſpeake the Charibes language.

Upon this occaſion they tooke counſell, and in the ende deſired to returne to their houſes, leaſt the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purpoſely abſent themſelues, ſhoulde take away their wiues and ſpoyle their dwellings. They farther reſolued if it were poſſible to cut them off: which afterwardes they did performe. For when they were diſperſed in their houſes ſeeking Caſſaui, ſuddenly at one time, in all places they were aſſaulted, and not one of them eſcaped. Carapana, whoſe hand was in laying this plot, ſent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithſtanding that wee kept a league before the ſhippe with our boates, ſawe the ſhippe before wee had ſight of them, and preſently with all ſpeede went to Berreo to aduertize him of our comming. Hee foorthwith diſpatched two or three meſſengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our ſpie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him kniues, and diſmiſſed him.

A ſudden aſſalt of the Spaniards by the Indians.

In eight dayes ſayling ſtill before a winde, wee arriued at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came aboord vs. For the time of our returne promiſed at your Lordſhippes departure from thence being expired; they in diſpaire ſeuered themſelues amongſt

A Rancheria or village planted by the Spaniardes at a Port of Topiawary.

the other nations. Here the Spaniardes haue ſeated their Rancheria of ſome twentie or thirtie houſes. The high rockie Iſland, that lyeth in the middeſt of the Riuer, againſt the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they miſdoubt ſafetie in their Towne, or hauing notice of any practiſe againſt them: but now leauing both Towne and Iſland, they ioyned themſelues altogether, and retiring to the mouth of the Riuer Caroli, placed there a ſecret ambuſh, to defend the paſſage to thoſe mines, from whence your Oare and white ſtones were taken the laſt yeere: Wee all not without griefe to ſee our ſelues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witneſſes of this their remooue. As we road at an ancor within musket ſhot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with leane cheekes, thinne haire, and a ſquint eye, to informe vs that they were very ſtrong, that Berreo his ſonne was with him, that they had but two ſmall Pinniſſes at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the Riuer, and laſtly, to view our ſhippe well, and our prouiſion, but eſpecially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his ſonne were with vs.

This Informers very countenance gaue him to bee ſuſpected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promiſe of rewarde wee wonne him to confeſſe the trueth. Which hee did, aſſuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie fiue men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the reſt hee brought with him about ſixe moneths ſince, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driuen with his ſmall companie to keepe the aforeſaide Iſland neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increaſed, yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the faſt woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That ſome fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his ſonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campe-maſter from Trinidad, and for horſes from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coaſt all fledde, and diſperſed, excepting the ſonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde priſoners, for conſenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of ſpeciall note amongſt the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinſman, hath helde the Countrey to his vſe, by his fathers appointment, euer ſince your being in the Riuer. That there are tenne ſhips, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, leaſt you with your company were all ſlaine, and your ſhippes ſunke at Cumaná (for ſo the Spaniardes noyſed it amongſt them,) that ſome of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had ſent for ſixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might beſt command the Riuer.

Topiawarie his ſonne.

The common lyes of the Spaniardes.

When wee had ſtayed here two dayes, conſidering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootleſſe: I reſolued to ſeeke Putijma in the mountaines; and turning downe the Riuer with the force of the ſtreame ſome twentie miles in ſixe houres: the next morning with ten ſhot I went aſhoare, intending if the Indians ſhould thinke themſelues too weake, with our helpe to diſplant the Spaniardes: to ſet ſome of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to returne vs golde graines, and white ſtones from ſuch places, as they ſhould be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their vſuall abode; wee ſawe that they lately had bene there, but could ſpeake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is eaſie of beliefe) perſwaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white ſtones neere Winicapora, or elſe to a gold myne, which Putijma had ſhewed him, being but one dayes iourney ouerland, from the place where we now ſtayed at an ancor. I ſawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing meaſured their pathes neere the ſame place this laſt yeere, could not iudge it to bee fifteene miles from vs. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this ſame mountaine making ſignes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderſtood his ſignes and marked the place, but miſtooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue ſhewed mee the ouerfall of the Riuer Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian ſhewed me in what ſort without digging they gather the gold in the ſand of a ſmall riuer, named Macawini, that ſpringeth and falleth from the rockes, where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in conſultation, to ſhewe this myne vnto them if ſo they might redeeme their Captaines life: but vpon better aduiſe, ſuppoſing them in this caſe to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a meanes to looſe not onely their king, but their Countrey alſo: they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richeſt, and moſt plentifull. The aged ſort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuiſed a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring ſtore of ſtrong wine (which they loue beyond meaſure) with it will vndertake ſo to charme this Dragon, that he ſhall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to leſſe purpoſe, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken ſo good a proofe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall conſidering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came vnto vs: that Don Iuan the couſin of Gualtero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in theſe partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his ſake, whoſe inheritance hee ſought to vſurpe, bee a faſt friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cauſe ſome others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes, but our ſelues, to make knowne our diſcouerie, if wee returned not; in our miſfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but beſides all this, and the reſpect of ſuch ſpyals, as the Spaniardes kept to obſcure our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemie ſhould by our lingring, ſtop our paſſage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might eaſilie doe: it would bee a queſtion howe with our ſhippe to get out of the Riuer, except firſt wee could remooue them: I thought it beſt (all other poſſibilities ſet apart) to ſeeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforeſaid euill paſſages.

Whileſt wee were ſearching at the ſhoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a ſeruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchauts of Caſſaui. They had a letter ſent from the Gouernour to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was alſo a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian ſeruant ſhould buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her vp the Riuer towardes Nueuo Reyno. This Canoa forſooth with foure other were to bee ſent to bring downe Berreo his ſonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three yeeres in preparing. If fiue ſuch boates bee ſufficient to conuoy him, his men and all their prouiſion: it may ſeeme, hee commeth with no great ſtrength.

The ſmall forces of Ximenez.

This ſeruant, as hee was a man of eſpeciall truſt, and neere Berreo: ſo appeared hee to haue ſome inſight is his proceedings. He ſhewed mee that the Indians, who with theſe kniues ſhould be hired, were to paſſe vp ſo high, as where ſome of the Caſſanari doe dwell in ſmall villages. That Berreo his purpoſe was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places ſome of the Caſſanari ſhould returne, who likewiſe ſhould be made Iuſtices and Conſtables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue moſt of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpoſe them amongſt the Caſſanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Caſſanari. That the Arwaccas ſhould wholly poſſeſſe Trinidad, and the riuer ſide of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threeſcore Negros, to worke the mynes in theſe places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe theſe ſeuerall nations in mutual enmitie each againſt other, all to ſerue his turne, and neuer to become ſtrong, or likely to ioyne themſelues againſt him. He farther ſhewed me, that Topiawary, ſoone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Subſtitute in his Countrey, as aforeſayde: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the Engliſh boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer ſhall bee impaſſable, the tenne ſhippes ſhall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer ſince his comming to Guiana, hath ſpent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is ſuch ſcarſitie, by reaſon that the Indians forſaking their houſes, haue not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, ſo that the Spaniards are inforced to ſeeke their bread farre off, and content themſelues to liue with litle.

This tranſplanting of Indians is worthy of conſideration.

In ſayling vp the Riuer, wee paſſed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very ſhoalde, the chanell lying cloſe aboord the ſhoare. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South ſide: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee ſent fiue or ſixe ſeuerall Canoas, promiſing this day and the next, that hee would come and ſpeake with vs. Thus wee lingred ſixe or ſeuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee ſent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was ſicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not eaſie: and that therefore he deſired vs to holde him excuſed for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer ſince your Lordſhippes being in that Countrey, kept the

The Port of Toparimacko.

The porte of Carapana.

mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, becauſe they refuſed to furniſh them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwiſe called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his ſubiects, excepting onely a choiſe guarde of men ſufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue ſought by the Spaniardes meanes, to haue inlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongſt them, vntill hee had entered into friendſhippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all ſides left ſome their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his ſubiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and kniues, which are iewels of great price amongſt them: that hee nowe ſawe no other choiſe, but that the Indians muſt, if they will doe well, without farther diſſembling of their neceſſitie, either entertaine vs their friendes, or elſe giue place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this Countrey, beeing nowe knowen and diſcouered, there is no poſſibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one ſide they coulde feele no greater miſerie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were ſure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vſing them as their ſlaues, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worſt of all, to bee content, for ſafetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to ſet his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherſide they could hope for, nor deſire no better ſtate and vſage, then her Maieſties gracious gouernment, and Princely vertues doe promiſe, and aſſure vnto them. For, ſayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and meaſured your doings by the Spaniards in like caſe, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtleſſe haue perſecuted vs to the vttermoſt, as the onely maintainers and ſupporters of your enemies, and would at the leaſt, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ranſome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwiſe, and that none of your well gouerned companie durſt offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by ſtealth, when vnknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princeſſe, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wiſedome, that had framed her ſubiectes to ſuch obedience, and of your happineſſe, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly courſe of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maieſtie for himſelfe and his people, that with the reſt of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee alſo may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left vnto himſelfe and forſaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their iniuſtice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his beſt choiſe, vtterly to diſclaime their friendſhippe. It may bee pertinent (as ſurely it is a thing worth the noting) to conſider howe this preſident of your moderation and good order, which to vs ſeemeth a matter but of ſmall, and ordinarie reſpect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and ſtirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common ſocietie: ſo to men lawleſſe, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc iure moleſti, quo fortes: To men, I ſay, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtes, ſuſpitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer ſleeping ſecure, but alwayes either drunke, or practiſing one anothers death: to ſuch men as theſe bee, who wanting diſcipline, iuſtice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable courſe of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the ſence and ſweeteneſſe thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Inſtrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it ſelfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auayleable without ſtroke ſtriking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their ſeruice, and promiſe to prouide victuall, and what elſe their countrey yeeldeth, deſiring onely that ſome force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppreſſion and tyrannie. And nowe by generall conſent (though hatchets and kniues bee the onely things of requeſt and vſefull vnto them) they haue agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Carapana a great Lord bordering vpon Guiana craueth her Maieſties protection.

Farther this old man ſhewed mee, whence moſt of their golde commeth, which is formed in ſo many faſhions: whence their Spleene-ſtones, & others of al ſorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the ſandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwiſe, haue returned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his conſent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of ſecrecie, which in this caſe they doe all generally obſerue, ſharply puniſhing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their natiue Countrey: I found this man no whit ſcrupulous, but very free and liberall of ſpeech in all things.

And becauſe we might knowe, that wee ſhould not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterpriſes, if perhaps wee ſhould finde cauſe to paſſe vp to the head of this Riuer: hee declared that the Spaniardes haue no Indians to truſt vnto but ſome of the Arwaccas, which ſince they were not many, could bee but of ſmall force: That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongſt the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Caſſipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Caſſamari, with the reſt of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what ſide ſoeuer the Spaniards ſhall ſtirre, to fight againſt them: that the Pariagotos, through whoſe countrey they muſt firſt paſſe, are alone ſufficient to encounter them, ſuch is the ſtrength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable ſorcerers, and inuulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white ſtones are found of ſuch hardneſſe, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that theſe Pariagotos become inuulneralbe, by eating theſe ſtones. The fable omitted, happily they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then he ſhewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nouriſhed graſſe in all places, where paſſage is, theſe three yeeres, and that it is at this preſent ſo high, as ſome of the trees; which they meane to burne, ſo ſoone as the Spaniard ſhall bee within danger thereof. Laſtly, hee ſhewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for thoſe partes, hath gathered together many thouſandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South ſide of the mountaines, ſome one dayes iourney or little more from the Spaniard. To be ſhort, hee certified mee, that they all were reſolued not to ſeeke vpon them (for indeede they feare their ſhot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them ſtraggling or deuided from their ſtrength, by litle and litle to leſſen their number.

Wariarimagoto one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines vp in armes againſt the Spaniardes.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes iourney from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to ſtay with two or three of his company aboord the ſhippe, and to cauſe his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee anſwered mee that it were not good ſo to doe, leaſt perhaps ſome Spie might informe the Spaniardes therof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they haue many times vſed many meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither profeſſing himſelfe their enemie, nor in ought ſhewing them any friendſhippe. Nowe (ſayde hee) if the Spaniardes ſhall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occaſion to perſecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the leaſt feare not, as being an harmeleſſe old man. And for this cauſe only hath Carapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to ſtay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content to ſpend one ſeuenights more to ſpeake with him) would bee purpoſeleſſe. Wherefore hauing aſſured ſo many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our ſpeedie returne, promiſing them plentie of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reſerue their Caſſaui, and prouide ſtore of their pieces of golde for vs: I deſired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might vnderſtand of our being in the Riuer and that wee meant to relieue them ſo ſoone, as conueniently might bee. Hee promiſed in Carapana his behalfe, that this ſhould not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the Riuer Arawawo, neere Trinidad, vndertooke alſo without fayle to aſcertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, becauſe ſo many ſhips being heere, I doubted leaſt they would take order that no Indian ſhould ſpeake with vs. For ſo indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewiſe to ioyne with vs, and had prouided fifteene Canoas for that purpoſe. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night ſtealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houſes, becauſe they refuſed to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I ſent a preſent of Yron to Carapana, and then ſet ſayle.

In turning downe the riuer wee ſpent eight dayes. In many places where the chanell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is ſholdeſt, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthineſſe of this Riuer, becauſe I cannot ſay ynough, I

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large & good. They meete with their Pinneſſe.

will ſpeake nothing. Wee haue preſumed to call it by the name of Raleana, becauſe your ſelfe was the firſt of our nation that euer entred the ſame, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazones, which is beſt knowen by the name of Orellana, the firſt diſcouerer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to paſſe ſo long away in ſo ſhort a time, againſt the winde, may ſufficiently prooue, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to ſecond our hopes in all that wee can deſire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinneſſe, the Diſcouerer, whome wee loſt neere the coaſt of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land ſomewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had ſpent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongſt the coaſt, when ſhee mette with vs. William Downe the Maſter informed mee that they entred, and ſearched theſe foure riuers. In Wiapoco they ſayled ſo farre, vntill the rockes ſtopped their paſſage. In Caiane they went vp one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the laſt Riuer they had beene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot againſt his will: whom afterwardes I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

A good caueat.

Our Engliſh that to ſteale the firſt bleſſing of an vntraded place, will perhaps ſecretly haſten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee aſſured, that this people, as they no way ſought our harme, but vſed our men with all kindneſſe: ſo are they impatient of ſuch a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtleſſe ſeeke reuenge. The example of the like practiſe vpon the coaſt of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his ſhippe hardly eſcaped being taken, may ſerue for our warning in like caſe to looke for no good, before they bee ſatiſfied for this iniury.

The iſle of Tabago.

When wee had taken aboorde vs ſuch victuals as were in the Pinneſſe: wee ſet fire in her, (for her Rudder could ſerue her to no longer vſe) and ſtopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the ſhoare, vntill wee were ſixteene leagues to the Eaſtwarde of the Riuers mouth, and then ſtanding off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres ſayling with Punta de Galera the Northeaſtermoſt part of Trinidad. But hauing Tabaco-iſland in ſight, wee firſt went thither. This Iſland is plentifull of all things, and a very good ſoyle. It is not nowe inhabited, becauſe the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpoſe to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are ſeated there, the Spaniard will ſeeke to poſſeſſe it alſo. The Gouernour of Margarita went lately in a Pinneſſe to viewe this Iſland. Gilbert my Pilot who ſometime liued there, noteth it for the beſt and fruitfulleſt ground that hee knoweth.

Moſt dangerous Canibals.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and ancored in tenne fathome vnder the North ſide of the Iſland ſome fiue or ſixe miles from the ſayde point. The flood-tyde ſtriketh alongſt the the coaſt to the Eaſtward very ſtrongly. Wee diſcharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the ſhoore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue ſent Iohn of Trinidad to procure ſome of them to ſpeake with vs: but he was altogether vnwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that ſide of the Iſland. From this place we ſet ſayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recouered, by turning vnder the lee of the iſland. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promiſing vs ſtore, and delaying vs from day to day, ſought onely opportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of a French ſhippe. This their treacherie being by one of their ſlaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare ,to come vnto vs. To ſit downe on their lowe ſtooles, when they by offering ſuch eaſe, will ſeeme to ſhewe curteſie, abodeth death to ſtrangers, that ſhall truſt them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Laſtly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spaniſh ſhippe, that was taking in of freſh water, at the Northweſt ſide of the Iſland, wee wayed ancor to ſeeke him. Hee diſcrying vs, ſtole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remoone, and ioyne with them of Guanipa, againſt the Spaniardes, who lately diſpeopled one of their Iſlands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenne Spaniſh ſhippes at Trinidad doe ride, ſome of them at Conquerabia, the reſt at the ſmall Iſlands neere the diſemboging place. Herehence we ſteered North and by Eaſt, taking the directeſt courſe to ſhorten our way homewards.

Thus haue I emptied your purſe, ſpending my time and trauell in following your lordſhips directions for the full diſcouerie of this coaſt, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I ſought no excuſe, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remedileſſe. And for mine owne part, I doe proteſt, that if the conſideration of the publique good that may enſue, had not ouerpoyſed all other hopes and deſires: I would rather haue aduentured by ſuch ſmall and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with ſafetie. Nowe although in a cauſe not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet becauſe the weightineſſe thereof, and the expectation of others, ſeemeth of due and right to claime ſomething to bee ſayde by mee, whome your eſpeciall truſt and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beſeech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light alſo; and my ſpeach, which is altogether vnſauorie, ſeaſon it ſelfe with ſome of the leauen of your owne diſcourſe touching this diſcouerie. The particular relation of ſome certaine things I haue reſerued, as properly belonging to your ſelfe, who onely, as knowing moſt, can make beſt vſe thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may ſerue to refreſh the memorie of this worthie enterpriſe in thoſe whome it may concerne, and teſtifie your care and expence in following the ſame: that in a ſecond age, when in time trueth ſhall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and ſtrength of this place (which nature it ſelfe hath maruelouſly fortified, as her chiefe treaſure-houſe) ſhall mourne and ſigh to holde idle cicles, whileſt others reape and gather in this harueſt, it bee not ſayde, that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men liuing in his dayes, moſt induſtrious in ſeeking, moſt fortunate in attaining to the fulneſſe of an ineſtimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate reſpectes, his labours were leſſened, his informations miſtruſted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deſerts imparted to others; If (I ſay) ſeeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had perſiſted in ſo good a way in doing his Princeſſe, and countrey ſeruice; and had but perfected his firſt diſcouerie by ſending a ſhippe or two for that purpoſe: for then ſurely all lets and doubts being remooued, and ſo large a kingdome, ſo exceeding rich, ſo plentiful of all things, as this by his diſcourſe appeared to bee, being offered: no deuiſes and vaine ſurmiſes could haue taken place, no illuſions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindneſſe and deafeneſſe in thoſe, that being neere her Maieſtie doe ſpend their dayes in ſeruing the common weale, not to ſee, and knowe in ſo weightie a matter: it had beene malicious obſtinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treaſon to the common wealth, the matter ſtanding onely vpon acceptance, to ſeeke either to foreſlowe ſo fit an occaſion, or forſake ſo generall a bleſſing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a ſingular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your ſeconde diſcouerie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choyſe of fourtie ſeuerall great riuers (the leſſer I do not reckon) being for the moſt part with ſmall veſſels nauigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in ſetting forth for repriſall, to exerciſe trade in. To ſuch as ſhall be willing to aduenture in ſearch of them, I could propoſe ſome hope of gold mines, and certaine aſſurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-ſtones, Kidney-ſtones, and others of better eſtimate. But becauſe our beleefe ſeemeth to bee mated in theſe greater matters, and a certaintie of ſmaller profits is the readieſt inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going ſo farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promiſe in the aforeſayd riuers Braſil-wood, honey, cotton, Balſamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, becauſe without a beginning there can bee no continuance of theſe benefites vnto our countrey to any that ſhall be the firſt vndertakers hereof, I am gladly content to giue ſuch light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

My ſelfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts liue onely in that action. The proſecuting whereof is in it ſelfe iuſt, profitable, and neceſſarie. Iuſt, becauſe it is intended for the defence of harmeleſſe people, who fearing thralldome and oppreſſion, deſire to protect themſelues and their countrey vnder her Maieſties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spaniſh letters intercepted, but alſo by the proofes mentioned in the diſcourſe of the firſt diſcouerie, and ſince that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and laſtly, by the prouiſion that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Neceſſarie it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treaſurie of Nueuo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our aſſiſtance to ſeeke reuenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all thoſe parts of the Inland, whoſe foundations haue beene layd in the blood of their parents and anceſters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already ſent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the paſſage of this riuer, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the ſequele of this diſcouerie. For can it bee a ſmall matter? Or hath hee ſo waſte imployment for his men and ſhipping, that vpon no ground, hee would ſend eight and twentie ſhippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco? For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs? No doubtleſſe, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-maſter with tenne of theſe ſhippes bee compared with precedent aduertiſements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged theſe men and ſhipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought that either it was ſenſeleſſe madneſſe in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their ſtates and liues in queſtion, by ſeeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana,, and kill Berreo with his followers: or elſe the abundance of pearle in Magarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, ſeeming matters of ſmall account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it ſelfe to redeeme their treſpaſſe and offence, howe great ſoeuer it ſhould bee.

The ſundry attemptes and ouerthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threeſcore and three yeeres and vpwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainely ſhewe, that they long time ſought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the loſſe of their liues witneſſeth their deſires, and the worthineſſe of the thing, where to vs the eaſineſſe of obteining diſcrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the laſt they doe preuaile, they muſt holde by tyrannie that which they get by the ſword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wiſhed for, nothing expected more earneſtly.

Thoſe obiections, which haue beene made by many ſeeming wiſe, and the impediments likely to ariſe, as they haue ſuppoſed, are beſt anſwered by the vnreproued witneſſe of thoſe mens actions. Some haue termed theſe diſcoueries fables, and fantaſies, as if there had beene no ſuch land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that ſuch a kingdome or countrey is diſcouered, make concluſion, that if it had beene ſo rich as wee haue ſuppoſed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue poſſeſſed it. But if they conſider that the Spaniſh nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with ſo many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well anſwere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifeſt, that this very empire hath beene by all thoſe ſeuerall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whoſe names is by it ſelfe hereunto annexed) at ſundry times vndertaken, and neuer perfourmed. Howbeit, the world hath reaſon to admire their conſtancie, and their great labours, and wee may well bluſh at our owne idle, deſpairefull, and loytering diſpoſitions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and ſterued nation, to poſſeſſe ſo much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments againſt our ſelues, as vnfit and powerleſſe to poſſeſſe one prouince already diſcouered, and of which our nation hath aſſurance of the peoples loue, and that all the Chieftaines and principals haue vowed their obedience to her Maieſtie; the nauigation being withall ſo ſhort, dangerleſſe, and free from infectious ſickeneſſe. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once mooued with ſteadfaſt hope, that golde ſhall bee the reward of their trauels: it may eaſily bee perceiued, that all thoſe lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wreſted ſo much, as but to touch vs, doe deepely and neerely concerne the Spaniſh king, and in a maner violently withold him from that, which hee notwithſtanding carrieth with ſucceſſe, whileſt wee out of ſeaſon do affect the bare ſtile, to be named men ſtayed and circumſpect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie ſeare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that ſide, roſe on all parts elſe. By this the wiſe man did ſhewe vnto him a figure and ſimilitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, muſt of neceſſitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings reſidence, be alwayes full of ſtirs, tumults and inſurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire conſiſting of ſundry nations, could not keepe it ſelfe from diſſolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue ſo faithfull and incorrupt counſellers, as bee the examples and hiſtories of forepaſſed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spaniſh affaires ſhould minde it, that their kings luſtfull deſire, and ambitious thoughts to eſtabliſh ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded reſolution: Conſidering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are ſetled in a long continued eſtate, are entire within themſelues, and hate to heare the voyce of a ſtranger. It is not vnlikely that they in this caſe ſhould lay before their king the fatall deſtinies of many worthies, that haue beene conſtrained for wante of ſufficient numbers of their naturall ſubiects, after many yeeres ſpent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, reſigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effuſion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but diſcerne, that his ſpacious empires and kingdomes being ſo many, and ſo farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monſtrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of vnneceſſarie commodities tranſported out of Spaine: thoſe huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themſelues able to maintaine themſelues without forreine commerce, are not ſo ſimple, as not to knowe their owne ſtrength, and to finde, that they doe rather poſſeſſe Spaniardes, then that they are poſſeſſed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it ſelfe is on all ſides enuironed with many puiſſant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reaſon, proud and aduenturous without meanes ſufficient; may happily confederate to chaſtiſe him, as an inſolent intruder, and diſturber of all quietneſſe; and going no further then Spaine it ſelfe, may euen there ſhake the foundation of his long contriued deuiſes, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aſpiring humor, and breake the bandes in ſunder that import ſeruitude, and ſubuerſion to all the dominions of Chriſtendome. Againe, his counſell may well informe him, that to diſpeople and diſable himſelfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey ſtrong of it ſelfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the Engliſh: his contempt towardes vs would ſeeme ſo intollerable and deſpightfull, as might bee ſufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwiſe wee had no ſuch inclination; if hee vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, ſhould reſt himſelfe on a careleſſe preſumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not ſtirre in a matter that promiſeth vs ſo great benefite, and may ſo highly offend him. Hee may bee perſwaded, that to leaue no other ſuccour or ſafetie to his nakedneſſe, but the olde ſtale practiſe of ſpreading rumours, and giuing out falſe intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and ſuborning ſome Machauellian vnder hande by ſecret conueyance, to ſtop the courſe of our proceedings; or laſtly, of procuring ſome wilde outlaw to diſquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine ſtay to vpholde his eſtate by. And yet ſetting ſuch like driftes aſide: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whoſe diſaduantage is to bee encombred with the ſelfe ſame, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee ſuppoſed, with good cauſe to impeach, or diuorce vs frõ ſo profitable an attempt? All this notwithſtanding, if the Spaniſh king not being able to diſſemble his deſire, or beare the loſſe of this one kingdome; putting himſelfe out of his ſtrength at home, and expoſing his people to the hazard of all caſualties abroad, bee reſolued, whatſoeuer ſhall happen, not to relinquiſh Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other aſſurance, but a peremptorie diſdaine of preuention: If hee appeare ſo eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongſt themſelues, Viis & modis to thruſt for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleeue any thing, that may diſſwade or deterre from the conqueſt thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce thoſe obiections againſt our ſelues, which hee with leſſe reaſon reiecteth as friuolous; ſince by howe much the more earneſt hee is in following this purpoſe, by ſo much the leſſe cauſe haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To ſuch as ſhall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for breuities ſake, I doe propoſe onely this bare aſſertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are ſtronger, and more eaſily defended, then if England alone ſhould repoſe her ſelfe on her owne force, and powerfulneſſe. The reaſons that might bee inferred to prooue this neede no rationall diſcourſe: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it ſelfe; which without the Indies is but a purſe without money, or a painted ſheath without a dagger. In ſumme: it ſeemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterpriſe hath bene produced for a diſcouragement: it were a dull conceite of ſtrange weakenes in our ſelues, to diſtruſt our own power ſo much, or at leaſt, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spaniſh nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that maſtering ſpirit and conquering induſtrie, aboue vs; as to bee able to ſeate himſelfe amongſt the many mightie princes of the Eaſt Indies, to frontire China, to holde in ſubiection The Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the reſt; the nauigation being ſo tedious and full of perill: to ſuffer our ſelues to bee put backe for worthleſſe cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe alſo by the late conqueſt of Portugall, entituled to the Spaniſh king: to whom the Colonies of thoſe parts doe yet generally refuſe to ſweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the Eaſt, ſo farre off; but alſo of ordering and ſtrengthening of thoſe diſunited, ſcattered, & ill guarded empires and prouinces in the Weſt: It might very well bee alleaged to the ſayde Spaniſh king, that it were more wiſedome for him to aſſure and fortifie ſome part of thoſe already gotten, then to begin the conqueſt of Guiana, ſo farre ſeparate from the reſt of his Indies: in which hee hath had ſo many miſfortunes, and againſt whom the naturall people are ſo impetuouſly bent, and oppoſed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the reſt in abundance of gold, and other riches. The caſe then ſo ſtanding, is it not meere wretchedneſſe in vs, to ſpend our time, breake our ſleepe, and waſte our braines, in contriuing a cauilling falſe title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole ſhires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waſte for want of people, do proſtitute themſelues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of deſired yeeres?

If wee doe but conſider, howe vnhappily Berreo his affaires, with his aſſiſtants, haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge ſucceeded: who can ſay, if the hand of the Almighty be not againſt them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in ſtead of Papiſtrie, to make the ſincere light of his Goſpell to ſhine on this people? The effecting whereof ſhall bee a royall crowne of euerlaſting remembrance to all other bleſſings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and ſupreme degree of all perfection. If the Caſtilians, pretending a religious care of planting Chriſtianitie in thoſe partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and deſtruction to thoſe naked, & ſheeplike creatures of God; erecting ſtatues and trophees of victorie vnto themſelues, in the ſlaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore ſuccourleſſe aſcend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workemanſhip of his owne hands? Or ſhall not his iudgements in a day of viſitation by the miniſterie of his choſen ſeruant, come on theſe bloodthirſtie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifeſta; aliquando occulta; ſemper iuſta ſunt Dei iudicia.

Her Maieſtie.

To leaue this digreſſion, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth ſoueraigne power, authoritie and commaundement. The riuer of Raleana giueth open and free paſſage, any prouiſion that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithſtanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horſe, munition, and victuall for any power of men, that ſhall be ſent thither.

I doe ſpeake it on my ſoules health, as the beſt teſtimonie, that I can in any cauſe yeelde to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the ſecond time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leiſure well aduiſed my ſelfe vpon all circumſtances to bee thought on; I can diſcerne no ſufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maieſtie may to her and her ſucceſſours enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer (by the fauour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudæos & Gentes. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maieſties gracious ſufferance, ioyning their ſtrength together, inuade, ſpoyle, and ouerrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other courſe then ſuch, as tendeth to a priuate and preſent benefite; conſidering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruitie, howe, and whereſoeuer the charge ſhall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate eſtate: no queſtion, they will rather prooue ſufficient to croſſe and couteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Chriſtendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the neceſſitie of following this enterpriſe doth nothing vrge vs, becauſe in ſome caſe better a miſchiefe, then an inconuenience: let the conueniencie thereof ſomewat mooue vs, in reſpect both of ſo many Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke eaſefulneſſe; are enforced for maintenance ſake, ſometimes to take ſhamefull and vnlawfull courſes: and in reſpect of ſo many handycraftſmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleanneſſe of teeth and pouertie. To ſacrifice the children of Belial vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, becauſe the lawe of God doeth not pro-

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hibite it, and the execution of iuſtice requireth it to bee ſo: but yet if the waterboughes, that ſucke and feede on the iuice, and nouriſhment that the fruitefull branches ſhould liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and proſperous bee that right hande, that ſhall plant and poſſeſſe a ſoyle, where they may fructifie, increaſe, and growe to good: thriſe honourable and bleſſed bee the memorie of ſo charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordſhip hath payd for the diſcouerie and ſearch, both in your owne perſon, and ſince by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maieſtie, to ſet on her ſeale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuiſe fruſtrate the reſt, the good which ſhall growe to our enemies, and the loſſe which will come to her Maieſtie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres ſhewe it ſelfe. Wee haue more people, more ſhippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spaniſh king hath had ſo ſweete a taſte of the riches thereof, as notwithſtanding that hee is lorde of ſo many empires and kingdomes already, notwithſtanding his enterpriſes of France and Flanders, notwithſtanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuaſion: yet hee ſent twentie eight ſaile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had ſome other ſhippes ready at Cadiz, if the ſame had not beene by my Lordes her Maieſties Generals and your lordſhip ſet on fire.

In one worde; The time ſerueth, the like occaſion ſeldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated conſiderations doe all ioyntly together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our ſelues rich, our poſteritie happie, our Prince euery way ſtronger then our enemies, and to eſtabliſh our Countrey in a ſtate flouriſhing and peaceable. O let not then ſuch an indignitie reſt on vs, as to depraue ſo notable an enterpriſe with falſe rumors, and vaine ſuppoſitions, to ſleepe in ſo ſerious a matter, and renouncing the honour, ſtrength, wealth, and ſoueraigntie of ſo famous a conqueſt, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

A Table of the names of the Riuers, Nations, Townes, and *Caſiques* or Captaines that in this ſecond voyage were diſcouered.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
1	*Arowari* great,	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.		
2	*Iwaripoco* very great.	Mapurwanas. Iaos.		
3	*Maipari* great,	Arricarri.		
4	*Caipurogh* great.	Arricurri.		
5	*Arcooa* great.	Marowannas, Charibes.		
6	*Wiapoco* great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariſeaco.		
7	*Wanari.*	Charibes.		
8	*Capurwacka* great.	Charibes.		
9	*Cawo* great.	Iaos.	*Icoomana.*	Wareo.
10	*Wia* great.	Maworia, Charib, Wiaco, Ch.	*Parammona*, great.	Maſhwipo.

1 Theſe are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene ſtones. They ſpeake the Tiuitiuas language: ſo likewiſe doe the nation of the Aricarri, who haue greater ſtore of thoſe moneyes then any others.

2 Here it was as it ſeemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of theſe two riuers certain Frenchmẽ that ſuffred ſhipwrack ſome 2. or 3. yeres ſince, doe liue.

3. 4. 5. Theſe with the other two ſeeme to bee branches of the great riuer of Amazones. When wee firſt fell with land, wee were, by yͤ Indians report, but 1. dayes iourney from the greateſt riuer

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
11	*Caiane* g. *Gowater*: a great iland.	Wiaco.Ch. Shebaios.	*Canawi*. g. *Orinikero*.	Parawatteo.
12	*Macuria*.	Piraos. Ch.		
13	*Cawroora*.	Arawaccos Charib.		
14	*Manmanuri*.	Ipaios,Ch.		
15	*Cureey*.	Shebaios.		
16	*Curaſſawini*.	Shebaios.	*Muſſwara*. great.	Ocapanio,
17	*Cunanama*.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	*Waritappi*. great,	Carinamari. Curipotoore,
18	*Vracco*.	Arwaccas,		Marwabo,
	Morunga.	Arwaccas,		Eramacoa,
19	*Mawari*.	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	*Iwanama*.	Aranacoa.
20	*Mawarpari*.	Arwaccas.	*Awaricana*.	Mahahonero,
21	*Amonna* very great. *Capeleppo*.g.	Charibes.	*Iaremappo*. very great.	
22	*Marawini*. g.	Paracuttos,		
23	*Owcowi*.			
24	*Wiawiami*.			
25	*Aramatappo*.			
26	*Wiapo*.			
27	*Macuruma*.			
28	*Carapi*.			
29	*Vraca*.			
30	*Chaimawinini* great,	Carepini. Charib,		
31	*Ecrowto*.	Vpotommas,		Caponaiarie
32	*Pawro*.	Arwaccas,	*Maripomma*,	
33	*Shurinama*. g.	Carepini. Chati,		
34	*Shurama*.g.	Carepini. Char,	*Cupari*.	
35	*Northūbria* or *Cupanama* very g.	Arwaccas,		
36	*Wioma*.			
37	*Cuſhwini*.	Neekeari,	*Tawrooiromene*.	Neperwari.

riuer, that is on that coaſt.

6 The firſt mountaines ẏ appeare within lande, doe lie on the Eaſt ſide of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe paſſe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the ſalte lake, where Manoa ſtandeth. The water hath many Cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater diſtance one frō another: where it falles into the ſea, hils do incloſe it on both ſides.

10 The freſhet ſhoots out into the ſea, with great force: the ſea doth here ſometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks: but in proofe it is nothing els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this bay, & round about, ſo far as the mountaines do extend there is great ſtore of Braſill wood, ſome of it bearing faire darker colour then other ſome. Here are alſo many ſortes of other good woods.

14 Theſe ſpeake the language of the Indiās of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue peecemeale. This torment is not cōparable to the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or woundes, made by thoſe arrowes that are inuenomed wͭ the iuice of ẏ herbe Wapototo. Theſe Indiās becauſe they eate them whome they kill, vſe no poyſon. The ſea coaſt is nowhere populous, for they haue much waſted themſelues

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Capt.
38	*Inana.* g.	Carepini.	*Owaripoore.*	
39	*Curitini.*g.	Arwaccas. Parawianni	*Mawronama.*	
40	*Winitwari.* g.		*Maiapoore* *Carwacka.*	
41	*Berbice.*g.	Arwaccas.	*Aneta.* *Manacobeece.* *Eppera.* *Parawiannos.* *Lupulee.*	Warawaroco.
42	*Wapari.*	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	*Madewini.*	Benmurwagh.
43	*Maicawini.*	Panapi. Arwaccas.	*Itewee.*	Caporaco. *great Cap.*
44	*Mahawaica.*	Arwaccas.	*Mabureſa.* g.	
45	*Lemerare.* g.	Wacawaios.	*Mabureſa.* g.	
46	**Deuoritia,* or *Deſſekebe.* very g.	Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas.		
	Materooni.	Charibes.		
	Coowini.	Maripai.		
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.		
	Arawanna.	Parawianni.		
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	*Caiaremappo.* *Waroopana.*	
47	*Pawrooma.* g.	Iaos.	*Maripa.* *Chipariparo.*	Macapowa.
	Aripacoro.	Panipi.	*Towtwi.* *Sarinbugh.* *Watiwagh.*	Shuracoima.
	Ecawini.			
	Manurawini.			
48	*Moruga.* g.	Iaos.	*Cooparoore.*g. *Awiapari.*	Manarecowa.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.	*Topoo.*	Iarwarema
	Chaimeragoro.			
49	*Waini.*g	Charibes.	*Tocoopoima.*g.	Parana.
50	*Barima.*g.	Charibes.	*Pekwa.*g.	nawra.
	Caitooma.	Arwaccas.	*Arwakima.*	Aparwa.
	Arooca.			Arracurri.
51	*Amacur.* g.			
52	*Aratoori.* g.			
	Cawrooma. g.			
	Raleana, or *Orenoque.*			
	Maipar Itacaponea Owarecapater.	Ilands in the mouth of Raleana.		
	Warucanaſſo.			

themſelues, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts ſo farre as Orenoque, they liue in league and peace.

21. Neere the head of this riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer.

39. This riuer, as alſo moſt of the reſt, is not nauigable aboue ſixe dayes iourney by reaſon of rockes. It is tenne dayes iourney to the head, where the Guianians do dwel: hony, yarne or cotton, ſilke, Balſamum, and Braſil-beds are here to bee had in plentie, and ſo all the coaſt alongſt Eaſtward. Some images of golde, ſpleeneſtones, and others may bee gotten on this coaſt, but they doe ſomewhat extraordinarily eſteeme of them, becauſe euery where they are current money. They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their leſſer Canoas, they receiue pieces of golde of leſſe value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers ſorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

*So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Eſſex.

Names of poyſoned hearbes.

Ourari,	Apareepo,
Caraſſi.	Parapara.

Hearbes good againſt poyſon.

Turara,	Wapo,
Cutarapama.	Macatto.

The 29. day of Iune we arriued in Portland roade, hauing ſpent fiue moneths in going, ſtaying, and returning.

Here follow the names of thoſe worthie Spaniards that haue ſought to diſcouer and conquer *Guiana*: Extracted out of the writings of *Iuan de Caſtellanos clerigo*, who compiled the booke intituled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illuſtres de* Indias.

The riuer of Amana, by which Sir Walter Ralegh firſt entred, called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Caſas Iuia-Pari.

The enterpriſe of Guiana was vndertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conqueſt of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the riuer of Amana, by which wee entred, and ſpent fiftie dayes before hee came to the riuer of Orenoque, which we paſt in fifteene. Hee named the riuer by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it ſtill retaineth in the Spaniſh deſcriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad ſome fiue leagues. He tranſported out of Spaine a thouſand ſouldiers. He dyed afterwards at ſea in returning for Spaine.

2 Iuan Corteſo arriued at the riuer of Amazones or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaſpar de Sylua, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to aſſiſt Diego de Ordas. They ſought El Dorado by the riuer of Amazones: but ſtaying there a ſhort time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonſales ſet ſaile from Trinidad to diſcouer Guiana. He repoſed himſelfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his ſmall number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, ſo farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Vpon ſuch proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others aduentured to follow his ſteps.

5. 6 Philip de Vren, & after him Pedro de Limpias, who both ſucceſſiuely commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was ſlaine by an Indian Caſique named Porima.

7 Ieronimo de Ortal vndertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great trauell and his ſubſtance all ſpent, he dyed on the ſudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Queſida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orſua were both at ſundry times in the ſame conqueſt.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and ſome Indian guides paſſed into the prouinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee aſſayed the ſecond time to paſſe in like maner, but was ſlaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa alſo vndertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his ſonne Don Iuan followed this enterpriſe, and at their firſt ſetting out, were ſlaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres vndertooke this diſcouery from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the ſayd kingdome of Granada. Hee reſted there and peopled that place.

14 It was alſo attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two ſeuerall times. Hee endured great miſerie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. Hee ſought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at laſt ſlaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was alſo vndertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Auguſtine Delgado ioyned in the conqueſt of Trinidad, againſt Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He paſſed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to diſcouer El Dorado with 500 choſen men. In this iourney hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian priſoners, whom hee manacled in irons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleſhed on thoſe dead carkeiſſes, aſſaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themſelues from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the riuer Tinados. Moſt of his people periſhed likewiſe.

16 Auguſtine Delgado ſearched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horſemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and thoſe of the mountaines, ſerued well for his purpoſe. By which occaſion he found meanes to paſſe ſo farre, vntill he came to an Indian Caſique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindneſſe, and gaue him for a preſent ſome rich iewels of golde, ſixe ſeemely pages, tenne young ſlaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were ſent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guan-

ba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. Theſe prouinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and haue an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curteſies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, beſides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for ſlaues. Delgado afterwards was ſhot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Loſada ſucceeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende waſted themſelues in mutinies: thoſe that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoſo vndertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the diſcomfort of his minde, he gaue it ouer, and was buried in Hiſpaniola.

19 Pedro de Orſua, in the yeere 1560. ſought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motijones. As they paſſed downe the riuer, they found Synamom trees. His men murthered him, and afterward the ſayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forſooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Monteſino was in the prouince of Marecupana with 100. ſouldiers bound for Guiana, whē Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made inſurrection in all thoſe parts of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expreſſed.

In this diſcouerie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who diſcouered the riuer of Amazones An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and loſt themſelues in ſeeking to finde this countrey.

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

IN this Breuiarie, the names onely are compriſed of ſuch, as being led with the generall fame of *Guiana*, haue indeuoured to diſcouer and poſſeſſe it. The whole hiſtories are long and cannot ſuddenly be tranſlated or engliſhed at large, as we in theſe Elegies finde them. It may perhaps ſeeme ſtrange and incredible, that ſo many caualleros ſhould all faile in this one attempt, ſince in many parts of the *Indies*, far ſmaller numbers in ſhorter time haue performed as great matters, and ſubdued mighty kingdomes: I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage thoſe reaſons, which by circumſtance may bee gathered to haue beene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended ſearch and conqueſt.

The firſt may bee the remoteneſſe or diſtance of their places of *Rendeuous*, from *El Dorado*: which appeare to be foure, *Nueuo Reyno*, the mouth of *Amazones* or *Orellana*, *Cubagua* or the coaſt of the *Caracas*, and *Trinidad*.

1 From *Moiobamba*, where *Orellana* hath his head-ſpring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. *Raleana* riſeth neere the ſaid mountaines in *Moiobamba*, & tributeth his waters to the ſea, not farre from the other: *Guiana* is enuironed with theſe 2 freſhwater-ſeas, where their diſtance is greateſt from their riſings, and is beſides guarded with impaſſable mountaines which incloſe and defend it on all parts, excepting *Topiawaries* countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of thoſe Spaniards, who ſought it frō *Nueuo Reyno*, were allayed & ſpent, before they came neere to it, in thoſe long, deſolate & vncomfortable wayes.

2 From *Cubagua* to ſeeke it by ſea in veſſels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to ſaile directly from *Spaine*. And to paſſe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reaſon that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coaſt of The *Caracas* and *Guiana*, being wearied and harried with the daily incurſions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abuſed patience into furie, refuſing to ſuffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards trauelling in thoſe parts, when they found not gold anſwerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in ſome part it ſatiſfied their deſire of preſent profit; yet hath it otherwiſe done them much harme, in hardening and driuing thoſe nations to deſperate reſolutions.

3 From the mouth of *Orellana* to ſeeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any ſeeking it that way, haue at any time boaſted of their gaines or pleaſurable iourneys.

4 From *Trinidad*, as the courſe is ſhorteſt, ſo doeth it promiſe beſt likelyhood of ſucceſſe. Howbeit, impoſſible it is with any veſſell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuer of *Raleana*.

The ſecond. The Spaniards haue bene ſo farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the *Guiana*-cauſe, that amongſt ſo many attemptes, from the beginning to the laſt, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwiſe likelieſt to preuaile, free from diſcords, mutinies, and cruell murthers amongſt themſelues.

Thirdly. The Spaniardes in this place haue miſt that aduantage, which elſewhere hath ſteeded themſelues in all their conqueſtes: namely, the diſſentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example *Arauco* in *Chili*. For the Indians of that one prouince conteining in circuit not aboue 20. leagues, haue maintained warres aboue theſe 30. yeeres againſt all the Sparniards, and in deſpight of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes diſcomfiting their enemies in many ſet battels, burning and deſtroying ſome of their ſtrongeſt townes. The chiefe reaſon whereof I take to bee, becauſe no Indian nation was enemie vnto them. And howſoeuer the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the *Indies*: yet doe their owne writings in effect teſtifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themſelues, *Mexico*, *Peru*, and the reſt, had neuer beene Spaniſh.

Laſty. I can impute it to no cauſe ſo rightly, as immediatly to the diuine prouidence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heauen) wee neede no further aſſurances, then wee already haue to perſwade our ſelues, that it hath pleaſed God of his infinite goodneſſe, in his will and purpoſe to appoint and reſerue this empire for vs.

The third voyage ſet forth by ſir *VValter Ralegh* to *Guiana*, with a pinneſſe called The *Watte*, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. *Thomas Maſham* a gentleman of the companie.

VPon Thurſday the 14. of October 1596. we ſet ſaile from Limehouſe vpon the riuer of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Ianuarie in the morning we came to the North ſide of the Iſland of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to ſerue vs vpon the coaſt of Guiana, but the winde was ſo great, that we could not lanch our ſhalope: ſo we paſt along by the roade and the towne, and at length ſaw a boate lying on ſhoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped vp, and wooded our ſelues with her. That day wee deſcryed a ſaile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Iſland of Mayo for ſalte. Wee fell in conſort with her, and that night ſtoode for the Southermoſt part of the Iſland there to water, where wee ſtayed all the next day, and watered at the Southſouthweſt part thereof. That night wee weyed and ſtoode away together Southſoutheaſt, and South and by Eaſt, purpoſing by their perſwaſion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Ianuarie wee made the furthermoſt part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Beniamin Wood with his fleete of 3 ſailes bound for the ſtraights of Magellan & China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Beniamin: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we ſtood along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Munday morning the firſt of Februarie, we ſaw two ſhips in a ſandie bay: ſo wee ſtirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the Weſt Indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreſhed our ſelues with fiſh, in which there was infinite ſtore, and ſtayed there vntill Thurſday the 5. at which time wee ſtood vp with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinneſſe, who put foorth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his carauel well manned: So all we 5. Engliſh came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many ſhots out of euery ſhip both Engliſh and French, all our captaines were inuited to a feaſt aboord the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Iſle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

M. Beniamin Wood bound for The South ſea. Cape Blanco.

The Iſland of Sal.

The ſame day we all weyed and ſtoode along for the Iſle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the Weſt part thereof: in which Iſland wee had good ſtore of goates and freſh fiſh. There is no man dwelling vpon the Iſland that we could ſee. Wee could finde no freſh water vpon it, but one ſtanding puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it ſeemeth being ouercome with drinke, hauing bene aboord our Generall at a feaſt) being on ſhoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was ſlaine, and their chiefe captaine ſorely wounded: by reaſon whereof, and of the ſetting together of a pinneſſe which they were about, the French admiral and the carauel ſtayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ſhips weyed the 10. of Februarie, and ſtood away for the iſle of Maio.

Mayo. This night the other two French ſhippes that came from Sal with vs (as it ſeemeth of purpoſe, becauſe their conſorts were not with them) loſt vs. The next morning wee ſawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compaſſed the Northermoſt part of the Iſland, and maſter Beniamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermoſt, and came all to an anker together at the Southweſt part thereof: where rode ſixe ſayles of Flemmings lading ſalte; who had brought their horſes and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and plankes for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of ſalte in this Iſland made by Gods hande without mans labour. Theſe tolde vs that there were thirtie ſayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard ſince, beat it vp with much adoe, & came thither alſo for ſalte. This trade may bee very beneficiall to England, conſidering the dearneſſe of ſalte. Of goates on this Iſland there is ſuch ſtore, as is incredible, but to thoſe that haue ſeene them: and it is a wonder howe they liue one by the other, the ground being ſtonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it ſome twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men ſtragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they ſawe him no more. This Iſland is ſomewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

36 ſalies of Flemmings at Maio for ſalt.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading ſalte, and the China-fleete to refreſh themſelues with goates: who as I haue heard ſince had at the village (from whence the Mountainiers were fledde into the furtheſt partes of the Iſland and rocks) great ſtore of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee ſet ſaile and ſtood for the coaſt of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Upon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that ſetteth from the Cape of Buena Eſperança along the coaſt of Braſil, and ſo toward the Weſt Indies, for the moſt part ſetting away Northweſt.

The Tueſday night following, whereas before our courſe was Weſtſouthweſt, wee ſtoode away Weſt and by South: by reaſon whereof, and of the current that ſet vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then wee lay away Southweſt, becauſe wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee ſhould bee put to leeward of, there was ſmall hope left to recouer it.

By Thurſday wee were within out degree ½ of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away Weſt and by South, and Weſt among. This night wee ſounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, ſo wee made another ſound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but ſaw no lande, and in the afternoone wee halled away Weſtnorthweſt, Northweſt, and NorthnorthWeſt. In the night wee ſounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday wee had a thick red water, and had ſeuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the ſeuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neereſt as wee fell with it, South and by Eaſt, North and by Weſt about two degrees ½ toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or headland, ſo that had wee beene ſhot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee ſhould hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and ſtopping euery tyde, it was the Tueſday following before wee cleered our ſelues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the lande trended Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt and by South. And ſtill wee were faine to anker euery tyde ſometimes in foure fathoms, and ſometimes in three, as farre as wee could ſee land. So about night wee ſawe Cape Cecill: and after ſome two houres came to an anker. Betweene theſe two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euen.

Cape Cecil in 3 degrees and a halfe.

Upon Wedneſday morning, hauing the winde large at Eaſtnortheaſt, wee layd it away vpon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote, and leſſe in many places. And this riuer of Wiapoucou ſtandeth almoſt in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The riuer of Wiapoucou almoſt in 4 degrees North.

The next morning wee weyed, and ſtanding in with our pinneſſe by night, wee got ſome eight leagues vp the riuer. This day ſometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being ſoft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker, wee were on ground vpon a rocke, but with ſome trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Upon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Maſter, my ſelfe and ſome 5 more, went through the woods, and ſpent all the day in ſearching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee paſſed by

Cawo.

many, yet were there more ſtill one aboue the other. So that finding no Indians in this riuer to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to ſo ſhort allowence, as we muſt haue done, if wee had ſpent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to paſſe the falles, wee fell downe the riuer againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our ſelues of the riuer and bay. This riuer from the mouth to the falles is ſome 16 leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the moſt part halfe a mile. There are many Iſlands in it: as are alſo in moſt of the riuers vpon the coaſt. This night wee ankered againſt Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinneſſe: but found the water ſo ſhoald, and the ſea ſo growen, that neither with our ſhippe nor ſhallope wee durſt goe in.

The 7 Ilands.

On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of the 7 Iſlands: vpon which going on ſhoare wee found neither man nor beaſt, but great ſtore of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

Aramatto a great towne.

The Caribes of Wias tractable people.

Chiana a riuer and bay.

The Careres.

Maware.

Vpon Sunday after dinner our Maſter William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and ſome Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboord all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for ſuch things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on ſhoare to them: and from thence our Captaine ſent a canoa with ſeuen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the riuer of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that becauſe wee coulde not come to him, wee would ſtay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thurſday the 17 wee ſtoode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great ſtore of victuals and ſome Tabacco, ſhewing themſelues very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on ſhoare by vs vntill Ritimo came: at whoſe comming they returned all vp to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feaſted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for ſuch things as they brought, which was principally tabacco.

After that they had made knowen their mindes of the deſire that they had to haue the Engliſh come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the ſhoare watered, becauſe the riuers mouth was ſalte, departed out of the bay the Thurſday following, & paſſing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reaſon of ſhoalds, rockes, and great windes, being a lee ſhoare; and for want of a good ſhalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in fiue fathoms neere The Triangle Iſlands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday ſtanding to the Weſtward, wee ſtopped againſt the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Weſtward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are ſome 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with ſuch things as they had themſelues in vſe, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed vpon Munday following the 28 of March 1597.

Marawinne a riuer.

Marrac a towne.

Quiparia a towne of the Caribes.

And paſſing by the riuers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a ſmall riuer, and is ſhoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and fiue fathoms, wee ſtood into the riuer: and the ſame day came to an anker ſome 2 leagues in againſt the mouth of Cooſhepwinne, which riuer goeth into Amano. Into which, (vnderſtanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we ſent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people ſomething pleaſant, hauing drunke much that day, being as it ſeemed a feſtiuall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the firſt ſight of vs, hauing ſeldome ſeene any Chriſtian before. But aſſoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and vſed vs kindely, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diuers canoas, & traded with vs, and wee went in againe to them on ſhore, who made very much of vs, and carried vs from houſe to houſe, and made vs eate and drinke in euery houſe which wee came in. And the next day following being the laſt of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and ſtoode into the riuer, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker ſome eight leagues within the riuer, a little ſhort of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they ſawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, vntill the captaine of Marrac which was with vs in the boate, leaped ouerboord and ſwamme on ſhoare vnto them, and told them that wee were Engliſhmen, and came in friendſhip to trade with them.

Vpon whoſe report they came before night ſixe or ſeuen canoas aboord vs, yet very fearefull, becauſe there was neuer either ſhippe or Chriſtian ſeene in that riuer before. The firſt of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and ſtood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amano to vs, with great ſtore of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and becauſe wee mette with ſome ſholds, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinneſſe: ſo there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleuen of vs (Maſter Monax hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the riuer farther to ſearch it ſo farre as wee could, and that night gatte ſome fiue leagues from our ſhippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Mapeributto, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our courſe ſtill vnto the riuer, and in the afternoone came to one houſe where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beaſtes.

Macirria a towne.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuer about two in the afternoone; and hauing ſhotte vp ſome of the rockes, wee went on ſhore vpon an iſland, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the laſt houſe, whether the falles were paſſable or not: their firſt anſwere was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to looſe ſo much labour, and the ſight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee deſired, told them that they ſhould haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our ſelues) who ſeeing vs ſo importunate, ſayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canaos: which they ſayde becauſe indeed they had no victuals: which by ſome was taken for ſufficent to proceede no farther, and ſo wee left off, and onely ſtayed ſome two houres vpon the iſland, and with the ſwiftneſſe of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that ſmall canoa that I was in, being ſo leake, that my ſelfe did nothing but laue out the water, to lead them the way, and if they ſawe any danger to mee, they might chuſe whether they would come into it or not themſelues.

A rich countrey.

For ſeeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie ſtature for talnes) wee ſhould haue taken the more paines, and haue fared the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee ſawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any ſort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might haue made ſhift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreſhed with victuals, and alſo haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

Bowes handled with golde.

But to returne to the reſt of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our ſhippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wedneſday wee fell with our Pinneſſe to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the t[illegible], and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on ſhore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an houſe of the Caribes, and were kindely vſed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

Pitch to trim ſhippes.

And ſo taking our leaue on Tueſday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of Cuſſe-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had prouided and brought to vs ſuch infinite ſtore of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the ſtewarde ſayd wee had no ſtowage for them; and ſo they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to ſhorter allowance homeward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done.

The riuer of Cuſſe-winne.

On Fryday the fifteenth of Aprill, wee put forth of Marawinne, which is ſome foure leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the moſt part broad; full of iſlands, and diuers ſmall riuers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the moſt part South Southweſt vp, altering ſome 3 poynts, being almoſt ſtreight. And ſtanding along to the Weſtward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarſe and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes againſt Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppanamo: but ſending off our boat & finding vncertaine ſounding, ſometime 3 fathomes and preſently 9 foote, we ſtood along to Coritine and came into it vpon the Munday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker againſt Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wedneſday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, ſhee tooke ſoyle & came neer our ſhip, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our deere in England, not altogether ſo fat, but very good fleſh and great bodied. In this riuer we met a Barke called

Marawinne.

Sewramo.

Coritine riuer.

The great lake Perima.

They bring their ſhippes vp to the Mawranamo.

called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within ſome fiue leagues of the mouth of the riuer, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs, namely that the riuer Deſekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were ſome three hundred Spaniards, which for the moſt part now are deſtroyed and dead) doeth lead ſo farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes iourney of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is ſuppoſed to ſtand; and that this riuer of Coritine doeth meete with Deſekebe vp in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vp into the countrey, and to haue diſcouered a paſſage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both ſhippes, we ſtood vp into the riuer againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of Aprill there our ſhippes roade vntill we went vp to Mawranamo to ſpeake with Marracon, to know the trueth of theſe things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had ſpoken: Maſter Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vp with Antonie Berreo could ſome Spaniſh and Marracons language alſo. And beſides wee our ſelues by ſignes, and drawing the two riuers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming downe with our boates the ſixe and twentieth of Aprill we went vp with our ſhips to Mawranama, where wee mored them, and taking ſome twentie out of both, vpon Thurſday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two ſhallops and two Canaos, in one of which Henry the Indian was and ſome twentie Indians more, wee went vp the riuer; and by night getting ſome three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a ſmall riuer called Tapuere, to a towne called called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Caſaui and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reaſon that they make no more ready then ſerueth themſelues from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the moſt part by fiſh. By meanes of going into this riuer, though wee rowed very hard it was noone before wee ouertooke the bigger ſhallop wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee ſtayed all Saturday and the night following, for Caſaui: whereof they baked good ſtore for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell aboue the falles came downe to the towne, and ſlewe ſome tenne of them, and many of the reſt fled away, ſo that wee found moſt of the houſes emptie. Vpon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte ſome twelue leagues beyond, and being paſt all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the riuer; vp ſome of which falles we ſhotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came ſome nine canoas vp the riuer to vs, and would haue gone vp with vs to kill the Waccawayans, becauſe they had killed ſome of them, as before is ſaid. Whereupon the Captaines and Maſter Monax tooke aduiſe: and becauſe nowe they had learned, as they ſayde, that fiue dayes iourney farther there was a fall not paſſable, and that by this meanes they ſhould make the Wacchaway[illegible]s their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Ralegh ſhould come thither, hauing occaſion to vſe this riuer, where wee were informed was good ſtore of golde, they reſolued to returne, though I yeeled diuers reaſons to the contrary. So vpon Tueſday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And vpon Wedneſday the fourth of May, wee came to our ſhippes: where it was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Deſekebe, which was not ſo: but as it ſeemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men that wee left in our ſhippes more careleſſe, that they might the eaſier haue ſurpriſed them in our abſence. The next night wee had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing leſt they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to preuent them of their purpoſe; who, as it was afterwarde tolde vs, went along the coaſt to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo and Deſekebe. Vpon Fryday the ſixth of May we weighed and made downe the riuer, and vpon Sunday the eighth we gat cleare of it.

This riuer is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the firſt falles, full of Iſlandes as the other: in which three riuers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwiſe Tapuellibi: with ſixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohóron, and Vapéron. And ſo clering our ſelues of this coaſt, wee tooke our courſe to the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies.

Now I thinke it not amiſſe to ſpeak ſomething of this countrey. And firſt touching the climate; though it ſtand within the Tropick, and ſomething neere to the Equinoctial, ſo that the Sunne is twiſe a yeere ouer their heads & neuer far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in thoſe partes.

For beſides that wee loſt not a man vpon the coaſt, one that was ſicke before hee came there, was nothing ſicker for being there, but came home ſafe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like ſort fared it with the reſt of the company: for indeed it is not ſo extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of ſeuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Engliſhmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe apparelled, being, as it ſeemeth, of a more ciuill diſpoſition, hauing great ſtore of golde, as we are certeinely informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had ſome golde, which they brought and bought in the high countrey of Wiana, being able to buy no more, becauſe they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cauſe of all their warres. For bread there is infinite ſtore of caſaui, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can carry thither. We ſpent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coaſt. It is made of a root ſo called; which they take and ſcrape, and cruſh all the iuyce out, being poiſon; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which dry as it is, without any moiſture, they ſtrew vpon a round ſtone, hauing a ſtill fire vnder it, and ſo it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Beſides there is great ſtore of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make paſſing good drinke) which after it is once ſowed, if you cut off the eare, on the ſame ſtalke groweth another.

Great ſtore of golde in Wiana.

Paſſing good drinke made of maiz.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at leaſt needed not to haue ſpent any of our owne: for there is great ſtore of as good fiſh in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great ſtore of fowle, of diuers ſorts. Tortoiſe-fleſh plentifull, and Tortoiſes egges innumerable. Deere, ſwine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more them wee could ſpend. Beſides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rareſt fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleaſant, growing to their handes, without planting or dreſſing. For commodities, though wee had but ſmall time to ſearch, becauſe wee ſpent ſo much time in ſearching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of ſome, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like vnto ſteele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great ſtore of; and wherewith the women make a fine thread, which will make excellent good fuſtians or ſtockings. Great ſtore of pitch, diuers ſorts of ſweet gummes, & Weſt Indian pepper, balſamum, parrots and monkies. Beſides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained litle.

The commodities of Wiana.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, paſſing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the the thirteenth of May, hauing loſt the barke that came out with vs the Wedneſday before. Vpon Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the Souther part of the Iſland, and hauing done by night, we ſet ſaile, and ſtood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and vntill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at Eaſt, and after at Southeaſt, wee paſſed along in the ſight of Monſerate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Vpon the ninth of Iune, being Thurſday, we made the Iſlands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of Iune we made the Liſart, and that night came all ſafe to Plymmouth, bleſſed be God.

They loſt captaine Leigh in yͤ Iohn of London.

Betweene the Iſle of Barbuda in the Weſt Indies and England we had three mighty ſtormes, many calmes, and ſome contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of Iune 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinneſſe, one of them croſſed our ſtemme, and going vnder, rubbed her backe againſt our keele: but by none of all theſe we ſuſteined any loſſe. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Maſter
Thomas Maſham.

CERTAINE BRIEFE TESTIMONIES CONcerning the mightie Riuer of *Amazones* or *Orellana*, and of the moſt wonderfull downefall or cataract of waters at the head thereof, named by the *Spaniards El Pongo*: together with ſome mention of the rich and ſtately Empire of *Dorado*, called by Sir *Walter Ralegh* and the natural Inhabitants *Guiana*, and of the golden countrey of *Paytity* neere adioyning, with other memorable matters: Taken out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta* his naturall and morall Hiſtorie of the *Weſt Indies*.

The firſt Teſtimonie out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta*, *lib.2. cap 6.*

BUt when we intreat of Riuers, that which ſome men call the riuer of Amazones, others Marannon, others the riuer of Orellana, doeth iuſtly put to ſilence all the reſt, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and ſayled. And I ſtand in doubt, whether I may cal it a riuer or a ſea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite ſtore of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it ſelfe together, and paſſing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean ſea, and entreth into it almoſt ouer againſt the Iſles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth ſo broad, eſpecially towardes the mouth, that it maketh in the middeſt many and great Iſles: and that which ſeemeth incredible, ſayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can ſee nothing but the ſkie and the riuer, although men ſay that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatneſſe of the Riuer. Wee vnderſtood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largeneſſe of this Riuer, which iuſtly may bee called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, & ſayled it wholy through, being perſonally preſent in all the ſucceſſes of that ſtrange enterance, which Pedro de Orſua made, and in the mutinies and perilous conſpiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our ſocietie.

The ſecond Teſtimonie out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta*, *lib.3. cap.2.*

AMong all the riuers not onely of the Weſt Indies but alſo of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of Marannon or of the Amazones, whereof I haue ſpoken in the ſecond booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times ſayled along this riuer, with determination to diſcouer countries, which, according to report, are of great riches, eſpecially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Iuan de Salinas made a very notable entrance, although to ſmall profite. It hath a ſalt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the moſt dangerous places in the world: for being reſtrained betweene two exceeding hie deuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great deſcent maketh ſuch whirlepooles that it ſeemeth impoſſible but that it ſhould ſinke it ſelf there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to paſſe the ſaid El Pongo for the greedines to come to that ſo famous renowmed Dorado. They ſuffered themſelues to bee caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and ſitting faſt in their Canoas or boats in which they ſayled, although they were ouerturned in the fal, and they and their Canoas ſuncke downe to the bottome, yet they roſe vp againe aboue the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlepooles. The whole army in a maner eſcaped, ſauing a very fewe which were drowned: and which I moſt maruel at, they handled the matter ſo well, that they loſt not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of thoſe aforeſaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their handes and feete.

El Pongo.

Captaine Pedro de Orſua made another enterance by the ſelfe ſame riuer, and after hee was ſlaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the diſcouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a ſecular man was in al that expedition) that they entred vp the Riuer almoſt an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the freſh water and the ſalt meeteth, which is either almoſt vnder or very neere the Equinoctial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the bredth of Mediterran ſea. Howbeit other in their deſcriptions make it not paſt 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The third Teſtimonie out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta, lib. 3. cap 25.*

IN that part of America, whereof the coaſts be throughly knowen, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Braſil, and there are diuers opinions of ſome, which ſay, that it is all ſunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and floriſhing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and ſay, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my ſelfe, a man of credite, that hee had ſeene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance or diſcouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazones or Marannon by Pedro de Orſua, and afterwardes by others that ſucceded him: and they ſuppoſing that Dorado which they ſought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without diſcouering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

A ſhort deſcription of the riuer of *Marannon* or *Amazones*, and the Countries thereabout, as alſo of the ſea of *Freſh-water*, taken out of an ancient Diſcourſe of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the *Weſt Indies*, Written by *Martin Fernandez de Encça*, and dedicated to *Charles* the Emperour, *Anno 1518.*

MArannon lyeth in ſeuen degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fifteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many iſlands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the ſayde riuer a mountaine, whereupon growe trees of Incenſe, the trees be of a good height & the boughs thereof be like to Plum-trees, and the Incenſe doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a houſe in the winter ſeaſon when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a ſmal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two ſtones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They ſayd that ſo many dayes iourney going vpward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that ſtone. Likewiſe there were taken from them two loaues made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it ſeemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balſamum. All this coaſt from the Cape of S. Auſtine vnto Marannon is a cleare coaſt & deep, but neer to the riuer are certaine ſholds towardes the Eaſt part. And by the Weſt part the riuer is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The ſea of freſh water, are 25 leagues: this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carieth ſuch abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it ſelfe with the ſalt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is deuided into partes, the one going towards the Southeaſt, and the other towards the Southweſt. That which goeth towards the Southeaſt is very deepe and of much water, and hath a chanel halfa league of bredth, that a Carack may goe vp through it: & the tydes be ſo ſwift, that the ſhips haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene ſome that haue entred 50 leagues within it, & haue ſeene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey haue their lips made full of ſmall holes in 4 parts & through thoſe holes be put ſmall rings, and likewiſe at their eares: & if any man aſke of thē where they had their gold, they anſwere, that going vp by the riuer ſo many dayes iourney, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from thoſe mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor ſell, and amongſt them is nothing but change. In this countrey they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Batatas, but the Batatas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a ſmell of Cheſtnuts: they are to be eaten roſted. Theſe Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doues egge, and being in ſeaſon is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preſerued for a long time. Theſe kinde of people do make their houſes with vpper roomes, and they ſleepe in them, as alſo al their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open: and alſo they vſe certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and theſe they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of of the rope they make faſt to one part of the houſe, and the other ende to the other part of the houſe: and in theſe they lye, which bee their beddes, and theſe kinde of beds bee vſed in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vſe to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: & in al other places they make their houſes without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houſes with the leaues of date-trees, and of graſſe. And from this freſh water-ſea vnto Paria, the coaſt lyeth Weſt Northweſt, and is ſo ful of ſholds that the ſhips cannot come neer to the land. There are frõ this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this freſh water ſea, the tydes do ebbe & flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it ſtandeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria ſtandeth on the other ſide of the Equinoctial toward the North, in ſeuen degrees: In Paria the ſea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the Weſt, the ſea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulfe of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the Weſt, are 35 leagues, and frõ thence the coaſt turneth towardes the Northeaſt other 35 leagues, & from thence the coaſt turneth toward the Weſt. Before this gulfe ſtandeth the Iſland of Trinidad, and towards the Weſt doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the faſhion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entery in of Paria, & at this entery there is betweene the land and the Iſland 8 leagues, and on the other ſide there is but litle ſpace betweene the Iland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this Iland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and ſtandeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder ſubiection. Here the Indians do vſe to ſhoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially ioyned a piece of wood very ſtrong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fiſh, in place of an arrow head: theſe kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euery one of them be three or foure fingers long, & they are taken out of a fiſh that hath three of theſe bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euery wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the ſtrongeſt and the greateſt. In this Iſland the people ſaith that there groweth golde: and in this Iſland and in Paria growe reedes ſo great, that they make ſtaues of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewiſe there bee Popiniayes very great and gentle, and ſome of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this ſort do quickly learne to ſpeak, and ſpeak much. There be likewiſe in the gulfe of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

CERTAINE VOYAGES NAVIGATIONS AND Traffiques both ancient and of late, to diuers places vpon the coaſt of *Braſil*: together with a Ruttier for all that coaſt, and two intercepted letters which reueale many ſecrets of the ſtate of that Countery: the reſt of our Voyages to *Braſil* which haue bene either intended or performed to the Riuer of *Plate*, the ſtreight of *Magellan*, the South ſea, or farther that way, being reſerued for the generall heades next inſuing.

A briefe relatiõ of two ſundry voyages made by the worſhipful M. *William Haukins* of *Plimmouth*, father to Sir *Iohn Haukins* knight, late Treaſurer of her Maieſties Nauie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532.

Olde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wiſedome, valure, experience, and ſkill in ſea cauſes much eſteemed, and beloued of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the Weſt parts of England in his time, not contented with the ſhort voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coaſts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly ſhippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coaſt of Braſil, a thing in thoſe dayes very rare, eſpecially to our Nation. In the courſe of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Seſtos vpon the coaſt of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and ſo arriuing on the coaſt of Braſil, he vſed there ſuch diſcretion, and behaued himſelf ſo wiſely with thoſe ſauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendſhip with them. Inſomuch that in his ſecond voyage, one of the ſauage kings of the countrey of Braſil, was contented to take ſhip with him, and to be tranſported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his ſafetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Braſilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London and preſented to K. Henry the 8. lying as then at White-hall: at the ſight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle maruaile, and not without cauſe: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their ſauage maner, and therein ſmall bones were planted, ſtanding an inch out from the ſaid holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had alſo another hole in his nether lip, wherin was ſet a precious ſtone about the bignes of a peaſe: All his apparel, behauiour, and geſture, were very ſtrange to the beholders.

The ſecond voyage of M. William Haukins to Braſil. A king of Braſil brought into England.

Hauing remained here the ſpace almoſt of a whole yeere, and the king with his ſight fully ſatiſfied, M. Hawkins according to his promiſe and appointment, purpoſed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the ſaid Sauage king died at ſea, which was feared would turne to the loſſe of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuertheleſſe, the Sauages being fully perſwaded of the honeſt dealing of our men with their prince, reſtored againe the ſaid pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ſhip fraighted, and furniſhed with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witneſſe of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within theſe fewe yeeres.

An ancient voyage of *M. Robert Reniger* and *M. Thomas Borey* to *Braſil* in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I Haue bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worſhipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Braſil was ordinarily and vſually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and diuers other ſubſtantial and wealthie marchants of Southampton, about 60. yeeres paſt, that is to ſay in the yeere 1540.

A voyage of one *Pudſey* to *Baya* in *Braſil* anno 1542.

ALſo the worſhipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southhampton Eſquire gaue mee more particularly to vnderſtand, how that one Pudſey of Southampton, a man of good ſkill and reſolution in marine cauſes, made a voyage in like maner 62. yeeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Braſil, and the ſeate of the Portugal vice-roy and of the biſhop, and that he built a fort not farre diſtant from that place, in the foreſaid yeere 1542.

A fort built in Braſil by the Engliſh.

A letter written to *M. Richard Staper* by *Iohn VVhithal* from *Santos* in *Braſil*, the 26. of Iune 1578.

WOrſhipfull ſir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me moſt heartily commended vnto you, wiſhing your health euen as mine owne.

Theſe few words may bee to let you vnderſtand, that whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes paſt by the way of Liſbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very ſhortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: ſo that I am about three dayes agoe conſorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within theſe foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signor Ioſſo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy: his kindred is well knowen amongſt the Italians in London: alſo hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better beſtowed vpon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make euery yeere a thouſand roues of ſugar. This my mariage will be worth to me two thouſand duckets, little more or leſſe. Alſo Signor Ioſſo Dore my father in lawe doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with ſixtie or ſeuentie ſlaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thankes for placing me in ſuch honour and plentifulneſſe of all things.

Alſo certaine dayes paſt I talked with the Prouedor and the Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue diſcouered certaine Mines of ſiluer and gold, and looke euery day for Maſters to come to open the ſaid Mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is diſtant from you two thouſand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South ſide of the Equinoctial line, & almoſt vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without ſickneſſe.

Mines of gold and ſiluer newly diſcouered at S. Vincent.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ſhip with goods to come from London hither, which haue promiſed mee to giue mee licence, ſaying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cauſe a ſhip to come hither with ſuch commodities as would ſerue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God ſending in ſafety the profite and gaines. In ſuch wares and commodities as you may ſhip hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white ſugar at foure hundred reis the roue.

The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one outward only.

I meane alſo to haue a friend in London to ſende mee a ſhip of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or leſſe, with ſuch commodities as I ſhall giue aduiſe for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Maſter Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, becauſe of our old friendly friendſhip in time paſt. If you haue any ſtomacke thereto, in the Name of God do you eſpie out a fine barke of ſeuentie or eightie tunnes, and ſend her hither with a Portugal Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Braſil, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Alſo I herewith write vnto you in what forme and maner you ſhall furniſh this voyage both in commodities and otherwiſe.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ſhip of 70. or 80. tunnes is to made.

Firſt you muſt lade in the ſaid ſhip certaine Hampſhire and Deuonſhire karſies: for the which you muſt let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make ſale of the ſaide karſies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and ſixe dozen of Cordouan ſkinnes of theſe colours, to wit, orenge tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black. I thinke you ſhall not finde ſuch colours there. Therefore you muſt cauſe them that ſhall go vpon this voyage, to take ſaffron with them, to cauſe the ſame ſkinnes to bee put into the ſaide colours. Alſo I thinke you ſhall finde oyles there. Three hogſheads of ſweete oyle for this voyage are very neceſſary, or a hundred & fiftie iarres of oyle. Alſo in London you may lade in the ſaid ſhip theſe parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle ſort.
Item, One peece of fine holland.
Foure hundred elles of oſenbriges very fine.
Foure dozen of ſizzors of all ſorts.
Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
Twentie dozen of great kniues which be made in fardles, of a low price.
Foure dozen of a ſmall ſort.
Sixe peeces of bayes of the loweſt ſort.
One very fine peece of bayes.
Foure hundred elles of Mancheſter-cottons, moſt blacke, greene, ſome yellow.
Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypreſſe.
Sixe dozen of courſe ſhirts.
Three dozen of doublets of canuas.
Three dozen of doublets of ſtitched canuas.
One peece of fine Millan-fuſtian barred.
Sixe dozen of locks for doores and cheſts.
Sixe thouſand of all maner of fiſh hooks.
Foure dozen reames of paper.
Two dozen of glaſſes of diuers ſorts.
Two dozen of Venice glaſſes, the one halfe great, the other middle ſort.
Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the loweſt price that can be.
Three dozen of frize gownes.
Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vſe of Portugall, moſt ſmal diſhes and trenchers.
Foure pound of ſilke of all colours.
Twentie pound of ſpices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and ſaffron.
Two kintals of white ſope.
Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karſies of diuers colours.
Foure ſorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.
Sixe Northerne dozens of diuers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine ſtamell of tenne or twelue pound.
One fine ſheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.
One fine blacke karſie. } { One fine ſtamell karſie.
Sixe yards of blacke veluet.
Three barrels of nailes for cheſts.
Two barrels of nailes for ſhips and barks.
Sixe kintals of Occom.
Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.

Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with ſome greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and ſmall billes to cut wood.
Foure maſes of gitterne ſtrings.
Foure hundred or fiue hundred elles of ſome linnen cloth that is of a low price to make ſhirts and ſheets.
Foure tunne of yron.

These be ſuch ſort of wares as I would you ſhould ſend. If you meane to deale, or ſend any ſhip hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I ſhall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Prouedor doe rule this countrey.

My father in law & I ſhal (God willing) make a good quantitie of ſugar euery yeere, which ſugar we intend to ſhip for London from henceforth, if we can get ſuch a truſtie & good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you preſently after the receit of this my letter to write mee anſwere thereof, & ſend your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone, & he wil conuey it to me out of hand.

Beſides the premiſſes ſend ſixe yards of ſkarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.
Sixe yards of crimoſin veluet.
Sixe yards of crimoſin ſatten.
Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in ſtead of Iohn Whithall they haue called me Iohn Leitoan: ſo that they haue vſed this name ſo long time, that at this preſent there is no remedie but it muſt remaine ſo. When you write vnto me, let the ſuperſcription be vnto Iohn Leitoan.

Iohn Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghoſt for euer.

If you ſend this ſhip, I would haue you giue order that ſhe touch in no part of the coaſt of Guinie nor any other coaſt, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be diſpatched in my name, to wit, Iohn Leitoan.

Alſo a dozen of ſhirts for my wearing let be ſent, if you ſend the ſhip.
Item, ſixe or eight pieces of ſayes for mantles for women, which is the moſt neceſſary thing that can be ſent.

By your aſſured friend *Iohn Whithall.*

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for *Braſill* ſent to *Iohn Whithall* dwelling in *Santos*, by the *Minion* of *London*. Anno 1580. the 24. of October in *London*.

MAſter Whithall, as vnacquainted wee commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderſtanding by your friends, M. Iohn Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother Iames Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frō Santos, which wee haue ſeene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and deſire them to ſend a good ſhip to Santos, with ſuch wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promiſe that they ſhould haue good intertainment, but alſo ſhould ſell the ſaide commodities to make three of one outward at the leaſt in euery thing, and that for to relade their ſhip backe, they ſhould haue of the beſt, fineſt, & whiteſt drie ſugars 32. pound of our weight for a ducket at the moſt. The premiſes conſidered, with the great credit that they and we doe giue to your writing & promiſe, haue cauſed vs, whoſe names be hereunder written, to ioyne our ſelues in company together, & to be at great charges purpoſely to ſend this good ſhip the Minion of London, not onely with ſuch marchandizes as you wrote for, but alſo with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleaſure you, or profit the country. And we craue of you, that we and our factors may haue ſo much credite of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleeue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpoſe, then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by ſea and land, ſo as you ſhall not onely haue cauſe to reioyce, and deſerue thanks for our comming, but alſo you wil procure the magiſtrates there to be bound, as they vſe in Galicia, that we may be preſerued and defended from all repriſals and imbargments of princes or ſubiects for any cauſes or matters whatſoeuer, whereby wee may bee incouraged by them, giuing vs this ſecuritie of good intertainment, to continue the trade yeerely henceforth: and for our parts we promiſe vpon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the ſea nor land, nor ſuffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other ſuch peaceable marchants as we are, with their ſhips and goods.

And to the ende that you and others ſhall know that wee meane as we ſay, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hoſtages for your aſſurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue ſent a teſtimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the ſeales of this honourable Citie of London, which we wil not diſcredite by our behauiours for all the treaſure that you haue: and ſo we haue written to your magiſtrates of your port, and others in Spaniſh, the copy whereof we ſend you herewith encloſed in Engliſh. And if the time ſhould fal out ſo contrary to our expectations, that there ſhould not be fine white ſugar ſufficient to lade our ſaid ſhip in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the ſhippe in ſafetie to ſupply their want, and helpe them to a good ſure Pilot for that purpoſe, and write your letters to your friends where the beſt ſugar is made in their fauors, and helpe our factours to haue a teſtimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and ſo departed in good and perfect amitie, and ſhew them that the iuſt cauſe of our comming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Alſo we pray you, if there be any ſtore of ware, or ſalt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white ſugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commodity of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it oare of golde or ſiluer or whatſoeuer elſe.

Wee haue ſent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other neceſſaries for your purpoſe, and artificers to ſet the ſame: and as wee haue at your requeſt bene at great charges in ſending theſe men, ſo we pray you let vs haue lawful fauour in like courteſie to further all our cauſes. And if any of our Mariners or paſſengers in any reſpect of diſpleaſure againſt their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwiſe would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge and office, that then you will bee a meane to the Iuſtice that ſuch fugitiues ſhould bee ſent abord the ſhip as priſoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot bring home our ſhip.

Wee haue giuen order to our factours to vſe your counſell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the ſame as to your courteſie and faithfull friendſhip ſhall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue ſent you a field-bed of walnut tree, with the canopy, vaiens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commoditie elſe that may pleaſure you or your friends, wee haue giuen order that they ſhall haue the refuſing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promiſing to performe all the foreſaide things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preſerue you with all his bleſſings.

Your louing friends
Chriſtopher Hodſdon.
Anthonie Garrard.
Thomas Bramlie.
Iohn Bird. William Elkin.

M. Stephen Hare was Captaine in this voyage.

Certaine notes of the voyage to *Braſill* with the *Minion* of *London*, aforeſaid, in the yere 1580. written by *Thomas Grigs* Purſer of the ſaid ſhip.

The thirde day of Nouember in the yeere abouesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntil the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vſe wee obſerued the ſetting of the Sunne, which was Weſt ſouthweſt, we then being vnder the line Equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the winde for the moſt part Southeaſt and Eaſt ſoutheaſt. The ſame day we alſo obſerued the riſing of the moone, being one day after the full, which roſe at Eaſt northeaſt.

The yle of S. Sebaſtian.

The firſt land that wee fell with vpon the coaſt of Braſill was the yland of S. Sebaſtian, where we arriued the 14. day of Ianuary in the yeere 1581.

The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinneſſe, went a ſhoare to Guaybea, where they met with Iohn Whithall his father and mother in lawe, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came abord, and then we weyed and ſet ſaile, and the 28. day wee arriued at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

The yle of S. Catelina.

Our courſe from S. Sebaſtian was Southweſt and by Weſt, and betwixt the Southweſt and by Weſt, and Weſt ſouthweſt.

This yland of Santa Catelina ſeemeth at the firſt to be a part of the yland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke oſie ground.

Vpon the yland there grow many Palmito-trees, but no freſh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertained of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people.

They arriue at Santos.

The fourth day we tooke into our ſhip a beefe aliue, which ſerued for the victualling of the ſhip, and the refreſhing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. Iohn Whithall a bedſtead with the appurtenances, which were ſent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came aboord our ſhip, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ſhips of warre, that had bene at the riuer of Ienero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were driuen from thence by their caſtles & forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requeſted vs to lend them ſome armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie caliuers, and two barrels of powder.

The 19. day our ſkiffe which we had ſent to Alcatrarzas, and had bene away ſixe dayes, came againe, and brought good ſtore of great and good fiſh, and tolde vs that there was good ſtore of fiſh to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito-tree.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our ſhippes ſide, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ſhip rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Ienero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French ſhips were paſt to the ſouthwards, as they thought, for the Straights of Magellan, and ſo into the South ſea.

The 23. day the aforeſaide Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerbord two dayes before, was found againe, and taken vp three miles from our ſhip, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Iuſtices of Santos wiſhed vs to tary in their road till the laſt of April, for they had ſent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we ſhould haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernambuck a ſhippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Iſlands, Indies, and Portugall it ſelfe was moleſted and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both Engliſh and Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them againſt Spaine.

The 25. day wee ſent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentie day of Aprill our Maſter and Thomas Babington hauing ſome talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the Riuer of Ienero) tolde them, that they were ſorry for our baniſhment from the Church, and that the Miniſtrador had written from Rio de Ienero, that foraſmuch as theſe twentie yeres or more the Engliſh nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Miniſtrador commanded that none of vs ſhould come to their Church: the Padres willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promiſed to ſtand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Miniſtrador and to the biſhop at Baya, and further requeſted all our Engliſh company to haue no ill opinion of them.

The 28. of April we laded ſugars into our ſhip.

Their lading of ſugars.

The 21. of May we tooke in freſh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of Iune wee gratified one Ioſto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with ſome of our Engliſh victuals, and intertained him in good ſort in our ſhip, and this day wee were promiſed to haue a Pilot at Santos to cary vs to Baya.

The 11. day we went to fiſh, to make prouiſion for our ſhip and men, and from that time till the eighteenth day wee fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ſhip of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while wee ridde at the yland of S. Sebaſtian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Maſter ſent his ſkiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had tarried for three dayes: and as the ſkiffe was going, William Euet being by the Riuers ſide, called to our pinneſſe, and ſent a letter to our * Maſter, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein were no newes, but that the Miniſtrador was arriued at Santos from the Riuer of Ienero, and would ſpeake with our Maſter, but he willed that whatſoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit ſhould be giuen to it. And further he wiſhed vs preſently to depart for Sant Sebaſtian, and there to diſpatch our buſineſſe, and then to ſende backe for Babington and himſelfe

Leaks in the Minion made by wormes.

* Whoſe name was Stephen Hare.

himſelfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come abord.

Their departure from Santos.

As we rid two leagues a ſea-bord the barre of Santos, wee broke a cable in the open ſea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

We arriued at S. Sebaſtian the 15. day, and there ſhifted our balaſt, and had in ſtones, and halled our ſhip a ground to ſtop our leakes, & caried our caſke a ſhoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better haue bene done in Santos, before the Miniſtrador came thither: yet we finiſhed all things pertaining to our ſhip, by the 22. of this moneth, at S. Sebaſtian.

The firſt day of Iuly Thomas Babington came abord with William Euet, in our pinneſſe, and the reſt of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promiſe to cary vs to Baya.

The things that we obſerued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were theſe.

All ſuch wares and marchandizes as owe no cuſtome in Braſill, their vſe is, to ſet a price vpon the ſame, how they ſhalbe ſold: which is done by the magiſtrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all ſuch marchandizes as do owe cuſtome there, the marchants are to ſell them according as they may, to the greateſt profit and aduantage that they can.

Some part of Peru but 12. dayes iourney from Santos.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land & water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fiue dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate.

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they doe trade and trafique by land into Peru by waggons, and horſes or mules.

The ſaide riuer of Plate is ſo full of ſands and dangers, and the freſh ſo fierce ſometimes, that no ſhipping dares to deale with it, ſmall barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portugales forbidden to vſe their mines.

The Portugales here cannot bee ſuffered to vſe their Mines of treaſure in theſe parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendſhip with the Portugales, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is diſtant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Thoſe Sauages of Peru haue ſtore of gold and ſiluer, but they know not the vſe of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they ſell them to the Portugales for kniues, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will ſell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie duckets to the Portugal.

This people haue alſo continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of thoſe Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales theſe ſeuen yeeres, with his maſter called Sennor Manoel Veloſo. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes, dangerous for rocks.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrarzas and S. Sebaſtian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather ſhewe like the ſailes of ſhips.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina alſo fiue leagues to the Eaſt and by South into the ſea off the yland.

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fadom and a halfe water in the ſhalloweſt place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, litle more or leſſe, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or leſſe, then you ſhall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fadome water.

A letter of *Francis Suares* to his brother *Diego Suares* dwelling in *Lisbon*, written from the riuer of *Ienero* in *Braſill* in Iune 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and *Peru*, by the way of the riuer of *Plate*, with ſmall barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

SIr, we ſet ſaile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arriued here in this riuer of Ienero the twentie ſeuenth of Iune next enſuing. And the ſame day the Viſitadores did viſit our ſhip with great ioy, thinking that thoſe commodities which wee brought with vs, had bene for the marchants of this countrey: but it prooued to the contrary.

The pilot brought with him in the ſayd ſhippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and ſolde by the Iuſtice for foure and twenty reals euery gallon. But I ſolde mine for two and thirty and ſixe and thirty reals the gallon. If I had brought any great ſtore of wine, I ſhould haue made a great gaine of it: for I ſhould haue gotten eight reals for one.

Wine ſolde at an exceſſiue rate.

The next day in the morning wee went all on ſhore, and gaue God thanks for our proſperous voyage, and good ſucceſſe which he had ſent vs. And becauſe the gouernour of this countrey was gone from this Towne to another houſe of his, three leagues vp into the riuer beyond the place where we rode at anker, I deſired the captaine of our ſhippe after dinner, that we might take the ſhippe boat, and goe to the place where the gouernour did lie. And ſo going vp the riuer, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the riuer, and going aboord our ſhippe; which canoa was laden with freſh victuals, and in the ſame was one Portugall, which met vs, and tolde vs that the gouernour of that captaineſhippe had ſent vs a preſent, which we receiued very thankefully, and ſent it aboord. And we went vp the riuer, to the place where the gouernour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the the riuers ſide, the gouernour came thither and receiued vs very courteouſly. So we remained at his houſe two dayes, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the riuer.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-houſe by my ſelfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am ſelling them as faſt as I can; and ſell them very well, and to great profit: for I haue ſolde all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reaſon of the great vtterance of them vp into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the riuer of Plate. For here is paſſage euery three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with ſugars, rice, taffataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried vp the ſayd riuer of Plate in the ſayd barks, and thence are conueyed vp into Peru. And theſe barks are but tenne or twelue dayes going vp the ſayd riuer to Peru. And within foure and fiue moneths after, the ſayd barkes come downe this riuer againe laden with reals of plate, and bring downe from thoſe places no other commodities but treaſure. It is a woonderfull thing to beholde the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this riuer and in this countrey. I am aſhamed to write it, fearing that I ſhall not be beleeued. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in Spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelue hundred and fifteene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath beene vſed but within this yeere. For wee can goe vp to the mines of Potoſi, which are the beſt and the richeſt mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not ſend nor venture ſo much merchandiſe to Cartagena as they doe. For vp this riuer is a great deale the neerer way, and the eaſier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and riuer of Ienero, and bring with them fifteene thouſand and twentie thouſand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this riuer in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then theſe merchants of Peru are conſtrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good ſtore of ſilks, and not theſe kinde of commodities which I did bring. For heere is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with fiue hundred ducats in fiue moneths ſpace a man may get ſixe thouſand ducats, And this is no fable, but moſt true, and a great deale more then I can expreſſe. For a rapier which doeth coſt in Spaine foure and twenty and ſixe and twenty reals, is ſolde heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bridle for a horſe is ſolde for fifteene ducats: a locke of a doore and the key is ſolde for ten ducats: a pound of beniamin is ſolde for fifteene ducats: a yard of veluet is ſolde for twenty and fiue and twenty ducats: taffataes are ſolde for ſixe and ſeuen ducats the vare: an ownce of muske is ſolde for forty ducats. and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one thouſand ducats of Spaniſh commodities will gaine tenne thouſand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I haue ſolde moſt of my hats for two duckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The reſt I will cary to Angola, to helpe to ſell the reſt of my commodities, which I cannot ſell in this riuer. And I haue ſolde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for fiue hundred and fiue hundred and fifty and ſixe hundred reys the cubit. If I would haue ſolde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and fiue hundred reyes, the merchants would haue bought it all of me: but I would ſell no more, becauſe I meant to exchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man ſhall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The captaine of our ſhip ſolde all his cloth for ready money for foure hundred & fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market: but he hath deceiued himſelfe. I ſolde ſix broad clothes for fiue hundred and fifty reys the cubit: and I was offered thirty thouſand reys for a cloth. Vineger is

A rich trade from the riuer of Ienero by the riuer of Plate into Peru, &c.

The ſhortneſſe of the returne of this voyage to Peru.

This rich trade was begunne in the yere 1595.

The voyage of Angola in Africa.

Gaine of ten thouſand ducats for the laying out of one thouſand.

A trade of buying Negros in Angola.

Broad cloth excellently well ſolde.

Vineger.

Oliues.
Taffataes.
Veluets.

ſolde for two and thirty, and ſixe and thirty, and forty reals a iarre, by reaſon there is great ſtore of limmons and orenges in the countrey: but in Angola it is more woorth. Oliues are ſolde for halfe a reall a piece: wherefore I hope to ſell the hogſhead for twenty thouſand reys. In taffataes and veluets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great ſtore, I could haue ſolde it all at this rate. I haue already gotten good ſtore of reals of plate: for it is tolde mee that money is a good commodity in Angola. But I muſt imploy ſome in meale, which is in the grinding. All the reſt of my money I will ſend you by billes of exchange, and ſome part I will imploy in ſugars: for I haue ſent order to Baia for that purpoſe. For from this place there is no ſhipping that doth go that way. So theſe letters I do ſend by the way of Fernambuc, and haue directed them to my couſin: for I do determine to ſettle my ſelfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this riuer of Plate, a merchant called Alonſo Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelue thouſand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ſhip to returne into Spaine: and there is come in his company a biſhop. And thus Ieſus Chriſt ſend you long health.

Your louing brother *Francis Suares.*

The well gouerned and proſperous voyage of M. *Iames Lancaſter*, begun with three ſhips and a galley-frigat from *London* in October 1594, and intended for *Fernambuck*, the port-towne of *Olinda* in *Braſil*. In which voyage (beſides the taking of nine and twenty ſhips and frigats) he ſurprized the ſayd port-towne, being ſtrongly fortified and manned; and held poſſeſſion thereof thirty dayes together (notwithſtanding many bolde aſſaults of the enemy both by land and water) and alſo prouidently defeated their dangerous and almoſt ineuitable fire-works. Heere he found the *cargazon* or freight of a rich Eaſt Indian carack; which together with great abundance of ſugars, Braſil-wood, and cotton he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene ſailes of tall ſhips and barks.

IN September 1594 the worſhipfull M. Iohn Wats, alderman, M. Paul Banning, alderman, & others of worſhip in the city of London, victualled three good ſhips; to wit, The Conſent, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout, The Salomon, of 170 tunnes, and The Virgin, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. Iames Lancaſter of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. Iohn Audely of Poplar neere London, rereadmirall, hauing in their ſayd ſhips to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furniſhed with all needfull prouiſion, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coaſt, vntill we came into the Weſt countrey, where we met with ſuch guſts and ſtormes, that the Salomon ſpending her maſt at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour; but by the earneſt care and induſtry of the generall and others hauing charge, ſhe was ſhortly againe prouided. Which done, hauing a pleaſant gale for our purpoſe, we put foorth from Dartmouth the laſt of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coaſt, we loſt the Salomon and the Virgin, by a ſtorme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs: yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our courſe to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our conſorts; which greatly grieued vs.

Thence we went, bearing for the iſle of Tenerif, where in the morning early we had ſight of a ſaile, which being becalmed vnder the ſhore, was towing with their boat ahead, hauing one other at her ſterne. For this ſaile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need ſhould require. The Spaniards ſeeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leauing the ſhip, ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight: but our men purſued them ſo faſt, that they boorded them, and brought them with their ſhippe to our Generall. This ſhip was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had ſight of one other; to whome in like maner wee ſent our boat: but their gunner made a ſhot at her, and ſtrooke off a propper yoong mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free paſſage, and an acquitance for the deliuery of their wines, were all ſet on ſhore vpon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the Weſt Indies.

A ſhippe with 80 tunnes of wine taken.

Another prize with 40 tuns of wine taken.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin our rereadmirall, whoſe men tolde vs for very trueth, that the Salomon was returned for England; inforced ſo to doe, by ſpending her maſt the ſecond time. Which when our men vnderſtood

ſtood, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and ſaying among themſelues that their force was but ſmall when all our ſtrength were together, and now we had loſt the one halfe of our ſtrength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore ſome of them came to the captain, aſking him what he would now do, ſeeing the Salomon was loſt, the one halfe of our ſtrength, giuing him counſell to beare vp for the Weſt Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, becauſe his firſt plat for want of ſtrength was cleane ouerthrown. The captaine hearing this new nouelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenſes of mariners, made them this anſwere: Sirs, I made knowen to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck, and although at the preſent we want one of our ſhips, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the iſlands of Cape Verde: for I am aſſured that M. Barker the captaine is ſo reſolute to performe this voyage, that his maſt being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, & it were no wiſdome for vs to diuert our courſe, till we haue ſought him at thoſe places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courſes is the ouerthrow of moſt of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other courſe then I haue determined, (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawen vnto. With theſe reaſons and many others ſhewed, they reſted all ſatiſfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praiſed) we met with the Salomon with no ſmall ioy to vs all; and there ſhe had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 ſaile of ſhips and carauels, fiſher-men, and had taken out of them ſuch neceſſaries as ſhe had need of. Of theſe ſhips our captaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himſelfe, meaning to imploy them as occaſion ſhould ſerue. At this place he vnderſtood of one of the pilots of thoſe ſhips, that one of the caracks that came out of the Eaſt Indies, was caſt away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arraçiſe which is the lower towne. Of theſe newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, ſeeing ſuch a booty before vs.

Foure & twenty ſailes of ſhips & of carauels taken by the Salomon.

Of this good company and happy ſucceſſe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the bleſſing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and ſo after ſome parle & making frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praiſing God for all) we plied for Maio: where comming to anker, our generall & the reſt of the captaines went aſhore to view the place where we might in beſt ſafety ſet our gally-frigat together; which frame wee brought from England of purpoſe to land men in the country of Braſil. Here we diſcharged our great prize of wine, and ſet her on fire: but before our comming thither, you ſhall vnderſtand we had ſight of foure ſailes, which was captaine Venner in his ſhip the Peregrine, and a proper Biſkaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymmouth & her pinneſſe: all which ſtood with vs. But they ſeeing our flags, not expecting ſuch good fellowes as we, did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vnkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire, nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but without making any ſhew of kindnes would ſo depart. As before I haue ſaid, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigat, aſhore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, ſtill cheered vnto it by the generals good gifts beſtowed among them, and kind vſage of the reſt of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the ſafety of them all, by keeping good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the country, ſtraying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, & very kindly vſed, and brought againe vnto vs: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus buſily imployed about the foreſayd galley, we deſcried at ſea foure ſailes, which we had good hope would haue prooued Indies men, or ſome to haue brought vs what wee looked for: but they proued captaine Venner with his fleet, as aforeſayd, who, ſeeing vs at anker, ankered alſo; where ſpending ſome time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, conſorted with vs, & their bils, according to the maner of the ſea, were made and ſigned on either part, we to haue three parts, & he the fourth, of all that ſhould be taken, wherby our ſtrength was increaſed, to all our comforts. Three weeks or thereabouts we ſtayd in this place before the gally was finiſhed; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing fourteene banks on a ſide, a maſt and ſaile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M. Wats, an honeſt ſkilfull mariner.

Maio.

A gally-frigat caried out of England in pieces.

The gally-frigat ſet vp.

From thence we put againe to ſea, and went for the ile Braua, where we watered: which done, we made no long ſtay after, but bent our courſe as directly as we could for the place, making our firſt fall with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Auguſtine; from whence wee plied ſtill to our deſired port of Fernambuck, and did ſo much, that about midnight we came before the harbour; where ſome plied vp and downe, holding that the beſt policy, to forbeare the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ſhips being

Cape S. Auguſtine.

Fernambuck.

The 29 of March.

being in ſafety well arriued, God was praiſed: and the generall in his boat went from ſhip to ſhip, willing them to make ready ſuch men as they could ſpare, with muſkets, pikes, billes, bowes arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himſelfe, with 80 men from his owne ſhip, imbarked himſelfe in the gally, which caried in her prow a good ſacar, and two murdering pieces.

Our admiral ſpent all the night in giuing directions to euery ſhip to haue their men ready ſhipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, & to leaue his ſhips without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not aduenture the ſhips in, till the harborow was gotten. Alſo he prouided fiue ſhips, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently ſaile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ſhips, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and therefore he gaue order to the men of theſe fiue ſmall ſhips, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any reſiſtance, to run aboord of them, & to ſet their owne ſhips on fire, and ſcape in their boats, which they had for the ſame purpoſe, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the Northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs: ſo that before wee could get vp againe, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the ſight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ſhips rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-coluering ſhot off: in the which time paſſed many ſhot betweene the fort and the ſhips, and eſpecially betweene the admirals ſhip and them: but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready houering in the gally & the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, ſeeing our reſolution, layd out haulſers, and wound themſelues out of the way of vs. Our admiral was very ioyfull, & gaue great incouragement to all his men: for, to paſſe theſe three great Hollanders, he held it the greateſt danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouerner of the towne ſent a Portugall aboord the admirals ſhip, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this anſwere: That he wanted the caracks goods; and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he ſhould ſhortly ſee. In this proceſſe of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which ſaw ſo much ſhipping, & perceiued vs to be enemies, gathered themſelues together, three or foure enſignes of men, eſteemed to the number of ſome ſix hundred at the leaſt. Theſe came to the fort or plat-forme lying ouer againſt the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admirall ſet forward with his boats, he gaue expreſſe order to all that had charge of gouerning the boats or galley, to run them with ſuch violence againſt the ſhore, that they ſhould be all caſt away without recouery, and not one man to ſtay in them, whereby our men might haue no maner of retreat to truſt vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall ſet forward, and entered the harborow with the ſmall galley, and all the reſt of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and the boats; and one of their ſhot tooke away a great piece of our enſigne out of the galley. But our ſaile being ſet, it was no time for vs to make any ſtay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the ſhore right vnder the fort, within a coits caſt of it, with ſuch violence, that we brake her backe; and ſhe ſuncke preſently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the ſea, which preſently caſt her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriuall, thoſe in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being ſeuen pieces of braſſe, to diſcharge them vpon vs at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the reſt following him, off came theſe pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praiſed, they in the fort, with feare to ſee vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance ſo ſteepe downewards with their mouthes, that they ſhot all their ſhot in the ſand, although, as I ſayd before, it was not aboue a coits caſt at the moſt betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: ſo that they onely ſhot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to vs a great bleſſing of God: for if thoſe ordinances had bene well leuelled, a great number of vs had loſt our liues at that inſtant. Our admirall ſeeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Upon them, vpon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Thoſe foure enſignes of men that were ſet to defend our landing, ſeeing this reſolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine buſhes that were by the ſame fort; and being followed, fledde thorowe a certeine oaze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and ſo abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriuall was their Good-friday, when by cuſtome they vſually whippe themſelues:

The fort of Fernambuck taken.

ſelues: but God ſent vs now for a generall ſcourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well ſpared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waued to the ſhips, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all ſpeed, himſelfe taking order in leauing certeine men in keeping the ſayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee ſuſpected the greateſt danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about ſome foureteene ſcore from the fort: in which towne lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the ſame, the people imbarking themſelues in carauels & boats, with all the expedition they could. The baſe towne, of aboue an hundred houſes, being thus taken, we found in it great ſtore of merchandizes of all ſorts: as Braſil-wood, ſugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, maſe, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe the towne, and placed at the South end of the ſame captaine Venner and his company, himſelfe and his company in the midſt of the towne, and captaine Barker and captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giuing great charge, that no man vpon paine of great puniſhment and loſſe of his ſhares, ſhould breake vp or enter into any ware-houſe, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where ſo great ſpoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any diſorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-houſe broken open, or any ſpoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be obſerued in ſuch an action: for common mariners and ſouldiers are much giuen to pillaging and ſpoiling, making greater account of the ſame then of their ſhares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very ſure watch this firſt night, and the morning being come, our admirall and captaine Venner, with the reſt of the captaines, went about the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: ſo that within two dayes it was ſurrounded with poſts & planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at leaſt nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found prouiſion in the towne, ſufficient ſtore for it. Now it is to be vnderſtood, that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the ſea, and on the backſide by a riuer that runneth behinde it; ſo that to come to it by land, you muſt enter it by a ſmall narrow paſſage not aboue forty paces ouer at an high water. At this paſſage we built a fort, and planted in it fiue pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the firſt fort we wan at our comming in to the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in poſſeſſion, our admirall ſent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and ſober and diſcreet of his owne cariage. At his firſt comming aboord of them, they ſeemed to ſtand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and ſtrong ſhips: but he vſed himſelfe ſo, that they at the laſt willed him to come into the greateſt of their ſhips, which was about 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they ſhould be there as ſure from any ſhew of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houſes, and if they ſhould thinke ſo good, his admirall would fraight thē for England, if they would be content with fraight reaſonable, and as they ſhould agree, and it ſhould be at their owne choiſe whether to go or not, he would not force them, vnleſſe it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were ſomewhat ſtubburne at the firſt, as that nation is in theſe cauſes, yet being ſatiſfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, & after conference had with the admirall, they were ſo ſatiſfied, that they went thorow with a fraight; and then we ioyned with them, & they with vs, and they ſerued vs as truely & as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by ſea and all other ſeruices. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noiſe; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall ſuppoſing ſome ſuch aſſault, had prouided all our muſkets with haile-ſhot, which did ſo gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them preſently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horſe and his rider ſlaine both with one of theſe ſhot. Our men followed them ſome fiue or ſixe ſcore, but no further. We loſt in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was loſt of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ſhips & 2 pinneſſes, the pinneſſes being ſomewhat nere, diſcried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinneſſe, declaring all the reſt to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed ſhould come in: and ſo they did. Theſe were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchaſe. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongſt whom was one captaine Iohn Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the iland of Mona in the Weſt Indies, where his ſhip was caſt away, comming out of the Eaſt Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed it, & was not vngratefull for his former benefit ſhewed vnto him. This captaine deſired of our admirall to beſtow vpon him his ſhips lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him and alſo his pinneſſe, and more, gaue him a carauel of about 50 tuns, & bid him lade her with wood alſo; which with other benefits he gratefully receiued. To the other two captaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captain of Diepe confeſſed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, & being diſtreſſed for want of water, gaue him ſome, & went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and ſo departed frō him, ſaying that his men were very weake. The comming in of theſe ſhips did much ſtrengthen vs; for our admiral appointed both theſe French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the riuer by night with their boats, euery boat hauing in her 12 men at the leaſt, and the boats well prouided. This was for feare of fired ſhips or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and cauſed our ſhips to ride by cables and haulſers, at all aduantages to ſhun them, if by that meanes they ſhould attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires ſoeuer we ſhould eſpy or ſee, not one man to ſtart from his watch or quarter, vnleſſe we were by himſelfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and hauing viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking our ſelues ſufficiently fortified, we began to vnlade our ſhips, which came as full laden in as they went foorth, but not with ſo good merchandize. And this order was taken about the vnlading of them, and alſo the lading of goods out of the towne: our men were diuided into halues, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes thoſe that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none ſtept far off or wandred from his colours, and thoſe that wrought had all their weapons in good order ſet & placed by them, ſo that at an inſtant euery one knew where to go to his furniture: and this was very carefully looked vnto.

Abraham Cocke going for the riuer of Plate, met withall.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off vpon a hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and ſayd that from the biſhop, themſelues, & the reſt, they would haue ſome conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall, he hung downe his head for a ſmall ſeaſon; and when he had muzed a while, he anſwered, I muſt go aboord of the Flemings vpon buſines that importeth me, and therefore let them ſtay if they will: and ſo he went & ſate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this ſpace diuers meſſengers went to the admirall, to come away; for theſe gentlemen ſtayd. To whom he gaue this anſwere: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better ſort of our men marueiled, and thought much, becauſe he would not vouchſafe to come and haue conference with ſuch men of accuunt as they ſeemed to be. But the admiral made them this anſwere, Sirs, I haue bene brought vp among this people, I haue liued among them as a gentleman, ſerued with them as a ſouldier, and liued among them as a merchant, ſo that I ſhould haue ſome vnderſtanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot preuaile with the ſword by force, then they deale with their deceiueable tongues; for faith and trueth they haue none, neither will vſe any, vnleſſe it be to their owne aduantage. And this I giue you warning, that if you giue them parle, they will betray vs; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieue me moſt to be ouertaken by this nation & the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they vnderſtand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be ſatisfied; I hope it is for all our goods: for what ſhall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we haue gotten already that we came for, ſhould we venture that we haue gottē with our ſwords, to ſee if they can take it from vs by words and policy? there were no wiſedome in ſo doing. You know what it hath coſt vs, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts: and therefore from henceforth I giue this commiſſion, that if any be taken, he be ſent away with this order, although he come as a friend, that if either he or any other approch vs from henceforth, he ſhalbe hanged out of hand: and other courſe then this I will not take with them. Which courſe was followed; for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night: and after that we were neuer troubled with ſpies; and although diuers ſlaues came running from their men to vs, by which we vnderſtood much of their working & pretences, yet the admirall would enterteine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for ſeeing vs ſo buſie, about ſixe nights after our comming in, they priuily in the night caſt vp a trench in the ſands about a ſacar ſhot from our ſhips, minding there to plant ordinance, which would haue offended our ſhips greatly; & they would not haue bene able to haue rode there to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, about 3 of the clocke in the after noone marſhalled our men, and he and all the reſt of the captaines marched toward them. The Portugals & Indians perceiuing our comming, began to withdraw themſelues within the trench, meaning (as it ſhould appeare) to fight it out there: but we made no ſtand, neither did it behoue vs, but preſently approched the trenches with our muſkets & pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finiſhed: ſo that by Gods helpe we entered thē. And the Portugals & Indians left the place, & left vnto vs 4 good peeces of braſſe ordinance, with powder and ſhot & diuers other neceſſaries, and among the reſt 5 ſmal carts of that countrey, which to vs were more worth then al the reſt we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the waters ſide: for without them we could not haue told what to haue done, much of our goods being ſo heauie, that without carts we were not able to weyld them: all theſe things we brought away & deſtroyed al thoſe platforms that they had made, and then we had reſt with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deuiding our marchandize with captaine Venner according to our conſort, and went daily lading them abord, euery ſhips company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three dutch ſhips: for the goods being put into their boats their owne companies laded themſelues. And this farther good chance or bleſſing of God we had to helpe vs, that aſſoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ſhip with ſome 60 Negros, 10 Portugall women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the Negros we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our Admirall kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to vs was a very great eaſe. For the countrey is very hote and ill for our nation to take any great trauell in.

In this towne there is no freſh water to be had, and therefore we were euery 5 or 6 dayes compelled to paſſe ouer the riuer into the maine land to get freſh water, which after the firſt or ſecond time the Portugals kept and would haue defended our watering, ſo that we were driuen to water of force, and at ſeuerall times ſome of our men were hurt, and onely two or three ſlaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they moleſted vs in our watering, ſo they ſlepe not in other deuiſes, but put in practiſe to burne our ſhips or remoue them out of the harbour. For within ſome 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 Carauels and filled them with ſuch things as would beſt take fire and burne: theſe they brought within a mile or little more of our ſhips, and there ſet them on fire, for neerer they could not well come becauſe of our watch of boates, for, as is aboue ſaid, the Admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch aboue halfe a mile from the ſhips for feare of ſuch exploytes as theſe, which was the cauſe they could not fire them ſo neere the ſhips as they would haue done. But theſe fired Carauels had the tide with them, and alſo the little winde that blewe was in their fauour; which cauſed them to come downe the ſtreame the faſter: which our boats perceiuing made to them with as much expedition as conueniently they could, but the tide and wind both ſeruing them, they approched toward the ſhips with great expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in ſome feare of them, yet no man mooued or ſtarted frō his quarter more then if there had bene nothing to doe. Alſo the maſters and ſuch as were aboord, were ſomewhat amaſed to ſee 5 ſo great fires to be comming downe among their ſhips, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being prouided afore hand & iudging that ſome ſuch ſtratagems would be there vſed, the riuer being very fit therefore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with vs & our beſt defence in this voyage; by whoſe aſſiſtance we performed this ſo great an attempt with ſo ſmall forces. Our companie in the boats ſo played the men when they ſaw the fires come neere our ſhips, that caſting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as euery boat had one for that purpoſe, ſome they towed aground, and ſome they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, & ſo we were deliuered by Gods helpe from this fearefull danger. Within ſome 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in & abode there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driuing downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugeſt fires that I haue ſeene. Theſe were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approched thē, thinking to clap their grapnels vpon them, as they had done vpon the Carauels the night before, they were preuented: for there ſtooke out of the rafts many poles which kept them from the body of the rafts, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into thē: & yet they had this inconuenience worſe then al the reſt which moſt troubled vs. There ſtooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with ſuch prouiſion of fire-workes that they ceaſed not ſtill (as the fire came downe to thoſe trunks to ſet thē on fire) to ſpout out ſuch ſparkles, that our boats hauing powder in them for our mens vſe, durſt not for feare of fyring thēſelues with their owne powder come neere thoſe ſparkles of the raftes, but ſeeing them to driue neerer & neerer our ſhips, they wet certain clothes and laid vpon their flaſkes and bandelers and ſo ventured vpon them, & with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and ſo towed them on ground, where they ſtooke faſt & were not burnt out the next day in the morning. Diuerſe logs and timbers came driuing along by our ſhips, and burning, but with our boats we eaſily defended them. And thus (God be prayſed) we eſcaped the ſecond fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gaue vs to vnderſtand, but this we preuented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations; and we were credibly informed of certaintie, that this firing ſhould be ſuch as we ſhould neuer be able to preuent, and aſſuredly theſe fires be dangerous things and not to be preuented vpon the ſudden, vnleſſe it be afore prepared for and foreſeene. For when it commeth vpon the ſudden and vnlooked for, and vnprouided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits ende. And therefore let all men riding in riuers in their enemies countrey be ſure to looke to be prouided before hand, for againſt fire there is no reſiſtance without preparation.

Alſo it is a practiſe in theſe hot countreys, where there be ſuch expert ſwimmers, to cut the cables of ſhips: and one night it was practiſed to cut the Admirals cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to watch all the night, and the bwoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, ſeeing then our good watch, they neuer after attempted it.

While all theſe things paſſed, our ſhips (God be thanked) thorow the induſtry of our gouernours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the beſt marchandize conueyed aboord our ſhips, ſo that our Admirall ment to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or elſe on the next day at the fartheſt, and ſo warning was giuen to all men to make themſelues readie. Our Admiral being aboord his ſhip yͤ ſame morning, eſpyed in the ſands right againſt the place where the ſhips rode, that there was a ſmall banke of ſand newly caſt vp, vnder which he perceiued now and then ſome people to be: preſently he tooke his boat and went to the towne and called all the Captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about ſome pretence right againſt the ſhips, conſulting whether it were beſt to ſally out & ſee what they were doing, or depart that euening according to the former determination. The Admirall was of opinion to depart that night, ſaying it was but folly to ſeeke warres ſince we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to ſee what they did, leaſt the winde might be contrarie and the ſhips not get out, and ſo our enemies may build vpon vs to our great diſaduantage. Well, ſaid the Admiral, the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this ſally, for where they worke it is within Falkon-ſhot of the ſhips, and if any power ſhould come againſt you, the ſhips may play vpon them with 40 peeces of ordinance at the leaſt, ſo that a bird cannot paſſe there but ſhe muſt be ſlaine. I am ſomewhat vnwilling you ſhould go, for I haue not bene well theſe two dayes, and I am not ſtrong to march vpon thoſe heauie ſands: they anſwered all at once, you ſhall not neede to trouble your ſelfe for this ſeruice, for you ſee it is nothing and of no danger, being ſo neere the ſhips, doubt you not we will accompliſh this ſeruice well ynough, and returne againe within this houre. The Admirall anſwered: the danger cannot be great, but yet you ſhall goe out ſtrong for feare of the worſt. And ſo the Admirall marſhalled them 275 men French and Engliſh, which were vnder the conduct of Edmund Barker, captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Viceadmirall to captaine Venner, captaine Addy, and the three French captaines all going out together, and they were to march vpon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were ſent vnto: in the brodeſt place betwixt the ſea and the water on the other ſide, it is not aboue a ſtones caſt, for it is a bank of ſand lying betweene the riuer & the ſea, ſo they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their ſides, and before them could no man come, but he muſt paſſe by all the ſhips which no company of men were able to do without preſent death. The Admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he ſent them to, and ſo he himſelfe went aboord the ſhips and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worſt, not knowing what might inſue, although he ſaw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were ſent vnto, being right ouer againſt the ſhips: out of which place came ſome dozen ſhot, which ſeeing vs come, diſcharged and ran their wayes with ſuch as were working within the ſaid platforme. So that we came into it and perceiued they had begunne to lay plankes to plant ordinance vpon. Our Admiral commanded, if there were any ſuch thing, to burne the plankes & returne in againe, which we might haue done without hurting of any mans finger: but our leaders were not content to haue performed the ſeruice committed them in charge, but would needes expreſly & againſt their order march on further to fight with certaine Enſignes almoſt a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ſhips, & where lay the ſtrength of the whole countrey. When our men began to draw neere thoſe Enſigns of men, the Enſignes ſeemed to retire with great ſpeed, which our men followed with ſuch great haſt that ſome outrunning other ſome, our order was broken, and thoſe enſignes retyred thēſelues into the force of the whole countrey, ſo that our formoſt men were in the midſt of their enemies yer they were aware, which were ſlaine yer the reſt could come to ſuccour them. The enemies incouraged by this, came alſo vpon the reſt, which preſently began to retire, & the enemies followed them til they came within the reach of the ordinance of our ſhips, where they were beaten off and left their purſuit. In this conflict were ſlaine captain Barker captaine of the Salomon, captaine Cotton ẏ Admirals Lieutenant, captaine Iohn Noyer a french captaine of Diepe, and another french captaine of Rochel, with M. Iohn Barker & other to the number of 35: for theſe were the formoſt and hotteſt in the purſuit of the Enſignes aforeſaid, and by their forwardnes came all to periſh. At our returne into the towne the Admiral came to vs much bewayling the death of ſo many good men as were loſt, wondering what we ment to paſſe the expreſſe order that was giuen vs. With this loſſe our men were much danted, but our Admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was ſometimes to win and ſometimes to looſe. And therewithall he wiſhed euery man to prepare & make himſelfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ſhips were readie and laden, and he would not ſtay any further fortune. The euening being come, the ſhips began to wey & go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodneſſe toward vs who ſent vs a faire wind to go foorth withall, ſo that by 11 of the clocke in the night we were all forth in ſafety. The enemies perceiuing our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and ſhot at vs in the night, but did vs no harme. We were at our comming foorth 15 ſailes, that is, 3 ſailes of Hollanders, the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, foure ſailes of french & one ſhip which the Admiral gaue the french Captain, 3 ſailes of Captain Venners fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 ſailes of our Admirals fleete, all theſe were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We ſtayed in this harbour to paſſe all this buſineſſe but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with ſkirmiſhes and attempts of the enemie 11. times; in all which ſkirmiſhes we had the better, onely this laſt excepted. To God be the honour and praiſe of all, &c. The whole fleete being out in ſafety, the next day in the morning the Admirall gaue order to the whole fleete to ſaile toward Peraniew a harbour lying ſome 40 leagues to the Northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in freſh water and to refreſh themſelues: and to make prouiſion for refreſhing, our Admirall had ſent thither ſome 6 daies before two French men in a ſmal pinneſſe, which Frenchmen he had prouided from Diepe before his comming out of England for that purpoſe. For both theſe two ſpake the Indians language very perfectly: for at this port of Peraniew and an other called Potaju ſome 6 leagues to the Northward the Frenchmen haue had trade for braſil-wood, and haue laden from thence by the Indians meanes, who haue fet it for them ſome 20 leagues into the country vpon their backs, 3 or 4 ſhips euery yere. Thus we all ſailed toward Peraniew, at which place we arriued in the night, ſo that we were forced to lie off & on with a ſtiffe gale of wind, in which we loſt the moſt part of our fleete, & they not knowing this coaſt put off to the ſea, and ſo went directly for England. Our Admirall and ſome 4 ſaile more with him put into the harborow of Peraniew, and there watered and refreſhed himſelfe very well, with hens, conies, hares and potatos, with other things, which the two Frenchmen had partly prouided before his comming: this is a very good harborow where ſhips may ride and refreſh very well. But, as I am giuen to vnderſtand ſince our comming from thence, the Portugals haue attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and haue put the french from their accuſtomed trade. Here hauing watered and refreſhed our ſelues, we put to the ſea, plying after the reſt of our fleete which were gone before, which we neuer heard of till our arriuall in England at The downes in the moneth of Iuly, where we vnderſtood the reſt of our conſorts to be paſſed vp for London; Captaine Venner & his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ſhips to be ſafe arriued at Diepe, which to vs was very great comfort. At our ſetting ſayle from The downes, according as the cuſtome is, finding the Queenes ſhips there, we ſaluted them with certaine ordinance. The Gunner being careleſſe, as they are many times of their powder, in diſcharging certain pieces in ẏ gunner roome, ſet a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in ẏ gunner roome, blew vp the Admirals caben, ſlew the gunner with 2 others outright, & hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made ſuch a ſmoke in the ſhip with the fire that burnt in the gunner roome among all the fire workes, that no man at the firſt wiſt what to doe: but recalling backe their feare, they began to caſt water into the gunner roome in ſuch abundance (for the Queenes ſhips now & alſo the other ſhips that were in our company came preſently to our helpe) that (God be praiſed) we put out the fire & ſaued all, & no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be ſeene that there is no ſure ſafety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came vpon vs, then we ſuffered all the whole voyage. But the almightie be prayſed for euer, which deliuered vs out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in freſh men (God be prayſed) we came to Blacke-wall in ſafety.

Peranjeu 40. leagues northward of Fernambuck.

Peranjeu a very good harbour.

A ſpeciall letter written from *Feliciano Cieça de Carualſho* the Gouernour of *Paraiua* in the moſt Northerne part of *Braſil*, 1597. to *Philip* the ſecond king of *Spaine*, anſwering his deſire touching the conqueſt of *Rio Grande*, with the relation of the beſieging of the caſtle of *Cabodelo* by the Frenchmen, and of the diſcouerie of a rich ſiluer mine and diuerſe other important matters.

The king of Spaines reſolution to proceed in the diſcouerie & conqueſt of Rio Grande.

I Receiued your Maieſties letter bearing date the ninth of Nouember 1596. whereby I vnderſtande that your Maieſtie doth determine to procede in the diſcouerie and conqueſt of Rio Grande, according to the relation which was ſent your Maieſtie by Don Franciſco de Souſa, Gouernour generall of this Realme of Braſilia: together with a copie of a letter, which your Maieſtie ſent vnto vs, bearing date the two and twentieth of March 1596. Moreouer I receiued another letter from your Maieſtie bearing date the 15 of March 1597. Both which letters were to one effect. It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to vnderſtand that there are diuerſe Gentlemen in theſe countreys of as good abilitie as my ſelfe, which ſeeke to liue at home onely for their eaſe and pleaſure, and are not wont to hazard nor venture their bodies, liues, and goods ſo often times in your Maieſties ſeruice as I haue done and commonly doe; and can keepe their goods and riches, and not ſpend nor waſt them as I haue done, and dayly doe ſo wilfully: yet neuertheleſſe being ſpent in your Maieſties ſeruice, I am very glad thereof. For I and they are allwayes readie at your Maieſties commandement.

The Captaineſhip of Paraiua ſtandeth in ſixe degr. 45 minu. of Southerly latitude.

And as concerning your Maieſties commandement in commanding me that I ſhould put to my helping hand in the conqueſt of Rio Grande: although this Captaineſhip of Paraiua and countrey where I doe gouerne doth want abilitie for that purpoſe, yet neuertheleſſe your Maieſtie ſhall allwayes finde me readie to doe your Maieſtie the beſt ſeruice I can: for it is very well knowen how forward I haue bene allwayes and am in this conqueſt, and ſtill doe put to my helping hand, as partly your Maieſtie doth vnderſtand by a letter which I wrote to your Maieſty by my ſonne, bearing date the 19 of March 1596 wherein your Maieſtie may vnderſtand what good ſeruice I haue alreadie done therein, and allwayes will be readie to my power to doe the like in furthering of the ſaid enterpriſe.

The caſtle of Cabodelo beſieged by the French.

It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to vnderſtand that the third of Iuly there was brought vnto me a Frenchman a priſoner, who preſented himſelfe vnto me. And I examining of him, he tolde me that he came running away from certaine French ſhips men of warre, which came vpon this coaſt: and he tolde me that he had ſerued your Maieſtie in the warres of France. Likewiſe he told me that he left me ſeuen great ſhips Frenchmen of warre riding at an anker in Rio Grande, and that there were 13 french ſhips of warre more, which had giuen battery to the Caſtle of Cabodelo, and landed 350 ſoldiers all in white armour, and the battery continued from Friday vntill the Munday following both by ſea and land, and great ſtore of Frenchmen were ſlaine, and two Captaines of the French. On our ſide the Captaine of the caſtle was ſlaine, and other two Portugals hurt: other harme they had none. There were but twentie Portugals in the caſtle, and fiue pieces of ordinance. They ment to haue kept the caſtle, and to haue traded with the Indian people. So ſeeing they could not take the caſtle, they hoyſed ſayles, and went from thence to Rio Grande: and being altogether they are in number 20 ſaile at an anker in Rio Grande. And ſome of them determine after they be new trimmed and dreſt, and haue taken in freſh victuals, and ſtayed there vntill Eaſter, then to depart from thence to the Honduras, and ſo to burne and ſpoyle ſome townes thereabout.

The garison of Fernambuck.

I certified Manuel Maſcarenhas of theſe informations by my letters, requeſting him to ſend me with all expedition thoſe ſouldiers which were in garriſon in Fernambuck to ayde me, and to defende this Captaineſhip from the enemie. But the Friers of The Couent would not conſent thereunto, nor ſuffer them to be ſent vnto me. So I was forced to make ſhift with thoſe ſouldiers only which I had in my gouernment and tooke them with me, and marched to the place where the enemies were entrenched, and vpon Whitſunday in the euening about three of the clocke, hauing in my company a Negro of the countrey of Petiguar, which was our guide, he brought vs where the enemies campe was; and preſently I did aſſault them, and ſlew great ſtore of them, burning the villages and countrey of thoſe rebels, which did ioine with the Frenchmen, and tooke many of them priſoners. So they told me that there were ten great french ſhips of warre which were at an anker in Rio Grande.

The countrey of Periguar rebelleth againſt the Portugals

A rich ſiluer mine found at Copaoba within ſixe dayes iourney of Paraiua.

Likewiſe I was informed, that there is a frenchman called Daurmigas, which hath diſcouered and found great ſtore of ſiluer in a place called Copaoba. The ſiluer hath bene tried and melted, it is very good and fine ſiluer, and there is great quantitie. The man which told me of this hath beene in the mine, and hath ſeene it tried and melted. And I haue bene my ſelfe once in the place: it is but 6 dayes iourney from this Captaineſhip.

Furthermore this Frenchman told me that one Monſieur Miſa a french Captaine, and a kinſman of the gouernour and Viceadmirall of Diepe in Normandie, had one of his armes ſtrooken off at the ſiege of the caſtle of Cabodelo; who is departed from Rio Grande, with determination to come backe hither againe the next yeere in the moneth of Ianuarie following, and to inhabite in this countrey of Paraiba, which is 20 leagues from Fernambuck, becauſe of the great ſtore of ſiluer, which they haue alreadie found here.

Moreouer I am enformed that a noble man of France called The earle of Villa Dorca doth intend to come vpon this coaſt with a great fleete from Rochel. It were good that your Maieſtie would ſend into France to knowe the certaintie thereof.

The Frenchman likewiſe told me that all the Canibals of Petiguar haue ioyned themſelues in companie with certaine Frenchmen, which were caſt away in two ſhips vpon this coaſt. The one of theſe ſhips which were caſt away was one Riſoles, and the other ſhip was this mans. And thoſe Frenchmen which came vpon this coaſt did ioyne themſelues with thoſe Canibals which did rebell, and did diuide themſelues into two ſquadrons. So I ſent preſently to Manuel Maſcarenhas that he ſhould ſend me aide and munition. But he ſent me word againe, that he had none to ſpare, and that he did purpoſe with all ſpeede to goe himſelfe to Rio Grande; and that he was not able to furniſh himſelfe ſo well as he could wiſh, nor to bring his ſouldiers into the field, for lacke of ſhot, powder, and other munition, which he did want.

All the Canibals of Petiguar ioyne with the Frenchmen againſt the Portugals.

Hereupon once more the 29 of Iuly I with my ſouldiers marched to the enemies campe, and there ioyning battell with the Indian rebels, which were ioyned with the Frenchmen that were their leaders, I did ſet vpon them, and ſlew great ſtore of them, and tooke fourteene of them priſoners. They doe report the very ſame newes, which the other Frenchmen did tell me as touching the ſhips which were in the harbour of Rio Grande; and how their pretence was to haue come and haue taken vs, and ſpoyled the countrey.

But now being put to flight and hauing receiued the ouerthrow, they can get no victuals to victuall their ſhippes: which hath bene the cauſe that they are mightily hindered in their intent, and dare not come any more to attempt vs. And the Indians are ſo diſmayed, that in haſte they will haue no more helpe nor aide of the Frenchmen. So by theſe meanes of neceſſitie the Indians muſt ſubmit themſelues vnto vs, conſidering they are quite ſpoyled and ouerthrowen for a long time. Likewiſe they haue enformed me touching the ſiluer mines which are found, that it is moſt true. For thoſe french ſhippes which were in Rio Grande haue laden great ſtore of the oare. Wherefore I certified Manuel de Maſcarenhas of the Frenchmens newes, and howe euery thing did ſtand; wiſhing him to make readie foure ſhips and three hundred ſouldiers, and ſo to take the harbour of Rio Grande, being now cleered and voyde of the enemie: and to ſearch out the ſituation of the place, and where were beſt to fortifie and to build ſome fortes for the defence of this riuer, where neede ſhall require. Hereunto Maſcarenhas ſent me word, that when he went himſelfe, and found it true which hath beene reported touching the ſiluer mines, that then he would ſend both men and ſhips. Therefore your Maieſtie muſt giue order, that the reſt of the Gouernours ſhall ayde and aſſiſt me in theſe warres: otherwiſe of my ſelfe I am not able to doe more then I haue alreadie done in defending of this countrey againſt our enemies which are many.

French ſhips laden with great ſtore of ſiluer oare.

It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to be aduertiſed, that from time to time I haue written vnto Don Franciſco de Souſa Gouernor general of this realme, who is in Baia, as concerning theſe Frenchmen of warre: but he will not anſwere me to any purpoſe, becauſe I do write vnto him for ſuch things as I doe want, which are ſhot, powder, men, and munition requiſite for your Maieſties ſeruice & ſafegard of this captaineſhip. For here are neither ſhot, powder, nor any thing els to defend vs from our enemies; nor any that wil put to their helping hands for the defence of this countrey, & the ſeruice of your Maieſtie. And therfore it were needfull that your Maieſty ſhould commit the charge and gouernment into the hands of Diego Sierua, with expreſſe charge that all the captaines & commanders vpon paine of death obey him and be readie at all times to aide and aſſiſt him in your ſeruice. Otherwiſe this countrey cannot be kept and maintained, hauing ſo great warres continually as we haue, and are troubled withall. For this Diego Sierua is a very good ſouldier, and hath good experience; and is fit to gouerne this countrey. Your Highneſſe is alſo to ſend him Commiſſion with expreſſe cõmandement to follow theſe wars; otherwiſe this countrey cannot be kept, but daily they will rebell. For here are none that will ſerue your Maieſtie ſo iuſtly as he will do: who wil haue a great care in any thing which ſhal cõcerne your Maieſtes ſeruice touching the eſtate of this countrey. For the Gouernour Souſa doth ſpend your Maieſties treaſure in building his owne Ingenios or ſugar-milles.

The conqueſt of Rio Grande.

Two Forts to be builded at Cabodelo.

The countrey of Paraiua in danger dayly to be loſt.

The warres of Petiguar.

A new captain appointed in Cabodelo.

And thoſe Captaines which your Maieſtie intendeth to ſend hither muſt bring with them ſhot, powder, and all kind of weapons, furniture, and munition for the defence and ſafegarde of this countrey, and for the conqueſt of Rio Grande. For there is no kind of munition in al this countrey to be had, if occaſion ſhould ſerue. It were alſo good that your Maieſtie ſhould ſend order for the building of a couple of Forts or Caſtles at Cabodelo, for they be very needefull for the defence of the enemie, which dayly doth warre againſt this Captaineſhip. For that man which ſhall gouerne this countrey, if he be no more fortunate then I haue bene hitherto, ſhall not miſſe one time or another, but he ſhall looſe all the countrey. If Don Franciſco de Souſa had ſent mee thoſe two hundred and fiftie ſouldiers which I did ſend for, which were in gariſon in the caſtle of Arrecife, which doe nothing but ſpend your Maieſties victuals and treaſure, and had not ſent them to Baiha, where there was no neede, theſe warres of Petiguar had bene ended long agone, and had ſaued your Maieſty a great deale of charges which you had ſpent in folowing of this conqueſt of Rio Grande. I haue choſen one Captaine Iohn de Macas Cardoſo to be Gouernour of Cabodelo, who is a very ſufficient man.

A great controuerſie touching the gouernment of the Indian townes.

Furthermore, it may pleaſe your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that the chiefeſt Friers of this Monaſterie of S. Antonie haue complained on me to the lord Gouernour generall, and haue cauſed great ſtrife and debate betweene him and me touching the gouernment and rule of theſe Indian townes. For the Friers would command and gouerne both the Indians and their townes as well in Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall cauſes, as touching the puniſhment of the bodies of ſuch as are offenders. But I haue reſiſted them in your Maieſties name, and haue alleaged, that none but your Maieſtie muſt rule and gouerne them and their countrey, and that the townes appertaine to your Maieſtie, and not vnto the Friers. But the Gouernour hath written a letter vnto me, ſignifying that he hath pronounced a ſentence againſt me in the Friers behalfe, which is this. The King our maſter hath ſent a decree and certaine ſtatutes touching the good gouernment and orders to be executed and kept in thoſe Indian townes: and that vpon ſight hereof I ſhall preſently baniſh all the *Mamalukes* and white men which dwell in any of thoſe Indian townes with all ſpeede, and that none of them from hence forward ſhall enter into the ſaid villages, without commandement and conſent of the ſaid Friers. So this ſentence was preſented vnto me by the Reuerend father Cuſtodio, Prior of Sant Anton of Braſil, with a further poſtſcript of the Gouernour importing theſe words: I doe likewiſe charge and commaund you the Gouernour of Paraiua, that preſently vpon ſight hereof you ſhall reſtore thoſe villages and houſes which you haue burned and deſtroyed in the laſt warres, and likewiſe the towne of S. Auguſtine, and that you ſhall build them againe at your owne proper coſt and charges: for the Friers alleage that theſe townes were giuen them, by a decree ſent them from Pope Pius Quintus, that the ſaid Friers ſhould gouerne and rule them.

The towne of S. Auguſtine.

On the other ſide I haue pronounced another ſentence againſt the ſaid Friers in your Maieſties name, and for your Maieſtie, alleaging that thoſe townes, villages, and ſubiects appertaine and belong vnto your Maieſtie, and that in temporall cauſes I am to puniſh thoſe offenders, which ſhall rebell againſt your Maieſtie: and as touching eccleſiaſtical cauſes that the Vicar of this Cathedrall church ſhall rule, gouerne and inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion. So we both haue appealed vnto your Maieſtie herein, and your Maieſtie may peruſe all our writings, and then determine that which ſhall be beſt and moſt profitable for your Maieſties ſeruice and enlargement of your crowne. For through theſe broyles the inhabitants of this Pariaua forſake their houſes & dwelling places, and ſo doe ſome of the Friers, becauſe they cannot be ſuffered to rule & gouerne.

Alſo the Indians haue complayned againſt me, becauſe I haue burned their villages in this laſt rebellion. Wherefore if your Maieſtie doe not ſend ſome order for this countrey and ſee into theſe caſes, it will breed great diſſention and rebellion among vs, and we ſhall be readie to cut one anothers throat before it be long.

Thus I thought good, according to my humble bounden dutie, and for the ſeruice of your Maieſtie and quietneſſe of this realme, to certifie your Maieſtie the truth of the whole matter; hoping in ſhort time that your Maieſtie will ſend ſome good order to qualifie theſe broyles: for there is great hatred and malice among vs. Ieſus Chriſt preſerue and keepe the royall perſon of your Maieſtie with long health, as it pleaſeth him. From the Captaineſhip of Paraiua this preſent 20 of Auguſt. 1597.

Feliciano Cieça de Carualſho.

A ſpe-

A ſpecial note concerning the currents of the ſea betweene the Cape of *Buena Eſperança* and the coaſt of *Braſilia*, giuen by a French Pilot to Sir *Iohn Yorke* knight, before *Sebaſtian Cabote*; which pilot had frequented the coaſts of *Braſilia* eighteene voyages.

MEmorandum, that from Cabo de buena Eſperança vnto Braſilia the Sunne hath the like dominion ouer the tides there, as the Moone hath ouer our tides here.

And that whenſoeuer the Sunne is in any of theſe ſignes he gouerneth the tides as followeth.

The Sunne being in	Taurus Gemini Cancer	the tide hath his courſe Northweſt.
The Sunne being in	Leo Virgo Libra	no current.
The Sunne being in	Scorpio Sagittarius Capricorne	the tide hath his courſe Southeaſt.
The Sunne being in	Aquarius Piſces Aries	no current.

A ruttier or courſe to be kept for him that will ſayle from *Cabo Verde* to the coaſt of *Braſil*, and all along the coaſt of *Braſil* vnto the riuer of *Plate*; and namely firſt from *Cabo Verde* to *Fernambuck*.

THe ſhip that goeth from Cabo Verde to Braſil, muſt goe Southſoutheaſt: and when ſhe is within 5 or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial ſhe muſt go Southeaſt and by South. And if ſhe haue the ternados, that is thundrings and lightnings, then thou muſt go altogether South, or that way and by that boord that doth profit thee moſt. And take this for aduiſe, that hauing the general winds, if the wind be at South or Southeaſt, then go Southweſt, or weſtſouthweſt. And if the winde be South, then goe Southweſt, and by this way but little, for it is not a way for thy profit, becauſe the more thou goeſt this way, the more will be thy trouble, becauſe thou mayeſt not come neerer the coaſte of Guinea then 60 or 70 leagues vnto the ſholde called Os baixos de Santa Anna. And being this diſtance from the ſame, thou ſhalt caſt about the other way towards Braſil, and the wind will be large.

He that will ſayle to Braſil, muſt not come within 60 or 70 leagues of the coaſt of Guinea.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that the ſhip that keepeth this courſe to Fernambuck, and goeth in October or after, and chanceth to goe to windward of the Iſle of Fernando de Loronha, when thou commeſt to 8 degrees, or 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$,* then thou ſhalt go Weſt and beare with the land. Thou muſt take this for a warning, that if going Weſt in 8 degrees thou ſee land, then looke to the Northward, and thou ſhalt ſee certaine white cliffes. Then I aduiſe thee that thou goe well to the Southward. And this is to bee vnderſtoode from October forward, for then the time is moſt ſubiect to Northeaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt winds. And if thou find thy ſelfe in the ſayd height aboue mentioned, and ſeeſt cliffes, and ſeeſt a Cape to the Southward, and ſeeſt no more land to the South, then make accompt that thou art at Capiguoari: and from thence to Fernambuck thou haſt ſixe leagues, and haſt a good port.

*Of Southerly latitude.

Thou ſhalt take this for a warning, that if in 8 degrees and a halfe thou ſee land lying all flat, thou mayeſt goe neerer it, and be bold till thou come in tenne or twelue fadomes: And then thou ſhalt ſee a great groſſe land along the ſea-coaſt which is called Capitagua: And being Eaſt and Weſt with this land, and, as I haue ſayd, in tenne or twelue fadomes water; and the time being from October to Februarie, then thou needeſt not to feare any thing: but looke to the South and thou ſhalt ſee the cape of S. Auguſtine: and looke to the North and thou ſhalt ſee a point, and to the Southeaſt a point called Punta de Olinda, where Aponiquay ſtandeth. And the land from the cape to the poynt called Punta de Olinda lieth North and South.

I aduiſe thee that if thou be Eaſt and Weſt with the cape of Saint Auguſtine, thou ſhalt ſee within the land an high hill, hauing as it were a ſaddle vpon it like to a camel: And thou ſhalt ſee to the Southwards three hilles along the ſea, and then preſently thou ſhalt ſee the coaſte to lie Northeaſt and Southweſt.

The height of yͤ cape of S. Auguſtine, of Olinda, & Fernambuck.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that from this cape of Saint Auguſtine, to the towne of Olinda, thou haſt nine leagues to the North. And this cape ſtandeth in eight degrees and two third parts, and Olinda ſtandeth in eight degrees and a quarter, and Fernambuck ſtandeth in eight degrees. And this courſe is to be vnderſtood to be obſerued and kept, if thou depart from Lisbon in October or Nouember.

In what height they ſhall ſeeke land that depart frõ Lisbon in February or March.

Take this aduiſe, that if thou depart in February or March from Lisbone, then thou ſhalt goe to beare with the land in nine degrees, becauſe that from March forwards raigne moſt commonly Southeaſt and Southweſt windes. And if by this height and courſe thou bring thy ſelfe nigh to the ſhore, feare not to bring thy ſhip into 18 or 20 fadomes, for all the coaſt is cleane: and there are no more dangers, but ſuch as the ſea doth breake vpon.

How to know the cape of S. Auguſtine.

And if after thy fall with the land thou haue occaſion to goe to the Northward, and ſo going ſeeſt certaine ſholdes, doubt not to come for the North, and thou ſhalt ſee the cape of Saint Auguſtine, which lyeth as it were ſloaping to the ſeaward, and hath as it were a Whales head, and hath vpon it a round hill, with many hilles round about it. And if thou come along the ſea coaſt much about the depth aboue mentioned, thou ſhalt ſee a little Iſland called Saint Alexio: And from this Iſland to the cape of Saint Auguſtine are foure leagues, and it ſtandeth in eight degrees and three quarters.

Iſla de Santo Alexio.

The courſe that a man muſt keepe to the bay called *A Bahia de Todos os Santos*, that is to ſay, The bay of all Saints, which lieth on the foreſayd coaſt of *Braſil*.

The height of Bahia de Todos os Santos in 13 degrees and one third part.

IF thou goe for Bahia de Todos os Santos, thou muſt keepe the courſe which I haue already ſet downe, and ſhalt obſerue the time from March forwards, as alſo from October forwards. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that the Bahia de Todos os Santos ſtandeth in 13 degrees and ⅓: and if thou goe in October or after October, then goe to fall with the land in 12 degrees or 12 and a halfe.

The ſituation of the Iſle of Tapaon.

And take this for a warning, that when thou ſeeſt a white land, and long bankes of white ſand, which ſhew much like linnen cloth when it is in whiting, then thou muſt go along from the North to the South vntill this white land doe end: and thou needeſt not to feare to goe along the coaſt, for there are no ſholds. Before thou be cleane paſt the white land or white ſands, thou ſhalt haue ſight of an Iſland that ſtandeth along the bay, I ſay on the Northſide of the bay, which is called Tapaon: and here the land lieth Weſt and by South.

When thou art ſo farre ſhot as Tapaon, thou ſhalt ſee a certaine great tree which is round, and ſtandeth neere the ſea vpon the very point of the entrance into Bahia on the Northſide.

When a man may beare in with Bahia.

And marke well that if thou looke to the Southward, and ſeeſt no white grounds ſuch as I wrote of before, but that they be all behind thee to the Northward: then when thou ſeeſt none to the Southward, thou mayeſt bee bold to beare in with Bahia. And if when thou goeſt into Bahia to the Northweſt, and ſeeſt the ſea to breake, feare nothing: for it is the breach of a certaine banke, whereon thou ſhalt haue alwayes 5 or 6 fadomes water: and this be ſure of.

The diſtance of O morro de San Paulo frõ Bahia.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that if thou come for this place from March to the end of April, I would wiſh thee not to fall to the Southward of 13 degrees and a halfe. And falling with the land, and not ſeeing the white ſands, thou ſhalt ſtriue to goe to the Northward. And ſeeing the land in 13 degrees and a halfe, thou ſhalt haue ſight of an hill along the ſea: And if thou be nigh the land, and cannot make it certaine what land it is: thou ſhalt marke if it bee a round high hill along the ſea, that it is O morro de San Paulo, or, The hill of Saint Paul: and it lieth blacke and bare on the top. And from thence to Bahia is tenne leagues.

Rio de Tinſare a very good riuer.

A dangerous bay in 13 degrees and a halfe.

And here along this hill on the Northweſt ſide there is a great riuer called Tinſare: and it is a very good riuer. And in the entrance of Bahia there are ſixe or ſeuen fadomes water in the chanell. And I aduiſe thee that being in the height of 13 degrees and a halfe, thou come not neere the land, for it hath a bay very dangerous.

And if thou goe from Bahia to Fernambuck, then I aduiſe thee that thou take good heede of the coaſt on the Northeaſt and Southweſt, and thou ſhalt goe Eaſt, if the winde will ſuffer thee to goe Eaſt: and ſo goe thirtie or fortie leagues off to the ſea.

I aduiſe thee thet thou beare not in with the land of Fernambuck, but in the height of 9 or 10 degrees, becauſe that in 11 degrees thou ſhalt fall with the bay called A Enſeada de Vazabaris. Alſo if thou come from Portugal and falleſt with the land in eleuen degrees, beare not in with it, neither come neere it, for thou mayeſt hurt thy ſelfe in ſo doing: but thou ſhalt ſhunne it, and goe to the Southward. For if thou lie to the North thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe into ſome trouble.

The height of the bay called A Enſeada de Vazabaris.

This Bay of All Saints ſtandeth in thirteene degrees. And from thence to Fernambuck thou haſt a hundreth leagues: and the coaſt lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt. And from thence to Rio das Ilhas, that is, the riuer of the Iſlands the coaſt runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, I meane taking a quarter of the North and South.

Baia de todos Santos in 13 degrees.

The courſe for *Baia das Ilhas*, that is, The bay of the Iſlands, which lie on the ſayd coaſt of *Braſil*, & the marks for the finding of them.

If thou goe for Baia das Ilhas thou muſt looke for it in fifteene degrees lacking a quarter.

Baia das Ilhas lieth in 15 degrees lacking a quarter.

If thou be minded as I ſayd to goe for theſe Iſles, if it bee from March forward, thou ſhalt fall with the land in 15 degrees and a halfe, and though it be in 15 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$, it is all the better.

And if thou haue ſight of certaine high hilles, that ſeeme to reach to the ſkie, theſe hilles are called As Serras Raiemores. Then hauing ſight of theſe hilles, thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt; and feare nothing, for there are no ſholdes along to the North. And when thou ſeeſt the Iſlands, thou mayeſt make accompt they be theſe which thou ſeekeſt, for there are no other on al this coaſt, and thou ſhalt ſee a round hil along the ſea. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that on the North ſide of this hill is the going in of the riuer. But if it chance that thou finde thy ſelfe in a time that will not ſuffer thee to goe in, then goe along the Iſlands giuing them a breoth off. And thou mayeſt well come to an ankor hard aboord them, for all is cleane ground. And thou ſhalt finde eight or nine fadomes, and from thence thou mayeſt goe into the riuer hard aboord the ſhore. And if it chance that thou goe from the North to the South all along the great Iſland, thou muſt keepe thy ſelfe from the land: and when thou haſt brought it Eaſtnortheaſt, then thou mayeſt ankor two cables length from the ſhore: for all is cleane ground.

A round hil.

If thou chance to arriue on this coaſt in the time of the Northeaſt windes, thou ſhalt ſeeke to fall with the land in foureteene degrees. And if thou ſee a lowe land, thou mayeſt make accompt it is the land called Ciemana, and then thou ſhalt ſee Mangues: And alſo thou ſhalt come along this coaſt to the South: and when thou ſeeſt an ende of the low land, then thou ſhalt finde an high land along the ſea like the other that I haue made mention of before, that is, all ſandie along the ſea coaſt.

In what height a man muſt fall with this place in time of the Northeaſt winds.

Ciemana.

Mangues.

And thou muſt vnderſtand, that where the high land beginneth, there is a little riuer called Rio das Contas, but enter not into it: it hath for a marke to be knowen by as it were a white mouth. And from thence to the Iſlands thou haſt nine leagues. And at the ende of this high land to the Southward of it thou ſhalt find a great bay within the land, & then thou ſhalt looke to the Weſtſouthweſt, and ſhalt ſee another high land, which lieth as it were in the middeſt of the bay, and thou ſhalt there ſee certaine white houſes which are the Ingenios or houſes wherein they make ſugar of Lucas Giraldo. From thence thou ſhalt ſee the Iſles being ſo farre ſhotte as Rio de Contas. And thou ſhalt ſee within the land a round hill which is like Monte de laude, and it hath another copple on the South ſide.

The white ſugar houſes of Lucas Giraldo.

The courſe to ſayle to *Porto Seguro*, that is to ſay, *The ſafe hauen*, lying on the foreſayd coaſt of *Braſil*, & the markes to know the ſame by.

If thou goe for Porto Seguro and goeſt in the time of the Southeaſt windes, which is from March forwards, I aduiſe thee that thou fall not in more degrees then ſixteen and a halfe, becauſe of the ſholdes called Os baixos dos Abrolhos, which are very dangerous, and ſtretch very farre into the ſea. And alſo going Weſt from them, that thou keepe thy lead going and be often ſounding. And if thou chance to ſee the land, and an high hill and long withall, much like to The pike, it is the hill that is called Monte Paſqual. And from thence thou muſt goe to the North, and when thou haſt brought it Southweſt of thee, then thou mayeſt beare with the land, but with great care to looke about thee.

To auoide Os baixos dos Abrolhos.

Monte Paſqual.

Marke when thou ſeeſt the land and commeſt to ſee a red cliffe, then looke to the Southward, and thou ſhalt ſee a great ſmooth coaſt along the ſea, and then on the North ſide thou ſhalt deſcrie Porto Seguro. And going along the coaſt thou ſhalt ſee the towne of Porto Seguro ſtanding vpon the toppe of an hill; which hill is a white rocke: and on the North ſide of the ſayd rocke there is a very hie land. I aduiſe thee that when thou art Eaſt and Weſt with the ſayd land, I meane with this rocke, that then thou looke to the Northward, and thou ſhalt ſee certaine rocks lying two leagues off into the ſea, whereon the ſea doth breake, and to the Southward of them thou mayeſt come to an ankor againſt the towne, and haſt a good place to ride in thirteen fadomes in ſight of the towne.

The place of comming to an ankor before Porto Seguro, which ſtandeth in 16 deg. & one third.

And if it be thy chance to arriue in the time of the Northeaſt winds, and commeſt in the height of fifteene degrees and two third parts, and ſeeſt not certaine hilles, then thou muſt goe along the coaſt being in 16 degrees, and vnder the firſt hie land that thou ſhalt deſcrie, thou ſhalt ſee certaine ſandie bayes along the ſea coaſt: And if thou haue ſight of a riuer in this height, put not thy ſelfe into it, neither beare with the land, for it hath many ſholdes. And off them lie certaine ſunken grounds, called Os Baixos de Santo Antonio. And from hence to the Southward lyeth Porto Seguro.

16 degrees.

A dangerous riuer in 16 degrees.

Baixos de Santo Antonio.

I aduiſe thee that going along the coaſt to the Southward, and ſeeing ſuch ſholdes, and the ſea to breake vpon them, as the other which I laſt ſpake of, thou ſhalt runne along them a ſea boord of them: and when thou art at the end of them, then the towne will beare Weſt of thee: and then thou mayeſt goe to thine ankoring place as is aboueſayd, giuing theſe ſholds a good birth.

The courſe to the hauen named *Baia do Spirito Santo*, that is to ſay, The bay of the holy Ghoſt, lying on the ſayd coaſt of *Braſil*, and the markes thereof.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that the ſhip that goeth for Spirito Santo, when it hath doubled the ſholdes called Os Baixos dos Abrolhos, and hath brought it ſelfe in 20 or 19 degrees and a halfe, then it may hall with the land in 18 or 19 degrees and a halfe, and in twentie. And the ſayd ſhippe muſt goe in this height, becauſe on this coaſt there are no Monçoins.

Monzoins are certaine ſet winds with which the tides ſet.

Markes on the North ſide of Spirito Santo.

The ſituation of la Sierra de Meſtre Aluaro.

Rio dos Reyes magos.

If thou chance to come in the height of 19 degrees, and ſeeſt lowe land to the Northweſt off thee, then thou art on the North ſide of Spirito Santo, and thou mayeſt make accompt that it is the land lying ouer Criquare, and ouer the riuer called Rio dolce, that is the riuer of ſweete or freſh water. If thou come along the land thou ſhalt find certaine high hilles: but truſt not the firſt that thou ſeeſt only. For beſides the reſt thou ſhalt ſee a round hie hill which is at the capes end, which is called la Sierra de meſtre Aluaro. Take heede that going for this land thou looke to the North and thou ſhalt ſee a riuer called Rio dos Reyes Magos: that is, The riuer of the three kings. And comming to the Southward thou ſhalt ſee preſently the mouth of the bay to open. At the end of this hill on the South ſide, thou haſt a point of a rocke, which is called A punta do Tubaron. And on the South ſide of the bay it hath two or three blacke hie hilles, and in the middeſt of the bay thou ſhalt goe in weſtward.

I aduiſe thee that in going in thou take heede of a ſholde which lieth in the mouth of the bay: thou muſt leaue it to the Southward of thee, and then plie to double a certaine Iſland which lieth within, and thou muſt leaue it to the Northward of thee: and when it beareth on the North or Northeaſt, thou mayeſt come to an ankor: for all is cleane ground.

A Sierra de Guariparim in 20 degrees.

A Sierra de Pero Cam.

And if thou chance to come by this courſe, and falleſt in 20 degrees, and ſeeſt many hilles, and one among the reſt very high and craggie: it is called A Sierra de Guariparim, that is, the hill of Guaraparim, and ſeeſt another hill on the North ſide, which is called A Sierra de Pero Cam: both theſe lie on the South ſide of Spirito Santo. And from theſe hils thou ſhalt ſee a little hill named Guaipel. And when thou ſeeſt theſe hilles, thou ſhalt ſee three little Iſlands together, lying to the Southward: And then from theſe thou ſhalt ſee another rockie, bare, and round Iſland: and to the land off this Iſland thou ſhalt ſee a great bay. If thou wilt thou mayeſt ankor here ſafely. And if thou wilt go in, thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe Eaſt and Weſt with the hill, and ſo thou mayeſt go in. And thou ſhalt leaue a lowe land to the North of thee, which is called A Ilha de Repouſo, that is, the Iſle of reſt: and this Iſle lieth along the coaſt: and thou mayeſt be bold to ride betwixt it and the maine, giuing it a breadth off.

A Ilha de Repouſo.

Spirito Santo ſtandeth in 20 degrees.

From theſe three Iſlands to Spirito Santo are 12 leagues: and running Northwards to come to Spirito Santo, thou ſhalt ſee another Iſland, and ſhalt go a ſeaboord of it, and by & by the mouth of the bay will open toward thee. And this bay ſtandeth in 20 degrees.

The courſe from the bay *de Spirito Santo* to the bay of *S. Vincent*, and the markes thereof. Alſo the courſe from *Saint Vincent* to the riuer of *Plate*.

SAiling from Spirito Santo for Saint Vincent, thou mayeſt goe along the coaſt, keeping ſeuen or eight leagues off, and muſt goe to ſeeke Cabo Frio, that is, The cold cape. And as thou commeſt toward Cabo Frio, thou haſt a very great bay called Bahia de Saluador, that is, The bay of our Sauiour. And from thence thou haſt twelue leagues to Cabo Frio.

Baia de Saluador 12 leagues North from Cabo frio.

Two ſmall Iſlands.

And before thou commeſt to Cabo Frio, thou haſt two ſmall Iſlands. Thou mayeſt go ſafely either a ſea boord of them, or elſe betweene them. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that Cabo Frio hath as it were an Iſland in the midſt of the face or ſhew thereof, that doth cut off the cape. Thou mayeſt ride ſafely on the Weſt ſide thereof; for all is cleane ground.

Vnderſtand that Cabo Frio ſtandeth in 23 degrees: and from it to Rio de Ienero are twelue leagues. And this riuer of Ienero hath in the mouth thereof 3 or 4 Iſlands. And if thou wilt go into this riuer de Ienero, thou mayeſt well goe in betweene two Iſlands which ſtand in the entrance of the riuer on the South ſide: neere vnto this riuer there is a great hill ſeeming to bee a man with long haire.

The height of Cape frio in 23 degrees.

Rio de Ienero.

The ſituation of an hill like a man with long haire by Ienero.

And take this for aduiſe, that if thou be in the height of this riuer, thou ſhalt ſee certaine high hilles within the land, which be like vnto organs. And when thou ſeeſt theſe organs, then make accompt thou art right againſt the riuer: and comming neere the land thou ſhalt ſee a certaine Iſland very round, which lieth to the Southward, and is hie and bare in the top. Thou muſt know that the mouth of this riuer ſtandeth in 23 degrees and one third part. And from this riuer to Angra, that is to ſay, The open hauen, thou haſt 15 leagues. Goe not neere the land there, except neceſſitie compell thee.

The organs, certaine high hilles.

Angra.

I aduiſe thee, that from this riuer that I ſpake of, I meane from the entrance thereof, thou muſt goe Weſtſouthweſt, and Southweſt, and Weſt and by South. And thou ſhalt ſee a great Iſland called Iſla de San Sebaſtiano, and to the Southward thereof another ſmall Iſland very high, called the Iſland of Alcatrarzas, that is to ſay, The Iſland of Pellicanes: but come not neere it, for it hath dangerous ſhoalds. And from hence thou mayeſt go Weſt, and ſo thou ſhalt fall right with the mouth of Saint Vincent, and thou ſhalt ſee an Iſland. And if thou meane to goe into Saint Vincent thou muſt leaue this Iſland to the Weſtward. And vnderſtand that Saint Vincent lieth in foure and twentie degrees. And when thou art in the mouth of this bay, or art neere the mouth of it, then thou ſhalt ſee many other Iſlands, and one among the reſt to the ſeaward. And hauing theſe ſights, thou haſt the beſt markes that bee for theſe Iſlands, that I haue told thee of: and this Iſland lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt with the mouth of S. Vincent.

A Ilha de San Sebaſtiano.

The Iſle of Alcatrarzas.

Saint Vincent in 24 degrees.

Many Iſlands about yͤ mouth of S Vincent, & one out to the ſeaward.

The courſe from *Saint Vincent* to the riuer of *Plate*.

FRom S. Vincent to Cananca thou haſt 40 leagues: and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and Southweſt and by Weſt. From Cananea to the riuer of Saint Franciſco are fifteene leagues, and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt. There is a little Iſland, which hath as it were two bayes, and a good rode, and is in 26 degrees and a quarter, and towards the maine it is hie and craggie.

Cananea.

Rio de San Franciſco.

From San Franciſco to Boca de Ouerniron are 26 leagues, and the coaſt lieth North & South. Alſo thou muſt marke that the riuer of San Franciſco hath a great entrance, and 3 ſmall Iſlands, and to ſeaward it hath a good road; and the maine is high and craggie.

Boca de Ouerniron.

From this Boca de Ouerniron to Ilha de Aruoredo thou haſt no great markes be obſerued: but this Boca is a very great bay, and this bay is deepe within the Iſland, and is a good road, and hath many Iſlands, and ſtandeth in 28 degrees. And to the North of this Iſland vnder the point there is a good road: and there is no other road hereabout but this, and it is vnder the Iſland.

Ilha de Aruoredo.

From hence thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſle called Santa Catharina, which is a great Iſland about eight or nine leagues long, and lieth North and South. And hard by euen with this Iland is Porto de Patos, which ſtandeth in 29 degrees. And from Porto de Patos to Porto de Don Roderigo are ten or eleuen leagues: and the coaſt lieth North and South. And from Porto de Don Roderigo to Laguna are 5 leagues. And this is a good harbour for all winds, except the Northeaſt wind.

Santa Catalina a great Iſland.

Porto de Patos.

Porto de Don Roderigo.

Laguna.

From the Laguna to the riuer called Rio de Martin de Souſa are 42 leagues. And the coaſt is ſomthing high, & lieth Northeaſt & by North, & Southweſt & by South: and it hath an Iſland 2

Rio de Martin de Souſa.

leagues into the ſea, where ſhips may ride well. And from the riuer of Martin de Souſa to Rio de San Pedro are 52 leagues, and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt.

Rio de S. Pedro.

From this riuer of San Pedro there lieth a point of ſand a good league off and more, and it lyeth on the Southweſt ſide of the port. And frõ thence to Cabo de Santa Maria are 42 leagues: and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and all is lowe land.

Cabo de Santa Maria.

Alſo on the Southeaſt ſide of Cabo de Santa Maria there lyeth an Iſle two leagues off into the ſea, and it hath a good harborough betwixt it and the mayne. And note that the mayne is lowe land.

The cape of Santa Maria ſtandeth in 35 degrees, and at the point thereof it hath an Iland a league into the ſea.

Hereafter followeth a Ruttier from the ſayd riuer of *Plate* to the Streight of *Magelane*.

THe cape of Santa Maria is in 35 degrees. Frõ thence to the Cape de Santo Antonio, which is on the other ſide of the riuer, are 30 leagues Northnortheaſt, & Southſouthweſt. And this is the broadeſt place of the riuer. And this cape is in 36 degrees and a halfe, and it is a blacke groſſe land. And thou muſt marke that 25 leagues a ſeaboord the mouth of the riuer there lie certaine ſands, which be called Baixos de los Caſtellanos.

Baixos de los Caſtellanos.

He that falleth with the cape of Santa Maria muſt take good heede to go Southeaſt vntill hee be in 36 degrees, and from thence Southſoutheaſt vntill 36 degrees and a halfe, giuing the ſayd sholds de los Caſtellanos a breadth: and alſo taking heede of the flats of the cape. And when hee findeth 40 or 45 fadomes, and ruſſet ſand, then he muſt goe Southweſt and by South, vntill he be in 40 degrees: where hee ſhall find great ſtore of weedes, which come from the coaſt, and a man may go 20 leagues from the ſhore in this ſounding.

Cabo de Arenas Gordas.

From the Cape de Santo Antonio to the Cape de Arenas Gordas are eight & forty leagues, and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and by Eaſt, and by Weſt: and in the firſt eighteene leagues is the riuer called Rio de Santa Anna, which hath at the entrance certaine flats and ſholds, giue them a good breadth, and come not nigh them by much, but keepe thy ſelfe in forty fadomes to goe ſurely.

Rio de S. Anna.

Cape de S. André

From the cape de Arenas Gordas to the cape of Sant André are one and thirty leagues: it lieth Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and Southweſt by Weſt: I meane when thou art in the middeſt with an equall diſtance from them both. And between both the capes are many bayes and riuers, but all full of ſandie ſholdes.

Baia Anegada.

From the cape of Sant Andres to the bay called Anegada, that is, The ſunken bay, are 30 leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt. It ſtandeth in 40 degrees, rather leſſe then more.

Punta de Tierra llana.

From the bay called Baia Anegada to The point of the plaine land are 25 leagues Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt. This point lieth in 41 degrees and a halfe. And from this point to Baia ſin fondo, that is to ſay, The bottomleſſe bay, are 35 leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt. This bay ſtandeth in 42 degrees and a halfe, rather leſſe then more.

Baia ſin fondo.

Cabo redondo. Puerto de los leones.

And from Baia ſin fondo to Cabo Redondo, & Puerto de los leones, are 37 leagues Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, ſomewhat to the North and South. And if thou meane to go out from thence with a compaſſe about after the maner of a halfe circle or an arch, ſo thou mayeſt paſſe through the Baia ſin fondo along the ſhore: for there is water enough.

Note that from the riuer of Plate to this place is neuer a good harbour for great ſhipping.

Puerto de los leones in 44 degrees & better. Take good heede of theſe little rocks.

From this place to Puerto de los leones the coaſt is cleane, and a man may come nigh vnto the land: And it is a lowe land with white cliffes. This harbour is in 44 degrees. And as a man goeth thither, after hee bee in 43 degrees or more, hee muſt haue a care to looke out for certaine ſmall rockes which lie neere the land, and lie North of the harbour.

Cabo de Matas.

From this harbour to Cabo de Matas, or The cape of ſhrubs, are 30 leagues North & South, halfe a point to the Eaſt and to the Weſt: and betwixt them there is a great bay very long: And to the Northweſt 18 leagues from Cabo redondo is a riuer lying Eaſt and Weſt: and it is called Rio de Camarones, or, The riuer of ſhrimps. You ſhall know when you fall with this riuer, by ſeeing many white ſpots vpon the water, and they are ſmall ſhrimps.

Rio de Camarones.

Cabo redondo in 45 degrees & a halfe large.

From this riuer to Cabo redondo the coaſt lieth Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt and by South. This cape is in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

From this ſayd cape to Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas that is to ſay, to The white cape and white cliffes are 32 leagues lying North and by Eaſt and South and by Weſt: and they ſtand in 47 degrees.

Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas in 47 degrees.

From this Cape the coaſt lyeth towards the North ſide Northweſt about 3 leagues all full of white cliffes ſteepe vp: and the laſt cliffe is the biggeſt both in length and height, and ſheweth to be the ſaile of a ſhip when it is vnder ſaile. Theſe white cliffes are 6 in number. And this Cape hath in the face thereof a certaine round land that ſheweth to bee an Iſland afarre off: and it hath certaine poynts of rockes hard by it. And two cables length from the land is 25 fathomes water. Aboue theſe white cliffes the land is plaine and euen: and it hath certaine woods. There is much people in the countrey: of whom I wiſh thee to take good heed.

People to be taken heed of.

From this Cape the land lyeth North and South; which is the firſt fall of the Cape: and in the face thereof it hath a poynt of rocks, which ſhewe themſelues. And on the South ſide of this Cape is a good harbour and road, and there is a Bay in the middeſt.

A good harbour.

From Cabo Blanco to Puerto de San Iulian are 37 leagues, and the coaſt lyeth North and by Eaſt and South and by Weſt. This harbour of S. Iulian hath in the entrance certaine high hilles, which afarre off ſeeme to be towers. On the South part of the entrance the chanell is deepeſt in the middeſt: and thou muſt borrow nerer the North ſide then to the South. Within the harbour are two Iſlands: thou muſt come to an anker hard to them. This hauen lyeth in 49 degrees. And betweene Cabo Blanco and this harbour are The Iſlands of Aſcenſion, and they be eight.

The port of Saint Iulian.

Ilhas de Aſcenſaom.

From this ſaid harbour to the hill of S. Yues are 35 leagues: the coaſt lyeth Northeaſt & Southweſt: it is a low land and euen and hath onely one hill, and it is a plaine from one part to the other, and hath certaine cliffes to ſeaward, and to the Southward; and to the South ſide it hath certaine little copples: it ſtandeth in 50 degrees large.

Morro de Santo Yues, in 50 degrees large.

From the hill of S. Yues to Rio de Cruz are 8 leagues, Northeaſt and Southweſt: and on the North ſide of the riuer it hath a very high land, and in the toppe it is plaine and lyeth two leagues broad, layd out along North and South, and the downefall on both ſides hath as it were ſaddles. This Cape hath many poynts of rockes lying 4 leagues into the ſea: and when thou haſt ſight of this land, it is good for thee to keepe from it a good bredth off. And going from thence thou mayeſt runne in ſight of the land in 25 fathoms.

Rio de Cruz

From Rio de Cruz to Rio de Galegos are 25 leagues, Northeaſt and Southweſt: and it ſtandeth in 52 degrees and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a degree. It hath a certaine high land: and in the higheſt of the ſayd land it is plaine, and to the Northeaſt it is a pike vp, and hath certaine white cliffes: and on the toppe and ſomething downewarde it is blacke: at the foote of this high land to the Eaſtward thereof it hath certaine ſteps like a lather: and to the ſea it hath a ſharpe poynt that lyeth into this Cape almoſt halfe a league. To the Southward of this Cape where the lather is, there is a little Bay, which is the entrance of Rio de Galegos, it ebbeth and floweth here 12 fathomes. A man muſt haue a great care how he goeth in here for the cauſe aboueſaid: but he muſt keepe himſelfe out and not anker in it.

Rio de Galegos and the markes thereof.

In the mouth of Rio de Galegos it ebbeth and floweth 12 fathomes.

From Rio de Galegos to the Streits of Magelan the coaſt lyeth Northnorthweſt & Southſoutheaſt 8 leagues vnto Cabo de la virgin Maria, which is the entrance into the Streit: and 4 leagues before a man come to this Cape there are white cliffes with certaine blacke ſpots in them; and they be cauſed with the falling downe of the water. Here is water inough, and thou mayeſt come to an anker hard aboord the ſhore, and haſt a good defence for a Southweſt wind. And the Cape it ſelfe is the higeſt land of all, and is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: and it hath on the Eaſt ſide a ledge of rockes, and a poynt of ſand, with diuers ſands which ſhewe themſelues at a lowe water: thou muſt take great heede heere and giue them a good bredth halfe a league or a quarter of a league off, vntil thou bring the Cape Weſtnorthweſt, and then thou mayeſt ſtirre away Southweſt. And when thou commeſt to the lower land and into tenne or twelue fathoms, then art thou ouer againſt la Purificacion. And halfe a league within the land the citie of Nombre de Ieſus was builded, Eaſt and Weſt with the ſayd Cape right againſt a cliffe, which commeth from the ſayd Cape, and goeth within the Streits. This Cape ſtandeth in 52 degrees iuſt.

Cabo de la virgin Maria.

Ciudad de Nombre de Ieſus called by M. Candiſh Port Famine, becauſe he found al the Spaniards famiſhed, and the towne it ſelfe vtterly abandoned, and ruined. Where Nombre de Ieſus ſtood.

And this is to be taken for a warning, that he that commeth neere this Cape, and paſſeth by it as I haue ſaid with the wind at Northeaſt, or any other wind off the ſea inclining to the Southeaſt, muſt not come to anker, but preſently be ſure to paſſe by; becauſe in Sommer this place is much ſubiect to Southweſt winds, which blow right in: and they put a man from his tackle, & make him to looſe his voyage. And from March forwards there blow fauourable winds from the ſea to goe from this Cape to enter into the Streits, from this ſaid Cape the Streits go in to the Northweſt 14 leagues; and the chanell wareth narrower and narrower vnto the firſt Streit which runneth

Southweſt winds raigne much here in Sommer.

From March forward the winds are fauourable for the Streits.

Cabo de San Gregorio a good roadſtead for any winds from the Northweſt to the Southweſt.

Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt. And comming out of the mouth thereof a man muſt keepe himſelfe a poynt to the Northward, becauſe there be rocks and ſhoalds. And if you ſee beds of weeds, take heed of them, and keepe off from them: and after you be paſt this Streight you muſt ſtirre Weſtſouthweſt 8 leagues vnto Cabo de San Gregorio, which is a high white cliffe, and is a good road for any wind from the Northweſt to the Southweſt. But men muſt beware and not truſt the Indians of this Cape: for they be ſubtill and will betray a man.

The Indians about Cape de San Gregorio in the Streits are very trecherous.

The ſecond Streit called Nueſtra Sennora de Gracia.

From this Cape beginneth the ſecond Streit which is called Nueſtra Sennora de Gracia, and lyeth Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt 3 leagues. And comming out of this Streit thou ſhalt ſee 3 little Iſlands, lying Weſt off this Streit: thou mayeſt go betweene them, for there is no danger: prouided alwayes that thou keepe well off from the bayes on both ſides, leſt thou bee imbayed. And from theſe Iſlands thou muſt keepe forwards in the chanell Weſtſouthweſt two leagues: and then the coaſt lyeth North and South vnto 53 degrees and a halfe, vnto a place called Punta de Santa Anna: and to the Northweſt thereof in a corner or nooke (which is one of the rincones or nookes) was the towne builded called La Ciudad del Don Philippe. Thou muſt come to an anker to the Northward thereof, after thou art paſt the caſtle and a great tree.

Punta de Santa Anna in 53 deg. and a halfe.

Rincones.

La Ciudad del Don Philippe: which is now vtterly ruined.

TWO VOYAGES OF CERTAINE ENGLISHmen to the riuer of *Plate* ſituate in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude: together with an exact Ruttier and deſcription thereof, and of all the maine branches, ſo farre as they are nauigable with ſmall barkes. By which riuer the Spaniards of late yeeres haue frequented an exceeding rich trade to and from *Peru*, and the mines of *Potoſſi*, as alſo to *Chili*, and other places.

A report of a voyage of two Engliſhmen in the company of *Sebaſtian Cabota*, intented for the *Malucos* by the Streights of *Magellan*, but perfourmed onely to the riuer of *Plate* in April 1527. Taken out of the information of M. *Robert Thorne* to Doctor *Ley* Ambaſſadour for King *Henry* the eight, to *Charles* the Emperour, touching the diſcouery of the *Malucos* by the North.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot diſcouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

Two Engliſhmen went with Cabot in this diſcouery.

IN a flote of three ſhips and a carauell that went from this citie of Siuil armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill laſt paſt, I and my partner haue one thouſand foure hundred duckets that wee employed in the ſayd fleete, principally for that two Engliſhmen, friendes of mine, which are ſomewhat learned in Coſmographie, ſhould goe in the ſame ſhips, to bring me certaine relation of the ſituation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of thoſe ſeas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduiſe that I deſire to know eſpecially. Seeing in thoſe quarters are ſhips and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours: that they ſhould procure to haue the ſayd cards, and learne how they vnderſtand them, and eſpecially to know what nauigation they haue for thoſe Iſlands Northwards, and Northeaſtward.

The Iſlands of the Malucos.

The New found Ilands diſcouered by the Engliſh.

For if from the ſaid Iſlands the ſea doth extend without interpoſition of land to ſaile from the North point to the Northeaſt point one thouſand ſeuen hundred or one thouſand eight hundred leagues, they ſhould come to The new found Iſlands that we diſcouered, & ſo we ſhould be neerer to the ſaid Spicerie by almoſt 200 leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portugall are.

An extract out of the diſcourſe of one *Lopez Vaz* a Portugal, touching the fight of M. *Fenton* with the Spaniſh ſhips, with a report of the proceeding of M. *Iohn Drake* after his departing from him to the riuer of *Plate*.

VPon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the ſtreits of Magellan, that they might be fortified, and for that the king heard, that there were ſhips in England preparing for the ſame ſtreits, he commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to paſſe thither with 23 ſhips, and 3500 men to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Engliſhmen.

There went in this fleete the gouernour of Chili, with 500 olde ſouldiers that came out of Flanders: but this was the vnhappieſt fleet of ſhips that euer went out of Spaine: for before they came from the coaſt of Spaine a ſtorme tooke them, and caſt away fiue of the fleete, and in them aboue 800 men, and the reſt came into Cadiz. But the king ſent them word that they ſhould proceede: and ſo there went out on the voyage 16 of the ſhippes, for two more of their fleete were much ſpoyled by the ſtorme which they had.

Fiue ſhips of this fleete caſt away on the coaſt of Spaine.

In theſe ſixteene ſhippes, Pedro Sarmiento was ſent to bee gouernour in the ſtraites, and had aſſigned vnto him 500 men to ſtay there with him, and hee carried with him all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other neceſſaries, with great ſtore of ordinance and other munition.

This fleete becauſe it was late, did winter on the coaſt of Braſil, in the riuer of Ienero: and from thence they went when the winter was paſt, and about the height of 42 degrees they had a ſudden ſtorme, ſo that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22 dayes, in which time hee loſt one of the beſt ſhips he had, which had in her 300 men, and 20 women, that went to inhabit the Streits: and in this ſhip alſo was moſt part of the munition which ſhould haue bene left in the Streits, ſo in the end the ſtorme grew to bee ſo great, that the ſhips were not able to endure it any longer, but were put backe vnto an Iſland, called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were ſome fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which friers told him of two great Engliſh ſhips, and a pinneſſe, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ſhips.

This fleete wintred in the riuer of Ienero.

M. Fenton tooke theſe fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores, knowing that theſe Engliſh ſhips would goe for the Streits, determined to goe thither, although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and chooſing 10 ſhips of the 15 that were left, hee left two ſhips which were not in caſe to goe to ſea at the Iſland, and into the other three ſhips which were old, and ſhaken with the ſtorme hee put all the women, and ſicke men in all the fleete, and ſent them to the riuer of Ienero, and he with the other 10 returned againe for the Streits.

The three ſhips in which the ſicke men and women were, went to Braſil, and there they found within the port of S. Vincent the two ſhips before mentioned.

They woulde haue had the Engliſh men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and becauſe that theſe three ſhips were weake with the ſtorme, and the men that they had were the worſt in all the fleete, the Engliſhmen eaſily put them to the worſt, and ſunke one of them, and might haue ſunke another, if the Engliſhmen would: but they minded not the deſtruction of any man: for that is the greateſt vertue that can be in a man, that when hee may doe hurt, yet he will not doe it. So the Engliſhmen went from this port to Spirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandiſe, and ſo they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the Countrey.

A fight betwixt one 2 Engliſh ſhips & three Spaniſh ſhips.

They victual at Spirito Santo.

The cauſe why theſe Engliſh ſhippes vnder the conduct of M. Fenton went not to the ſtreits, I know nat: but ſome ſay that they were put backe by foule weather: other ſome ſay that it was for feare of the kings ſhips.

But the pinneſſe of theſe two ſhips went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cauſe why they parted I know not, but the pinneſſe came into the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale Iſland, not farre from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands ſhippes did take in freſh water, ſhee was caſt away vpon a ledge of rockes: but the men were ſaued in their boat, which were in number 18, who went aſhore on the North ſide, and went a dayes iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages, which are no men-eaters, but take all the Chriſtians that they can, and make them ſlaues.

Iohn Drake proceedeth on to the riuer of Plate.

But the Engliſhmen fought with them, and the Sauages ſlew 5 of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15 moneths. But the Maſter of the pinneſſe, whoſe name was Richard Faireweather being not willing to indure the miſery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a towne of Chriſtians on the other ſide of the riuer, he in a night called Iohn Drake, and another yong man which was with them, and tooke a very little Canoa, which had but two oares, & ſo paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer, which is about 19 leagues broade, and were three dayes before they could get ouer without meat: and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Chriſtians: and ſeeing the footing of horſes, they followed it, and at laſt came to an houſe where there was corne ſowed, and there they met with Indians ſeruants vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them meate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Engliſhmen: ſo the Captaine ſent foure horſemen, who brought them to the towne behind them.

Richard Faireweather remayneth in the riuer of Plate.

This Captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dieted at the Captaines table, and they were all very well intreated, the Captaine purpoſing to ſend them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, ſent for them, and ſo Iohn Drake was

Iohn Drake ſent to the Viceroy of Peru.

ſent to him, but the other two were kept there, becauſe they were married in the countrey, ſo that I know no more of their affaires.

Upon this comming of the Engliſhmen, there were prepared 50 horſemen to goe ouer the riuer to ſeeke the reſt of the Engliſhmen, and alſo certaine Spaniards that were among the ſauage people, but I am not certaine, whether they went forward or not.

A ruttier which declareth the ſituation of the coaſt of *Braſil* from the Iſle of *Santa Catelina* vnto the mouth of the riuer of *Plata*, and all along vp within the ſayd riuer, and what armes and mouthes it hath to enter into it, as farre as it is nauigable with ſmall barks.

The Iſle of Santa Catelina. Rio Grande.

FRom the Iſle of Santa Catelina, (which is in 28 degrees of Southerly latitude) vnto Rio Grande is fortie leagues. This riuer by another name is called Ygai. The Iſland of Santa Catelina is ſixe leagues in length: it hath two ſmall Iſlands on the North ſide betweene the maine land and it: and on the South ſide it hath a ſhoald of rockes, which lyeth hidden very neere vnto the poynt of the Iſle. You are to paſſe betweene the firme land and the poynt of the Iſle.

Puerto de Biaza, or Laguna.

From Santa Catelina to the hauen of Biaça, which by another name is called la Laguna, are twelue leagues: it is a good hauen within: but you muſt ſtay the full ſea to enter into it, becauſe it hath ſhoaldes in the mouth, and it may be knowen by a ſmall Iſland which lyeth a league into the ſea which is called La Iſla de Reparo, that is, The Iſland of ſuccour or defence, and you muſt ride there to ſearch the chanell.

Iſla de reparo.

Rio Grande.

From this harbour vnto the riuer before named there is no hauen for a ſhip to harbour it ſelfe. And Rio Grande hath many ſhoalds in the mouth thereof. It is a riuer that none but very ſmall ſhippes can enter into. And this riuer diuideth the countrey of the people called Carios from other nations which are called Guauaes. And from this riuer vnto the entrance of the mouth of the riuer of Plate it is al a plaine land, and very low: you muſt ſaile all along two or three leagues into the ſea from the ſhore, vntill you come to certaine Iſlands which lye twelue leagues from the mouth of the riuer of Plate.

Certaine Iſlands 12. leagues diſtant from the mouth of the riuer of Plate, which are 3 in number.

From Rio Grande vnto theſe Iſlands are 68 leagues. And from theſe Iſlands vnto the Cape of Saint Marie the coaſt runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, ſomewhat inclining a poynt to the South. The Iſlands are three, and may be knowen as you come from the ſea by two poynts, which ſhew like the eares of a conie: you may ride betweene them and the maine.

The Cape of S. Marie. An Iſland a league an halfe from Cape Saint Marie.

From Rio Grande to the Cape of Saint Marie are 80 leagues: and the Cape may be knowne by one Iſland which lyeth from it a league and an halfe into the ſea. You may ſayle betweene the maine and that Iſland, becauſe there is aboue 8 or 9 fathoms water. The Cape of Saint Mary ſtandeth in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude.

Iſla de Lobos. The way to enter into the riuer of Plate. Rio de Solis 10 leagues within the Cape. Los tres Mogotes 3 leagues. Saint Grauiel 8 leagues.

The Cape of Santa Maria vpon the poynt thereof hath a little hill which ſtandeth ouer againſt the Iſle of Seales. From this coaſt of Santa Maria you muſt coaſt along the land alway on the North ſhore, and along the ſame are certaine Bayes. From the Cape vnto the riuer of Solis are tenne leagues, the coaſt runneth Eaſt and Weſt. There ſtandeth an Iſland ouer againſt the mouth thereof. From this riuer of Solis vnto Los tres Mogotes which are on the maine land is three leagues. And from Los Mogotes vnto the Iſles of Saint Grauiel are other 8 or 9 leagues more: all this diſtance runneth Eaſt and Weſt. Theſe are fiue ſmall Iſlands: to ride here you muſt keepe ſomewhat neere the maine within an harquebuze ſhot halfe a league before you come at the Iſlands, and ſtraightway you ſhall ſee a croſſe ✠ ſtanding on the ſaid land, and there is an harbour for ſome winds.

Rio de S. Iuan 3 leagues.

From Saint Grauiel vnto the riuer of Sant Iuan going along the ſame coaſt, I ſay on the North ſhore, are three leagues: it is very well knowen by the broken cliffe which it hath, which is a white hill. The entrance into this riuer is very dangerous; becauſe it is ſhallow, and none but very ſmall ſhippes can enter into the ſame: the entrance thereof is on the Weſt ſide very neere the land, great Carackes may ride within the harbour. From this riuer vnto the Iſle of Martin Garçia are three leagues: it is one Iſland alone, and you muſt ſayle along the coaſt on the North ſhore: and after you be come vnto the Iſland, I ſay, ouer againſt the ſame, you ſhall haue three fathoms water, and on the Weſt ſide it hath a little creeke where you may ride.

The Iſle of Martin Garzia 3. leagues.

Rio de Buenos Aëres on the ſouth ſide of the riuer of Plate.

He that deſireth to croſſe ouer the riuer of Plate vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres from the Iſles of Saint Grauiel, muſt ſhape his courſe Southweſt: and the cut ouer is ſixteene leagues and vpon his arriuall on the South ſhore of the riuer, hee muſt ſeeke a chanell of three fathomes water, and ſtraite he muſt goe along the coaſt vntill hee come to a broken cliffe and a poynt like vnto the firme land, which is diſtant from this chanell three or foure leagues: and when thou ſeeſt this broken cliffe, keepe thee a league from it. Here vpon this riuer of Buenos Aëres was the firſt Colonie that Don Pedro de Mendoça planted. This riuer lieth very much hidden: becauſe it is not ſeene, it is very ſhallow at a low ſea, wherefore you muſt come in with the firſt of the flood.

The firſt Spaniſh colonie was planted in the riuer of Buenos Aëres.

From the Iſle of Martin Garçia vnto certaine ſmall Iſlands which are called the Iſles of Saint Lazarus is two leagues, theſe are ſhoalds: and to goe thither you muſt goe hard aboord the maine, for there goeth the chanell: all this is to be paſſed on the North ſhore, and with ſmall barkes, and with good heede.

The Iſles of San Lazaro.

From the Iſle of Martin Garçia to the mouthes of the riuer are eight leagues in paſſing along on this ſide to ſeeke one of the mouthes of the riuer Parana, as it is hereafter deſcribed. But you had need firſt to harbour in a bay, which is in the very cliffe or Barranca, and you muſt ſtay for the full ſea. And if you fall into the mouth of the riuer which is called Vruay, you muſt leaue it on the right hand, I ſay on the North ſide. And foorthwith leauing the ſaid mouth forward toward the Weſt, you may enter into the firſt mouth although it ſeeme narrow; or rather you may enter into any of the mouthes: for all of them meete together in Parana, which is the maine riuer.

Rio Vruay.

Parana is the great riuer.

And hee that deſireth to goe from the Iſle of Martin Garçia to the riuer of Palmas, which is the beſt of all theſe armes, or mouthes to ſpeake more properly, is to ſhape his courſe to the Weſt, and comming ouer to the other ſhore, and ſayling along the coaſt Northnorthweſt hee ſhall diſcouer the mouth of this riuer of Palmas: and hee muſt enter hard by Los Iuncales, which lye on the South ſide: and afterward within is very deepe ſounding. All theſe mouthes of this riuer which are 5, are full of ſholds towards the Eaſt about the ſpace of two leagues. And if the courſe of the water were not ſwift there, you could not enter into them, as I haue already ſayd, and you muſt paſſe all along with much heede and foreſight.

Rio de las Palmas.

And if perauenture you haue paſſed Cape Saint Marie and are come ouer to Cape Blanco, conſider it, that it is ſo euen and ſmooth a land, that you can ſcarcely diſcerne it a league from the maine, vnleſſe it be a very cleare day: and after this ſort the coaſt lieth low vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres. And from thence the coaſt lyeth ſomewhat high vnto the entrance of the riuer de Palmas: all the coaſt runneth as I ſayd before. And all along this coaſt are naughty people, which eate thoſe which they kill, and many Tygers.

Cape Blanco on the South ſide of the mouth of the riuer of Plate a very low and euen land.
Man-eaters vpon the ſouth ſhore.

From the Iſle of Martin Garçia vnto Sant Saluador is nine or tenne leagues. This is an Iſland which ſtandeth two leagues within the firſt mouth: where Sebaſtian Cabota tooke poſſeſſion. And this countrey is very well peopled by a people called Carios; and you muſt beware of all theſe people: for they are your deadly enemies. The moſt Southerly mouth of Parana called Rio de Palmas is ſixteene leagues long, and it hath many turnings, and many palme or date-trees growing neere it, whereupon it is called The riuer of palme trees: and forthwith it entreth into the riuer Parana, as ſoone as theſe ſixteene leagues are finiſhed. All the other armes containe likewiſe ſixteene leagues in length, ſauing one ſmall or narrowe arme, which is called The riuer de los Beguaes: for this containeth fortie leagues in length. From this you muſt enter vp the mouth of the riuer of Palmas vnto Santo Spirito, the way is fiftie leagues: you are to paſſe ſtill along the cliffes. As you enter on the left hand which is on the Weſt ſhore vp this riuer there are many Iſles, lakes and ſmall riuers, and many Indians which are your enemies.

Sant Saluador an Iſland ten leagues off.
Sebaſtian Cabota.

16. Leagues.

Santo Spirito 50 leagues from Rio de Palmas.

From Santo Spirito vnto a people which are called Los Tenbuis is fifteene leagues. This is by the narrow arme whereby they paſſe into the riuer Parana: it is the more becauſe it is the longer way. From the Tenbuis by this narrow arme vpward vnto the Quiloacas, which is another nation, are twentie leagues; and all vp this riuer is great ſtore of people.

Los Tenbuis a people.
15. Leagues.
The Quiloacas 20. leagues.

From the Quiloacas, to a place where the Spaniards now haue builded a towne, are fifteene leagues. From this towne vnto the people called Los Mequaretas is twentie leagues. Here are many ſholds which continue thirtie leagues. All theſe thirtie leagues are ſunken landes: where are many Iſles, flats, and nations, which are our enemies.

This towne perhaps may be the towne of Santa Anna, 15. leagues.
The Mequaretas a people.
20 leagues.

From the Mequaretas vnto the people called Mepenes are theſe thirtie leagues. And from hence begin the coaſts of the firme land vnto the mouth of the riuer Paraguai; ſauing that there are eight leagues more of ſunken ground.

The Mepenes 30 leagues.
8. Leagues.

From the Mepenes vnto the mouth of the riuer of Paraguai are thirtie leagues: it is a riuer that cannot be miſtaken although it hath many armes and Iſlands and dangers, it hath a marke two leagues beneath the mouth on the Eaſt ſide, to wit, an high land, where are 7 points, which we call the 7 currents: and immediatly aboue theſe currents there is an Iſland as you paſſe vp the

The riuer Paraguai.

The 7. currents.

The towne of Piquiri or Picora 170. leagues by the riuer of Parana.
The citie of Aſſumption, or Aſcenſion 60. leagues from the mouth of Paraguai.
200. leagues from Aſſumption ſubiect to the Spaniard, to the citie of Xaraes.

riuer ouer againſt the poynt aforeſaid ſtandeth the mouth of Paraguai. This mouth is very plaine to be found, in ſeeking whereof a man cannot be deceiued. From this mouth the riuer of Parana is diuided, which is a very great riuer: and it goeth vnto the towne of Piquiri, which is an hundred and ſeuentie leagues: and it runneth all this ſpace North and South, and in the way are many flats and ſhoalds; and great ſtore of people, which are a bad nation, although they bee diuided. From the place where theſe two riuers are diuided, that is to ſay, from the mouth of Paraguai are ſixtie leagues vnto the citie of Aſſumption. This is a good riuer, and better to ſayle then all the reſt of the riuers, which are in this countrey. And from this towne to Los Xaraes are 200. leagues, very well inhabited with people of diuers nations, which ſerue the Spanyards.

THE TWO FAMOVS VOYAGES HAPPILY perfourmed round about the world, by Sir *Francis Drake*, and M. *Thomas Candiſh* Eſquire, together with the reſt of our Engliſh voyages intended for the South Sea, the kingdomes of *Chili, Peru,* the backe ſide of *Nueua Eſpanna*, the *Malucos*, the *Philippinas*, the mightie Empire of *China*, though not ſo happily perſfourmed as the two former: Whereunto are annexed certaine rare obſeruations touching the preſent ſtate of *China*, and the kingdome of *Coray*, lately inuaded by *Quabacondono* the laſt Monarch of the 66. princedomes of *Iapan*.

The famous voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* into the South ſea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THe 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ſhips and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and ſailers, departed from Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where ſuch and ſo terrible a tempeſt tooke vs, as few men haue ſeene the like, and was in deed ſo vehement, that all our ſhips were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleaſed God to preſerue vs from that extremitie, and to afflict vs onely for that preſent with theſe two particulars: The maſt of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the ſafegard of the ſhip, and the Marigold was driuen aſhore, and ſomewhat bruiſed: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered thoſe harmes, and brought the ſhips againe to good ſtate, we ſet forth the ſecond time from Plimmouth, and ſet ſaile the 13. day of December following.

The Iſle of Mogador on the coaſt of Barbarie.

The 25. day of the ſame moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, and coaſting along, the 27. day we found an Iſland called Mogador, lying one mile diſtant from the maine, betweene which Iſland and the maine, we found a very good and ſafe harbour for our ſhips to ride in, as alſo very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

On this Iſland our Generall erected a pinneſſe, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While theſe things were in doing, there came to the waters ſide ſome of the inhabitants of the countrey, ſhewing foorth their flags of truce, which being ſeene of our Generall, hee ſent his ſhips boate to the ſhore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord, our ſhip, which by ſignes ſhewed our General, that the next day they would bring ſome prouiſion, as ſheepe, capons and hennes, and ſuch like: whereupon our Generall beſtowed amongſt them ſome linnen cloth and ſhooes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters ſide, and our Generall againe ſetting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer raſhly aſhore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they ſet violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any reſiſtance, and ſo laying him on a horſe, caried him away: ſo that a man cannot be too circumſpect and warie of himſelfe among ſuch miſcreants.

Our pinneſſe being finiſhed, wee departed from this place the 30. and laſt day of December, and coaſting along the ſhore, wee did deſcrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spaniſh fiſhermen, to whom we gaue chaſe and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Carauels and tooke them alſo.

The 17. day of Ianuary we arriued at Cape Blanco, where we found a ſhip riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two ſimple Mariners in her, which ſhip we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that ſpace our General muſtered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occaſions.

Ianuarie.

In this place we tooke of the Fiſhermen ſuch neceſſaries as wee wanted, and they could yeeld vs, and leauing heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All theſe things being finiſhed, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Ianuarie, carying along with vs one of the Portugall Carauels which was bound to the Iſlands of Cape Verde for ſalt, whereof good ſtore is made in one of thoſe Iſlands.

The maſter or Pilot of that Carauel did aduertiſe our Generall that vpon one of thoſe Iſlands called Mayo, there was great ſtore of dryed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for ſuch of the kings Ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his countrey of Braſile or elſewhere. Wee fell with this Iſland the 27. of Ianuary, but the Inhabitants would in no caſe traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall ſent to view the Iſland, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouiſion of victuals, about threeſcore and two men vnder the conduct and gouernment of Maſter Winter and Maſter Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iſland (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing trauailed to the mountaines the ſpace of three miles, and arriuing there ſomewhat before the day breake, we arreſted our ſelues to ſee day before vs, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reaſon that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, eſpecially the valleys among the hils.

The Iſle of Mayo.

Here we gaue our ſelues a litle refreſhing, as by very ripe and ſweete grapes, which the fruitfulneſſe of the earth at that ſeaſon of the yeere yeelded vs: and that ſeaſon being with vs the depth of Winter, it may ſeeme ſtrange that thoſe fruites were then there growing: but the reaſon thereof is this, becauſe they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne paſſeth twiſe in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, & being ſo neere the heate of the line, they neuer loſe the heate of the Sunne ſo much, but the fruites haue their increaſe and continuance in the midſt of Winter. The Iſland is wonderfully ſtored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath ſalt alſo without labour, ſaue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increaſed vpon the ſands by the flowing of the ſea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the ſame, ſo that of the increaſe thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

* Ripe grapes in Winter.

Amongſt other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which becauſe it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make ſome deſcription of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in cluſters, hard at the top of the ſtemme of the tree, as big euery ſeuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauing taken off the vttermoſt barke, which you ſhall find to bee very full of ſtrings or ſinowes, as I may terme them, you ſhall come to a hard ſhell which may holde of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or ſome a quart, and ſome leſſe: within that ſhell of the thickneſſe of halfe an inch good, you ſhall haue a kinde of hard ſubſtance and very white, no leſſe good and ſweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you ſhall not onely finde it very delicate and ſweete, but moſt comfortable and cordiall.

The deſcription of the tree that beareth Cocos.

After wee had ſatiſfied our ſelues with ſome of theſe fruites, wee marched further into the Iland, and ſaw great ſtore of * Cabritos aliue, which were ſo chaſed by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouiſion, but they had layde out as it were to ſtoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and ſmall and few, wee made no account of.

* Or goates.

Being returned to our ſhips, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and ſayled by the Iſland of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who ſhot and diſcharged at vs three peeces, but they all fell ſhort of vs, and did vs no harme. The Iſland is fayre and large, and as it ſeemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Iſland are ſayd to be poſſeſſed by the Moores, who hauing bin ſlaues to the Portugals, to eaſe themſelues, made eſcape to the deſert places of the Iſland, where they abide with great ſtrength.

The Iſle of S. Iago.

Being

A prize, and Nuno da Silua a Portugall Pilot taken.

Being before this Iſland, we eſpied two ſhips vnder ſayle, to the one of which wee gaue chaſe, and in the end boorded her with a ſhip-boat without reſiſtance, which we found to be a good prize, and ſhe yeelded vnto vs good ſtore of wine: which prize our General committed to the cuſtodie of Maſter Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, ſent the reſt away with his Pinneſſe, giuing them a Butte of wine and ſome victuals, and their wearing clothes, and ſo they departed.

The Iſle of Fogo.

The ſame night wee came with the Iſland called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Iſland: in the Northſide whereof is a conſuming fire, the matter is ſayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithſtanding it is like to bee a commodious Iſland, becauſe the Portugals haue built, and doe inhabite there.

Upon the South ſide thereof lyeth a moſt pleaſant and ſweete Iſland, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in reſpect whereof they call it Ilha Braua, that is, the braue Iſland. From the bankes thereof into the ſea doe run in many places reaſonable ſtreames of freſh waters eaſie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ſhips: for ſuch was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, ſo that the tops of Fogo burne not ſo high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the ſea.

Being departed from theſe Iſlands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the ſpace of 3. weekes, but yet ſubiect to diuers great ſtormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miſerie we had the commoditie of great ſtore of fiſh, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fiſhes, whereof ſome fell into our ſhippes, wherehence they could not riſe againe for want of moiſture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

April. 33. Degrees.

From the firſt day of our departure from the Iſlands of Cape Verde, wee ſayled 54. dayes without ſight of land, and the firſt land that we fell with was the coaſt of Braſil, which we ſaw the fift of April in yͤ height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being diſcouered at ſea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made vpon the coaſt great fires for a ſacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vſe coniurations, making heapes of ſande and other ceremonies, that when any ſhip ſhall goe about to ſtay vpon their coaſt, not onely ſands may be gathered together in ſhoalds in euery place, but alſo that ſtormes and tempeſts may ariſe, to the caſting away of ſhips and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments.

The Cape of Ioy.

The ſeuenth day in a mightie great ſtorme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee loſt the Canter which we called the Chriſtopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in diſperſing his ſhips, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our Generall called the Cape of Ioy, where euery ſhip tooke in ſome water. Heere we found a good temperature and ſweete ayre, a very faire and pleaſant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull ſoyle, where were great ſtore of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the ſight of any people: but traueiling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground, ſhewing that they were men of great ſtature. Being returned to our ſhips, we wayed anchor, and ranne ſomewhat further, and harboured our ſelues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the ſea, we rid very ſafe, and vpon this rocke we killed for our prouiſion certaine ſea-wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

Their entrãce into the riuer of Plate.

From hence we went our courſe to 36. degrees, and entred the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 53. fadomes and a halfe of freſh water, where wee filled our water by the ſhips ſide: but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he ſhould, bare out againe to ſea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we loſt ſight of our Flieboate wherein maſter Doughtie was, but we ſayling along, found a fayre and reaſonable good Bay wherein were many, and the ſame profitable Iſlands, one whereof had ſo many Seales, as would at the leaſt haue laden all our Shippes, and the reſt of the Iſlands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to ſee, and they of diuers ſortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of freſh water.

Abundance of Seales.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on ſhore in an Iſland, the people of the countrey ſhewed themſelues vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the ſame muſt bee caſt vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and ſtrong bodies, ſwift on foote, and ſeeme to be very actiue.

May.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to haue a care of ſuch Ships as were abſent, and therefore indeuouring to ſeeke the Flieboate wherein maſter Doughtie was, we eſpied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ſhips were ſent to diſcouer the coaſt and to ſearch an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that buſineſſe, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderſtanding of a ſafe harbour that they had found, where with all our ſhips bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouiſion of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we ſlew to the number of 200. or 300. in the ſpace of an houre.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid cloſe aboord the Flie-boate, and tooke out of her all the prouiſion of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the Lande, ſet fire to her, and ſo burnt her to ſaue the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, ſauing only about their waſte the ſkinne of ſome beaſt with the furre or haire on, and ſomething alſo wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and ſome of them had on their heads the ſimilitude of hornes, euery man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and ſeemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. Theſe people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being aſhore, and they dauncing after their accuſtomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt ſuddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle diſtance from him and ſhared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

The Flie-boate caſt off and burnt.

The people of the countrey.

Hauing diſpatched all our buſineſſe in this place, wee departed and ſet ſayle, and immediatly vpon our ſetting foorth we loſt our Canter which was abſent three or foure dayes: but when our Generall had her againe, he tooke out the neceſſaries, and ſo gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The cape of Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of Iune, wee harboured our ſelues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port S.Iulian, where we found a gibbet ſtanding vpon the maine, which we ſuppoſed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon ſome of his diſobedient and rebellious company.

Iune.

Port S.Iulian.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went aſhore to the maine, and in his companie, Iohn Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the Maſter gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they preſently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a ſhoote of pleaſure, and in his draught his bowſtring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes againſt our company, and droue them to their ſhifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M.Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be ſuch as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or ſome other diſorder, whereby (without redreſſe) the ſucceſſe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cauſe, which were found partly by maſter Doughties owne confeſſion, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall ſaw, although his priuate affection to M.Doughtie (as hee then in the preſence of vs all ſacredly proteſted) was great, yet the care he had of the ſtate of the voyage, of the expectation of her Maieſtie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the priuate reſpect of one man: ſo that the cauſe being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the courſe of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M.Doughtie ſhould receiue puniſhment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he ſeeing no remedie but patience for himſelfe, deſired before his death to receiue the Communion, which he did at the hands of M.Fletcher our Miniſter, and our Generall himſelfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes maieſtie and our realme, in quiet ſort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers ſpeaches to the whole company, perſwading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himſelfe to receiue the Communion, as Chriſtian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent ſort, and ſo with good contentment euery man went about his buſineſſe.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

The 17. day of Auguſt we departed the port of S.Iulian, & the 20. day we fell with the ſtreight or freat of Magellan going into the South ſea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the body of a dead man, whoſe fleſh was cleane conſumed.

Auguſt.

The ſtreight of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred The ſtreight, which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were ſhuttings vp, as if there were no paſſage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often againſt vs, ſo that ſome of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others ſhould be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this ſtreight there be many faire harbors, with ſtore of freſh water, but yet they lacke their beſt commoditie: for the water is there of ſuch depth, that no man ſhal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in ſome narow riuer or corner, or betweene ſome rocks, ſo that if any extreme blaſts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much ſubiect) it carieth with it no ſmall danger.

The land on both ſides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monſtrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a ſtrange maner, reaching themſelues aboue their fellowes ſo high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

Theſe mountaines are couered with ſnow: at both the Southerly and Eaſterly partes of the ſtreight there are Iſlands, among which the ſea hath his indraught into the ſtreights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This ſtreight is extreme cold, with froſt and ſnow continually; the trees ſeeme to ſtoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and ſweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increaſe vnder them.

The bredth of the ſtreights of Magellan.

The bredth of the ſtreight is in ſome place a league, in ſome other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in ſome other 4. leagues, but the naroweſt place hath a league ouer.

Abundance of foule in the ſtreight.

The 24. of Auguſt we arriued at an Iſland in the ſtreights, where we found great ſtore of foule which could not flie, of the bigneſſe of geeſe, whereof we killed in leſſe then one day 3000. and victualled our ſelues throughly therewith.

September.

The 6. day of September we entred the South ſea at the Cape or head ſhore.

The ſeuenth day wee were driuen by a great ſtorme from the entring into the South ſea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight: in which height, and ſo many leagues to the Weſtward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipſe of the Moone at the houre of ſixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our ſtate, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accuſtomed Eclipſe of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone ſeuen fold.

57. Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude. Botero writeth that another hath found this place all Iſlands.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of ſeuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the ſtreights in 57. degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anker among the Iſlands, hauing there freſh and very good water, with herbes of ſingular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iſland to another to ſeeke their meat, who entred traffique with vs for ſuch things as they had.

We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Iſlands, in one of which was ſuch plentie of birdes as is ſcant credible to report.

M. Winter ſeparated and returned.

The 8. day of October we loſt ſight of one of our Conſorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we ſuppoſed was put by a ſtorme into the ſtreights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not periſhed, as ſome of our company feared.

The trending of the coaſt of Chili.

Thus being come into the height of The ſtreights againe, we ran, ſuppoſing the coaſt of Chili to lie as the generall Maps haue deſcribed it, namely Northweſt, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeaſt and Eaſtwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truely hitherto diſcouered, or at the leaſt not truely reported for the ſpace of 12. degrees at the leaſt, being ſet downe either of purpoſe to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

The Iſle la Mocha in 38. degrees and 30. minutes.

We continuing our courſe, fell the 29. of Nouember with an Iſland called la Mocha, where we caſt anchor, and our Generall hoyſing out our boate, went with ten of our company to ſhore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne ſafetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themſelues in this Iſland. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water ſide with ſhew of great courteſie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat ſheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promiſe to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the ſhore, and ſending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vſe to ſhew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, ſlew them.

Our Generall ſeeing this, ſtayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and ſet ſayle towards the coaſt of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the ſhore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and tolde vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spaniſh ſhip laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

The port of Valparizo in 33. degrees 40. minutes.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ſhip riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to vs: but as ſoone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and ſtrooke one of the Spanyards, and ſayd vnto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in Engliſh, Goe downe dogge. One of theſe Spaniards ſeeing perſons of that quality in thoſe ſeas, all to croſſed, and bleſſed himſelfe: but to be ſhort, wee ſtowed them vnder hatches all ſaue one Spaniard, who ſuddenly and deſperately leapt ouer boord into the ſea, and ſwamme aſhore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arriuall.

Wine of Chili.

The towne of S. Iago taken.

They of the towne being not aboue 9. houſholds, preſently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spaniſh ſhips boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a ſmall chappell which wee entred, and found therein a ſiluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the ſpoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher his miniſter.

We found alſo in this towne a warehouſe ſtored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for firewood: and ſo being come aboord, wee departed the Hauen, hauing firſt ſet all the Spaniards on land, ſauing one Iohn Griego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

Wine of Chili.

John Griego a Pilot taken.

When we were at ſea, our Generall rifled the ſhip, and found in her good ſtore of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiuia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spaniſh money, and aboue. So going on our courſe, wee arriued next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall ſent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were eſpied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horſemen and 200. footemen, and ſlewe one of our men with a piece, the reſt came aboord in ſafetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on ſhore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we ſet ſayle and would not truſt them.

Gold of Baldiuia.

Coquimbo in 29. degrees 30 minutes.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaça, where being landed, we found by the Sea ſide a Spaniard lying aſleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of ſiluer, which weighed 4000. ducats Spaniſh; we tooke the ſiluer, and left the man.

Tarapaça.

Not farre from hence going on land for freſh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driuing 8, Llamas or ſheepe of Peru which are as big as aſſes; euery of which ſheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge conteining 50. li. weight of fine ſiluer: ſo that bringing both the ſheepe and their burthen to the ſhips, we found in all the bags 800. weight of ſiluer.

Here hence we ſailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three ſmall barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of ſiluer, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of theſe wedges were of the faſhion and bigneſſe of a brickbat. In all theſe 3. barkes we found not one perſon: for they miſtruſting no ſtrangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which conſiſteth of about twentie houſes, which we would haue ranſacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the ſpoyle of the ſhips, left the Towne and put off againe to ſea and ſet ſayle for Lima, and by the way met with a ſmall barke, which he boorded, and found in her good ſtore of linnen cloth, whereof taking ſome quantitie, he let her goe.

Arica in 18. deg 30. min.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue ſayle of ſhips lying faſt moored at an anker, hauing all their ſayles caried on ſhore; for the maſters and marchants were here moſt ſecure, hauing neuer bene aſſaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none ſuch as we were. Our generall rifled theſe ſhips, and found in one of them a cheſt full of royals of plate, and good ſtore of ſilkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the cheſt into his owne ſhip, and good ſtore of the ſilkes and linnen. In which ſhip hee had newes of another ſhip called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the ſame ſhippe was laden with treaſure: whereupon we ſtaied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ſhippes in the hauen, we let them driue whither they would, either to ſea or to the ſhore, and with all ſpeede we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her; but before wee arriued there, ſhe was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall ſtill purſued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ſhips, which hee boorded and ſearched, and found in her 80. li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emeraulds ſet in

Lima in 11. deg. 50. minutes.

it which he tooke, and ſome of the cordage alſo for his owne ſhip.

From hence we departed, ſtill following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promiſed our company, that whoſoeuer could firſt deſcrie her, ſhould haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, deſcried her about three of the clocke, and about ſixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and ſhotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and ſtrake downe her Miſen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious ſtones, thirteene cheſts full of royals of plate, foure ſcore pound weight of golde, and ſixe and twentie tunne of ſiluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Franciſco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The rich ſhip called the Cacafuego taken.

Cape de San Franciſco in 1. degree to the North.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Franciſco, and amongſt other plate that our Generall found in this ſhip, he found two very faire guilt bowles of ſiluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall ſayd: Senior Pilot, you haue here two ſiluer cups, but I muſt needes haue one of them: which the Pilot becauſe hee could not otherwiſe chuſe, yeelded vnto, and gaue the other to the ſteward of our Generals ſhips.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy ſayde thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our ſhip ſhall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ſhippe ſhall bee called the Cacafuego: which pretie ſpeach of the Pilots boy miniſtred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

China ſilks, and Porcellan.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee caſt her off, and wee went on our courſe ſtill towards the Weſt, and not long after met with a ſhip laden with linnen cloth and fine China-diſhes of white earth, and great ſtore of China-ſilks, of all which things wee tooke as we liſted.

The owner himſelfe of this ſhip was in her, who was a Spaniſh Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great Emeraud in the breaſt thereof, and the Pilot of the ſhip he tooke alſo with him, and ſo caſt the ſhip off.

Guatulco.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Aſſoone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went preſently to the towne, and to the Towne-houſe, where we found a Iudge ſitting in iudgement, being aſſociate with three other officers, vpon three Negros that had conſpired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges & priſoners we tooke, and brought them a ſhipboord, and cauſed the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Towneſmen to auoid, that we might ſafely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ranſaked the Towne, and in one houſe we found a pot of the quantitie of a buſhell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ſhip.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spaniſh Gentleman as hee was flying out of the towne, and ſearching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and ſo let him goe.

The Portugal Pilot ſet on land.
The Iſland of Canno.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, ſet aſhore his Portugall Pilote, which hee tooke at the Iſlands of Cape Verde, out of a ſhip of S. Mary port of Portugall: and hauing ſet them aſhore, we departed hence, and ſailed to the Iſland of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to ſhore his owne ſhip, and diſcharged her, mended, and graued her, and furniſhed our ſhip with water and wood ſufficiently.

A ſhip with a gouernour for the Iſlands of Philippinas.

And while wee were here, we eſpied a ſhippe, and ſet ſaile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots, and a Spaniſh Gouernour, going for the Iſlands of the Philippinas: wee ſearched the ſhippe, and tooke ſome of her marchandizes, and ſo let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himſelfe both in reſpect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as alſo of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, ſufficiently ſatiſfied, and reuenged: and ſuppoſing that her Maieſtie at his returne would reſt contented with this ſeruice, purpoſed to continue no longer vpon the Spaniſh coaſts, but began to conſider and to conſult of the beſt way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two ſpeciall cauſes: the one, leſt the Spaniards ſhould there waite, and attend for him in great number and ſtrength, whoſe hands, hee being left but one ſhip, could not poſſibly eſcape. The other cauſe was the dangerous ſituation of the mouth of the ſtreights in the South ſea, where continuall ſtormes reigning and bluſtering, as he found by experience, beſides the ſhoalds and ſands vpon the coaſt, he thought it not a good courſe to aduenture that way: he reſolued therefore to auoyde theſe hazards, to goe forward to the Iſlandes of the Malucos, and therehence to ſaile the courſe of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Eſperança.

Vpon this reſolution, hee beganne to thinke of his beſt way to the Malucos, and finding himſelfe

ſelfe where he now was becalmed, he ſaw that of neceſſitie hee muſt be forced to take a Spaniſh courſe, namely to ſayle ſomewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore ſet ſaile, and ſayled 600. leagues at the leaſt for a good winde, and thus much we ſailed from the 16, of April, till the 3. of June.

June.

Sir Francis Drake ſayled on the backſide of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude.

The 5. day of June, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre ſo colde, that our men being grieuouſly pinched with the ſame, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increaſed vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it beſt for that time to ſeeke the land, and did ſo, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleaſed God to ſend vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the ſame.

38. Degrees.

A deſcription of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey hauing their houſes cloſe by the waters ſide, ſhewed themſelues vnto vs, and ſent a preſent to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accuſtomed humanitie) courteouſly intreated them, and liberally beſtowed on them neceſſary things to couer their nakedneſſe, whereupon they ſuppoſed vs to be gods, and would not be perſwaded to the contrary: the preſents which they ſent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

Their houſes are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermoſt brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood ſet vpon them, ioyning cloſe together at the toppe like a ſpire ſteeple, which by reaſon of that cloſeneſſe are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with ruſhes ſtrowed on it, and lying about the houſe, haue the fire in the midſt. The men go naked, the women take bulruſhes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their looſe garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing alſo about their ſhoulders a ſkinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. Theſe women are very obedient and ſeruiceable to their huſbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and viſited vs the ſecond time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for preſents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they ſtaied themſelues: where one appointed for ſpeaker wearied himſelfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their preſents.

A long oration.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themſelues lamentably, tearing their fleſh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a ſacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exerciſe they were attentiue, & ſeemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they reſtored againe vnto vs thoſe things which before we beſtowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being ſpread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongſt them the King himſelfe, a man of a goodly ſtature, & comely perſonage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whoſe comming were ſent two Ambaſſadors to our Generall, to ſignifie that their King was comming, in doing of which meſſage, their ſpeach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by ſignes requeſted our Generall to ſend ſome thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing ſatiſfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maieſtie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere vnto vs, ſo did they ſtriue to behaue themſelues in their actions with comelineſſe.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly perſonage, who bare the ſcepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a leſſe and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruellous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie ſubſtance, and few be the perſons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number alſo the perſons are ſtinted, as ſome ten, ſome 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the ſcepter, was the King himſelfe, with his Guard about his perſon, clad with Conie ſkins, & other ſkins: after them followed the naked cõmon ſort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, ſome with white, ſome with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their hands one thing or another for a preſent, not ſo much as their children, but they alſo brought their preſents.

Chaines like thoſe of Canada.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making againſt their approching, a very warre-like ſhew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall ſalutation being made, there was preſently a generall ſilence. Then he that bare the ſcepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they aſſigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other ſpake to him in ſecrete, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who deſcending to the foote of the hill, ſet themſelues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the ſcepter-bearer began a ſong, obſeruing his meaſures in a daunce, and that with a ſtately countenance, whom the King with his Guarde, and euery degree of perſons following, did in like maner ſing and daunce, ſauing onely the women, which daunced & kept ſilence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their ſong and daunce a reaſonable time. When they had ſatiſfied themſelues, they made ſignes to our General to ſit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made ſeuerall orations, or rather ſupplications, that hee would take their prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making ſignes that they would reſigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his ſubiects. In which, to perſwade vs the better, the King and the reſt, with one conſent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully ſinging a ſong, did ſet the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it ſeemed, a ſigne of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, becauſe he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vſe of her Maieſtie he tooke the ſcepter, crowne, and dignitie of the ſaid Countrey into his hands, wiſhing that the riches & treaſure thereof might ſo conueniently be tranſported to the inriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in yͤ ſame.

The King reſignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

The common ſorte of people leauing the King and his Guarde with our Generall, ſcattered themſelues together with their ſacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery perſon: and ſuch as pleaſed their fancie, (which were the yongeſt) they incloſing them about offred their ſacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, ſcratching, and tearing the fleſh from their faces with their nailes, whereof iſſued abundance of blood. But wee vſed ſignes to them of diſliking this, and ſtayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whom onely they ought to worſhip. They ſhewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gaue them lotions, plaiſters, and oyntments agreeing to the ſtate of their griefes, beſeeching God to cure their diſeaſes. Euery third day they brought their ſacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderſtood our meaning, that we had no pleaſure in them: yet they could not be long abſent from vs, but dayly frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure ſeemed ſo greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into ſorow. They intreated vs, that being abſent we would remember them, and by ſtealth prouided a ſacrifice, which we miſliked.

The like they did in Hochelaga.

Great herdes of Deere.

Our neceſſarie buſineſſe being ended, our Generall with his company trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being moſt large, and fat of body.

Abundance of ſtrange conies.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a ſtrange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bigneſſe as be the Barbary Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne is on either ſide a bag, into the which ſhe gathereth her meate, when ſhe hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their ſkinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two cauſes: the one in reſpect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the ſea: and the other, becauſe it might haue ſome affinitie with our Countrey in name, which ſometime was ſo called.

Golde and ſiluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken vp, wherein there is not ſome probable ſhew of gold or ſiluer.

At our departure hence our Generall ſet vp a monument of our being there, as alſo of her Maieſties right and title to the ſame, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poſte, whereupon was ingrauen her Maieſties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maieſties hands, together with her highneſſe picture and armes, in a peece of ſixe pence of current Engliſh money vnder the plate, whereunder was alſo written the name of our Generall.

It ſeemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer diſcouer the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

Their departure.
October.
Certaine Iſlands in 8. degrees.
Strange Canoas, like thoſe of Iaua.

After we had ſet ſaile from hence, wee continued without ſight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Iſlands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Iſlands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in ſome of them 4. in ſome 6. and in ſome alſo 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning, being very ſmooth within and without, and bearing a glaſſe as if it were a horne daintily burniſhed, hauing a prowe, and a ſterne of one ſort, yeelding inward circle-wiſe, being of a great height, and full of certaine white ſhels for a brauerie, and on each ſide of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or leſſe, according to the ſmalneſſe, or bigneſſe of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reaſonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the ſame purpoſe.

Leauing this Iſland the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we lighted vpon diuers others, ſome whereof made a great ſhew of Inhabitants.

Iſlands.

Wee continued our courſe by the Iſlands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the firſt whereof hath growing in it great ſtore of Cinnamom.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Iſlands of Maluco, which day at night (hauing directed our courſe to runne with Tydore) in coaſting along the Iſland of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king ſeeing vs at ſea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboord, and after ſome conference with our Generall, willed him in any wiſe to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, aſſuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpoſe he himſelfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee ſhould finde that as he was a King, ſo his word ſhould ſtand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, becauſe hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our General reſolued to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall ſent a meſſenger to the king with a veluet cloke for a preſent, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good ſtore; in ſuch things as he wanted.

Nouember.

The Iſle of Ternate.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promiſe, ſignifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffique: whereby the King was mooued with great liking towards vs, and ſent to our Generall with ſpeciall meſſage, that hee ſhould haue what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendſhip, and moreouer that hee would yeeld himſelfe, and the right of his Iſland to bee at the pleaſure and commandement of ſo famous a Prince as we ſerued. In token whereof he ſent to our Generall a ſignet, and within ſhort time after came in his owne perſon, with boates, and Canoas to our ſhip, to bring her into a better and ſafer roade then ſhe was in at that preſent.

The king of Ternate offreth himſelfe and his kingdome to the ſeruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals meſſenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble perſonages with great ſolemnitie, and brought to the King, at whoſe hands hee was moſt friendly and graciouſly intertained.

The King purpoſing to come to our ſhip, ſent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greateſt ſtates that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the ſame vſe, vnder which euery one did ſit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly ſhew. There were alſo diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the reſt were ſouldiers, which ſtood in comely order round about on both ſides, without whom ſate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a ſide all along the Canoas, did lie off from the ſide thereof three or foure yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of 4. ſcore rowers.

The great and ſtrange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

Theſe Canoas were furniſhed with warlike munition, euery man for the moſt part hauing his ſword and target, with his dagger, beſide other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes and arrowes: alſo euery Canoa had a ſmall caſt baſe mounted at the leaſt one full yarde vpon a ſtocke ſet vpright.

Thus comming neere our ſhippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and paſſing by, did their homage with great ſolemnitie, the great perſonages beginning wͭ great grauitie and fatherly countenances, ſignifying that yͤ king had ſent them to conduct our ſhip into a better roade.

Soone after the King himſelfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient perſons, who did their obeiſance with marueilous humilitie. The king was a man of tall ſtature, and ſeemed to

The King of Ternate came to viſite Sir Francis Drake.

be much delighted with the ſound of our muſicke, to whom as alſo to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue preſents, wherewith they were paſſing well contented.

Sagu a kinde of meale.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promiſing the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to ſend vs ſuch victuals, as were neceſſarie for our prouiſion: ſo that the ſame night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, taſting in the mouth like ſowre curds, but melteth like ſugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the ſpace of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them ſtore of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid ſugar, ſugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with ſtore of cloues.

A caſtle in Ternate.

The King hauing promiſed to come aboord, brake his promiſe, but ſent his brother to make his excuſe, and to intreate our Generall to come on ſhoare, offring himſelfe pawne aboord for his ſafe returne. Whereunto our Generall conſented not, vpon miſlike conceiued of the breach of his promiſe, the whole company alſo vtterly refuſing it. But to ſatiſfie him, our General ſent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reſeruing the Vice-king for their ſafe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other ſtates, and were conducted with great honour to the Caſtle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire houſe, where were at the leaſt 1000. perſons aſſembled.

Romanes and Turks Ligiers in Ternate.

The maieſtie of the King.

The King being yet abſent, there ſate in their places 60. graue perſonages, all which were ſaid to be of the kings Counſel. There were beſides 4. graue perſons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and theſe were ſaid to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were alſo 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at laſt came in guarded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopy, with emboſſed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, riſing to meete him, he graciouſly did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the maner of the Countrey, but more ſumptuouſly then the reſt. From his waſte downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the ſame very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of ſhooes, made of Cordouan ſkinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had ſixe very faire iewels, and ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, at his right hand ſtood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, ſet with 8. ſaphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a ſtaffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their meſſage, and receiued order accordingly, were licenſed to depart, being ſafely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counſell.

Ternate the chiefeſt of the Maluco-iſles.

This Iſland is the chiefeſt of all the Iſlands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Iſlands beſides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obſeruing certaine new Moones, with faſtings: during which faſts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

A litle Iſland to the Southward of Celebes.

Fiery wormes.

Bats.

Crauiſhes.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the fauour of the king receiued all neceſſary things that the place could yeeld vs: our General conſidering the great diſtance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not beſt here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, ſet out of the Iſland, and ſayled to a certaine litle Iſland to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graued our ſhip, and continued there in that and other buſineſſes 26. dayes. This Iſland is throughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very ſtraight and without boughes, ſaue onely in the head or top, whoſe leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongſt theſe trees night by night, through the whole land, did ſhew themſelues an infinite ſwarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whoſe bodies beeing no bigger then our common Engliſh flies, make ſuch a ſhew and light, as if euery twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth alſo wonderfull ſtore of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfiſhes alſo heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bigneſſe, one whereof was ſufficient for 4. hungry ſtomacks at a dinner, beeing alſo very good, and reſtoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themſelues holes in the earth like Conies.

Ianuarie in anno 1579.

When wee had ended our buſineſſe here, we waied, and ſet ſaile to runne for the Malucos: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongſt the Iſlands, with much difficultie wee recouered to the Northward of the Iſland of Celebes, where by reaſon of contrary winds not able to continue our courſe to runne Weſtwards, we were inforced to alter the ſame to the Southward againe, finding that courſe alſo to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reaſon of infinite ſhoalds which lie off, and among the Iſlands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our ſhippe and liues. For of all other dayes vpon the 9. of Ianuarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne ſuddenly vpon a rocke, where we ſtucke faſt from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to eſcape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto ſhewed himſelfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: ſo now he continued in the ſame, and leſt he ſhould ſeeme to periſh wilfully, both he, and we did our beſt indeuour to ſaue our ſelues, which it pleaſed God ſo to bleſſe, that in the ende we cleared our ſelues moſt happily of the danger.

Their danger vpon a rocke.

We lighted our ſhip vpon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the ſpeciall grace of God) changing from the ſtarreboord to the larboord of the ſhip, we hoiſed our ſailes, and the happy gale droue our ſhip off the rocke into the ſea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts, for which we gaue God ſuch prayſe and thanks, as ſo great a benefite required.

Cloues.

The helpe of a current in the deliuerie.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Iſland of Barateue, hauing in the meane time ſuffered many dangers by windes and ſhoalds. The people of this Iſland are comely in body and ſtature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iuſt in dealing, and courteous to ſtrangers, whereof we had the experience ſundry wayes, they being moſt glad of our preſence, and very ready to releeue our wants in thoſe things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, ſauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing ſomething or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for ſome had 8. vpon each arme, being made ſome of bone, ſome of horne, and ſome of braſſe, the lighteſt whereof by our eſtimation waied two ounces apeece.

Februarie. Barateue Iſland.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good requeſt, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Linnen-cloth good marchandize.

Their Iſland is both rich and fruitfull: rich in golde, ſiluer, copper, and ſulphur, wherein they ſeeme ſkilfull and expert, not onely to trie the ſame, but in working it alſo artificially into any forme and faſhion that pleaſeth them.

Their fruits be diuers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, ſagu, with diuers other ſorts: and among all the reſt, wee had one fruite, in bigneſſe, forme, and huſke, like a Bay berry, hard of ſubſtance, and pleaſant of taſte, which being ſodden, becommeth ſoft, and is a moſt good and wholſome victuall, whereof we tooke reaſonable ſtore, as we did alſo of the other fruits and ſpices: ſo that to confeſſe a trueth, ſince the time that we firſt ſet out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreſhing.

Nutmegs and long Peper growing in Barateue.

Commendation of the Iſland of Barateue.

At our departure from Barateue, we ſet our courſe for Iaua maior, where arriuing, we found great courteſie, and honourable entertainment. This Iſland is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one ſpirite, and one minde.

Iaua maior.

Of theſe fiue we had foure a ſhipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, ſaue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkiſh roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of ſilke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they beſt like.

Red & greene clothes much eſteemed.

The Maluccians hate that their women ſhould bee ſeene of ſtrangers: but theſe offer them of high courteſie, yea the kings themſelues.

The manners of the people of Iaua.

The people are of goodly ſtature, and warlike, well prouided of ſwords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and moſt artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as alſo in the forme, whereof we bought reaſonable ſtore.

They haue an houſe in euery village for their common aſſembly: euery day they meete twiſe, men, women, and children, bringing with them ſuch victuals as they thinke good, ſome fruites, ſome rice boiled, ſome hennes roaſted, ſome ſagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they ſet their meate, that euery perſon ſitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a ſugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moiſture. In the meane time they haue ready another great earthen pot, ſet faſt in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by ſuch meaſure, that they ſwelling become ſoft at the firſt, and by their ſwelling ſtopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme ſubſtance they become, ſo that in the end they are a firme & good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, ſugar, and other ſpices, they make diuers ſorts of meates very pleaſant of taſte, and nouriſhing to nature.

A ſtrange faſhion of boyling rice.

The French pocks. The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themſelues, ſitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawen out. Not long before our departure, they tolde vs, that not farre off there were ſuch great Ships as ours, wiſhing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would ſtay no longer.

From Iaua Maior we ſailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the firſt land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coaſt of Guinea: notwithſtanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be moſt falſe, who affirme, that it is the moſt dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intolerable ſtormes and preſent danger to trauailers, which come neere the ſame. The Cape of Buena Eſperanza not ſo dangerous as the Portugals haue giuen out

This Cape is a moſt ſtately thing, and the faireſt Cape we ſaw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we paſſed by it the 18. of Iune.

Sierra Leona. Oiſter-trees. From thence we continued our courſe to Sierra Leona, on the coaſt of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of Iuly, and found neceſſarie prouiſions, great ſtore of Elephants, Oiſters vpon trees of one kinde, ſpawning and increaſing infinitely, the Oiſter ſuffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember, 1580, being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of *Iaua* at the time of our *Engliſh mens being there.*

Raia Donaw.
Raia Rabacapala.
Raia Bacabatra.
Raia Tymbanton.
Raia Mawgbange.
Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of *Iaua*, learned *and obſerued by our men there.*

Sabuck, ſilke.
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.
Larnike, drinke.
Paree, ryce in the huſke.
Braas, ſodden ryce.
Calapa, Cocos.
Cricke, a dagger.
Catcha, a looking glaſſe.
Arbo, an oxe.
Vados, a goate.
Cabo, golde.
Gardange, a plantane.
Hiam, a henne.
Seuir, linnen cloth.
Doduck, blew cloth.
Totopps, one of their caps.
Gula, blacke ſugar.
Tadon, a woman.
Bebeck, a ducke.
Aniange, a deere.
Popran, oyntment.
Coar, the head.
Endam, raine.
Ionge, a ſhippe.
Chay, the ſea,
Sapelo, ten in number.
Dopolo, twentie.
Treda, no.
Lau, vnderſtand you.
Bayer, goe.
Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Suda, ynough.

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called *Nuno da Silua* for the Vice-roy of new *Spaine*, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in the citie of *Mexico*, from whence it was ſent to the Vice-roy of the *Portugall-Indies*: wherein is ſet downe the courſe and actions paſſed in the Voyage of *Sir Francis Drake* that tooke the aforeſayd *Nuno da Silua* at *S. Iago* one of the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, and caried him along with him through the Sreights of *Magellan*, to the Hauen of *Guatulco* in new *Spaine*, where he let him goe againe.

1579.

NVno da Silua borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, ſaith, that hee departed out of his houſe in the beginning of Nouember in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his courſe to Cabo Verde, or The greene Cape, where he anchored with his Shippe cloſe by the Hauen of the Iſland of Sant Iago, one of the Iſlandes of Cabo Verde aforeſayde, beeing the nineteenth of

Ianuarie

January in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came ſixe ſhips, which ſeemed to be Engliſhmen, whereof the Admirall boorded his ſhip, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ſhip, bringing him in the boate aboord the Admirals ſhippe, leauing ſome of his beſt men aboord his ſhip: and although the fortreſſe of the Iſland ſhot foure or fiue times at them, yet they hurt not the Engliſhmen: who hauing done, ſet ſaile from thence to the Iſland of Braua, taking with them the ſhip of the ſayd Nuno da Silua: being there, they filled certaine veſſels with freſh water: from thence holding their courſe inward to ſea, hauing firſt with a boat ſet the men of Nuno da Siluas ſhip on land, onely keeping Nuno da Silua in his ſhip, as alſo his ſhip with the wines that were therein. And Nuno da Silua ſaith, the cauſe why they kept him on boord was, becauſe they knew him to bee a pilot for the coaſt of Braſilia, that hee might bring them to ſuch places in thoſe countreys as had freſh water.

Being put off from the Iſland of Braua, they helde their courſe to the land of Braſilia, which they deſcried vpon the firſt of Aprill, vnder the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in freſh water, they helde on their courſe to Rio de la Plata, that is, The riuer of ſiluer, lying vnder fiue and thirtie degrees, little more or leſſe: where they went on land, and prouided themſelues of freſh water.

Rio de Plata.

From thence they helde on their courſe till they came vnder nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and beeing there, they left two of their ſixe ſhippes behinde them, and ſailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Iſlas, that is, The Bay of the Ilands, lying vnder nine and fortie degrees, where it is ſayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his ſhippe, when hee firſt diſcouered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of Iune they entred, and there ankered ſo cloſe to the land, that they might ſend to it with a harquebuſe ſhot: and there they ſawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with ſkinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downeward naked, all the reſt of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being ſubtill, great, and well formed people, and ſtrong and high of ſtature: where ſixe of the Engliſhmen went on land to fetch freſh water, and before they lept on land, foure of the Indians came vnto their boate, to whome the Engliſhmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going ſomewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and ſayde: Magallanes, Eſta hé minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey: and becauſe the Engliſhmen followed them, it ſeemed the Indians fledde vpward into the land, and beeing ſomewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes ſlewe two of the Engliſh ſhippers, one being an Engliſhman, the other a Netherlander: the reſt came backe againe and ſaued themſelues in the boate, wherewith they preſently put off from the ſhore. Here they ſtayed till the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt, vpon the which day they ſet ſaile, running along by the coaſt about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and fiue and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or fiue dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but becauſe the wind was contrary, they ſtayed till the 24 of Auguſt before they entred.

Bay de las Iſlas.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both ſides being bare and flatte land: on the North ſide they ſawe Indians making great fires, but on the South ſide they ſaw no people ſtirring. The foure and twentieth day aforeſayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eaſtnortheaſt wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath ſome boutes and windings, among the which there is one ſo great a hooke or headland, that it ſeemed to runne into the other land: and there it is leſſe then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth ſtraight out againe: And although you finde ſome crookings, yet they are nothing to ſpeake of. The iſſue of the Streight lieth Weſtward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the firſt eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I ſayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you find the ſtreame to runne from the South ſea to the North ſea.

The deſcription of The ſtreit of Magellan.

And after they began to ſaile in with the Eaſtnortheaſt wind, being entred they paſſed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and becauſe the high land on both ſides lay couered with ſnow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their courſe a harquebuſe-ſhot in length from off the North ſide, hauing nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I ſaid before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both ſides being full of trees, ſome of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the ſea ſide in ſome places hauing plaine and euen land: and there they ſawe not any great riuers, but ſome ſmall riuers that iſſued out of the riffes and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South ſide they ſaw certaine Indian fiſhermen in their Canoas or ſkiffs, being ſuch as they ſaw firſt on the North ſide, but more people they ſaw not on the South ſide.

Being out of the Streight on the other ſide, vpon the ſixt of September of the aforeſaid yeere, they held their courſe Northweſt for the ſpace of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeaſt wind, that by force draue them Weſtſouthweſt, which courſe they held for the ſpace of ten or twelue dayes with few ſailes vp: and becauſe the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their ſailes, and lay driuing till the laſt of September.

This was the Elizabeth M. Iohn Winters ſhip.

The 24 day of the ſame moneth hauing loſt the ſight of one of their ſhippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoiſed ſaile becauſe the winde came better, holding their courſe Northeaſt for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and at the ende of the ſayde ſeuen dayes, they had the ſight of certayne Iſlands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northweſt: whereupon they ſailed Weſtſouthweſt.

The next day they loſt the ſight of another ſhip of their company, for it was very foule weather, ſo that in the ende the Admirals ſhippe was left alone, for the ſhip of Nuno da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entred into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were vnder ſeuen and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a hauen of an Iſland, and ankered about the length of the ſhot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they ſtayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their courſe Northward for the ſpace of two daies, and then they eſpied a ſmall vnhabited Iſland, where being arriued, they ſtroke ſailes, and hoiſed out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

They were driuen vnto 57. degrees of ſoutherly latitude.

The Iſle of Mocha in 38. deg. 30. min.

The next day they ſet ſaile againe, holding their courſe Northnortheaſt, and North, to another Iſland lying fiue or ſixe leagues from the firme land, on the North ſide of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Iſland is ſmall and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Iſland being altogether poſſeſſed and inhabited by them, where they hoyſed out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelue Engliſh men entred, going to fetch freſh water, and to ſeeke for victuals: and being landed vpon the Iſland, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spaniſh ſheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and becauſe it was late, they returned againe vnto their ſhip, without doing any other thing for that day.

The next day the ſaid Captaine with the aforeſaid twelue men being harquebuſiers, rowed to land againe, and ſet two of their company on ſhore with their veſſels to fetch freſh water, and by the place where they ſhould fill their water there lay certaine Indians ſecretly hidden, that fell vpon the two Engliſhmen and tooke them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were ſo aſſailed with ſtones & arrowes, that all or the moſt part of them were hurt, the Captaine himſelfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with another arrow in the head, whereby they were conſtrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came ſo neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they ſet ſaile againe, running along the coaſt with a South winde, ſailing ſo for the ſpace of ſixe dayes, paſſing by the hauen called Sant Iago, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fiſhing in a Canoa, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping kniues, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboord their ſhippe called Felippe, and he ſpake Spaniſh, he gaue the Engliſh Captaine notice of a certaine ſhippe that lay in the hauen of Sant Iago, which they had left ſixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they ſet ſaile and went to the aforeſayd hauen of S. Iago, and entring therein, they tooke the ſaid ſhippe, wherein they found a thouſand ſeuen hundred and 70 Botijas or Spaniſh pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine ſackes with meale, with whatſoeuer they could find; they tooke likewiſe the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforeſayd ſhippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and ſo departed from that hauen, which lyeth vnder 32 degrees and a halfe, running along vp the coaſt till they came vnder one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had

Sir Francis Drake wounded.

The hauen of S. Iago in 32. degrees and a halfe.

appointed to meete, and there to ſtay for ech other, if by tempeſt or foule weather they chanced to be ſeparated, and ſo looſe eche others company.

And comming vnder thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at ſixe fathome deepe, the ſhot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer againſt a riuer, where they tooke in ſixe pipes of freſh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they ſet twelue men vpon the land, and being buſied in filling of their water, they eſpied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horſemen, and as many footemen, but they had no ſooner eſpied them, but they preſently entred into the boat, and eſcaped away, looſing but one man.

The ſame night they ſet ſaile againe with both their ſhips, running along the coaſt about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in ſome freſh water, but becauſe they perceiued certaine horſemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their courſe along the coaſt for the ſpace of 30 leagues, where they entred into a deſert or vnhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they ſaw people vpon the ſhore, & there they made out a ſmal pinneſſe, the peeces whereof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chiefe boateſman called Iohn the Greeke, (being Maſter of the ſhip which they had taken in the hauen of S. Iago,) wherewith they went to ſee if they could find the two ſhippes that they had loſt by ſtormie weather, as I ſayd before: and likewiſe thinking to goe on land to fill certaine veſſels with freſh water, they durſt not venture, for they ſaw people on all ſides of the ſhore: ſo that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ſhips: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ſhip, and new dreſſed and rigged her: which done, they put a ſmall peece of ordinance into the pinneſſe, wherewith they ſet ſaile againe, following on their courſe.

Hauing ſailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Iſland lying about the ſhotte of a baſe from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fiſhermen in two Canoas, who told them that on the firme land they might haue freſh water, but they vnderſtanding that there was not much, and that it was ſomewhat within the land, would not ſpend any time about it, but ſet ſaile againe, leauing the fiſhermen with their Canoas; following on their courſe along by the ſhore.

The next day being ſomewhat further, they eſpied certaine Indian fiſhermen that were vpon the land in their houſes, which the Engliſh captaine perceiuing, preſently entred into his pinneſſe, and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the ſaid fiſhermen, taking with him halfe of the fiſh that lay packed vpon the ſhore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they ſaw a barke laden with fiſh, that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fiſh they tooke, and bound the Spaniſh ſhip to their ſterne, and ſo drewe it after them, leauing the ſaid Indians within it, who by night vnbound the barke, and ſecretly made away with barke and fiſh, and were no more ſeene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinneſſe, and becauſe he ſaw certaine houſes vpon the ſhore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leauing the other behind, and there he found three thouſand pezos of ſiluer, (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight,) and ſeuen Indian ſheepe, and hennes, & tooke al whatſoeuer they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their courſe. And two dayes after they came to the hauen called Arica, where they found two ſhips, the one laden with goods and Spaniſh wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spaniſh pots with wine, and out of the other ſeuen and thirty barres of ſiluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on ſhore (with two barks that they found in the ſaid hauen, with about ſeuen and thirty harquebuſes and bowes) they perceiued on the land certaine horſemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboord.

Aric

The next day in the morning they burnt the ſhip, that was laden with the Spaniſh wares, and tooke the other with them, paſſing forward with it on their courſe, the Captaine ſailing along the ſhore with his pinneſſe, and the ſhip keeping about a league from him to ſeaward, to ſeeke for a ſhip whereof they had intelligence: and hauing in that maner ſailed about fiue and forty leagues, they found the ſhip that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertiſed of an Engliſh pirate or ſea-rouer, and had diſcharged eight hundred barres of ſiluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which ſiluer belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which ſiluer the

Engliſhmen had receiued ſome intelligence, but they durſt not go on land, becauſe there were many Indians and Spaniards that ſtood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ſhip but three pipes of water: the ſhip they tooke with them, and being about a league in the ſea, they hoyſed vp all her ſailes and let her driue, doing the like with the ſhip that they had taken in Arica, as alſo the other of Sant Iago, which likewiſe they let driue, following on their courſe with their owne ſhip, and the pinneſſe.

Calao de Lima. Being ſeuen or eight leagues from the hauen of Calao de Lyma, they eſpied three ſhips, and boording one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and ſo held on their courſe towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, ſailing in betweene all the ſhips that lay there, being ſeuenteene in number: and being among the ſhips, they aſked for the ſhip that had laden the ſiluer, but when anſwere was made them, that the ſiluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ſhips, and the maſts of two of the greateſt ſhips, and ſo left them. At the ſame time there arriued a ſhip from Panama laden with wares and merchandiſe of Spaine, that ankered cloſe by the Engliſh ſhip, which was, while the Engliſh Captaine ſought in the other ſhips for the ſiluer. Aſſoone as the ſhip of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the ſhore to ſearch it: but becauſe it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the Engliſh ſhip, they aſked what ſhip it was: whereupon one of the Spaniſh priſoners (by the Engliſh Captaines commandement) anſwered and ſaid it was the ſhip of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing, ſent a man on boord, who climing vp, light vpon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and preſently ſlept backe againe into the boat (becauſe the ſhippes that lay there, and that ſailed in thoſe countreys, vſed to carry no great ſhot) and therewith they were abaſhed, and made from it: which the ſhip of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, ſhee iudged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables, ſhee put to ſea, which the Engliſhmen perceiuing, ſhipped certaine men in their pinneſſe, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her ſtrike, which they of the ſhip refuſed to doe, and with a harquebuſe ſhot killed one of the Engliſhmen, wherewith they turned againe into their ſhippe, and preſently ſet ſaile, following after the ſhip, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the ſhippe perceiuing, hoyſed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leauing the ſhippe with all the goods, which the Engliſhmen preſently tooke, and with her ſayled on their courſe.

The next day they ſaw a boat with ſailes making towards them, whereby they preſently miſtruſted it to be a ſpie, and not long after they perceiued two great ſhips comming towards them, which made the Engliſh thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the ſhippe of Panama driue, therein leauing Iohn the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken the ſame day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I ſayde before, and preſently hoyſed all their ſailes, and ſailed forward, not once ſetting eye againe vpon the aforeſayde ſhips, for they made towards the ſhip of Panama, which the Engliſhmen let driue. From thence they ſailed againe along the coaſt, following on their courſe: and hauing ſailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandiſes of the countrey, from whence the Engliſhmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of ſiluer, and aſked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ſhip, that they vnderſtood ſhould be laden with ſiluer, but the one pilote ſaide he met her not, and the other ſaid he ſaw her about three dayes before. This frigat came not to the ſhip, but to the pinneſſe, wherein the Captaine ſailed, for the pinneſſe ranne cloſe by the ſhore, and the ſhip kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their courſe.

Payta. Two dayes after they came to the hauen called Payta, where they found a ſhip laden with Spaniſh wares, which the pinneſſe boorded, and tooke without any reſiſtance: for aſſoone as the Spaniards perceiued the Engliſhmen, they preſently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the ſea, none ſtaying in the ſhippe, but the Maſter, Pilote, and ſome Negros, out of the which ſhippe the Engliſhmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes, and a hogge, and ſo ſailed forward with the ſhip: but being about two harquebuſe ſhot to ſeaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and aſking after the ſhip which they ſought for, they told them that about two dayes before ſhe departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their courſe, and before night they met with a ſhip of Panama, which they preſently boorded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and ſo left it, holding on their courſe.

The next day being the firſt of Februarie, they met another ſhip that sailed to Panama, laden with fiſh and other victuals, and fortie barres of ſiluer, and ſome gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and ſent the paſſengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land.

The next day they hanged a man of the ſhip, becauſe hee would not confeſſe two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ſhip driue, following on their courſe.

The firſt of March towards noone, they eſpied the ſhip laden with ſiluer, being about foure leagues to ſeaward from them: and becauſe the Engliſh ſhip was ſomewhat heauie before, whereby it ſailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spaniſh pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the ſterne of the ſhip to make her ſayle the better: and the ſhippe that ſayled towardes Panama made towards the Engliſh ſhippe to know what ſhee was, thinking it to bee one of the ſhippes that vſed to ſaile along the coaſtes, and to traffique in the countrey: and beeing hard by her, the Engliſh Captaine badde them ſtrike, but the other refuſing to doe it, with a great peece hee ſhotte her maſt ouerboord, and hauing wounded the Maſter with an arrowe, the ſhippe preſently yeelded, which they tooke, and ſayled with her further into the ſea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

A prettie deuice to make their ſhip saile more ſwiftly.

The third day being out of ſight of the land, they beganne to ſearch the ſhip, and to lade the goods out of her into their ſhip, which was a thouſand three hundred barres or peeces of ſiuer, and foureteene cheſtes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the paſſengers ſayd that there was great ſtore, and that three hundred barres of the ſiluer belonged to the king, the reſt belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ſhip with the men ſaile on their courſe, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, ſo that as then they had none but their owne men aboord, being the ſixt of March, and from thence they held their courſe towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they deſcried land, not being very high, being a ſmall Iſland two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a ſmall Bay, wherein they ankered at fiue fathome deepe cloſe by the land, and there they ſtayed till the twentie day. Vpon the which day there paſſed a Frigate cloſe by the Iſland, which with their pinneſſe they followed, and taking her, brought her to the Engliſh ſhip, which frigat was laden with Salſaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The Engliſh Captaine went on boord, and caſt the Salſaperilla on the land, leauing all the reſt of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that ſo he might lay his ſhip on ſhore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouiſion of wood and freſh water, they held on their courſe along by the coaſt, ſayling Weſtward, taking the ſayd frigate and her men with them, and hauing ſailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and ſet them in the pinneſſe, among the which were foure ſailers, that meant to ſayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, ſent to the gouernour of the Philippinas, as alſo the ſea-cards wherewith they ſhould make their voyage, and direct themſelues in their courſe.

The Iſland of Canno. The firſt ſight of Nueua Eſpanna.

They calke and trimme their ſhip at the Ile of Canno ouer againſt Nicaragua.

Sea charts of the South ſea taken.

And ſo ſailing vntill the ſixt of Aprill, about euening they diſcouered a ſhippe that held two leagues to ſeaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and ſuddenly fell vpon her while her men ſlept, and preſently made the men enter into their ſhip, among the which was one Don Franciſco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their courſe with the ſayd ſhip, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewiſe tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ſhip and men goe whether they woulde, ſetting therein the two ſaylers that ſhould goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one ſailer to ſhewe them where they ſhould find freſh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie veſſels with them to fill with water, and ſo kept on their courſe to the hauen of Guatulco, where they put in, being vpon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered, they ſtayed there till the ſixe and twentie of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they ſet ſayle, holding their courſe Weſtward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silua goe, putting him into another ſhip, that lay in the hauen of Guatulco.

They arriue at Guatulco. Aprill 13. Stilo nouo.

Nuno da Silua ſet on land.

From thence forward the Engliſhmen paſſed on their voyage, to the Iſlands of Malucos, and from thence they paſſed by the Cape de Buena Eſperança, and ſo to England, as it is well knowen, ſo that this is onely the deſcription of the voyage that they made, while the ſaid pilote Nuno da Silua was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by ſir Francis Drake (being in the South ſea of New Spaine, in his ſhip called The Pellican or the golden Hinde with the ſhip of Sant John de Anton, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other ſhippes that were of his company, and by foule weather ſeparated from him, as I ſaid before: The contents whereof were theſe:

Maſter *Winter*, if it pleaſeth God that you ſhould chance to meete with this ſhip of Sant *Iohn de Anton*, I pray you vſe him well, according to my word and promiſe giuen vnto them; and if you want any thing that is in this ſhip of *Sant Iohn de Anton*, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will ſatisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what compoſition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into *England* I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithſtanding I am the man I haue promiſed to be: Beſeeching God, the Sauiour of all the world, to haue vs in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour praiſe and glory. What I haue written, is not only to you M. *Winter*, but alſo to M. *Thomas*, M. *Charles*, M. *Caube*, and M. *Anthonie*, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed vs, and am in good hope, that we ſhal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe vs in aduerſitie, deſiring you for the Paſſion of Chriſt, if you fall into any danger, that you will not deſpaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preſerue you from all danger, and bring vs to our deſired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory, and praiſe for euer and euer. Amen. Your ſorowfull Captaine, whoſe heart is heauy for you: *Francis Drake*.

The voyage of M. *Iohn VVinter* into the South ſea by the Streight of *Magellan*, in conſort with M. *Francis Drake*, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight alſo he returned ſafely into *England* the ſecond of Iune 1579. contrary to the falſe reports of the Spaniards which gaue out, that the ſaid paſſage was not repaſſeable: Written by *Edward Cliffe* Mariner,

IN the yeere of our Lord 1577. the 19. of September there went out of the riuer of Thamis ouer the lands ende one good and newe ſhip called the Elizabeth, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went alſo a ſmall pinneſſe being 12 tunnes in burthen called the Benedict. The ſayd ſhip with her pinneſſe arriued at Plimmouth: in which hauen were three ſhips more, one called the Pellican in burthen 120. tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. Theſe ſhips had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furniſhed with all kind of neceſſary prouiſion to make a voyage into the South ſea. Wee ſet ſayle the 15 of Nouember, but were put into Falmouth by contrary winds: and afterward were conſtrained to put backe againe to Plimmouth to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had ſuſtained in that tempeſt: and at length the 13 of December wee ſet forward from thence vpon our voyage.

Then ſet forward from Plimmouth the 13. of December.

The fiue and twentie of December we had ſight of Cape Cantin: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, neere to a towne called Aſaphi. The land all along this coaſt is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the ſayd Cape South-ſouthweſt about 18 leagues, wee found a little Iſland called Mogador an Engliſh mile diſtant from the maine, we ſent our boat to ſound the depth, and at the returne thereof we vnderſtood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing fiue fathomes of water faſt by the rocks entring in vpon the poynt of the Iſland: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine ſeeing our ſhips ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde vs: whom our Generall M. Francis Drake eſpying, ſhewed to them a white flagge in token of friendſhip, and ſent his boat to ſhore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly vnderſtoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to ſhore, the ſayd man went on land to them: to whom they ſhewed many tokens of friendſhip, caſting vp their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe vpon the ground, as though they had ſworne by heauen and earth, promiſing peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man ſtayed on ſhore for a pledge.

Cape Cantin. Aſaphi.

Mogador an Iſland on the coaſt of Barbary.

Theſe two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall went to ſhore againe, and our man came aboord alſo. But the craftie ſlaues hauing deuiſed to betray vs, came the next day along the ſea ſide with certain camels as though they had brought ſome merchandize to traffique with vs: to whom our General ſent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none of them ſhould goe on land. But the boate being neere the ſhore one of our men more haſtie then wiſe lept to ſhore; whom the Moores immediatly tooke by force, and ſetting him on horſebacke caried him away into the mountaines, ſo that we ſaw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee ſet vp a Pinneſſe in the iſland, whereof wee brought 4 looſe out of England: which being finiſhed, the laſt of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the iſland, the ſame way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This iſland ſtandeth in 31 degrees ½ of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doues vpon it.

Foure looſe Pinneſſes brought out of England.

Mogador in 31 degrees and an halfe.

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, ſo that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Ianuarie 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeaſt, and then wee ſet our courſe Southſouthweſt, till on the 7 of Ianuarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which ſtandeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Pinneſſe tooke 3 Spaniſh fiſher-boates, called Cantars. From thence wee ran Southweſt and Southſouthweſt, carying the ſayd Cantars along with vs, till the 10 of the ſayd moneth, at which time wee found our ſelues in 27 degrees 4 min. being 10 leagues Weſtſouthweſt from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by Weſt, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had ſight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinneſſe tooke a Portugall carauel. The 15, the Marigold took a carauel about Cape de las Barbas. And thence we ran along the coaſt being low ſandie land, till wee arriued at Cape Blanco. This Cape ſheweth it ſelfe like the corner of a wall vpright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raiſed 9 degrees 30 min. The ſaid Crociers be 4 ſtarres, repreſenting the forme of a croſſe, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the loweſt ſtarre of the ſayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly vnder the vppermoſt; and being ſo taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, ſo many you are to the Northwards of the the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, ſo many degrees you are to the Southwards of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be iuſt 30 then you be directly vnder the line.

Cape de Guer in 30 degrees.

Cape Bojador in 27 degrees. 4. min.

Cape de las Barbas.

Cape Blanco in 20 degrees. 30. min.

Within the ſayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ſhip more, all the men being fled away, ſaue two. We brought this ſhip with all the reſt which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we waſhed and trimmed our ſhips, and went to ſea againe the 22 of Ianuarie, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ſhips, ſauing one Cantar, for which our Generall gaue them the Benedict. In which courſe wee ran continually to the Southweſt, vntill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole rayſed 15 degrees 15 min. hauing the winde Northeaſt or Eaſtnortheaſt, which is common on that coaſt. For it doeth blow for the moſt part continually from the ſhore: and we kept the ſayd courſe, vntill wee came neere the iſland Bonauiſta, within 2 leagues off the ſhore; ſo that wee haled off againe Northweſt, the ſpace of one houre, and then ran Southweſt againe, till day light the 27 of Ianuarie: from which time wee ran Southſouthweſt, vntill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approched neere the iſland of Mayo, being high and hilly land, ſauing that the North part of the iſland ſtretcheth out it ſelfe, a league into the ſea very lowe. Wee came to anker vnder the Weſt part of this iſland the 28 day of Ianuarie, and ſtayed there vntill the 30 of the ſame. During which time, our General appointed M. Iohn Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe ouer to the Eaſt part of the iſland with 70 men, to get ſome freſh victuals. And as wee marched through the iſland, about the middeſt thereof, we found one houſe hauing a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, alſo ripe gourds, and melons, in the moſt dead time of our Winter. Wee found alſo a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, hauing within the vtter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fiſts, and hath within a white ſubſtance, cleauing faſt to the ſhell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleaſant to taſte, and within that a certaine hollowneſſe or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleaſant water in taſte, and as ſome thinke, marueilous comfortable. As we paſſed through this iſland the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, ſo that we could haue no talke with them.

The iſle of Maio.

Ripe grapes in Ianuarie.

The Coco tree.

But we vnderſtood by the Portugals which came with vs, that they were but ſeruants to thoſe of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this iſland: but we found them ſo wilde, that we could take none ſauing ſome yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our ſhippes. The Portugals had ſalted their Welles neere to the ſea, ſo that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery man aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to Sant Iago the ſame night, being 10 leagues diſtant from thence: which ſeemed to bee a friutefull iſland and well peopled. For wee ſawe 3 townes on the ſhore: two of which ſhot at vs, as we paſſed along. Our General made a ſhot at one of them againe. And ſayling along the ſhore, at the South part of the iſland, wee tooke a Portugal ſhippe laden with wine and other commodities, This iſland hath 15 degrees in latitude.

The iſle of Fogo.

Braua.

Nonnez de Silua.

From hence wee ran Southſouthweſt to the iſle of Fogo, ſo called, becauſe it caſteth continually flames of fire and ſmoake out of the top thereof, all the whole iſland being one high mountaine. Two leagues Weſt from the iſle of Fogo, is another iſland called Braua, where the ſea is aboue 120 fathoms deepe neere to the ſhore, ſo that we could not anker for the depth of the ſea, by reaſon whereof we were conſtrained to depart without water. Here the Generall diſcharged the Portugals, giuing vnto them our Pinneſſe which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fiſh, and ſo diſmiſſed them the firſt of Februarie, taking one of there companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silua. The 2 of February wee ſet off from Braua, and directed our courſe Southſoutheaſt, running ſo vntill the 9 of February, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithſtanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great ſhowers of raine.

Flying fiſhes.

Continuall raine at certaine ſeaſons neere the Equinoctial.

The 17 day wee were right vnder the line, which is the moſt feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middeſt of February we ſuſteined ſuch heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did ſweate for the moſt part continually, as though wee had bene in a ſtoue, or hote-houſe. Here we ſaw flying fiſhes in great abundance, ſome a foote long, ſome leſſe. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly purſued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as ſoone as the flying fiſhes eſpie, immediatly they mount out of the ſea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyſt: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the ſea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, vntill we were ſo much paſt it, no day did paſſe without great ſtore of raine.

Land in 31 degrees. 30 min. to the South of the Equinoctial.

From hence wee directed our courſe towards the Southſouthweſt vntill the 5 of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very ſweet ſmell from the land. The ſame day at noone wee ſounded, and found the ſea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being ſoft oaze: and ſhortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towarde the South pole: and wee had ſight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone the ſame day. This land is very lowe neere the ſea; and hie mountaines vp within the countrie.

Cape Sant Marie at the mouth of the Riuer of Plate.

From hence we ran towardes the Southſouthweſt, vntill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little iſland, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the riuer of Plate, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. Frō this iſland wee ran 7 or 8 leagues along the maine, where we came to an anker vnder a Cape, which our General called Cape Ioy. Here euery ſhip tooke in freſh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the Weſtſouthweſt, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke ſo breaketh the force of the ſea, that ſhippes may ride commodiouſly vnder the ſame for Southerly windes. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there vntill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed ſome ſeales. And from thence wee ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and freſh, and wee ran in ſo farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in freſh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of Plate, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southſouthweſt and Northnortheaſt, and is ſhold 3 or 4 leagues into the ſea. Here our fly-boat loſt our companie in the night.

Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

From hence we ran toward the Southweſt, hauing much foule weather and contrary windes, vntill the 12 of May: and then wee ſounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke ſande and ſmall ſtones, and had ſight of the land the ſame morning about 10 of the clocke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the ſhore the ſame night. The next morning our General, went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the ſhore, and ſo tooke vp the boate and men: for there aroſe ſuch foule weather, with a thicke myſt and a Southeaſt winde, that they were not able to recouer their ſhippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to ſea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other ſtayed vntill the 14 in the morning and then ran to ſea, not being able to ride.

In the meane time while the Marigold rode vnder the ſhore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they ſawe two naked men, ſauing that they had a certaine ſkinne wrapt about their ſhoulders and rowles vpon their heades. To whom our General ſhewed a white cloth, in ſigne of friendſhip, who with certaine geſtures of their bodies and handes, ſhewed the like to him againe, ſpeaking likewiſe and making a noyſe, which our men could not vnderſtand, but they would in no caſe come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the ſame place againe: but hee had no ſight of the foreſaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as Oſtriches, and other ſea foules, which the ſayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpoſe. There was alſo a certaine bagge, with litle ſtones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our General brought aboord, and then weighed, and came to ſea the 15 of the ſayd moneth: where all the reſt of the fleet mette with him, ſaue the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade al that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, & ran without the cape to the Northwardes, & ſent the Elizabeth towards the South to looke for the Prize: leauing the Marigold and the Canter to ſearch if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ſhips. The ſame day being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly-boat (which loſt vs the 27 of April) and brought her into ſaide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ſhips, that they had found a ſafe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the ſame day being Whitſunday. The Elizabeth weighed & put forth again to ſea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General diſcharged the fly-boat, and ran her vpon the maine, where we broke her vp for fire-wood. In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the ſea ſide: and when they were within 100 paſes of our men, they ſet themſelues in array very orderly caſting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bow and arrowes: who (when they had pight a ſtaffe on the ground, with certeine glaſſes, beads, and other trifles) returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, ſhewing themſelues very pleaſant, inſomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the ſound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane ſtature, well limmed, and of a duſkiſh, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces ſpotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine ſkinne (wherein they wrap themſelues) not reaching ſo low as to couer their priuy members, all the reſt of their bodies be naked, ſauing that they weare certaine roules vpon their heads, whoſe ends hang ouer their ſhoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very ſtrangly & cunningly of a flint ſtone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are very ſly, and ready to ſteale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them ſnatched our Generals cap from his head (as he ſtouped) being of ſkarlet with a golden band: yet he would ſuffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe fleſh, for we found ſeales bones, the raw fleſh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with ſeales: for there is ſuch plentie that we ſlew aboue 200 in the ſpace of one houre vpon a litle iſland.

Oſtriches and ſea foules.

The deſcription of certaine Sauages.

The 3 of June we departed from thence, and being at ſea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we diſcharged our Canter and let her float in the ſea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and ſo turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the ſhore, we met with our Prize the 19 of June, which we loſt the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the ſame day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I ſuppoſe it to be the ſame which Magellan named Port S. Iulian: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conſpire againſt Magellan, and certaine bones alſo of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to ſhore vpon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Patagons hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our mē making them ſignes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there preſent, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a ſhot to the end to ſhew them the force our bowes, with the which ſhot his ſtring broke: whereupon the Patagons preſumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes firſt at our M. Gunner, who had a caliuer ready bent to ſhot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them ſhot him through the breſt, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe ſtarke dead. Alſo the gentleman that ſhot the arrow was ſo wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buryed in a litle iſland lying in the ſaid port. Our men left the ſlaine man on ſhore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Patagons had ſtript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes vnder his head, and ſo left him vntouched, ſauing that they had ſtucke the Engliſh arrow in his left eye. Theſe men be of no ſuch ſtature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of Engliſh men: for I haue ſeene men in England taller then I could ſee any of them. But peraduenture the Spaniard did not thinke that any Engliſh men would haue

The port of Sant Iulian.

Two of our men ſlaine by the Patagons.

The execution of M. Thomas Doughtie.

The entrance of the ſtreight of Magellan.

Ordinarie flood and ebbe in the ſtreight.

Abundance of Sea-fowles on S. Georges iſland in the ſtreight of Magellan.

High hils on both ſides of the ſtreight.

Cape Deſeado where they entred into the South ſea. They were driuē to 57 degrees Southward.

They looſe M. Drakes company.

come thither ſo ſoone to haue diſproued them in this & diuers others of their notorious lies: wherefore they preſumed more boldly to abuſe the world. The laſt of Iune M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his anſwere, was accuſed, and conuicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of Iuly 1578, whoſe body was buried in the ſaid iland, neer to them which were ſlaine. We wintered in this port 2 moneths, during which time we had ſuch weather as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed vp our ſhips, and made prouiſion of fewell and freſh water, we departed thence with 3 ſhips the 17 of Auguſt about noone. And the 20 of the ſaid moneth we ſeazed Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South ſea, called The ſtreights of Magellan, the firſt diſcouerer thereof. Wee found the mouth of the ſtreights to be 52 degrees ⅓ Southward of Equinoctial. In this ſtreight, we found the ſea to haue no ſuch current as ſome do imagine, (following the courſe of the primum mobile from Eaſt to Weſt) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as vpō other coaſts, riſing 5 fathoms vpright. The flood riſeth out of the Eaſt ocean, and ſtretcheth it ſelfe ſo far into the ſtreights, that it meeteth the flood of the South ſea neere about the midſt of the ſtreights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the Weſt-north-weſt into the South Sea, whereas the Eaſt part from the mouth of the ſtreights to this elbow lyeth South-weſt and by Weſt, or South-weſt to 53 degrees and ⅓. 30 leagues within the ſtreights there be 3 ilands. To the greateſt our general gaue the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, becauſe we found it on S. Bartholomews day: the 3 he named S. Georges iſland. Here we ſtaied one day & victualled our ſelues with a kinde of foule which is plentifull in that iſle, and whoſe fleſh is not farre vnlike a fat gooſe here in England: they haue no wings, but ſhort pineons which ſerue their turne in ſwimming. Their colour is ſomewhat blacke mixt with white ſpots vnder their belly, and about their necke. They walke ſo vpright, that a farre off a man would take them to be litle children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the iſland is full. So that to take them, we had ſtaues with hookes faſt to the ends, wherewith ſome of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite ſo cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of vs was able to handle them aliue. The land on both parts is very high: but eſpecially toward the South ſea, monſtrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themſelues, whoſe tops be all hoary with ſnowe, in the moneths of Auguſt, September, and October. Notwithſtanding the lower partes of the hilles are repleniſhed and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of ſtrange and vnknowen trees, flouriſhing all the yere long. Here we made prouiſion of fewel and freſh water, and paſſed by Cape Deſeado into the South ſea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-weſt about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly againſt vs, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, ſnow, and thicke fogs which continued ſo more thē 3 weeks, that we could beare no ſaile, at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the ſouth pole. The 15 of September the moone was there ecclipſed & began to be darkned preſently after the ſetting of the ſunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that countrey. The ſaid ecclipſe happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England, which is about ſixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of England towards the Weſt. The laſt of September being a very foule night and the ſeas ſore growne, we loſt the Marigold, the Generals ſhippe and the Elizabeth running to the Eaſt-ward to get the ſhore, whereof we had ſight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we loſt company of M. Drake the ſame night. The next day very hardly eſcaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the ſtreights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the ſpace of 2 dayes, and made great fiers on the ſhore, to the end that if M. Drake ſhould come into the ſtreights, hee might finde vs. After wee went into a ſound, where we ſtayed for the ſpace of 3 weekes, and named it The port of Health, for the moſt part of our men being very ſicke with long watching, wet, cold and euill diet did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in ſhort ſpace. Here we had very great muſcles (ſome being 20 inches long) very pleaſant meate, and many of them full of ſeed-pearles.

The voyage giuen ouer.

We came out of this harbour the firſt of Nouember, giuing ouer our voiage by M. Winters compulſion (full ſore againſt the mariners minds) who alleged, he ſtood in diſpaire, as well to haue winds to ſerue his turne for Peru, as alſo of M. Drakes ſafetie. So we came backe againe through the ſtreights to S. Georges Iſland, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

They returned out of The ſtreight the 11 of Nouember, hauing entred into The ſouth ſea the 6 of September.

And thus wee paſſed by Cape Victorie out of the ſtreights the 11 of Nouember, directing our courſe to the North-eaſt, till the laſt of this moneth. What time wee arriued at an iſland which lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of Plate. Vpon this iſland there is ſuch an infinite number of ſeales, as may ſeeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, ſome of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the preſence of men: for the moſt of our men were vpon the iſland, for the ſpace of 15 dayes to ſet vp a Pinneſſe, during which time the ſeales would come and ſlepe by them, and rather reſiſt our men, then giue place, vnleſſe mortall blowes forced them to yeelde.

When our Pinneſſe was built, we went to another iſland, where wee did water, and afterward departed the firſt of Januarie 1579, and ran towards the North till the 20 of the ſaid moneth, and then we arriued at an iſland which lieth on the coaſt of Braſil, neere to a towne called ſant Vincent inhabited by the Portugals. The ſayd towne lyeth 24 degrees Southwarde, almoſt vnder the Tropicke of Capricone. Here, by reaſon of fowle weather we loſt our Pinneſſe, and 8 men in her, and neuer ſaw them ſince. Here alſo our ſhip was in great danger, by the meanes of a ſtrong current, which had almoſt caſt vs vpon the ſhore before wee were aware, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to anker in the open ſea, and brake our cable and loſt an anker, and preſently let fal another anker; in weighing whereof our men were ſore ſpoiled. For the capſtan ranne about ſo violently with the riſing of the ſhippe in the ſea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were ſore hurt. At laſt wee gote vp our anker and ſet ſayle, and ran into a place called Tanay, where we roade vnder an iſland and tooke in wood and water.

Sant Vincent in Braſil in 24 degrees.

A dangerous current.

Tanay a place in Braſil.

And while we ſtayed here, there came 3 Portugals aboord vs in a canoa, to knowe what wee would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made anſwere: that we were Engliſhmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marueiled. For they ſaide that they neuer heard of any Engliſh ſhip to haue bene in that countrey before; and ſo they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to ſpeake with the Gouernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another canoa aboord vs with one Portugal and al the reſt naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two ſmall Oxen, one yong Hogge, with certaine hennes: alſo Pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them, linnen cloth, combes, kniues, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouernour of the towne, ſent word that we ſhould haue nothing, vnleſſe we would bring our ſhippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no caſe conſent: for all their practiſe was to haue gotten vs within their danger, neuertheles we came ſomewhat neere the towne with our ſhip, as though wee would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and ſet the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an iland called the iſle of Sant Sebaſtian; where wee tooke fiſh. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Braſillian one of their ſlaues had not bene. For he ſtole from them, & ſhewed vnto vs by ſignes, that the Portugals were comming with their canoas to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they ſhewed themſelues with 12 or 16 canoas, ſome of them hauing 40 men in them. The ſame night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March: and had ſight of the Cape of ſant Auguſtine, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had ſight of an iſland lying within 3 degrees of the Equinoctial, called the iſle of Fernando de Loronha. We croſſed the Equinoctial the 13 of April, and had ſight of the North ſtarre the 19 of the ſayd moneth.

The iſle of Sant Sebaſtian, about the Tropicke of Capricorne.

Cape Sant Auguſtine.

The iſle of Fernando de Loronha.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee ſayled through the ſea of Weedes, about the ſpace of 100 leagues, being vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. From whence wee kept our courſe towards the North-eaſt, vntill wee had the pole rayſed 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne Eaſtnortheaſt.

The ſea of Weedes, neere the Tropicke of Cancer.

The 29 we ſounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze; hauing the North pole rayſed 51 degrees. The 30 of May wee had ſight of S. Iues on the North ſide of Corne-wall, and the 2 of June 1579 we arriued at Ilfoord-combe in Deuon-ſhire.

Their arriuall at Ilfoord-combe in Deuonſhire.

And thus after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing paſſed The ſtreights of Magellan into the South Sea with our Generall M. Francis Drake, and hauing bene driuen with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward paſſing backe by the ſame ſtreights againe, it pleaſed God to bring vs ſafe into our owne natiue countrey to enioy the preſence of our deare friendes and kinſefolkes, to whom bee prayſe, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. Amen.

EDVVARD CLIFFE,

Mariner.

Inſtructions giuen by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counſell, to M. *Edward Fenton* Eſquire, for the order to be obſerued in the voyage recommended to him for the *Eaſt Indies* and *Cathay*. Aprill 9. 1582.

First you ſhall enter as Captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernment of theſe ſhippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the ſmall Frigate or Pinneſſe.

2 Item you ſhall appoint for the furniſhing of the veſſels in the whole, to the number of 200 able perſons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Miniſters, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which ſayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be ſea-men; and ſhal diſtribute them into euery veſſel, as by aduiſe here before your going ſhal be thought meete: Prouided that you ſhall not receiue vnder your charge and gouernement, any diſordered or mutinous perſon, but that vpon knowledge had, you ſhall remooue him before your departure hence, or by the way as ſoone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in his place.

3 Item, for the more and better circumſpect execution, and determination in any waightie cauſes incident in this voyage, we will that you ſhall take vnto you for aſſiſtants, Captaine Hawkins, captain Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Euans, Randolph Shaw, Matthew Talboys, with whom you ſhall conſult and conferre in all cauſes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in theſe inſtructions touching this ſeruice now in hand. And in all ſuch matters, ſo handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke that conuenient alwayes to be executed, which you ſhall thinke meeteſt with the aſſent alſo of any 4 of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and ſo aſſented vnto, in the preſence of your ſaid aſſiſtants. And in caſe that ſuch conference and debating the opinions of the aforeſaid Aſſiſtants be found in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all ſuch matters ſo argued vpon, ſhall reſt to bee put in execution in ſuch ſort as you ſhal thinke moſt meeteſt, hauing the aſſent of any 4 of them, as aforeſaid. And if any of theſe Aſſiſtants ſhal die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the General captaine for conſent in all things aforeſaid.

4 Of all which your aſſemblies and conſultations, for the matters aforeſaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note ſhould be kept, for which cauſe we appoint maſter Maddox miniſter, and if he ſhould deceaſe, then the Generall with halfe the Aſſiſtants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all ſuch matters as ſhall bee brought in conſultation, and of all ſuch reaſons as ſhall be propounded by any perſon, either on the one ſide, or on the other: what was reſolued on, and by whoſe conſent, who diſſented there from, and for what cauſes. In which book he ſhall in the beginning of the note of euery ſuch aſſembly, ſet downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the perſons then preſent, and vpon what occaſion the ſayd conſultation was appointed or holden, and ſhall haue to euery acte, the handes of the General, and of all, or ſo many of the ſaid Aſſiſtants as will ſubſcribe: which booke the ſaid maſter Maddox, or the other vpon his deceaſe appointed in his place ſhall keepe ſecrete, and in good order to bee exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any perſon or perſons imployed in this ſeruice, of what calling or condition, hee or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire, or attempt priuatly or publikely, any treaſon, mutinie, or other diſcord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maieſties ſeruice in this voiage might bee ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iuſt proofe made of any ſuch treaſon, mutinie, or any other diſcord attempted as aforeſaid, the ſame ſhalbe puniſhed by you, or your Lieuetenant according to the qualitie and enormitie of the fact. Prouided alwayes, and it ſhall not bee lawfull neither for you, nor for your Lieuetenant to procede to the puniſhment of any perſon by loſſe of life or lim, vnleſſe the partie ſhall be iudged to haue deſerued it by the reſt of your Aſſiſtants, as is before expreſſed, or at the leaſt by foure of them. And that which ſhall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpoſe, with the obſeruation of the forme of our countrey lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, if it ſhall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to increaſe the facte of the offender, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12 indifferent perſons, and to commit him to hard impriſonment, vntill the returne. And aſwell of the factes committed by any, as alſo of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Aſſiſtants, and the maner of the puniſhment, the Regiſter ſhall make a particular and true note, in the booke of your conſultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you ſhall not remooue Captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, maſter Captaine Luke Ward your viceadmiral, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuſe any ſuch ſeruice as ſhall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councill, nor any captaine of other veſſels from their charges, but vpon iuſt cauſe duely prooued, and by conſent of your Aſſiſtants, or of foure of them at the leaſt.

M. Carliſle vpon occaſion was not in this voyage.

7 Item, for the ſucceſſion of the Generall, gouernour of this whole voyage, if it ſhould pleaſe God to take him away, it is thought meete that there ſhould bee the names of ſuch Gentlemen ſecretly ſet downe to ſucceede in his place one after the other, which are ſeuerally written in parchment, included in bals of waxe, ſealed with her Maieſties ſignet, put into two coffers locked with three ſeuerall locks, whereof one key is to bee in the cuſtodie of captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of maſter Maddox the Miniſter, and the ſame two coffers to bee put into two ſeuerall ſhippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the cuſtodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the cuſtodie of the Viceadmirall: the ſame two coffers vpon any ſuch caſualtie of the Generals death by conſent of the Aſſiſtants which ſhall ouerliue, to bee opened, and the partie therein named to ſucceede in the place, who ſhall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the ſaid voiage according to theſe inſtructions, in ſuch ſort as if they had bene ſpecially directed vnto him, and the reſt of the companie ſo to take and repute him in euery reſpect, as they will anſwer to the contrary. But if it ſhall ſo fall out, (as we hope it will) that there ſhall bee no ſuch neede, but that the Generall doe continue ſtill, then ſhall you at your returne deliuer backe the ſayd coffers and bals of waxe ſealed in ſuch ſort as they be, without opening them, vnleſſe it be in the caſe aforeſayd.

8 You ſhall make a iuſt and true inuentorie in euery ſhip and veſſell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their ſetting foorth hence, and of all the prouiſions whatſoeuer, and one copie thereof vnder your hand, and vnder the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Earle of Leiceſter, and the other to the gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to bee done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the ſayd ſhips and veſſels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the ſame ſhall haue bene ſpent or loſt.

The gouernour of this companie.

9 Item, you ſhall vſe all diligence poſſible to depart from Southampton with your ſayd ſhips and veſſels before the laſt of this preſent moneth of Aprill, and ſo goe on your courſe by Cape de buena Eſperança, not paſſing by the ſtreight of Magellan either going or returning, except vpon great occaſion incident, that ſhall bee thought otherwiſe good to you, by the aduiſe and conſent of your ſayd Aſſiſtants, or foure of them at the leaſt.

They are inioyned to go by the Cape of Buena Eſperanza.

10 Item, you ſhall not paſſe to the Northeaſtward of the 40 degree of latitude at the moſt, but ſhall take your right courſe to the Iles of the Malucos for the better diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, if without hinderance of your trade, & within the ſame degree you can get any knowledge touching that paſſage, whereof you ſhall do wel to be inquiſitiue, as occaſion in this ſort may ſerue.

11 Item, you ſhall haue ſpeciall regard after your departure from the coaſt of England, ſo to order your courſe, as that your ſhips and veſſels loſe not one another, but keepe companie together both outward and homeward. And leſt if they happen to ſeuer the one from the other by tempeſt or otherwiſe, it ſhall not bee amiſſe that you appoint to the Captaines and Maſters certaine places, wherein you will ſtay certaine dayes. And euery ſhip paſſing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ſhips, to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape a token to ſtand in ſight, with a writing lapped in leade to declare the day of their paſſage. And if any wilfulneſſe or negligence in this behalfe ſhall appeare in any perſon or perſons that ſhall haue charge of any of the ſhips or veſſels aforeſayd, or if they or any of them ſhall doe otherwiſe then to them appertaineth, you ſhall puniſh ſuch offenders ſharpely to the example of others.

12 Item, we do ſtraightly enioine you, and conſequently all the reſt imployed in this voyage in any wiſe, and as you and they will anſwere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you doe ſpoyle or take any thing from any of the Queenes Maieſties friends or allies, or any Chriſtians, without paying iuſtly for the ſame, nor that you vſe any maner of violence or force againſt any ſuch, except in your owne defence, if you ſhall be ſet vpon, or otherwiſe be forced for your owne ſafegard to do it.

13 Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honeſt merchants, traffiquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all courteſie to the nations you ſhall deale with, as well Ethniks as others, and for that cauſe you ſhall inſtruct all thoſe that ſhall goe with you, that whenſoeuer you or any of you ſhall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of thoſe parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they ſo behaue your ſelues towards

the ſayd people, as may rather procure their friendſhip and good liking toward you by courteſie, then to moue them to offence or miſliking, and eſpecially you ſhall haue great care of the performance of your word and promiſe to them.

Strange people to be brought home.

14 Item wee will, that by the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants, in places where you and they ſhall thinke moſt fit, you ſettle if you can a beginning of a further trade to bee had hereafter: and from ſuch places doe bring ouer with you ſome fewe men and women if you may, and doe alſo leaue ſome one or two, or more, as to you and your Aſſiſtants ſhall ſeeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue and ſecrets of the countreys, hauing diligent care that in deliuering and taking of hoſtages, you deliuer not perſonages of more value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane perſons vnder colour of men of value, as the Infidels do for the moſt part vſe. Prouided that you ſtay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then ſhall be expedient for good exchange of the wares preſently carried with you.

15 Item you ſhall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no perſon of what calling ſoeuer hee be, ſhall take vp, or keepe to himſelfe or his priuate vſe, any ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you ſhall come, but hee the ſaid perſon ſo ſeaſed of ſuch ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie, ſhall with all ſpeede, or ſo ſoone as he can, detect the ſame, and make deliuerie thereof to your ſelfe, or you Viceadmirall, or Lieutenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfeiture of all the recompenſe he is to haue for his ſeruice in this voyage by ſhare or otherwiſe: and further to receiue ſuch puniſhment, as to you & your Aſſiſtants, or the more part of them ſhal ſeeme good, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it ſhalbe thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants or any other, ſhall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatſoeuer, which may bee deſired in countreys where they ſhall traffique, that it ſhall not bee lawfull for them or any of them to traffique, or ſell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the ſame ſhall bee prized by the moſt part of thoſe that ſhall bee in commiſſion in the places where the ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch value, as it may bee reaſonably worth in England, and then ſolde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for thoſe to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your ſelfe ſhall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the ſame ſhippe another, wherein ſhall bee a iuſt accompt kept, aſwell of the marchandiſe carried hence, as of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And aſwell at your ſetting foorth, as from time to time, as exchange ſhalbe made, you ſhall ſet your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order ſhal you ſee that the Captaine and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture ſhall vſe in their ſhip, and the other Captaines and Factors in each other veſſell.

18 Item you ſhall giue ſtraight order to reſtraine, that none ſhall make any charts or deſcriptions of the ſayd voyage, but ſuch as ſhall bee deputed by you the Generall, which ſayd charts and deſcriptions, wee thinke meete that you the Generall ſhall take into your hands at your returne to this our coaſt of England, leauing with them no copie, and to preſent them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any charts or maps in thoſe countreys.

19 Item you ſhall at your returne ſo direct your courſe, that all the ſhips vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And whereſoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the ſhippes ſhall arriue, you ſhall giue ſpeciall and ſtraight order, that no perſon of what condition ſoeuer he be, ſhall vnlade, or bring on land, or forth of the veſſels in which he came, any part or parcel of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the ſayd veſſels, vntill we being certified of your or their arriuall, ſhall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfeitures expreſſed in the fifteenth article, againſt ſuch as ſhall retaine any thing to their priuate vſe, as in the ſayd article is further expreſſed.

20 Item, to the intent that all ſuch perſons as ſhall go with you in this voyage, may better vnderſtand what they ought to do, and what to auoid, wee thinke it requiſite, that aſwell out of theſe, as otherwiſe with the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants and Maſters of the ſhips, you ſhall cauſe ſome conuenient order to bee ſet downe in writing for their better gouernment both at ſea and land, if they ſhall happen to goe on lande any where: and the ſame to bee openly read and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderſtand how to behaue themſelues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuſe to pretend ignorance, and ſo to auoid ſuch puniſhment as it is requiſite to haue miniſtred for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may bleſſe this voyage with happie and proſperous ſucceſſe, you ſhall haue an eſpeciall care to ſee that reuerence and reſpect bee had to the Miniſters appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place and calling, and to ſee ſuch good order

as by them ſhall be ſet downe for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and perfourmed, by cauſing the tranſgreſſours and contemners of the ſame to be ſeuerely puniſhed, and the Miniſters to remooue ſometime from one veſſell to another.

22 Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fift article, and the courſe of this voyage, ſhall bee wholly at your diſpoſition, except in the courſe by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your paſſage by the Northward of 40 degrees in latitude, wherein you ſhall follow directions ſet downe in the nine and ten articles, as alſo in the diſplacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and other captaines, wherin you ſhall followe the order appointed in the ſixt article: Prouided that wee meane not by this article to derogate any thing from the authoritie of your aſſiſtants eſtabliſhed in the third article, or in any other article of theſe inſtructions.

23 Item, in all occaſions and enterpriſes that may fall out to bee vpon the lande, wee will that Captaine Carlile ſhall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obſeruation and accompliſhment of theſe our inſtructions, and of all ſuch other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this ſeruice committed to your charge.

M. Carlile vpon occaſion was not in this voyage.

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. *Edward Fenton* was appointed Generall: Written by M. *Luke Ward* his Viceadmiral, and Captaine of the *Edward Bonauenture*, begun *Anno Dom.* 1582.

The ſecond of April I departed with the Edward Bonauenture from Blackwall, and the 19 of the ſame arriued in Nettle roade at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leiceſter: and ſo remaining there till the firſt of May, wee ſet ſaile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole fleete foure ſaile.

1 The Gallion Leiceſter of 400 tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall Captaine Edward Fenton, and William Hawkins the yonger lieutenant Generall in her, and Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter.

2 The Edward Bonauenture of 300 tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie Maſter.

3 The Francis of fortie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Iohn Drake, and William Markam Maſter.

4 The Elizabeth of fiftie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Ralph Crane Maſter.

We ſpent by meanes partly of buſineſſe, and partly of contrary windes, the moneth of May vpon the coaſt, and then leauing the land wee put off to ſea, and proceeded on our voyage intended by the grace of God for China: vntill the moneth of Auguſt following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the worlde, which is not common to all nauigants, but about the beginning of Auguſt aforeſayd, being ſomewhat neere the coaſt of Guinie, vpon the ſhooting off a peece and the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, and M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffreis, our Maſter & Pilot with me, where the generall counſel was aſſembled to conſider of two points, viz.

The firſt, whether it were neceſſarie to water preſently or not, which was thought very needful of all men, and ſo concluded.

The ſecond, where the beſt and apteſt place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierra leona on the coaſt of Guinie, which was alſo concluded, and by the Maſter and Pilots agreed to goe hence Southeaſt, which determined, wee returned aboord.

The 3 day wee went Southeaſt and Eaſtſoutheaſt, till ſixe a clocke at night that wee ſawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeaſt of vs about 12 leagues off, which ſeene, wee ſounded, and had no ground: then went I and our Maſter and Pilot aboord the Admirall, and after many debatements concluded to run in Northeaſt by Eaſt, and at eleuen at night wee came aboord againe, and went all night Northeaſt by Eaſt.

The 4 at eight a clocke in the forenoone wee were within 2 leagues of the lande, which bare off vs Northeaſt, which roſe like a hill full of woods, and on each ſide low land: wee being perſwaded by our pilots that it was the entrance into Sierra leona, went in Northeaſt vntill wee were within an halfe league of the ſhoar, and had brought the South point Southeaſt by Eaſt off vs. At eleuen a clocke finding it a bay and not Sierra leona, wee brought our tacks aboord, and ſtoode along Weſt by North and Weſt larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinneſſe rowed in, and went on land vpon the South ſide of the bay, and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houſes of boughes, and in one of the houſes the tongue of a beaſt, and a bullocks tongue freſh killed; alſo a lake with plentie of freſh water, and freſh-water-fiſh in it hard by the ſea ſide: they found drie pomegranates, and peaſe like nuts, with other vnknowen fruites vnder the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by Weſt of her, and ankered within Faulcon ſhot of the ſhore in ſeuen fathom oaze, where they tooke fiſh with hookes, while hee ſtayed for the boates.

The 4 all the afternoone wee ran along the coaſt (which lyeth Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt by South) Weſt, and within a point one way or the other, ſeeing the lande vnder our lee three or foure leagues off, and all night likewiſe.

They arriue in the riuer of Sierra leona.

The 9 at three a clock in the morning our Admiral ſhot off a peece, and at foure wee weyed and went hence Northeaſt. At fiue in the morning wee ſaw the land along, and the Iſland which wee ſaw the night before, and diuers other Iſlands about it, & ſo ran in Northeaſt vntil we had brought our ſelues thwart of the riuer, and then ran in Eaſt about ſixe at night, being a league within the riuer. Our Admirall ſhot off a peece, and there wee ankered in eight fathem ſand. Being at anker, I manned our boate and would haue gone aboord the Admirall, but could not, the flood was bent ſo ſtrong, and ſhe rode halfe a mile beneath vs in the tyde, but we had no tyde.

The 10 in the morning at fiue a clocke I ſent our ſkiffe with our pilot in her to find a roade, and a watring place: in the meane time at ſixe a clocke we ſet ſaile with our ſhip, and being calme wee towed with our boat vntill ten, and then ankered a mile ſhort of the watering place. After dinner I went on land with my ſkiffe to finde timber to fiſh our maſte, and ſearching along the ſhoare we found a good watring place: and further ſeeking in the wood, which all the countrey is full of, and of diuers ſorts, wee found Limmon trees full of fruits: alſo trees growing by the water ſide with the ſtalkes hung full of oyſters and great periwinkles, and crabs amongſt them: wee found drie pomegranates with many other fruits vnknowen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward with the barkes, hauing a gale at Weſt, ſet ſaile, and ran vp and ankered in the rode before the accuſtomed watering place.

Trees hung with oyſters.

The 22 day certaine Portugals which had bene with vs before, came down and brought ſome other Portugals and Negros with them in a ſhippe-boate, wherein they brought vs 80 mewes of rice, 500 and odde weight of Elephants teeth, and a Negro boy, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth, which wee ſolde them, with all her tackle and ſailes, hauing neede of the rice, becauſe our meale which wee brought out of England was decayed and naught, whereof wee had into the Edward 30 buſhels, which is a mewe and a halfe: the Francis had 5 buſhels, and the Gallion had the reſt. And wee had 200 weight of Elephants teeth, and the Gallion 300 and a halfe, and ſixe pound. During this time we ſent our ſkiffe with the Admiralls pinneſſe vp the riuer to meete with a Gundall, which the Portugals had ſent for freſh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboord with the Admirall, and after their dinner and ſupper wee ended our buſineſſe, and returned aboord, hauing had many good ſpeaches with the Portugals.

Their trafique here with the Portugals.

The 26 day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Banniſter, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hoode, and others came aboord and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner wee went on ſhoare to the lower point where we followed the footing of an Elephant, but ſaw him not, and ſo ſpent the time to and fro till ſupper time, and then came aboord, and ſupped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.

This night I was very ſicke, (and ſo were all they that were on ſhoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite of the countrey, which wee found on trees, like nuts: whereof ſome did eate foure, ſome fiue, ſome ſixe, and more, but wee vomitted and ſcoured vpon it without reaſon.

Sickeneſſe by eating ſome fruite in Guinea.

The 27 day in the afternoone the olde Greeke Franciſco came aboord to me, with requeſt that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe vp for his owne boate which was not come downe, with whom I talked of this Countrey and Countrey-people, vntill fiue of the clocke at night that the flood was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his conſent, and ſent themſelues in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portugall Maſter, and his Negro: In the meane time I ſent foure of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28 day in the morning at foure a clocke I ſent my ſkiffe with the Admirals pinneſſe down to the Weſt point to fiſh, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fiſh as all our companies could eate.

During the time that our boates were a fiſhing, came downe the riuer a canoa and the Portugals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they preſented the Generall and mee with: and alſo the reſt of the rice due to vs for the payment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions

The Portugals preſents.

whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner M. Euans began to barter away certaine of the ſhips commodities with the Negros, without acquainting the Generall or any other vntill hee had done, whereof grewe more wordes then profite, as by the bookes of marchandiſe appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had two of the Portugals to ſupper with mee. About two of the clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

M. Euans one of our marchants.

The 29 about 4 a clocke in the morning, I in my ſkiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinneſſe, went downe to the Weſt point, and there wee landed with 11 men in all well furniſhed, and ſearched the woods, plaines and plaſhes, after an Elephant, finding the haunt, footing, and ſoyle of many newly done, yet wee ſaw none of them. Wee ſaw hogs, goates or fawnes, and diuers ſorts of fowles very wilde: and hauing trauailed about 2 leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where wee landed, and met our boates which had beene at ſea, and taken plentie of good fiſh: there wee refreſhed our ſelues with ſuch victuals as wee had, and came aboord our ſeuerall ſhips, where I found the Portugals and Negros, who had dined, and after ſupped aboord with mee.

They ſearch the countrey.

The 2 of September we ſet ſaile at ſixe of the clock in the morning, & went out Weſt betweene 7 and 10 fathom, with a prettie gale at Eaſt til 8, then it waxed calme, wee being ſhot out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blewe vp at Weſtſouthweſt a good gale, ſo wee ſtood off Northnorthweſt, and Northweſt til 5 in the afternoone, then wee ankered in 12 fathom, being 6 leagues off the point Weſt by North.

The 3 day about eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Generall came aboord to mee, complaining that his maine croſſe-trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blewe: at 12 at noone wee ſet ſaile, and went in Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt, and Southſoutheaſt, being carried to the Northward with the flood. And at 7 at night wee ankered in eight fathom three leagues off the entrance, Weſtnorthweſt.

They returne to Sierra leona againe.

The 12 day came downe the riuer a boate with three other Portugals, with whom the Generall bargained, to let them haue 3 barrels of ſalt for 5 barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40 barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portugals with him: after dinner I went on ſhoare to the ouen, and to the carpenters. After I had bene on ſhoare and ſeene the worke there, I returned aboord, & there ſupped with mee the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and ſeuen Portugals: after ſupper each man returned to his place.

Traffique with 3 other Portugals, viz.
1 Lewis Henriques a dweller here aboue 20 yeeres.
2 Matthew Fernandos Captaine.
3 Pedro Vaz pilot.

The 13 in the afternoone, the Portugals came againe aboord me, and brake their faſt with me: after I ſent by them vp the riuer in my ſkiffe 12 barrels of ſalt, and gaue them a bottell of wine for one of the ſauage Queenes.

The 15 after dinner, the Maſter, M. Walker, and I, accompanied with 12 other trauelled ouer a great deale of ground to finde ſome cattell, but found none: and comming home thorow the Oyſter bay, I found of my company and of the Admirals together roſting of oyſters: and going from them, Thomas Ruſſell one of my companie ſawe a ſtrange fiſh named Vtelif, which had fought with a crocodile, and being hurt came neere the ſhoare, where hee waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there ſlewe him, and ſent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head-part I kept, in whoſe noſe is a bone of two foot long like a ſword, with three and twentie pricks of a ſide, ſharpe and ſtrange: The bodie wee did eate, and it was like a Sharke.

They enter vp to ſearch the countrey.

A ſwordfiſh killed.

The 30 and laſt day of September the Francis cooke came aboord about ſeuen a clocke in the forenoone from fiſhing with my net, and brought among other fiſh, a Sea calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles vpon him, being ſeuen foote long, foure foote nine inches about: which to ſee I ſent for the Generall, and ſuch as pleaſed to come ſee it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and moſt part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beaſt, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dreſſed, prooued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, roſted, ſodde and baked, and ſufficed all our companies for that day.

A ſtrange fiſh taken.

The firſt day of October in the morning, wee tooke in to make vp our full complement of rice twentie barrels for the twelue barrels of ſalt, deliuered the Portugall Lewis Henriques before.

The 2 day about ſixe a clocke in the morning, wee ſet ſaile hauing little winde: the Captaine with the Maſter, and other of their companie of the Portugals came aboord me, complaining that the carſey by them receiued for the foure Negros of the Generall, was not ſufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them ſcarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themſelues well pleaſed, departed away in the Gundall, and we hauing little winde, got downe thwart of the fiſhing bay, and there came to anker about nine a clocke the ſame forenoone.

The third day about two a clocke in the morning wee ſet ſaile, and went hence Southweſt by Weſt till two in the afternoone then being little wind: at fiue wee ankered ſixe leagues Eaſtſoutheaſt of the Southermoſt part of the land in fifteene fathom, and there wee rode till eight a clocke at night, and ſet ſaile with a ſtiffe gale at Northeaſt, which ſometime blewe, and ſometime was little winde, and ſo continued all night.

The firſt day of Nouember in the forenoone, wee tooke in our maine ſaile to mend it: in the meane time, the Admirall came vp by vs, and deſiring mee with my Maſter, and M. Blackcoller to come aboord to him about certaine conference. Hee ſent his boate for vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were beſt for vs to ſtand on with the coaſt of Braſil as wee did, or elſe to ſtand about ſtarboord tacked to the Eaſtwards: whereupon diuers of their charts and reckonings were ſhewed: by ſome it appeared, wee were a hundred and fifteene leagues, by ſome a hundred and fiftie leagues, by ſome a hundred and fortie leagues, and ſome a great deale further ſhort of Braſil, next hand Northeaſt of vs: but all agreed to bee within twentie minutes of the line, ſome to the North, ſome to the South of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by moſt conſent to ſtand on for the coaſt of Braſil, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather ſhould compell vs. In this conſultation, wee had ſpeaches of courſes and places of meeting, if by miſfortune wee ſhould bee ſeparated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we ſhould ſpeake euery night with the Admirall, if wee conueniently might, and ſo to appoint our courſe from time to time, if wee loſt companie, to ſtay fifteene dayes in the riuer of Plate, and from thence to go for the ſtreights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ſhips.

The 12 in the afternoone M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Banniſter, and others came aboord to viſite M. Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the gallion all againe, except M. Maddox who remained with M. Walker here aboord.

This night M. Maddox and I, beheld many conſtellations in the firmament, and ſet downe certaine newe ſtarres raiſed to the Southwards All day and night wee went South, and South by Eaſt among.

19 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The ſeuenteenth day in the afternoone wee ſhot off three peeces of ordinance in honour of our Queenes Maieſtie. This day after dinner came maſter Maddox, and Captaine Drake with others to take their leaue of maſter Walker, as I with all my company had done before, ſuppoſing him paſt hope of recouerie. At foure of the clocke, finding our ſelues in nineteene degrees to the Southwards of the line, and cleare of the ſhoalds called by vs Powles, wee went hence South-ſouthweſt all night following.

The 18 day being Sunday, after dinner the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and many other came aboord, and viſited M. Walker: which done, they dranke, and departed aboord againe. All this day and night, we went our courſe Southweſt by South, with a franke gale.

Cold euenings.

The 19 day about noone, the Sun was in our Zenith, being declined to the Southwards 21 degrees, and 33 minutes, where wee found the aire freſh and temperate, as in England in Iune when a freſh gale of winde doeth blow in the heate of the day, but the euening, the night, and the morning are more freſh and colder here, then it is in England either in Iune or Iulie.

Diuers Iſlands.

The latitude of 27 degrees, 50 minutes.

The firſt of December, about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, wee ſawe lande on the coaſt of Braſil, in the height of 28 degrees or there abouts, which bare Northweſt, and was eight leagues from vs very high land. Wee ſtood in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found diuers Iſlands: and ſeeing the Francis would not come roome nor run ahead vs, wee ſtood in with the ſhore, and ſounded in 30 fathom oaze three leagues off the lande, bearing from the Weſtnorthweſt to the Northnorthweſt of vs, and ſo ſtoode ſtill till it ſhoalded orderly into ſeuen fathom, within a mile of a headland: then perceiuing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour, in that place, wee bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whom wee haled: then hee tolde vs hee would ſeeke harbour to leewards, requiring me to go ahead. Then ſeeing the barke was aſterne, I hoiſed out my ſkiffe, and ſet her maſte and ſaile, taking her ging, and Tobias one of my Maſters mates with mee, and ranne before the ſhippe, ſounding in 15 fathom faire ſand, leauing a ledge of rockes aſea-boord of vs: ſo the ſhips and the barke looffed vp vnder a headland, and ankered in eight fathom, halfe a mile off the lande, hauing brought the headland which lyeth in 27 degrees 50 minutes Southſoutheaſt off them, and the North land Northeaſt off them.

I ſtoode on with the ſkiffe, hoping to finde a better harbour to leeward three leagues, but it prooued not ſo: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord I met with a rocke in the ſea, where we landed, and killed good ſtore of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I preſented him with fowle, and returned aboord to ſupper.

In this time our boates had beene aland, and found water, ballaſte, and two decayed houſes, as they told me, and our men aboord hooked freſh-fiſh. This night wee rode quietly.

The ſecond, being Sunday, our maſters moared our ſhips further into the bay. We brought the South point Southeaſt off vs, and the North land Northeaſt: and ſo rid.

2 day.

After dinner captaine Parker, with my boat, and company, went a land, and there placed pipes, and made three wels. In the meane time, I accompanied with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people, landed farther within the bay, and found two riuers of freſh water, and a good fiſhing place. Preſently I ſent aboord for my net, with which at one draught we drew 600 great mullets, and 5 great baſſes; the like draught was neuer ſeene with ſo ſmall a net: with which we went aboord, giuing to the admirall 240, to the Francis 80, and the reſt our company ſpent, and gaue almighty God thanks for his great goodneſſe.

Wels made by our men.

An exceeding great draught of fiſh.

All this while was captaine Parker and others gone into the land, and fired the woods; which burned extremely.

The woods ſe on fire by ou men.

The third day in the morning our carpenter calked without boord, and the maſter and others tooke vp all the merchandize in the ſteerne ſheets to the keele, and there put downe a boats loding of ſtone: and ſeeing the merchandize well conditioned, ſtowed the ſame againe. In the meane time, my ſelfe, and others in our boats, ſcraped off the wormes, and waſhed the rudder, and part of one ſide of our ſhip.

After dinner, the maſter, pilot, and I, went aſhore, and obſerued the Sunne at noone, which being paſt, with our net we drew plenty of diuers ſorts of fiſhes, and went from that bay to the watering place: from thence, aboord the generall, which had taken phyſicke, and gaue them and the Francis fiſh for their companies, and ſo went aboord, where our company had romaged afore-maſt; ſo that this afternoone we tooke in two boats more lading of ſtones afore maſt.

The ſixt day in the morning, before ſixe of the clocke, we ſaw a ſaile which went towards the Southwards, the admirall not hauing knowledge thereof. I went aboord, and certified him; who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take captaine Parker and ſome of the gallions men into the Francis, and the admirals ſkiffe with vs: ſo we gaue her chaſe, and tooke her ſixe leagues to the leewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the rode againe, we ankered in the ſea. I intending to come away in the pinneſſe, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being ready to depart, the winde blew at South a ſtout gale, and raine; ſo that about ſixe of the clocke, we ankered in the rode, where our ſhips rid.

A ſaile ſeene and taken.

After we had taken them, and that captaine Parker and I were aboord, we had much talke with them before they came to the ſhips; and being ankered there, the chiefe men were caried aboord the general, which was a gentleman, named Don Franciſco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the gouernour of the riuer of Plate, named Don Iohn de Torre Vedra.

We found and Engliſhman, named Richard Carter borne in Limehouſe, who had bene out of England foure and twenty yeres, and hath bene nere twelue yeres dwelling in the riuer of Plate, at a towne named Aſcenſion, three hundred leagues vp in the riuer, whither they were now determined to go & inhabit, hauing two women, and two yong children, ſeuen friers, the reſt boyes, and ſailers, to the number of one and twenty perſons.

Richard Carte an Engliſhma taken in the prize.

The number of 21 in the prize.

The olde frier was had in great reuerence among the reſt: inſomuch that they called him the Holy father. He was abiding in no place; but as viſitour he went viſiting from monaſtery to monaſtery.

The ſubſtance of all the ſpeeches was, that the Spaniſh fleet was before the ſtreights of Magellan, as they thought; for they were departed ſixe weeks paſt from the riuer of Ienero, where they had beene ſeuen moneths to refreſh and Winter, and that theſe were not of that company, but came out of Spaine the 26 of May 1582 in a barke of foureſcore tun, and foureſcore perſons, of purpoſe for the riuer of Plate. The friers being eighteene in number, could not agree, and their barke was a ground at Spirito ſanto, like to be loſt: therefore the old frier bought this ſmall barke of 46 tun, at a port named Spirito ſanto, in Braſill; and ſo diuided themſelues: and comming from thence, loſt company at ſea: but they thought they were before at the riuer of Plate. After his ſpeeches, I went and appointed (by the generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize with captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portugals ſailes away with me, and came aboord, where I found that our men had filled water all day.

The 7 day in the morning the generall ſent for me; where he ſhewed me and M. Maddox certeine articles which the friers and mariners Spaniards were examined of; which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spaniſh fleets intent, and of the meanes whereby we might be diſcouered by the way of the riuer of Plate by land to Peru. In this time came the reſt: after whoſe comming it was debated, whether it were beſt to take the boat & people with vs or not. Which was not determined; but referred till further examination.

Then was it determined to paſſe by the ſtreights, not withſtanding the Spaniards were there, but not to ſet vp forge, nor to build pinneſſe, but water, and ſo thorow.

The Spaniſh barke diſmiſſed.

The eight day afore noone M. Walker and I went aboord the admirall to dinner, where was determined to diſcharge the Spaniſh barke, named Our lady of pity, and all the men, except Richard Carter the Engliſh man, and Iohn Pinto a Portugall, which dwelled at the riuer of Plate. After dinner, the generall appointed mee and captaine Hawkins to ſee them all ſet aboord their ſhip, and to receiue from them certeine neceſſaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them ſatisfied. Which done, I returned aboord.

The 9 day, being Sunday, in the morning, I ſent M. Shaw and M. Geffries aboord the admirall, to peruſe the Spaniards letters; wherein they found the eſtate of the fleet which was in the ſtreights of Magellan, as by the note thereof appeareth.

Spaniſh preſents.

About ten of the clocke the generall, M. Maddox, captaine Hawkins, and captaine Parker, came aboord of me. The generall began to reprooue my quarter maſter for grudging of victuall for the Francis. Which was anſwered: and he well ſatiſfied. Then ſent I for the olde frier and Don Franciſco; who all dined with me: and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receiued the canoa, which was ſuncke, aland, and ſtones to ballaſt them, which my boat caried them, and all other things to their liking and content, they departed from me. The generall alſo departed, and his company, who being gone, I diuided the ſugar and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs: and after ſpent the day in ordinary buſineſſe.

The 10 day in the morning, our ſkiffe went a fiſhing, whereof we eat as much to ſupper as ſerued the company: the reſt we ſalted for ſtore, and to proue if they would take ſalt or not.

Things found in the iſland.

The 11 day, betimes in the morning, our ſkiffe went againe to fiſh, and tooke great plentie. About ſeuen of the clocke I went aland, taking with me the maſter, and others of our beſt men, to the number of 22 perſons, & trauelled to the place where our people before had found many great iars of earth, and decayed habitations of the Indians, and trees, being dead and withered, of ſweet wood. From that place we ſaw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the requeſt of the maſter and the reſt, I went with them to ſee. We paſſed thorow a thicke and perillous wood, before we came to the ſuppoſed plaine: and when we came to it, we found the loweſt part thereof higher then any of our heads, and ſo moſſy vnder foot, that we ſlipped to the knees many ſteps, which ſo wearied vs, that for my part, I was very ſicke, and ſo haſted aboord, leauing the maſter with 15 men, which cut a tree of ſweet wood, and brought many pieces thereof aboord.

About 3 afternoone, M. Walker and many of our men being aſhore, the winde came faire, and we layed out a warpe to the Northeaſt, and began to winde ahead. After we layed out another warpe with a bend, and wound to the plat, and ſo rid by it with one anker all night.

They leaue the harbour in 27 degrees and 30 min.

The 12 day about fiue a clocke in the morning, we ſet ſaile, and as we ran out betwixt the ledge of rocks and the maine, in eight fadom water, as we were catting our anker, the cattrope, ſtopper, and all brake; ſo that we were glad to let ſlip all the cable, and caſt off our boat and ſkiffe to wey the ſame. After we had ſtood out a good way, the admirall was vnder ſaile: then caſt we about and went roome with the admirall which weaued vs, who ſent in his pinneſſe and the Francis to helpe out our boats; ſo by the helpe of the admirals pinneſſe, with her ſaile, we had our boat the ſooner, and about 12 a clocke at noone had taken in the anker, cable, our long boat, ſkiffe, & all, and put out all our ſailes bearing after the admirall, which went hence South by eaſt. About ſixe a clocke at night, being thicke weather, we loſt ſight of the land, being foure leagues off or thereabout. All night it was but little winde: yet went we our courſe South by weſt.

The 13 day about ſeuen afore noon, the wind blew at Southſoutheaſt, & was very foggy; with which gale we ſtood in larboord tacked Weſt, till ten a clocke the ſame forenoone. Then had we ſight of the land ahead, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it ſheweth a farre off like white cliffes, but is all ſandy hilles, and bayes along the ſea ſide. At one a clocke after noone we were in 16 fadome water, and within halfe a league of the ſhore, where we ſaw ſeuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land, as we ſuppoſed. Then we caſt about, and ſtood off Southeaſt by eaſt till midnight, that the winde came large: then went we our courſe South by weſt till next morning.

The 14 day we went our courſe South by weſt, hauing ſight of the land at ſixe a clocke in the morning about ſeuen leagues off: and ſo went till ſixe at night, that wee ſaw land againe ſeuen leagues off Weſt, and the winde ſhifted to the South. Then we caſt about, and ſtood off Eaſtſoutheaſt at ſeuen at night for a while: then came vp the winde at Northweſt, and blew agood.

The 15 day in the morning, the admirall was ahead, as farre as we could almoſt ſee her, by whoſe default I know not; and being little winde, we could not get to her till foure of the clocke after noone : then we hayled her, and ſtood in betweene the Southſouthweſt and the Southweſt till ſixe at night, that the winde was variable, and foule weather. Then we caſt about, and ſounded in 23 fadome ſoft oaze, and ſtood off a while Northeaſt; and preſently caſt about againe, and went South by Eaſt larboord tacked, and Southſoutheaſt among all night : finding at foure in the morning 15 fadome ſand.

The 20 day, about ten a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the admirall; viz. M. Walker, the maſter, the pilot, the two merchants, and my ſelfe, being directed ſo to doe by the Generall. Upon our comming the generall was going to dinner, where wee alſo dined with him. Hauing dined, the generall called vs his aſſiſtants into his cabbin, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to be by vs conſidered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effects of the demands were theſe.

1 Whether it was beſt for vs to aduenture our ſelues to paſſe the ſtreights of Magellan or not; conſidering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before vs : and alſo that our determination was there to ſet vp our pinneſſe, make yron hoops, carene our ſhips, and do all our neceſſary buſineſſes for the full accompliſhment of our voyage.

2 If that courſe were not thought beſt, which way were meeteſt for vs to take.

To the firſt we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, and the two pilots, which had paſſed the ſtreights, and knew the harbours, and likeſt places to be fortified, and inhabited or not, who were called, & the three maſters with them. Their opinions were as diuers as their names; & as much differed, as before this time they were wont vſually to doe : onely they all agreed in this one point, that it was impoſſible for vs to paſſe the ſtreights without ſeeing, and incountring with the ſhips, although the fortification of the land did not annoy vs : which being long and thorowly debated, and their opinions with the three maſters demanded, which accorded not ſcant any one with other, they were diſmiſſed.

Then the generall receiued the opinions of vs his aſſiſtants, beginning with the yoongeſt in authority firſt : which when he had heard them all ouer, and being ſet downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after ſupper to giue his determination.

When we had all ſupped, then he ſent for vs downe into his cabbin, and deliuered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furniſh our ſelues on this coaſt, before he proceeded any further; and named two places, The riuer of Plate, or S. Vincent, to be choſen.

For the better deciphering of the riuer of Plate, & the commodities thereof, was called before vs, Richard Carter, which doth dwell there; who could not aſſure vs of any wine, except we could ſtay foure moneths for it : but other victuals plenty. The riuer is ſhoale and dangerous, the road ſeuen leagues from any towne, or place of commodity : which conſidered, with the trechery that might from thence be vſed, into the ſtreights by ſea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portugals, and where in honeſt ſort we might conueniently haue all our buſineſſe done.

Richard Carter the Engliſh man taken in the prize, caried along with them.

With this reſolution we tooke our leaues about eight a clocke at night, & being come aboord, preſently bare vp, and went roome, hauing all the day before beat vp the winde larboord-tacked Eaſtſoutheaſt till at night : after it was a little winde all night, we went North next hand.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

The 21 day, after ſeruice, I declared vnto my company the intent of our returne to the port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were well ſatiſfied, being before doubtfull that we ſhould not proceed, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till ſix at night, then we went Northweſt by weſt till eight at night, and then we caſt about, and ſtood off Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Eaſt by ſouth all night with a good gale.

The 22 day in the morning we miſſed the Francis, which by all preſumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

Iohn Drake in yͤ Francis went to the riuer of Plate, wherein his ſhip was caſt away, but the men gat to land, and liued 15 moneths among the Sauages.

The 25 day, being Chriſtmaſſe day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke; then it blew a freſh gale, with which wee went our courſe Northnortheaſt. In the afternoone it was leſſe wind : yet went we our courſe North by eaſt, and Northnortheaſt, and North, and North by weſt, till midnight. Then being in ſhoaled water, wee caſt about, and lay Southſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt by ſouth, an houre; and ſeeing our admirall came not after vs, we caſt about backe againe, and preſently met him : ſo we went both together next hand Southſoutheaſt all the reſt of the night. This afternoone we ſaw the ſkim of fiſhes ſo thicke in the ſea, that it ſeemed a water troubled with trampling of horſes; which was thicke, and ſlimy : for we had taken vp ſome of it.

Infinite number of fiſh.

The 17 day of Ianuary, about ſeuen a clocke, the maſter, M. Blaccoller, and I went in our ſkiffe, and rowed, and ſounded round about an ile, and found 16 fadoms within a ſtones caſt hard aboord the ſhore, and faire ground : after we landed, and found nothing but woods and buſhes,

and

A ſmall iſland which our mē called Faulcon iſle.

and ſtrange wormes: we ſaw a faulcon, and one other ſmall bird, and therefore named it Faulcon ile: it is a mile about, with a rocke on the Eaſt ſide, which lieth cloſe to it, and it is in ſight without danger. After we came aboord, and dined; at two a clocke we ſet ſaile with winde Southeaſt, and ran in Northeaſt a while, till the winde ſcanted: then we went in Northnortheaſt, till we were in ſeuen fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of ſhore: then we caſt about, and ſtood off Southſoutheaſt all night, till ſixe a clocke the next morning.

The 18 day about three a clocke, afore day, we ſaw our admirall againe, and kept her compapany till day.

Citron iſle.

The 19 day, being within a league of the Citron ile, about eight a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the general, viz. M. Walker, the maſter, the pilot, and my ſelfe, reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euill road, where they loſt an anker, a cable, and a haulſer, and how the day before, their pinneſſe was aſhore on the ſame iland, and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had ſent their boat and pinneſſe for more water, where I know they had ſmall ſtore.

I alſo taking captaine Parker, the maſter, and M. Wilks with me, went aſhore, and trauelled to the top of the ile, which is wooded, and high graſſe, but euill water, and little on it, but yoong fowle plenty, and dangerous comming to them. By this time (I hauing ſet the iſles, and headlands about in ſight with a compaſſe) came a ſmall gale at Southſoutheaſt; then our admirall ſhot off a piece for the boats, and hence I went, and dined aboord with him, and came after aboord, and went in Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt till morning: at which time wee were within a league of the iſle, entring before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was vpon the barre to go out.

Their arriuall at S. Vincent.

Three canoas of Portugals & Indians.

The 20 day in the morning, being calme, the generals pinneſſe came in to the ſhore, with intent to ſound the entrance, but ſeeing three canoas, with ech at the leaſt twenty men, whereof the greater part were naked Indians, which rowed, the reſt Portugals, they returned aboord again. The canoas came with a flag of truce within, calling of our ſhip, and we ſhewed them the like, aſking what we were, and of what nation: at length one Portugall went aboord the admirall, by whom the generall ſent a letter to the gouernour, crauing a pilot to bring in our ſhip of courteſie, and to haue traffique. About noone, hauing the winde at South, we bare in Northweſt, and ſo to the Northeaſt, as the chanell trended: but comming into ſeuen fadome water, we ankered, vntill our boats had ſounded the barre. During which time, I went aboord the admirall, to conferre with him about our proceedings.

After I had ſtayed a while aboord the admirall, the generall came aboord with me, where we publiſhed vnto all my company very good rules for their behauiour and profit, to their great ſatiſfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with all his aſſiſtants he conferred of diuers particulars of our voyage: by which time the boat being returned from ſounding, we departed, and ſet ſaile, following our ſkiffes, and with our ſhips got within the barre into ſeuen fadome: then being becalmed, we ankered againe before a ſandy bay, wherein ſtands a caſtle and houſes: we rid within musket ſhot of it: and ankered about foure a clocke afternoone.

A caſtle.

Then went I forwards with my ſkiffe vnto a further point, ſounding along. Before my returne, the generall had ſent for me to ſupper; and thither I went: but being ready to ſit downe, there came out to vs a canoa, wherein were ten Indians and two Chriſtians; the one an ancient Genouois, the other a Portugall; who came aboord, and there receiued a ſmall banket, declaring their comming was to vnderſtand our intents, and what we ſought: who being ſatiſfied, departed with a farewell of three great pieces from ech ſhip.

A canoa with ten Indians and two Chriſtians, whereof one was an old Genouois.

Iohn Whithall an Engliſhmā which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Ioſeph Dories daughter.

The 21 day about three a clocke afternoone, came a canoa, with the old Genouois named Ioſeph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repoſe a Portugall, and brought a letter from the gouernor, and withall, anſwere of feare and doubts of vs, &c. After many ſpeeches and requeſts, a banket was made them, and the generall in his pinneſſe with his muſicke, & trumpets; and I in my ſkiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and tabor and pipe, accompanied them a mile vp the riuer: at going off, we ſaluted them with a volley of three great pieces out of ech ſhip: and after vs came captaine Parker with the admirals long boat, and certeine ſhot in the ſame, to attend on the generall.

Santos.

The 22 day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the admirall to conferre about the ſending of ſome token and preſent to the gouernor, which was by all the aſſiſtants determined to ſend him three yards of fine ſkarlet, & three yards of fine murry-cloth; and to Ioſeph Dory the old Genouois, Steuen Repoſe the Portugall, and to Paul Badeues the Fleming, ech of them three yards of fine blacke cloth, which our merchants went vp to Santos withall in the admirals ſkiffe, about nine a clocke afore noone.

Alſo this forenoone, we being minded to goe vp higher with our ſhips into harbour, I adviſed them to goe view the place, and ſound the road before we went vp; which we did: where were found the place both vncouuenient, and the road worſe: and ſo we returned, and left the firſt determination. This day we tooke downe our main-tops, and top-maſt, and all the ſhrowds.

About two a clocke after noone our merchants returned with their preſents, not hauing beene at the towne, becauſe Steuen Repoſe by the way met them on the riuer, and aduiſed them to ſtay vntill there had beene word ſent to the gouernour, who was vnwilling to ſpeake with them yet, but ſhortly would ſend their anſwere.

The reſt of this forenoone we ſpent in communication about the appointing of a purſer for the Edward. Alſo we ſigned an aſſent for comming to this place: about which thing grew foule ſpeeches betweene the generall and his lieutenant, after the olde cuſtome.

The Indians preſents.

Then went wee to ſupper: and being at ſupper, certaine Indians came aboord, and brought the generall a ſtrange crow, and potatos, and ſugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glaſſes, great pinns, and biſcuit: and ſo we departed, being late. Alſo this afternoone I ran ouer towards S. Vincent, and ſounded the bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats, and returned aboord againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde.

The chanell of S. Vincent ſounded.

The 23 day our ſkiffe went aſhore to fiſh, and tooke prety ſtore: we ſent our main-top aſhore to be mended, and many of our men to waſh their clothes; alſo I went my ſelfe with them aland, to take order that no man ſhould any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the generall with all the reſt of the chiefeſt gentlemen, came aſhore, and viewed the place, and appointed out the fitteſt roome to ſet vp our ſmithes forge, and ouens to bake our biſcuit, and place for our coopers to trim our water caſke.

Portable ouens to bake in.

The 24 day at foure of the clocke, before day, we heard one call for a boat on the North ſhore, to whom I ſent my ſkiffe, who brought aboord one named Iohn Whithall, an Engliſh man, which is maried here in this place, and with him two of his Indians; whom I enterteined vntill I ſent word to the generall to prepare himſelfe to receiue him: in which time he and I talked of many ſeuerall particulars.

Iohn Whithall.

About ſixe a clocke I conueyed him aboord the admirall: there he diſcouered vnto vs what had bene done at the towne, as fortification, and ſending their wiues away, &c. aduiſing vs to receiue no more delayes, but to come vp preſently before the towne with our ſhips.

Good counſell by the foreſayd Engliſhman giuen to our men.

About ten a clocke came a canoa, and brought downe Ioſeph Dory and Steuen Repoſe, who tolde vs that on Saturday the gouernour would meet our generall, and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vſe our ordinary buſineſſe of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fiſhing, and waſhing, &c. but not to ſet vp forge, nor ouen, vntill ſpeech had with the gouernour. After this anſwere, we dined together aboord the gallion: after dinner we left the meſſengers ſitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poope; where the generall demanded the aduice of his aſſiſtants, whether it were not beſt to ſtay theſe men while we had them or not, or whether it were beſt to go vp with our ſhips to the towne or no.

Whereunto ech man pauſed to make anſwere: wherefore I deliuered my opinion; which was, that we were forbidden to vſe violence to any nation for trade.

Secondly, I conſidered that diuers of our nation, worſhipfull merchants, and now aduenturers in this voyage, had ſet out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be ſpoiled, and our nation brought in hatred.

The Minion of London ſometime in Braſill for traffique.

Laſtly, that with force we were not like to atteine ſo much commodity, as we were in poſſibility to haue with courteſie.

Hereupon all was concluded, and they ſuffered to paſſe away: to whom the generall gaue the three cloake-clothes, to Ioſeph Dory, to Paul Baudeueſe, and to Steuen Repoſe, to ech of them one, which were before cut out for them: and ſo friendly we and they departed about two a clocke after noone.

About foure of the clocke this afternoone we ſaw three ſaile of ſhips come bearing in about the point, which aſſoone as they ſaw vs, ankered vpon the barre, and put themſelues in readineſſe, ſending from one ſhip to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other neceſſaries from the ſhore, which were buſie on land, armed our ſhips to defend our ſelues. Then went I aboord the admirall to know what he meant to do: who determined to ſet his watch in warlike ſort; and ſo he did: for after the trumpets and drum had ſounded, he ſhot off a great piece, as they before had done; and preſently the viceadmirall ſhot at me, whom I anſwered with another, and ſo ceaſed. We then ſet vp our main-top, and top-maſt, rigged before eleuen of the clocke the ſame night. In the meane while they let ſlip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs, meaning

Three Spaniſh ſhips diſcouered.

meaning to haue boorded vs : and being neere our admirall, he halled them ; who refuſed to tell of whence they were, thinking by ſpending of time to get aboord of him : to whom I called ſtill to beware, and to ſhoot at them in time. At length he let flie at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable ſlip to auoid them : then came they all driuing downe thwart my haulſe, ſo that I was faine to let ſlip an anker and cable to ſhun the gallion. All this while the ordinance and ſmall ſhot plied of all parts, and I was faine to ſend the gallion my ſkiffe with a haulſer to ride by, for ſhee was looſe, and with the flood draue vp within me. Then was the viceadmirall on my broad ſide, who was well payed before, yet I left not galling of him, til I thought our powder ſpent in vaine to ſhoot at him, he was ſo torne, and broken downe by vs. About foure of the clocke it rained ſo faſt, that we could ſcant diſcerne one the other, the Moone being gone downe, yet rid the admirall, and the rereadmirall, but a little ahead of vs : during which time, we pauſed, and made ready all our munition.

The fight betwixt the Engliſh & Spaniſh ſhips at S. Vincent.

The Spaniſh viceadmirall ſunke by the Engliſh.

The 25 day, by day-light, we ſaw the viceadmirall ſunke hard by vs, ſo that his yards which were hoiſed acroſſe, and his tops, and that ouer head, was aboue water : moſt of their men were gotten away in their boats, ſauing about fourtie perſons which hung in the ſhrowds, and toppes, whom I aduiſed our generall to ſend for away, and had made ready, and well manned our pinneſſes; but being vpon the way going, the generall called them backe, and would not ſuffer them to goe. There were three of their boats alſo going for them from their ſhips ; at whom I ſhot, and made them to retire, and leaue them vpon the ſhrowds. At length our generall ſent for two of the men away : which his pinneſſe brought to him; the one was heaued ouer boord, becauſe he was ſore hurt, not like to liue; and he was a Marſillian ; the other was a Greeke, borne in Zante, boatſwaine of the viceadmirall : the reſt of the men, ſome ſwam away vpon rafts, ſome were drowned, and ſome remained ſtill hanging on her. By this time it was faire day-light, and I called to our generall to wey, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe firſt and anker on their quarter, and he would follow, and anker on their bowes. I weyed, and went downe, and ankered by them; yet not ſo nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There rid I alone, ſpending ſhot at them, and they both at me, foure houres, before our admirals anker would come vp : during which time, I had ſome ſpoile done; but when our admirall came, ſhe had her part, and eaſed me very well.

This Greeke tolde the Generall yͭ there were 600 and odde in the 3 Spaniſh ſhips.

At length our admirall began to warpe away, and being come without me, ſet ſaile, and began to ſtand out into the ſea : I went aboord of him to know his pleaſure. Who determined to get out of ſhot; but could not, becauſe the winde ſcanted on them. The Edward before ſhe could get vp her ankers, endured many more ſhot, after the gallion was further off a good way then ſhe, and ſometime the gallion had two or three. Thus we ended about two of the clocke after noone : the reſt of this day and part of the night, we ſpent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would haue bene with vs.

The 26 day in the morning we could not ſee them, becauſe they were gone vp the riuer : wee manned our boats and pinneſſes, and weyed two ankers and one cable, that they let ſlip the night before : as our men were weying the third anker, the bwoy-rope brake, and ſo we loſt that anker. Our admirall had an anker of twelue hundred, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and we had an anker about ſixe hundred, with a piece of a baſſe cable, and bwoy-rope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboord the admirall, to confer with him, who determined to go off to ſea, and thither I caried Sennor Pinto to interpret the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fled from the bay where we rid in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuer, flaſke, and touchboxe, to goe with vs, whom our admirals boat met, and brought him aboord to the admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on land, and buried them, and alſo landed many hurt men in their bay, and that there were certeine Spaniards gone ouer thorow the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, captaine Hawkins, and maſter Maddox came aboord of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my ſhippe, both men, ſhippe, and tackle; and I alſo went aboord him to peruſe his hurts, who had but one man, a ſailer, ſlaine.

The 28 day in the morning died Lancelot Aſhe, of a hurt; who departed very godly. This day we ſtood to the Northwards : and in getting in our ankers and ſkiffe, we were put 3 leagues to leeward of Fiddle ile, but the gallion rid ſtill.

Here the gallion and the Edward Bonauenture were ſeuered, and neuer met afterward

The 29 day in the morning, ſeeing my ſelfe put to ſea from the admirall, I aſſembled maſter Walker, maſter Shawe, maſter Ieffries, the maſter, the maſters mate, and the pilot, to whom I ſhewed that I was deſirous to goe backe to ſeeke our admirall, whereunto the maſter, pilot, and maſters mate anſwered directly, that wee could not fetch the ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very vnlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, aſwell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to be put on a lee ſhoare: whereupon all the reſt aduiſed me to ſtand off into the ſea, whereunto I aſſented, remembring withal, that time ſpent conſumed victuall, and howe long wee had beaten vp and downe in the ſame bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes.

Thus wee concluded that M. Walker ſhould ſet downe each mans opinion, and wee ſet to our handes, and from henceforth hee to keepe a Regiſter of all our proceeding, as M. Maddox did aboord the Admirall.

The firſt day of February, wee went Eaſt by ſouth, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a ſtoute gale: and went the ſame courſe the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone M. Walker died, who had bene weake and ſicke of the bloodie flixe 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and priſed them, and heaued him ouer boord, and ſhot a peece for his knell.

M. Walker the preacher dieth.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Maſter and the Pilot, ſhewing them our wants of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereupon they and I concluded, that it was beſt for vs to returne to our countrey, with as litle loſſe of time and expenſe of victuals as might be, being without hope of reliefe vpon this coaſt, and yet to keepe the coaſt of Braſil to friend for feare of extremitie.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, wee ſaued aboue two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

The 18. day I obſerued the variation of the compaſſe, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinary compaſſe of London.

Variation of the Compaſſe.

The ſecond day of March the Maſter, Pilot, & I agreed to fetch the yle of Fernando Loronha.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went Weſt, and by South, and ran in for the ſhoare.

The 10. day we ſaw the land, which was ſandie hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day ſeeking to goe a ſhoare, wee ſawe foure men, which weaued to vs with a white ſhirt, and we weaued to them with a flagge of truce: At length one of them ſwamme to our boats ſide, and there lay in the Sea talking with vs, almoſt an houre: in the ende, being partly perſwaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian-tongue, and partly entiſed with ſuch trifles as I ſhewed him, hee came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on ſhoare, who came aboord ſwimming: wee deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of freſh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barricos. Whereupon Pinto and Ruſſell ſwamme a ſhoare to ſeeke water, but found none.

The ſame day wee ſailed to a place where boats might land, & I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with mee the day before, and they brought our three barricos full of freſh water: for which I rewarded them with ſome trifles. In the meane time our boat went aſhoare, and our men with ſome of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of freſh water, and I my ſelfe went to ſhoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, wee manned our boat and Skiffe, and tooke ſome trifling things to ſhoare, and barricos: at our firſt arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondering about vs: Firſt I cauſed them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with ſmall bells, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my ſelfe alwayes afloat, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a ſmal looking glaſſe. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Ruſſel, Marke Thawghts were ſtill on ſhoare, and would not tarry aboord: In the ende, fearing ſome treacherie, becauſe all the Indians were ſlipped on ſhoare from mee, I called our men away, and ſuddenly they layed handes on our men aſhoare, and with their bowes ſhot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercie deliuered vs from their hands, with the loſſe of fiue men ſlaine, and others hurt.

Treaſon of the Indians.

Thus we got aboord with 40. hens, ducks, turkies, and parrats, and three hogſheads of water: and I caried a Frenchman aboord with mee, named Iaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boat with me when this fray began.

Iaques Humfrey a Frenchman ſaued.

The 17. day we tooke three ſharks in the morning.

From that day to the firſt of April, wee went our courſe, ſometime with raine, and ſometime with variable windes, & ſo til the 4. of April: which day we ſaw 4. birds with long tailes, which houered about the ſhip, and in the afternoone we ſaw and tooke vp many weedes which draue thicke in the ſea, which we iudged to be driuen with the Eaſt windes from the yles of Cape verde.

From this day till the 11. day we went our courſe ſometime Northeaſt, ſometime Northweſt according to the winds: vpon this 11. day George Coxe one of our Carpenters, hauing the night before broken vp the hold, and ſtolne wine, and drunken himſelfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept ouerbord out of the beake head, and ſo drowned himſelfe.

A deſperate act.

The 12. day wee ſpied our foremaſt to be periſhed in the hownes, and durſt not beare our foretop ſaile vpon it, but went hence with our ſailes, next hand, North all day and night.

From hence to the 20. day we went Northeaſt and by North. This day I obſerued the variation of the compaſſe: and I noted that the South point of the compaſſe caried more then halfe a point to the Weſtwards.

Variation of the Compaſſe.

The 25. day of May wee went betweene the Eaſt northeaſt, and the Northeaſt with a ſmall gale till fiue a clocke in the afternoone: then had we ſight of land, which roſe ragged to the Northwards like broken land, we being about fiue leagues off: that yle bare Northeaſt by North of vs, and the Northermoſt part bare North by Eaſt of vs, with a rocke a ſea bord: we then ſounded, and had fiftie and fiue fadome grey ſand, and maze great ſtore in it: ſo wee ſtood in Northeaſt till eight a clocke, and then beheld it againe being within foure leagues of it, bearing as before, but wee could not make it, for ſome thought it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, ſome iudged it the yle of Vſſant: then we ſounded againe in 55. fadome browne ſand, and little maze in it: at eight a clocke at night we went about, and ſtoode off South ſouthweſt one watch, then the wind ſhrinked to the Southweſt, that we could lye but South ſouthweſt ſixe glaſſes, ſo that at three a clocke wee caſt about, and lay Northweſt ſixe glaſſes, and North northweſt a watch being then eight a clocke the next day.

The 26. day wee lay as nigh as wee could betweene the North and the North northeaſt, and ſaw the ſame land againe, and made it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare now Eaſt Northeaſt of vs: and wee ſtoode on till tenne a clocke, then being within two leagues of the rockes and leſſe, wee caſt about and ſtoode off Southweſt, becauſe wee could not double the vttermoſt rockes: when we were about we draue to the Southwards very faſte, for the ebbe ſet vs Weſt ſouthweſt, and being ſpring tides, it horſed vs a pace to leewards, for the ſpace of one houre: then with the flood which was come, we draue againe to windewards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then wee ſtoode about larbord tacked, South ſouthweſt one watch, then at midnight wee caſt about and ſtoode ouer North till foure aforenoone.

The yle of Sylly.

The 27. day hauing brought the land Eaſt ſoutheaſt of vs, we made it to be Sylly being before deceiued, and went hence Eaſt by North to double Grimsbie, leauing The biſhop and his clearks to the Southweſtwards, which we before tooke to be The Seames.

At 7. a clocke in the afternoone we ſawe the lands end of England, which bare Eaſt by North off vs, and is 7. leagues off from Sylly.

The 29. day at ſixe a clocke beforenoone we had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and were within a league of it, and went in Northeaſt next hand, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: ſo that at eleuen a clocke we got in within the yland, and there by miſtaking of a ſounding, our ſhip came aground betweene the yle and the maine, and there ſate till 4. a clocke in the afternoone that it was halfe flood.

We came to Plimmouth.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much adoe I furniſhed away P. Ieffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreſon with letters, after dined at M. Blaccollers, and made many ſalutations with diuers gentlemen.

1583.

The 31. I wrought abord all day, and put our ſhip, and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pitie of ſome poore men of Milbrooke, which were robbed the night before by a pirate named Purſer, which rid in Cawſon bay, I conſented to goe out with the Edward in company of a ſmall ſhippe which they had furniſhed to bee their Maſter, ſo about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, came a hundreth men of theirs abord of mee: About twelue a clocke wee ſet ſaile, and by three afore day wee were gotten to the windwards of him, then hee ſet ſaile, and went hence to the Eaſtwards, and outſailed vs, becauſe our conſort would not come neere him: after a ſmall chaſe which we gaue him to no effect, wee returned into our old road, and there moared the ſhip about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and hence went all the Milbrooke men againe aſhore from mee. And thus I ended a troubleſome voyage.

The voyage ſet out by the right honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, in the yere 1586. intended for *The South ſea*, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44 degrees to the South of the *Equinoctial*, Written by M. *Iohn Sarracoll* marchant in the ſame voyage.

The 26. day of Iune, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queenes maieſties raigne, wee departed from Grauesend in two ſhips; the Admirall called The red dragon, and the other The barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the Captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withrington, Of the vice-admirall M. Chriſtopher Liſter, both being furniſhed out at the coſts and charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their maſters two brethren, the one Iohn Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of Iuly wee came into the ſound of Plimmouth, and being there conſtrained by Weſterly winds, to ſtay till the 17. of Auguſt, wee then departed with another ſhip alſo for our Rear-admirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was Captaine, and a fine pinneſſe alſo called the Dorothie, which was ſir Walter Raleghs. We foure being out in the ſea, met the 20. of Auguſt, with 16. ſailes of hulkes in the Sleeue, who named themſelues to bee men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous wordes, willing him to ſtrike his ſailes, and to come abord to him onely to know ſome newes of the countrey, but hee refuſed to do ſo, onely ſtroke his flag & tooke it in. The vice-admiral of the hulkes being a head, would neither ſtrike flagge nor ſaile, but paſſed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall lent him a piece of Ordinance, which they repayed double, ſo that we grew to ſome little quarel, whereupon one of the ſternemoſt hulkes, being as I ſuppoſe more afraide then hurt, ſtroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him abord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chaſe to the Windermoſt men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue ſtroke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with ſmall raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which Captaine Hawes had borded and kept all night, and tooke out of her ſome prouiſion that that they beſt liked. They learned of the men that were in the hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and becauſe their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and ſo they let her goe againe like a gooſe with a broken wing.

The next day after being the 21. day, wee eſpied 5. ſailes more, which lay along to the Eaſtwards, but by reaſon of the night which then was neere at hand, wee could hardly come to them. Yet at laſt we hailed one of the biggeſt of them, & they tolde vs that they were al of Hamborough: but another ſaide ſhee was of Denmarke, ſo that indeede they knew neither what to ſay, nor what to do. Our Admirall being more deſirous to folow his courſe, then to linger by chaſing the hulks, called vs from purſuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or els wee would haue ſeene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day becauſe of contrary winde wee put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and taried there ſeuen dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to Sea, and began our voyage, thinking at the firſt to haue runne along the coaſt of Spaine, to ſee if wee could haue mette with ſome good prize to haue ſent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the beſt courſe at the laſt, but rather kept off in the ſea from the coaſt. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September wee fell with the coaſt of Barbarie, and the 18. halled in with the roade of Santa Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the ylands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongſt this yland, we eſpied vpon a hill by the water ſide, one wauing with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and ſent them towards the ſhoare, to vnderſtand what newes. They found them to bee two ragged knaues and one horſeman, and they tolde vs that Lanzarota was taken, and ſpoyled in Auguſt by the Turkes: when we ſaw they had nothing elſe to ſay, we left them, and proceeded on our courſe, and fell againe with the coaſt of Barbarie.

Lanzarota ſpoiled by the men of Algiers.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio del Oro, ſtanding iuſt vnder our Tropike: we anckered in the mouth of it in 8. fadom, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate ſearched the riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues vp, as at the entrie of it, but found no towne nor habitation, ſauing that there came downe two poore men, and one of them ſpake good Spaniſh, and told our Captaine, that certaine Frenchmen vſed to come thither, and laded ſome oxe hides, and goats hides, but other com-

Rio del Oro, in 23. degrees and a halfe.

Trade of the Frenchmen in Rio del Oro.

moditie there was none. We departed thence the 27 day, & the laſt day of the moneth being calme we went abord our General, & there conſented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October wee were much becalmed with extreeme hot weather, much lightning, and great ſtore of raine. This 10. day we ſounded, finding a great current as we ſuppoſed by the ripling water, which after wee found to bee an ordinary tide, the flood ſetting to the Northweſt, and the ebb Southeaſt, and here we had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to bee ſeene: it was on the Southermoſt part of the ſhowles that lie in about 11. degrees, but halling South off againe, it preſently deeped vnto 50. fathome, and after halling Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, we ſounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Sierra Leona.

The 21. of October wee fell with land vpon the coaſt of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierra Leona. Wee drew in to the land, and found neere the ſhoare more water then in the offing: at the Northren end of the high land we anckered about a mile, and ſomewhat more from the ſhoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbor of Sierra Leona we did borrow vpon the South ſide, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the ſhoare.

Vpon the Northſide of this harbour is very ſhoale water, but on the Southſide no feare, more then is to be ſeene.

A towne of the Negros.

The 23. day being Sunday wee came to an ancker in the bay of freſh water, and going aſhoare with our boate, wee ſpake with a Portugal, who tolde vs that not farre off there were Negros inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Botija of wine, and ſome linnen cloth, hee would ſuffer vs to water and wood at our pleaſure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portugall and the Negros ranne all away into the woods. Then wee returned againe into our boates, and preſently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetcht a walke, and ſo to come to our boats againe. But wandering through a little wood, we were ſuddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negros, whereupon they ſtrooke vp their drumme, giuing withall a great ſhowt, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. Wee were in number about 30. caleeuers, and 20. with our weapons, which wee alſo let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt we did, we know not.

A ſtrange monſter.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleaſure, and reaſonable ſtore of fiſh, and amongſt the reſt we halled vp a great foule monſter, whoſe head and backe were ſo hard, that no ſword could enter it: but being thruſt in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounded, hee bowed a ſword in his mouth, as a man would do a girdle of leather about his hande, and likewiſe the yron of a boare ſpeare. He was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of ſmall ſtones, to the value of a pottell.

Another great and fine towne of the Negros.

A towne burnt.

The fourth of Nouember wee went on ſhore to a towne of the Negros, which ſtoode on the Southeaſt ſide of the harbour, about a Sacar ſhot from the roade, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houſes, and walled about with mightie great trees, and ſtakes ſo thicke, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, wee came directly vpon a port which was not ſhut vp, where we entred with ſuch fierceneſſe, that the people fled all out of the towne, which we found to bee finely built after their faſhion, and the ſtreetes of it ſo intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee found their houſes and ſtreets ſo finely and cleanly kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houſes nor ſtreets was ſo much duſt to bee found, as would fill an egge ſhell. Wee found little in their houſes, except ſome matts, goards, and ſome earthen pots. Our men at their departure ſet the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the moſt part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houſes being couered with reed and ſtraw.

Rice in ſtacks.

After this wee ſearched the countrey about it, where wee found in diuers plaines good ſtore of rice in ſtacks, which our men did beate out, and brought a bord in the huſke, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ſhips.

Idoles.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our courſe for the Straights of Magellan. In this harbour diuers of our men fell ſicke of a diſeaſe in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of ſmall continuance. Wee founde alſo in diuers places of the woods, images ſet vpon pinnes, with diuers things before them, as eggs, meale, rice, round ſhot of ſtones, and diuers other things, ſuch as the barbarous people had to offer vp.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing ſo hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reaſon of the great winde and raine.

About the 24.day of Nouember one or two of our men died, and others alſo were ſicke of a Calentura.

The ſecond day of Ianuary we had a little ſight of land, being about the height of 28.degrees to the Southward of the Line.

The 4.day wee fell with the ſhoare high and bold, being in 30.degrees, and a terſe, little more or leſſe. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southward it did preſently faile, and was a very low land, and all ſandie. About ſixe leagues from the ſhoare wee ſounded, and had about fifteene or ſixteene fathome water, and blacke ſandie oze. We thought to haue gone to the ſhoare, and to haue watered, but we could not diſcerne any good harbour, and therefore we caſt off to ſeaward againe.

They fall with an high land in 30.degres $\frac{1}{3}$.

The 12.day wee found our ſelues in 32.degrees and 27.minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Chriſt, till the 13.day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet we found no want of winds but variable as in England, & not ſo hot but that a mans ſhoulders might well diſgeſt a frize gowne, and his bellie the beſt Chriſtmas cheere in England, yet wee for our parts had no want, but ſuch as might content honeſt men.

The tenth day being about 8.leagues from the ſhoare, and a little ſhort of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to eſpie a ſaile, which was a ſmall Portugal bound for the Riuer to a towne called Santa Fee: and from thence by horſe and carts, the marchants, and part of their goods were to bee tranſported into Peru. This ſhippe being about the burthen of 45. or 50.tunnes, wee tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Maſter or Pilote an Engliſhman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee. We examined him and the reſt concerning the ſtate of the Riuer, and they told vs that there were in the Riuer fiue townes, ſome of 70.houſholds, and ſome of more. The firſt towne was about 50.leagues vp the Riuer called Buenos Ayres, the reſt ſome 40.ſome 50.leagues one from another, ſo that the vppermoſt towne called Tucaman is 230.leagues from the entrance of the Riuer. In theſe townes is great ſtore of corne, cattell, wine, and ſundry fruits, but no money of gold or ſiluer: they make a certaine kinde of ſlight cloth, which they giue in trucke of ſugar, rice, Marmalade, and Sucket, which were the commodities that this ſhippe had.

A Portugal ſhip taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Engliſhman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

Fiue townes vpon the riuer of Plate.

They had abord alſo 45.Negros, whereof euery one in Peru yeeldeth 400.duckets a piece, and beſides theſe, there were as paſſengers in her, two Portugal women and a childe.

The 11.day wee eſpied another ſaile, which was the conſort of this Portugall, and to him alſo we gaue chaſe, and tooke him the ſame day: Hee was of the burthen of the other, and had in him good ſtore of ſugar, Marmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe our booke. In this ſhip alſo we found about 35.Negro women, and foure or fiue friers, of which one was an Iriſh man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portugal women alſo, which were borne in the riuer of Ienero. Both theſe ſhips were bought in Braſil, by a yong man which was Factor for the biſhop of Tucaman, and the friers were ſent for by that biſhop to poſſeſſe a new Monaſterie, which the biſhop was then a building. The bookes, beads, and pictures in her, coſt (as one of the Portugals confeſſed) aboue 1000.duckats.

Another Portugal ſhip taken.

An Iriſh frier taken.

The biſhop of Tucaman in the riuer of Plate.

Of theſe ſhips we learned, that M.Iohn Drake, who went in conſort with M. Fenton, had his Barke caſt away a little ſhort of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sauages, all ſauing them which were ſlaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vſed them very hardly, yet at the laſt Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and two or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and eſcaped, and came to the firſt towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in one of the townes, but Iohn Drake was carried to Tucaman by the Pilot of this ſhip, and was liuing, and in good health the laſt yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portugals they tolde vs that it was the thirde voyage that was made into the Riuer of Plate theſe 30.yeeres.

The newes of M.Iohn Drake.

Richard Faireweather.

The 12.of Ianuary wee came to Seale yland, and the 14.day to the Greene yland, where going in we found hard abord the maine 8.fathome, 7.and 6.and neuer leſſe then fiue fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the yland and the maine, ſo that you muſt bee ſure to borrow hard abord the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larbord ſide.

Seale-ylands and Green-yland.

One of the Portugals which wee caried along with vs in our ſhippe ſeemed to bee a man of experience, and I entred into ſpeach with him concerning the ſtate of the Riuer: hee tolde mee that the towne of Buenos Ayres is from the Greene yland about ſeuentie leagues, ſtanding on the Southſide of the Riuer, and from thence to Santa Fee is 100.leagues, ſtanding on the ſame ſide alſo. At which towne their ſhippes doe diſcharge all their goods into ſmall Barkes, which rowe and towe vp the Riuer to another towne called Aſcenſion, which is from Santa Fee 150.

Buenos Ayres.

Santa Fee.

leagues, where the boats diſcharge on ſhoare, and ſo paſſe all the goods by carts and horſes to Tucaman, which is in Peru.

The towne of Aſcenſion ſtands in a very fertile place, reaping corne twiſe in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruits. In the townes of Aſcenſion and Tucaman a rapier of 20. rials of plate is worth 30. duckats, a boxe of Marmalade 20. duckats; a looking glaſſe a foote ouer is worth 30.li. pictures in tables of 14.inches, 30.and 40.li.a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene yland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Weſtward, where wee tooke in about 18.tunnes of water, and the 22.day came againe to Seale yland to make prouiſion of Seales, where a ſtorme aroſe, which put vs in ſome danger, by the breaking of our anckers and cables, and the winde blew ſo colde, that wee much marueiled at it, conſidering the height of the place. I muſt needes in this place finde fault with our ſelues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16.dayes, the chanell was not ſounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29.day wee tooke into our ſhip one Miles Philips, which was left in the Weſt Indies by M.Hawkins.

The firſt of February I tooke the Sunne in 38.degrees. And the 3.day of I tooke it againe and found it to be in 41.degrees.

The 7. day of February our Captaine maſter Liſter being in one of the prizes, hoyſed ouer bord his Gundelo, and went abord the Admirall, and being there they ſent their Gundelo abord vs, for our Maſter, maſter Collins, and my ſelfe, & at our comming we were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were ſet in counſell for matters touching the ſtate of our voyage, theſe men whoſe names are vnder written.

Maſter Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admirall.
Maſter Chriſtopher Liſter Captaine of The barke Clifford.
Iohn Anthonie, Maſter of the Admirall.
Thomas Hood Pilot for the Streights.
William Anthonie, Maſter of the barke Clifford.
Dauid Collins. Triſtram Gennings.
Maſter William Withrington.
Maſter Beumond Withrington.
Maſter Waſnes. Maſter Norton.
Maſter Wilkes. Maſter Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The maſter Gunner:
And Alexander Gundie, his mate.
Iohn Sarracol.

M.Iohn Anthonie.

This company being all aſſembled together, the Maſter of the Admiral declared that the cauſe of our aſſembly was to determine after good aduice, what courſe or way were beſt and moſt likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. Firſt for the good preferment of my Lords voyage, then the health of our men; and laſtly the ſafegard of our ſhippes, and further ſhewed his minde to vs all in theſe wordes, as neere as I could cary them away.

My maſters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknowen vnto you all, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the South ſea. But for as much as wee doe all ſee the time of the yeere to bee farre ſpent, as alſo the windes to hang contrary, the weather drawes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread ſo conſumed that we haue not left aboue two moneths biſket, our drinke in a maner all ſpent, ſo that we haue nothing but water, which in ſo cold a countrey as the Streights, if we ſhould get in, and bee forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrow of the voyage: Theſe things conſidered, both our Captaine, Maſter Hood, and I, doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and ſafetie of our ſhips, to goe roome with the coaſt of Braſill, where by Gods grace wee ſhall well victuall our ſelues, both with wine which is our greateſt want, and other neceſſaries.

Beſides, it is giuen vs here to vnderſtand by the Portugals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee ſhall bee able to take the towne of Baya, at our pleaſure, which if wee doe put in practiſe, and doe not performe it, being ſome what aduiſed by them, they offer to looſe their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualled our ſelues, wee may there ſpend vpon the coaſt ſome three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon ſome good thing to content my Lord, and to purchaſe our owne credits: otherwiſe, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and ſo proceede, according to my lords directions. And aſſure your ſelues (by the aſſiſtance of God) wee will not returne without ſuch benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my lords profite, and the honour of our countrey. Nowe if there bee any of you that can giue better courſe and aduiſe, then this which I haue deliuered, let him ſpeake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counſell, and followe it.

To this ſpeech of M. Anthony, M. Liſter our captaine anſwered in this ſort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthony both, you know, that the laſt words that my lord had with vs in ſuch a chamber were, that in any caſe we ſhould follow our voyage only for the South ſea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with ſuch a purchaſe, as that wee might returne with 6000 pounds: and therefore I ſee no ſafetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being ſo neere the Streights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil conſent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet wee are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excuſed for the next, and I rather chooſe death, then to returne in diſgrace with my lord.

A reſolute and worthy ſpeech of captaine Liſter.

Hereunto both the captaine and maſter of the Admirall replied that they were all of that mind: yet notwithſtanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better poſſibilitie to bee performed, then in wintring either in the Streighes, or at Port S. Iulian, all things conſidered. And ſo agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined preſently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8 of February, there fell out many and diuers ſpeeches on each part concerning the altering of our courſe, ſome would continue for the Streights, and other ſome would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ſhips of victuals, and reaſonable ſtore was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the beſt neceſſaries that were in them, and ſo caſt them off, and to plie for the Streights.

All this time wee held on our courſe, and the 15 day wee found our ſelues in the height of 44 degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, wind, cold, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that ſort fiue or ſixe dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42 degrees.

They returne being in the latitude of 44 degrees.

Sunday being the 20 of February, our Admirall being ſomething to the leeward of vs, and the ſtorme ſomewhat ceaſed, put aboord his flag in the mizen ſhrowds, as a token that hee would ſpeake with vs, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and hauing halled one another, captaine Withrington ſhewed the diſpoſition of all his company, which was rather to goe roome with the coaſt of Braſil, then to lie after that ſort in the ſea with foule weather, and contrary winds. Our captaine on the other ſide ſhewed the contrary diſpoſition of his men, and company, willing notwithſtanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the ſhippes fell aſunder, and our captaine ſayd, Seeing then there is no remedie, I muſt be content, though againſt my will.

The 21 day the weather grew faire, and the wind good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome ſtill, we ſuppoſing hee would haue taken the benefit of the time: whereupon our whole company began to thinke of the inconueniences that would ariſe by deuiding our ſelues, and loſing our Admirall, being very willing to continue their courſe, and yet not without the company of the Admiral. And then wee began to caſt about after him, and at the laſt bare with him, and he tolde vs, that vpon a ſecond viewe of the victuals, hee found their ſtore ſo ſlender, and their want ſo great, that there was no remedy for them but to ſeeke ſome meanes to be relieued, which was the onely cauſe that hee bare Northward. This ſpeech made vs of the barke to enter into a new conſultation: and we found many of our men weake, and all our caliuers not ſeruiceable, and the Smiths that ſhould mend them to be in the Admiral. We conſidered alſo, that by breaking of company, eche ſhip ſhould be the more weakened: wee continued in this conſultation til the foure and twentieth day, and in all that time found maſter captaine Liſter moſt deſirous to accompliſh, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any caſe to turne his ſhip, but that the deſire which we all had to continue in conſort with our Admirall, made vs to thinke well of his company, and in fine, an agreement and concluſion was thus made on all ſides, to follow the Admiral, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

A final reſolution to returne

The 10 day of March, it fell out ſo vnfortunately, that Samuel Teller our Maſters mate, fell ouerboord, and ſo periſhed, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him,

March.

The eight and twentieth day being in the height of one and twenty degrees, wee eſpied a ſaile, which wee iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand,we loſt her very vnluckily,and the next day could haue no ſight of her.

The rode of Camana.

The fift day of April we fel with the land of Braſilia,in the height,as I iudge,of ſixteen degrees and a tierce, and our Captaine went then aboord the Admirall, where they concluded to ſende the pinneſſe and our boate on ſhore for freſh water, becauſe wee ſtoode in neede of it, which did ſo with eighteene good men, and three or foure tunne of water caſke. They were from vs till the eighth day in the morning,at which time we eſpied them againe, and that day we came all together into the roade of Camana, where there came a Canoa aboord vs, and one of the chiefeſt Portugals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beefes, hogs, water and wood at our pleaſure, hauing almoſt no man able to reſiſt vs, but ſome of our Portugals ſtole from vs in the Canoa.

They come into the riuer of Baya.

The 11 day wee entred into the hauen of Baya, where wee were receiued at the point comming in,with two great pieces of Ordinance, which diſcharged bullets at vs fiue times a piece, but they loſt ſhot and powder,and did vs no harme. After wee had paſſed the point, wee halled in for the roade as cloſe as the wind would permit vs, but could not come ſo neere as we deſired,and therefore we came to an ankor a faire birth off the towne, not without great ſtore of ſhotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe.

At our comming in, wee found in the road eight ſhips and one carauel, of the which one was a hulke or double flieboat of the burden of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, hauing in her 24 pieces of good Ordinance: ſhee with the reſt of the ſhips, together with the towne,gaue vs ſhot,and ſhot, but not one touched ſo much as any of our ſayles. And leaſt wee ſhould ſeeme in the meane time to be idle, we repayed for euery ſhot of theirs, two or three ſometimes,at the ſhips and the towne together.

They take 4 ſhips out of the harbour of Baya, notwithſtanding the ſhot of the enemie.

The next day at night wee thought to haue halled in with the ſhips, and to haue fetched out ſome of them: but the wind blew then off the ſhore, ſo that wee could not poſſiblie doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boats of the countrey which we had taken before,which went with carauel-ſailes,into the roade,and accordingly performed the ſame,notwithſtanding the ſhot of the enemie. The Moone did ſhine,and gaue very good light, and in we went with our carauels and boates, and the ſhot came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portugals and the reſt perceiuing vs no whit at all to ſhrinke or be diſmayed,forſooke their ſhips,& began to prouide to ſaue themſelues,ſome with their boats, ſome by ſwimming, and ſo wee entred the ſhips with a great ſhowte, and found few to reſiſt vs: but yet the ſhore not being a cables length from vs, they did ſo plie both their great and ſmall ordinance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their ſhot, and our men of the barke Clifford entred the Admirall and Viceadmirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ſhips of the like burden,and preſently euery one cut the cables in the hauſe, and ſo by the helpe of God in deſpite of them all,wee brought away foure of them, The leaſt whereof was of the burthen of 130 tunnes.

A hulke of Fluſhing.

In this broile the hulke ſhotte at vs many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the laſt comming by the hulke towing our new prizes,we halled them and demanded whence they were, they anſwered vs of Fluſhing, and then we commanded him to wey ankor, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuſe it, he did ſo, and brought with him a carauel with fortie or fiftie buts of wine in her, and another ſmall barke which had little or nothing in her: and rode by vs as one of our company, and was a ſhip of the burden of two hundreth and fiftie tunnes. Our hard happe was to find no great matter,either of marchandize or victuals in theſe ſhips, ſauing in one of them we found foure buts of wine,in another two, in another one, and ſome fiſh,and all the reſt of their lading was on ſhore.

All this was done vpon Eaſter eeue, and we gaue thanks to God, that we had ſped ſo well: and that very night there came a boate from the towne, with a Dutch merchant,and one Portugal,to offer ſome ranſome for the ſhips, as they ſayd,but as I iudge rather to eſpie our ſtrength: we kept them that night aboord,and the next day we ſent them to our Admiral.

The next day being Eaſter day aroſe a very great ſtorme, inſomuch that our carauel which we firſt tooke brake from vs, and one of our new prizes alſo, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, ſlipt away: whereupon,although the winde was great,and the ſea troubleſome,yet wee ſent certaine of our men in our boat,to recouer them if they might,but we feare,that the rage of the weather hath cauſed vs to leeſe both our men and prizes.

In the middeſt of this ſtorme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the riuer of Plate,ſeeing vs all buſie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might eſcape our handes, and ſuddenly ſlipt both out of one of the cabbins windowes, and by ſwimming got aſhoare, a thing which ſeemed to vs impoſſible, conſidering the outrage of the weather.

This ſtorme continued long, and preuented vs of making our intended attempt againſt the towne, hauing as much to doe as poſſibly we might, in keeping our ſhips and prizes from running aſhore, and falling into the hands of thoſe that ſtood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19 day the ſtorme being a little ceaſed, wee all weyed and came to an Iſland that lyeth next Northweſt from the bay, and the twentieth day we went on ſhore, and our carpenters ſet vp our pinneſſe.

The 23 day the people of the countrey came downe amaine vpon vs, and beſet vs round, and ſhot at vs with their bowes and arrowes, but in ſhort time wee cauſed them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had ſome of our men hurt with ſome of their arrowes.

The 24 day we receiued out of the carauel twelue buts of wine, and foure barels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26 of April our pinneſſe was lanched: and the ſame day came downe vnto vs a great number of Portugals and Indians, with whom we ſkirmiſhed the ſpace of two houres to their coſt.

The ſecond day of May the Admirals boate went a ſhore with 14 men to fill water, and preſently being on ſhore, they were intrapped with two or three hundred Indians which aſſaulted thẽ, and ſlew one or two of our men, but the reſt eſcaped notwithſtanding the number of the enemie, and came ſafe againe with water to the ſhip. We ſuffered this loſſe by meere negligence, & want of circumſpection.

Groſſe negligence.

The 5 day the captaine of the Admiral himſelfe tooke a ſmall barke, his owne little carauel, our pinneſſe and the Dutchmans boate, and at night went on ſhore to get victuals, amongſt the bullocks which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone ſo farre, that they were out of ſight. Which being perceiued by the enemie, they preſently made ready their galley for Admiral, with foure carauels, with as many men in them as poſſibly could thruſt in & ſtand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North ſhore to meete with our pinneſſe and boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Liſter our captaine diſſwaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himſelfe and vs alſo, being ſo far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedie but they were to abide whatſoeuer might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although wee were weakely left, yet perceiuing the Galley to make after our men, weyed and purſued the galley, as neere the ſhore as we could conueniently come for want of water: the hulke alſo weyed and came after vs to follow the enemie, but the enemie with his oares got ſight of our pinneſſe and boats before wee could, and bare directly with them: which being eſpied of our men, and they ſeeing no way to auoide them, made themſelues ready (notwithſtanding the great oddes) to fight it out like men, and to liue and die together. The courſe that they tooke for their beſt aduantage vpon the ſudden, was this: they went all into the pinneſſe, and made faſt the Dutchmans boate to one ſide, and the ſmall carauel to the other ſide, and ſo waited the comming of the enemie, giuing them firſt of all a piece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they preſently repaied againe with a piece out of the prowe of the galley, and preſently after, with three or foure ſmall braſſe pieces, charged with haileſhot, and ſo giuing a mighty ſhoute, came all aboord together, crying, entrad, entrad: but our men receiued them ſo hotely, with ſmall ſhot and pikes, that they killed them like dogs. And thus they continued aboord them almoſt a quarter of an hour, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinneſſe and all. And ſurely to mans iudgement, no other thing was likely in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, and they at the firſt thought all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, ſo bleſſed our ſmall company, and ſo ſtrengthened their armes and mindes to fight, that the enemie hauing receiued a mighty foyle, was glad to ridde himſelfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, wee eſteemed them to bee no leſſe then betwixt two hundred and three hundred men in the galley, we could ſcarſe perceiue twenty men at their departure ſtand on their legs, but the greater part of them was ſlaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, & ſhe departed from our men, hanging vpon one ſide, (as a Sowe that hath loſt her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great brauado, with drumme, ſhouting, and crying, they departed without either noiſe of drumme or ſpeech.

A galley at Baya.

A marueilous defeate of the Portugals by a few of our men.

We loſt in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Maſter Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrel a proper yoong man of Hampton, and another that was maſter Benmans man. Some alſo were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds were curable: and thus it pleaſed Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to giue victory to 50 or 60 Englishmen, againſt ſixe or ſeuen hundreth Portugals and Indians, for which we ceaſed not to giue ſuch dutifull thanks to his Maieſtie, as ſo miraculous a victory required.

Now touching the purpoſe of our men, who made that attempt for freſh victuals, their labour was nothing loſt, but in deſpite of the enemie they brought to our ſhips 16 or 17 yong bullockes, which was to our great comforts and refreſhing. As for vs that were in our ſhip, we could not come neere them by two miles, or more, to giue them any aid, yet we ſuppoſe that the countenance of our ſhips was an incouragement to our men, and ſome maner of feare to the enemie.

Now whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portugals and Indians, which were ſlaine, as aforeſayd, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwiſe to come to the knowledge thereof: you ſhall vnderſtand that the next night after the fight, there came aboord vs two Indians vpon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their maſters, and they told vs for a very good trueth, that the gallie went out from the towne with foure hundreth men in her, but there came not backe to the towne again aliue aboue thirty of them all: and I amongſt the reſt being deſirous to know of one of them, what the newes was at the towne, he anſwered me with great laughter: Todo eſta cacado en Tierra.

About 360 Portugals & Indians ſlain.

The twelfth day I was ſent for to come aboord the admirall, about the hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutchmen, maſter Withrington entred into bond to them for the paiment of their fraight, but how my lord would like that bond of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduiſe and counſell to get his bond againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day our captaine ſent out of our ſhip certaine victuals vnto the Admirall, as one butte of dight riſe, two cheſts of cleane riſe, one barrell of oatemeale, one barrell of peaſon, and one barrell of oile, becauſe they were ſomewhat ſcanted of victuals, and we at this time were to haue out of the Admirall our part of fiue and twenty cheſts of fine ſugar, and more, of eight cheſts, and ſixe cheſts that were taken in the Bay of Todos Santos, at the Ingenios, more of one hundreth and thirty hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the prizes, and at the ſhore.

The fourteenth day being Monday, it was concluded amongſt vs all, not to leaue the towne of Baya ſo, but notwithſtanding the time that they had to ſtrengthen themſelues and the towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore wee prouided our pinneſſes, carauels, and boates for the enterpriſe: and as we were departing from our ſhippes, the winde turned directly contrary to our courſe, ſo that our determination for that time was broken, and wee returned againe to our ſhips: and to ſay the trueth, if the weather and winde had ſerued, our attempt had bene very deſperate, conſidering the number of Portugals and Indians which were then gathered together, to the number of ſeuen or eight thouſand, and their artillery vpon the ſhore, playing vpon vs: but neuertheleſſe we had proceeded, if the winds had fauoured vs.

The 16 day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portugals, where we found the people fled and we entred their houſes without reſiſtance. We found in their purging houſe 1000 pots of ſugar, ſome halfe purged, ſome a quarter, and ſome newly put into the pots: ſo that euery man tooke his pot of ſugar for their prouiſion, and ſet all the reſt on fire.

The 17 day wee all weyed to goe to another Ingenio, to ſee if wee could find there better ſugar, and in the way we met with a prize, which was a carauel, which wee found driuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Faulcons of yron, which our pinneſſe brought away, and ſet the ſhip on fire. Dalamor in the ſmall prize ran ſo farre in, that hee brought his ſhip on ground, where ſhee lay three or foure houres, till ſuch time as there came from the towne fiue carauels full of men, which being perceiued of vs, our captaine with our men went to him to ayde him. The carauels came within Faulcon ſhot of vs, but durſt come no neerer, leſt they might haue taſted of the like banket, that they receiued the laſt time. About halfe flood came the galley againe, and three carauels more, but before they came, the barke was afloate, and ſet ſayle: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purpoſed to viſit: but the night comming on, perſwaded vs to the contrary.

They returne againe to Baya.

The 19 day we ſet ſayle to goe into the roade of Baya againe, with our pinneſſes, and a flag of truce, to ſee if we could recouer our foure men, which remained aliue of thoſe ten, that periſhed in our boate, of whom we ſpake before, which foure were vnfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approching neere the towne, ſhot at vs, and wee as ready as they, gaue them in all 27 ſhot, and ſo ankored a little from the towne, to ſee what they would doe.

The 20 day riding ſtill before the towne, our Admirall ſent a Negro aſhore, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had priſoners aboord: the effect of which letters was, that if we might haue our men releaſed and deliuered vs, they ſhould haue theirs from our ſhips.

The next day in the morning, in ſtead of their bloody flagge, they put vp two white flagges, and ſent a Gingatho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of anſwere from the Gouernour: but they would not conſent in any caſe that we ſhould haue our men, and willed their Portugals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prizes, which we had taken out of the rode: but our admirall anſwered them, no, ſeeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and ſhips too. The ſame euening we weyed, and came out of the hauen, halfe a league to ſeaward.

The 22 we ſet ſaile to ſea, and the 23 came to an Iſland twelue leagues to the Southward of Baya, to wood, and water.

An Iſland 12 leagues to the South of Bay.

The 24 day being aboord with our pinneſſes, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portugall, and ſixe Indians: we ſhot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portugall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our ſhippes: we there examined them, and the Portugal confeſſed that there was a ſhippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernambuck, but put into a creeke, becauſe ſhe durſt not goe along the coaſt, hearing of our ſhippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinneſſes, and tooke the Portugal with vs, to goe and ſeeke the ſame ſhip, but that night we could not find her.

The 26 day we went againe, and found her, being halled vp into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a ſhippe boate could not haue entred: wee found her indeede laden with meale principally: but ſhe had alſo in her fourteene cheſts of ſugar, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaues. This ſhip was of the burden of one hundred and twenty tunnes, and a new ſhip, this being the firſt voyage that euer ſhe made, and as the Portugall confeſſed, ſhee was fraighted for Fernambuck, but the men of Baya hauing great want of bread, bought both the ſhip and her lading, and ſo thought to ſtay her in this creeke, till we were gone off the coaſt: but it was our good hap to diſappoint their pretenſe, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as ſafe as if ſhe had bene at Lisbon.

A new Portugal ſhip taken in a creeke.

The 28 day we deuided the meale amongſt vs, according to the want of euery ſhip.

The 30 day, 16 or 17 Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to ſhoare, to fill water: and vpon a ſudden they were aſſaulted with fifty or ſixty Portugals, and ſo many more Indians armed with ſhot and other weapons, and they ſlew their Maſter and Purſer, and the reſt were hurt, but yet eſcaped with their liues: a good warning for vs to bee circumſpect, and carefull in our landing.

A good warning for vs to be circumſpect in landing.

The laſt day of May wee caſt off one of our prizes, which wee called the George, and our Admirall and the hulke tooke the men and other neceſſaries out of her, into them. The ſame day the Portugals which had hurt the Dutchmen came to the ſhore, and dared vs to come on land: whereupon wee went into our pinneſſes with fortie ſhot: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils, from the water ſide: but maſter Liſter with nine men followed them, and they fled ſtill before them, and durſt not ſtay their approch: ſo they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleaſure.

The third day of Iune our captaine maſter Liſter, hauing a great deſire for the performance of this voyage, according to my Lords direction, went to our admirall, and requeſted him to giue him ſixe buts of wine, one barrell of oile, three or foure barrels of fleſh, and to haue Thomas Hood and ſeuen or eight ſeamen for ſome of our landmen, and by Gods help, he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the South ſea: but the admirall mightily withſtoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requeſts.

Iune.

An offer of captaine Liſter to go with his one ſhip onely for the South ſea.

The 7 of Iune, hauing no vſe at all of our prizes, we burnt one, and caſt off another, and filled our owne ſhips with the neceſſaries of them.

The 8 day wee put off to ſea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankoring place, becauſe of the weather.

The 10 day the admirall ſent for vs to come aboord him, and being come, hee opened a Carde before all the company, and tolde vs that my lords voyage for the South ſea was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore hee thought it beſt to plie for ſome of the Iſlands of the Weſt India, or the Açores, to ſee if they could meete with ſome good purchaſe, that might ſatiſfie my lord. Theſe wordes were taken heauily of all the company, and no man would anſwere him, but kept ſilence, for very griefe to ſee my lords hope thus deceiued, and his great expenſes and coſts caſt away. The common ſort ſeeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16 day wee eſpied a ſayle, whereupon our pinneſſe, and Dalamor gaue her chaſe, and put her aſhore vpon the Iſland, where the men forſooke her, and ran away with ſuch things as they

Another pinneſſe taken.

could conueniently carie: our pinneſſe boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out of her nine cheſts of ſugar, and one hogge, and 35 pieces of pewter, and ſo left her vpon the ſands.

Iuly. They returned Northward.

From this time forward we began to plie Northwards, and the firſt of Iuly fell with the land againe, where we fiſhed, and found reaſonable good ſtore. I tooke the latitude that day, and found our ſelues in 10 degrees and 22 minutes.

The 7 day we determined to fall with Fernambuck, and wee came ſo neere it, that Dalamor (as he told vs) eſpied ſome of the ſhips that were in the harbour: yet notwithſtanding we all fell to leeward of the riuer, & could not after that, by any meanes recouer the height of it againe: but we ceaſed not on all parts to endeuour the beſt we could, & oftentimes loſt company for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernambuck we could not come, hauing ſo much ouerſhot it to the Northward, and the wind keeping at the South and Southweſt.

Fernambuck in the Southerly latitude of 7 deg. 50 min.

The 20 day I tooke the Sunne in 5 degrees 50 minutes, which was 2 degrees to the Northward of Fernambuck, and the further wee went, the more vntowardly did the reſt of our ſhips worke, either to come into hauen, or to keepe company one with another. And truely I ſuppoſe, that by reaſon of the froward courſe of the Admirall, he meant of purpoſe to loſe vs: for I know not how the neerer we endeuoured to be to him, the further off would he beare from vs, and wee ſeeing that, kept on our owne courſe, and lookt to our ſelues as well as we could.

The 24 day our whole company was called together to conſultation, for our beſt courſe: ſome would goe for the Weſt India, ſome directly North for England: and in concluſion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne countrey, conſidering our neceſſities of victuals, and freſh water, and yet if any place were offered vs in the way, not to omit it, to ſeeke to fill water.

A lowe Iſland in 3 degrees & 49 minutes.

The 26 day in the morning, we eſpied a lowe Iſland, but we loſt it againe, and could deſcrie it no more. This day we found our ſelues in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

The 27 day we ſearched what water we had left vs, and found but nine buts onely, ſo that our captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preſerue it as much as might be, wherewith euery man was content, and we were then in number fiftie men and boyes.

Auguſt.

The firſt of Auguſt we found our ſelues 5 degrees to the Northward of the line, all which moneth we continued our courſe homeward, without touching any where: toward the end whereof, a ſorrowfull accident fell out in our hulke, which being deuided from vs in a calme, fell afire by ſome great negligence, and periſhed by that meanes in the ſeas, wee being not able any wayes to helpe the ſhip, or to ſaue the men.

The hulke of Fluſhing burnt with all the men by negligence.

The 4 day of September, we had brought our ſelues into the height of 41 degrees & 20 minutes, ſomwhat to the Northwards of the Iſlands of the Açores: and thus bulting vp and downe with contrary winds, the 29 of the ſame moneth, we reached the coaſt of England, and ſo made an end of the voyage.

A diſcourſe of the Weſt Indies and South ſea written by *Lopez Vaz* a Portugal, borne in the citie of *Eluas*, continued vnto the yere 1587.

Wherein among diuers rare things not hitherto deliuered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Engliſhmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the riuer of *Plate*, by Captaine *Withrington* and Captaine *Chriſtopher Liſter*, in the fleete ſet foorth by the right Honorable the Erle of *Cumberland* for the South ſea in the yeere 1586.

This voyage was made in the yeere 1572.

FRancis Drake an Engliſhman being on the ſea, and hauing knowledge of the ſmall ſtrength of the towne of Nombre de Dios, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinneſſes, and landed an hundreth and fifty men: and leauing one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the reſt entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company diſcharging their calieuers, and ſounding their trumpets (which made a great noyſe in the towne) were anſwered by their fellowes in the forte, who diſcharged and ſounded in like maner. This attempt put the towneſmen in ſuch extreme feare, that leauing their houſes, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themſelues what the matter ſhould be in the towne, remaining as men amazed at ſo ſudden an alarme. But the Spaniards being men for the moſt part of good diſcretion ioyned fourteene or fifteene of them together with their pieces, to ſee who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market-place they diſcouered the Engliſhmen, and perceiuing that they were but a few, diſcharged their pieces at them; and their fortune was ſuch, that they ſlew the trumpetter, and ſhot the captaine (whoſe name was Francis Drake) into the legge : who feeling himſelfe hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the reſt of his men : but they in the Fort ſounded their trumpet, and being not anſwered againe, and hearing the calieuers diſcharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene ſlaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinneſſes. Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried becauſe of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and ſaw them fled, he and the reſt of his company were in ſo great feare, that leauing their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hoſe, they ſwamme & waded all to their Pinneſſes, and departed forth of the harbour, ſo that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might haue ſlaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this ſkirmiſh any more then one Spaniarde ſlaine, and of the Engliſhmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left behind with his trumpet in his hand.

From hence the coaſt lieth all along till you come to Cartagena. Betweene Nombre de Dios and Cartagena is a great ſound or gulfe, where the firſt Spaniardes that euer dwelt vpon the firme land built and inhabited the towne of Dariene : howbeit they abode not long there, becauſe of the vnholeſomeneſſe of the place.

But Captaine Drake being diſcontent with the repulſe that the men of Nombre de Dios gaue him, went with his Pinneſſes into the ſaid bay or ſound of Dariene, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which were ranne away from their maſters of Panamá and Nombre de Dios, he was informed that at the very ſame time many mules were comming from Panamá to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and ſiluer. Vpon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred ſhot, and the ſaid Negros, ſtayed in the way till the treaſure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by thoſe that droue the mules, who miſtruſted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde : but the ſiluer he left behinde, becauſe he could not carrie it ouer the mountaines. And two dayes after this he went to The houſe of croſſes called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes, where all the merchants leaue their goods, where hee ſlew ſixe or ſeuen of the marchants, but found neither gold nor ſiluer, but great ſtore of marchandize : and ſo he fired the ſaid houſe, with all the goods, which were iudged to be worth aboue two hundred thouſand ducats. Thus not finding golde in this houſe to ſatiſfie his minde, hee burned the marchants goods, and foorthwith recouered his Pinneſſes : where fortune ſo fauoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboord halfe an houre, but there came to the ſea ſide about three hundred ſouldiers, which were ſent of purpoſe to take him : but God ſuffered him to eſcape their hands, to be a farther plague vnto the Spaniards.

Venta de cruzes.

Alſo another Engliſhman named Iohn Oxenham hearing what ſpoyle Captaine Drake had done vpon that coaſt, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ſhip was of burthen about an hundred and twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with ſeuentie perſons : he had conference alſo with the foreſaid Negros, but being aduertized that the treaſure was conducted by ſouldiers, he determined with himſelfe to doe that which neuer any man before durſt vndertake to doe. For being moſt reſolute of his purpoſe, and not looking nor forecaſting what danger might enſue of this bold enterprize, he landed his men in the ſame place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ſhip to ſhore, cut downe boughes of trees, and couered his ſhip with them, and hid vp his great ordinance in the ground. Thus leauing not one man in his ſhip, he tooke two ſmall peeces of ordinance, and his calieuers, and good ſtore of victuals, with all other neceſſaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros about twelue leagues vp into the maine land, vnto a riuer that runneth into the South ſea : and by this riuer in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinneſſe, which was 45 foote long by the keele : which Pinneſſe being finiſhed, he went downe the riuer and paſſed into the South ſea, carrying ſixe Negros with him for his guides, and he arriued at the Iland of Pearles being 25 leagues diſtant from Panamá. This Iland lieth in the South ſea, as they ſaile from Peru to Panamá, and here he ſtayed ten dayes, before he could take any ſhipping, but at length there came a ſmall barke from a place called Quito in Peru : this barke he tooke, and found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and bread : and not being content with this, he ſtayed a long while, before he would ſende away his prize or any of his men. Shortly after he tooke another barke that came from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of ſiluer in barres, which being all aboord his Pinneſſe, he ſhaped his courſe toward the riuer from whence he came : but before his departure he landed on the foreſaid Iland to finde pearles, and went to a ſmall towne of the Iland inhabited by Negros for the ſame purpoſe ; where finding but ſmall ſtore, he returned to his Pinneſſe, and comming neere vnto the riuer he ſent away his two prizes, and with his Pinneſſe entered vp the riuer. The Negros of the Iland of perles, ſo ſoone as the Engliſhmē were departed, poſted in their Canoas to Panamá, to ſignifie vnto

Iohn Oxenham anno 1575.

A riuer running into the South ſea.

vnto the Gouernour what they had done. Whereupon the Gouernour within two dayes after ſent out foure barkes and an hundred ſouldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which ſouldiers was called Iuan de Ortega; who went firſt to the Iland of pearles, & there had knowledge which way the Engliſhmen did take, and in purſuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Engliſhmen, which tolde him that they were gone vp the riuer. But when he was come to the enterance of the riuer, he knew not which way to take, becauſe the riuer ranne into the ſea by three mouthes, and not all at one. Therefore being determined with himſelfe to paſſe vp the greateſt of the three, he ſaw comming downe with the ſtreame many feathers of hens out of one of the leſſer mouthes: which mouth he entered, and ſayling foure dayes vp the ſame, hee deſcryed the Engliſhmens pinneſſe lying vpon the ſand, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but ſixe Engliſhmen, of which they killed one, and the other 5 fled, & hauing throughly ranſacked the ſaid pinneſſe, they could finde nought in her, but victuals. The Spaniards ſeeing this, determined to ſeeke out the Engliſhmen by land, and leauing about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie ſhot vp into the countrey, and halfe a league from the riuer they found a little houſe made with boughes, where the Engliſhmen had left all their treaſure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Engliſhmen any further: but the Engliſh captaine with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros followed the Spaniards vnto the riuers ſide, and ſet vpon them with great fury: howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the buſhes did eaſily put the Engliſh to flight, and they tooke ſeuen of them aliue, and ſlewe eleuen and fiue Negros: ſo the Spaniards returned with the loſſe of two men and fiue or ſixe hurt. Then they asked thoſe Engliſhmen which they had taken priſoners, why they departed not with their treaſure, hauing fifteene dayes libertie? They anſwered, that their captaine had commanded them to carry all that golde and ſiluer vnto the place where their ſhip was, and they were agreed to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys, for he promiſed to giue them part of the treaſure beſide their wages, but the marriners would needes haue it by and by; whereat the captaine being angry, becauſe they put ſo ſmall truſt in his word, would not ſuffer his ſaylers to carrie it, but ſaid he would get Negros to ſerue his turne, and ſo theſe were the Negros aforeſaid, whom he had brought to carry away the golde and ſiluer: but by the way he met with the fiue Engliſhmen which fled from the pinneſſe, who told him of the Spaniards; and then he made friends with all his men, and got the Negros to take his part: but hauing the ouerthrow, and his beſt men being ſlaine and taken priſoners, he thought to haue returned to his ſhip, and ſo to haue gone for England. The Spaniſh captaine hauing heard this diſcourſe of the Engliſh priſoners, buried the dead bodies, embarking all things, and with the Engliſhmen and their pinneſſe returned backe vnto Panamá. Thus was the Engliſhmens voyage ouerthrowen.

Now ſo ſoone as the the foure barkes and the pinneſſe were arriued at Panamá, the Gouernour of that place ſent a meſſenger ouerland to Nombre de Dios, to aduertiſe the townesmen, where the Engliſhmens ſhip lay: whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ſhips and went into the bay of Dariene where the Engliſhmen had left their ſhip, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance; ſo that the poore Engliſhmen were left in the mountaines very naked and deſtitute of all comfort: for the Spaniards had taken out of the foreſaid houſe of boughes all their tooles & other neceſſaries, ſo that they could by no meanes haue any ſuccour: whereas otherwiſe they might haue builded another pinneſſe, and prouided better for themſelues to haue returned for their owne countrey.

These newes comming to the eares of the Viceroy of Peru, he thought it not conuenient to ſuffer thoſe fiftie Engliſhmen which were yet aliue, to continue in the mountaines among the ſaid Negros. Wherefore he ſent a ſeruant of his called Diego de Frees with 150 ſhot to ſeeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take ſome one ſmall barke or other that ſayled to and againe in the North ſea, whereby they might the better ſhift for themſelues: but before they had finiſhed their pretended worke, the Spaniſh ſouldiers ſet vpon them, and tooke fifteene of them that were ſicke: but the reſt fled, whom the Spaniards purſued among the mountaines, and in the end the Negros betraied them, and they were all taken and carried to Panamá. Where the Iuſtice asked the Engliſh captaine, whither he had the Queenes licenſe, or the licenſe of any other Prince or Lord? And he anſwered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowen to the Iuſtice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panamá, ſauing the Captaine himſelfe, the Maſter, and the Pilot, and fiue boyes, which were caried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet liuing.

Warre made againſt the Negros.

The king of Spaine hauing intelligence of theſe matters, ſent 300 men of warre againſt thoſe

Negros who had aſſiſted the Engliſhmen, which Negros before were ſlaues vnto the Spaniards, and (as is aforeſaide) fled from their maſters into thoſe mountaines, and ſo ioyned themſelues to the Engliſhmen, thinking by that meanes to be reuenged of the Spaniards crueltie.

At the firſt comming of theſe three hundred ſouldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great iuſtice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a ſeaſon the Negros grew wiſe and wary, and preuented the Spaniards ſo, that none of them could be taken. Whereof the king being aduertiſed by his Captaines, as alſo how the countrey was full of mountaines and riuers, and very vnhealthfull, inſomuch that his ſouldiers died, he wrote vnto his ſaid Captaines to make an agreement with thoſe Negros, to the ende the countrey might be in quiet. And ſo they came to agreement with the Captaines of the Negros, and all was appeaſed. Afterward the Negros inhabiting two places which the Spaniardes allotted vnto them, the kings pardon was proclaimed vnto all thoſe which before the day of the proclamation thereof had runne from their Maſters, vpon condition that from that day forward, whatſoeuer other fugitiue Negros ſhould reſort vnto them, they ſhould returne them home either dead or aliue, if not, that they ſhould pay for them. Vpon theſe conditions, and to make all quiet in the mountaines, all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So that now the Negros dwell in great townes, where they haue Spaniardes for their teachers, and a Spaniard for their Iudge, and with this they holde themſelues very well contented, and are obedient vnto their rulers.

Frenchmen.

The Spaniards ſince they conquered thoſe parts haue ſeene many Frenchmen on that coaſt, but neuer any Engliſhmen in that place, ſaue thoſe two onely which I haue before mentioned. And although the Frenchmen haue come ſtrong, yet durſt they neuer put foot on ſhore as the Engliſh did. But the king of Spaine hearing that Engliſhmen as well as Frenchmen beganne to haunt that coaſt, cauſed two gallies to be made and well appointed, to keepe the coaſt. The firſt yeere that they were made they tooke ſixe or ſeuen French ſhips. So ſoone as this was knowen there vſed fewe Engliſh or Frenchmen of warre to come on the coaſt, vntill this yeere 1586. when as the aforeſaid Francis Drake came with a ſtrong fleete of about foure and twentie ſhips, and did ſuch harme as is well knowen vnto all Chriſtendome. But (God ſparing the king of Spaine life) hee will ſufficiently prouide to keepe his ſubiectes from the inuaſions of other Nations.

Seuen french ſhips taken by the gallies.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage to S. Iago, Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and S. Auguſtine.

Cartagena.

Now to go forward with our begunne diſcourſe, the next towne vpon this coaſt beyond Nombre de Dios is Cartagena: it ſtandeth in a more healthfull place, and is a greater towne then the other, bordering vpon a better countrey, which aboundeth with plentie of victuals, and hauing a very good port for the harbour of ſhips: and it is called Cartagena, becauſe it reſembleth very much the citie of Cartagena in Spaine. It containeth aboue foure hundred houſholds. It is very rich by reaſon of the ſhips ſtaying there, when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ſhips chance to winter before they goe home into Spaine, then they lie at Cartagena. Alſo it is greatly enriched by the marchandize, which is there diſcharged to be carryed to the new kingdome of Granada, from which kingdome much golde is brought vnto Cartagena. This new kingdome of Granada is two hundred leagues within the land: neither can they trauel from Cartagena to this kingdome by land, becauſe of the mountaines and ſtanding waters, which lie in the way, ſo that they are faine to carry their goods vp a riuer called The great riuer of Magdalen. They can goe with their barkes but two hundred leagues vp this riuer; for although it be large and very deepe, yet there runneth ſo ſwift a current, that the barkes are conſtrained to diſcharge their goods at a place in the riuer called Branco de Malambo, into ſmall canoas which rowe cloſe by the ſhores ſide. In this riuer are great abundance of Crocodiles, ſo huge and terrible to beholde, that ſuch as neuer ſawe them before are very fearefull at the firſt ſight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will ſtreightway catch at them. In ſome places this riuer is very vnhealthfull and full of noyſome wormes; but the firſt place thereupon which the Spaniards doe inhabite called Mompox is exceeding healthfull. The countrey adioyning vpon this riuer they call The new kingdome of Granada, becauſe the captaine called Ceſada which firſt conquered the ſame, and inhabited there, was borne at Granada in Spaine: for it is the vſe of the Spaniſh captaines, when they haue conquered any Prouince of the Indies, to call it after the name of the place where they themſelues were borne. This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne & other victuals, and hath many gold-mines, and great quantitie of emeralds, wherof they ſend ſo many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth: but before theſe countreys were found, they were in great eſtimation. Here are alſo dwelling many of the Indian people ſo meeke and gentle of nature, that they are called flies. This land is very plaine and holeſome, and the inhabitants are giuen to peace.

Nueuo reyno de Granada.

Rio grande delle Magdalena.

Branco de Malambo.

Mompox.

Popayan.

From this kingdome they trauell to another countrey called La gouernacion de Popayan; it is rich of golde, and withall very fruitfull, but fuller of mountaines then the new kingdome of Granada, and hath fewer Indians dwelling in it, but thoſe that are there are full of courage and very valiant, which cauſed the Spaniardes to make great warre before they could ouercome them. In this prouince there are 13 townes of Spaniards, and in The new kingdome of Granada there are nine townes of Spaniards.

Quito.

A paſſage ouer land from Cartagena to Peru.

From this countrey of Popayan they trauell along till they come to the firſt inhabitants of Peru dwelling in a towne which ioyneth vpon the South ſea called Quito. This towne I will leaue any further to ſpeake of till I come particularly to intreate of Peru. Onely I haue ſpoken of the two foreſaid Prouinces, to the intent you might know, that there is a paſſage by land from Cartagena to Peru, which is about fiue hundred leagues through; ſo that beſides the two hundred leagues which they goe vp the riuer, the other three hundred leagues is a countrey well inhabited and without danger to trauell in, inſomuch that oftentimes poſtes are ſent too and fro. But becauſe it is ſo long a iourney, marchants vſe not to trauell that way, but when they are inforced ſo to doe. If any forren Nation ſhould become Lordes of the South ſea, the king of Spaine might haue his treaſure conueyed vnto this towne of Cartagena from Peru, and ſo into Spaine. For in times paſt there being a rebellion in Peru made by the Spaniardes againſt their king, he ſent his power to ſuppreſſe them through theſe Prouinces. This I write onely for that I knowe ſome Engliſhmen haue thought, that in taking the South ſea, or Panamá or Nombre de Dios from the king of Spaine, his treaſure of Peru could not be conueyed vnto him, and that the king could not ſuccour Peru, if it wanted helpe. Howbeit I doe here moſt certainely aſſure you, that there be many wayes to Peru.

Santa Martha.

A mightie ridge of mountaines.

The rich valley of Tagrona.

But now I will returne to my former diſcourſe. Vpon the ſeacoaſt of Tierra firma Eaſtward from Cartagena ſtandeth a little towne called Santa Martha, betweene which towne and Cartagena the mightie riuer of Magdalen before named falleth into the ſea with ſuch a ſtrong current, that by reaſon thereof it is knowen 20 leagues from the ſhore. Santa Martha is a very poore towne, becauſe it hath often bene robbed by the Frenchmen, and hath no trade but with a fewe Indians that dwell thereabout. Here beginneth that wonderfull long ridge of high mountaines couered with Snow, which ſtreatching through many countreys, runneth along the kingdomes of Peru and Chili, and continueth to the very ſtraights of Magellan. Theſe mountaines are ſeene with ſnow vpon their tops aboue thirtie leagues into the ſea. At the foote of theſe wilde mountaines there is a valley called Tagrona, which is the richeſt place that is knowen thereabout: but becauſe the countrey adioyning is ſo mountainous, and the inhabitants ſo many and of ſo good a courage, ſhooting poyſoned arrowes which are preſent death to ſuch as are wounded with the ſame; therefore it lyeth as yet vnconquered, notwithſtanding it hath coſt many Spaniſh captaines their liues.

Rio de Hacha, Cabo de la vela.

Great ſtore of pearles.

The Ile of Margarita.

Excellent horſes and mules.

More then 70. Ilands.

Paſſing along the coaſt of Tierra firma to the Eaſt of Santa Martha, there is an other ſmall towne of aboue an hundred houſes called Rio de Hacha. This towne is ſomewhat rich by reaſon of the pearles which they get there. Alſo they haue a trade with the Indians for ſome ſmall quantitie of golde. From hence they goe along the coaſt to Cabo de la Vela, which becauſe it is of the ſame propertie with Rio de Hacha before mentioned, I omit to ſpeake of it. Vpon this coaſt there is a lake or gulfe which openeth into the ſea, at the mouth whereof they gather great ſtore of pearles. Beyond this place there is another poore towne, which hath ſixe or ſeuen times beene ſpoyled by the Frenchmen. From hence there lyeth an high way to the newe kingdome of Granada, but it is aboue ſeuen hundred leagues in length, this way is trauelled very ſeldome, becauſe the Indians will vſually ſet vpon the trauellers. More vp into the land the countrey lyeth plaine, and there is ſome golde, and a fewe townes inhabited with Spaniardes, whereof I haue had but ſmall notice, and therefore I let them paſſe. The next place of any account is the Iland of Margarita, where there are but fewe Spaniardes inhabitant. This Iland of Margarita is very ſmall, and lyeth foure leagues from the maine lande: it hath heretofore bene very rich of golde and pearles, and ſo would haue continued till this preſent day, had it not beene ſpoyled by men of warre, becauſe it ſtandeth ſo farre from the maine land, notwithſtanding they yet gather good ſtore of pearles. Vpon this Iland are bred better horſes and mules then in any other part of the Indies, therefore they carry them from hence to Peru, albeit they haue great ſtore of horſes in Peru, but not ſo good. And becauſe we haue begunne to ſpeake of the Iland of Margarita, you are to vnderſtand, that to the North of the foreſaid coaſt of Tierra firma lie aboue ſeuentie Ilands being all very little, except Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and Boriquen, or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, which Ile of Boriquen, although it bee not very great, yet is it inhabited by the Spaniards. The other ſmaller Ilands haue bene inhabited by the Indians, and haue had good ſtore of gold, pearles, and emraldes; but the Spaniards haue deſtroyed moſt of thoſe Indians from off the earth, and in many of thoſe Ilands there is nothing of any value, wherefore I haue ſmall cauſe to intreate any further of them. But Hiſpaniola is an Iland of great bigneſſe, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is waſted away. It was at the Spaniards firſt coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bigneſſe in the whole world, yet now there are none left; for they were men of ſo hard a heart, that they murthered themſelues rather then they would ſerue the Spaniards: for being men vnder ſo ſmall ciuill gouernement as they were, neuer was there any people knowen of ſo reſolute and deſperate mindes: for oftentimes a great number of them being together ouer night, they ſhould be found all dead before the morning: ſuch extreme hate did this brutiſh people beare againſt the Spaniards, that they choſe rather to die the death, then to indure their inſolencies. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did moſt grieue them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themſelues: which the Spaniard perceiuing ſayd vnto them: ſeeing you will hang your ſelues rather then goe and worke, I likewiſe will hang my ſelfe and will beare your company, becauſe I will make you worke in an other world: but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with vs into another world: ſo vnwilling were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this Iland there were none that eſcaped death, ſaue onely theſe fewe, which came to paſſe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwiſe they would haue hanged themſelues alſo. Some of theſe people are yet liuing, but very few. This Iland of Hiſpaniola is for the moſt part called The Ile of Sant Domingo, becauſe the chiefe citie thereof is ſo called, which was the firſt citie in all the Weſt Indies that was inhabited. There are in this citie aboue eight hundred fire-houſes of good building inhabited by Gentlemen of great wealth. This Iland is vnhealthfull, for it raineth here the moſt part of the yeere. The riches that now this Iland affordeth are ſugar (for here are many Ingenios or ſugar-houſes) and great ſtore of hides by reaſon of the abundance of cattell; there are copper mines alſo, which is the cauſe that they haue ſuch ſtore of copper-money, for their gold mines be all exhauſted, and the golde which they haue commeth from other places. This Iland being (as is beforeſaide) deſtitute of the firſt inhabitants, and the Spaniardes lacking men to worke in their Ingenios, and to looke vnto their cattell, they were forced to bring Negros thither out of Guinea, where they haue ſo increaſed, that the Iland is nowe as full of them, as it was of the naturall inhabitantes; ſo that the Spaniardes carrie Negros from this Iland to the maine lande and there ſell them. The chiefeſt victuall that they haue in this Iland, is a kinde of roote called Iuca, which being eaten as it commeth new out of the ground is preſent death: but firſt they boyle it and after preſſe it, and the liquor that is ſtrained therefrom is deadly poyſon: howbeit this roote being preſſed ſo dry, that there remaineth no moiſture in it, they mingle and temper the ſame with water and ſo make cakes therof, which are very ſauory & good to eat, & this is all the bread which they haue in thoſe Ilands. There go from hence yerely into Spaine 7 or 8 ſhips at the leaſt full fraighted with ſugar & hides.

Hiſpaniola.

The Indians killed themſelues, rather then they wold ſerue the tyrannous Spaniards.

A pretty ieſt.

Sugar, hides, copper-mines.

Negros mightily increaſed.

A root called Iuca.

Neere vnto Hiſpaniola lyeth another greater Iland called Cuba, it is like vnto Hiſpaniola, although there is not ſo much ſugar. The principall towne of this Ilande is called Hauana, which hath an excellent harborough belonging thereunto. The towneſmen are very rich by reaſon of the fleetes that come from Nueua Eſpanna, and Tierra firma which touch there; for the ſafeguarde of which fleetes and of the towne it ſelfe there is a caſtle built neere the ſaid harborough kept with Spaniſh ſouldiers; neither is there any caſtle or ſouldiers in all the Ilands but onely here. There is alſo another Iland inhabited with Spaniards called Boriquen or Sant Iuan de Puertorico. It is but little, yet euery way as plentifull as the other two are; and therfore I omit to ſpeake thereof.

The Ile of Cuba.

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

But now to proſecute my diſcourſe of the port-townes vpon the maine lande: Eaſtwarde and Southward from Margarita there are no townes inhabited by Spaniardes or Portugals, till you come to Fernambuck vpon the coaſt of Braſill; notwithſtanding that betweene the ſayd Iland and Fernambuck runneth the mightie riuer of Marannon, whereof (both becauſe of the greatneſſe and the riches contayned therein) I muſt needes make ſome relation, in regarde I haue promiſed to ſpeake of euery place that is of any value in all the Indies. This riuer is one of the greateſt in the world, and was firſt found when as the Spaniardes ſought out the other coaſt: but none can paſſe vp this riuer becauſe of the greatneſſe of the current which commeth downe, as alſo there are many ſhelues of ſand lying in the mouth thereof; wher-

Fernambuck.

The great riuer of Marannon.

by it

Gonſalo Pizarro. La Canela.

The great riuer of Marannon or Orellana.

Orellana ſent downe the riuer of Marannon with fiftie men.

by it was long before the riches in and about this riuer were knowen, vntill ſuch time as the kingdome of Peru was conquered: at which time a Captaine called Gonſalo Pizarro paſſing thorough the countrey of Peru came at length into a lande which they named La Canela, becauſe there groweth great ſtore of Sinamome, but not altogether ſo good as that which commeth from the Eaſt Indies. The ſayd Captaine proceeding farther into the countrey came at length to a mightie riuer, where he ſawe the countrey people rowing in their Canoas, and bringing golde to buy and ſell with the Spaniards. Captaine Pizarro ſeeing this, was deſirous to finde out the ende of this riuer, but he could not trauell by lande becauſe of the high mountaines: wherefore he made a ſmall Barke or Pinneſſe to goe and diſcouer from whence the ſaide Indians brought their golde, and ſent in the ſaide Pinneſſe a Captaine vnder him called Orellana, who with fiftie men went downe the riuer, but could not returne to their Generall Pizarro, becauſe of the great current which was very ſtrong againſt them, forcing them to paſſe along the riuer, and to enter into the Sea, and ſo they ſayled on forwarde to the foreſaide Iſle of Margarita: but as they paſſed downe this riuer they found it well inhabited with Indians, which were poſſeſſed of great ſtore of golde. Theſe men with their Pinneſſe were paſſing downe this riuer eight monethes, for the riuer lyeth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, neither durſt the Spaniardes euer lande, becauſe they ſawe the countrey ſo full of people, but they tooke many Canoas, wherein they had great ſtore of victuals, and ſome golde.

Lewis de Melo.

Now this Orellana comming vnto Margarita with theſe good newes and riches, determined not to returne vnto his Captaine Pizarro which ſent him, but tooke his way from thence to the king of Spaine, and preſented him with the golde that he brought out of the riuer: whereupon the king ſent him with a fleete of ſhippes and ſixe hundred men to inhabite the ſayd riuer: but becauſe of the great current and ſholdes that are therein, hee left the moſt part of his men and ſhippes, and with thoſe that remained he went vnto certaine Ilandes hard by the riuer, and built him Pinneſſes; but the countrey being very vnhealthfull, himſelfe and many of his men dyed, and the reſidue went euery man which way pleaſed him beſt. The fame of this riuer was ſtraightway ſpread through Spaine and Portugal, inſomuch that a Gentleman of Portugall called Lewis de Melo aſked licenſe of Don Iuan the third, then king of Portugall to goe and conquere the ſayd riuer: for from the mouth of this riuer to the mouth of the riuer of Plate, is that part of America which the kings of Portugall (according to the partition made betweene them and the kings of Spaine) doe holde: ſo that the king of Portugall hauing this riuer in his part gaue it to the ſaide Lewis de Melo to conquere: who taking tenne ſhips and eight hundred men (among which many were gentlemen) and comming to the mouth of this riuer, loſt all the ſaid ſhips ſauing two, in one of the which two was Lewis de Melo himſelfe: alſo the moſt part of the men that were in the ſhips caſt away were ſaued and got to the ſhore, and ſo went by lande to the Iland of Margarita; from whence they were diſperſed throughout all the Indies.

El Dorado.

Pedro de Orzua.

Thus theſe two fleetes of ſhips being ſo vnfortunately caſt away, neuer durſt any Captaine afterward attempt by ſea to conquer the ſayde riuer. Howbeit from the kingdome of Nueua Granada before mentioned there haue gone two or three Captaines by land to diſcouer it, for a rumour went ouer all the countrey of the great riches contained in this riuer; whereupon the Spaniards named it El Dorado, that is to ſay, The golden riuer. It is thought that God will not haue this riuer to be knowen, for that one Captaine by lande had moſt of his people ſlaine by thoſe of the countrey, and others for want of victuals returned. So that none of all theſe came to any plaine diſcouery, till a few yeeres paſt a Captaine of the countrey of Nauarre called Pedro de Orzua, who went from Peru almoſt the ſame way that Gonſalo Pizarro had before diſcouered, and was accompanied with about ſome ſeuen hundred Spaniards, it being a great maruell how he could get ſo many, amongſt whom were many Gentlemen and old ſouldiers of Peru, who cauſed diuers mutinies and inſurrections, as hereafter I will more at large declare, which mutinous ſouldiers were the cauſe of their captaines death. Howbeit with all theſe men captaine Pedro de Orzua came vnto head of the ſaid riuer: but you muſt vnderſtand, that this riuer is nouriſhed not onely with the waters and freſhets that come from the mountaines of Peru, but alſo by all the riuers betweene the Equinoctiall and ſixteene degrees of Southerly latitude, which fall thereinto and cauſe it to be ſo great. Nowe at the head of this riuer the ſayde Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteene Pinneſſes with many Canoas, wherein he carried aboue two thouſand Indians to helpe him, with many horſes and other prouiſion, as meaning to inhabite there: for it was not poſſible for him to carry all his prouiſion by lande, becauſe the mountaines be very great, there being alſo betweene them many ſmall riuers which fall into this great riuer aboue twentie leagues out of the land. So this captaine hauing all his things in good order went downe the riuer with his whole company, and at length came from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt; and there he held a councell, determining in the ſame place to build a towne and to fortifie it very ſtrongly, to the end he might leaue all his ſtuffe there, and ſuch men as were not ſouldiers. And ſo they began to build the ſaid towne, and wrought vpon it all the winter: where becauſe it raineth much, and withall is very hot, ſicknes and want of victuals began to preuaile amongſt them, wherupon the ſouldiers fell a mutinuring among themſelues. For comming out of Peru, which is one of the frutfulleſt & richeſt countries of the world, they were more inclined to haue their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour: which was the cauſe that albeit the countrey in which they now were, was exceeding fruitfull, and that they ſaw with their eyes moſt euident apparances of golde, & alſo that vp into the countrey it ſeemed to be much better; yet for all this they murmured & would needes returne for Peru from whence they came. In the company of theſe men there was a ſouldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie & lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man hauing bene one of the principall mutiners in Peru, could not here giue ouer his old wont, but aſked his fellow-ſouldiers, what they went to ſeeke for in thoſe wild deſerts whither they were brought? For (ſaid he) if you ſeeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, fleſh, and faire women alſo; ſo that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniardes, and that it were no hard enterprize, becauſe all the ſouldiers and poore men of Peru would turne vnto them, and that that were a better courſe, then to goe and conquere the ſauage people in thoſe mountaines: ſo that once hauing the gouernment of Peru, the king of Spaine ſhould be inforced to agree with them: if not (ſayd he) we ſhall not lacke them that will ſuccour vs, to haue the riches of Peru. By theſe perſwaſions he brought many ſouldiers to be of his minde, and conſpired alſo with a young gentleman of Siuill called Don Fernando de Guſman (who was in loue with a young woman which the captaine Pedro de Orzua had, and therefore did the ſooner agree vnto the wicked intent of Agira) to murther the captaine. Who on a night being aſleepe in his bed, the ſaid conſpirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there ſtabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they ſlew alſo all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out-cry, ſaying, God ſaue the king, God ſaue the king: whereupon all the campe was in an vprore. Then Lopez de Agira made vnto the ſouldiers a long oration, and got them all to conſent vnto him, ſome by force, and ſome becauſe they durſt not ſay to the contrary, and others of their good will, and ſo in the end they all agreed vnto his determined purpoſe. Then made they Fernando de Guſman their head, & Agira was made a captaine. This done, becauſe the people ſhould the better hold their opinion, he did as great a villany as euer any Spaniard cōmitted: for he made an altar, wheron he and all the ſouldiers renounced their ſeruice vnto the king of Spaine, & ſo as people without a king, choſe the ſaid Don Fernando to be their king, and did homage vnto him. Theſe matters being thus finiſhed they conſulted among themſelues which ſhould be the beſt way for them to goe to Peru? For they could not goe vp the riuer, by which they came downe, in regarde of the ſtrong current, and going backe ouerland they ſhould be very weake for want of horſemen: wherefore they determined to goe downe the riuer. Then ſaide Lopez de Agira, that they would carry nothing with them but the pinneſſes & ſouldiers which ſhould fight, and that it were beſt to leaue behind them all the Indians which they brought from Peru, with the women and the ſicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, becauſe he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all. Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe gouernour himſelfe, tooke vnto him 30 of his owne countreymen of his diſpoſition, and on the ſudden ſlew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had ſworne to obey: & now by his ſubtill practiſes, being withall eloquent in his talke, he cauſed the ſouldiers to appoint himſelfe their gouernour, & made them beleeue that all the cruelties committed were for their ſaueguard: neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here ende. He was borne in Biskay a countrey neere vnto France, wherefore I beleeue him rather to haue beene a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be ſo much crueltie as this man ſhewed. Now being readie to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or perſons of qualitie, and therefore he ſlew all ſuch perſons; and then departing onely with the common ſouldiers, he left behind him all the Spaniſh women and ſicke men, with all other creatures. If I ſhould rehearſe all the cruell murthers of this wicked man one by one, I ſhould be ouer tedious vnto you. Onely in fewe words I ſay, that this man proceeded downe the riuer, hauing with him onely foure hundred men: but before he paſſed the riuer,

Lopez de Agira his dangerous conſpiracie.

Pedro de Orzua murthered.

Don Ferdinando de Guſman proclaimed king of Peru.

Fernando de Guſman ſlaine.

A new maſſacre.

and was come to Margarita, he had no more left but two hundred and thirty men, for the reſt hee had put to death, and left on ſhore among the people of the countrey: all which tyranny he vſed, becauſe he euer ſtood in feare of his life: for had he ſeene at any time but two ſouldiers talking together, he would ſtreight ſuſpect that they were conſpiring of his death, and therefore he vſed the practiſes aboueſaide. And he neuer went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biſcaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purpoſes.

Great ſtore of gold in the riuer of Marannon.

Amazones women which helpe their huſbands in the warres.

Good ſtore of golde.

Lopez de Agira arriueth at Margarita 1568.

As theſe ſouldiers with their Captaine came downe the riuer, they ſawe many Canoas with golde in them paſſing too and fro, and people on both ſides of the riuer, and in their paſſage many times they landed, and got good ſtore of golde and victuals. Now alſo did they finde that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to ſay, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but theſe women fight to aide their huſbands, and not by themſelues alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of theſe women vpon diuers partes of this riuer, who ſeeing the Spaniardes fighting with their huſbandes came in to ſuccour them, and ſhewed themſelues more valiant then their huſbandes; for which cauſe it was named, The riuer of Amazones. The Spaniardes intent was onely to paſſe downe the riuer, neither ſought they at all to diſcouer the Inland, and yet they tooke good ſtore of golde, putting it into one of their Pinneſſes, where Lopez de Agira himſelfe was embarked, which Pinneſſe at the mouth of the riuer was caſt away, but he himſelfe eſcaped, becauſe he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde. And when he was come to the Ilande of Margarita, the Gouernour thereof ſuppoſing he had bene one of the kings loyall captaines, receiued him with pinneſſes, and brought good ſtore of victuals vnto him. But he putting the ſayd Gouernour immediatly to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two ſhippes that were there, and conſtrained likewiſe an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, beſides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good ſtore of victuales, and many horſes alſo. And then he returned to the maine land, ſaying, that with his ſmall forces hee would ſubdue the whole Indias: imagining belike that all the olde ſouldiers and poore people, at the firſt ſight of him, would turne to his ſide and take his part. Howbeit he was foulely deceiued: for before he had marched two dayes iourney vp into the land, the Gouernour of Nueua Granada came againſt him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other ſouldiers would haue ioyned themſelues vnto him, whereby his ſtrength might haue beene the more, was quite fruſtrate of his expectation: for euen his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine. Nowe ſeeing himſelfe thus left deſtitute of his ſouldiers, and voide of all helpe, he committed a more vnnaturall bloodie act then euer Nero the tyrant did, for he murthered his owne daughter being but ſixteene yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of Peru: the cauſe why he killed her was, that ſhe might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traytor: and theſe words he vſed vnto her, ſo ſoone as he had giuen her her deaths wound: but before he could finiſh this cruell act, the ſouldiers came vpon him, and cut him in pieces, alſo his daughter died of her wound in that place.

Great riches hidden within the riuer of Marannon.

Thus haue you heard the miſerable ende of this bloodie caitife: in regarde of whoſe treacherous and miſchieuous dealing the king would neuer ſince ſuffer this riuer to bee throughly diſcouered; ſo that the riches and treaſure of the ſaid riuer remaine vnknowen euen vntill this preſent day.

The coaſt of Braſill, why it was ſo called, and by whom it was at the firſt diſcouered

Now leauing to diſcourſe any longer of this riuer of Marannon, all the coaſt betweene the ſaide riuer and the riuer of Plate, is called The coaſt of Braſill, taking that name from a kinde of wood in the ſame countrey, called Braſill-wood, whereof there is great ſtore in thoſe partes. This coaſt of Braſill was firſt diſcouered by Pedro Aluarez Cabral, in the ſecond voyage which the king of Portugall cauſed to be made to the Eaſt Indies: and the foreſayde Pedro Aluarez tooke poſſeſſion of this land for the king of Portugall: whereupon the king Don Emanuel hearing newes thereof ſent preſently ſhippes to diſcouer the whole countrey, and found it to be part of America otherwiſe called The Weſt Indies: for which cauſe there grewe ſome controuerſie betweene him and the king of Spaine: but being kinſmen and great friends one to another, they agreed in the end, that the king of Portugall ſhould holde all the countrey that he had diſcouered, the which was (as I haue ſaid) from the riuer of Marannon to the riuer of Plate; albeit the Spaniards affirme, that it ſtretcheth no further then the Iland of Santa Catelina; whereupon there haue riſen many controuerſies betweene the Portugales and Spaniardes, which haue coſt many men their liues.

There came into the ſaid riuer of Plate in the yeere 1587 two Engliſh ſhips and a Pinneſſe of the right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, which were bound for the ſtreights of Magellan, and ankored ten leagues within the ſaid riuer before a little Iland lying hard by another called Seal-Iland. On which Iland the Captaine of one of the ſhips called Chriſtopher Liſter, and his whole company landing, found the king of Portugales armes grauen on a rocke by the ſea ſide; which are thought to haue beene there engrauen by one Martin Alonſo de Souza, who was ſent by the king Don Emanuel to diſcouer this coaſt. Therefore I thinke the Portugales haue reaſon for that which they alleage concerning the extenſion of the ſaid coaſt of Braſil. Wherefore the king of Portugall gaue this land to diuerſe of his gentlemen to inhabite. Moſt of the naturall inhabitants of this countrey are very rude, and goe ſtarke naked both men and women, and are man-eaters; for which cauſe they make warres one againſt another to get men to eate; they are ſtout and good bow-men. The firſt place inhabited on this coaſt beyonde the riuer of Maranon is called Fernambuck ſo named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda. Before you come to this place there is a port called Paraiua, vnto which port not many yeeres paſt the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles which were then in Portugall reſorted, and built there a fort; whereunto certaine French ſhips made yeerely voyages to lade Braſil-wood. But they of Fernambuck, with the helpe of the Spaniardes, went and burnt fiue french ſhippes within the port, and tooke the fort it ſelfe, and the Frenchmen that were there fled part into the mountaines, and part of them were ſlaine; ſo that ſince that time the Spaniardes haue inhabited there till this preſent. Nowe to returne to Fernambuck inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Duarte Coelio, it is the greateſt towne in all that coaſt, and hath aboue three thouſand houſes in it, with ſeuentie Ingenios for ſugar, and great ſtore of Braſill-wood and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugall or from ſome places vpon the coaſt of Braſill. The harbour of this towne is a barred harbour, and fit onely for ſmall barkes: this place belongeth as yet vnto the ſonne of Duarte Coëlio. Beyond this towne lyeth the Cape of Sant Auguſtin, and next thereunto is the riuer of Sant Franciſco, which is a great riuer. Betweene this riuer and Bayha it is all a wilderneſſe inhabited with cruell ſaluages, for whomſoeuer they take they kill and eate him. The towne of Bayha belongeth to the king, and therefore the gouernour of all the coaſt keepeth his reſidence in the ſame, as alſo the biſhop. It containeth 1000 houſes, & 40 Ingenios for ſugar, and hath much cotton, but no Braſill-wood at all. The ſea runneth vp into the countrey here 14 or 15 leagues, where they get ſome yeres good ſtore of Amber-grieſe. Here is great plentie of victuals, and although the countrey be hot, yet is it healthfull, & the aire holeſome. The next towne vpon the coaſt called As Ilhas, or The Iles, is but a ſmall towne, containing not aboue 150 houſes, and but three Ingenios for ſugar. Moſt of the inhabitants are labouring men, which vſe to carry victuals in their ſmall barkes vnto Fernambuck: their Lord is called Lucas Giraldo.

Fernambuck.

A fort built by the Frenchmen at Paraiua.

Paraiua now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambuck cōtaineth 3000 houſes.

Cape S. Auguſtin.

Rio de Sant Franciſco.

Bayha a towne of 1000 houſes.

As Ilhas.

The next place vnto this is called Puerto Seguro: it conſiſteth of 4 ſmall townes, which containe not in all aboue 300 houſes. The inhabitants of this towne alſo liue by carrying of victuals along the coaſt; and the towne it ſelfe belongeth to the Duke de Auero. Hard by this port begin the ſholdes which they call Abrolhos; and theſe ſholdes lie aboue 25 leagues into the ſea.

Puerto Seguro.

The ſholdes called Abrolhos.

The next habitation of Chriſtians beyond theſe ſholdes is Eſpirito Santo which conſiſteth of two townes, both of them contayning about 300 houſes: and they belong to a gentleman called Vaſques Fernandes de Coutinho.

Eſpirito Santo.

From hence you paſſe along the coaſt to the riuer of Ienero, which hath about three hundred houſes. In this place the Frenchmen firſt inhabited, whoſe Captaine was called Monſieur de Villegagnon. The ſaid Captaine made here a fort, and planted good ordinance thereon, and laded euery yeere great ſtore of Braſill-wood from hence, and had great friendſhip with the ſaluage people, who did him good ſeruice, by reaſon whereof the Frenchmen reaped much benefite out of this countrey. But the king of Portugall ſent out a power againſt the Frenchmen, who firſt tooke the french ſhippes by ſea, and then landed and beſieged the fort, and at length tooke it, and the Captaine thereof: vnto whom, becauſe he was a gentle perſon, and neuer hurt the Portugales, they gaue thirtie thouſand ducats for his ordinance, and for all other things that were in the fort, and ſo ſent him for France. Since which time the Portugales haue inhabited this riuer. There are at this preſent onely two Ingenios, but great ſtore of Braſill-wood, with plentie of victuals.

Rio de Ienero.

From this riuer of Ienero they paſſe along the coaſt to Sant Vincente, which hath 4 townes, the greateſt whereof is called Santos, and conſiſteth of foure hundred houſes, there are alſo three Ingenios. A fewe yeeres paſt there came two Engliſh ſhips into this harbour which were going for the Streights of Magellan. Who being in this port, there came thither three of the king of Spaines ſhips, and fought with the Engliſhmen, but the Engliſhmen ſunke one of their

Foure townes ſtanding vpon the riuer of S. Vincente

Theſe Engliſh men were M. Fenton and Luke Ward.

A fort built at the riuer of Sant Vincente againſt the Engliſh.

The Iland of Santa Catelina.

ſhips, and therefore the king commanded a fort to be made, to the ende that no Engliſh ſhippes that were bound for the ſtreights of Magellan ſhould victuall there, the which fort ſtandeth on the mouth of the harbour. This countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonſo de Souza: this is the laſt inhabited place vpon all the coaſt of Braſill. This coaſt of Braſill is very full of mountaines, and hath much raine falling vpon it, for which cauſe they cannot goe from towne to towne by land: all the habitations of this countrey are by the ſea ſide. From Sant Vincente the coaſt is all mountainous, till you come to the Iſle of Santa Catelina, and from this Iland till you come euen to the ſtraights of Magellan, the coaſt is very plaine and without woods.

Rio de la Plata

Sebaſtian Cabota.

Buenos Ayeres.

The wonderfull increaſe of a few horſes and mares.

La Aſcenſion 300 leagues vp the riuer of Plate.

Santa Fe.

Hauing proceeded thus farre, it will not be amiſſe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the riuer of Plate, which is one of the greateſt riuers in all the world: for at the mouth it is aboue fiue and twentie leagues from land to land: and the Spaniards haue gone vp in it aboue ſixe hundred leagues, and could not attaine to the head thereof. The firſt Spaniard that entered this riuer, and inhabited the ſame was called Solis, who paſſed vp 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de la Plata, that is to ſay, The riuer of ſiluer, becauſe of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I haue not heard of any ſiluer that euer was found there. The ſaide Solis returned into Spaine, without any further ſearch into this riuer: howbeit another Captaine called Sebaſtian Cabota went vp this riuer 150 leagues, and built a fort, which fort ſtandeth vntill this preſent: where leauing his ſhips, he went higher vp the riuer in ſmal Pinneſſes, and all along as he went he found many Indians: but finding neither gold nor ſiluer, nor ought elſe of any great value, he returned to his ſhips, and ſayled for Spaine. Not many yeeres after a certaine Gentleman called Don Pedro de Mendoça furniſhed forth a great fleete of ſhips, wherein were ſhipped a thouſand men, fortie mares, and twentie horſes, with all other creatures to inhabite this riuer: and comming thither he went vp into the countrey to ſee what riches he could there finde, leauing all his ſtuffe, cattle, and prouiſion at a place called Buenos Ayeres, ſo named in regard of the freſhneſſe of the ayre, and the healthfulneſſe of his men, during their abode there: this place was eightie leagues within the riuer, and here he landed firſt: at this place the riuer is aboue ſeuen leagues broad, and very low land on both ſides without trees. This riuer is very often ſubiect to great and ſudden ſtormes, ſo that with a ſtorme this Don Pedro loſt eight of his ſhips, and in the reſt he returned for Spaine, ſaying to his men, that he would goe ſeeke victuals, and ſo left the greater part of them behinde. In his way homeward he died, and the poore men which he left behind him, for the moſt part of them died for hunger alſo, becauſe in that place there were very few Indians, and therefore but ſmall ſtore of victuals, onely they liued by hunting of Deere, and by fiſhing. Of all the men that Don Pedro left behind him there were but two hundred remaining aliue, who in the ſhip-boates went higher vp the riuer, leauing in the place called Buenos Ayeres their mares and horſes: but it is a wonder to ſee, that of thirty mares and ſeuen horſes which the Spaniards left there, the increaſe in fortie yeeres was ſo great, that the countrey is 20 leagues vp full of horſes; whereby a man may coniecture the goodneſſe of the paſture, and the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile. The Spaniards that went vp this riuer paſſed three hundred leagues, and found the countrey ful of Indians: who had great plenty of victuals, among whom the Spaniards dwelt as their friends, and the Indians beſtowed their daughters in mariage vpon them, and ſo they dwelt altogether in one towne, which the Spaniards called La Aſcenſion, and it ſtandeth on the North ſide of the riuer. The foreſaid Spaniardes were twentie yeres in this place, before any newes of their inhabiting vpon this riuer was brought into Spaine: but waxing olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their ſons which they had begotten in this countrey being very many, ſhould liue without the knowledge of any other Chriſtians; they determined among themſelues to build a ſhip, and to ſende newes into Spaine with letters vnto the king of all things that had paſſed among them, vpon that riuer. Theſe newes being brought to the king, he ſent three ſhips, with a Biſhop and certaine Prieſts, and Friers, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell. when this ſuccour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North ſide of the riuer, and trauelled three hundred leagues beyond the Aſcenſion; but finding neither gold nor ſiluer, they returned backe againe vnto the Aſcenſion. The people are ſo multiplyed in this citie, that now it is one of the greateſt in all the Indias, and containeth aboue two thouſand houſes. The countrey adioyning is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with all kinds of victuals, & with ſugar and cotton. From this citie of Aſcenſion 150 leagues towards the mouth of the riuer ſtandeth another towne which they call Santa Fe, on the South ſide of the ſaid riuer, from which towne there lyeth an open high way leading into the land of Peru, ſo that when I come to intreat of Peru I wil ſpeake of this way, and declare who firſt found it. Alſo fiue yeeres paſt they haue inhabited anew the towne of Buenos Ayres on the South ſide of the riuer, to the end they might haue trade from the coaſt of Braſill, but their fortune was ſuch, that the very firſt time they went to Braſill, and would haue returned againe to the riuer of Plate, they were taken by two ſhips of England that were going for the ſtreights of Magellan.

Two Engliſh ſhips, whereof M. Fenton was Generall 1582.

The coaſt along from this riuer to the ſtreights of Magellan hath not bene perfectly diſcouered, either by ſea or lande, ſauing onely certaine portes which they haue found, ſayling to the ſtreights. Wherefore paſſing them ouer, I will here intreat of the ſaide ſtreights, and declare who was the firſt finder of them, as likewiſe what was the cauſe why they were ſought for. The Portugales therefore hauing firſt found and conquered the Eaſt Indies, and diſcouered the coaſt of China, with the Ilands of the Malucos,(all which places abound with gold,precious ſtones, ſilkes, and other rich commodities) and bringing home the foreſaide riches in their ſhips into Portugall: there grewe by this meanes great enuie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniardes; inſomuch that the Councell of Spaine ſaide vnto the Emperour Charles the fift being then their king, that the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the world. Vpon which wordes beganne a controuerſie betweene the Emperour and the king of Portugall: but they being great friends before, and alſo kinſmen, agreed immediatly to part the whole world betweene them, in ſuch wiſe as I for my part could neuer vnderſtand the certaintie thereof. The world being thus diuided, a Portugal-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes borne in a place of Portugall called Punta de la barte, being of a good houſe,& very wel ſeene in coſmographie, and an excellent Pilot, as alſo being offended with Don Emanuel his Soueraigne, departed out of Portugall into Spaine, and affirmed to the Councell of Spaine, that the Iſles of the Malucos were in that part of the worlde which was allotted to the king of Spaine, and that he would finde a ſhorter way thither then the Portugales tooke, and layed before them ſuch infallible reaſons,that the Councell giuing credite vnto his wordes ſent him to ſea with fiue ſhips and 400 men all very well appointed. With theſe fiue ſhips ſetting ſaile from S. Lucar, he came to the coaſt of Braſill, where at that time two places were inhabited by Portugales, and ſo ſayling on along that coaſt he paſſed by the riuer of Plate, which riuer was diſcouered a little before by Solis. And notwithſtanding many ſtormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length vnto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the riuer of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Iulian, and wintered there: and there alſo he hanged 5 men, and put on ſhore a Prieſt, becauſe they would haue made the company to ſtand againſt their captaine,and ſo to haue returned backe againe. But in the end hauing pacified his men, he put to ſea,and within 5 dayes after he found the ſtreights, which by him were ſo much deſired: but before he entered the ſaid ſtreights there befell ſuch a mutinie in one of his ſhips, that the ſame ſhip returned backe againe. And ſo himſelfe with the other foure ſhips entering the ſtreights, one of the ſaid foure with all the men therein was caſt away at the very enterance: which loſſe notwithſtanding he proceeded on with the other three ſhips, and paſſing many troubles and dangers in this long diſcouery, ceaſed not to proſecute his intended voyage. This diſcouery was at the firſt thought very profitable vnto the Spaniards, but of late it hath prooued very hurtfull vnto them by meanes of certaine coaſters which haue ſayled the ſelfe ſame courſe. Theſe ſtreights ſtand in 52 degrees and a halfe of Southerly latitude. Alſo here is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in ſuch wiſe, that in forty degrees to the Southward the colde is more ſharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies ſhew the ſame; for it is as colde euen in the ſtreights of Magellan, as it is in ſixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Howbeit the colde is not the cauſe why nauigators frequent not the ſame, but the Weſterly and Southerly windes, which blowe moſt furiouſly on that coaſt, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the ſtreightes, and ſo continue for the moſt part of the yeere. Alſo there runneth ſometimes ſuch a ſtrong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ſhip withſtand the force thereof. For which cauſe, and alſo for that there is no harbour, till you be paſſed 30 leagues into the ſaid ſtreights, moſt part of the ſhips that haue gone thither haue indured many troubles before they could come to the ſtreights, and being come to the mouth thereof they haue bene hindered by the current and winde, and ſo haue beene put backe againe. And to the end you may vnderſtand the truth, I will declare vnto you all the ſhippes that haue paſt through the ſaid ſtreights, ſince Magellan firſt found them, vnto this preſent yeere of 1586, when I haue once ended my diſcourſe of Magellan his owne voyage. Nowe you are by the way to vnderſtande, that the North ſide of the enterance of theſe ſtreights is plaine lande without any wood or trees: here are likewiſe ſome Indians though not many, yet are they very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleuen foot high, and good bow-men, but no man-eaters, neither haue they any victuals, but ſuch as they get by hunting and fiſhing;

Fernando Magellanes.

Porte S. Iulian.

The diſcouery of the ſtreights of Magellan.

The Southerly latitude of the ſtraights of Magellan.

Patagones.

The length of the ſtreights of Magellan.

A mighty ridg of mountains.

Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada.

* But of late there are found diuerſe rich mines.

The death of Magellan.

Sebaſtian del Cano the firſt mã that euer ſayled about the world.

they couer their bodies with the ſkinnes of beaſts that they kill, to defend them from the colde: neither was there euer to this day any ſiluer or golde found among them or in their countrey. Theſe Streights (they ſay) extend in length from Eaſt to Weſt about an hundred and twentie leagues. At the middle of theſe ſtreights on the North ſide are many mountaines couered with ſnow, which mountaines ſtretch from thence along the frontiers of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, euen vnto the ſhore of the North ſea at Santa Martha, as I haue before ſignified. It is a wonder to behold the exceeding heigth of theſe mountaines, and the way which they continue couered with ſnow, for euen vnder the Equinoctiall line they haue as much ſnowe vpon their tops as in 52 degrees. Alſo it is worthy the remembrance, that all this countrey towarde the South ſea is very fruitfull, and the people very diſcrecte and gentle: but all the coaſt towardes Braſill vpon the North ſea is poore, whereas neuer yet was found any commoditie of account, and the people themſelues are very cruell and ſaluage; for the will of God is, that good and ciuill men ſhould inhabite fruitfull countries. And for the better vnderſtanding hereof you muſt note, that all the land lying betweene the ſaid ridge of mountaines and the South ſea is called by the names of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, which are the beſt and richeſt countreys in all the world: and moſt part of the land from the ſaid mountaines to the North ſea is called Braſill, being a mountainous countrey, * where as yet was neuer found either golde or ſiluer. From the ſaid mountaines in the middle of the ſtreights the land riſeth high, till you come to the end of the ſtreights where you enter into the South ſea, in which place next the South ſea the ſtreights are very dangerous, by reaſon of the ſholdes & rockes that lie on the North ſide. Thus Magellan after he had entered the South ſea, within 60 dayes came to the Iles of the Malucos, without touching at any land vntill he came thither: and ſo ſeeking there to lade his ſhips at an Iland inhabited by Moores, he was by them treacherouſly ſlaine. Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ſhips, becauſe many of them were dead, partly with ſicknes, and partly with the hardneſſe of the voiage, determined to abandon one of their ſaid ſhips, and ſo manned the other two: which two being laden with ſpices and other riches knew not what courſe they were beſt to take: howbeit at length it was determined, that one of theſe two ſhips ſhould go for Nueua Eſpanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Eſperança, and ſo for Spaine. The ſhip that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biſcain named Iuan Sebaſtian del Cano, to whom the king gaue great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: Primus omnium circundediſti me: that is, thou art the firſt man that euer ſayled about me.

Two ſhips of Genoa.

And albeit this voyage was ſo long and troubleſome as is before mentioned, yet many others haue attempted the ſame. And the next that ſought to paſſe the ſaid ſtreights of Magellan were two ſhips of Genoa, which comming as farre as the mouth of the ſtreights were by a mightie ſtorme driuen backe againe, and one of them, whoſe maſter was called Pancaldo, put into the riuer of Plate, and was caſt away about Buenos Aeres, where to this day part of the ſaid ſhip is to be ſeene, and ſome of the men are yet liuing in the riuer among the Spaniards: and the other ſhip returned to Genoa againe.

A third voiage to yͤ ſtreights.

* Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, parte 2, lib. 20. calleth this Captaine Zamargo.

A fourth voyage to the ſtreights.

Alſo there was a biſhop of Placencia in Spaine, who coueting riches, ſet foorth a fleet of foure ſailes, to paſſe the ſtreights, and ſo to goe for the Malucos: and getting licenſe of the Emperour he ſent his ſaid 4 ſhips toward the ſtreights which had very faire windes till they came thither: but being entered 20 leagues within the ſtreights, a ſtorme of Weſterly windes tooke them, & droue 3 of them on ſhore, & the fourth backe into the ſea, which (the ſtorme being paſt) returned into the ſtreights to ſeeke for his conſorts, & found many men going on the ſhores ſide, but the ſhips were beaten all to pieces. So they on land called vnto the ſhip; but the captaine therof, conſidering that his ſhip was but little, & that he had but ſmall ſtore of victuals, would not go to them on ſhore, but proceeded on his voyage, & paſſed the ſtreights. And becauſe he was alone he would not ſaile to the Malucos, but went for the coaſt of Peru to the citie of Lima, where the ſhip remaineth vnto this day. The men of the other three ſhips, which were left in the ſtreights being to the number of two hundred and fiftie (whoſe Captaine being kinſman to the biſhop of Placencia was called * Queros) were neuer heard of vntill this preſent day, it being fortie yeres ſince they were left there. A yeare after this, certaine marchants of the Groine in Galicia ſet foorth other three ſhips, which ſhips alſo came to the ſtreights mouth, where one of them was caſt away with all the men, and the other two returned for Spaine.

A fift and ſixt voiage to the ſtreights of Magellan.

Alſo I haue had intelligence of certaine Portugall ſhips, which being come to the mouth of the Streights loſt two of their Pinneſſes which they ſent to diſcouer the land, and then returned back. And after theſe, two French ſhips were ſent from the riuer of Ienero by Monſieur de Villegagnon,

legagnon, but being come to the latitude of 45. degrees, they were driuen backe by a ſtorme of contrary winds. After all this the gouernour of Chili called Don Garcia de Mendoça ſonne to the Marques of Cannette determining to diſcouer the ſayd Streights from the South ſea, ſent from Chili two ſhips vnder the conduct of a captaine called Latherelio: but the danger to ſeeke theſe Streights by the South ſea is more then by the North ſea, becauſe all the ſtormes of the North ſea come from the land, but in the South ſea all the windes and ſtormes come off the ſea, and force the ſhips to run vpon the lee-ſhore, inſomuch that the ſayd two ſhips were caſt away in fiftie degrees.

Two french ſhips ſent for the ſtreights of Magellan.

The ſeeking of theſe Streights of Magellan is ſo dangerous, and the voyage ſo troubleſome, that it ſeemeth a matter almoſt impoſſible to be perfourmed, inſomuch that for the ſpace of thirty yeeres no man made account thereof; vntill of late one Francis Drake an Engliſhman (of whom I haue before ſpoken) ſeeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the Weſt Indies to benefit himſelfe, becauſe of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coaſt, determined to ſeeke the Streights of Magellan, and to paſſe into the South ſea. And ſo hauing prouided two ſhips and three pinneſſes in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Iſlandes of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal ſhippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof beeing a Portugal called Nuno da Sylua, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance vnto him in his voyage. And this which I ſhall here ſay, I had in writing of the Portugal pilot himſelfe.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about ẏ world.

From the Iſlands of Cape Verde the ſayd Francis Drake ſailed vnto Port Sant Iulian, where he wintered: and there alſo hee put to death a gentleman of his company, becauſe hee would haue returned home. This port I take to bee accurſed, for that Magellan likewiſe put ſome to death there for the like offence.

The cauſe why M. Doury was beheaded.

This Francis Drake putting out of the ſayd port, entred the Streights, and within twelue dayes gotte into the South ſea. And two dayes after there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme of Weſterly windes (which are vſuall in thoſe parts) that he loſt his pinneſſe, and his Viceadmirall maſter Iohn Winter was driuen backe againe into the Streights, who paſſing many dangers returned home into England. But Francis Drake himſelfe ranne with this ſtorme into ſeuen and fifty degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Iſland with a good harborough, and freſh water, and ſtayed at the ſame Iſland two moneths to repayre his ſhips: and then, the weather beeing faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coaſt of Chili to an Iſland called La Mocha; where hee went on ſhore, and talked with the Indians: but when hee would haue returned vnto his boate they ſhotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himſelfe was wounded in the face.

Sir Francis Drake driuen into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

La Mocha in 38 Deg. 30 min. ouer againſt the prouince of Arauco.

Going from thence hee paſſed by the towne of Concepcion not knowing the place, and ſo to Valparizo which is the port of Sant Iago, where hee found a ſhip laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her beſides threeſcore thouſand pezos of gold, euery pezo being worth eight ſhillings ſterling: and taking this ſhip with him hee went from thence to another port called Coquimbo: where ſeeing many cattell on the land, he ſent preſently ſome of his men with caliuers to kill of the ſayd cattell: but being eſpied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they ſent twelue horſemen to ſee what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere vnto them, the Engliſhmen fled to their boates, but the horſemen ouertooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to haue taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horſes was himſelfe runne through with a lance, and ſo the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to Sant Iago, that they were Engliſhmen, and how they had taken the ſhippe out of the harbour of Valparizo: whereupon they of Sant Iago ſent a Poſt by land to giue warning vnto them of Peru. Howbeit by reaſon that the countrey betweene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the ſpace of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines couered with ſnowe lie in the way, the Poſte was ſo long in perfourmance of this iourney, that captaine Drake was vpon the coaſt of Peru a moneth before the ſayd Poſte came thither: neither could they ſend any newes by ſea, becauſe they were deſtitute of ſhipping.

The towne of Concepcion, Valparizo.

The port of Coquimbo in 29 deg 30 min.

Captaine Drake departing from Coquimbo ſayled to another porte not inhabited, where he ſet vp a pinneſſe. And going from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte vpon the coaſt of Peru called los Peſcadores: and there hee landed, and in one of the fiſhermens houſes found of a Spaniards three thouſand pezos of ſiluer in little barres.

Los Peſcadores.

From hence he went to another port called Arica, which being the next towne to Chili that the Spaniards haue in all Peru, containeth an hundreth houſes: and this is the porte where they diſcharge

Arica in 18 deg.

charge their merchandize that paſſe from Lima to Potoſſi, and to all other cities within the land, and likewiſe at this place they were wont to embarke all the ſiluer which they caried for Panamá. At this port of Arica he found a ſhip that had in her thirteene thouſand pezos of ſiluer, which hauing taken out, he burned the ſayd ſhip, and after thought to haue landed, but ſeeing both horſemen and footemen on ſhore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since captaine Drake was at this porte they carie their ſiluer by land to Lima, and lade no more treaſure here, but onely diſcharge the merchants goods that come from Spaine hither. Alſo they haue built a forte at this place for the better ſafety of the inhabitants, and haue planted it with ten pieces of Ordinance, and euery ſummer there lie in gariſon an hundred ſouldiers beſides the towneſmen. From hence he ſayled to another porte called Chuli: in which port was a ſhip that had three hundred thouſand pezos of ſiluer in barres: but they had ſent horſemen from Arica to giue aduertizement of Drakes being on the coaſt, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arriuall at the ſayd porte: whereupon the Maſter of the ſhippe hauing no leiſure to carie his ſiluer on ſhore, was forced to throwe it into the ſea in ſixe fadome water, where his ſhip road, and ſo to runne on ſhore in the ſhippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboord the ſhip was told by an Indian, that the Maſter had throwen the ſiluer ouerboord. Wherfore ſeeing that newes began to run of him from towne to town he ſtayed not here, but ran along the coaſt: and becauſe he would haue no lets, he caſt off the ſhip which he had taken at Sant Iago, with neuer a man in her, which ſhip was neuer heard of after. And ſo without ſtaying any where he ſhaped his courſe for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues diſtant from Lima it ſelfe, (for Lima ſtandeth vp into the land) hee arriued there one day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ſhips without ſuſpicion. And as hee entred into the port, there came in alſo a ſhip from Panamá laden with merchandize, and hee ſent his pinneſſe to take her: but the men forſaking the ſhip betooke them to their boate, and went on ſhore: and as the Engliſhmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein ſhot a piece, and ſlew one of captaine Drakes men in the pinneſſe. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinneſſe into the harbour among fourteene ſaile of ſhips that lay there, in all which ſhips there was not a man that had ſo much as a ſword or a piece to moleſt him, wherefore hee did with leſſe feare go from ſhip to ſhip, aſking them if there were any ſhips gone for Panamá; for he knew wel, that the ſhips which goe for Panamá carie both ſiluer & gold, neither ſought he for any thing elſe, for there were marchandize enough for him in thoſe ſhips, if hee had bene deſirous to haue had the ſame. So they told him that three dayes paſt there was a ſhip gone for Panamá which caried all the merchants ſiluer thither. Whereupon he preſently ſet ſaile towards Panamá; for when hee came into this port it was about midnight, ſo that the Spaniards could not ſee what ſhips he had. At laſt the newes came to Lima vnto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy & all the people were in great feare, leſt ſome Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themſelues in armes: and ſo the next morning himſelfe accōpanied with 2000 horſemen & footmen came from the citie down to the waters ſide, and finding ſome of the Engliſhmens arrowes that were ſhot at the boat, out of which their man was ſlain, they knew them to be Engliſhmen: and then they were al in quiet, ſeeing it was but one ſhip, for as yet the ſhip lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith prouided 2 ſhips with 200 men in them, to boord captain Drake or els to burne his ſhip; and after the ſhips went 2 ſmall pinneſſes, becauſe that if any of the ſhips ſhould be ſunke, they might ſaue the men. But it was a day & a halfe before theſe things could be made ready, & in the end going forth they found yͤ Engliſh ſhip ſtill becalmed, & the calme was ſuch, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The ſame night, the wind blowing afreſh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake ſet forward to Panamá. The cauſe of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no Ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out. Then the Viceroy cauſed ſixe pieces of Ordinance to bee made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the ſhortneſſe of time: ſo with theſe pieces of Ordinance, and three ſhippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee ſent after captaine Drake; who after hee had winde ſtayed no where, nor tooke any ſhips at all, notwithſtanding hee met with many comming from Panamá laden with merchandize, but ſtill hee inquired after the ſhippe that was gone to Panamá before him: of which ſhip he had ſight about the cape of Sant Franciſco, the Maſter wherof was a Biſkaine, called Iuan de Anton: who ſeeing this ſhip of the Engliſhmens, thought that the Viceroy of Peru had ſent him ſome meſſage, and therefore ſtrooke all his ſailes: but ſo ſoone as hee might diſcerne the ſhippe ſomewhat better, hee would then faine haue gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coaſt, and then hee began to hoiſe his ſailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine Drake becauſe

Chuli.

El Callao de Lima.

Three ſhips ſent after captaine Drake.

A rich prize taken by ſir Francis Drake at Cape S. Francisco ſituate one degree to yͤ north of the Equinoctial.

becauſe hee was within the reach of his great Ordinance, for the Spaniards not hauing ſo much as a rapier to defend themſelues, were ſoone conſtrained to yeelde. There were in this ſhippe aboue eight hundred and fifty thouſand pezos of ſiluer, and forty thouſand pezos of gold, all which ſiluer and golde was cuſtomed; but what ſtore of treaſure they had beſides vncuſtomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almoſt as much more as they pay cuſtome for; otherwiſe the king would take it from them, if they ſhould be knowen to haue any great ſumme; wherefore euery ſhippe carieth his bill of cuſtome, that the king may ſee it. All this treaſure that captaine Drake tooke was merchants and other mens goods, ſauing one hundred and eighty thouſand pezos of the kings. He had alſo out of this ſhip good ſtore of victuals with other neceſſaries, which were to bee caried for Panamá, and was fiue dayes taking out of ſuch things as hee needed. This done, he ſayled from hence to the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna without going to Panamá. Surely this was a great plague of God iuſtly inflicted vpon vs for our ſinnes: for the taking of theſe ſhips is an eſpeciall cauſe of all the dangerous warres that are likely to enſue betweene Spaine and England.

Read Nuno da Sylua concerning this treaſure.

Now the ſhips that were ſent by the Viceroy of Peru from Lima after Francis Drake, arriued at Cape Sant Franciſco twenty dayes after hee had taken the foreſayd ſhippe, and had intelligence by a ſhip comming from Panamá, which they met at the ſayd cape, that Francis Drake had taken the ſhip with ſiluer, and was not gone for Panamá. Whereupon the captaine of the three ſhips thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his courſe that way to ſeeke him.

Captaine Drake carried from the coaſt of Peru eight hundreth ſixty ſixe thouſand pezos of ſiluer, which is as much as eight hundred ſixty ſixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, euery quintal being worth one thouſand and two hundreth ducats of Spaine; all which ſumme amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thouſand and two hundreth ducats. Beſides this ſiluer hee caried away a hundred thouſand pezos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thouſand fiue hundreth Spaniſh ducats, which laſt ſumme amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thouſand ducats: ouer and beſides the treaſure in the ſayd ſhip which was vncuſtomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) conſiſting of pearles, precious ſtones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

With all this purchaſe he ſayled toward Nueua Eſpanna; and at an Iſland lying before that coaſt called The Iſland of Cano hee diſcharged all things out of his ſhippe and graued her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, where hee tooke certaine ſhips laden with ſpices, ſilkes, and veluets, but no golde nor ſiluer, for there was none to bee had on this coaſt. And here at Guatulco he ſet on ſhore his Portugal-pilot, which he tooke at one of the Iſlands of Cape Verde. But what courſe he kept from this coaſt till he came into England I know not of certainety, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall.

The Iſland of Cano.

The foreſayd three ſhips which were ſent in purſuit of captaine Drake, returned backe againe to Lima without doing of ought. All which notwithſtanding, the Viceroy of Peru determined to ſend two ſhips to the Streights of Magellan, either to meete with captaine Drake there, or elſe to ſee if they could fortifie the ſayd Streights againſt ſuch ſhips as might afterward attempt to paſſe through the ſame. And albeit this was thought a moſt dangerous voyage, and impoſſible to be performed, by reaſon of the ſholds on that ſide of the Streights, yet ſent he forth the two ſaid ſhips. The Admirall being a ſhip of an hundreth tunnes, and the other of eighty tunnes, & hauing one hundreth and twenty men in them both, ſayled from Lima vnder the conduct of Pedro Sarmiento, who was then accompted the beſt nauigator in all Peru. Theſe ſhips after their departure touching on the coaſt to take in victuals, were nine moneths before they came to the latitude of the Streights, and there were they encountred with a cruel ſtorme: but Pedro Sarmiento being a man of good courage, bare in with the land in this ſtorme, & in a night hee was put into the ſtreits, not knowing how nor which way; and the other ſhip running farther into the ſea, ſayled to 58 degrees of Southerly latitude. The ſtorme being paſt, this other ſhippe found many Iſlands neere vnto the main land, and ſo returned with faire weather all along the ſhore, neither could they find any other way to enter the Streights, but onely that which Magellan diſcouered: notwithſtanding that others affirme the contrary, ſaying that the Streights be full of Iſlands to the Southwards: but they may be deceiued, for if there be any other Streight, it is beyond 58 degrees, and hath neuer bene ſeene of any man: for this ſhip was fartheſt to the Southwards of all that euer I heard of: for Francis Drake being driuen by tempeſt no farther then 57 degrees could not know ſo much as this other; which ſhip from hence returned backe to Lima. But Pedro Sarmiento entred the Streights, where his men falling into a mutinie would haue returned to Lima;

Pedro Sarmiento ſent from Lima to the Streits of Magellan.

58 degrees of Southerly latitude diſcouered.

Many Iſlands diſcouered to the South of the Streights.

Pedro Sarmiento perſwadeth ÿ king of Spaine to fortifie the Streights of Magellan.

whereupon hanging one of them he proceeded on his voyage for Spaine. Where being arriued, he told the king that there were two narrow places in the Streights where he might build a forte, and that there was a very good countrey abounding with great ſtore of riches and other neceſſaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Upon whoſe wordes, and for that there were more ſhips making ready in England to paſſe the ſayd Streights, the king ſent Diego Flores de Valdez with 23 ſhips and 3500 men, and a new gouernour to Chili with fiue hundred old ſouldiers newly come out of Flanders. Theſe ſhips had the hardeſt hap of any that euer went out of Spaine ſince the Indias were firſt diſcouered: for that before they could get cleere of the coaſt of Spaine, a ſtorme tooke them, and caſt away fiue of them, and aboue eight hundred men, and the reſidue of the fleete put into Cadiz. Notwithſtanding which hard ſucceſſe, the king ſent them word that they ſhould proceede: and ſo they did with ſixteene ſailes only, for two other of their ſhips were ſo ſhaken with the ſtorme, that they could not goe foorth. In theſe ſixteene ſaile of ſhips Pedro Sarmiento was ſent to be gouernour in the ſtreights: he caried with him all kind of artificers, to build forts, and other neceſſaries, with great ſtore of Ordinance and munition. This fleete becauſe it ſet late foorth, wintered on the coaſt of Braſil in the riuer of Ienero. Winter being paſt, they ſet ſayle from hence, and about the height of 42 degrees they had ſuch a ſtorme, that Diego Flores was faine to beate it vp and downe about 22 dayes; in which ſtorme was ſunke one of his beſt ſhips, and in her three hundred men and twenty women that went to inhabite the ſtreights, and moſt part of the munition that ſhould haue bene left in the ſtreights were all caſt away. In the ende the ſtorme grew ſo intollerable, that the ſhips not being able to endure it any longer were conſtrained to put backe againe vnto an Iſland called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were certaine friers going for the riuer of Plate, which friers told him of two great Engliſh ſhips and a pinneſſe that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely aſked them for the king of Spaines ſhips. Now Diego Flores ſuppoſing that theſe Engliſh ſhips would go to the ſtreights, was himſelfe determined to go to the ſtreights alſo, though it was in the moneth of February: and choosing tenne ſhippes of the fifteene that were left, he ſent three of the reſidue that were old and ſhaken with the ſtorme (wherein he put all the women and ſicke men that were in the fleete) backe againe to the riuer of Ienero; leauing the other two ſhippes, which were not able to brooke the ſea, at the foreſayd Iſland; and ſo himſelfe with the ſayd ten ſhips returned againe for the ſtreights.

Two Engliſh ſhips vnder the conduct of M. Fenton and M. Luke Ward.

Now the three ſhips wherein the ſicke men and the women were embarked, came to the port of Sant Vincent: where finding the two foreſayd Engliſh ſhips, and vrging them to auoide the harbour, the Engliſh entred combat with them: and by reaſon that theſe three ſhips were weakened with former tempeſts, and were manned with the refuſe of all the Spaniſh fleete, the Engliſhmen eaſily put them to the worſt, and ſunke one of them, and might alſo haue ſunke another, if they had bene ſo minded; but they deſired not the deſtruction of any man: and doubtleſſe it is the greateſt valour that any man can ſhew, that when hee may doe hurte, he will not. Hereupon the Engliſhmen departed from this porte vnto Eſpirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandize: and ſo they returned home to England without doing any harme in the countrey. The cauſe why theſe Engliſh captaines went not to the ſtreights I know not: ſome ſay, that they were put backe by foule weather, others ſuppoſe that it was for feare of the kings ſhips: but the pinneſſe that belonged to theſe ſhippes wherein Iohn Drake went as captaine, departed from them: the cauſe why hee did ſo, is vnknowen: but this pinneſſe entred the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leaguas of Seale-iſland, not farre from the place where the Erle of Cumberlands ſhips tooke in freſh water, it was caſt away vpon a ledge of rockes; but the men were all ſaued in the boate. Who being eighteene in number went on ſhore vpon the Northſide of the Iſland, and paſſing tenne dayes iourney vp into the lande, they met with certaine Saluage people, which are no man-eaters, but take all the Chriſtians that they can get, and make them their ſlaues: howbeit the Engliſhmen fought with them, and being too fewe in number, fiue of them were ſlaine, and the other thirteene taken priſoners, who remained with the Saluages about fifteene moneths.

Eſpirito Santo.

Iohn Drake.

But the Maſter of the pinneſſe called Richard Faireweather, being loth any longer to indure that miſerie wherein hee was, and hauing knowledge of a towne of Chriſtians on the other ſide of the riuer, called on a night Iohn Drake, and another yoong man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa being very little, and hauing but two oares, and paſſed therewith on the other ſide of the riuer, which is full nine leagues broade; and being three dayes before they could get ouer, they were much pined for lacke of meate. But comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Chriſtians: and ſpying the footing of horſes, they followed it, and at laſt came to an houſe, neere vnto the which corne was ſowed. And there they met with Indians that were ſeruants to the Spaniards, who gaue them foode, and clothes to couer them withall, for they were all naked. And one of the ſayd Indians went to the towne, and caried newes of the Engliſhmen: whereupon the captaine of the towne ſent out foure horſemen, which brought them to the towne behinde them, and the ſayd captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake ſate at the captaines owne table, and hee intreated them all very well, thinking to ſend them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes ſent for them, and they ſent him Iohn Drake; but the other two they kept, becauſe they were maried in the countrey. Thus much concerning their affaires. Vpon theſe newes alſo there were prepared fifty horſemen to goe ouer the riuer, both to ſeeke the reſt of the Engliſhmen, and certaine Spaniardes which were amongſt thoſe Saluage people; but I am not aſſured whether they went forward or no.

Nowe let vs returne to Diego Flores: who paſſing from the Iſland of Santa Catelina towards the ſtreights of Magellan in the middle of February, and comming to the height of the riuer of Plate, ſent the gouernour of Chili with three ſhips vp the riuer to Buenos Ayres, that hee might from thence paſſe ouerland to Chili. Of theſe three ſhips two were loſt, but the men and prouiſions were ſaued; and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other ſeuen ſhips proceeded on to the latitude of 52. degrees, whereas the mouth of the Streights beginneth: but becauſe it was the ende of March, which there is the latter ende of ſummer, the countrey was ſo full of ſnow, and withall there aroſe ſuch a ſudden ſtorme, that he could not ſet Sarmiento and his men on ſhore, but was conſtrained the ſecond time to returne vnto the riuer of Ienero vpon the coaſt of Braſil; where he heard newes of the Engliſh ſhips by the two Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped from them. Vpon which newes he left his lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the ſtreights. And ſo Diego Flores himſelfe with foure ſhips which were yet remaining vnto him, and other foure which the king ſent to ſuccour him, ſet forth to ſeeke the Engliſhmen; but hauing runne along all the coaſt of Braſil hee could not finde them, becauſe they were gone directly for England. Whereupon ſhaping his courſe vnto a port called Paraiua, and finding there fiue French ſhips, he burnt three and tooke two, and the fort alſo which the Frenchmen had built, and put Spaniardes therein, but the Frenchmen fledde into the mountaines to the Saluages. This done hee returned for Spaine.

The gouernour of Chili paſſeth thither by the riuer of Plate.

Foure ſhips more ſent to Diego Flores.

Fiue French ſhips taken at Paraiua.

In the meane ſeaſon his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento had the next yeere ſo good fortune, that they arriued ſafely in the ſtreights with all their ſhips, and ſet on ſhore foure hundreth men: but becauſe the ſhips boate could not land, being once laden, they ran that ſhip, which had all the victuals and munition in her, on ſhore in a bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her. This being done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundreth men, thirtie women, and a ſhip, with victuals for eight moneths: and with the other three ſhippes hee returned, hauing remained in the Streights but eight dayes. Nowe Pedro Sarmiento built a towne at the mouth of the Streights on the North ſide, placing therein an hundreth and fiftie men: and from thence he went by land, and ſent the ſhip further into the ſtreights, and fiftie leagues within the Streights, at the narroweſt place of all, where there is a very good porte, hee built another towne, which he named The towne of king Philip; and would alſo haue made a forte, and planted Ordinance for the defence of the Streights: but the ſnowe and Winter was ſo intollerable, that hee could not bring it to perfection. Whereupon taking about 25 mariners with him into the foreſayd ſhip, hee ſayd hee would goe ſee howe his other people did, and ſo hee ſayled to the Streights mouth, vnto the towne which was firſt built; where hauing continued a day or two, he ſayd that a ſtorme put him from the Streights by force and brake his cables; but his men affirmed the contrary, that himſelfe cut his cables (God knoweth the trueth) and ſo he paſſed to the riuer of Ienero; and not finding there any ſuccour come from the king, he ſayled to Fernambuck, crauing ayde of the captaine to furniſh him with victuals. And ſo the captaine preſently fraighted his ſhip with victuals and clothes for his people left in the Streights, and ſo ſailed thitherward. But betweeen Cape S. Auguſtin and Baya the wind came off the ſea with ſuch violence, that it forced the ſhip to run on ſhore; where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the reſt hardly eſcaped: and ſo this ſhip was loſt with all the prouiſion in her.

Pedro Sarmiento left in ẏ ſtreits of Magellan with 400 men & 30 women.

Nombre de Ieſus builded.

Ciudad del rey Philippe builded.

From thence hee paſſed by land to Baya where the gouernour of Braſil bought him a barke that lay in the harbour, lading the ſame with victuals and clothes for Sarmientos colonie. With this prouiſion and diuers other neceſſaries for his people hee tooke his voyage for the Streights, and comming to the height of foure and forty degrees, hee met on the ſudden with ſuch a furious ſtorme, that he was forced to throw his fraight ouerboord, and alſo to returne to the riuer of Ienero. Where ſtaying a whole yeere for ſuccour from the king, there came not ſo much as a letter from him. For the king was ſore diſpleaſed at Pedro Sarmiento, becauſe hee made him beleeue that the narroweſt place of the Streights was but a mile ouer: and that it might bee fortified ſo that a boate could not paſſe: whereas Diego de Ribera, and others certified the king, that it was about a league broade, and that if a ſhip came with winde and current, all the Ordinance in the world could not hurte it. Wherefore the king thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceiued him, in making him to loſe ſo many men, and ſo much charges to no effect. And the gouernour of Baya ſeeing that the king wrote not vnto him, would giue him no more ſuccour: ſo that Sarmiento was conſtrained to make a voyage for Spaine in the ſame ſhippe, wherein hee laſt ſayled toward the Streights: and it is ſayd that hee was taken in the way by Engliſhmen, and caried into England. This Sarmiento hath caried the name to be the beſt Nauigator in all Spaine, and that hee hath ſayled the furtheſt of all others. After all this the captaine of the riuer of Ienero ſent a ſmal ſhip with victuals for the Streightes, which was put backe alſo in fortie degrees. And this is all the diſcouery of the Streights of Magellan, made as well by Spaniards as other nations vnto this preſent yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres ſince theſe poore and miſerable Spaniards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no ſuccour gone vnto them, ſo God he knoweth whether they be dead or aliue.

Pedro Sarmiento was taken by ſir Walter Raleghs barkes 1586.

Maſter Candiſh found but 22 men liuing of them.

Thus according to my promiſe I haue declared vnto you to the vttermoſt of my knowledge, all things concerning the Indias, as farre as the very Streights of Magellan; thinking to haue proceeded along the coaſt, as at the firſt; but that the doings of captaine Drake and other captaines which attempted to paſſe the ſayd Streights haue cauſed mee to bee the longer in this my pretended worke. Howbeit now let vs proceede on forward from the Streights to the coaſt of Chili: the diſtance betweene which two places no man hath trauelled by land, in regard of the huge mountaines couered with ſnow that lie in the way: yea I may well ſay, that it hath not often bene trauelled by ſea; for that all the ſhips which haue paſſed that way haue at the leaſt gone thirty leagues off the ſhore, to auoide the ſholds and meny little Iſlands that lie neere the maine land; and therefore the inland of that coaſt remaineth as yet vnknowen.

Caſtro vpon the coaſt of Chili.

The firſt towne after you haue paſſed the Streights ſtandeth on the coaſt of Chili, and is called Caſtro, being ſituate vpon the worſt place of all the coaſt, for there is but ſmall ſtore of golde with ſcarcitie of victuals, and a ſharpe colde ayre. The harbour belonging to this towne is compaſſed about with ſo many ſholdes, that it will ſerue but to receiue ſmall barkes onely. The next towne to this is Baldiuia.

Baldiuia.

A deſcription of the prouince Chili.

But before I paſſe any farther I will heere deſcribe vnto you the ſituation and quality of Chili. This countrey ſtretcheth in length from North to South aboue two hundreth leagues, conteining in breadth but fiue and twenty leagues at the moſt.

Riuers rich of golde.

From the great ridge of mountaines lying to the Eaſt of Chili runne very many riuers into the ſea, which riuers are the cauſe of diuers valleys the fruitfulleſt in all the worlde, where bread, wine, and other victuals mightily abound: and the ſayd riuers alſo are very rich of gold. But to declare in fewe wordes the excellencie of this prouince, I ſay that it might well bee called an earthly paradiſe, ſaue that it lacketh one onely commodity, and that is peace. It was firſt diſcouered on this maner: the Spaniards hauing conquered the kingdome of Peru, (as I will hereafter ſhewe vnto you) found in the ſayd kingdome great ſtore of golde; and aſking the Indians from whence it came, they anſwered, from Chili. Vpon which newes Don Diego de Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three hundreth horſemen toward Chili, being conſtrained in his way to goe ouer part of the ſnowy mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himſelfe and all his companie might die for colde. Howbeit the Spaniards, though they loſt ſome of their horſes, came to the firſt towne of Chili called Copiapo being ſituate vpon the firſt plaine at the entrance of the ſayd prouince. But hauing newes that the Indians were riſen againſt the Spaniards of Peru and had incloſed them, hee returned backe without going any farther.

Copiapo the next towne of Chili vnto Peru.

Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being ſlaine in the warres of Peru, another called Don Pedro de Baldiuia marching into Chili with foure hundreth horſes, eaſily conquered that halfe of the countrey which was ſubiect to the kings of Peru. For knowing that Peru, being the chiefe countrey of their Emperour, was ouercome by the Spaniards, they alſo immediately yeelded their lande vnto them. But the other halfe as it was the richeſt and the fruitfulleſt part, ſo God had peopled it with the moſt valiant and furious people in all America.

El eſtado de Arauco.

The prouince which they inhabite called El Eſtado de Arauco is but a ſmall prouince about 20 leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the countrey, out of which tenne they chuſe the valianteſt man for their generall in the warres. The kings of Peru in times paſt could neuer conquere this part of Chili, nor yet any other kings of the Indians. The weapons vſed by theſe people of Arauco are long pikes, halbards, bowes and arrowes: they alſo make them iacks of ſeale-ſkinnes, and head-pieces: in times paſt the heads of their halbards and pikes were of braſſe, but now they haue gotten ſtore of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Chriſtians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marſhall their troupes with diſcretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming vnto this prouince ſent word vnto them by other Indians, ſaying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeelde themſelues vnto them; if not, they would ſhoot fire among them and burne them. Theſe people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but deſiring to ſee that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a moſt cruell battell: but by reaſon of the Spaniards great ordinance and caliuers, they were in the end put to flight. Now theſe Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, becauſe of their great ordinance which made ſuch a noiſe, and breathed out ſuch flames of fire, yeelded themſelues vnto them. So the Spaniards hauing diuided this prouince made the Indians to ſerue their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enioyed in ſuch abundance, that hee which had leaſt had 20000 pezos, but Captaine Baldiuia himſelfe had 300000 pezos by the yeere. The fame of theſe riches in the end was ſpred as farre as Spaine; from whence ſoone after reſorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldiuia cauſed to inhabite ſixe townes: to wit, Villa nueua de la Serena called in the Indian tongue Coquimbo; the ſecond Sant Iago which the Indians call Mapocha; the third La Concepcion called by the Indians Penco; the fourth La Imperial; the fift Baldiuia; and the ſixt La Villa Rica. Alſo he built a fort in the middle of all the land, wherein hee put ordinance and ſouldiers: howbeit all this their good ſucceſſe continued not long: for the Indians in ſhort time perceiuing that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell againſt them: wherefore the firſt thing that they did, they carried graſſe into the ſaid fort for the Spaniards horſes, and wood alſo for them to burne, among which graſſe the Indians conueyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the fort, betooke themſelues to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and ſtood in the gate of the ſayd fort: from whence making a ſigne vnto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and ſlewe all the Spaniards. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to the towne of Concepcion where Captaine Baldiuia was, hee preſently ſet foorth with two hundred horſemen to ſeeke the Indians, taking no more men with him, becauſe he was in haſte. And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpoſe alſo to ſeeke him, and compaſſing him about, ſlew moſt part of his company, the reſt eſcaping by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes: but Baldiuia hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him was taken aliue. Whom the Indians wiſhed to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cauſe (ſaid they) why we haue taken you, is to giue you gold ynough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the laſt ſeruice of all was a cuppe full of melted gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, ſaying, Now glut thy ſelfe with gold, and ſo they killed him. This Baldiuia was a moſt valiant man, who had beene an olde ſouldier in the warres of Italy, and at the ſacking of Rome.

El eſtado de Arauco.

Villa nueua de la Serena, La Concepcion, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldiuia, La Villa rica the firſt ſixe townes that were inhabited in Chili.

A ſtratageme of the Indians of Chili againſt the Spaniards.

The death of Baldiuia.

Upon this diſcomfiture the Spaniards chooſe for their Captaine one Pedro de Villa grande; who aſſembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him tenne peeces of ordinance, marched againſt thoſe Indians; but with ſo badde ſucceſſe, that he loſt not onely the field and many of his men, but alſo thoſe ten peeces of ordinance which hee brought. The Indians hauing thus gotten the victorie, went ſtreightway againſt the towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the towne deſolate. And in this maner were the Spaniards chaſed by the Indians out of the countrey of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marques of Cannete viceroy of Peru, hee ſent his ſonne Don Garcia de Mendoça againſt thoſe Indians, with a great power of horſemen, and footmen, and ſtore of Artillerie. This nobleman hauing ſubdued Chili againe, & ſlaine in diuers battels aboue 40000 Indians, and brought them the ſecond time vnder the Spaniards ſubiection, newly erected the ſaid fort that ſtoode in the midſt of the land, inhabited the towne of Concepcion againe, and built other townes for the Spaniards: and ſo leauing the land in peace, hee returned for Peru. But yet hee was cleane departed out of the land the Indians rebelled againe, but could not doe ſo much miſchiefe as they did before, becauſe the Spaniards tooke better heede vnto them. From that time vntill this preſent there hath

Pedro de villa grande.

Don Garcia de Mendoza.

bene no peace at all: for notwithſtanding many Captaines and ſouldiers haue done their vttermoſt, yet can they not bring that people wholly in ſubiection. And although the Spaniards haue in this prouince eleuen townes and two biſhopricks, yet haue they little ynough to maintaine themſelues, by reaſon of the warres; for they ſpend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their ſouldiers: which would not bee ſo, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines.

Eleuẽ townes, and two biſhopricks in Chili.

A deſcription of the townes of Chili. Baldiuia.

Thus hauing ſpoken ſomewhat of the ſituation of Chili, and of the troubleſome conqueſt thereof, I will returne to my former diſcourſe where I left. Baldiuia therefore being of 150 houſes hath twiſe bene burnt and ſpoyled by the Indians; ſo that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians ſacked it, it was very rich: and it ſtandeth vp a riuer foure leagues from the ſea. Paſſing from hence you come to the plaine countrey of Arauco being ſituate ouer againſt the Iſland La Mocha, on which Iſland the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine land.

The prouince of Arauco ouer againſt the Iſland La Mocha ſituate in 38 deg. and a halfe.

La Concepcion.

Hauing paſſed this plaine of Arauco, the next towne of the Spaniards that you come vnto is La Concepcion which hath beene the greateſt and the richeſt towne in all Chili; but by reaſon that the Indians haue burned the ſame foure times, it is now growen very poore, and hath ſmall ſtore of people: it contayneth about ſome two hundred houſes. And becauſe it adioyneth vpon the plaine of Arauco, where theſe valiant Indians bee, therefore this towne is enuironed about with a ſtrong wall, and hath a fort built hard by it: and here are 500 ſouldiers continually in garriſon. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the coaſt by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it ſelfe ſtanding 25 leagues vp into the countrey, is the principall towne of all Chili, and the ſeate of the gouernour; it conſiſteth of about 800 houſes. The port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by ſhipping, hath about twentie houſes ſtanding by it. The next towne neere the ſea ſide beyond this is Coquimbo, which ſtandeth two leagues vp into the land, and containeth about 200 houſes. Next vnto Coquimbo ſtandeth a port-towne called Copiapo inhabited altogether by Indians which ſerue the Spaniards: and here a gentleman which is gouernour of the towne hath an Ingenio for ſugar: at this place endeth the whole prouince of Chili. Here alſo the mountaines ioyning hard vpon the ſea are the cauſe why all the land betweene Copiapo and Peru, containing 160 leagues, lyeth deſolate.

Valparizo which is the port of S. Iago ſtandeth in 33. deg. 40 min.

Coquimbo ſtandeth in 29. deg. 30. min. Copiapo.

A deſcription of Peru.

The firſt towne on the coaſt of Peru called Atacama is inhabited by Indians which are ſlaues vnto the Spaniards. But before I paſſe any farther I will here alſo declare vnto you the firſt diſcouerie of Peru with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the ſea-coaſt againe: and to the ende you may vnderſtand mee the better, I will begin with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North ſide of this maine land, paſſing ouer the mountaines they diſcouered the South ſea: where becauſe they found Indian people with gold and pearles, they built a towne eighteene leagues to the Weſt of Nombre de Dios hard vpon the ſea-ſide, and called it Panama. From hence they diſcouered along the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna: and for that Nueua Eſpanna was at the ſame time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by ſea to the coaſt of Peru they could not trade in a long time, becauſe of the Southerly winds blowing on this coaſt almoſt all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to ſhippes ſayling that way: and by land the paſſage was impoſſible, in regard of mountaines and riuers: yea it was fifteene yeeres before they paſſed the Iſland of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Franciſco Piçarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. Theſe men got a company vnto them, and prouided two Carauels to diſcouer the coaſt of Peru: and hauing obtained licence of the gouernour of that place, Franciſco Piçarro ſet foorth with the two foreſayd Carauels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro ſtayed in Panama to ſend him victuals and other neceſſaries. Now Franciſco Piçarro ſayling along the coaſt met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble; and he began alſo after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was ſailing of that in eight moneths which they now paſſe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right courſe hee ranne into euery riuer and bay that hee ſaw along the coaſt; which was the chiefe cauſe that hee ſtayed ſo long on his voyage: alſo thirtie of his company dyed by reaſon of the vnhealthfulneſſe of the coaſt. At laſt hee came to an Iſland called by him Iſla del Gallo, being ſituate from the maine land ſixe leagues. From hence he ſent one of his ſhips to Panama for a new ſupply of victuals & of men: which ſhip being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and paſſed vp into the countrey, meaning to returne by land to Panama, but in the way they all periſhed, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that Franciſco Piçarro was left vpon the ſaid Iſland onely with thirteene men: who although he had his ſhip there in which he might haue

Iſla del Gallo.

returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men alſo were of his opinion, notwithſtanding that they had no other victuals, but ſuch as they had from the maine land in the night ſeaſon. Thus he continued nine moneths, before any ſuccour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ſhip returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee proſecuted his voyage till he came to the firſt plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbez, where he found a fort made by the king of Peru againſt the Indians of the mountaines. Wherefore Piçarro and his men were very glad in that they had found a people of ſo good vnderſtanding and diſcretion, being rich alſo in gold and ſiluer and well apparelled. At this port of Tumbez hee tooke 30000 pezos of gold in trucke of marchandize: and hauing too few men to proceede any further hee carried two Indians with him to learne the language and returned backe for Panama. Vpon this diſcouery Franciſco Piçarro thought it expedient to trauell into Spaine to craue of the king the conqueſt of this land. Whither being come, the king granted his requeſt. And with the money which he carried ouer with him he hired a great number of men with a fleete of ſhips, and brought alſo along with him foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama he ſtraightway went on his voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his partner Diego de Almagro. They ſailed firſt to the Iſland called Iſla del Gallo; where Franciſco Piçarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ſhips. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horſemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeces.

Tumbez.

But before we proceede any farther, we thinke it not amiſſe to deſcribe vnto you the ſituation of Peru, and the naturall diſpoſition of the inhabitants: This countrey was called Peru by the Spaniards, of a riuer ſo named by the Indians, where they firſt came to the ſight of gold. From which riuer ſtanding vnder the line, till you come to Copiapo the firſt towne on the coaſt of Chili, ſtretcheth the land of Peru, for the ſpace of eight hundred leagues: vpon ſixe hundred whereof from Atacama to Tumbez did neuer drop of raine fall, ſince the flood of Noah: and yet is it the fruitfulleſt land for all kind of victuals and other neceſſaries for the ſuſtentation of mans life that is to be found in all the world beſides. The reaſon why it raineth not in this land is becauſe it beeing a plaine countrey and very narrow and low, ſituate betweene the Equinoctiall and the tropique of Capricorne, there runneth on the Weſt frontier not aboue twentie leagues from the ſea called Mar del Sur Eaſtward thereof, a mighty ridge of high mountaines couered with ſnow, the height of which mountaines ſo draweth the moiſture of the cloudes vnto it ſelfe, that no raine falleth vpon the vallies of Peru. From theſe mountaines iſſue great ſtore of riuers into the South ſea, with the waters whereof drawen by certaine ſluces and chanels they moiſten their vineyardes and corne-fields, and by this meanes the land is ſo exceeding fruitfull. Betweene theſe mountaines and the mountaines of Chili that ſtretch vnto the Streits of Magellan, lyeth a plaine of 60 leagues ouer, being ſo cold that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good ſtore of other victuals. This countrey of Peru is full of people well apparelled and of ciuill behauiour. It hath many mines of gold and more of ſiluer, as alſo great ſtore of copper, and tinne-mines, with abundance of ſaltpeter, and of brimſtone to make gun-pouder. There are likewiſe cattell of all ſorts, among which there is a beaſt in ſhape ſomewhat reſembling a camel, but no bigger then a ſteere of a yeere olde; they ſerue to carry burthens, their fleſh being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purpoſes. This beaſt is accounted the moſt profitable of al others for the vſe of man: howbeit the Spaniards ſince their firſt comming haue replenished this countrey with horſes, kine, ſheepe, and goates, and likewiſe with plentie of wheat. So that in fewe words this land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfulleſt place in the world. There were in times paſt kings of this land which were mightie Monarchs, whoſe dominions ſtretched 1200. leagues, and their lawes were very ciuill, ſaue that they were worſhippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards firſt entred this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which ſtroue who ſhould haue the kingdome, the one called Guaſcar, and the other Atabalipa. Nowe Guaſcar had poſſeſſion of all the mountaines and the lands within them: and Atabalipa was lord of all the ſea coaſt, and of the valleys ſituate betweene the ſaid mountaines and the ſea. The Indians ſeeing the Spaniards at the firſt arriue vpon their ſhore called them Vera coche, which in their language ſignifieth, The fome of the ſea. Alſo Atabalipa the Indian prince ſent vnto them to know what they did in his land, and what they ſought for: the Spaniards made anſwere that they were the meſſengers of a great lord, and that they came to ſpeake with the prince himſelfe: who ſent them word that they ſhould come with a very good will; and ſo Atabalipa ſtayed for them at a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues diſtant from the ſea ſide. Whither being come, they found the Indian prince ſitting in a chariot of gold, carried vpon mens ſhoulders,

The riuer of Peru.

The cauſe why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, ſiluer, copper, tinne, ſalt-peter and brimſtone.

The ſheepe of Peru called Llamas.

Atabalipa and Guaſcar two brethren competitours for the empire of Peru.

and accompanied with aboue 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were ſent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that land) to conuert them vnto the Chriſtian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa anſwered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, becauſe he was ſo great a Monarch, but in no caſe with the Pope, becauſe he gaue to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards diſcharging their two field-peeces, and their caliuers, ſet vpon the Indians, crying Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noiſe of the ordinance and ſmall ſhot, and ſeeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had bene come downe from heauen vpon them; whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a booty for the Spaniards. Whom they at the firſt intreated very gently, wiſhing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to ſeeke for golde and ſiluer. During the time of Altabalipas impriſonment, his Captaines had ſlaine his brother Guaſcar, and had ſubdued all the mountaines and plaine countreys. Vpon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would releaſe him, hee would giue them all that they ſhould demaund. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a ſouldier named Soto ſayd vnto Atabalipa; what wilt thou giue vs to ſet thee free? The prince anſwered, I will giue whatſoeuer you will demand. Whereunto the ſouldier replied, thou ſhalt giue vs this houſe full of gold and ſiluer thus high, lifting vp his ſword, and making a ſtroke vpon the wall. And Atabalipa ſayde, that if they would grant him reſpite to ſend into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marueiling, gaue him three moneths time, but he had filled the houſe in two moneths and an halfe, a matter ſcarce credible, yet moſt true: for I know aboue twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was aboue tenne millions of gold and ſiluer. Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they ſhould become lords of the whole land, and ſo the Spaniards on a night ſtrangled him. But God the righteous iudge ſeeing this villanous act, ſuffered none of thoſe Spaniards to dye by the courſe of nature, but brought them to euill and ſhamefull ends.

Vpon the newes of theſe great riches there came ſtore of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this countrey. The king in recompence of the good ſeruices of the two foreſayd partners, appoynted Diego de Almagro gouernour of halfe the land, and Franciſco Piçarro of the other halfe, whom alſo hee made a Marques. But theſe two conſorts in parting of a land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and ſharpe warre betweene themſelues: and at length Piçarro hauing ſlaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this proſperitie of Piçarro continued not long: for a baſtard-ſonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, ſlew Piçarro, for which acte he loſt his head. In this controuerſie betweene theſe two partners were ſlaine alſo two brothers of Piçarro, and the third was carried priſoner into Spaine and there dyed in priſon: but the fourth called Gonſaluo Piçarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquiſhing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and poſſeſſing the countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit being in the ende ouercome hee loſt his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an euill death that were cauſes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raiſed oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The Indian people of this land are parted among the Spaniards, ſome being ſlaues vnto the gentlemen that conquered their land, other ſome to others, and the reſidue to the king: and theſe Indians pay eche man for his tribute ſeuen pezos of fine golde, which is about tenne ducats and a halfe. There are in this countrey aboue fortie cities and townes inhabited by the Spaniards: alſo they haue here erected nine biſhopricks and one archbiſhopricke.

Nine biſhopricks, and one archbiſhoprick in Peru.

Now after this countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being deſirous to diſcouer the land on the other ſide of the ſnowy mountaines, found a very wholeſome countrey and there inhabited. The ſayd prouince ſituate behinde the mountaines is called The prouince of Tucuman, wherein are fiue townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the laſt of them called Cordoua, from which towne vnto Santa Fee ſituate vpon the riuer of Plate it is ſeuentie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to ſeeke a way to Peru by the riuer of Plate. And from hence downe the ſayde riuer to Buenos Ayres are 120 leagues; and from Buenos Ayres vnto Seal-iſland you haue 40 leagues.

The prouince of Tucuman.
Cordoua.

Now hauing put downe all that I know concerning the countrey of Peru, and of the way from the riuer of Plate vnto Tucuman, I will returne vnto Atacama the Southermoſt towne vpon the coaſt of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coaſt is inhabited by Indians ſubiect vnto the Spaniards. But ſince Captaine Drake was here

Atacama.

they haue built towers by the ſea ſide, whereon, ſeeing any ſaile that they doe miſtruſt, they preſently make ſmokes, and ſo from tower to tower they warne all the countrey. Hauing before ſpoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceed to the next port called Camana being a towne of Spaniards and containing about two hundred houſes. Here they make ſtore of wine, and haue abundance of figges and reiſins. The next towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houſes, and here is made the beſt and greateſt ſtore of wine in all Peru. From hence paſſing along the coaſt you come to El Calao the port of Lima conſiſting of about two hundred houſes: and here was a ſtrong fort built ſince Captaine Drake was vpon the coaſt. The citie of Lima ſtanding two leagues within the land, and containing two thouſand houſes, is very rich, and of more trade then all the cities of Peru beſides: and this citie is the ſeat of the viceroy, the archbiſhop, and the inquiſition.

Camana.
Acari.
El Calao.
Lima.

Next vnto this ſtandeth a ſmall towne of the Spaniards by the ſea ſide called Santa: and next vnto Santa is another ſmall towne of Chriſtians called Cannete. From hence they ſaile vnto a rich citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about fiue hundred houſes. Then followeth Paita which hath to the number of two hundred houſes. Leauing this towne they paſſe to Guaiaquil which ſtandeth fortie leagues vp into a great bay or riuer, at the entrance of which riuer ſtandeth Tumbez a towne of the Indians. All this coaſt along from Atacama to Tumbez it neuer raineth, as I haue before ſaid: ſo that all the houſes in their townes are not tyled, but couered with bourdes to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the firſt place where it raineth, and here they gather Salſaperilla. Here is is alſo great ſtore of timber, and at this place they build many ſhippes. Hence they ſayle along the coaſt to a ſmall and poore towne called Puerto Viejo, which in times paſt hath bene rich with emralds: but now ſince theſe ſtones in regard of their plenty are growen nothing worth, this towne likewiſe is waxen very poore. Below this village ſtandeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whoſoeuer go thither muſt needs meet with euill fortune, the place it ſelfe is ſo wateriſh and vnholeſome. Here abide not aboue 20 men, who ſerue onely to tranſport goods vnto a citie ſtanding fiftie leagues within the maine, in a prouince called La gouernacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reaſon of the high mountaines, the manifold riuers, and the vnholeſomeneſſe of the countrey. In this place doe inhabite the Negros that runne from their maſters, and vpon theſe mountaines was Oxnam the Engliſh Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond theſe mountaines ſtandeth the citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reaſon that all the treaſure which commeth from Peru is brought thither, and it conſiſteth of about foure hundred houſes. The coaſt running along betweene this city and Nueua Eſpanna is called Coſta rica.

Santa.
Cannete.
Truxillo.
Paita.
Guaiaquil.
Tumbez.
Salſaperilla.
Ships built at Guaiaquil.
Puerto Viejo a place where Emralds abound.
La Buena ventura.
La gouernacion de Popaian.
Negros fled from their maſters.
Panama.
Coſta rica.

Next vnto Coſta rica, which is a mountainous and deſolate place, lieth the coaſt of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and hauing many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of marchandize; but hauing no knowledge of the ſituation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake any more of it.

The prouince of Nicaragua.

A certaine viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna called Don Luis de Velaſco cauſed certaine ſhips to be built for the diſcouery of the Malucos and of the coaſt of China: which ſhippes in ſayling thitherward found certaine Iſlands 80 leagues diſtant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and hauing conquered one of theſe Iſlands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they haue trade with the people of China. Vnto theſe Iſlands they haue foure great ſhips that vſually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: ſo that ſuch ſpices and ſilkes as the Portugals bring home out of the Eaſt Indies, the very ſame doe the Spaniards bring from theſe Iſlands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe citie of Nueua Eſpanna. The principall port-townes of the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco.

The diſcouery of the Philippinas.
The Iſle of Manilla.

All the viceroyes and gouernours that the king of Spaine ſendeth for Peru and Nueua Eſpanna haue a cuſtome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to ſeeke and diſcouer new countreys. But the greateſt and moſt notable diſcouerie that hath bene from thoſe parts now of late, was that of the Iſles of Salomon, which were found in maner following. The Licenciate Caſtro being gouernour of Peru ſent foorth a fleete of ſhippes to diſcouer certaine Iſlands in the South ſea vpon the coaſt of Peru, appointing as Generall of the ſame fleete a kinſman of his called Aluares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This fleete departing forth of the hauen of Lima, and ſayling 800 leagues Weſtward off

The diſcouery of the Iſles of Salomon.

Cloues, ginger, and ſinamon.

The Iſle of Guadalcanal.

the coaſt of Peru, found certaine Iſlands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinoctial inhabited with a kind of people of a yellowiſh complexion, and all naked, whoſe weapons are bowes and arrowes, and darts. The beaſts that they ſaw here were hogges and little dogges, and they found ſome hennes. Here alſo they found a muſter of cloues, ginger, and ſinamon, although the ſinamon were not of the beſt; and heere appeared vnto them likewiſe ſome ſhewe of golde. The firſt Iſland that the Spaniards diſcouered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a ſmall pinneſſe, with the which and with their ſhips boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude eleuen great Iſlands being one with another of 80 leagues in compaſſe. The greateſt Iſland that they diſcouered was according vnto the firſt finder called Guadalcanal, on the coaſt whereof they ſayled 150 leagues, before they could knowe whither it were an Iſland or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which ſtretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coaſted it to eighteene degrees and could not find the ende thereof. The gold that they found was vpon this Iſland or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding ſmall graines of golde hanged vp in the houſes thereof. But becauſe the Spaniards vnderſtood not the language of the countrey, and alſo for that the Indians were very ſtout men, and fought continually againſt them, they could neuer learne from whence that gold came, nor yet what ſtore was in the land.

A towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals vpon the Iſles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for gold, cloues, ginger, and ſinamon.

Why theſe Iſles were called The Iſles of Salomon.

Theſe Indians vſe to goe to ſea in great Canoas that will carrie 100 men a piece, wherein they haue many conflicts one againſt another: howbeit vnto the Chriſtians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a ſmall pinneſſe and two falcons a fewe may ouercome 100 of them. At this place fourteene men miſtruſting nothing, rowed to land, to take in freſh water, whome on the ſudden certaine Indians in foure Canoas ſet vpon, tooke the ſhips boat, and ſlewe all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on ſhore too ſtrong, nor yet be too wary in a ſtrange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on ſhore in their pinneſſe, and burnt the towne, and in this towne they found the ſmall graines of gold before mentioned. They were diſcouering of theſe Iſlands from one to another about fourteene moneths, at the ende of which time (becauſe that vpon the coaſt where they were, the wind continuing ſtill in one place, might bee an occaſion of longer tarying) they conſulted which way to returne. Southward they durſt not goe for feare of great tempeſts which are that way vſuall: wherefore ſayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna; on which coaſt they met with ſuch terrible ſtormes, that they were forced to cut their maine maſts ouer-bourd, and to lye nine moneths beating it vp and downe in the ſea, before they could get into any harborow of the Chriſtians. In which time by reaſon of euill gouernement, and for lacke of victuals and freſh water, moſt of the men in their Admirall dyed; for fiue whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other ſhips they behaued themſelues ſo well, that the greater part of them came ſafe vnto the land. He that paſſeth the Streights of Magellan, or ſaileth from the coaſt of Chili directly for the Malucos muſt needs runne in ſight of ſome of theſe Iſlands before ſpoken of. At which Iſlands lying ſo conueniently in the way to the Malucos you may furniſh your ſelfe with plenty of victuals, as hogges, hennes, excellent almonds, potatos, ſugar-canes, with diuers other ſortes fit for the ſuſtenance of man in great abundance. Alſo among theſe Iſlands you ſhall haue ſome quantity of gold, which the Indians will giue you in truck for other commodities. For the Spaniards in their diſcouery of theſe Iſlands not ſeeking nor being deſirous of gold, brought home notwithſtanding 40000 pezos with them, beſides great ſtore of cloues and ginger, and ſome ſinamon alſo which is not ſo good as in other places. The diſcouerer of theſe Iſlands named them the Iſles of Salomon, to the ende that the Spaniards ſuppoſing them to bee thoſe Iſles from whence Salomon fetched gold to adorne the temple at Ieruſalem, might bee the more deſirous to goe and inhabite the ſame. Now the ſame time when they thought to haue ſent colonies vnto theſe Iſlands, Captaine Drake entered the South ſea; whereupon commandement was giuen, that they ſhould not be inhabited, to the ende that ſuch Engliſhmen, and of other nations as paſſed the Streights of Magellan to goe to the Malucos might haue no ſuccour there, but ſuch as they got of the Indian people.

The

The admirable and proſperous Voyage of the worſhipfull Maſter *Thomas Candiſh* of *Trimley* in the Countie of *Suffolke* Eſquire, into the South ſea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finiſhed 1588. Written by Maſter *Francis Pretty* lately of *Ey* in *Suffolke*, a Gentleman employed in the ſame action.

WEe departed out of Plimmouth on Thurſday the 21. of July 1586. with 3. ſayles, to wit, The Deſire a ſhip of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tuns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which ſmall Fleete were 123. perſons of all ſortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals ſufficient for the ſpace of two yeeres, at the charges of the worſhipfull Maſter Thomas Candiſh of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Eſquire, beeing our Generall.

On Tueſday the 26. of the ſame moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terræ, where wee mette with 5. ſayles of Biſkaynes comming from the Grande Bay in Newfound-land, as we ſuppoſed, which our Admirall ſhot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reaſon the night grew on.

5. Great Biſkaine ſhips fought withal.

The firſt of Auguſt wee came in ſight of Forteuentura, one of the Iſles of the Canaries, about ten of the clocke in the morning.

Auguſt.

On Sunday being the 7. of Auguſt, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coaſt of Barbarie.

Rio del oro.

On Munday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco: but the winde blew ſo much at the North, that we could not get vp where the Canters doe vſe to ride and fiſh; therefore wee lay off 6. houres Weſt Southweſt, becauſe of the ſand which lieth off the cape Southweſt and by South.

Cape Blanco.

A dangerous ſand.

The 15. day of the ſame moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by eſtimation 50. leagues off the ſame.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare Eaſt off vs, beeing 45. leagues from vs: and the ſame day the winde ſhifted to the Northweſt, ſo that by the 20. day of the ſayd moneth we were in 6. degrees ½. to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line.

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the poynt on the South ſide of Sierra leona, which Maſter Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall: and we had no leſſe then 5. fathoms water when we had leaſt, and had for 14. leagues in Southweſt all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16, 14, 12, 10 and 8, fathoms of water.

Sierra leona.

The 26. of the ſaid moneth we put into the harborough, and in going in we had by the Southermoſt point when we had leaſt 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the ſaid point: and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the ſaid rocke, we neuer had leſſe then 10. fathoms, vntill wee came vp to the roade, which is about a league from the poynt, borrowing alwayes on the South ſide vntill you come vp to the watering place, in which Baye is the beſt roade: but you muſt ride farre into the Baye, becauſe there run marueilous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeaſt and by Eaſt moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues: which wee ranne from the 21. of July to the 26. of this moneth of Auguſt.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboord our Admiral from the ſhore, and made ſignes vnto our Generall that there was a Portugal ſhip vp within the harborough: ſo the Hugh Gallant beeing the Rere-admirall went vp 3 or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they ſought no farther: for the harborough runneth 3. or 4. leagues vp more, and is of a marueilous bredth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday the 28. the Generall ſent ſome of his company on ſhore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to haue heard ſome good newes of the Portugal ſhip, toward their comming aboord they eſpied a Portugal which lay hid among the buſhes, whom we tooke and brought away with vs the ſame night: and he tolde vs it was very dangerous going vp with our boates for to ſeeke the ſhip that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to ſeeke her, becauſe we knew he told vs the trueth: for we bound him and made him faſt, and ſo examined him. Alſo he told vs that his ſhip was there caſt away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros: the Portugals name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calker, belonging to the Port of Portugal.

A Portugal taken.

On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and

went

Poyſoned arrowes.
The deſcription of their towne.

went vp to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houſes, and tooke what ſpoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled: and in our retiring aboord in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they ſhot their arrowes at vs out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poyſoned, but yet none of our men miſcaryed at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is maruellous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane aſwell in their ſtreetes as in their houſes. Theſe Negros vſe good obedience to their king, as one of our men ſayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came firſt. There were in their towne by eſtimation about one hundred houſes.

September.
Many of our men hurt by Negros.
William Pickman dieth of a poyſoned arrow.
This poyſon is the iuyce of an hearbe.

The firſt of September there went many of our men on ſhore at the watering place, and did waſh ſhirts very quietly all the day: and the ſecond day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambuſh round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe ſome ſpeciall buſineſſe, eſpied them by good fortune. But the Negros ruſhed out vpon our men ſo ſuddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a ſouldier was ſhot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, becauſe he would not haue them lance his thigh: whereupon the poyſon wrought ſo that night, that hee was maruellouſly ſwollen, and all his belly and priuie parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyſon being plucked out of his thigh.

2. Buffes.

The third day of the ſayd moneth, diuers of our fleete went vp 4. myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great ſtore of fiſh, and went on ſhore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboord againe, ſaw two Buffes.

Their departure from Sierra leona.

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harborough, and ſtayed one tide 3. leagues from the point of the mouth of the Harborough in 6. fathoms, and it floweth South Southweſt.

The Iſles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

On wedneſday being the 7. of the ſame moneth wee departed from one of the Iſles of Cape Verde, aliâs the Iſles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues diſtant from the poynt of Sierra leona: and about fiue of the clocke the ſame night we anchored 2. miles off the Iland in 6. fathoms water, and landed the ſame night, and found Plantans only vpon the Iland.

A towne.

The 8. day one of our boats went out & ſounded round about the Iland, & they paſſed through a ſound at the weſt end of the Iland, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Iland, vntil they came vnto the very gutte of the ſound, and then for a caſt or two they had but 2. fathoms, and preſently after, 6. fathoms, and ſo deeper and deeper. And at the Eaſt ende of the Iland there was a towne, where Negros doe vſe at ſometimes, as we perceiued by their prouiſion.

Freſh water.

There is no freſh water on all the South ſide, as we could perceiue, but on the North ſide three or foure very good places of freſh water: and all the whole Iland is a wood, ſaue certaine litle places where their houſes ſtand, which are inuironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is ſubiect maruellous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reaſon is, becauſe the ſunne is ſo neere the line Equinoctiall.

On ſaturday the tenth wee departed from the ſayde Iland about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southweſt.

October.
Cape Frio in Braſill.

The laſt of October running Weſt Southweſt about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Braſile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it ſtanding from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it.

Nouember.
S. Sebaſtians Iland.
The riuer of Ienero.

The firſt of Nouember wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebaſtian and the mayne land, and had our things on ſhore, and ſet vp a Forge, and had our caſke on ſhore: our coopers made hoopes, and ſo we remayned there vntill the 23. day of the ſame moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinneſſe, and filled our freſh water. And while our Pinneſſe was in building, there came a Canoa from the riuer of Ienero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were ſixe naked ſlaues of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Chriſtopher Hare Maſter of the Admirall, for that Maſter Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the yeere 1581. And thinking to haue Iohn Whithal the Engliſhman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come vnto vs, which is twentie leagues from this Harborough with ſome other, thereby to haue had ſome freſh victuals, we ſuffered the Portugal to goe with a letter vnto him, who promiſed to returne or ſend ſome anſwere within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Marchants, and would traffique with them: but we neuer receiued anſwere from him any more; and ſeeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our buſineſſe being diſpatched, wee weyed anchor, and ſet ſayle from S. Sebaſtians on the 23. of Nouember.

The 16.day of December we fell with the coaſt of America in 47.degrees ½. the land bearing Weſt from vs about 6.leagues off: from which place we ran along the ſhore, vntill we came into 48.degrees. It is a ſteepe beach all along.

December.

48.Degrees.

The 17.day of December in the afternoone we entred into an harborough, where our Admirall went in firſt: wherefore our Generall named the ſaid harborough Port Deſire: in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great ſtore of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. Theſe Seales are of a wonderful great bigneſſe, huge, and monſtrous of ſhape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion: their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire: their feete are in maner of a finne, and in forme like vnto a mans hand: they breed and caſt euery moneth, giuing their yong milke, yet continually get they their liuing in the ſea, and liue altogether vpon fiſh: their yong are marueilous good meate, and being boyled or roſted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of ſuch bigneſſe and force, that it is as much as 4.men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowle-ſtaues: and hee muſt be beaten downe with ſtriking on the head of him: for his body is of that bigneſſe that foure men could neuer kill him, but only on the head. For being ſhotte through the body with an Harquebuze or a Muſket, yet he will goe his way into the ſea, and neuer care for it at the preſent. Alſo the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great ſtore of them: they haue burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They haue nothing but downe vpon their pinions: they alſo fiſh and feede in the ſea for their liuing, and breede on ſhore.

Port Deſire.

Seales ſtrange in ſhape and hugeneſſe.

Yong Seales are very good meate.

Foules breeding in burrowes like conies.

We call theſe foules Pengwins.

This harborough is a very good place to trimme ſhips in, and to bring them on ground, and graue them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graued and trimmed all our ſhips there.

They graue and trimme their ſhips.

The 24. of December being Chriſtmas Euen, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went ſome fortie ſcore from our ſhips vnto a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made ſome 2. or 3.dayes before to get freſh water: for there was none in all the Harborough; and this was but brackiſh: therefore this man and boy came thither to waſh their linnen: and beeing in waſhing at the ſayde Well, there were great ſtore of Indians which were come downe, and found the ſayd man and boy in waſhing. Theſe Indians being diuided on eche ſide of the rockes, ſhotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde preſently, beeing about fiftie or threeſcore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20.men. The mans name which was hurt was Iohn Garge, the boyes name was Lutch: the man was ſhot cleane through the knee, the boy into the ſhoulder: either of them hauing very ſore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint ſtone, ſet into the cane very artificially: they ſeldome or neuer ſee any Chriſtians: they are as wilde as euer was a bucke or any other wilde beaſt: for wee followed them, and they ranne from vs as it had bene the wildeſt thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the meaſure of one of their feete, and it was 18.inches long. Their vſe is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the cliffes by the ſea-ſide, and vpon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graues are buryed with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their iewels which they haue in their life time, which are fine ſhelles which they finde by the ſea ſide, which they cut and ſquare after an artificiall maner; and all is layd vnder their heads. The graue is made all with great ſtones of great length and bigneſſe, being ſet all along full of the dead mans dartes which he vſed when he was liuing. And they colour both their darts and their graues with a red colour which they vſe in colouring of themſelues.

A man and a boy hurt by negligence.

A kinde of giants.

The 28.of December we departed out of the Port of Deſire, and went to an Iland which lieth 3.leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our ſaued pengwins with ſalt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coaſt Southweſt and by South.

Their departure from port Deſire.

The 30.day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5.leagues from the land, much like vnto Edieſtone, which lieth off the ſound of Plimouth, and we ſounded, and had 8.fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the rocke bearing Weſt Southweſt. Wee went coaſting along South Southweſt, and found great ſtore of Seales all along the coaſt. This rocke ſtandeth in 48.degrees ½. to the Southward of the line.

The 2.day of Ianuarie wee fell with a very faire white Cape, which ſtandeth in 51.degrees, and had 7.fathoms water a league off the land.

January 1587.

The third day of the foreſayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which ſtandeth in 52.degrees and 45.minutes: from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in diuers places 5. or 6. leagues wide, and in two ſeuerall places more narrow. Vnder this Cape wee anchored and loſt an anchor, for it was a great ſtorme of foule weather, and laſted three dayes very dangerous.

They enter the Streights the 6. of Ianuarie.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights.

A Spaniard taken in the Streights of Magellan.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narroweſt place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whoſe name was Hernando, who was there with 23. Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in theſe ſtreights of Magellan, all the reſt being dead with famine. And the ſame day wee paſſed through the narroweſt of the Streights, where the aforeſayd Spanyard ſhewed vs the hull of a ſmall Barke, which we iudged to be a Barke called The Iohn Thomas. It is from the mouth of the ſtreights vnto the narroweſt of the Streights 14. leagues, and the courſe lieth Weſt and by North. The mouth of the ſtreights ſtandeth in 52. degrees.

The Barke Iohn Thomas, one of ſir Francis Drakes conſortes.

From the narroweſt of the Streights vnto Pengwin Iland is 10. leagues, and lyeth Weſt Southweſt ſomewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and ſalted great ſtore of Pengwins for victuals.

King Philips citie left deſolate in the Streights of Magellan, which our Generall called Port famine.

God enemie to the Spaniards.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Ilande, and ranne South Southweſt to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and euery Fort had in it one caſt peece, which peeces were buryed in the ground, the cariages were ſtanding in their places vnburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contriued their Citie very well, and ſeated it in the beſt place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded vp their Churches by themſelues: they had Lawes very ſeuere among themſelues, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution vpon ſome of their company. It ſeemed vnto vs that their whole liuing for a great ſpace was altogether vpon muſkles and lympits: for there was not any thing elſe to bee had, except ſome Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the freſh riuers to drinke. Theſe Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation ſhould haue paſſage through into the South ſea ſauing onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will ſo to haue it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the leaſt, they could neuer haue any thing to growe or in any wiſe proſper. And on the other ſide the Indians oftentimes preyed vpon them, vntill their victuals grewe ſo ſhort, (their ſtore being ſpent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and hauing no meanes to renew the ſame) that they dyed like dogges in their houſes, and in their clothes, wherein we found them ſtill at our comming, vntill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the ſmell and the ſauour of the dead people, the reſt which remayned aliue were driuen to burie ſuch things as they had there in their towne either for prouiſion or for furniture, and ſo to forſake the towne, and to goe along the ſea-ſide, and ſeeke their victuals to preſerue them from ſteruing, taking nothing with them, but euery man his harquebuze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for ſome were not able to cary them for weakeneſſe) and ſo liued for the ſpace of a yeere and more with rootes, leaues, and ſometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to haue trauailed towards the riuer of Plate, only being left aliue 23. perſons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and wooded well and quietly. Our Generall named this towne Port famine: it ſtandeth in 53. degrees by obſeruation to the Southward.

Port famine in 53. degrees.

Cape Froward in 54 degrees.

Muſkle Coue.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South ſouthweſt, and from thence ſouthweſt vnto cape Froward 5. leagues Weſt Southweſt, which Cape is the Southermoſt part of all the ſtreights, and ſtandeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which cape we ran Weſt and by north 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Coue on the ſouth ſide, which we called Muſkle-Coue, becauſe there were great ſtore of them: we ridde therein 6. dayes, the wind being ſtill Weſterly.

Elizabeth Bay.

The 21. day of Ianuarie we departed from Muſkle-coue, and went Northweſt and by Weſt 10. leagues to a very faire ſandie Baye on the North ſide, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee ridde there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whoſe name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was buryed there in that Baye.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place, where there was a freſh water riuer, where our Generall went vp with the ſhip-boate about three myles, which riuer hath very good and pleaſant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion ſoyle, and ſo we ſaw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monſtrous high hilles and mountaines. In this riuer are great ſtore of Sauages which wee ſawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether vpon rawe fleſh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed vpon ſome of the Spaniardes before ſpoken of. For they had gotten kniues and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They vſed all the meanes they could poſſibly to haue allured vs vp farther into the riuer, of purpoſe to haue betraped vs, which being eſpyed by our Generall, hee cauſed vs to ſhoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So wee ſayled from this riuer to the Chanell of Saint Ierome, which is 2. leagues off.

The moſt bru‑tiſh Sauages that euer were ſeene.

The Chanel of Saint Ierome.

From the riuer of Saint Ierome about three or foure leagues, wee ranne Weſt vnto a Cape which is on the North ſide: and from that Cape vnto the mouth of the Streights the courſe lyeth Northweſt and by Weſt, and Northweſt. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Streights to the Southward we lay in Harborough vntill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reaſon of contrary windes and moſt vile and filthie fowle weather, with ſuch rayne and vehement ſtormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the beſt cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to haue bene caſt away, or at the leaſt famiſhed. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almoſt altogether vpon muſkles, and limpits, and birds, or ſuch as we could get on ſhore, ſeeking euery day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

Februarie. 1587.

There is at euery myle or two myles ende an Harborough on both ſides of the land. And there are betweene the riuer of Saint Ierome and the mouth of the Streights going into the South ſea about 34. leagues by eſtimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the ſaid mouth of the Streights ſtandeth in the ſame height that the entrance ſtandeth in when we paſſe out of the North ſea, which is about 52. degrees and ⅔ to the Southward of the line.

The Streights of Magellan are about 90. leagues long.

The Weſterne mouth of the Streights is in 52. degrees and 2. terces.

The 24. day of February wee entred into the South ſea: and on the South ſide of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adioyning vnto it: and on the North ſide are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and ſunken ground about them: by noone the ſame day wee had brought theſe Ilands Eaſt of vs 5. leagues off; the winde being Southerly.

Their entrance into the South ſea the 24 of Februarie.

Ilands in the South ſea called Las Anegadas.

The firſt of March a ſtorme tooke vs at North, which night the ſhips loſt the company of the Hugh Gallant, beeing in 49. ½ and 45. leagues from the land. This ſtorme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being ſeparated from the other 2. ſhips, looked euery houre to ſinke, our barke was ſo leake, and our ſelues ſo dilucred and weakened with freeing it of water, that we ſlept not in three dayes and three nights.

March 1.

Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant by a great leake.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne, where ſhe met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which ſtandeth in the Southerly latitude of 38. degrees: at which place ſome of our men went on ſhore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were maruellous warie of their Caliuers. Theſe Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke vs for Spaniards, as afterward we learned.

The Ile of Mocha in 38. degrees not ſubiect to the Spaniards.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of golde mynes, and yet could it not be ſubdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they alwayes returned with the greateſt loſſe of men. For theſe Indians are maruellous deſperate and careleſſe of their liues to liue at their owne libertie and freedome.

Arauco is the richeſt place in the South ſea for golde, and is not ſubdued by the Spaniards as yet.

The 15. day aforeſayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne vnder the Weſt ſide of Saint Marie Iland, where we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night.

Saint Marie Iland in 37. degrees and 1. terce, which is ſubdued to the Spaniards.

The 16. day our General went on ſhore himſelfe with 70. or 80. men euery one with his furniture: there came downe to vs certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome vs on ſhore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is ſubdued by them: who brought vs vp to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with croſſes & altars in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. ſtore houſes, which were full of wheate and barley ready threſhed and made vp in cades of ſtrawe to the quantitie of a buſhel of corne in euery cade. The wheate and barly was as faire, as cleane, and euery way as good as any we haue in England. There were alſo the like cades ful of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made vp in the ſtore houſes for the Spaniards againſt they ſhould come for their tribute. This Iland alſo yeeldeth many ſorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. Theſe Indians are held in ſuch ſlauery by them, that they dare not

A Church with croſſes and altars.

The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Chriſtians.

eate a hen or an hogge themſelues. But the Spaniards haue made them all in that Iland Chriſtians. Thus we fitted our ſelues here with corne aſmuch as we would haue, and as many hogges as we had ſalt to powder them withall, and great ſtore of hennes, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 500. dried dogge-fiſhes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And hauing taken as much as we would haue, yet we left marueilous great ſtore behind vs. Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboord our ſhippe, and prouided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiuing vs to bee no Spaniards, made ſignes, as neere as our Generall could perceiue, that if wee would goe ouer vnto the mayne land vnto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making vs ſignes, that we ſhould haue great ſtore of riches. But becauſe we could not vnderſtand them, our Generall made ſome haſte, and within 2. or three dayes we furniſhed our ſelues.

Arauco rich in golde.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnortheaſt about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a ſhort ſayle off and on the coaſt.

The 19. wee ranne in Eaſt Northeaſt with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored vnder an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land.

The Conception.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was ſandie, where we ſaw freſh water and cattell, but we ſtayed not there.

Quintero ſtandeth in 33. degrees 50. minutes.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which ſtandeth in 33. degrees & 50 minutes.

The ſaid day preſently after we were come vnto an ancre in the Bay, there was a Neteherd or one that kept cattle which lay vpon the point of the hill aſleepe, which when he awaked and had eſpied three ſhippes which were come into the Bay, before wee could get on ſhore, he had caught an horſe which was feeding by, and rode his way as faſt as euer hee might: and our Generall with 30. ſhot with him went on ſhore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horſemen with bright ſwords towards vs ſo hard as they might ride, vntill they came within ſome twentie or thirtie ſcore of vs, and ſo ſtayed, and would come no neerer vnto vs: ſo our Generall ſent vnto them a couple of our men with their ſhotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken vp at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were ſterued there. But the Spaniards would not ſuffer our men to come neere with their ſhot, but made ſignes that one of our men ſhould come alone vnto them: ſo the ſaid Fernando the Spaniard went vnto them, and our two men ſtood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for ſome victuals, who had promiſed as much as we would haue. Our General ſent him backe againe with another meſſage and another ſhotte with him: and being come neere vnto them, they would not ſuffer any more then one to approch them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe vnto them alone himſelfe: who being ſome good diſtance from them, they ſtayed but a ſmall time together, but that the ſaid Fernando leaped vp behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which he had made continually to our general and all his company neuer to forſake him, but to die on his ſide before he would be falſe. Our Generall ſeeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboord: and night being come, he determined the next day to ſend into the countrey to find their towne, and to haue taken the ſpoyle of it, and to haue fired it if they could haue found it.

The periurie of a Spaniard.

Our men march 7. or 8. miles into their enemies land.

The laſt of March Captaine Hauers went vp into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their ſhot and furniture with them, and we trauailed 7. or 8. miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we eſpied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde: we ſaw alſo great ſtore of horſes, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and vnhandled: there is alſo great ſtore of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wildfoules. The countrey is very fruitful with faire freſh riuers all along full of wilde foule of all ſorts. Hauing trauailed ſo farre that we could goe no further for the monſtrous high mountaines, we reſted our ſelues at a very fayre freſh Riuer running in and alongſt faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where euery man drunke of the Riuer, and refreſhed themſelues. Hauing ſo done, we returned to our Ships the likeſt way that we thought their Towne ſhould bee: ſo wee trauailed all the day long, not ſeeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horſemen abroad that ſame day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from vs, who had tolde them that our force was but ſmall, and that wee were wonderfully weake: who though they did eſpie vs that day, yet durſt they not giue the on-ſette vpon vs. For wee marched along in array, and obſerued good order, whereby wee ſeemed a great number more then we were, vntill we came vnto our ſhips that night againe.

The next day being the firſt of April 1587, our men went on ſhoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters ſide: and being earely hard at their buſineſſe were in no readineſſe. In which meane while there came powring downe from the hilles almoſt 200 horſemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelue of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken priſoners, the reſt were reſcued by our ſouldiers which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fifteene of vs that had any weapons on ſhoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with loſſe of ſome foure and twentie of their men, after we had ſkirmiſhed with them an houre.

24 Spaniards ſlaine.

The names of our men that were ſlaine were theſe.

Thomas Lucas of London, ſouldier.
Richard Wheeler of London.
Robert Pitcher of Norffolke, ſouldier.
John Langſton of Glouceſterſhire.
William Kingman of Dorſetſhire, ſouldier.
William Hilles of Cornewall.

Out of the Admirall.

1 William Byet of Weymouth.
2 Laurence Gamesby, of Newcaſtle.

Killed out of the viceadm.

1 Henry Blackenals of Weymouth.
2 Williams Steuens of Plymmouth, gunner.
3 William Pitte of Shereborne in Dorſetſhire.
4 Humphrey Derricke of London.

Killed out of the Hugh Gallant.

After the loſſe of theſe men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in deſpight of them with good watch and ward, vntill the fift of the ſayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lyeth a little Iland about a league diſtant, whereon there are great ſtore of penguins and other fowles; whereof we tooke to ſerue our turnes, and ſailed away North, and North and by Weſt: for ſo lyeth the coaſt along in this place.

A little Iland full of penguins.

The fifteenth wee came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which ſtandeth in 23 degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ſhip may go in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on ſhore to the number of 30 men: and at our going on ſhore vpon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with vs, with freſh water and wood on their backes. They are in maruellous awe of the Spaniards, and very ſimple people, and liue maruellous ſauagely: For they brought vs to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee ſaw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the ſkin of ſome beaſt layd vpon the ground: and ouer them in ſtead of houſes, is nothing but fiue or ſixe ſticks layd acroſſe, which ſtand vpon two forkes with ſtickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fiſh, which ſtinketh moſt vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they haue: for wee opened one of their graues, and ſaw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are maruellous artificially made of two ſkinnes like vnto bladders, and are blowen full at one ende with quilles: they haue two of theſe bladders blowen full, which are ſowen together and made faſt with a ſinew of ſome wild beaſt; which when they are in the water ſwell, ſo that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to ſea in theſe boates, and catch very much fiſh with them, and pay much of it for tribute vnto the Spaniards: but they vſe it maruellous beaſtly.

Morro moreno in 23 degrees and a halfe.

Moſt artificiall boates.

Tribute payd in fiſh.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a ſmall barke which came out of Arica road, which wee kept and called The George: the men forſooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinneſſe followed the boate, & the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinneſſe could not recouer the boat before it got on ſhoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboord a great ſhippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ſhip was left alone. They made three or foure very faire ſhots at the pinneſſe as ſhee was comming in, but miſſed her very narrowly with a Minion ſhot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was viceadmirall was behinde out of ſight: by meanes where-

A barke taken, which they called The George.

Arica ſtandeth in 18 degrees 31 minutes.

A ſhip taken.

of, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwiſe it wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would reſolutely haue landed to take the towne, whatſoeuer had come of it. The cauſe why the Content ſtayed behind was, that ſhee had found about 14 leagues to the Southward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ſhips lading of botijas of wine of Caſtillia, whereof the ſayd Content tooke into her as many as ſhee could conueniently carrie, and came after vs into the road of Arica the ſame day. By this time wee perceiued that the towne had gathered all their power together, and alſo conueyed all their treaſure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of vs. Nowe becauſe it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places vp in the land, our Generall ſawe there was no landing without loſſe of many men: wherefore hee gaue ouer that enterpriſe. While wee rid in the road they ſhot at vs, and our ſhips ſhot at them againe for euery ſhot two. Moreouer, our pinneſſe went in hard almoſt to the ſhoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in deſpight of all their forts though they ſhot ſtill at the pinneſſe, which they could neuer hit. After theſe things our Generall ſent a boate on ſhoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great ſhippe or no; but they would not: for they had receiued ſpeciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any ſhippe, nor to ranſome any man vpon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to haue redeemed ſome of our men, which were taken priſoners on ſhoare by the horſemen at Quintero, otherwiſe hee would haue made them no offer of parley.

Great ſtore of wine found.

Another barke taken in the road.

The fourth barke taken. A watchhouſe.

The 25 riding ſtil in the ſaid road, we ſpied a ſaile comming from the Southward, and our Generall ſent out his pinneſſe to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made ſuch ſignes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-houſe, that before our pinneſſe could get to them, they ran the barke on ſhoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they had ſmall leaſure to carrie any thing with them; but all the men ſkaped, among whom there were certaine friers: for wee ſawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on ſhoare: many horſemen came from the towne to reſcue them, and to carrie them away, otherwiſe wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboord the barke as ſhe lay ſunke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboord our ſhippes againe the ſame night: and the next morning wee ſet the great ſhippe on fire in the road, and ſunke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with vs, and ſo departed from thence, and went away Northweſt.

The firſt barke of aduiſe taken

The 27 day wee tooke a ſmall barke, which came from S. Iago neere vnto Quintero, where wee loſt our men firſt. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reaſonable pilot for all the coaſt of Chili. They were ſent to the citie of Lima with letters of aduiſo of vs, and of the loſſe of our men. There were alſo in the ſayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards: and they were all ſworne and receiued the Sacrament before they came to ſea by three or foure friers, that if wee ſhould chance to meete them, they ſhould throw thoſe letters ouer boord: which, (as wee were giuing them chaſe with our pinneſſe) before wee could fetch them vp, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought ſo with them, that they did confeſſe it: but hee was faine to cauſe them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at ſeuerall times with extreme paine. Alſo hee made the old Flemming beleeue that hee would hang him; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled vp a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confeſſe, chuſing rather to die, then hee would bee periured. In the end it was confeſſed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with vs.

A good mind if he had bene in a good cauſe.

The third of May wee came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Piſca, where ſome of vs landed and tooke certaine houſes, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennes: but the ſea went ſo high, that wee could not land at the beſt of the townes without ſinking of our boats, and great hazard of vs all. This place ſtandeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Southward of the line.

The bay of Piſca in 13 deg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

An Iland of Seales.

The fift of May wee departed from this harbour, leauing the Content our viceadmirall within at an Iland of ſeales, by which meanes at that time wee loſt her companie.

The ninth wee gaue chaſe to a ſaile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica; The Content which was our viceadmirall being ſtill loſt: but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but loſt it that night.

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) loſt companie of our admirall.

The Hugh Gallant loſt companie of the fleete, and met not untill the ſeuenteenth.

The eleuenth we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which ſtandeth in 12 degrees $\frac{1}{3}$, in which bay wee found a riuer of freſh water about eight of the clocke at night: and though we were but of ſmall force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet wee went on ſhoare to fill water; where hauing filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboord, two or three of our companie which were on ſhoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, eſpied where there were foure or fiue hundred bagges of meale on an heape couered with a fewe reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good: which fell out well for vs that were then loſt and ſtoode in neede of victuals: and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboord, and there ſtayed and rode vntill the afternoone. In which meane time the towne ſeeing vs ride there ſtill, brought downe much cattell to the ſea ſide to haue intiſed vs to come on ſhoare: but wee ſawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelft day.

400 bags of meale found.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which ſtandeth in 9 degrees and ⅓, where wee ſawe horſemen: and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my ſelfe Francis Pretie, Arthur Warford, Iohn Way Preacher, Iohn Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, hauing euery man his harquebuze and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the ſea ſide, where wee found a boate of fiue or ſixe tunnes haled vp drie on the ſhoare about a cables length from the water: and with extreme labour wee lanched the barke; when it was on flote, Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the reſt of our companie were fetching their things: but ſuddenly it was readie to ſinke: And the Captaine and I ſtoode vp to the knees lading out water with our targets: but it ſunke downe faſter then wee were able to free it, inſomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to ſaue our ſelues from drowning. When wee were out, wee ſtood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on ſhoare was ſunke: for wee could no where ſee it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great ſurge that went by the ſhoare. Yet in the end wee ſpied it, and went aboord by two and two, and were driuen to wade vp to the arme-holes 60 paces into the ſea before wee could get into the boate, by reaſon of the ſhoaldneſſe: and then departed the foureteenth day in the morning.

A bay in 9. degrees and ⅓.

Iohn Way a preacher.

The 16 wee tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but ſixteene men of vs in it, a great ſhippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tuns, hauing foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonſaluo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with vs, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The ſhippe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals: wherefore wee left her ſeuen leagues from the land very leake and ready to ſinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line: wee ſunke her boate and tooke away her foreſaile and certaine victuals.

A ſhip of 300 tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight.

Seuen degrees of Southerly latitude.

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the reſt of our fleete. They had taken two ſhips, the one laden with ſugar, moloſſes, maiz, Cordouan-ſkinnes, montego de Porco, many packes of pintados, many Indian coates, and ſome marmalade, and 1000 hennes: and the other ſhip was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of theſe ſhips which had the chiefe marchandiſe in it, was worth twentie thouſand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Chriſtendome where wee might haue ſolde it. Wee filled all our ſhips with as much as wee could beſtow of theſe goods: the reſt wee burnt and the ſhips alſo; and ſet the men and women that were not killed on ſhoare.

They met their fleete againe.

Two rich ſhips taken.

One ſhippe worth 20000 pounds.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paita, and being at an anker, our Generall landed with ſixtie or ſeuentie men, ſkirmiſhed with them of the towne, and draue them all to flight to the top of the hill which is ouer the towne, except a few ſlaues and ſome other which were of the meaner ſort, who were commanded by the gouernours to ſtay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, hauing with them a bloodie enſigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ſhips and the ſhoare, our gunner ſhot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the ſhot fel among them, and draue them to flie from the fort as faſt as they might runne, who got them vp vpon an hill, and from thence ſhot among vs with their ſmall ſhot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran vpon them, and chaſed them ſo fiercely vp the hilles for the ſpace of an houre, that wee draue them in the ende away perforce, and being got vp the hilles, wee found where they had layd all their ſtuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there vpon the mountaines. We alſo found the quantitie of 25 pounds weight in ſiluer in pieces of eight rials, and abundance of houſhold ſtuffe and ſtorehouſes full of all kinde of wares: but our Generall would not ſuffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, becauſe they ſhould not cloy themſelues with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were prouided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were fiue men to one of vs: and wee had an Engliſh mile and an halfe to our ſhips. Thus

The bay of Paita in 5 degrees 4 min.

A new fort in building.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

25 pounds weight in ſiluer.

The towne of Paita had 200 houſes in it. A barke ſet on fire.

wee came downe in ſafetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and maruellous cleane kept in euery ſtreete, with a towne-houſe or Guild hall in the middeſt: and had to the number of two hundred houſes at the leaſt in it. Wee ſet it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of fiue or ſixe thouſand pounds: there was alſo a barke riding in the roade which wee ſet on fire, and departed, directing our courſe to the Iland of Puna.

The Iland of Puna within 1 degree the Equinoctial to the South. A great ſhip burnt.

Great ſtore of cables made in Puna.

The 25 day of May wee arriued at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where wee found a great ſhippe of the burthen of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a ſpeciall good place for that purpoſe. Wee ſunke it, and went on ſhoare where the lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters ſide, who had a ſumptuous houſe maruellous well contriued with very many ſingular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of euery chamber was framed a gallerie with a ſtately proſpect into the ſea on the one ſide, and into the Iland on the other ſide, with a maruellous great hall below, and a very great ſtorehouſe at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and baſh to make cables withall: for the moſt part of the cables in the South ſea are made vpon that Iland. This great Caſique doth make all the Indians vpon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and hee himſelfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a maruellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reaſon of his pleaſant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spaniſh woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Iland, and neuer goeth on the ground vpon her feete: but holdeth it too baſe a thing for her: But when her pleaſure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, ſhee is alwayes carried in a ſhadowe like vnto an horſe-litter vpon foure mens ſhoulders, with a veile or canopie ouer her for the ſunne or the winde, hauing her gentlewomen ſtill attending about her with a great troope of the beſt men of the Iland with her. But both ſhee and the lorde of the Iland with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Iland before wee could get to an anker, by reaſon wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and were gone ouer vnto the maine lande, hauing carried away with them to the ſumme of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a captaine of the Iland an Indian, which was left there with ſome other vpon the Iland vnder him, whom wee had taken at ſea as wee were comming into the road, being in a balſa or canoa for a ſpie to ſee what wee were.

The 27 our General himſelfe with certaine ſhot and ſome targettiers went ouer into the maine vnto the place where this foreſayde Indian captaine which wee had taken had tolde vs that the Caſique, which was the lord of all the Iland, was gone vnto, and had caried all his treaſure with him: but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arriued there foure or fiue great balſas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall maruelled what they were and what they meant, aſking the Indian guide and commanding him to ſpeake the trueth vpon his life: being then bound faſt, hee anſwered being very much abaſhed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they ſhould come, nor who they ſhould bee: for there was neuer a man in any one of the balſas: and becauſe hee had told our Generall before, that it was an eaſie matter to take the ſayd Caſique and all his treaſure, and that there were but three or foure houſes ſtanding in a deſert place and no reſiſtance, and that if hee found it not ſo, hee ſhould hang him. Againe being demaunded to ſpeake vpon his life what hee thought theſe Balſas ſhould bee, hee anſwered that hee coulde not ſay from whence they ſhould come, except it were to bring 60 ſouldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiaquil, which was about 6 leagues from the ſaide yland, where two or three of the kings ſhippes were on the ſtocks in building, where are continually an hundred ſouldiers in gariſons who had heard of vs, and had ſent for ſixtie more for feare of burning of the ſhippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit diſcouraged either at the ſight of the balſas vnlooked for, or for hearing of the threeſcore ſouldiers not vntill then ſpoken of, with a braue courage animating his companie in the exployte, went preſently forward, being in the night in a moſt deſert path in the woods, vntill ſuch time as hee came to the place; where, as it ſeemed, they had kept watch either at the waters ſide, or at the houſes, or elſe at both, and were newly gone out of the houſes, hauing ſo ſhort warning, that they left the meate both boyling and roſting at the fire and were fledde with their treaſure with them, or elſe buried it where it could not bee found, being alſo in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and ſuch things as wee thought good, and came away.

The towne of Guaiaquil.

A little Iland neere vnto Puna.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the ſhip-boate into a little Iland there by, whereas the ſayd Caſique which was the lord of Puna had cauſed all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordouan leather all guilded ouer, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houſhold ſtuffe, and all the ſhips tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great ſtore of nailes, ſpikes of yron, and very many other things to be conueyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requiſite for the ſhips buſineſſe.

This Iland is very pleaſant for all things requiſite, and fruitful: but there are no mines of gold nor ſiluer in it. There are at the leaſt 200 houſes in the towne about the Caſiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more vpon the Iland, which is almoſt as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one ſide of the Caſiques houſe a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of freſh water, and round about it are trees ſet, whereon bombaſin cotton groweth after this maner: The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a ſeede of the bigneſſe of a peaſe, and in euery codde there are ſeuen or eight of theſe ſeedes: and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then theſe ſeedes fall from it, and ſpring againe.

The Ile of Pona is almoſt as big as the Ile of Wight.

Cotton trees.

There are alſo in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, alſo pompions, melons, cucumbers, radiſhes, roſemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the houſe there is alſo another orchard, where grow orenges ſweete and ſower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with diuers other fruits.

An excellent orchard.

There is very good paſture ground in this Iland; and withall many horſes, oxen, bullockes, ſheepe very fat and faire, great ſtore of goates which be very tame, and are vſed continually to bee milked. They haue moreouer abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marueſlous bigneſſe.

There was alſo a very large and great church hard by the Caſiques houſe, whither hee cauſed all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare maſſe: for he himſelfe was made a Chriſtian when he was maried to the Spaniſh woman before ſpoken of, and vpon his conuerſion he cauſed the reſt of his ſubiects to be Chriſtened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and fiue belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great houſe both night and day.

The ſecond grauing of their ſhips.

The ſecond day of Iune in the morning, by and by after breake of day, euery one of the watch being gone abroad to ſeeke to fetch in victuals, ſome one way, ſome another, ſome for hennes, ſome for ſheepe, ſome for goats, vpon the ſudden there came downe vpon vs an hundred Spaniſh ſouldiers with muſkets and an enſigne, which were landed on the other ſide of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, euery one with weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whoſe name was Emmanuel, which fled from vs at our firſt landing there. Thus being taken at aduantage we had the worſt: for our companie was not paſt ſixteene or twentie; whereof they had ſlaine one or two before they were come to the houſes: yet we ſkirmiſhed with them an houre and an halfe: at the laſt being ſore ouercharged with multitudes, we were driuen down from the hill to the waters ſide, and there kept them play a while, vntill in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and ſlaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himſelfe being ſomewhat tired, had an honourable death and a ſhort: for a ſhot ſtrooke him to the heart: who feeling himſelfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe preſently dead. But ſoone after the enemie was driuen ſomewhat to retire from the bankes ſide to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of ſinking while they haſtened into it: And one of our men whoſe name was Robert Maddocke was ſhot through the head with his owne peece, being a ſnap-hance, as hee was haſting into the boate. But foure of vs were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my ſelfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steuen Gunner, and Richard Roſe: which had our ſhot readie and retired our ſelues vnto a cliffe, vntill the boate came againe, which was preſently after they had carried the reſt aboord. There were ſixe and fortie of the enemies ſlaine by vs, whereof they had dragged ſome into buſhes, and ſome into olde houſes, which wee found afterward. Wee loſt twelue men in maner following.

The firſt ſkirmiſh with the Spaniards.

Zacharie Saxie ſlaine honourably.

Robert Maddock ſlaine with his owne peece.

46 Spaniards and Indians ſlaine.

Slaine by the enemie.
1 Zacharie Saxie,
2 Neales Iohnſon,
3 William Geirgiſield,
4 Nicolas Hendie,
5 Henry Cooper.

1 Robert Maddocke, killed with his peece.

2 Henry Mawdley, burnt.

1 Edward the gunners man,
2 Ambroſe the muſitian,
drowned.

1 Walter Tilliard,
2 Edward Smith,
3 Henry Aſelye,
taken priſoners.

The ſecond ſkirmiſh with the Spaniards.
The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

The ſelfe ſame day being the ſecond of Iune, we went on ſhoare againe with ſeuentie men, and had a freſh ſkirmiſh with the enemies, and draue them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards ſeruing with muſkets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee ſet fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, hauing in it to the number of three hundred houſes: and ſhortly after made hauocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ſhips more which were in building on the ſtockes.

The third of Iune the Content which was our viceadmirall was haled on ground, to graue at the ſame place in deſpight of the Spaniards: and alſo our pinneſſe which the Spaniards had burned, was new trimmed.

They arriued at Puna the 25 of May.
The Hugh Gallant a barke of 40 tuns ſunke.

The fift day of Iune wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleuen dayes, and turned vp for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place alſo wee ſunke our rereadmirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes.

The tenth day of the ſame moneth wee ſet the Indians on ſhoare, which we had taken before in a balſa as we were comming into the road of Puna.

Rio dolce.

The eleuenth day wee departed from the ſayd Rio dolce.

The twelft of Iune wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our courſe Northward all that moneth.

The firſt of Iulie wee had ſight of the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, being foure leagues diſtant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

Michael Sancius a Marſilian.

The ninth of Iulie wee tooke a new ſhip of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to ſerue his turne to water along the coaſt: for hee was one of the beſt coaſters in the South ſea. This Michael Sancius was a Prouenſal, borne in Marſeils, and was the firſt man that tolde vs newes of the great ſhip called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

A great new ſhip burnt.

There were ſixe men more in this new ſhippe: we tooke her ſailes, her ropes, and fire-wood, to ſerue our turnes, ſet her on fire, and kept the men.

The ſecond barke of aduiſe taken.
Sonſonate in the prouince of Guatimala.
A barke burnt.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with aduiſe of vs and our ſhips all along the coaſt, as Michael Sancius tolde vs: but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on ſhoare. None of both theſe ſhips had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonſonate in the prouince of Guatimala; the new ſhippe, for feare we ſhould haue taken her in the road, and the barke, to carrie newes of vs along the coaſt; which barke alſo wee ſet on fire.

The riuer of Copalita.
Aguatulco in 15 degrees and 40 minutes Northward.

The 26 day of Iuly wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the riuer of Copalita, where wee made account to water. And the ſame night wee departed with 30 men in the pinneſſe, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforeſayd riuer; and ſtandeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line.

A barke burnt.
Anile.
Cacaos.
Aguatulco a towne of 100 houſes burnt.
Cacaos goe for money in Nueua Eſpanna.

The 27 in the morning by the breake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonſonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on ſhoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and cuſtome-houſe which was very faire and large: in which houſe were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; euery bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos; euery bag whereof is worth ten crownes. Theſe cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like vnto an almond, but are nothing ſo pleaſant in taſte: they eate them, and make drinke of them. This the owner of the ſhippe tolde vs. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flaſket full of boxes of balme. After we had ſpoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were ſome hundred houſes, the owner of the ſhippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce vnto vs, which before with the reſt of all the towneſmen was run away at our firſt comming; and at length came aboord our pinneſſe vpon Captaine Hauers worde of ſafe returne. We carried him to the riuer of Copalita where our ſhippes rode: and when hee came to our Generall, hee cauſed him to bee ſet on ſhoare in ſafetie the ſame night, becauſe hee came vpon the captaines word.

The 28 day we ſet ſaile from Copalita, becauſe the ſea was ſo great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the ſame night into the roade of Aguatulco.

Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30 men.

The 29 our Generall landed and went on ſhoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Meſtizo, whoſe name was Michael de Truxillo, who was cuſtomer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his ſtuffe: wee brought him and his ſtuffe aboord. And whereas I ſay he was a Meſtizo, it is to be vnderſtood that a Meſtizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

The ſecond day of Auguſt, we had watered, and examined the ſaid Meſtizo, and ſet him on ſhore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the ſame night, which ſtandeth as I ſayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

Our departure from Aguatulco.

Here wee ouerſlipped the hauen of Acapulco, from whence the ſhippes are ſet foorth for the Philippinas.

The foure and twentieth day of Auguſt, our Generall with 30 of vs went with the pinneſſe vnto an hauen called Puerto de Natiuidad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there ſhould bee a pinneſſe, but before wee could get thither the ſayde pinneſſe was gone to fiſh for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was ſent with letters of aduiſe concerning vs along the coaſt, of Nueua Galicia, whoſe horſe wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, ſet fire on the houſes, and burnt two new ſhippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the ſtockes, and came abourd of our ſhippes againe.

Puerto de Natiuidad in 19 degrees.

The third poſte of aduiſe taken.

Puerto de Natiuidad burnt.

Two new ſhips burnt.

The ſixe and twentie day of Auguſt, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a freſh Riuer, along which riuer many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of freſh fiſh. Heere alſo certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught ſome quantitie.

The riuer of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

The ſecond of September wee departed from Sant Iago at foure of the clocke in the euening. This bay of Sant Iago ſtandeth in ninetene degrees and eighteene minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

The 3 of September wee arriued in a litle bay a league to the Weſtwarde off Port de Nauidad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the ſame day about twelue of the clocke our Generall landed with thirtie men or there about, and went vp to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about 20 or 30 houſes and a Church, which we defaced and came abourd againe the ſame night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the ſight of vs.

The bay of Malacca.

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and ſayled along the coaſt.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which bay there are two litle houſes by the waters ſide. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The road of Chaccalla.

The 9 in the morning our Generall ſent vp Captaine Hauers with fortie men of vs before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went vnto a place about two leagues vp into the countrey in a moſt villanous deſert path through the woods and wilderneſſe; and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three houſholders with their wiues and children and ſome Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the ſea ſide with vs.

Our Generall made their wiues to fetch vs Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pineaples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and ſo let their huſbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spaniſh Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The twelfth day wee arriued at a little Iſland called the Iſle of Sant Andrewe, on which there is great ſtore of fowle and wood: where wee dryed and ſalted as many of the fowles as we thought good: wee alſo killed there abundance of ſeales, and Iguanos which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long ſharpe tayle, ſtrange to them which haue not ſeene them; but they are very good meate. Wee ridde here vntill the ſeuenteenth day, at which time wee departed.

The Iſle of Sant Andrew.

Iguanos good meate.

The 24 day wee arriued in the roade of Maſſatlan, which ſtandeth in 23 degrees ½, iuſt vnder the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great riuer within, but is barred at the mouth: and vpon the North ſide of the barre without, is good freſh water: but there is very euill filling of it; becauſe at a lowe water it is ſhoald halfe a mile off the ſhoare. There is great ſtore of freſh fiſh in that bay: and good fruites vp into the countrey, whereof wee had ſome, though not without danger.

Maſſatlan in 23 degrees, and an halfe.

The ſeuen and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Maſſatlan and ran to an iſland which is a league to the Northward the ſayd Maſſatlan; where wee trimmed our ſhips and new built our pinneſſe: and there is a litle iſland a quarter of a league from it, on which are ſeales; where a Spaniſh priſoner, whoſe name was Domingo, being ſent to waſh ſhirtes with one of our mē to keep him, made a ſcape, & ſwam to the maine, which was an Engliſh mile diſtant: at which place we had ſeen 30 or 40 Spaniards & Indians, which were horſemen, and kept watch there,

An iſland a league Northwards of Maſſatlan.

The eſcape of one Domingo, a Spaniard.

there, which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was 11 leagues vp into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told vs. We found vpon the iſland where we trimmed our pinneſſe, freſh water by the aſſiſtance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the ſande, where no water nor ſigne of water was before to be perceiued. Otherwiſe we had gon backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might haue bene occaſion that we might haue miſſed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God rayſed one Flores a Spaniard, which was alſo a priſoner with vs, to make a motion to digge in the ſands. Now our Generall hauing had experience ones before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practiſe, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and freſh water. So we watered our ſhips, and might haue filled a thouſand tunnes more, if we had would.

Chiametla.

Freſh water at 2 or 3 foote deepe in the ſand.

We ſtayed in this iſland vntill the 9 day of October, at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar, which is on the Weſt ſide of the point of California.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the iſle of Wight; and within the ſaid cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire freſh riuer, about which many Indians vſe to keepe: wee watered in the riuer and lay off and on from the ſaide cape of S. Lucar vntill the fourth of Nouember, and had the windes hanging ſtill Weſterly.

The cape of S. Lucar on the point of California.

Aguada Segura.

The 4 of Nouember the Deſire and the Content, wherein were the number of Engliſhmen onely liuing, beating vp and downe vpon the headland of California, which ſtandeth in 23 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Northward, betwene ſeuen and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ſhip going vp into the top eſpied a ſayle bearing in from the ſea with the cape; whereupon hee cryed out with no ſmall ioy to himſelfe and the whole company, A ſayle, A ſayle, with which cheerefull word the maſter of the ſhip and diuers others of the company went alſo vp into the maine top, who perceiuing the ſpeech to be very true gaue information vnto our Generall of theſe happy newes, who was no leſſe glad then the cauſe required: whereupon he gaue in charge preſently vnto the whole company to put all things in readines, which being performed we gaue thē chaſe ſome 3 or 4 houres, ſtanding with our beſt aduantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat vp vnto them, giuing them the broad ſide with our great ordinance and a volee of ſmall ſhot, and preſently layed the ſhip aboord, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the ſouth ſea, called the S. Anna, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ſhips ſide to enter her, being not paſt 50 or 60 men at the vttermoſt in our ſhip, we perceiued that the Captaine of the ſaid ſhip had made fights fore and after, and layd their ſailes cloſe on their poope, their mid ſhip, with their fore caſtle, and hauing not one man to be ſeene, ſtood cloſe vnder their fights, with lances, iauelings, rapiers, & targets, & an innumerable ſort of great ſtones, which they threw ouerboord vpon our heads and into our ſhip ſo faſt and being ſo many of them, that they put vs off the ſhippe againe, with the loſſe of 2 of our men which were ſlaine, & with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for al this we new trimmed our ſailes, and fitted euery man his furniture, and gaue them a freſh incounter with our great ordinance and alſo with our ſmall ſhot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine ſtill like a valiant man with his company ſtood very ſtoutely vnto his cloſe fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a freſh with the whole noyſe of trumpets gaue them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our ſmall ſhot to the great diſcomforting of our enemies raking them through in diuers places, killing and ſpoiling many of their men. They being thus diſcomforted and ſpoiled, and their ſhippe being in hazard of ſinking by reaſon of the great ſhot which were made, wherof ſome were vnder water, within 5 or 6 houres fight ſet out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, deſiring our Generall to ſaue their liues and to take their goods, and that they would preſently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promiſed them mercy, and willed them to ſtrike their ſayles, and to hoyſe out their boate and to come aboord: which newes they were ful glad to heare of, and preſently ſtrooke their ſailes, hoyſed their boat out, and one of their cheiſe marchants came aboord vnto our Generall: and falling downe vpon his knees, offered to haue kiſſed our Generals feete, and craued mercie: our General moſt graciouſly pardoned both him and the reſt vpon promiſe of their true dealing with him and his company concerning ſuch riches as were in the ſhippe: and ſent for the Captaine and their Pilote, who at their comming vſed the like duetie and reuerence as the former did. The Generall of his great mercy & humanitie, promiſed their liues and good vſage. The ſayd Captaine and Pilote preſently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thouſand pezos of golde: and the reſt of the riches that the ſhip was laden with, was in ſilkes, ſattens, damaſks, with muſke & diuers other marchandize, and great ſtore of al maner of victuals

California in 23 degrees and two thirds.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and vs.

The ſecond encounter.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anna yeeldeth.

One hundreth and two and twenty thouſand pezos of gold.

A pezo is 8 s.

with the choyſe of many conſerues of all ſortes for to eate, and of ſundry ſorts of very good wines. Theſe things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforeſaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to ſtay aboord the Deſire, and on the 6 day of Nouember following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

The marchandiſe in the great ſhip.

Here the whole company of the Spaniardes, both of men and women to the number of 190 perſons were ſet on ſhore: where they had a fayre riuer of freſh water, with great ſtore of freſh fiſh, foule, and wood, and alſo many hares and conies vpon the maine land. Our generall alſo gaue them great ſtore of victuals, of garuanſos, peaſon, and ſome wine. Alſo they had all the ſailes of their ſhippe to make them tents on ſhore, with licence to take ſuch ſtore of plankes as ſhould bee ſufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoyſing in of our goods, ſharing of the treaſure, and alotting to euery man his portion. In deuiſion whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie againſt our Generall, eſpecially thoſe which were in the Content, which neuertheleſſe were after a ſort pacified for the time.

The Spaniardes ſet on ſhore to the number of 190.

Mutinie againſt the Generall.

On the 17 day of Nouember, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Maieſtie, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be ſhot off, with the ſmall ſhot both in his owne ſhippe where himſelfe went, and alſo in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the ſame night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance diſcharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the moſt part of them had neuer ſeene the like before.

This ended, our Generall diſcharged the Captaine, gaue him a royall reward, with prouiſion for his defence againſt the Indians and his company, both of ſwords, targets, pieces, ſhot, and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great ſhippe two yong lads borne in Iapon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldeſt being about 20 yeers olde was named Chriſtopher, the other was called Coſmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke alſo with him out of their ſhip, 3 boyes borne in the iſles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongeſt about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldeſt was Alphonſo, the ſecond Anthony de Daſi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Counteſſe of Eſſex. He alſo tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but alſo in the iſlands of Iapon being a countrey moſt rich in ſiluer mynes, and hath alſo bene in the Philippinas.

Two boyes of Iapon.

Three boyes of Manilla.

Nicolas Roderigo, a Portugal

Hee tooke alſo from them a Spaniard whoſe name was Thomas de Erſola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna vnto the iſlands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put in to water, ſayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which iſles of Ladrones, they finde freſh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of Nouember aforeſaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall cauſed the kings ſhippe to be ſet on fire, which hauing to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we ſaw burnt vnto the water, and then gaue them a piece of ordinance and ſet ſayle ioyfully homewardes towardes England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eaſtnortheaſt: and night growing neere, we left the Content a ſterne of vs, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking ſhe would haue ouertaken vs, we loſt her companie and neuer ſaw her after. Wee were ſayling from this hauen of Aguada Segura in California vnto the iles of Ladrones the reſt of Nouember, and all December, and ſo forth vntil the 3 of Ianuarie 1588, with a faire winde for the ſpace 45 dayes: and we eſteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues. The 3 day of Ianuary by ſixe of the clocke in the morning wee had ſight of one of the iſlands of Ladrones called the iſland of Guana, ſtanding in 13 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ toward the North, and ſayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come vp within 2 leagues of the iſland, where we met with 60 or 70 ſailes of canoas full of Sauages, who came off to ſea vnto vs, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and freſh fiſh, which they had caught at ſea, and helde them vp vnto vs for to truck or exchange with vs; which when we perceiued, we made faſt litle pieces of old iron vpon ſmall cords and fiſhing lines, and ſo vered the iron vnto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make faſt vnto the ſame line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them vntil they had ſatiſfied themſelues with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were ſo thicke about the ſhip, that it ſtemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men ſaued themſelues being in euery canoa 4, 6, or 8 perſons all naked & excellent ſwimmers and diuers. They are of a tawny colour & maruellous fat, & bigger ordinarily of ſtature thē the moſt part of our men in England, wearing their haire maruellous long: yet ſome of them haue it made vp and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & ſome with 2 knots, much like vnto

A Spaniſh Pilote.

Acapulco is the hauen whence they ſet foorth to the Philippinas.

Good watering at the Ladrones.

The winde at Eaſtnortheaſt.

The Content, whereof Steuen Hare was maſter, left behind in the road.

The iſland of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13 degrees and two thirds.

Commodities of the iſles of Ladrones.

The colour and ſtature of of the people of the iſles of Ladrones.

Their images.
Artificial canoas.
Canoas ſayling right againſt the winde.
The nimblenes of the people of the Ladrones.

their images which wee ſaw them haue carued in wood, and ſtanding in the head of their boates like vnto the images of the deuill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that euer wee had ſeene: conſidering they were made and contriued without any edge-toole. They are not aboue halfe a yard in bredth and in length ſome ſeuen or eight yardes, and their heades and ſternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the ſtarrebordſide, with maſte and ſayle: their ſayle is made of mattes of ſedges, ſquare or triangle wiſe: and they ſaile as well right againſt the winde, as before the winde: Theſe Sauages followed vs ſo long, that we could not be ridde of them: vntill in the end our General commanded ſome halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready; and himſelfe ſtrooke one of them and the reſt ſhot at them: but they were ſo yare and nimble, that we could not diſcerne whether they were killed or no, becauſe they could fall backward into the ſea, and preuent vs by diuing.

Cabo del Spirito Santo one of the iſles of the Philippinas in 13 degrees.
From Guana an iſle of The Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santo is 310 leagues.
The deſcription of the towne of Manilla.
Trade from Acapulco to Manilla.
Marchants of China.
Marchants called Sanguelos
Siluer exchanged waight for waight for golde.

The 14 day of January lying at hull with our ſhip all the middle watch, from 12 at night vntil foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the iſles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the middeſt of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, trending farre into the ſea to the weſtward. This cape or iſland is diſtant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in ſayling of this courſe eleuen dayes with ſkant windes and ſome foule weather, bearing no ſayle two or three nights. This iſland ſtandeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is ſhort of the chiefeſt iſland of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of ſixe or ſeuen hundred perſons: which dwell in a towne vnwalled, which hath 3 or 4 ſmall blocke houſes, part made of wood, and part of ſtone beeing indeede of no great ſtrength: they haue one or two ſmall Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they haue yeerely trafficke from Acapulco in Nueua Eſpanna, and alſo 20 or 30 ſhippes from China and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many ſorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great ſtore of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for ſiluer, and giue waight for waight. Theſe Sanguelos are men of maruellous capacitie in deuiſing and making all maner of things, eſpecially in all handie craftes and ſciences: and euery one is ſo expert, perfect, and ſkilfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Chriſtians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing & imbrodering vpon ſatten, ſilck, or lawne, either beaſte, fowle, fiſh or worme, for liuelines and perfectnes, both in ſilke, ſiluer, gold, & pearle, they excell. Alſo the 14 day at night wee entred the ſtreights betweene the iſland of Luçon, & the iland of Camlaia.

The iſland of Capul at which our men ſtayed 9 dayes.

The fifteenth of January wee fell with an iſland called Capul, and had betwixt the ſayd iſland and another iſland but an narrowe paſſage, and a maruellous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the iſland of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the ſhore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

One of the chiefe gouernours of the iſland came aboord vs.

Our ſhippe was no ſooner come to an anker, but preſently there came a canoa rowing aboord vs; wherein was one of the chief Caſiques of the iſland, whereof there be ſeuẽ, who ſuppoſing that we were Spaniardes, brought vs potato rootes, which they call camotas, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gaue his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a baſket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent ſweete either roſted or boyled.

Hennes and hogges.

This Caſiques ſkinne was carued and cut with ſundry and many ſtrakes and deuiſes all ouer his body. We kept him ſtill aboord and cauſed him to ſend thoſe men which brought him aboord backe to the iland to cauſe the reſt of the principals to come aboord: who were no ſooner gone on ſhore, but preſently the people of the iſland came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the reſt of the principals likewiſe came aboord and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they vſed the ſame order with vs which they doe with the Spaniardes. For they tooke for euery hog (which they cal Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for euery henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and ſuch things as they brought, refreſhing our ſelues marueilouſly well.

The ſame day at night beeing the fifteenth of January 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugal, whom wee tooke out of the great Santa Anna at the Cape of California, deſired to ſpeake with our General in ſecret: which when our General vnderſtood, he ſent for him, & aſked him what he had to ſay vnto him. The Portugal made him this anſwer, that although he had offended his worſhip heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true ſeruice vnto him, and in reſpect thereof he neither could nor would cõceale ſuch treaſon as was in working againſt him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great ſant Anne for a Pilote, whoſe name was Thomas de Erſola, had written a letter, and ſecretly ſealed it and locked it vp in his cheſte, meaning to conuey it by the inhabitants of this iſland to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two Engliſh ſhips along the coaſt of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Nueua Eſpanna*, and *Nueua Galicia*, and that they had taken many ſhippes and marchandize in them, and burnt diuers townes, and ſpoiled all that euer they could come vnto, and that they had taken the kings ſhip which came from Manilla and all his treaſure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had ſet all the people on ſhore, taking himſelfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they ſhould make ſtrong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all ſuch prouiſion as they could poſſibly make. He farther ſignified, that wee were riding at an iſland called *Capul*, which was at the end of the iſland of *Manilla*, being but one ſhippe with ſmall force in it, and that the other ſhip, as he ſuppoſed, was gone for the North-weſt paſſage, ſtanding in 55 degrees: and that if they could vſe any meanes to ſurprize vs being there at an anker, they ſhould diſpatch it: for our force was but ſmall, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwiſe if they let vs eſcape, within fewe yeeres they muſt make account to haue their towne beſieged and ſacked with an armie of Engliſh. This information being giuen, our Generall called for him, and charged him with theſe things, which at the firſt he vtterly denyed: but in the ende, the matter being made manifeſt and knowen of certaintie by eſpeciall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he ſhould be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January.

The treaſon of the Spaniſh Pilote reuealed.

The copy of the Spaniſh Pilotes letter to the gouernour of Manilla, which was found in his cheſte, and tranſlated by Timothy Shotton.

Capul adioyning vpon the South iſle of Manilla.

The North-weſt paſſage.

50 leagues from Manilla.

The Spaniſh Pilote hanged for his trecherie.

We roade for the ſpace of nine dayes about this iſland of Capul, where we had diuerſe kindes of freſh victuals, with excellent freſh water in euery bay, and great ſtore of wood. The people of this iſland go almoſt all naked and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a ſtroope about their waſtes, of ſome kinde of linnen of their owne weauing, which is made of plantan leaues, and another ſtroope comming from their backe vnder their twiſtes, which couereth their priuie parts, and is made faſt to their girdles at their nauels.

The maner of the people of Capul.

Theſe people vſe a ſtrange kinde of order among them, which is this. Euery man and manchilde among them hath a nayle of Tynne thruſt quite through the head of his priuie part, being ſplit in the lower ende and riuetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a crowne: which is driuen through their priuities when they be yong, and the place groweth vp againe, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occaſion ſerueth: and for the truth thereof we our ſelues haue taken one of theſe nailes from a ſonne of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the ſame in his priuie member.

A ſtrange thing.

This cuſtome was granted at the requeſt of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the fowle ſinne of Sodomie, deſired ſome remedie againſt that miſchiefe, and obteined this before named of the magiſtrates. Moreouer all the males are circumciſed, hauing the foreſkinne of their fleſh cut away. Theſe people wholly worſhip the deuill, and often times haue conference with him, which appeareth vnto them in moſt vgly and monſtrous ſhape.

Circumciſion.

On the 23 day of January, our Generall M. Thomas Candiſh cauſed al the principals of this iſland, and of an hundred iſlands more, which he had made to pay tribute vnto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes, potatoes and cocos,) to appeare before him, and made himſelfe and his company knowne vnto them, that they were Engliſh men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon ſpredde his Enſigne and ſounded vp the drummes, which they much maruelled at: to conclude, they promiſed both themſelues and all the iſlands thereabout to ayde him, whenſoeuer hee ſhoulde come againe to ouercome the Spaniardes. Alſo our Generall gaue them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marueilous friendly, and rowed about our ſhippe to ſhewe vs pleaſure marueilous ſwiftly: at the laſt our generall cauſed a ſaker to be ſhot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaues of vs.

The inhabitants of Capul with all the iſlands adioyning, promiſe to ayde the Engliſh againſt the Spaniards.

The next day being the twentie foure of Januarie, wee ſette ſayle aboute ſixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coaſt of the iſland of Manilla, ſhaping our courſe Northweſt betweene the iſle of Manilla, and the iſle of Maſbat.

Our departure from the iſland of Capul.

The iſle of Maſbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 iſlands, wee ſpied a Frigat vnder her two coarſes, comming out betweene 2 other iſlands, which as we imagined came frõ Manilla, ſayling cloſe aboord the ſhore along the maine iſland of Panama: we chaſed this frigat along the ſhore, & gat very faſt vpon it, vntil in the end we came ſo neere that it ſtood in to the

The iſland of Panama.

ſhore

Markes of ſhallow water.

A Balſa is a great canoa.

A Spaniard of Manilla taken.

50 or 60 Spaniards ſhew themſelues.

A newe ſhippe of the kings in building.

ſhore cloſe by a winde, vntill ſhee was becalmed and was driuen to ſtricke her ſayle, and banked vp with her oares: whereupon we came vnto an anker with our ſhip, a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen ſhot and as many men with ſwords, which did row the boat: thus we made after the Frigate which had hoyſed ſaile and ran into a riuer, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the ſhore, our boate came into very ſhallow water, where many weares and ſticks were ſet vp in diuers places in the ſea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made ſomewhat neere vnto vs, with 3 or 4 Indians in it: we called vnto them; but they would not come neerer vnto vs, but rowed from vs: whom wee durſt not followe too farre for feare of bringing our ſelues to much to the leewarde of our ſhip. Here, as we looked about vs, we eſpied another Balſa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did ſet along as we do vſually ſet a barge with long ſtaues or poles, which was builded vp with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares; wherein were about 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard: nowe as wee were come almoſt at the Balſa, wee ran a ground with our boate; but one or two of our men leaped ouer-boord and freed it againe preſently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her aboord and tooke in to vs the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the ſea and diued and roſe farre off againe from vs. Preſently vpon the taking of this canoa, there ſhewed vpon the ſand a band of ſouldiers marching with an enſigne hauing a red Croſſe like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new ſhippe of the kings, which was building in a riuer within the bay, and ſtayed there but for certain yrons that did ſerue for the rudder of the ſaid ſhip, which they looked for euery day.

They manned out a Frigate after vs.

An hoſpitall in Manilla.

Mynes of very fine gold in the Iſland of Panama.

The iſland of Negros in 9 degrees.

This band of men ſhot at vs from the ſhore with their muskets, but hyt none of vs, and wee ſhot at them againe: they alſo manned a Frigate and ſent it out after our boat to haue taken vs, but we with ſaile and oares went from them: and when they perceiued that they could not fetch vs, but that they muſt come within danger of the ordinance of our ſhip, they ſtood in with the ſhore againe and landed their men, and preſently ſent their Frigate about the point, but whether we knew not. So we came aboord with this one Spaniard, which was neither ſouldier nor ſayler, but one that was come among the reſt from Manilla, and had bene in the hoſpital there a long time before, and was a very ſimple ſoule, and ſuch a one as could anſwere to very little that hee was aſked, concerning the ſtate of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceiued that the Spaniards had diſperſed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in ſeueral ſteedes with fires and ſhooting off their pieces. This iſland hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and ſtraight trees do grow vpon it, fit for to make excellent good maſtes for all ſorts of ſhips. There are alſo mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the cuſtodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great iſland, which is not ſubdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the iſland is called the iſland of Negros: and is almoſt as bigge as England, ſtanding in 9 degrees: the moſt part of it ſeemeth to be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

Their departure from the Philippinas.

The 29 day of January aboute ſixe of the clocke in the morning we ſet ſaile, ſending our boate before vntil it was two of the clock in the afternoone, paſſing all this time as it were through a ſtraight betwixt the ſaid 2 iſlands of Panama, and the iſland of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we eſpied a fayre opening, trending Southweſt and by South, at which time our boate came aboord, and our Generall ſent commendations to the Spaniſh captaine which wee came from the euening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to prouide good ſtore of gold: for he meant for to ſee him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to haue landed his men, or elſe hee would haue ſeene him then: and ſo cauſed him to be ſet on ſhore.

Batochina.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we eſpied an iſland neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which ſtandeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

11 or 12 ſmall ylands in 3 degrees 10 min. to the South-ward.

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very ſmall iſlands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and paſſed by ſome iſlands which be ſuncke and haue the dry ſands lying in the maine ſea. Theſe iſlands neere the Malucoes, ſtand in 3 degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

Iſlands in 4 degrees ſouthward of the line.

The death of captaine Hauers.

On the 17 day, one Iohn Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene ſicke of an olde diſeaſe a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other iſlands which had many ſmall iſlands among them, ſtanding 4 degrees to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of Februarie, being Aſhwedneſday Captaine Hauers dyed of a moſt feruent and peſtilent ague, which held him furiouſly ſome 7 or 8 dayes, to the no ſmall griefe of our Generall and of all the reſt of the company, who cauſed two Falcons and one Sacre to be ſhot off, with all the ſmall ſhotte in the ſhip, who after he was ſhrowded in a ſheete and a prayer ſayd, was heued ouer bord with great lamentation of vs all. Moreouer, preſently after his death my ſelfe with diuers others in the ſhip fell marueilouſly ſicke, and ſo continued in very great paine for the ſpace of three weekes or a moneth by reaſon of the extreeme heat and vntemperatneſſe of the Climate.

March 1588.

Our arriual at Iaua maior.

The firſt day of March hauing paſſed through the Straights of Iaua minor and Iaua maior, wee came to an ancker vnder the Southweſt parts of Iaua maior: where wee eſpied certaine of the people which were fiſhing by the ſea ſide in a bay which was vnder the yland. Then our Generall taking into the ſhip-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could ſpeake the Moriſco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward thoſe fiſhers, which hauing eſpied our boat ranne on ſhoare into the wood for feare of our men: but our Generall cauſed his Negro to call vnto them: who no ſooner heard him call, but preſently one of them came out to the ſhore ſide and made anſwere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for freſh water, which they found, and cauſed the fiſher to goe to the King and to certifie him of a ſhippe that was come to haue trafique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche iewels that hee had: for which hee ſhould haue either golde or other marchandiſe in exchange. The fiſher anſwered that we ſhould haue all maner of victuals that wee would requeſt. Thus the boat came abord againe. Within a while after wee went about to furniſh our ſhippe throughly with wood and water.

The Moriſco or Arabian tongue common in Iaua.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne vnto vs with egges, hennes, freſh fiſh, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee ſhould haue had victuals more plentifully, but that they were ſo farre to bee brought to vs where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed ancker and ſtoode in neerer for the towne: and as wee were vnder ſaile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde vs; whereupon wee ſhoke the ſhippe in the winde and ſtayed for the canoa vntill it came abord of vs, and ſtoode into the bay which was hard by and came to an ancker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded vp like vnto a Turkes Tuliban: he was all naked ſauing about his waſte, his breaſt was carued with the broade arrowe vpon it; hee went barefooted: he had an interpretour with him, which was a Meſtizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could ſpeake very good Portugeſe. This Secretarie ſignified vnto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, freſh fiſh, ſugar-canes and wine: (which wine was as ſtrong as any aquauitæ, and as cleare as any rocke water:) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals ſo ſufficiently for him, as hee and his company would requeſt, and that within the ſpace of foure dayes. Our Generall vſed him ſingularly well, banquetted him moſt royally with the choyce of many and ſundry conſerues, wines both ſweete and other, and cauſed his Muſitians to make him muſicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Engliſhmen; and that wee had bene at China and had had trafique there with them, and that wee were come thither to diſcouer, and purpoſed to goe to Malaca. The people of Iaua tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the yland which lay there as Factours continually to trafique with them, to buy Negros, cloues, pepper, ſugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night abord our ſhippe. The ſame night, becauſe they lay abord, in the euening at the ſetting of the watch, our Generall commanded euery man in the ſhippe to prouide his harquebuze and his ſhotte, and ſo with ſhooting off 40. or 50. ſmall ſhot and one Sacre, himſelfe ſet the watch with them. This was no ſmall marueile vnto theſe heathen people, who had not commonly ſeene any ſhippe ſo furniſhed with men and Ordinance. The next morning wee diſmiſſed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humanitie.

A King of Iaua his Secretary.

Niper wine.

Cloues, pepper, ſugar, and many other commodities in Iaua maior.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the Kings canoas; but the winde being ſomewhat ſkant they could not get abord that night, but put into a bay vnder the yland vntill the next day, and preſently after the breake of day there came to the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas ſo deepely laden with victuals as they could ſwim, with two great liue oxen, halfe a ſkore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were aliue, drakes, geeſe, eggs, plantans, ſugar canes, ſugar in plates, cocos, ſweet oranges and ſowre, lymes, great ſtore of wine and aquauitæ, ſalt to ſeaſon victuals withall, and almoſt all maner of victuals elſe, with diuers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the reſt of the people in one of theſe canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle ſtature, and men of marueilous proper perſonage; they were each of them in a looſe ierkin, and hoſe, which came downe from the waſte to the ancle, becauſe of the vſe of the Countrey, and partly becauſe it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing

Nine or 10. of the Kings canoas.

Two Portugales in Iaua.

Enquirie of Don Antonie.

of great diſlike among theſe heathens to weare either hoſe or ſhoes on their feete:) they had on each of them a very faire and a white lawne ſhirt, with falling bands on the ſame, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. Theſe Portugales were no ſmall ioy vnto our Generall and all the reſt of our company: For we had not ſeene any Chriſtian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall vſed and intreated them ſingularly well, with banquets and muſicke: They told vs that they were no leſſe glad to ſee vs, then wee to ſee them, and enquired of the eſtate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were liuing or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall ſatiſfied them in euery demaund; Aſſuring them, that their King was aliue, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come vnder the King of Portugall into the South ſea, and had warred vpon the Spaniards there, and had fired, ſpoiled and ſunke all the ſhips along the coaſt that we could meete withall, to the number of eighteene or twentie ſailes. With this report they were ſufficiently ſatiſfied.

The ſtate of Iaua.

Raia Bolamboam.

The wiues kill themſelues after their huſbands deaths.

A ſtrange order.

On the other ſide they declared vnto vs the ſtate of the yland of Iaua. Firſt the plentifulnes and great choiſe and ſtore of victuals of all ſorts, & of all maner of fruits as before is ſet downe: Ther the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Ther they deſcribed the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the yland was Raia Bolamboam, who was a man had in great maieſtie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, ſell, or exchange any thing with any other nation, without ſpeciall licence from their king: and if any ſo doe, it is preſent death for him. The King himſelfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred wiues, his ſonne hath fiftie. The cuſtome of the countrey is, that whenſoeuer the king doeth die, they take the body ſo dead and burne it and preſerue the aſhes of him, and within fiue dayes next after, the wiues of the ſaid king ſo dead, according to the cuſtome and vſe of their countrey, euery one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was neereſt vnto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball reſteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eaſtward, and euery one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Criſe, and is as ſharpe as a raſor) ſtab themſelues to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themſelues in their owne blood, and falling groueling on their faces ſo ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it ſeemeth to any hearer to be ſtrang.

Faire women in Iaua.

The men of themſelues be very politique and ſubtile, and ſingularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they vndertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example: if their king command them to vndertake any exploit, be it neuer ſo dangerous or deſperate, they dare not nor will not refuſe it, though they die euery man in the execution of the ſame. For hee will cut off the heads of euery one of them which returne aliue without bringing of their purpoſe to paſſe: which is ſuch a thing among them, as it maketh them the moſt valiant people in all the Southeaſt parts of the world. for they neuer feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himſelfe hurt with launce or ſword, he will willingly runne himſelfe vpon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more ſpeedily, and in this deſperate ſort ende his dayes, or ouercome his enemie. Moreouer, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more apparelled.

Don Antonio might be receiued as King in the Eaſt Indies.

They depart from Iaua the 16. of March 1588.

After they had thus deſcribed the ſtate of the yland, and the orders and facions of the people; they tolde vs farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come vnto them, they would warrant him to haue all the Malucos at commandement, beſides China, Sangles, and the yles of the Philippinas, and that hee might be aſſured to haue all the Indians on his ſide that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented theſe Portugals, and the people of Iaua which brought vs victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leaues of vs with promiſe of all good entertainement at our returnes, and our Generall gaue them three great pieces of Ordinance at their departing. Thus the next day being the 16. of March we ſet ſaile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Eſperancça on the Southermoſt coaſt of Africa.

The reſt of March and all the moneth of April wee ſpent in trauerſing that mightie and vaſte Sea, betweene the yle of Iaua and the maine of Africa, obſeruing the heauens, the Croſiers or South-pole, the other ſtarres, the foules, which are markes vnto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempeſts, the raines & thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a ſtorme at the Weſt, and it blew ſo hard that it was as much as the ſhip could ſtirre cloſe by vnder the wind: and the ſtorme continued al that day and al that night.

The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and eſpied land bearing North, and North and by Weſt off vs, & about noone wee eſpied land to beare Weſt off vs, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Eſperança, whereof indeed we were ſhort ſome 40. or 50. leagues: and by reaſon of the ſkantneſſe of the winde we ſtood along to the Southeaſt vntill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Weſtward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the ſky was very hazie and thicke vntill the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the ſky cleared, and we eſpied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falſo, which is ſhort of the Cape de buena Eſperança 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very eaſie to be knowen. For there are right ouer it three very high hilles ſtanding but a ſmal way one off another, and the hieſt ſtandeth in the middeſt, and the ground is much lower by the ſeaſide. The Cape of Good hope beareth Weſt and by South from the ſaid Cabo Falſo.

Cabo Falſo.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp at Eaſt a very ſtiffe gale, which helde vntill it was Saturday with as much winde as euer the ſhip could goe before: at which time by ſixe of the clocke in the morning wee eſpied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Eſperança, which is a reaſonable hie land, & at the Weſtermoſt point a litle off the maine do ſhew two hammocks, the one vpon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the ſea, yet low land betweene and adioyning vnto the ſea.

They double the Cape de Bona Speranza

This cape of Buena Eſperança is ſet down and accompted for two thouſand leagues from the yland of Iaua in the Portugall ſea carts: but it is not ſo much almoſt by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ſhip. We were in running of theſe eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues iuſt nine weekes.

From Iaua to the Cape of Bona Speranza is but 1850. leagues.

Iune 1588.

The eighth day of Iune by breake of day we fel in ſight of the yland of S. Helena, ſeuen or eight leagues ſhort of it, hauing but a ſmall gale of winde, or almoſt none at all: inſomuch as we could not get vnto it that day, but ſtood off and on all that night.

The next day being the 9. of Iune hauing a prettie eaſie gale of wind we ſtood in with the ſhore, our boat being ſent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone we came vnto an ancker in 12. fathoms water two or three cables length from the ſhore, in a very faire and ſmooth bay vnder the Northweſt ſide of the yland.

They anker at the yland of S. Helena the 9. of Iune.

This yland is very high land, and lieth in the maine ſea ſtanding as it were in the middeſt of the ſea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Braſilia and the coaſt of Guinea: And is in 15. degrees and 48. minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is diſtant from the Cape of Buena Eſperança betweene 5. and 6. hundreth leagues.

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward.

The ſame day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on ſhore, where wee found a marueilous faire & pleaſant valley, wherein diuers handſome buildings and houſes were ſet vp, and eſpecially one which was a Church, which was tyled & whited on the outſide very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the vpper end was ſet an altar, whereon ſtood a very large table ſet in a frame hauing in it the picture of our Sauiour CHRIST vpon the Croſſe and the image of our Lady praying, with diuers other hiſtories curiouſly painted in the ſame. The ſides of the Church were all hanged with ſtained clothes hauing many deuiſes drawen in them.

There are two houſes adioyning to the Church, on each ſide one, which ſerue for kitchins to dreſſe meate in, with neceſſary roomes and houſes of office: the couerings of the ſaide houſes are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the ſaide houſes runneth a very good and holſome ſtreame of freſh water.

There is alſo right ouer againſt the ſaide Church a faire cauſey made vp with ſtones reaching vnto a valley by the ſeaſide, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great ſtore of pompions and melons: And vpon the ſaide cauſey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells wherewith they ring to Maſſe; and hard vnto it is a Croſſe ſet vp, which is ſquared, framed and made very artificially of free ſtone, whereon is carued in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the faireſt and largeſt lowe plot in all the yland, and it is marueilous ſweete and pleaſant, and planted in euery place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are figtrees, which beare fruit continually, & marueilous plentifully: for on euery tree you ſhal haue bloſſoms, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at ones: and it is ſo all the yere long: the reaſon is that the yland ſtandeth ſo neere the Sunne. There be alſo great ſtore of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beare fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleaſant walkes vnder and betweene them, and the ſaide walkes bee ouerſhadowed with the leaues of the trees: and in euery voyde place is planted parceley,

The great ſtore of diuers excellent fruits in S. Helena.

ſorell, baſill, fenell, annis ſeede, muſtard ſeede, radiſhes, and many ſpeciall good hearbes: and the freſh water brooke runneth through diuers places of this orchard, and may with very ſmall paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This freſh water ſtreame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refreſh the whole yland, and almoſt euery tree in it. The yland is altogether high mountaines and ſteepe valleis, except it be in the tops of ſome hilles, and downe below in ſome of the valleis, where marueilous ſtore of all theſe kinds of fruits before ſpoken of do grow: there is greater ſtore growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis: but it is wonderfull labourſome and alſo dangerous traueiling vp vnto them and downe againe, by reaſon of the height and ſteepeneſſe of the hilles.

Abundance of partridges in S. Helena.

There is alſo vpon this yland great ſtore of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haſt to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get vp into the ſteepe cliffes: we killed ſome of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bigneſſe and alſo in colour. For they be within a little as bigge as an henne, and are of an aſhe colour, and liue in couies twelue, ſixteene, and twentie together: you cannot go ten or twelue ſcore but you ſhall ſee or ſpring one or two couies at the leaſt.

Great ſtore of feſants.

There are likewiſe no leſſe ſtore of feſants in the yland, which are alſo marueilous bigge and fat, ſurpaſſing thoſe which are in our countrey in bigneſſe and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before ſpoken of.

Turkies in great quantitie.

Wee found moreouer in this place great ſtore of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the ſame bigneſſe which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding numbers of goats.

There are in this yland thouſands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wilde: you ſhall ſee one or two hundred of them together, and ſometimes you may beholde them going in a flocke almoſt a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the country I wot not) are as big as an aſſe, with a maine like an horſe and a beard hanging downe to the very ground: they wil clime vp the cliffes which are ſo ſteepe that a man would thinke it a thing vnpoſſible for any liuing thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their ſwiftnes: for there be thouſands of them vpon the mountaines.

Plentie of ſwine.

Here are in like maner great ſtore of ſwine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a marueilous bignes: they keepe altogether vpon the mountaines, and will very ſeldome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found aſleepe, or otherwiſe, according to their kinde, be taken layed in the mire.

We found in the houſes at our comming 3. ſlaues which were Negros, & one which was borne in the yland of Iaua, which tolde vs that the Eaſt Indian fleete, which were in number 5. ſailes, the leaſt whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with ſpices and Calicut cloth, with ſtore of treaſure and very rich ſtones and pearles, were gone from the ſaide yland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This yland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreſhing as they come from the Eaſt Indies. And when they come they haue all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reaſon that they ſuffer none to inhabit there that might ſpend vp the fruit of the yland, except ſome very few ſicke perſons in their company, which they ſtand in doubt will not liue vntill they come home, whom they leaue there to refreſh themſelues, and take away the yeere following with the other Fleete if they liue ſo long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the Eaſt Indies, then at their going thither, becauſe they are throughly furniſhed with corne when they ſet out of Portugal, but are but meanely victualed at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

Our departure from S. Helena.

The 20. day of Iune hauing taken in wood & water and refreſhed our ſelues with ſuch things as we found there, and made cleane our ſhip, we ſet ſaile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our ſetting ſaile wee had the winde at Southeaſt, and we haled away Northweſt and by Weſt. The winde is commonly off the ſhore at this yland of S. Helena.

July 1588.

On wedneſday being the thirde day of Iuly we went away Northweſt the winde being ſtill at Southeaſt: at which time we were in 1. degree and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line.

The twelfth day of the ſaid moneth of Iuly it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and ſo continued vntil it was munday being the 15. day of Iuly.

On Wedneſday the 17. day of the abouſaid moneth wee had the winde ſkant at Weſt northweſt. Wee found the wind continually to blow at Eaſt, and Northeaſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt after we were in 3.or 4.degrees to the Northward; and it altered not vntill we came betweene 30.and 40.degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctial Line.

On Wedneſday the 21.day of Auguſt the wind came vp at Southweſt a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38.degrees of Northerly latitude.

On friday in the morning being the 23.day of Auguſt, at foure of the clocke we haled Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South for the Northernmoſt ylands of the Açores.

On Saturday the 24.day of the ſaid moneth by 5.of the clocke in the morning we fel in ſight of the two ylands of Flores and Coruo ſtanding in 39. degrees and ½. and ſailed away Northeaſt.

Coruo and Flores, two ylands of the Azores.

The third of September we met with a Flemiſh hulke which came from Lisbone, & declared vnto vs the ouerthrowing of the Spaniſh Fleete, to the ſinguler reioycing and comfort of vs all.

The 9.of September, after a terrible tempeſt which caried away moſt part of our ſailes, by the mercifull fauour of the Almightie we recouered our long wiſhed port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we ſet foorth at the beginning of our voyage.

CERTEINE RARE AND SPECIAL NOTES moſt properly belonging to the voyage of M. *Thomas Candiſh* next before deſcribed; concerning the heights, ſoundings, lyings of lands, diſtances of places, the variation of the Compaſſe, the iuſt length of time ſpent in ſayling betweene diuers places, and their abode in them, as alſo the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the ſame, with the obſeruation of the windes on ſeuerall coaſtes:

Written by *M.Thomas Fuller* of *Ipſwich*, who was Maſter in *The deſire* of M. *Thomas Candiſh* in his foreſaid proſperous voyage about the world.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coaſt of *Barbarie*.

INprimis Cape Cantin ſtandeth in the latitude of	32.degr.	4.min.
Item the yland of Mogador ſtandeth in	31.degr.	30.min.
Item Cape d'oro ſtandeth in	30.degr.	20.min.
Item the ylands of the Canaries about	28.degr.	
Item Cape Bojador ſtandeth in	27.degr.	30.min.
Item Cape Verde ſtandeth in	14.degr.	30.min.
Item the Cape of Sierra Liona in	8.degr.	
Item an yland called Ilha Verde in	7.degr.	30.min.

A note of the heights of certaine places from the coaſt of *Braſill* to the South ſea.

INprimis Cape Frio ſtandeth in the latitude of	23.degr.	30.min.
Item the yland of S.Sebaſtian in	24.degr.	
Item Port deſire ſtandeth in	47.degr.	50.min.
Item Seales bay ſtandeth in	48.degr.	20.min.
Item Port S.Iulian ſtandeth in	50.degr.	
Item The white riuer ſtandeth in	50.degr.	30.min.
Item Cape Ioy ſtandeth in	52.degr.	40.min.
Item Port famine within the Straights of Magellan ſtandeth in	53.degr.	50.min.
Item Cape froward within the Straights of Magellan ſtandeth in	54.degr.	15.min.
Item Cape deſire in the entring into the South ſea ſtandeth in	53.degr.	10.min.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru* in the South ſea.

INprimis the yland of Mocha ſtandeth in the latitude of	38.degr.	30.min.
Item the yland of S.Mary in	37.degr.	15.min.
Item the bay of *Valpares in	33.degr.	40.min.
Item the bay of Quintero in	33.degr.	20.min.
Item Coquimbo in	29.degr.	30.min.
Item Morro moreno in	23.degr.	20.min.
Item Arica ſtandeth in	18.degr.	30.min.
Item the bay of Piſca ſtandeth in	13.degr.	30.min.
Item the bay of Lima ſtandeth in	11.degr.	50.min.

*Valpariſo.

	Item Santos ſtandeth in	9. degr.	20. min.
	Item the bay of Cherrepe in	6. degr.	30. min.
	Item the bay of Paita, in	5. degr.	4. min.
	Item the yland of Puna, in	2. degr.	50. min.
	Item Cape Sant Franciſco to the North of the Equinoctiall, in	1. degr.	

A note of the height of certaine places to the Northwards of the *Equinoctiall* line, on the coaſt of *New Spaine.*

	INprimis, Panama ſtandeth in the latitude of	9. degrees.	
	Item the yland called Iſla de Canoas, in	9. degr.	10. min.
	Item Cape Blanco, in	10. degr.	10. min.
	Item Rio Lexo, in	12. degr.	40. min.
*Or, Guatulco.	Item *Aguatulco, in	15. degr.	50. min.
	Item Acapulco, in	17. degr.	20. min.
	Item Sant Iago, in	18. degr.	50. min.
	Item Cape de los Corrientes, in	20. degr.	30. min.
	Item the bay of Xaliſco, in	21. degr.	30. min.
* Las tres Marias.	Item the ylands of the *Maries, in	21. degr.	20. min.
	Item the yland of Saint Andrew, in	22. degr.	
	Item the ylands of Ciametlan, in	23. degr.	40. min.
	Item, that the Cape of Santa Clara on the point of California is in	23. degrees.	

A note of the heights of certaine places beginning from the ylands of the *Ladrones* and paſſing by the *Philippinas*, the *Malucos, Iaua minor, Iaua maior*, the Cape of *Bona Sperança*, and the yle of *Santa Helena.*

	INprim. one of the ylands of the Ladrones called Guana ſtandeth in	13. degr.	50. min.
	Item Cape De Spirito Santo on the yle of Luçon ſtandeth in	13. degr.	
	Item the yland of Capul in	12. degr.	30. min.
	Item that the yland of Seboyon ſtandeth in	12. degr.	
Or Panuma,	Item that the Eaſterly end of the yland of * Pannay is in	11. degr.	
	Item that the opening betweene the South head of Pannay and the South head of Iſla de los Negros is in	10. degr.	10. min.
	Item that the South-head of Iſla de los Negros is in	9. degr.	10. min.
	Item that the North-head of the yland Mindanao is in	7. degr.	50. min.
	Item the South-head of Mindanao called Cape Cannel is in	6. degr.	40. min.
	Item the Cape of Batochina is in		10. min.
To the Southwards of the Line.	*Item that 12. ſmall ylands ſtand in	3. degr.	
	Item the latitude of two other ylands is in	4. degr.	10. min.
	Item the Weſterly head of Iaua minor is toward the South in	8. degr.	30. min.
	Item the Eaſterly head of Iaua maior is toward the South in	8. degr.	20. min.
	Item Malaca ſtandeth to the Northward in	2. degr.	
	Item Cape Falſo on the promontory of Africa, ſtandeth in	34. degr.	20. min.
	Item the Cape of Bona Sperança ſtandeth in	34. degr.	40. min.
	Item the yland of Santa Helena ſtandeth in	15. degr.	40. min.
	Item the Cape of S. Auguſtine ſtandeth Southward in	8. degr.	40. min.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Barbarie* from *Rio del Oro* vnto *Cape Blanco.*

INprimis about 3. leagues off Rio del Oro you ſhall haue very faire ſhoulding, fine white ſand 18. fathoms, and ſo alongſt vnto Cape Blanco two or three leagues off the ſhore you ſhall haue 18. and 20. fathoms. And when you come within one league of the Cape you ſhall haue twelue or thirteene fathoms, browne ſand, very faire ſhoulding. And if you will hall in with Cape Blanco, beware you come not within ſeuen or eight fathoms of the Cape: for there lyeth a ſand off the Cape.

Alſo about 7. or eight leagues off the Cape lyeth a long ſhould next hand Southweſt and by South off the Cape.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Guiny*.

ITem, Going vnto Sierra Leona, hauing the cape Eaſtnortheaſt off you, 7 leagues off, you ſhall haue 22 fadome browne ſand. And halling in you ſhall finde very faire ſhoalding. You may be bold to borrow on the Southermoſt ſhore: but take heed of a rocke that lieth in the faire way a good birth off the ſhore, but there is no feare of it: for it lieth aboue the water, and is diſtant two miles off the South ſhore.

Item, You may be bolde to borrow hard by the rocke; for on the North ſide going in there lieth one long ſand which runneth Southeaſt and Northweſt, and lieth diſtant from the South ſhore 2 leagues. And you ſhall anker in 14 or 15 fadoms hard by the ſhore.

Alſo going vnto the iſland called Illha Verde, the which iland lieth 10 leagues to the Southward of Sierra Leona, the courſe is Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt: and you ſhall haue betweene them 9 or 10 fadome, And if you will anker at the ſayd iland, you ſhall haue 5 or 6 fadome hard by the ſhore.

Alſo you muſt haue eſpeciall care of a great current that ſetteth alongſt the coaſt of Guiny to the Eaſtward.

Item, And if you be bound vnto the Southwards, you muſt go Weſtſouthweſt off, for feare of the ſhoald that is called Madera Bomba, the which ſhoald is to the Southwards of the iland.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Braſil*.

ITem, Unto the Northwards of Cape Frio, the cape bearing ſouthweſt off you, about 17 or 18 leagues off, you ſhall haue 45 fadoms ſtreamy ground: and running Southweſt, you ſhall find 32 fadoms blacke ſand: and then running Weſtſouthweſt into a deepe bay, which lieth tenne leagues to the Northwards of the cape, you ſhall haue 22 fadoms oaze: that depth you ſhall haue all alongſt, except you be farre into the bay; and then you ſhall haue 16 fadoms all oazie.

Item, To the Northwards of Cape Frio, about 6 or 7 leagues, you ſhall haue many ſmall iſlands.

Item, To the Northwards of the cape 6 leagues, you ſhall haue two ſmall iſlands one mile diſtant the one from the other, and they are diſtant from the maine fiue leagues. And betweene thoſe ilands and the cape you ſhall haue very many iſlands hard aboord the maine.

Item, The cape bearing Weſt of you two leagues off, you ſhall haue 55 fadoms oaze. Alſo you ſhall know when you are ſhot about the cape vnto the Southwards, by deeping of the water.

Alſo if you will go for S. Sebaſtian from the cape, you muſt go Weſt and South, and Weſtſouthweſt among. And the diſtance from the cape vnto S. Sebaſtian is 50 leagues. And being ſhot into the bay any thing nere the ſhore, you ſhall haue 24 fadoms all oazie.

And halling in for S. Sebaſtian, you ſhall know it by two little iſlands which be round: and thoſe ilands lie from the iland of S. Sebaſtian next hand Eaſt and by South; and are diſtant the one from the other about foure leagues.

Alſo off the Southermoſt end of S. Sebaſtian, there lieth one iland about 6 leagues off; which iland is called the Alcatrarza, and there lie foure little ilands about it. Alſo you may know it by the trending of the land vnto the Southwards.

Item, If you will go in at the Northermoſt end of S. Sebaſtian, you muſt take heed of a ſand that lieth on the Northeaſt part of the iland: but you may be bolde to borrow on the iland: for the ſand lieth off the maine ſide. Alſo you may anker on the Northermoſt part of the iland in tenne fadoms; and the maine is diſtant from you where you ſhall ride two leagues off.

Item, If you will come in at the Southermoſt end of the iland of S. Sebaſtian, your courſe from the Alcatrarza is Southweſt & Northeaſt, and their diſtance is 6 leagues the one from the other.

Item, Unto the Southwards of the riuer Plate, being in the latitude of 45 degrees and 60 leagues off the maine, you ſhall haue ſhoalding in 60 fadoms or 65 fadoms oazie ſand: and then halling in for the ſhore Weſtſouthweſt 16 leagues, you ſhall haue 50 fadoms oaze, and you ſhall haue faire ſhoalding all along.

Item, In the latitude of 47 ½ you ſhall ſee about one mile in length, not paſſing one league off the ſhore, a ledge of broken ground, but no danger. Alſo you ſhall haue very faire ſhoalding all along the coaſt; and the land lying South and North vntill you come vnto port Deſire, which ſtandeth in 48 degrees.

Item, If you will go into port Deſire, on the North ſide there lieth one ledge of rocks about a league diſtant from the ſhore. Alſo on the North ſide at the mouth of the harborow, there lies a couple of rocks, which are at halfe flood vnder water: but be bolde to borrow on the Southermoſt

moſt ſhore; for there is no danger: and you ſhall haue no leſſe then 6 fadoms water at a low water, the harborow lying Eaſt and Weſt. Alſo you may know the harborow by one litle iland that lieth Southeaſt off the mouth of the harborow, and it is diſtant 4 leagues. Furthermore you may know the harborow by an high rocke that ſtandeth on the South ſide; and this rocke is very much like a watch tower. Alſo if you be any thing in, you may anker in 5 fadoms at a low water.

Item, It floweth there South and North, and higheth at ſpring tides 3 fadoms and an halfe water; and in the offing the flood ſetteth to the Northward.

Item, In the latitude of 48 degrees 50 minuts you ſhall haue 44 fadoms blacke ſand about 5 leagues off: and about 3 leagues off you ſhall haue 25 fadoms, and great ſhingle ſtones.

Item, in the latitude of 49 degrees ½ you ſhall haue ſounding in 38 fadoms oazie ſand.

Item, In the latitude of 51 degrees 10 minuts you ſhall haue ſoundings 4 leagues from the ſhore in 44 fadoms ſmall blacke ſtones.

Soundings within the entrance of the Streights.

ITem, About 2 leagues from the Northermoſt ſhore you ſhall haue 38 fadoms blacke ſand, and all along you ſhall haue deepe water, not leſſe then 18 or 20 fadoms in the faire way.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Chili* in the South ſea.

ITem, In the latitude of 36 degrees you ſhall haue ſoundings in 12 fadoms, 2 miles from the land, browne ſand.

Item, In the latitude of 35 degrees, you ſhall haue ſoundings one league off from the land in 10 fadoms white ſand.

Soundings on the coaſt of *New Spaine* in the South ſea.

ITem, In the latitude of 14 degrees to the North of the line, you ſhall haue ſoundings 4 leagues from the land in 30 fadoms, browne ſand.

Item, From the latitude of 14 degrees vnto the latitude of 15 degrees, you ſhall haue faire ſhoalding 3 leagues from the land.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Africa* vnto the Eaſtward of the cape of *Buena Eſperança* 40 leagues.

ITem, To the Eaſtwards of the cape of Buena Eſperança 40 leagues, in the latitude of 34 degrees and 10 minuts, 8 leagues from the land, you ſhall haue 65 fadome, and browne ſand.

A note of the lying of the land vnto the Southward of *Port Deſire.*

IN primis, Seales bay ſtandeth vnto the Southwards of Port Deſire 12 leagues Southſouthweſt. Furthermore, vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 3 leagues, you ſhall haue very low land. Alſo more vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 7 leagues, in the heighth of 48 degrees 40 minuts, you ſhall ſee a rocke 5 leagues off the ſhore, the land lying Southweſt and by South.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½, you ſhall ſee a ſmall flat Iland, about a league and an halfe off the ſhore, the land lying Southweſt and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 49 degrees ½ vnto the latitude of 50 degrees, the land lieth South and by Weſt, and is high land.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Southweſt and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, the land lieth South and by Weſt, North and by Eaſt.

Item, In the ſayd latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, there goeth in an harborow, which is to be knowen by a long beache that lieth on the South ſide of the harborow. Moreouer, the ſayd harborow ſtandeth 12 leagues vnto the Northwards of Cape Ioy. Furthermore, from the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 40 minuts (in which heigth ſtandeth Cape Ioy) the land lieth Southſoutheaſt, and Northnorthweſt.

Item, Comming from the Northwards, you ſhall ſee before you come to Cape Ioy, a very long beach, about the length of 8 leagues, being 5 leagues ſhort of the cape vnto the Northwards. Alſo vnto the Southwards of the cape, you ſhall ſee another beach, about a league long, adioyning hard vnder the cape; about which beach is the entrance of the Streights of Magellan, the which Straights are in breadth ſixe leagues ouer, from the cape vnto the South ſhore, lying South and by Eaſt.

Item, From Cape Ioy, being the entrance of the ſtreight of Magellan, vnto the firſt narrow paſſage of the ſayd ſtreight; the courſe is Weſt and by North, and Eaſt and by South, and are diſtant 18 leagues; the land being in breadth from the one ſide to the other one league.

The entrance of the ſtreight.

Item, From the firſt narrow vnto the ſecond narrow paſſage, the courſe is Weſt & by South, and Eaſt and by North; and the diſtance is 12 leagues: and in breadth the one ſide is from the other about two leagues ouer.

Item, From the ſecond narrow vnto the ilands that be called Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin ilands, the diſtance is 5 leagues, and the courſe is Southweſt and Northeaſt: the ilands being diſtant a league and an halfe the one from the other.

Item, From the ſayd ilands vnto Port Famine is 16 leagues: the courſe is Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt. Moreouer, from Port Famine vnto Cape Froward, the courſe is South and by Weſt, and North and by Eaſt: and they are diſtant 8 leagues aſunder.

Item, From Cape Froward vnto S. Ieromes riuer, is 16 leagues: the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt. Alſo from S. Ieromes riuer vnto the vttermoſt land on the South ſide, the which is called Cabo Deſeado, the courſe is Northweſt & ſomewhat to the Northward, and are diſtant 30 leagues. So the whole length of the ſtreight of Magellan is 105 leagues.

The end of th ſtreight.

A note of the lying of the lands in the South ſea.

IN primis, There ſtand in the latitude of 52 degrees and 50 minuts, three or foure ilands, about 8 leagues from Cabo Deſeado: the courſe is Northnorthweſt, and Southſoutheaſt. And thoſe ilands ſtand in the mouth of the ſtreight of Magellan, at the going into the South ſea.

Item, From the latitude of 52 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 51 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth Northeaſt and by North, Southweſt and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 38 degrees 30 minuts vnto the latitude of 37 degrees 14 minuts, the land lieth North and South.

Item, From the iland of S. Marie, being in the latitude of 37 degrees 14 min. vnto the heighth of 36 degrees 14 minuts, in which height ſtandeth The bay of Conception, the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance 12 leagues.

The bay of Conception.

Item, From the latitude of 36 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northeaſt and by North, Southweſt and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 33 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

Item, In the latitude of 34 degrees you ſhall ſee about fiue miles off from the ſhore a banke of ſand, on the which you ſhall haue but ſhoald water.

Item, From the latitude of 33 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

33 deg. 20 mi. In which height ſtandeth Quintero.

Item, From the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

27 deg. 40 mi. In which height ſtandeth Copiapo.

Item, In the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, there lie two ilands diſtant 4 leagues aſunder, and about one league from the maine.

Item, From the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 23 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by Eaſt, South and by Weſt.

Item, From the latitude of 25 degrees vnto the latitude of 23 degrees and 30 minuts, the land is very high.

23 deg. 30 mi. In which height ſtandeth Morro moreno.

Item, From the latitude of 23 degrees vnto the latitude of 22 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

Item, From the latitude of 22 degrees vnto the latitude of 18 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by Eaſt, South and by Weſt.

18 deg. 30. mi. In which height ſtandeth Arica.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 18 degrees, the land lieth Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees vnto the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt: in which heigth there lie two or three ilands, which ilands lie off a place where are two townes called Paraca, and Piſca.

13 deg. 30 mi. In which height ſtand Paraca & Piſca.

Item, From the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, the land lieth Northnorthweſt, and Southſoutheaſt.

Item,

11 deg. 50 mi. In which height ſtand the ilands of Lobos. Item, From the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 6 degrees, the land lieth North and by Weſt, South and by Eaſt. Alſo you ſhall ſee two ilands, which be called The Ilands of Lobos, that ſtand in the latitude of 6 degrees.

5. degrees. In which height ſtandeth Paita. Item, From the latitude of 6 degrees, vnto the latitude of 5 degrees, the land lieth Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

Item, From the latitude of 5 degrees vnto the latitude of 4 degrees, the land lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt: in which height of 4 degrees ſtandeth Cape Blanco.

2. deg. 50 min. In which height ſtandeth the iland of Puna. Item, From the latitude of 4 degrees vnto the latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts (in which latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts ſtandeth the iland of Puna) the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt.

A note of the diſtance betweene certeine places on the coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*.

IN primis, From the iland of Mocha vnto the iland of S. Mary, the courſe is North and South, and the diſtance is 25 leagues. Leagues 25.

Item, From the iland of S. Mary vnto the bay of Conception, the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance is 12 leagues. Leagues 12.

Item, From the bay of Conception vnto the port of Valpariſo, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 80 leagues. Leagues 80.

Item, From the port of Valpariſo vnto the bay of Quintero, the courſe is Northeaſt and by North, and Southweſt and South, and the diſtance is 7 leagues. Leagues 7. In which bay of Quintero there lieth one ſmall iland.

Item, From the bay of Quintero vnto the bay of Coquimbo, the courſe is Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 72 leagues: in which height ſtand two ilands. Leagues 72.

Item, From the bay of Coquimbo vnto the bay of Copiapo, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 55 leagues: in which height ſtandeth one iland. Leagues 55.

Item, From the bay of Copiapo vnto the bay of Morro moreno, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 70 leagues. Leagues 70.

Item, From the bay of Morro moreno, vnto the bay of Arica, the courſe is North & by Eaſt, South & by Weſt, and the diſtance is 90 leagues: in which bay of Arica ſtandeth one ſmall iland. Leagues 90

Item, From the bay of Arica vnto the bay of Parraca, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 120 leagues: in which bay of Parraca ſtand three or foure ilands. Leagues 120.

Item, From the bay of Parraca vnto the bay of Lima, the courſe is Northweſt and by North, Southeaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 35 leagues: in the bay of Lima is one iland. Leagues 35.

Item, From the bay of Lima vnto the bay of Cherrepe, the courſe is North & by Weſt, South and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 90 leagues. Leagues 90.

Leagues 45. Item, From the bay of Cherrepe vnto the bay of Paita it is 45 leagues, the courſe is 20 leags Weſtnorthweſt vnto two ilands that be called The ilands of Lobos, and from thence vnto the bay of Paita it is 25 leagues, the courſe is North and by Eaſt.

Item, From Paita vnto Cape Blanco, the courſe is North and by Weſt, South and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 25 leagues. Leagues 25.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the iland of Puna, the courſe is Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 25 leagues: Leagues 25. and you ſhall ſee one iland that is called Santa Clara, which ſtandeth 10 leagues to the Southward of Puna. Leagues in all are 751.

A note of certeine places vnto the Northwards of the Line.

IN primis, From Cape Blanco vnto Cape S. Laurence, the courſe is North & by Eaſt, South and by Weſt, and the diſtance 60 leagues. Leagues 60.

Item, From Cape S. Lorenço vnto Cape S. Franciſco, the courſe is North & by Eaſt, South and by Weſt, and the diſtance is 40 leagues. Leagues 40.

Item, From Cape S. Franciſco vnto the cape that is called Cape Blanco, which cape is on the coaſt of New Spaine, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 160 leagues: Leagues 160. and you ſhall haue a great current that ſetteth out of the bay of Panama; and the ſayd current ſetteth South out.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the Port de Veles, the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance 8 leagues. Leagues 8.

Item, From the Port de Veles vnto the port of S. Iohn, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 17 leagues. Leagues 17.

Item, From the port of S. Iohn vnto Rio Lexo, the courſe is Northweſt, and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 40 leagues. Leagues 40

Item, From Rio Lexo vnto the gulfe of Fonſecco, the courſe is Weſtnorthweſt, and Eaſtſoutheaſt, and they are diſtant 14 leagues. Leagues 14

Item, In the mouth of Rio Lexo there lieth one iland, and you muſt goe in on the Northweſt part of that iland; on the which iland you may be bolde for to borrow on: and you muſt goe from that iland Southeaſt vp.

Item, That in the gulfe of Fonſecco you ſhall haue lying ten ilands, whereof three be peopled with Indians, whereon you may haue water, wood, and ſalt.

Item, On the Weſt ſide of the gulfe of Fonſecco there is one towne of Indians, which is called Mapal, in which towne there is great ſtore of beeues.

Item, From the riuer Lexo vnto the bay of Sonſonate, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and the diſtance is 60 leagues. Leagues 60

Item, From the bay of Sonſonate vnto the port of Aguatulco, the courſe is Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and the diſtance 160 leagues. Leagues 160

Item, From the bay of Coppeleto vnto the port of Aguatulco it is 2 leagues, the courſe is Weſt and by North, Eaſt and by South. Leagues 2

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Angeles, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and they are diſtant 12 leagues. Leagues 12

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Acapulco, the courſe is Weſt & by North, Eaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 78 leagues. Leagues 78

Item, From the port of Acapulco vnto the port of S. Iago, the courſe is Weſt and by North, Eaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 80 leagues. Leagues 80

Item, From the port of S. Iago vnto the port of Natiuidad, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and the diſtance is 7 leagues. Leagues 7

Item, From the port of Natiuidad vnto port of the ilands of Chiametla, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and the diſtance is 10 leagues. Leagues 10

Item, From the ilands of Chiametla vnto Cape de los Corrientes, the courſe is Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the bay of Xaliſco, the courſe is Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 18 leagues. Leagues 18

Item, From the bay of Xaliſco vnto the port of Chiametlan, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the ilands called Las tres Marias, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 20 leagues. Leagues 20

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the cape of Santa Clara on the point of California, the courſe is Weſtnorthweſt, and Eaſtſoutheaſt, and the diſtance is 108 leagues. Leagues 108

A note from the coaſt of *America* vnto the Weſtwards.

ITem, From the cape of Santa Clara vnto the ilands of The Ladrones, the courſe is Weſt and by South, Eaſt and by North, and the diſtance betweene them is 1850 leagues. Leagues 1850

Item, That the Southermoſt iland of the Ladrones ſtandeth in the latitude of 12 degrees and 10 minuts, and from thence vnto the Northermoſt iland, the courſe is Northnortheeſt & Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 200 leagues: and the ſaid Northermoſt iland ſtandeth in 21 degrees 10 minuts.

Item, From one of the ilands of the Ladrones, which ſtandeth in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minutes, which iland is called * Guaihaime, vnto the Cape de Spirito ſanto, which cape is vpon one of the ilands of the Philippinas, the courſe is Weſt and to the Southwards, and the diſtance is 320 leagues. * Or Guana. Leagues 320

Item, From the cape of Spirito ſanto vnto the mouth of the entrance of the Streights of the Philippinas, the courſe is Weſt and by North, Eaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 15 leagues. Leagues 15

Item, From the mouth of the Streights vnto the iland of Capul, the courſe is Southweſt and by Weſt 6 leagues. Leagues 6

Item, From the iland of Capul vnto the North head of the iland called Masbat, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 15 leagues. Leagues 15

Item, From the North head of the iland called Masbat vnto the iland called Seboion, the courſe is Weſtſouthweſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 15 leagues. Leagues 15 Leagues in all 2414

A note

A note of our courſe kept from the iland *Seboion* vnto the Southwards.

Leagues 22. ITem, From the iland of Seboion vnto the Eaſt end of the iland called Pannay, the courſe is Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by Weſt, and the diſtance is 22 leagues.

Item, That off the Eaſter end of the iland of Pannay there lie certeine ſmall ilands, vnto the number of 12 or more, and you ſhall haue ſhoald water among them.

Leagues 18. Item, From the Eaſter end of Pannay vnto a bay that is called The bay of Lago grande, on the ſame iland, the courſe is Weſtſouthweſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt, and the diſtance is 18 leagues.

Leagues 6. Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto the iland that is called Yſla de los Negros, is the diſtance of 6 leagues Southeaſt and Northweſt.

Leagues 10. Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto three ſmall ilands that ſtand in the latitude of 10 degrees, the courſe is South and by Weſt 12 leagues. Furthermore, from thoſe three ilands vnto the Weſtermoſt end of Yſla de los Negros, the courſe is Southweſt and Northeaſt 10 leagues, where we were cleere of the ilands of the Philippinas.

Leagues 30. Item, From the South end of Yſla de los Negros vnto the North head of the iland called Mindanao, the courſe is South and North, and the diſtance is 30 leagues.

Leagues 26. Item, From the North end of Mindanao vnto the South head of the ſayd iland, which is called Cape Cannal, the courſe is South and by Weſt, North and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 26 leagues.

Leagues 12. Item, From the cape of Cannal betweene the South and the Weſtſouthweſt about 10 or 12 leagues off you ſhall haue great ſtore of ſmall ilands, about the number of 24 or more.

Leagues 100. Item, From the cape of Cannal vnto the cape of Batochina, the courſe is Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt, and the diſtance is 100 leagues, and betweene them ſetteth a great current vnto the Eaſtward.

Leagues 220. Item, From the cape of Batochina vnto the Weſt head of Iaua minor, the courſe is Southweſt and by South, Northeaſt and by North, and the diſtance betweene them is 220 leagues.

Leagues 18. * This is the iſle of Baly. Item, From the Weſt end of Iaua minor vnto the Eaſt end of Iaua maior, the courſe is Weſt and by North, and Eaſt & by South, and the diſtance betweene them is 18 leagues: in the which courſe there lieth one *iland betweene them, which iland is in length 14 leagues.

Leagues 1800 Item, From the Eaſt end of Iaua maior vnto the cape of Buena Eſperança, the courſe is Weſt and by South, and Weſtſouthweſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 1800 leagues.

Leagues 30. Leagues in all are 2292. Item, That Cape Falſo ſtandeth 30 leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape de Buena Eſperança, & off the ſayd Cape Falſo you ſhal haue ſhoalding 20 leagues off in 80 or 90 fadoms, & the courſe is from Cape Falſo vnto the cape of Buena Eſperança Weſtnorthweſt and Eaſtſoutheaſt.

A note of the diſtance and courſe from the cape of *Buena Eſperanza* vnto the Northwards.

Leagues 600. ITem, From the cape of Buena Eſperança vnto the iland of Santa Helena, the courſe is Northweſt, and Northweſt and by Weſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 600 leagues.

Leagues 1200 Item, From the iland of Santa Helena vnto the iland of Flores, the courſe betweene them is Northnorthweſt, and Northweſt and by North, and the diſtance betweene them is 1200 leagues.

Item, From the iland of Flores vnto the lands end of England, the courſe is betweene the Eaſtnortheaſt, and the Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and the diſtance betweene them is foure hundred and fifty leagues.

A note of the variation of our Compaſſe.

IN primis, The variation of our compaſſe on the coaſt of New Spaine in the South ſea in the latitude of 12 degrees, was one point to the Eaſtwards.

Item, the variation of our compaſſe betweene the cape of California and the ilands of the Philippinas, was one point and an halfe vnto the Eaſtward, that was, that the North did ſtand North and by Eaſt, and halfe a point vnto the Eaſt.

Item, The variation of our compaſſe betweene the ilands of Maluco and the cape of Buena Eſperança, was two points and an halfe at the moſt to the Weſtward, that was, that the Northnortheaſt was our North.

A note

A note of our time ſpent in ſailing betweene certeine places out of *England*, 1586.

IN primis, We were ſailing betweene England and the coaſt of Guinea from the 21 day of Iuly vnto the 26 day of Auguſt vnto the hauen called Sierra leona, where we watered and ſtayed vntill the 6 day of September.

Of our abode tenne dayes, where we watered.

Item, Wee departed from the coaſt of Guinea for the coaſt of Braſil the 10 day of September, and wee had ſight of the coaſt of Braſil the 26 day of October, being ſixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Frio: and from thence wee were ſailing vnto the iland of S. Sebaſtian vntill the 31 and laſt day of October, where we watered and ſet vp our pinneſſe: and we ankered on the Northweſt part of the iland in tenne fadoms, and ſtayed there vntill the 23 day of Nouember.

Of our abode foure & twenty dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 23 day of Nouember we departed from the iland of Sant Sebaſtian, keeping our courſe South and by Weſt vnto the port that is called Port Deſire, where we arriued the 17 day of December; in which port we graued our ſhippe: and we ſtayed there vntill the 28 day of December, where we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we graued our ſhips.

Item, The eight and twentieth day of December wee departed from the Port of Deſire toward the Streight of Magellan, where wee arriued the third day of Ianuary: and wee remained in the Streights vntill the foure and twentieth day of February; where we watered in many places on the South ſide, hauing the winde all that while betweene the Weſtſouthweſt and the Northweſt.

Of our abode two & fiftie dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed out of the Streights the 24 day of February toward the iland of Mocha, which iſland we had ſight of the 14 day of March.

Item, The 14 day of March at night we ankered in the bay of Marroccos; where we rode in 9 fadoms water.

Item, The 15 day of March we ankered in the iland of Saint Marie, on the North part of the iſland in eight fadoms water, blacke ſand, where we ſtayed foure dayes.

Of our abode foure dayes.

Item, The 19 day of March we departed from the iſland of Saint Marie, and the ſame day we ankered in the bay of Conception, where we ſtayed vntill the next day: and there we rode in ten fadoms water, ſhingle ſtones.

Item, The 20 day of March we departed from the bay of Conception, and the thirtieth day of March we arriued in the bay of Quintero, where we watered: and there the firſt day of April we had twelue of our men ſlaine, being on land for water: and we ſtayed there ſixe dayes: and we ankered in 7 fadoms water, white ſand.

Of our abode 6 dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed from the bay of Quintero the 5 day of April, and we arriued at the bay of Arica the 24 day of April, and we ankered in 7 fadoms water.

Of our abode three dayes.

Item, The 27 day of April we departed from the bay of Arica, and the third day of May we arriued in the bay of Piſca, and we ankered in 4 fadoms water in oaze.

Of our abode two dayes.

Item, The 5 day of May we departed from the bay of Piſca, and the 12 day we ankered in the bay of Cherrepe, where we ankered in 7 fadoms water, in white ſand.

Of our abode ſixe dayes.

Item, The 18 day of May we departed from the bay of Cherrepe, and the 20 day of May we arriued in the bay of Payta, where we ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 20 day of May we departed from the bay of Paita, and the 26 day of May we ankered at the iland of Puna, and we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Item, From the iland of Puna we departed the fourth day of Iune vnto Rio dolce in the main, where we watered, and we ankered in 10 fadoms water; browne ſand.

Of our abode 9 daies, where we watered.

Item, The 12 day of Iune we departed from the place where we watered, being bound for the coaſt of New Spaine, and the 29 day of Iuly wee arriued in the port of Aguatulco, where wee watered, and ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode 8 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 3 day of Auguſt we departed from the port of Aguatulco, and the 26 day of Auguſt we arriued at the port of S. Iago, where wee watered, and ſtayed there vntill the ſecond day of September, and ankered in 6 fadoms.

Of our abode 7 daies, where we watered.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league vnto the Weſtwards of Natiuidad, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natiuidad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xaliſco, where we ankered in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day of

Of our abode three dayes.

of September we departed from the bay of Xaliſco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the iſland of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fadoms water.

Of our abode fiue dayes.

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the iſland of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chiametlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered vnder the iſlands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms.

Of our abode 2 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the iſlands of Chiametlan, and croſſing ouer the mouth of Mar vermejo, the 14 day of October we had ſight of the cape of California.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 15 day of October we lay off the cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of Nouember we tooke the great and rich ſhip called Santa Anna, comming from the Philippinas: and the 5 day of Nouember we put into the port of S. Lucas, where we put all the people on ſhore, and burnt the Santa Anna: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water.

Of our abode 14 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 19 day of Nouember we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of Ianuary wee had ſight of one of the iſlands of the Ladrones, which iſland is called The iſland of *Iwana, ſtanding in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts.

*Guana.

Item, The 3 day of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Iwana, and the 14 day of Ianuarie we had ſight of the cape of Spirito ſanto, and the ſame day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas: and the 15 day of Ianuary we ankered vnder the iland of Capul, on the which iland we watered and wooded.

Of our abode nine dayes.

Item, The 24 of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Capul, and the 28 day of Ianuary we arriued in the bay of Lago grande, which bay is in the iſland of Pannay, where there were Spaniards building of a new ſhip.

Spaniards building of a new ſhip in the Philippinas.

Item, The 29 of Ianuary wee departed from the bay of Lago grande, and the ſame day at night wee were cleere from the iſlands of the Philippinas, ſhaping our courſe towards the ilands of Maluco.

Dayes 30.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the firſt day of March, we were nauigating betweene the Weſt end of the iſland of Pannay and the Weſt end of the iſland of Iaua minor.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we watered.
Iaua maior.

Item, The firſt day of March wee paſſed the Streights at the Weſt head of the iſland of Iaua minor, and the 5 day of March we ankered in a bay at the Weſter end of Iaua maior, where wee watered, and had great ſtore of victuals from the towne of Polambo.

Dayes 56.
The cape of Buena Eſperança.

Item, The 16 day of March wee departed from the iſland of Iaua maior, and the 11 day of May we had ſight of the land 40 leagues vnto the Eaſtwards of the cape of Buena Eſperança, the land being low land.

A note from the cape of *Buena Eſperança* vnto the Northwards.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

ITem, The 21 day of May wee departed from the cape of Buena Eſperança, and the 8 day of Iune we ankered on the Northweſt part of the iland of Santa Helena, where we watered, and made our abode 12 dayes.

Dayes 14.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the iſland of Santa Helena, and the 4 day of Iuly we paſſed vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The ſpace of our nauigation betweene thoſe ilands was threeſcore & fiue dayes.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the iſland of Santa Helena, and the 25 day of Auguſt in the morning wee had ſight of the iſlands of Flores and Coruo in the latitude of 40 degrees.

Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arriued, after a long and terrible tempeſt, in the Narrow ſeas, in the hauen of Plimmouth in ſafetie, by the gracious and moſt mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praiſe and thankeſgiuing now and for euer. Amen.

A note of our ankering in thoſe places where we arriued after our departure from *England* 1586.

Fadoms 10.

IN primis, Wee ankered in the harborow of Sierra leona in 10 fadoms water: and a Northweſt winde in that rode is the woorſt that can blow.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker vnder the iſland that is called Ilha Verde in 6 fadoms water: and the winde being at the Weſtnorthweſt is the woorſt winde that can blow.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker vnder the iſland of S. Sebaſtian on the Northweſt part in 10 fadoms: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt winde.

Item, You may anker in Port Deſire in 5 fadoms water, and a Weſt and by South winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 5.

Item, You may anker vnder Cape Ioy without the mouth of the Streights of Magellan in 7 fadoms water. Fadoms 7

Item, You may anker within the Straights of Magellan, vntill you come vnto the firſt narrowing in 25 or 30 fadoms water, in the mid way of the Streights. Fadoms 25.

Item, You may anker in the ſecond narrow of the Streights in 16 fadoms water. Fadoms 16.

Item, You may anker vnder Penguin iſland on which ſide you pleaſe in 6 or 7 fadoms water. Fadoms 7

Item, You may anker in Port Famine in 5 or 6 fadoms water, and a Southſoutheaſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in Muskle coue, which coue is on the South ſide, and is 7 leagues to the Southwards of Cape Froward, and you ſhall ride in 12 fadoms. Fadoms 12.

Item, You may anker in Elizabeth bay, which bay is on the North ſide of the Streights in 8 fadoms water. Fadoms 8.

Item, From Elizabeth bay vnto Cabo deſeado, you may anker on both ſides of the Streights in many places.

A note of our ankering after we were entred into the South ſea.

IN primis, You may anker in the bay of Mocha in 7 or 8 fadoms water, and there a Northeaſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker on the North ſide of S. Mary iſland in nine fadoms water: and there a Northnorthweſt winde is the woorſt winde. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Conception vnder one ſmall iſland in 9 fadoms water, and a Northnorthweſt winde is the woorſt winde in that bay. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Quintero in 7 fadoms water, and a Northnorthweſt wind is the woorſt winde. Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Arica in 6 fadoms, and in that bay a Weſtnorthweſt winde is the woorſt winde. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Piſca and Paraca in fiue fadoms: and in that bay a Northnorthweſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 5.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Cherepe in 8 fadoms, and there from the Northweſt vnto the Southeaſt it is open. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Paita in 7 fadoms water: and there a Northnortheaſt wind is the woorſt winde. Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker on the Northeaſt part of the iſland of Puna in 4 fadoms: and a Northeaſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 4.

Item, You may anker at Rio dolce, where wee watered, vnto the Eaſtwards of the iſland of Puna in 10 fadoms. Fadoms 10.

A note of what depths we ankered in on the coaſt of *New Spaine*.

ITem, You may anker in the port of Aguatulco in ſixe fadoms water: and a Southſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Iago in 6 fadoms water: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of Natiuidad in 8 fadoms water: and a Southeaſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Xaliſco in 9 fadoms water: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker on the Northweſt part of the iſland of S. Andrew in 17 fadoms water. Fadoms 17.

Item, You may anker vnder the iſland of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms water: and a Southeaſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 4.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Lucas on the Cape of California in 12 fadoms water: and a Southeaſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 12.

A note of what depths we ankered in, among the ilands of the *Philippinas*.

ITem, You may anker on the Southweſt part of the iſland of Capul in 6 fadoms water: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker all along the South part of the iſland of Panna in ſhoald water, in the depth of 10 or 12 fadoms.

Fadoms 10

Item, You may anker in the bay of Lago grande in ſeuen fadoms water, which bay is on the South ſide of the iſland of Panna.

Fadoms 16

Item, You may anker at the Eaſt end of Iaua maior in 16 fadoms water, and an Eaſtſoutheaſt winde is the woorſt.

Fadoms 12

Item, You may anker on the North part of the iſland of Santa Helena in 12 fadoms water.

A note of our finding of the winds for the moſt part of our voyage 1586.

IN primis, From the 21 day of July vnto the 19 day of Auguſt we found the winde at Northnortheaſt, being in the latitude of 7 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of Auguſt vnto the 28 day of September, wee found the wind for the moſt part betweene the Weſt and the Southweſt, being in* 24 degrees.

*To ÿ South ſide of the Equinoctiall.

Item, From the 28 day of September vnto the 30 day of October, we found the windes betweene the Northeaſt and the Eaſtnortheaſt.

Item, From the 23 of Nouember, from the iſland of S. Sebaſtian, vnto the 30 day of Nouember, we found the winde betweene the Southeaſt and the Southſoutheaſt, being in 36 degrees.

Item, From the 30 day of Nouember vnto the 6 day of December, we found the windes to be betweene the Weſt and the Southweſt.

Item, From the 6 day of December vnto the firſt day of January, we found the winds for the moſt part betweene the North and the Northeaſt, being then in the latitude of 52 degrees.

Item, From the firſt day of January vnto the 23 day of Febuary, we found the windes to be betweene the Northweſt and the Weſtſouthweſt, wee being all that time in the Streights of Magellan.

Item, From the 23 day of Febuary vnto the firſt day of March, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southeaſt, being then in the South ſea in the latitude of 48 degrees.

Item, From the firſt day of March vnto the 7 day of March, we found the winde to be at the North and the Northnortheaſt in the latitude of 43 degrees.

Item, From the 7 day of March vnto the 14 day of March, wee found the windes to be betweene the South and the Southweſt, in the latitude of 37 degrees.

1587. Item, From the 14 day of March vnto the 28 day of May, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southweſt, in the latitude of 3 degrees to the South of the Line.

A note of the varying of our windes to the North of the Equinoctiall line on the coaſt of *New Spaine.*

ITem, From the 28 day of May vnto the 5 day of July, we found the winds for the moſt part to be betweene the Southſoutheaſt, and the Southſouthweſt, being in the latitude of 10 degrees to the Northward of the Line on the coaſt of New Spaine.

Item, From the 5 day of July vnto the 14 day of October, we found the windes for the moſt part to be at the Eaſtnortheaſt in the latitude of 23 degrees Northward, and almoſt vnder the tropicke of Cancer.

A note of the windes which we found betweene the coaſt of *New Spaine* and Iſlands of the *Philippinas* on the coaſt of *Aſia.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587 we departed from the cape of Santa Clara on the coaſt of California the 19 day of Nouember, and we found the winds to be betweene the Eaſt and the Eaſtnortheaſt, vntill the 29 day of January; departing then from the ilands of the Philippinas, being in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 29 day of January vnto the 19 day of March, wee found the windes for the moſt part betweene the Northnortheaſt and the Northweſt, being then among the Ilands of Maluco, in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of March vnto the 20 day of May, wee found the windes for the moſt part betweene the South and the Eaſtſoutheaſt, being then betweene the Ilands of Maluco, and the cape of Buena Eſperança, in the latitude of 34 degrees to the South of the Line.

Item, From the 20 day of May vnto the 11 day of July, we found the winds for the moſt part betweene the South and the Southeaſt, being then betweene the cape of Buena Eſperança, and and 15 degrees vnto the Southward of the line.

Item, From the 11 day of July vnto the 18 day of Auguſt, we found the winds for the moſt part betweene the Northeaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, being then betweene the latitude of 15 degrees to the Southward of the line, and 38 degrees vnto the Northwards of the line.

A letter of M. *Thomas Candiſh* to the right honourable the Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuy Councell, touching the ſucceſſe of his voyage about the world.

Right honourable, as your fauour heretofore hath bene moſt greatly extended towards me, ſo I humbly deſire a continuance thereof: and though there be no meanes in me to deſerue the ſame, yet the vttermoſt of my ſeruices ſhall not be wanting, whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe your honour to diſpoſe thereof. I am humbly to deſire your honour to make knowen vnto her Maieſty the deſire I haue had to doe her Maieſty ſeruice in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleaſed God to giue her the victory ouer part of her enemies, ſo I truſt yet long to ſee her ouerthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they haue mainteined and made their warres, are now perfectly diſcouered: and if it pleaſe her Maieſty, with a very ſmall power ſhe may take the ſpoile of them all. It hath pleaſed the Almighty to ſuffer mee to circompaſſe the whole globe of the world, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the cape de Buena Eſperança. In which voyage I haue either diſcouered or brought certeine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that euer were knowen or diſcouered by any Chriſtian. I nauigated alongſt the coaſt of Chili, Peru, and Nueua Eſpanna, where I made great ſpoiles: I burnt and ſunke 19 ſailes of ſhips ſmall and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and ſpoiled: and had I not bene diſcouered vpon the coaſt, I had taken great quantitie of treaſure. The matter of moſt profit vnto me was a great ſhip of the kings which I tooke at California, which ſhip came from the Philippinas, being one of the richeſt of merchandize that euer paſſed thoſe ſeas, as the kings regiſter and merchants accounts did ſhew; for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be ſolde. Which goods (for that my ſhips were not able to conteine the leaſt part of them) I was inforced to ſet on fire. From the cape of California, being the vttermoſt part of all Nueua Eſpanna, I nauigated to the Ilands of the Philippinas hard vpon the coaſt of China; of which countrey I haue brought ſuch intelligence as hath not bene heard of in theſe parts. The ſtatelineſſe and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, leaſt I ſhould not be credited: for if I had not knowen ſufficiently the incomparable wealth of that countrey, I ſhould haue bene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like experience. I ſailed along the Ilands of the Malucos, where among ſome of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our countrey men may haue trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themſelues. From thence I paſſed by the cape of Buena Eſperança, and found out by the way homeward the iland of S. Helena, where the Portugals vſe to relieue themſelues: and from that iland God hath ſuffered me to returne into England. All which ſeruices with my ſelfe I humbly proſtrate at her Maieſties feet, deſiring the Almighty long to continue her reigne among vs: for at this day ſhe is the moſt famous and victorious prince that liueth in the world.

Thus humbly deſiring pardon of your honour for my tediousneſſe, I leaue your lordſhip to the tuition of the Almighty. Plimmouth this ninth of September 1588.

Your honours moſt humble to command,
THOMAS CANDISH.

Certeine notes or references taken out of the large map of *China*, brought home by M. *Thomas Candiſh* 1588.

The great kingdome of the Mogores is vpon the Northweſt, and falleth vpon Tanaſſarin beyond Malaca, and ioyneth vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and vſe no fight but on horſebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugals.

2 A city, wherein is captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder him many men of warre: he maketh warre both againſt the Tartarians and the Mogores; lying betweene them: and lieth without the circuit of the wall.

3 Certeine hils, beyond which the Tartarians do inhabit, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continuall warres againſt them, ſo great, that ſometimes there are ſlaine in a battell 100000 of men adioyning vpon Moſcouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Canſas hath 4 great cities, and 20 ſmall cities, and 77 townes & caſtles: it conteineth in length 55 leagues, it hath 362000 houſes of great men that pay tribute, and 13900 men of warre: and hath 47000 horſes, which are the kings, kept for his defence.

It is as colde at Paquin as in Flanders.

5 The great city of Paquin, where the king doth lie, hath belonging to it 8 great cities, and 18 ſmall cities, with 118 townes and caſtles: it hath 418789 houſes of great men, which pay tribute, it hath horſemen for the warre 258100. This city is in the latitude of 50 degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is vſually in Flanders.

6 The great city of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that paſſage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin hath 7 great cities, and 16 ſmall, with 12 townes and caſtles, and one great city, to which many doe repaire to fight againſt the Tartars: it hath 17 leagues in length, and hath 164118 great houſes, which pay tribute, and 96000 men of warre.

8 The prouince of Santo hath 6 great cities, and 14 ſmall, with 90 townes and caſtles: it is 82 leagues long, and hath 77555 great houſes, which pay tribute, 63808 horſemen, and 31000 footmen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7 great cities, and 13 ſmall, and 90 townes and caſtles, being 470 leagues long, and 132958 great houſes that pay tribute, 82800 men of warre. Out of this city commeth copper, quicke-ſiluer, and blacke lead.

* Or Quicheu.

10 The prouince of *Cutchew hath 8 great cities, and 12 ſmall, and 83 townes, which make armor to fight with the Iawes, which do inhabit beyond Cauchinchina: it is 100 leagues broad, and hath 32920 horſemen and footmen, with 405670 great houſes which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payed.

11 The prouince of Languyn hath 14 great cities, and 17 ſmall, and 95 townes and caſtles: it is 120 leagues ouer, and hath 962818 great houſes which pay tribute, it hath 208900 men of warre, whereof there are 52500 Tartar horſemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath 14 great cities, and 19 ſmall, 150 townes and caſtles, and is 210 leagues broad, and 53161 houſes that pay tribute, and 71600 men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7 great cities, and 11 ſmall, and 105 townes and caſtles, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath houſes that pay tribute 139567, and men of warre 345632.

14 The prouince of Eſſiran hath 11 great cities, and 75 ſmall, and 80 townes and caſtles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great houſes that doe pay tribute 1242135, and 339000 men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doth ioyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that ſerueth the kingdome of China: and the Indians & the Chinians doe report this lake to be the whole world, and ſo they paint the ſea, the moone, and the ſtarres within it.

26 The prouince of Canſay hath 13 cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73 townes and caſtles, and is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houſes that pay tribute 1393629, and 12700 men of warre.

17 The prouince of Cuauſa hath 12 great cities, 45 ſmall, and 51 townes and caſtles: it is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houſes that pay tribute 1306390, and men of warre both footmen and horſemen 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath 14 great cities, and 36 ſmall, and 34 townes and caſtles, and is 88 leagues broad, with 589296 great houſes that pay tribute, and 15100 men of warre.

Garriſons againſt the Iapons.

19 The prouince of Fuckin hath 8 great cities, and one principall city, and 54 townes and caſtles, and two great cities of garriſon, to keepe watch vpon the Iapons, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath 5009532 great houſes that pay tribute, and 4003225 men of the kings guard.

20 The prouince of Canton hath 40 great cities, and 7 ſmall, and 77 townes and caſtles, and a city that putteth forth hundreds of ſhips for the keeping of Cauchinchina, and is 380 leagues in breadth, and hath 483383 great houſes which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The port of Cauchinchina ſtandeth in the latitude of ſixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

22 The citie Champa ſtandeth in fourteene degrees to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall.

23 The prouince of Enam hath 7. great cities, and 13. ſmall, and 90. townes and caſtles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houſes that pay tribute, and 15100. ſouldiers.

{Horſemen 454528. } { Footmen 7459057.}

The totall ſumme 7923785.

A briefe relation of a voyage of *The Delight* a ſhip of *Briſtoll* one of the conſorts of M. *Iohn Chidley* eſquire and M. *Paul Wheele*, made vnto the Straight of *Magellan*: with diuers accidents that happened vnto the company, during their 6. weekes abode there: Begun in the yeere 1589. Written by *W. Magoths*.

THe fiſt of Auguſt 1589. the worſhipfull M. Iohn Chidley of Chidley in the countie of Deuon eſquire, with M. Paul Wheele and Captaine Andrew Mericke ſet forth from Plimmouth with three tall ſhips, the one called The wilde man of three hundred tunnes, wherein went for General the aforeſaid M. Iohn Chidley and Beniamin Wood as Maſter, the other called The white Lion, whereof M. Paul Wheele was captaine and Iohn Ellis Maſter, of the burthen of 340. tunnes: the third The delight of Briſtol, wherein went M. Andrew Merick as Captaine, and Robert Burnet Maſter, with two pinneſſes of 14. or 15. tunnes a piece. The Generall in his ſhip had 180. perſons: M. Paul Wheele had 140, in our owne ſhip we were 91. men and boyes. Our voyage was intended by The Streight of Magellan for The South Sea, and chiefly for the famous prouince of Arauco on the coaſt of Chili. We kept company together to the yles of the Canaries and ſo forward to Cape Blanco ſtanding neere the Northerly latitude of 20. degrees on the coaſt of Barbarie, where ſome of our people went on ſhoare finding nothing to their content. Within 12. dayes after our departure from this place The Delight, wherein I William Magoths was, loſt the company of the other two great ſhips, and the two ſmall pinneſſes. Howbeit we conſtantly kept our courſe according to our directions along the coaſt of Braſil, and by the Riuer of Plate, without touching any where on land vntill we came to Port deſire in the latitude of 48. degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctial. Before we arriued at this place there died of our company by Gods viſitation of ſundry diſeaſes 16. perſons. Wee ſtayed in this harborough 17. dayes to graue our ſhip & refreſh our wearied people, hoping here to haue met with our conſorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little ſprings of freſh water, which were vpon the Northweſterly part of the land, & lighted vpon good ſtore of ſeales both old and yong. From hence we ſailed toward the Streight of Magelan, and entred the ſame about the firſt of Ianuary. And comming to Penguin yland within the Streight we tooke and ſalted certaine hogſheads of Penguins, which muſt be eaten with ſpeed: for wee found them to be of no long continuance; we alſo furniſhed our ſelues with freſh water. And here at the laſt ſending off our boat to the yland for the reſt of our prouiſion, wee loſt her and 15. men in her by force of foule weather; but what became of them we could not tel. Here alſo in this ſtorme we loſt two anckers. From hence we paſſed farther into the Sreight, and by Port famine we ſpake with a Spaniard, who told vs that he had liued in thoſe parts 6. yeeres, and that he was one of the 400. men that were ſent thither by the king of Spaine in the yere 1582. to fortifie and inhabit there, to hinder the paſſage of all ſtrangers that way into the South ſea. But that and the other Spaniſh colonie being both deſtroyed by famine, he ſaid he had liued in an houſe by himſelfe a long time, and relieued himſelfe with his caleeuer vntil our comming thither. Here we made a boat of the bords of our cheſts; which being finiſhed wee ſent 7. armed men in the ſame on land on the North ſhore, being wafted on land by the Sauages with certaine white ſkinnes; who as ſoone as they came on ſhore were preſently killed by an 100. of the wilde people in the ſight of 2. of our men, which rowed them on ſhoare, which two onely eſcaped backe againe to vs with the boat. After this traiterous ſlaughter of our men, we fell backe againe with our ſhip to the Northeaſtward of Port famine to a certaine road, where we refreſhed our ſelues with muſkles, and tooke in water & wood. At this time wee tooke in the Spaniard aforeſaid, and ſo ſailed forward againe into the Streight. Wee paſſed 7. or 8. times 10. leagues Weſtward beyond Cape Froward, being ſtill encountered with mightie Northweſt winds. Theſe winds and the current were ſo vehement againſt vs, that they forced vs backe aſmuch in two houres, as we were getting vp in 8. houres. Thus after wee had ſpent 6. weekes in the Streight ſtriuing againſt the furie of the elements, and hauing at ſundry times partly by caſualtie, and partly by ſicknes loſt 38. of our beſtmen, and 3. anckers, and now we hauing but one ancker left vs, and ſmall ſtore of victuals, and, which was not the leaſt miſchiefe,

M. Chidleys voyage intended partly for Arauco in Chili.

Cape Blanco.

The Delight looſeth the company of the reſt of the Fleet.

Port deſire.

Two ſprings of freſh water found at Port deſire.

They enter into the Streight of Magelan.

They looſe 15. of their men by tempeſt.

A Spaniard taken at Port famine.

Seuen of our men killed by the treaſon of the Sauages on the North ſhore.

They paſſed 7. or 8 times ten leagues Weſtward of Cape Froward.

diuers

They returne homeward.

The yle of S. Sebaſtian in 24. degr. of ſoutherly latitude on the coaſt of Braſil.

They land at Monuille de Hage 8. miles Weſt of Cherbourg.

The wracke of the ſhip by the malice of the Normans.

They arriue in England.

diuers of our company raiſing dangerous mutinies: we conſulted, though ſomewhat with the lateſt, for the ſafegard of our liues to returne while there was ſome ſmall hope remayning: and ſo ſet ſaile out of The Streight homeward about the 14.of Februarie 1590. We returned backe againe by The riuer of Plate; and ſailing neere the coſt of Braſill we met with a Portugal ſhip of 80.tunnes, which rode at an ancker vpon the coaſt, who as ſoone as ſhe deſcried vs to chaſe her, incontinently weyed, & ran her ſelfe on ground betwene the yland of S.Sebaſtian and the maine land. But we for want of a good boat, and by reaſon of the foule weather, were neither able to bord her, nor to goe on ſhore. Thence in extreeme miſery we ſhaped our courſe for the yles of Cape Verde, and ſo paſſing to the yles of The Açores, the Canaries being ſomething out of cur courſe; the firſt land that wee mette withall in our Narrow ſea was The yle of Alderney. And hauing now but ſixe men of all our company left aliue, the Maſter and his two mates and chiefe Mariners being dead, wee ran in with Monuille de Hage eight miles to the Weſt of Cherbourg in Normandie. Where the next day after our comming to an ancker, hauing but one in all left, being the laſt of Auguſt 1590. by the foule weather that roſe the ancker came home, and our ſhip draue on the rocks: And the Normans which were commanded by the gouernour of Cherbourg (who came downe to vs that night) to haue layd out another ancker for her, neglecting his commandement, ſuffered her miſerably to be ſplitted, with deſire to enrich themſelues by her wracke. Within few dayes after this laſt miſchance foure of vs being Engliſhmen departed from Cherbourgh, and paſſed home for England in a barke of Weymouth, leauing the two ſtrangers there behinde vs.

The names of vs ſixe that returned of all our company were theſe.

1 William Magoths of Briſtol.
2 Richard Buſh.
3 Iohn Reade.
4 Richard Hodgkins of Weſtburie neere Briſtol.

The two ſtrangers.

5 Gabriel Valeroſa a Portugal.
6 Peter, a Briton.

A petition made by certaine of the company of the *Delight* of *Briſtol* vnto the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip *Robert Burnet*, one of the conſorts of M.*Chidley*, being in the Streights of *Magellan* the 12.of February 1589.

VE haue thought good to ſhew vnto you (being our Maſter) our whole mindes and griefes in writing: that whereas our Captaine Matthew Hawlſe, and Walter Street doe beginne to take into the Captaines cabin this 12.of Febr. both bread and butter, (ſuch as was put in for the prouiſion of the ſhippe and company) only to feed themſelues, and a few others, which are of their meſſe: meaning thereby rather to ſterue vs, then to keepe vs ſtrong and in health: And likewiſe vpon the ſame, hee hath taken into his cabin certaine furniture, as ſwords, caleeuers and muſquets: We therefore not well knowing their intents herein, except by certaine wordes caſt out at vnwares, wee may coniecture, that your death, which God forbid, by them hath bene determined: doe all moſt humbly deſire you being our Maſter, and hauing charge of the ſhippe, and vs, this preſent voyage committed vnto you, to conſider: Firſt, that by Gods viſitation wee haue loſt 16.men, and that ſo much the rather becauſe they were not alotted ſuch neceſſary prouiſion, as was in the ſhip to be had. Alſo to conſider the great loſſe of 15.of our men with our boat at Penguin-yland within the Streights of Magellan: and of 7.good and ſeruiceable men beſides neere Port famine: and of three anckers, and our Carpenter. Ouer and beſides all theſe calamities to conſider how you haue (without all reaſon and conſcience) bene ouerthwarted, diſgraced, and outcountenanced by your mate Street, and Matthew Hawlſe: Alſo what danger you now are ſubiect vnto, your death hauing bene ſo often conſpired, and what danger we ſhould be in, if it were (which God forbid) effected. Furthermore, to weigh with your ſelfe the great want of many neceſſaries in our ſhip: namely that we haue but 6.ſailers, (beſides your ſelfe and your mate Street, whom wee dare not truſt,) Alſo that wee haue but one ancker, likewiſe the lacke of our boate and a Carpenter, of ropes, of pitch, treynailes, bolts, and plankes, and the want of a ſkilfull Chirurgian. And whereas a view being taken of our prouiſion there was found but fiue moneths victuals of bread, meale, greets, and peaſe, and alſo but three moneths victuals of beefe, penguins and porke, three hogſheads of wine, ten gallons of aquauitæ (whereof the ſicke men could not get any to releeue them,) foure hogſheads of ſyder and 18. flitches of bacon, &c. the company hath but three flitches. Alſo the ſaid Captaine Hawlſe and Street haue taken and ſeaſed vpon 17. potts of butter, with certaine cheeſe, and an hogſhead of bread at a time, and haue bene thereof poſſeſſed to their owne priuate vſes: And haue not onely immoderately ſpent the companies prouiſion in butter, cheeſe, aquauitæ, &c. but haue alſo conſumed thoſe ſweete meates, which were layed vp in the ſhippe onely for the reliefe of ſicke perſons (themſelues being healthy and ſound, and withholding the ſaid meates from others in their ſickeneſſe) and euen at this time alſo (by reaſon of the ſmall ſtore of our prouiſion, wee being enforced to come to a ſhorter allowance) they the ſaide Captaine Hawlſe and your mate Street, doe finde themſelues agrieued at the very ſame allowance, wherewith other men are well contented. And although (beſides our ordinary allowance, and more then all the reſt of the company) they onely haue their breakefaſts permitted vnto them, yet they complaine that the company goeth about to famiſh them, whereas indeed they doe what lyeth in them to famiſh the company by feeding themſelues fat, which doe no labour at all. Theſe things being well weighed, you ought likewiſe to conſider the long time that wee haue lien here in theſe Streighes of Magellan, hauing bene at, and ſeuen or eight times, tenne leagues beyond Cape Froward, we haue had but a ſmall gale of winde with vs: neither could wee come to an ancker, the water being ſo deepe: and (you know) the place is ſo dangerous, that wee were once embayed, and coulde ſcarce get out againe: And likewiſe, What fogges and miſts are here already: Much more here wil be, the winter and darke nights being at hand, & we hauing not ſo much as a boate to ſeeke out any roade to ride in, ſauing a ſmall weake boate made of mens cheſtes, in which it is not conuenient to goe on ſhoare in a forreine countrey, where wee muſt goe with force: and hauing but one ancker left vs, there is but little hope of life in vs, as you may ſufficiently iudge, if wee ſhould loſe either the ſaide ancker or our boate, and therefore wee dare not put the ſame in danger for feare of looſing them. Alſo wee hauing lien here theſe ſixe weekes and vpward, the winde hath continued in the North-weſt directly againſt our courſe, ſo that wee can no way hope to get through the Streights into the South ſea this yeere, and if we could, yet our prouiſion is not ſufficient, hauing ſpent ſo much thereof, in this our lingering aboade. Nay wee haue ſcarcely victuals ynough to cary vs home into England, if they bee not vſed ſparingly, and with very good gouernment. Therefore wee doe againe moſt humbly deſire you to conſider and haue regard vnto the premiſſes, as you tender your owne ſafetie and the ſafetie of vs which remaine aliue, that wee may (by Gods helpe) returne backe into England, rather then die here among wilde and ſauage people: for if wee make any longer abode in this place, it will bee (without all doubt) to the vtter decay and loſſe, both of our ſelues, and of the ſhippe: and in returning backe, it may pleaſe God, that we may finde our fifteene men, and our boat at Penguin-yland (although this bee contrary to the mindes of Matthew Hawlſe, and your mate Street) and hauing found them, wee doe not deſpaire in Gods mercie, but that in our returne home-ward, hee will ſend vs purchaſe ſufficient, if wee would ioyne our ſelues together in prayer, and loue one another. And thus doing (as wee ſhalbe bound) euen ſo wee will alſo heartily pray for the continuance of your good eſtate, and wel-fare, and for the length of your dayes, to the pleaſure of Almightie God.

Laſtly, wee doe moſt humbly beſeech you to conſider, that (after the loſſe of ſo many men, and all the caſualties aforeſaid, as we were taking in of water by Port Famine, out boate-ſwaine, the hooper, and William Magoths being on ſhoare) Matthew Hawlſe did hallow to haue them in all the haſte come on-bord: ſaying therewithall theſe words: He that will come in this voyage, muſt not make any reckoning to leaue two or three men on ſhore behinde him, whereas we had ſo lately loſt all the foreſaide men, hauing then but ſixe ſailers left vs on-bord. Alſo the ſaide Matthew Hawlſe did cary a piſtoll for the ſpace of two dayes ſecretly vnder his gowne, intending therewithall to haue murthered Andrew Stoning, and William Combe, as by confeſſion of Hawlſe his man, William Martin, it is manifeſt: for the ſaide William Martine reported vnto two of his friends, viz. Richard Hungate, and Emanuel Dornel, that he kneeled vpon his knees one whole houre before Matthew Hawlſe in his owne cabin, deſiring him, for Gods cauſe, not to kill either of them, eſpecially becauſe the ſaide Stoning and Martin came both out of one towne. Alſo the ſaid Hawlſe, at our ſecond time of watering in the place aforeſaid, came into the Gunners roome to ſpeake with you (your ſelfe with the maſter Gunner Thomas Browne, and his mate William Frier being then preſent) demanding of you, if he ſhould ſend certaine men to Port famine being two leagues from the ſhip by land. Thomas Browne anſwered him preſently, that he ſhould ſend

none

The Spaniard taken in at Port Famine.

none,for feare leaſt the wind might ariſe,and by that meanes we ſhould looſe ſo many of our men more: to whom Matthew Hawlie replied that it was not material,for that he had made choyce of a company for the very ſame purpoſe, whoſe names were Emmanuel Dornel,Richard Hungate, Paul Carie,Iohn Dauis,Gabriel Valeroſa, a Portugall, and Peter a Britaine, and the Spaniard which we had taken in at the ſame place,at our firſt time of watering. And thus we end,deſiring God to ſende vs well into our natiue countrey. In witneſſe whereof wee haue ſubſcribed our names.

Thomas Browne, Gunner,
Iohn Morrice,&c.

The laſt voyage of the worſhipfull M. *Thomas Candiſh* eſquire, intended for the *South ſea*, the *Philippinas*, and the coaſt of *China*, with 3. tall ſhips,and two barks: Written by M. *Iohn Iane*, a man of good obſeruation, imployed in the ſame,and many other voyages.

THe 26.of Auguſt 1591. wee departed from Plimmouth with 3.tall ſhips,and two barkes,The Galeon wherein M.Candiſh went himſelfe being Admiral, The Roebucke viceadmirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Deſire Rere-admirall whereof was Captaine M. Iohn Dauis (with whom and for whoſe ſake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinneſſe, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

Baya de Saluador.

A barke taken.

Cabo Frio. Iſla de Placencia.

Iſle de S. Sebaſtian.

The 29. of Nouember wee fell with the bay of Saluador vpon the coaſt of Braſil 12. leagues on this ſide Cabo Frio,where wee were becalmed vntill the ſecond of December: at which time wee tooke a ſmall barke bound for the Riuer of Plate with ſugar, haberdaſh wares, and Negros. The Maſter of this barke brought vs vnto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues Weſt from Cabo Frio, where wee arriued the fift of December, and rifled ſixe or ſeuen houſes inhabited by Portugales. The 11.wee departed from this place,and the fourteenth we arriued at the yle of S. Sebaſtian: from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Dauis preſently departed with The Deſire and the blacke pinneſſe, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15.at euening we anckered at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being diſcouered, wee were inforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a ſterne,by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Maſſe both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as priſoners. The cauſe why maſter Candiſh deſired to take this towne was to ſupply his great wants: For being in Santos, and hauing it in quiet poſſeſſion, wee ſtood in aſſurance to ſupply all our needes in great abundance. But ſuch was the negligence of our gouernour maſter Cocke, that the Indians were ſuffered to carry out of the towne whatſoeuer they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our priſoners were all ſet at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as pawnes to ſupply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furniſh ſuch another Fleete with all kinde of neceſſaries,was left vnto vs nakedly bare, without people and prouiſion.

The towne of Santos taken.

The towne of S. Vincent burnt.

Eight or tenne dayes after maſter Candiſh himſelfe came thither, where hee remained vntill the 22.of January,ſeeking by intreatie to haue that,whereof we were once poſſeſſed. But in concluſion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall,not being able any longer to liue there,and were glad to receiue a fewe caniſters or baſkets of Caſſaui meale; ſo that in euery condition wee went worſe furniſhed from the towne, then when wee came vnto it. The 22.of January we departed from Santos,and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24.we ſet ſaile,ſhaping our courſe for the Streights of Magellan.

The ſeuenth of February we had a very great ſtorme, and the eighth our Fleet was ſeparated by the fury of the tempeſt. Then our Captaine called vnto him the Maſter of our ſhip, whom hee found to be a very honeſt and ſufficient man,and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Deſire,which is in the Southerly latitude of 48.degrees; hoping that the Generall would come thither, becauſe that in his firſt voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could neuer get any direction what courſe to take in any ſuch extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I haue heard him with griefe report. In ſayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein maſter Cocke had endured great extremities,and had loſt his boate, and therefore deſired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very deſperate caſe. Our Captaine hoiſed out his boate,and went abord him to know his eſtate,and returning tolde vs the hardneſſe thereof, and deſired the Maſter and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to looſe The Roe-bucke, and ſo wee both arriued at Port Deſire the ſixth of March.

They arriue at Port Deſire.

The 16. of March The Blacke pinneſſe came vnto vs, but maſter Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, hauing their Captaine abord the Roe-bucke without any prouiſion more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence abord our ſhip to remaine with our Captaine, by reaſon of the great friendſhip betweene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the road, and maſter Candiſh came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at ſea; for his long boat and light-horſeman were loſt at ſea, as alſo a pinneſſe which he had built at Santos: and being abord The Deſire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and ſpake moſt hardly of his company, and of diuers gentlemen that were with him, purpoſing no more to goe abord his owne ſhip, but to ſtay in The Deſire. We all ſorrowed to heare ſuch hard ſpeaches of our good friends; but hauing ſpoken with the gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honeſt, and reſolute in proceeding, although it pleaſed our Generall otherwiſe to conceiue of them.

M. Adrian Gilberts barke returneth for England.

A pinneſſe built at Santos.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Deſire, maſter Candiſh being in The Deſire with vs. The eighth of April 1592. wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious ſtormes betweene Port Deſire and the Streight. The 14. we paſſed through the firſt Streight. The 16. we paſſed the ſecond Streight being ten leagues diſtant from the firſt. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and ½. The 21. wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a ſmall coue with our ſhips, 4. leagues from the ſaid Cape, vpon the South ſhoare, where wee remained vntil the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme ſtormes, with perpetual ſnow, where many of our men died with curſed famine, and miſerable cold, not hauing wherewith to couer their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but liuing by muſkles, water, and weeds of the ſea, with a ſmall reliefe of the ſhips ſtore in meale ſometimes. And all the ſicke men in the Galeon were moſt vncharitably put a ſhore into the woods in the ſnowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could ſkarcely indure it, where they ended their liues in the higheſt degree of miſery, maſter Candiſh all this while being abord the Deſire. In theſe great extremities of ſnow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he aſked our Captaines opinion, becauſe he was a man that had good experience of the Northweſt parts, in his 3. ſeuerall diſcoueries that way, imployed by the marchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this ſnowe was a matter of no long continuance, and gaue him ſufficient reaſon for it, and that thereby hee could not much be preiudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithſtanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purpoſed not to ſtay in the Streights, but to depart vpon ſome other voyage, or elſe to returne againe for Braſil. But his reſolution was to goe for the Cape of Buena Eſperança. The company anſwered, that if it pleaſed him, they did deſire to ſtay Gods fauour for a winde, and to indure all hardneſſe whatſoeuer, rather then to giue ouer the voyage, conſidering they had bene here but a ſmal time, and becauſe they were within fourtie leagues of the South ſea, it grieued them now to returne; notwithſtanding what hee purpoſed, that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Eſperança, and to giue ouer this voyage. Then our Captaine, after maſter Candiſh was come abord The Deſire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleaſed him to conſider the great extremitie of his eſtate, the ſlenderneſſe of his prouiſions, with the weakeneſſe of his men, it was no courſe for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the reſt of your ſhippes (ſaid hee) bee furniſhed anſwerable to this, it is impoſſible to performe your determination: for wee haue no more ſailes then maſtes, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is ouer head, and among ſeuentie and fiue perſons, there is but the Maſter alone that can order the ſhippe, and but fourteene ſaylers. The reſt are gentlemen, ſeruingmen, and artificers. Therefore it will be a deſperate caſe to take ſo hard an enterprize in hand. Theſe perſwaſions did our Captaine not onely vſe to maſter Candiſh, but alſo to maſter Cocke. In fine vpon a petition deliuered in writing by the chiefe of the whole company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Braſil.

They fall with the Streights of Magellan.

So the 15. of May wee ſet ſaile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to haue our boat ſunke at our ſterne in the night, and to be ſplit and ſore ſpoiled, and to looſe all our ores.

They returne from the Streights of Magellan.

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Deſire, in the night the Generall altered his courſe, as we ſuppoſe, by which occaſion wee loſt him: for in the euening he ſtood cloſe by a winde to ſeaward, hauing the winde at Northnortheaſt, and wee ſtanding the ſame way, the winde not altering, could not the next day ſee him: ſo that we then perſwaded our ſelues, that hee was gone

The occaſion of loſing the Generall.

for Port Deſire to relieue himſelfe, or that hee had ſuſtained ſome miſchance at Sea, and was gone thither to remedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generals men vnto him, with the reſt, and aſked their opinion what was to bee done. Euery one ſayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Deſire. Then the Maſter being the Generals man, and carefull of his maſters ſeruice, as alſo of good iudgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Deſire, if wee ſhoulde there miſſe the Generall: for (ſaide hee) wee haue no boate to lande our ſelues, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare truſt in ſo quicke ſtreames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee ſtayed our courſe for Port Deſire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinneſſe, which had likewiſe loſt the Fleete, being in very miſerable caſe: ſo wee both concluded to ſeeke the Generall at Port Deſire.

Then come againe to Port Deſire the 26. of May.

A quiet road.

A poole of freſh water on the South ſide of Port Deſire.

Abundance of muſkles and ſmelts.

The ſixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Deſire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being moſt ſlenderly victualled, without ſailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other neceſſaries for our reliefe, wee were ſtrooken into a deadly ſorrow. But referring all to the prouidence and fatherly protection of the Almightie, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods fauour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Hauing mored our ſhippe with the pinneſſes boate, wee landed vpon the South ſhore, where wee found a ſtanding poole of freſh water, which by eſtimation might holde ſome tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then fortie tunnes of water, and yet we left the poole as full as wee found it. And becauſe at our firſt being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perſwaded our ſelues that God had ſent it for our reliefe. Alſo there were ſuch extraordinary low ebbes as we had neuer ſeene, whereby wee got muſkles in great plentie. Likewiſe God ſent about our ſhippes great abundance of ſmelts, ſo that with hookes made of pinnes euery man caught as many as hee coulde eate: by which meanes wee preſerued our ſhips victuals, and ſpent not any during the time of our abode here.

Our Captaine and Maſter falling into the conſideration of our eſtate and diſpatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants ſo great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitte our ſhippe to ſet ſaile. For wee muſt needes ſet vp a Smiths forge, to make boltes, ſpikes, and nayles, beſides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their beſt courſe to take the pinneſſe, and to furniſh her with the beſt of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leauing the ſhippe and the reſt of the company vntill the Generals returne; for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde vs. The Captaine and Maſter of the pinneſſe being the Generals men were well contented with the motion.

A dangerous mutiny.

But the Generall hauing in our ſhippe two moſt peſtilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they vtterly miſliked it, and in ſecret dealt with the company of both ſhippes, vehemently perſwading them, that our Captaine and Maſter would leaue them in the countrey to bee deuoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercileſſe and without charitie: whereupon the whole company ioyned in ſecret with them in a night to murther our Captaine and Maſter, with my ſelfe, and all thoſe which they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muſkets through the ſhippes ſide, and bullets made of ſiluer for the execution, if their other purpoſes ſhould faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the bote-ſwaine of our ſhippe, who when hee knew the matter, and the ſlender ground thereof, reuealed it vnto our Maſter, and ſo to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in queſtion, thoſe two moſt murtherous fellowes were found out, whoſe names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith.

The Captaine being thus hardly beſet in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was conſtrained to vſe lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie; ſhewing, that to doe the Generall ſeruice, vnto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cauſe why hee purpoſed to goe vnto him in the pinneſſe, conſidering, that the pinneſſe was ſo neceſſary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, becauſe hee was fearefull of the ſhore in ſo great ſhippes. Whereupon all cried out with curſing and ſwearing, that the pinneſſe ſhould not goe vnleſſe the ſhippe went. Then the Captaine deſired them to ſhewe themſelues Chriſtians, and not ſo blaſphemouſly to behaue themſelues, without regard or thankeſgiuing to God for their great deliuerance, and preſent ſuſtenance beſtowed vpon them, alleaging many examples of Gods ſharpe puniſhment for ſuch ingratitude; and withall promiſed to doe any thing that might ſtand with their good liking. By which gentle ſpeaches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Maſter at the requeſt of the company were content to forgiue this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in theſe wordes: The Lord iudge betweene you and mee:

which after came to a moſt ſharpe reuenge euen by the puniſhment of the Almightie. Thus by a generall conſent it was concluded not to depart, but there to ſtay for the Generals returne. Then our Captaine and Maſter, ſeeing that they could not doe the Generall that ſeruice which they deſired, made a motion to the companie, that they would lay downe vnder their handes the loſing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then ſtoode: whereunto they conſented, and wrote vnder their hands as followeth.

The teſtimoniall of the companie of *The Deſire* touching their loſing of their Generall, which appeareth to haue beene vtterly againſt their meanings.

The 26 of Auguſt 1591 wee whoſe names bee here vnder written, with diuers others departed from Plimmouth vnder M. Thomas Candiſh our Generall, with 4 ſhips of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Deſire, and The Black pinneſſe, for the performance of a voyage into The South ſea. The 19 of Nouember we fell with the bay of Saluador in Braſil. The 16 of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to reuictuall our ſelues, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of January we ſet ſaile from Santos, ſhaping our courſe for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent ſtormes the ſayde fleete was parted: The Robuck and The Deſire arriued in Porte Deſire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinneſſe arriued there alſo: and the 18 of the ſame our admirall came into the roade; with whom we departed the 20 of March in poore and weake eſtate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entred The Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South ſea, where wee rode vntill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great ſtore of ſnowe, with ſome guſtie weather, the wind continuing ſtill at Weſnorthweſt againſt vs. In this time wee were inforced for the preſeruing of our victuals, to liue the moſt part vpon muſkles, our prouiſion was ſo ſlender; ſo that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Braſil there to winter, & to procure victuals for this voyage againſt the next yeere. So we departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Deſire 30 leagues off the ſhoare, the wind then at Northeaſt and by North, at fiue of the clock at night lying Northeaſt, wee ſuddenly caſt about lying Southeaſt and by South, and ſometimes Southeaſt: the whole fleete following the admirall, our ſhip comming vnder his lee ſhot ahead him, and ſo framed ſaile fit to keepe companie. This night wee were ſeuered, by what occaſion wee proteſt wee know not, whither we loſt them or they vs. In the morning we only ſaw The Black pinneſſe, then ſuppoſing that the admirall had ouerſhot vs. All this day wee ſtoode to the Eaſtwards, hoping to find him, becauſe it was not likely, that he would ſtand to the ſhoare againe ſo ſuddenly. But miſſing him towards night, we ſtood to the ſhoareward, hoping by that courſe to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent ſtorme, with the winde at Northweſt, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare ſaile, and this night we periſhed our maine treſſletrees, ſo that wee could no more vſe our maine top-ſaile, lying moſt dangerouſly in the ſea. The pinneſſe likewiſe receiued a great leake, ſo that wee were inforced to ſeeke the next ſhoare for our reliefe. And becauſe famine was like to bee the beſt ende, wee deſired to goe for Port Deſire, hoping with ſeales and penguins to relieue our ſelues, and ſo to make ſhift to followe the Generall, or there to ſtay his comming from Braſil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the ſea very loftie, ſo that our ſhip had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-ſhrowdes brake, ſo that if wee had not beene neere the ſhoare, it had beene impoſſible for vs to get out of the ſea. And nowe being here mored in Port Deſire, our ſhrowdes are all rotten, not hauing a running rope whereto wee may truſt, and being prouided onely of one ſhift of ſailes all worne, our top-ſailes not able to abide any ſtreſſe of weather, neither haue wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any ſtore for the ſupplying of theſe wantes; and wee liue onely vpon ſeales and muſkles, hauing but fiue hogſheads of porke within bourd, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke. And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed God to ſeparate our fleete, and to bring vs into ſuch hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though otherwiſe we are hopeleſſe of comfort, yet becauſe the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great fauour toward vs his creatures are farre beyond the ſcope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to haue deliuerance in this our deepe diſtreſſe. Also foraſmuch as thoſe vpon whom God will beſtow the fauour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onely themſelues remaine blameleſſe, but alſo manifeſt the trueth of our actions, wee haue thought good in Chriſtian charitie to lay downe vnder our hands the trueth of all our proceedings euen till the time of this our diſtreſſe.

The maner how they loſt their Generall.

Giuen in Port Deſire the 2 of June 1592. Beſeeching the almightie God of his mercie to deliuer vs from this miſerie, how or when it ſhall pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie.

John Dauis Captaine.
Randolph Cotton.
John Pery.
William Maber gunner.
Charles Parker.
Rouland Miller.
Edward Smith.
Thomas Purpet.
Matthew Stubbes.
John Jenkinſon.
Thomas Edwards.
Edward Granger.
John Lewis.
William Hayman.
George Straker.
Thomas Walbie.
William Wyeth.
Richard Alard.
Stephan Popham.
Alexander Cole.

Thomas Watkins.
George Cunington.
John Whiting.
James Ling.
The Boat-ſwain.
Francis Smith.
John Layes.
The Boat-ſwaines mate.
Fiſher.
John Auſtin.
Francis Copſtone.
Richard Garet.
James Euersby.
Nicolas Parker.
Leonard.
John Pick.
Benjamin.
William Maber.
James Not.
Chriſtopher Hauſer.

An Iſle neere Port Deſire abounding with ſeales and penguins.

After they had deliuered this relation vnto our captaine vnder their handes, then wee began to trauell for our liues, and wee built vp a ſmiths forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nailes, boltes, and ſpikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the reſt gathered muſkles, and tooke ſmeltes for the whole companie. Three leagues from this harborough there is an Iſle with foure ſmall Iſles about it, where there are great abundance of ſeales, and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded with the pinneſſe, that ſhe ſhould ſometimes goe thither to fetch ſeales for vs; vpon which condion wee would ſhare our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed. So wee parted our poore ſtore, and ſhee laboured to fetch vs ſeales to eate, wherewith wee liued when ſmeltes and muſkles failed: for in the nepe ſtreames wee could get no muſkles. Thus in moſt miſerable calamitie wee remained vntill the ſixt of Auguſt, ſtill keeping watch vpon the hils to looke for our Generall, and ſo great was our vexation and anguiſh of ſoule, as I thinke neuer fleſh and blood endured more. Thus our miſerie dayly increaſing, time paſſing, and our hope of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Maſter were fully perſwaded, that the Generall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: whereupon they thought no courſe more conuenient then to goe preſently for The Streights, and there to ſtay his comming, for in that place hee could not paſſe, but of force wee muſt ſee him: whereunto the companie moſt willingly conſented, as alſo the Captaine and Maſter of the pinneſſe; ſo that vpon this determination wee made all poſſible ſpeede to depart.

They depart the ſecond time from Port Deſire for The Streights of Magellan.

Certaine Iſles neuer before diſcouered fifty leagues northeaſt off The Streights.

The firſt and ſecōd Streight Cape Froward. Saluage cooue.

The ſixt of Auguſt wee ſet ſaile, and went to Penguin-iſle, and the next day wee ſalted twentie hogſheads of ſeales, which was as much as our ſalt could poſſibly doe, and ſo wee departed for The Streights the pooreſt wretches that euer were created. The ſeuenth of Auguſt towarde night wee departed from Penguin-iſle, ſhaping our courſe for The Streights, where wee had full confidence to meete with our Generall, The ninth wee had a ſore ſtorme, ſo that wee were conſtrained to hull, for our ſailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driuen in among certaine Iſles neuer before diſcouered by any knowen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the ſhoare Eaſt and Northerly from The Streights: in which place, vnleſſe it had pleaſed God of his wonderfull mercie to haue ceaſed the winde, wee muſt of neceſſitie haue periſhed. But the winde ſhifting to the Eaſt, wee directed our courſe for The Streights, and the 18 of Auguſt wee fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the ſame night we ankered ten leagues within the Cape. The 19 day wee paſſed the firſt and the ſecond Streights. The 21 wee doubled Cape Froward. The 22 we ankered in Saluage cooue, ſo named, becauſe wee found many Saluages there: notwithſtanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all theſe wilde people goe naked, and liue in the woods like Satyrs, painted and diſguiſed, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very ſtrong, and threw ſtones at vs of three or foure pound weight an incredible diſtance. The

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24 in the morning wee departed from this cooue, and the ſame day we came into the Northweſt reach, which is the laſt reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankored in a good cooue, within fourteene leagues of the South ſea: in this place we purpoſed to ſtay for the General, for the ſtreight in this place is ſcarce three miles broad, ſo that he could not paſſe but we muſt ſee him. After we had ſtayed here a fortnight in the deep of Winter, our victuals conſuming, (for our Seals ſtunke moſt vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greateſt part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heauie diſtreſſe, our captaine and Maſter thought it the beſt courſe to depart from the Streights into the South ſea, and to go for the Iſle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldiuia in 37 degrees & a quarter, where we might haue reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and there ſtay for the Generall, for of neceſſity he muſt come by that Iſle. So we departed the 13 of September, & came in ſight of the South ſea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recouered a cooue 3 leagues within the ſtreights from the South ſea. Againe we put foorth, & being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind riſing furiouſly at Weſtnorthweſt, we were inforced againe into the ſtreights only for want of ſails; for we neuer durſt beare ſaile in any ſtreſſe of weather, they were ſo weake: ſo againe we recouered the cooue three leagues within the ſtreights, where we indured moſt furious weather, ſo that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleaſed God to calme the ſtorme, and wee unriued our ſheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ſhip to the trees cloſe by the rockes. We laboured to recouer our ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay ſo deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane couered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable ſpliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the middeſt of theſe our troubles it pleaſed God that the wind came faire the firſt of October; whereupon with all expedition wee looſed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and ſo towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Deſire, and had fiue oares of the pinneſſe. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one ſtrand helde: then wee prayſed God; for we ſaw apparantly his mercies in preſeruing vs. Being in the chanel, we riued our ropes, & againe rigged our ſhip, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured euen for the laſt gaſpe of life. Here our company was deuided; ſome deſired to go againe for Port Deſire, and there to be ſet on ſhore, where they might trauell for their liues, and ſome ſtood with the Captaine & Maſter to proceed. Wherupon the Captaine ſayd to the Maſter: Maſter, you ſee the wonderfull extremitie of our eſtate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South ſea: ſome ſay in ſecret, as I am informed, that we vndertake theſe deſperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainely make knowen vnto you, that the loue which I bare to the Generall cauſed mee [illegible] to enter into this action, whereby I haue not onely heaped vpon my head this bitter calamity now preſent, but alſo haue in ſome ſort procured the diſlike of my beſt friends in England, as it is not vnknowen to ſome in this company. But now being thus intangled by the prouidence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I deſire, that it may pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie to ſhew vs ſuch mercifull fauour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwiſe: or if it be his wil, that our mortall being ſhal now take an ende, I rather deſire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And becauſe I ſee in reaſon, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Chriſtian charity intreat you all, firſt to forgiue me in whatſoeuer I haue bin grieuous vnto you; ſecondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then vſe hard ſpeeches of him; and let vs be fully perſwaded, that not for his cauſe & negligence, but for our own offences againſt the diuine Maieſty we are preſently puniſhed; laſtly, let vs forgiue one another and be reconciled as children in loue & charity, and not think vpon the vanities of this life: ſo ſhall we in leauing this life liue with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find fauour with God. And now (good maſter) foraſmuch as you haue bin in this voyage once before with your maſter the general, ſatiſfie the cōpany of ſuch truths, as are to you beſt knowen; & you the reſt of the generals men, which likewiſe haue bin with him in his firſt voyage, if you heare any thing contrary to the truth, ſpare not to reprooue it, I pray you. And ſo I beſeech the Lord to beſtow his mercy vpon vs. Then the maſter began in theſe ſpeeches: Captain, your requeſt is very reaſonable, & I referre to your iudgment my honeſt care, & great pains taken in the generals ſeruice, my loue towards him, & in what ſort I haue diſcharged my duety, from the firſt day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I haue perfourmed. You all knowe, that when I was extreamely ſicke, the General was loſt in my mates watch, as you haue well examined: ſithens which time, in what anguiſh and griefe of minde I haue liued, God onely knoweth, and you are in ſome part a witneſſe. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gaineſay it:

The northweſt or laſt reach of the ſtreights.

Their firſt enterance into ye South ſea.

They enter the South ſea the ſecond time.

This Santos ſtandeth vpon the coaſt of Peru in 9 deg. of Southerly latitude.

They enter the South ſea the third time.

but this I aſſure you, if life may be preſerued by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Iſle of Santa Maria I doe aſſure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Alſo I will bring you to an Iſle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee ſhall haue meale in great plenty, beſides all our poſſibilitie of intercepting ſome ſhippes vpon the coaſt of Chili and Peru. But if wee returne there is nothing but death to be hoped for: therefore doe as you like, I am ready, but my deſire is to proceede. Theſe his ſpeeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall conſent of proceeding; and ſo the ſecond of October we put into the South ſea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Weſtnorthweſt, and ſtill increaſed in fury, ſo that wee were in great doubt what courſe to take: to put into the Streights wee durſt not for lacke of ground-tackle: to beare ſayle wee doubted, the tempeſt was ſo furious, and our ſayles ſo bad. The pinneſſe came roome with vs, and tolde vs that ſhee had receiued many grieuous Seas, and that her ropes did euery houre fayle her, ſo as they could not tell what ſhift to make: wee being vnable in any ſort to helpe them, ſtood vnder our coarſes in view of the lee-ſhore, ſtill expecting our ruinous end.

The fourth of October the ſtorme growing beyond all reaſon furious, the pinneſſe being in the winde of vs, ſtrake ſuddenly ahull, ſo that we thought ſhee had receiued ſome grieuous ſea, or ſprung a leake, or that her ſayles failed her, becauſe ſhe came not with vs: but we durſt not hull in that vnmercifull ſtorme, but ſometimes tried vnder our maine coarſe, ſometime with a haddock of our ſayle, for our ſhip was very leeward, and moſt labourſome in the ſea. This night wee loſt the pinneſſe, and neuer ſaw her againe.

The blacke pinneſſe loſt in the South ſea.

The fift, our foreſayle was ſplit, and all to torne: then our Maſter tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremaſt, to make our ſhip worke, and with our ſpritſaile we mended our foreſayle, the ſtorme continuing without all reaſon in fury, with haile, ſnowe, raine, and winde ſuch and ſo mighty, as that in nature it could not poſſibly be more, the ſeas ſuch and ſo lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ſhip did ſinke or ſwimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Maſter very neere the ſhore, the weather darke, the ſtorme furious, and moſt of our men hauing giuen ouer to trauell, we yeelded our ſelues to death, without further hope of ſuccour. Our captaine ſitting in the gallery very penſiue, I came and brought him ſome Roſa ſolis to comfort him; for he was ſo cold, that hee was ſcarce able to mooue a ioint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the eaſe of his conſcience to make a large repetition of his forepaſſed time, and with many grieuous ſighs he concluded in theſe words: Oh moſt glorious God, with whoſe power the mightieſt things among men are matters of no moment, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my ſinnes may through the blood of Ieſus Chriſt be taken from me: and end our daies with ſpeede, or ſhew vs ſome mercifull ſigne of thy loue and our preſeruation. Hauing thus ended, he deſired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguiſh of minde, becauſe they ſhould not thereby be diſmayed. And ſo ſuddenly, before I went from him, the Sunne ſhined cleere; ſo that he and the Maſter both obſerued the true eleuation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what courſe to recouer the Streights. Wherewithall our captaine and Maſter were ſo reuiued, & gaue ſuch comfortable ſpeeches to the company, that euery man reioyced, as though we had receiued a preſent deliuerance. The next day being the 11 of October, we ſaw Cabo Deſeado being the cape on the South ſhore (the North ſhore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Iſles, & ſholds.) This cape being within two leags to leeward off vs, our maſter greatly doubted, that we could not double the ſame: wherupon the captain told him: You ſee there is no remedy, either we muſt double it, or before noon we muſt die: therfore looſe your ſails, and let vs put it to Gods mercy. The maſter being a man of good ſpirit reſolutely made quicke diſpatch & ſet ſaile. Our ſailes had not bene halfe an houre aboord, but the footrope of our foreſaile brake, ſo that nothing held but the oylet holes. The ſeas continually brake ouer the ſhips poope, and flew into the ſailes with ſuch violence, that we ſtill expected the tearing of our ſayles, or ouerſetting of the ſhip, and withall to our vtter diſcomfort, wee perceiued that wee fell ſtill more and more to leeward, ſo that wee could not double the cape: wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and ſo neere the ſhore, that the counter-ſuffe of the ſea would rebound againſt the ſhippes ſide, ſo that wee were much diſmayed with the horror of our preſent ende. Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond meaſure, our Maſter veared ſome of the maine ſheate; and whether it was by that occaſion, or by ſome current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ſhip quickened her way, and ſhot paſt that rocke, where wee thought ſhee would haue ſhored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; ſo that wee were ſomewhat farther from the ſhoare:

and when we were come ſo farre as the cape, wee yeelded to death: yet our good God the Father of all mercies deliuered vs, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our ſhippe, or very little more. Being ſhot paſt the cape, we preſently tooke in our ſayles, which onely God had preſerued vnto vs; and when we were ſhot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of ſayle, we ſpooned before the ſea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in ſixe houres wee were put fiue and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a ſea anſwerable to the Ocean.

The Cape Deſeado moſt dangerouſly doubled, after they had been nine dayes in the South ſea.

In this time we freed our ſhip from water, and after wee had reſted a little, our men were not able to mooue; their ſinewes were ſtiffe, and their fleſh dead, and many of them (which is moſt lamentable to bee reported) were ſo eaten with lice, as that in their fleſh did lie cluſters of lice as big as peaſon, yea and ſome as big as beanes. Being in this miſerie we were conſtrained to put into a coue for the refreſhing our men. Our Maſter knowing the ſhore and euery coue very perfectly, put in with the ſhore, and mored to the trees, as beforetime we had done, laying our ankor to the ſeaward. Here we continued vntill the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to ſtay through extremitie of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reaſonable calme: but before night it blew moſt extreamely at Weſtnorthweſt. The ſtorme growing outragious, our men could ſcarcely ſtand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were conſtrained by diſcretion of the Captaine and Maſter in their accounts to guide the ſhip in the hell-darke night, when we could not ſee any ſhore, the chanell being in ſome places ſcarſe three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee firſt paſſed through the Streights drew ſuch an exquiſite plat of the ſame, as I am aſſured it cannot in any ſort be bettered: which plat hee and the Maſter ſo often peruſed, and ſo carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had euery turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conueyed the ſhip through that crooked chanell: ſo that I conclude, the world hath not any ſo ſkilfull pilots for that place, as they are: for otherwiſe wee could neuer haue paſſed in ſuch ſort as we did.

An excellent plat of the Streights of Magellan.

The 25 wee came to an Iſland in the Streights named Penguin-iſle, whither wee ſent our boate to ſeeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme; ſo wee came to an ankor by the Iſland in ſeuen fadomes. While our boate was at ſhore, and we had great ſtore of Penguins, there aroſe a ſudden ſtorme, ſo that our ſhip did driue ouer a breach and our boate ſanke at the ſhore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on ſhore leapt into the boate, and freed the ſame, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recouered the ſhip: my ſelfe alſo was in the boate the ſame time, where for my life I laboured to the beſt of my power. The ſhip all this while driuing vpon the lee-ſhore, when wee came aboord, we helped to ſet ſayle, and weighed the ankor; for before our comming they could ſcarſe hoiſe vp their yardes, yet with much adoe they ſet their fore-coarſe. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the ſeuen and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-iſle being three leagues from Port Deſire, the place which wee purpoſed to ſeeke for our reliefe.

Penguin-iſle within three leagues of Port Deſire.

When wee were come to this Iſle wee ſent our boate on ſhore, which returned laden with birdes and egges; and our men ſayd that the Penguins were ſo thicke vpon the Iſle, that ſhippes might be laden with them; for they could not goe without treading vpon the birds, whereat we greatly reioiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to go on ſhore, and to ſtay vpon the Iſle, for the killing and drying of thoſe Penguins, and promiſed after the ſhip was in harborough to ſend the reſt, not onely for expedition, but alſo to ſaue the ſmall ſtore of victuals in the ſhippe. But Parker, Smith, and the reſt of their faction ſuſpected, that this was a deuiſe of the Captaine to leaue his men on ſhore, that by theſe meanes there might bee victuals for the reſt to recouer their countrey: and when they remembred, that this was the place where they would haue ſlaine their Captaine and Maſter, ſurely (thought they) for reuenge hereof will they leaue vs on ſhore. Which when our Captaine vnderſtood, hee vſed theſe ſpeeches vnto them: I vnderſtand that you are doubtfull of your ſecurity through the peruerſeneſſe of your owne guilty conſciences: it is an extreame griefe vnto me, that you ſhould iudge mee blood-thirſtie, in whome you haue ſeene nothing but kinde conuerſation: if you haue found otherwiſe, ſpeake boldly, and accuſe mee of the wrongs that I haue done: if not, why do you then meaſure me by your owne vncharitable conſciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the vtmoſt of your powers, to murther me and the maſter cauſeles, as God knoweth, which euil in this place we did remit you: & now I may conceiue without doing you wrong, that you againe purpoſe ſome euill in bringing theſe matters to repetition:

They enter Port Deſire the third time.

but God hath ſo ſhortned your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you: it is for your Maſters ſake that I haue forborne you in your vnchriſtian practizes: and here I proteſt before God, that for his ſake alone I will yet indure this iniury, and you ſhall in no ſorte be preiudiced, or in any thing be by me commanded: but when we come into England (if God ſo fauour vs) your maſter ſhall knowe your honeſties; in the meane ſpace be voide of theſe ſuſpicions, for, God I call to witnes, reuenge is no part of my thought. They gaue him thanks, deſiring to go into the harborough with the ſhip, which he granted. So there were ten left vpon the Iſle, and the laſt of October we entred the harborough. Our Maſter at our laſt being here hauing taken carefull notice of euery creeke in the riuer, in a very conuenient place, vpon ſandy oaze, ran the ſhip on ground, laying our ankor to ſeaward, and with our running ropes mored her to ſtakes vpon the ſhore, which hee had faſtened for that purpoſe; where the ſhip remained till our departure.

Penguin Iſle ſcarce a mile frõ the maine.

Nine men loſt.

A great multitude of Saluages with vizards, or faces like vnto dogs faces.

The riuer of Port Deſire but 20 miles paſſable by boate.

The great benefit of the herbe called Scuruygraſſe.

They ſtayed 7 weekes in Port Deſire.

A pretty deuiſe to make ſalt.

The third of Nouember our boat with water, wood, and as many as ſhee could cary, went for the Iſle of Penguins: but being deepe, ſhe durſt not procede, but returned againe the ſame night. Then Parker, Smith, Towneſend, Purpet, with fiue others, deſired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were againſt the Iſle; it being ſcarce a mile from the ſhore. The captaine bade them doe what they thought beſt, aduiſing them to take weapons with them: for (ſayd hee) although we haue not at any time ſeene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Sauages. They anſwered, that here were great ſtore of Deere, and Oſtriches; but if there were Saluages, they would deuoure them: notwithſtanding the captaine cauſed them to cary weapons, calieuers, ſwordes, and targets: ſo the ſixt of Nouember they departed by land, and the bote by ſea; but from that day to this day wee neuer heard of our men. The 11 while moſt of our men were at the Iſle, onely the Captaine and Maſter with ſixe others being left in the ſhip, there came a great multitude of Saluages to the ſhip, throwing duſt in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beaſts, hauing vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or elſe their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared leaſt they would ſet our ſhip on fire, for they would ſuddenly make fire, whereat we much maruelled: they came to windward of our ſhip, and ſet the buſhes on fire, ſo that we were in a very ſtinking ſmoke: but as ſoone as they came within our ſhot, we ſhot at them, & ſtriking one of them in the thigh they all preſently fled, ſo that we neuer heard nor ſaw more of them. Hereby we iudged, that theſe Canibals had ſlaine our 9 men. When we conſidered what they were that thus were ſlaine, and found that they were the principall men that would haue murthered our Captaine & Maſter, with the reſt of their friends, we ſaw the iuſt iudgement of God, and made ſupplication to his diuine Maieſty to be merciful vnto vs. While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Maſter went with the boat to diſcouer how farre this riuer did run, that if neede ſhould enforce vs to leaue our ſhip, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther then 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they ſent the boate to the Iſle of Penguins; whereby wee vnderſtood that the Penguins dryed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the ſhape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two ſtumps in the place of wings, by which he ſwimmeth vnder water with as great ſwiftnes as any fiſh. They liue vpon ſmelts, whereof there is great abundance vpon this coaſt: in eating they be neither fiſh nor fleſh: they lay great egs, and the bird is of a reaſonable bignes, very neere twiſe ſo big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared paſſing well with egs, Penguins, yong Seales, yong Gulles, beſides other birds, ſuch as I know not; of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scuruygraſſe, which wee fried with egs, vſing traine oyle in ſtead of butter. This herbe did ſo purge yͤ blood, that it tooke away all kind of ſwellings, of which many died, & reſtored vs to perfect health of body, ſo that we were in as good caſe as whẽ we came firſt out of England. We ſtayed in this harbour vntil the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins; & the Captaine, the Maſter, and my ſelfe had made ſome ſalt, by laying ſalt water vpon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kerned. Thus God did feed vs euẽ as it were with Manna frõ heauen.

A poore allowance of victuals.

The 22 of December we departed with our ſhip for the Iſle, where with great difficulty, by the ſkilful induſtry of our Maſter we got 14000 of our birds, and had almoſt loſt our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboord: & had not our Maſter bene very expert in the ſet of thoſe wicked tides, which run after many faſhions, we had alſo loſt our ſhip in the ſame place: but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the reſt, and ſhaped our courſe for Braſil. Now we our captaine rated our victuals, and brought vs to ſuch allowance, as that our victuals might laſt ſixe moneths; for our hope was, that within ſixe moneths we might recouer our countrey, though our ſailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces & a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to haue ſo twiſe a weeke, ſo that 5 ounces did ſerue for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three ſpoonfuls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peaſon, a pint betweene 4 men a day, and euery day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance; wherewith (we praiſe God) we liued, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of Ianuary we arriued at the Ile of Placencia in Braſill, the firſt place that outward bound we were at: and hauing made the ſholde, our ſhip lying off at ſea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went with the boat on ſhore, being a whole night before they could recouer it. The laſt of Ianuary at ſun-riſing they ſuddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houſes, & by that meanes to recouer ſome Caſaui-meale, or other victuals for our reliefe: but when they came to the houſes, they were all razed, and burnt to the ground, ſo that we thought no man had remained on the Iland. Then the captaine went to the gardens, & brought from thence fruits & roots for the company, and came aboord the ſhip, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where we might more her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caſke. Our caſe being very deſperate, we preſently laboured for diſpatch away; ſome cut hoopes, which the coopers made, others laboured vpon the ſailes and ſhip, euery man trauelling for his life, & ſtill a guard was kept on ſhore to defend thoſe that laboured, euery man hauing his weapon likewiſe by him. The 3 of February our men with 23 ſhot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from vs vpon the North ſhore, and fetched Cazaui-roots out of the ground, to relieue our company inſtead of bread; for we ſpent not of our meale while we ſtaied here. The 5 of February being munday, our captaine and maſter haſted the company to their labour; ſo ſome went with the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the reſt laboured aboord. This night many of our men in the ſhip dreamed of murther & ſlaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one ſaying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert ſlaine; another anſwered, and I dreamed, that thou wert ſlaine: and this was general through the ſhip. The captaine hearing this, who likewiſe had dreamed very ſtrangely himſelfe, gaue very ſtreight charge, that thoſe which went on ſhore ſhould take weapons with them, and ſaw them himſelfe deliuered into the boat, & ſent ſome of purpoſe to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietneſſe, & when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods ſide (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazaui-roots, & dined: after dinner ſome ſlept, ſome waſhed themſelues in the ſea, all being ſtripped to their ſhirts, & no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus ſleeping & ſporting, hauing gotten themſelues into a corner out of ſight of the ſhip, there came a multitude of Indians & Portugales vpon them, and ſlew them ſleeping: onely two eſcaped, one very ſore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we vnderſtood of this miſerable maſſacre: with all ſpeed we manned our boat, & landed to ſuccour our men; but we found them ſlaine, & laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces vpward, and a croſſe ſet by them: and withall we ſaw two very great pinneſſes come from the riuer of Ienero very ful of men; whom we miſtruſted came from thence to take vs: becauſe there came from Ienero ſouldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was ſtrong in it. Of 76 perſons which departed in our ſhip out of England, we were now left but 27, hauing loſt 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muſkets, caliuers, powder, & ſhot. Our caſke was all in decay, ſo that we could not take in more water then was in our ſhip, for want of caſke, and that which we had was maruellous ill conditioned: and being there mored by trees for want of cables and ankers, we ſtill expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our decks with our owne furniture, & to be aſſayled by them of Ienero: what diſtreſſe we were now driuen into, I am not able to expreſſe. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in ſuch bad caſke was to ſterue at ſea, & in ſtaying our caſe was ruinous. Theſe were hard choiſes; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we had taſted, & of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance & ſmall ſhot in a readines, for any aſſalt that ſhould come, & hauing a ſmall gale of winde, we recouered the ſea in moſt deepe diſtreſſe. Then bemoning our eſtate one to another, and recounting ouer all our extremities, nothing grieued vs more, then the loſſe of our men twiſe, firſt by the ſlaughter of the Canibals at Port Deſire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And conſidering what they were that were loſt, we found that al thoſe that conſpired the murthering of our captaine & maſter were now ſlain by ſaluages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at ſea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary; ſo that 3 weekes we were grieuouſly vexed with croſſe windes, & our water conſuming, our hope of life was very ſmall. Some deſired to go to Baya, & to ſubmit themſelues to the Portugales, rather then to die for thirſt: but the captaine with faire perſwaſions altered their

purpoſe

The Ile of Placencia in Braſill.

Ominous and forewarning dreames.

Thirteene men loſt at the Ile of Placencia by their owne extreme negligence.

Cabo Frio 30 leagues eaſt off the Ile of Placencia.

A moſt ſtrange and noiſome kind of worme bred of vnſalted Penguins.

purpoſe of yeelding to the Portugales. In this diſtreſſe it pleaſed God to ſend vs raine in ſuch plenty, as that we were wel watered, & in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere vnto the ſun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, & there bred in thẽ a moſt lothſome & vgly worme of an inch long. This worme did ſo mightily increaſe, and deuoure our victuals, that there was in reaſon no hope how we ſhould auoide famine, but be deuoured of theſe wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not deuoure, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, ſhooes, hats, ſhirts, ſtockings: and for the ſhip they did ſo eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would vndoe vs, by gnawing through the ſhips ſide. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, maſter, and company to conſume theſe vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increaſed; ſo that at the laſt we could not ſleepe for them, but they would eate our fleſh, and bite like Moſquitos. In this wofull caſe, after we had paſſed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall ſick of ſuch a monſtrous diſeaſe, as I thinke the like was neuer heard of: for in their ankles it began to ſwell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breaſts, ſo that they could not draw their breath, and then fell into their cods; and their cods and yardes did ſwell moſt grieuouſly, and moſt dreadfully to behold, ſo that they could neither ſtand, lie, nor goe. Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captain with extreme anguiſh of his ſoule, was in ſuch wofull caſe, that he deſired only a ſpeedie end, and though he were ſcarce able to ſpeake for ſorrow, yet he perſwaded them to patience, and to giue God thankes, & like dutifull children to accept of his chaſtiſement. For all this diuers grew raging mad, & ſome died in moſt lothſome & furious paine. It were incredible to write our miſery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine & one boy. The maſter being a man of good ſpirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, ſo that it grew not vpon him. To be ſhort, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to mooue. The captaine was in good health, the maſter indifferent, captaine Cotton and my ſelfe ſwolne and ſhort winded, yet better then the reſt that were ſicke, and one boy in health: vpon vs 5 only the labour of the ſhip did ſtand. The captaine and maſter, as occaſion ſerued, would take in, and heaue out the top-ſailes, the maſter onely attended on the ſprit-ſaile, and all of vs at the capſten without ſheats and tacks. In fine our miſerie and weakneſſe was ſo great, that we could not take in, nor heaue out a ſaile: ſo our top-ſaile & ſprit-ſailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The maſter and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily diſtreſſed and monſtrouſly grieued with the moſt wofull lamentation of our ſick men. Thus as loſt wanderers vpon the ſea, the 11 of Iune 1593. it pleaſed God, that we arriued at Bear-hauen in Ireland, and there ran the ſhip on ſhore: where the Iriſh men helped vs to take in our ſailes, and to more our ſhip for flooting: which ſlender paines of theirs coſt the captaine ſome ten pounds before he could haue the ſhip in ſafetie. Thus without victuals, ſailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided vs into Ireland, where the captaine left the maſter and three or foure of the company to keepe the ſhip; and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had paſſage in an Engliſh fiſher-boat to Padſtow in Cornewall. In this maner our ſmall remnant by Gods onely mercie were preſerued, and reſtored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

They arriue at Bear-hauen in Ireland the 11 of Iune 1593.

The letters of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie ſent in the yere 1596 vnto the great Emperor of *China* by M. *Richard Allot* and M. *Thomas Bromefield* marchants of the citie of *London*, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ſhips, to wit, *The Beare*, *The Beares whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*; ſet forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir *Robert Duddeley*, and committed vnto the command and conduct of M. *Beniamin Wood*, a man of approoued skill in nauigation: who, together with his ſhips and company (becauſe we haue heard no certaine newes of them ſince the moneth of February next after their departure) we do ſuppoſe, may be arriued vpon ſome part of the coaſt of *China*, and may there be ſtayed by the ſaid Emperour, or perhaps may haue ſome treacherie wrought againſt them by the Portugales of *Macao*, or the Spaniards of the *Philippinas*.

Elizabetha Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & chriſtianæ fidei contra omnes falſò Chriſti nomen profitentes inuictiſſima propugnatrix &c. Altiſſimo, Sereniſſimoq; Principi, potentiſſimo magni regni Chinæ dominatori, ſummo in illis Aſiæ partibus Inſuliſq; adiacentibus imperatori, & magno in orientalibus mundi regionibus Monarchæ, ſalutem, multoſq; cum omni optimarum rerũ copia & affluentia lætos & fœlices annos. Cum honeſti & fideles ſubditi noſtri, qui has literas noſtras ad ſerenitatem veſtram perferunt, *Richardus Allot* & *Thomas Bromefield*, ciuitatis noſtræ Londini in dicto noſtro regno Angliæ mercatores, impenſè a nobis efflagitauerint, vt eorum ſtudia ad imperij veſtri

regiones (commercij gracia) nauigandi commendaremus: Cumq́; regni veſtri fortitèr prudenterq́; adminiſtrati fama, per vniuerſam terrarũ orbem diſſeminata & diuulgata, ſubditos hos noſtros inuitauerit, non ſolum vt dominationis veſtræ regiones inuiſant, ſed vt regni veſtri legibus & inſtitutis, dum in illis mundi partibus cõmorati fuerint, regendos ſe & moderandos permittant, prout mercatores decet, qui mercimoniorũ commutandorum cauſa ad tam longè diſſitas, nec adhuc noſtro orbi ſatis cognitas regiones, penetrare cupiunt, illud vnum ſpectantes, vt mercimonia ſua, mercimoniorũq́; quorundam, quibus ditionis noſtræ regiones abundant, exemplaria quædã ſiue ſpecimina, ſerenitatis veſtræ ſubditorumq́; veſtrorũ conſpectui offerant, & diligenter cognoſcere ſtudeant, ſi quæ aliæ ſint apud nos merces quæ veſtro vſui inſeruiant, quas honeſto & vbique terrarum licito commercij ritu alijs mercibus (quarum in imperij veſtri regionib⁹, tam artis quam naturæ beneficio magna copia eſt) commutare poſſint. Nos ęquiſſimis honeſtorum hominum precibus acquieſcentes, quia nihil ex iuſtiſſimo hoc mercaturæ vſu incommodi ſiue diſpendij oriturum, ſed plurimũ potius emolumenti vtriuſq; regni tum principibus tum ſubditis prouenturum exiſtimamus, dum earũ rerum quibus abundamus exportatione, & aliarum quibus egemus inuectione, æquiſſimis precijs iuuari vtrinque & locupletari poſſimus; Sereniſſimam Maieſtatem veſtram rogamus, vt ſubditis his noſtris, cum mercimoniorum vendendorum & permutandorum gratia, ad imperij veſtri ſtationes, portus, loca, oppida, ciuitates acceſſerint, eundi, redeundi, & cum ſubditis veſtris negotiandi, plena & libera fiat poteſtas: Illisq́; huiuſmodi libertates, immunitates, & priuilegia, quæ aliorum principum ſubditis, apud vos mercaturam exercentibus, concedi ſolent, ſerenitatis veſtræ clementia inuiolata conſeruentur; & nos viciſſim, non tantùm omnia amicæ principis officia ſerenitati veſtræ deferemus, ſed ad maiorem communis inter nos ſubditosq́; noſtros amicitiæ & cõmercij propagationem, ſubditis veſtris omnibus & ſingulis, ſi ſereniſſimę Maieſtati veſtræ ita viſum fuerit, plenam & integram in ditionis noſtrę quaſcunq; regiones veniendi, commorandi, negotiandi, & reuertendi, poteſtatem per pręſentes has literas noſtras libentiſſimè concedimus. Quæ omnia & ſingula regij noſtri ſigilli appoſitione communiri fecimus. Deus opt. max. cœli & terræ conditor, regiam Maieſtatem veſtram diutiſſimè ſeruet incolumem. Datæ in Palatio noſtro Grenouici xj. menſis Iulij Anno Chriſti 1596. annoq́; noſtri regni xxxviij.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, the moſt mightie defendꝛeſſe of the true & chꝛiſtian faith againſt all that falſely pꝛofeſſe the name of Chꝛiſt &c. To the moſt high and ſoueraigne Pꝛince the moſt puiſſant Gouernour of the great kingdome of China, the chiefeſt Emperour in thoſe parts of Aſia and of the Ilands adioyning, and the great monarke of the oꝛientall regions of the woꝛld; wiſheth health, and many ioyfull and happy yeeres, with all plenty and abundance of things moſt acceptable. Whereas our honeſt and faithfull ſubiects which bꝛing theſe letters vnto your Highneſſe, Richard Allot & Thomas Bromefield, marchants of our citie of London in our foꝛeſaid kingdome of England, haue made moſt earneſt ſuit vnto vs, that we would commend their deſires and indeuours of ſayling to the regions of your Empire foꝛ traffiques ſake: whereas alſo the fame of your kingdome ſo ſtrongly and pꝛudently gouerned, being diſperſed and publiſhed ouer the face of the whole earth, hath inuited theſe our ſubiects not onely to viſite your Highneſſe dominions, but alſo to permit themſelues to be ruled and gouerned by the lawes and conſtitutions of your kingdome during the time of their aboad in thoſe partes of the woꝛld, as it becommeth marchants, who foꝛ exchange of marchandize are deſirous to trauell vnto regions ſo farre diſtant and not hitherto ſufficiently knowen vnto theſe nations of the woꝛld, hauing this regard onely, that they may pꝛeſent their wares and certaine examples oꝛ muſters of diuers kinds of marchandizes, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, vnto the view of your Highneſſe and of your ſubiects, & that they may indeuour to know, whether here be any other marchandize with vs fit foꝛ your vſe, which (accoꝛding to the honeſt & lawfull cuſtome of traffique in all countries) they may exchange foꝛ other commodities, whereof in the parts of your Empire there is great plentie both naturall and artificiall: We yeelding vnto the moſt reaſonable requeſts of theſe honeſt men, becauſe we doe ſuppoſe that by this moſt iuſt intercourſe of traffique, no inconuenience noꝛ loſſe, but rather moſt exceeding benefite will redound vnto the Pꝛinces and ſubiects of both kingdomes, while by the carrying foꝛth of thoſe commodities wherewith we abound, and the bꝛinging home of others which we want, wee may on either ſide at moſt eaſie rates helpe and inrich one another; doe craue of your moſt ſoueraigne Maieſtie, that theſe our ſubiects, when they ſhall come foꝛ traffiques ſake vnto any the ſtations,

poꝛtes,

portes, places, townes or cities of your Empire, they may haue full and free libertie of egreſſe and regreſſe, and of dealing in trade of marchandize with your ſubiects, may by your Highneſſe clemency moſt firmely enioy all ſuch freedomes, immunities, and priuileges, as are vſually granted to the ſubiects of other Princes which exerciſe traffique in your dominions; and we on the other ſide will not onely performe all the offices of a well-willing Prince vnto your Highneſſe, but alſo for the greater increaſe of mutuall loue and commerce between vs and our ſubiects, by theſe preſent letters of ours doe moſt willingly grant vnto all and euery your ſubiects (if it ſhall ſeeme good vnto your Highneſſe) full and entire libertie vnto any of the partes of our dominions to reſort, there to abide and traffique, and thence to returne. All and euery of which premiſſes we haue cauſed to be confirmed by annexing hereunto our royall ſeale. God moſt mercifull and almighty, the Creator of heauen and earth, continually protect your kingly Maieſtie. Giuen in our palace at Greenwich the 11 of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of Chriſt 1596, and the eight and thirtie yeere of our reigne.

THREE SEVERALL TESTIMONIES CONcerning the mighty kingdom of *Coray*, tributary to the king of *China*, and borthering vpon his Northeaſt frontiers, called by the Portugales *Coria*, and by them eſteemed at the firſt an Iland, but ſince found to adioyne with the maine not many dayes iourney from *Paquí* the Metropolitan citie of *China*. The more perfect diſcouery whereof and of the coaſt of *Tartaria* Northward may in time bring great light (if not full certaintie) either of a Northweſt or a Northeaſt paſſage from *Europe* to thoſe rich countries. Collected out of the Portugale Ieſuites yeerely Iaponian Epiſtles dated 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c.

The firſt teſtimony containing a reſolute determination of *Quabacondono* the great Monarch of all *Iapan*, to inuade and conquere *China* by the way of *Coray*, being a country diuided from the Iles of *Iapan* onely by an arme of the ſea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other neceſſaries for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epiſtles of father Frier *Lewis Frois*, dated 1590.

QVabacondono hauing ſubdued all the petie kingdomes of Iapan, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier Lewis Frois writeth in his Iaponian Epiſtles of the foreſaid yeere) grew ſo proud and inſolent that he ſeemed another Lucifer; ſo farre foorth, that he made a ſolemne vow and othe, that he would paſſe the ſea in his owne perſon to conquere China: and for this purpoſe hee made great preparations, ſaying, that ſince hee is become Lorde of all Iapan, he hath nothing now to doe but to conquere China, and that although he ſhould end his life in that enterprize, he is not to giue ouer the ſame. For he hopeth to leaue behinde him hereby ſo great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto. And though hee could not conquere the ſame, and ſhould ende his life in the action, yet ſhould he alwayes remaine immortall with this glory. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will throughly attempt the ſame. And for his more ſecure paſſage thither, he is determined to leaue behinde him two Gouernours (after his maner) in the parts of Miacó with the adminiſtration of Finqua; and of thoſe of his Monarchie he ſaith that he will take with him all the great Iaponiſh Lords, or at the leaſt all his principall ſubiects, and leaue in his dominions ſuch guard and gariſons as ſhall ſeeme beſt vnto him. And ſo hauing paſſed the winter, he meaneth to come to theſe partes of Ximo, for from hence he is to ſet forth his armie, & to paſſe to the land of Coray, which the Portugales call Coria, being deuided from Iapan with an arme of the ſea. And although the Portugales in times paſt thought, that it was an Ile or Peninſula, yet is it firme lande, which ioyneth vnto the kingdome of Paquí. And he hath now ſtricken ſuch a terror with his name in the countrey of Coray, that the king thereof hath ſent his ambaſſadors hither to yeelde vnto him a kind of homage, as he required; which ambaſſadors are now in the city of Miacó. And by this Peninſula of Coray he may paſſe with his army by land in fewe dayes iourney vnto the citie of Paquí, being the principall citie where the king of China hath his reſidence. And as the Chinians be weake, and the people of Iapan ſo valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in this expedition, it may fall out according to his expectation.

Ximo.

Coray continẽt land with Paqui.

From Coray an armie may paſſe by land in fewe dayes to Paqui the chiefe citie of China.

But whatſoeuer become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cauſe great alterations in theſe partes of Ximo, eſpecially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the princedomes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Chriſtianitie: and he told Don Protaſio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remooue theſe lordes, and deliuer their gouernments vnto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Chriſtianitie; neither ſhould we haue any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the cuſtome of Iapan in the alterations of eſtates and kingdomes (which they call Cuningaia) to remooue all the nobilitie and gentry, and to leaue onely the baſe people and labourers, committing them to the gouernment of Ethnicks, wee ſhall hereby alſo leeſe our houſes, and the Chriſtians ſhall be diſperſed with their lords; whom ſometimes he handleth in ſuch ſort, that he giueth them nothing to ſuſteine themſelues, and ſo they remaine with all their followers, as men baniſhed, and vtterly ruined.

The ſecond Teſtimonie containing the huge leuies and preparations of *Quabacondono*, as alſo his warres and conqueſts, and the ſucceſſe thereof in the kingdome of *Coray*. Together with a deſcription of the ſame kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of gouernment: and alſo of the ſhipping of *China*, *Iapan*, and *Coray*, with mention of certaine iſles thereunto adjacent, and other particulars very memorable. Out of the Epiſtles of the aforeſaid Father Fryer *Luis Frois* dated *1591*, and *1592*.

ABout this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre againſt China in execution, aſſembled ſundry of his nobles and captaines, vnto whom he declared his intent: who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary opinion, yet all of them without any pretenſe of difficulty approued his determination. For he had giuen out that he would not abſtaine from this warre, although his owne ſonne ſhould riſe from death to life and requeſt him; yea whoſoeuer would mooue any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be ſeene, but prouiſion of ſhips, armour, munition, and other neceſſaries for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his ſubiects, willed euery one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, inioyning and appointing to each one, what numbers they ſhould bring. In all theſe kingdomes of Xuno he hath nominated 4 of his eſpeciall fauourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will haue to be heads ouer all theſe new kingdomes, notwithſtanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good prouidence) two are Chriſtians, to wit, Auguſtine Eucunocamindono gouernour of half the kingdom of Finga, & Cainocami the ſon of Quambioindono gouernour of the greater part of the kingdome of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranoſuque gouernour of the halfe of the kingdom of Finga and Auguſtins mortall enemie; and Iconocami gouernour of the reſidue of the kingdome of Bugen, and an enemie both to Auguſtine and Cainocami. And Quabacondono hath commanded all the Chriſtian lordes of Teximo to follow Chriſtian gouernours. Whereupon the lord Protaſius was there with 2000 ſouldiers; & Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Auguſtins ſonne in law, which lately became a Chriſtian, with a thouſand. Alſo he appointed that the gouernours of Firando and Goto ſhould follow Auguſtine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Chriſtians to their ſubiects. Wherefore Auguſtine was to conduct 15000 ſouldiers, beſides mariners, ſlaues, and other baſe people to cary the baggage of the army, all which being as great a number as the former, ſo ſoone as they arriued in the kingdom of Coray, were made ſouldiers, and bore armes. Vnto the ſaid Auguſtine, Quabacondono, in token of ſingular fauour, granted the firſt aſſault or inuaſion of the kingdome of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the ſame, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues diſtant from Coray) till they ſhould bee aduertized from Auguſtine: which thing procured vnto Auguſtine great enuie and diſdaine from them all; howbeit (as you ſhall forthwith vnderſtand) it prooued in the end moſt honourable vnto him. The other Chriſtian gouernour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 ſouldiers; ſo that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted vnto 10000, beſides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was muſt ioyfull newes to vs, and to all the Chriſtians. Of the Ethnick lords Quabacondono appointed the gouernour of Rioſogo together with Foranoſuque to march with 8000: and likewiſe the king of Saçeuma and Iconocami with as many. And amongſt all he gaue the firſt and chiefe place vnto Auguſtine. All the other ſouldiers of Iapan hee cauſed to accompanie his owne perſon: the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundreth thouſand perſons; of whom two hundred thouſand were ſouldiers.

A deſcription of Coray.

The order preſcribed in this whole armie was, that firſt they ſhould make their entrance by the kingdome of Coray, which is almoſt an iſland, one ende whereof ioyneth vpon the maine lande of China; which though it be a ſeuerall kingdome of it ſelfe, yet is it ſubiect and tributarie vnto the king of China. And becauſe this kingdom of Coray is diuided but by an arme of the ſea frō Iapan, Quabacondono determined to ſubdue the ſame, for that it ſo aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the eaſilier inuade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chief port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelue leagues diſtant from Firando, there ſhould be erected a mightie great caſtle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to ſtay, till newes were brought of the ſucceſſe of the aforeſaid 4 gouernours or captaines. Hee appointed alſo another caſtle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another iſland ſituate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third caſtle in Ceuxima, that his paſſage might be the more commodious. The charge of building theſe caſtles he impoſed vpon the 4 aforeſaid gouernours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo their aſſociates to aſſiſt them; all which ſo applyed that buſines, that in 6 moneths ſpace it was wholly finiſhed. The caſtle of Nangoia was enuironed with a double wall of ſquare and beautifull ſtone, with broad and deepe ditches like vnto Miacó. The innermoſt wall being leſſe then the other two was 100 fathom ſquare, within the compaſſe whereof wer ſo many houſes built both for the lordes, and their followers, and alſo for marchants ſhoppes, and victualers houſes, diſtinguiſhed with broad and direct ſtreetes, that it ſeemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miacó to Nangoia, at the ende of euery dayes iourney, all the lords and gouernours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his iuriſdiction new and ſtately palaces from the ground, ſo that for 20 dayes together he lodged euery night with all his traine in one of thoſe palaces. And becauſe theſe things were done at the very ſame time when the expedition into the kingdome of Coray was in hand, all Iapan was ſo grieuouſly oppreſſed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charges) as it was moſt intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready euery one is to do him ſeruice: which appeareth by theſe magnificent ſtately buildings reared vp in ſo ſhort a ſpace, which in Europe would haue required a long time and huge expences. In the meane ſeaſon it was commonly giuen out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would haue moſt vnfortunate ſucceſſe, as being a matter wrought by conſtraint, and that it would be an occaſion of manifold diſſentions in Iapan: for no man there was, but miſliked of this warre: yea, all the lordes were in great hope, that ſome one man at length would ſtep foorth and reſtore their libertie; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his had to that buſineſſe. Wherefore they were all (though to their great griefe and lamentation) violently conſtrained to proſecute the enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boaſted that hee would make great alterations of kingdomes, and would beſtow vpon them the kingdoms of Coray and China; and vnto the lord Protaſius hee hath promiſed 3 kingdomes: but he with all the other lords giuing him great thankes, had much rather retaine a ſmal portion of their eſtate in Iapan, then to hunt after all thoſe kingdomes which he promiſeth.

And whereas Quabacondono had by proclamation publiſhed, that he would perſonally be preſent at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere; troups and armies of men began to reſort from all the quarters of Iapan to theſe parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For ſo long as Quabacondono remained at Miacó, we might ſtay in theſe parts of Ximo without any danger: but after he began to come this way, it ſeemed impoſſible for our ſtate to continue whole and ſound, and we were put into no ſmall perplexitie. For the Chriſtian lordes aduiſed vs, that ſithence Quabacondono was come ſo neere, all our companie that liued in the Colledge, in the houſe of Probation, and in the Seminary, ſhould depart to ſome other place. And the Chriſtians from Miacó writ dayly vnto vs, that wee ſhoulde pull downe our houſes and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Canſaco, and that the fathers of Europe ſhould returne vnto Nangaſaque in the ſecular habite of Portugals, but that the Iaponian Fryers ſhould retire themſelues vnto ſeueral houſes of Chriſtians, that ſo they might al remaine ſafe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grieuous and ſubiect to may difficulties, ſo did it afford vs but ſmall comfort. In brief the Father viſitor talking of this matter with Eucunocamindono, the lord Protaſius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the ſame fortitude of minde, being conſtant in their firſt opinion: neither would they giue any other counſel or direction, then that the fathers ſhould keepe themſelues ſecret, and ſhould only forſake their houſes at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would haue ſome of their kinſemen remaine. It was alſo thought conuenient, that the number of the Seminary ſhould bee diminiſhed, and that of 90 there ſhould onely remaine 50 in our ſcholes, namely ſuch as ſtudied the Latine tongue. With the Father

ther Viſitour there came vnto Nangaſaque certaine Fathers and Friers, which were ſaid to be of Fungo and Firando. For the ſayde Father vnder the name of a Legate might retaine them with him more openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with ſome paſtime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and alſo might declare, with how great confidence and ſecuritie of minde hee tooke vpon him this expedition for China; and likewiſe to obſcure the moſt renowmed fame of a certaine hunting and hawking performed of olde by that mightie Prince Ioritono, who was Emperour ouer all Iapan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of diuers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, hee departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had ſo good ſucceſſe, that hee caught aboue 30000. fowles of all ſortes; amongſt which were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his great recreation, and for the more ſolemnitie of the game, there were alſo added many dead fowles, which the Iaponians with certaine poulders or compoſitions know how to preſerue ſweete in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabacondono returned with great pompe vnto Miacó: before whom went great multitudes which carried thoſe thouſandes of fowles vpon guilded canes. Next after theſe followed many horſemen ſumptuouſly attired, carying a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horſes by the reines, moſt richly trapped. Next of all were brought Coſcis or Litters very ſtately adorned: after which was carryed Quabacondono himſelfe in a Littier of another faſhion, like vnto thoſe which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with moſt curious and ſingular workemanſhip, and was preſented vnto him by the Father Viſitour, and ſeemeth exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of ſolemnitie hee vſeth the ſame. Laſt of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles brauely mounted on horſebacke, and gorgeouſly attired, thereby the more to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant ſort beeing welcomed by the way, with the ſhoute and applauſe of infinite ſwarmes of people, entred the citie of Miacó.

A meane to keepe dead birds ſweete in their feathers a long time.

Now when the time of ſayling towardes China approched, Quabacondono determined firſt to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his ſucceſſour, and gouernour of all Iapan, to the ende hee might ſupply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to tranſferre vnto his ſayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himſelfe, calling him by the name of Taicuſama, that is to ſay, Great lord. Which dignitie was in ſuch ſort tranſlated, that albeit he aſſigned vnto his nephew large reuenues, together with that princely title, yet himſelfe remained the very ſame that he was before. The day of the ſayd tranſlation being appointed, hee ſummoned all the Princes of Iapan to appeare, and to ſweare obedience vnto this his nephew: Who with great pompe going vnto the Dairi to receiue that dignitie at his hande, had ſurrendred vnto him the Caſtle of Miacó, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he ſet forward on his iourney to Nangoia, hauing before giuen order, that Auguſtine ſhould paſſe ouer into the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines ſhould remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came vnto Nangoia, where the companies of the other lordes beeing numbered, were founde to bee 200000. perſons, beſides thoſe that were conducted by the foure foreſayde gouernours. In the meane ſeaſon Auguſtine with his forces, and with a Fleete of eight hundred Ships, arriued at Coray. In whoſe armie the lord Protaſius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. ſouldiers, yet for the goodneſſe of his armour, and the beautie of his ſhips, he was admired of all men. At their very firſt entrance they wonne 2. caſtles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans repoſed great confidence; for they were enuironed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of ſouldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. ſpannes and ½. long, which in ſtead of bullets diſcharged with a terrible noiſe woodden arrowes headed with forked points of yron: but the ſayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a ſmall diſtance off, and the Iaponians being furniſhed with brazen ordinance vnknowen vnto the Corayans, they preſently draue them from their walles, and with ladders made for the ſame purpoſe of great canes, they forthwith ſcaled the ſame, and planted their enſignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a ſhort time making reſiſtance, but after a while betaking themſelues to diſhonorable flight, 5000 men of their part being ſlaine, and of Auguſtines but 100. and 400. wounded. Auguſtine perceiuing that the Corayans could not endure any long aſſault, determined to take vpon himſelfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not ſtaying for the gouernours his aſſociates, to march vp into the heart of the kingdome, and to

A Fleete of 800. ſhips.

Short gunnes charged with forked arrowes.

The ſignification of Miacó.

the principall City; vnto which determination all the lordes that were with him gaue their conſent. This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in ſome ſort, a raſh enterpriſe of Auguſtine: but yet it argueth a wiſe and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was ſo greeuous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the ſucceſſe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the ſurprize of the two Caſtles, they brought Auguſtine in ſuſpition among their friends, that hee ambitiouſly affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing beeing knowen vnto Quabacondono, he was ſo troubled in mind euen before he came to Nangoia, that ſuddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to ſet ſayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondono was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Caſtles taken, and that Auguſtine purſuing the victorie proceeded on towards the Miacó, that is to ſay, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to inuade the ſame alſo (all which Auguſtine himſelfe wrote, and requeſted him to ſend the other captaines and commanders to aſſayle the kingdom on all ſides, and to furniſh the caſtles which he had taken and ſhould take, with gariſons of ſouldiers, becauſe as yet he had not men enough to hold thoſe fortreſſes which he had wonne) he was ſurprized with ſuch vnſpeakable ioy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Iapan he had no ſubiect comparable to Auguſtine: and that neither Nabunanga, nor himſelfe euer knewe any man indued with ſo valiant and couragious a mind. I (ſaith he) knowing againſt whom and with what forces I waged warre, ſubdued by litle and litle all Iapan vnto me: but Auguſtine in ſo ſhort a time and with ſo ſmall forces, hath boldely ſet his foote in a forren region, and with moſt glorious victory hath ſubdued the mightie kingdome of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdomes, and wil make him next vnto my ſelfe the greateſt Prince in all Iapan. Hee added farther, that now his owne ſonne ſeemed to bee riſen from the death; and that whoſoeuer durſt either diſgrace or extenuate the deedes of Auguſtine, he would grieuouſly puniſh him, not reſpecting whether hee did it vpon reaſon or malice. By this ſpeach the name and report of Auguſtine grew ſo honourable amongſt all men, that thoſe which moſt enuied his eſtate, durſt not ſpeake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

The length and bredth of Coray.

This kingdome of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in bredth 60. leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and ſtrength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet becauſe they pay tribute to the king of China, and exerciſe traffique with his ſubiects, they doe after a ſort imitate the Lawes, apparell, cuſtomes, and gouernement of the Chinians. They border on one ſide vpon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom ſometimes they haue peace, and ſometimes warre: but with the Chinians they haue continuall peace. They are ſpeciall good bow-men; but at other weapons, becauſe they haue but few, and thoſe bad, they are nothing ſo ſkilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Iaponians, who by reaſon of their warres are continually exerciſed in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furniſhed with yron-peeces, with lances, and with excellent ſwordes. Onely in ſhipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reaſon of the hugeneſſe of their Ships which they vſe vpon the ſea. Wherefore, if they were to ioyne battels by ſea, there is no doubt but that both the foreſayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now becauſe they knewe nothing of the comming of the Iaponian armie, or for that they doubted that their ſea-forces were the ſtronger, or els becauſe God was determined to puniſh them, he ſuffered them to be deſtitute of all the defence of their ſhipping, ſo that the Iaponians without any reſiſtance landed vpon their dominions.

The people of Coray and China ſtronger in ſhipping, then they of Iapan.

Now the fame of Auguſtines victory cauſing the armie notably to increaſe, and the Mariners, and many others which caryed burthens (as they were trained vp in warre from their childhood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captiues ſupplied their baſer offices: ſo great a terrour poſſeſſed all the people of Coray where Auguſtine came, that all the caſtles and fortreſſes which hee paſſed by were forſaken by their gariſons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Chriſtians ſent from Ceuxima and Nangoia ſhaped their courſe for Coray, Auguſtine had pitched his campe neere vnto the foreſaid principall citie: of the which being come within 3. dayes iourney, he was encountred by 20000. men; whom at the very firſt aſſault, hauing ſlaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But approching very neere vnto the citie, and hauing paſſed a riuer, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow paſſage againſt 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were ſlaine, and a great number drowned in the riuer. Heere while Auguſtine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might ſomewhat refreſh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray ſeeing himſelfe beſieged by his enemie, and that many other Iaponian lordes with ſtrong armies inuaded his kingdome on all ſides, determined to haue his citie ſtrengthened with gariſons, and to retire himſelfe into the in-land of China.

The king of Coray fleeth out of his principall citie.

China. Which by reaſon of the abundance of horſes that he had, he was able right commodiouſly to performe. Whereupon the ſecond or third day after, Auguſtine without any reſiſtance entred the head-citie, being preſented with great ſtore of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Auguſtine, with other captaines his aſſociates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victory vnto himſelfe: for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet they found all things performed to their hands.

Quabacondono being aduertiſed of this ſecond victory, yeelded as much honour vnto Auguſtine as he could poſſibly deuiſe, ſpeaking ſo highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his aſſociates, aa if but the tenth part of his faire promiſes come to effect, they ſhall be farre greater then they are, and Auguſtine (next vnto himſelfe) ſhall be the principall perſon in all Iapan. And now he is become ſo famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Iapan, that at all their meetings and aſſemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Auguſtine, who in twentie dayes ſpace hath ſubdued ſo mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Iapan. And all the Nobles account him a moſt happy man, being aſtoniſhed at the immortall renowme which he hath attained vnto by this exploite: yea, and Quabacondono ſent forthwith vnto him, as vnto the conquerour and vanquiſher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged ſword and a horſe, which among the Iaponians is a pledge of the moſt peereleſſe honour that can poſſibly be done to a man: and this very gift did Nabunanga in times paſt ſend vnto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battel wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great euent the power of the Chriſtians God, and his prouidence towards his children is knowen not onely to the Chriſtians, but euen to the very Ethnicks themſelues, for that in the heate of ſuch extreme perſecution it hath pleaſed his diuine Maieſtie to lay the honour of all this warre vpon Chriſtian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they wil proue more mighty and famous then euer they were.

Hence it commeth to paſſe that the Portugals ſhip come from China, hath wintered in Iapan: by which occaſion the preſence of the father Viſitour hath bene a great comfort not onely to vs, but to all the other Chriſtians, who in regarde of the departure of ſo many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they ſhould haue bene left vtterly forſaken and deſtitute, had not the father Viſitour, in whom they repoſed all their confidence, remayned here. But the ſingular prouidence and loue of God towards vs appeared in this, that hee would haue the ſayd Ship, contrary to their vſuall cuſtome, to winter in Iapan. For when Quabacondono hauing obteined that victorie, was determined to returne vnto Ximo, they were all ſhrowded vnder the protection of the foreſayd Father; who hearing that hee was entred into Nangoia, cauſed Frier Iohn Rodorigues and the gouernour of the Portugal ſhip to ſalute and welcome him. For the Chriſtians of Miacó, which ſucceeded in their roomes that went for Coray, aduiſed him in their letters ſo to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondono to ſee the Portugals captaine General attended vpon by ſo many Portugals ſumptuouſly attired, and comming with ſo many ſhippes in the company of Frier Iohn Rodoriguez: and hee aſked the Frier how the father Viſitour did? And whether the preſents to the Vice-roy liked him? As alſo, that hee tooke it in very good part that the Father had wintered in Iapan, and that the Frier ſhould ſtay with him. Afterward writing an anſwere to the father, he declared therin the great fauour which he bore to the captaine of the ſhip. Whom, hauing familiarly entertained him for the ſpace of 2. houres, hee diſmiſſed with euident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Rodoriguez ſtaying behinde aboue a moneth, attempted very often to ſpeake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes moſt kindly vſed. Afterward by reaſon of ſickneſſe hee returned to Nangaſaque; whereupon Quabacondono demaunded why he was not cured at the ſame place where himſelfe remained? Iacuino anſwered, that beeing a ſtranger, hee was to bee cured with ſuch diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had: with which anſwere hee was ſatiſfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reaſon of the ambaſſage, Quabacondono waxeth euery day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occaſions of troubles and afflictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath giuen out, that if he haue good ſucceſſe with his warre againſt China, he will make great alterations of eſtates, in aſſigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Chriſtian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughout Iapan: which thing might redound to the ruine and deſtruction of all Chriſtianitie heere, neither ſhould the Chriſtians finde in Iapan any place of refuge. And albeit Auguſtine had certainly informed the father Viſitour of the ſayde alteration of eſtates, and Iacuine had written vnto Auguſtine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the ſtates or gouernments of Ximo, and ſo conſequently the ſtate of Auguſtine, and of the Chriſtian princes of Arima and Omura; yea, and that the ſaid two princes had notice thereof: yet almightie God with the eyes of his infinite mercy hath vouchſafed to regard the prayers of his faithfull ſeruants (who for this cauſe were moſt perplexed and ſorowfull) and to prouide this remedie following.

The Corayans hauing intelligence, that their king and the forces which hee caried with him were in ſafety, went the greateſt part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themſelues in the mountains and woods, remaining there with ſuch hate and indignation againſt the Iaponians, that with promiſe of ſafe conduct they could by no meanes be drawen out of their ſtarting holes. Wherefore albeit the Iaponians haue all the caſtles and places of defence in their owne poſſeſſion, yet becauſe they want people to tille the ground, and to doe them other neceſſary ſeruices, they cannot chuſe but forgoe all that which they haue woon. Moreouer, the common high wayes are ſo peſtered with theeues and murtherers, that vnleſſe the Iaponians march in whole troopes all together, they are ſuddenly oppreſſed with ſwarmes of Corayans iſſuing foorth of the woods. Many of the Corayans alſo haue retired themſelues vnto the neighbour-iſlands, from whence with numbers of great ſhips, to the mighty loſſe of the Iaponians, they aſſaile their ſmall and weake ones, and haue already ſunke many of them. Wherefore all the Iaponian lords which remaine in Coray haue written vnto Quabacondono, that his army muſt for a certaine time in no wiſe remooue from the place where it is, for auoyding of ſuch imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Vpon theſe aduertiſements Quabacondono being ready to take his iourney to Coray, to diuide the whole kingdome, was hindred from his purpoſe, and ſent moſt friendly letters to all his nobles, willing them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their eſtates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eaſed of exceeding great care and griefe. For albeit there is no great truſt to be giuen to his words, yet we hope that this yere he wil not meddle: what he wil doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this preſent there are aboue 200000. Iaponian ſouldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are diuided throughout the whole kingdom. Auguſtine lieth vpon the very extreame frontiers of China: but becauſe the Chinians are ſeparated from the kingdome of Coray with a mighty riuer of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ſhips, and haue planted innumerable troopes of men vpon the ſhore, the ſucceſſe of the warre remayneth moſt doubtfull and vncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Iaponians will proceede any farther this yeere or no.

Ilands neere vnto Coray.

A mighty riuer of 3. leags broad.

The third teſtimony of *Coray*, ſignifying (amongſt other notable and politicall obſeruations) the later ſucceſſe of the warres of *Iapan* againſt *Coray*; and to what end *Quabacondono* ſtill mainteineth gariſons in that kingdome. Out of the Epiſtles of Father *Organtino Brixiano*, bearing date from *Iapan Anno* 1594.

THe whole Empire of Iapan is now in the handes of this king Quabacondono: and (which hath not bene knowen ſince the firſt creation thereof) there is not the bredth of one foote throughout all the whole Iſland, which is not abſolutely ſubiect vnto him. And hee reigneth in ſo great peace and tranquilitie, that if his ſucceſſors follow the ſame courſe of gouernment, there is no likelihood of future ſedition or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he vſeth to eſtabliſh continuall peace and concord among the Iaponians, are very great and effectuall.

One is, that after he hath paſſed his publique promiſe, he neuer putteth any of his aduerſaries to death, which his predeceſſour Nabunanga performed not: for he hauing ſubdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and gouernours to the ſword. But this king granteth vnto them not only life, but alſo yerely reuenues, whereby to maintaine themſelues in an honeſt and meane eſtate: in which regarde they all reſt contented, and willingly ſubmit themſelues.

Another is, in that he hath brought the huſbandmen and peſants (by whoſe aſſiſtance & wealth all the pety-kingdoms were after a ſort ſuſteined) vnto ſuch extreme pouerty, that they haue ſcarce wherewithall to keepe life and ſoule together: as likewiſe hee hath bereaued them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, becauſe hee hath moſt ſtreightly forbidden all contentions, ſeditions, frayes, and ſkirmiſhes. For whoſoeuer be found culpable of this crime, they vpe euery man of them on both parties. If any eſcape by flight, their kinſefolks are puniſhed in their ſtead; and for lacke of them, their ſeruants; and for defalt of both, their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are puniſhed

ſhed and ſuffer death: but hence it commeth to paſſe, that many innocent perſons are conſtrained to die. And this ſecuritie is the cauſe, why there are at this preſent ſo ſeldome frayes and contentions in Iapan.

The fourth is, that in adminiſtring of iuſtice hee is moſt vpright, without all reſpect either to his owne kinred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzij, bee they neuer ſo famous: and being once aduertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himſelfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his ſubiects to haue any concubines. For which cauſe not many dayes agoe, hee baniſhed a Bonzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie moſt neere vnto himſelfe. And being informed that all the Bonzij of Miacó kept concubines, hee would haue put them all to death, had not the gouernour of Miacó promiſed, that hee would vndertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee cauſed all the Bonzij euery moneth to bee ſworne, that they ſhould liue honeſtly vpon paine of death: as alſo hee hath ſworne the heads or ſuperiors of all their religious houſes vnder paine of death, to giue vp their names whom they moſt ſuſpect of the foreſayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward eſtate) liue in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee ſuffereth none of his ſouldiers, nor his great lordes to liue in idleneſſe. If there be no warres for their imployment, hee occupieth them in building of ſtately palaces, and in raiſing new fortreſſes, or in repairing and ſtrengthening of olde, and alſo in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Iapan, and to his owne laſting honour. So that at this preſent neere vnto Miacó there are thirtie thouſand men imployed about the building of one caſtle; and in the citie of Bozacca aboue an hundred thouſand: which imployments afforde them neither place nor time to practiſe any rebellions.

The ſixt is his altering of gouernments: for hee remooueth his gouernours from one extreme part of Iapan to another.

The ſeuenth, for that vnto his ſouldiers (beſides the ordinarie pay continually allotted vnto them for their ſeruice) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne coſtes. Wherof it commeth to paſſe, that hee effecteth whatſoeuer hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enemie was not vanquiſhed, according to his owne deſire: this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre ſurmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garriſons, as well to keepe his honour, as to conſtraine the Chinians to ſue for peace.

The warre of Iapan againſt Coray and China.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and reſtraineth perſons of ambitious and aſpiring mindes, who (as hee coniectureth) after his death might worke ſome innouations in the common wealth, or diſturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, becauſe hee hath on no ſide within foure or fiue dayes iourney of Miacó, any mightie or induſtrious captaine or gouernour.

The tenth and laſt is, for that hee hath brought his yeerely reuenues to two millions of golde.

By theſe courſes and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee eſtabliſhed in all theſe kingdomes, and alſo that a fit way will be prepared, for the conuerſion of all the great lordes vnto Chriſtian religion.

A briefe note concerning an extreme Northerne prouince of *Iapan* called *Zuegara*, ſituate thirtie dayes iourney from *Miacó*, which argueth the Iſle of *Iapan* to be of greater extenſion Northward, then it is ordinarily deſcribed in maps, or ſuppoſed to be: together with mention of a certaine nation of Tartars called *Iezi* inhabiting on the maine to the North of *China*, neuer heard of in theſe parts before: taken out of an Epiſtle written 1596 from *Iapan* by Fryer *Luis Frois* vnto *Claudius Aquauiua*, &c, Printed in Latine at *Mentz* in *Germanie* 1599.

NOt many dayes ago was baptized a certaine honourable perſonage called Iohn Vongui the ſonne of Taigarandono, who is gouernour of a certaine princedome ſituate on the borders of Iapan towardes the North, being diſtant from Miacó thirtie dayes iourney.

And after a fewe lines it followeth.

This Taigorandono being the moſt Northerly gouernour in all Iapan hath traffique with the Iezi, who are a nation of Tartars, which from the maine continent reſort vnto the Iſle of Mateumai, being about twelue or fifteene leagues diſtant from the foreſayd Northerly princedome of Zuegara; where they ſell fiſhes, the ſkinnes of beaſts, and certaine herbes of the

The Iſle of Mateumai.

Iezi a nation of Tartars dwelling on the continent to the North of China vſing cloth.

ſea vſed by the Iaponians for foode, with other ſuch like commodities. On the other ſide the ſaid Iezi Tartars buy of the Iaponians, cloth to make them garments, with weapons and other inſtruments. Theſe Tartars (they ſay) are a moſt barbarous kinde of people, of a browne colour, with long haire on their heads and beardes like the Moſcouites: they liue by hunting and fiſhing, and neglect husbandry. This Northerly princedome of Zuegara (as the ſayd gouernour reported to our Fathers) aboundeth with excellent grapes both black and white, which without the labour of man grow naturally in all places, and he promiſed the Fathers to bring ſome of theſe vines to Miacó, that they might be planted there.

Aduertiſements touching the ſhippes that goe from *Siuil* to the *Indies* of *Spaine*: together with ſome notes of the Contractation houſe in *Siuil*.

The Pilot.

YOur Pilot muſt be examined in the Contractation houſe, and allowed by ſuch as be appointed for the examination of Pilots, that hee be a ſufficient man to take the charge in hand, and that which belongeth thereunto, and to gouerne and lead the ſame ſhip directly by his onely commandement to ſuch ports as are conuenient for the voyage that hee taketh in hand.

The Maſter.

You muſt haue a Maſter, that muſt giue in ſureties to the value of 6000 dukats: and ſuch as be his ſureties muſt be landed men, and their lands worth to the value of that ſumme aforeſayd, if the ſayd ſhip be betweene three or foure hundred tunnes. And if ſhee be more or leſſe of burthen, then he muſt giue ſureties of a greater ſumme or leſſe, according to the proportion of her burden.

He ſhall in all his voyage giue a iuſt and true accompt of all ſuch goods, and marchandizes, as ſhall in all that voyage come into the ſhip: as alſo of ſuch plate and money, as ſhalbe regiſtred in the Kings Regiſter, appertayning to the King, or any other particuler marchant: and if any default be, hee or his ſureties are to pay all ſuch loſſes as thereof ſhall growe: as alſo to ſee the mariners payed well and truely, the third part of all ſuch fraights, as the ſayde ſhippe ſhall get going and comming.

The Purſer.

The ſhip being fraighted by her merchants, the Maſter ſhall take order that there be ſufficient mariners abourd her to take in ſuch lading from time to time, as the marchant ſhall ſend to her: And alſo the Purſer muſt be a man ſufficient of abilitie to take, & to giue account of all ſuch goods, marchandize, ſiluer and golde, as ſhall come in and out of the ſayd ſhippe that preſent voyage, as alſo giue ſureties of 1500 dukats at the leaſt to come backe from the Indies in the ſaid ſhippe, and not to tarrie there, if hee liue.

A Romager.

The Maſter muſt prouide a perfect mariner called a Romager, to raunge, and beſtow all marchandize in ſuch place as is conuenient: and that it be not put in place, where it may periſh for lack that it be not faſt, ſure, and drie, according to the qualitie and forme of the ſayd marchandize.

The Maſters mate.

When it is all beſtowed, and the ſhippe able to beare no more, then a mariner called the Contermaſter, or Maſters mate, hath charge to locke faſt the hatches, that none of the marchants wines, or oyles, or any other kind of marchandize be robbed or ſpoyled by the mariners. And if it fortune that any bee ſo ſpoyled, then the mariners are to pay for it out of the third part of all the whole fraight of the ſhippe that doth appertaine to the ſayd marchants.

The chiefe Iudges of the Contractation houſe.

Viſitors being ſkilfull mariners.

The names and markes of men taken.

The ſhippe being laden, goeth to the port wherehence ſhe ſaileth to goe towards the Indies called S. Lucar, and there one of the chiefe Iudges of the Contractation houſe commeth downe to diſpatch the ſhippes that goe together in that fleete. And that Iudge goeth abourd euery ſhip, and with him hee doth carrie an expert mariner or two called Viſitors of the ſhippes, to know whether the ſayd ſhippe or ſhips be well tackled: whether they haue men ſufficient: and in euery ſhip euery mans name is taken, and if he haue any marke in the face, or hand or arme, it is written by a Notarie (as well as his name) appertaining to the Contractation houſe, appointed for theſe cauſes. Alſo the Maſter is bound to bring backe euery mariner againe, and to leaue none behinde him there, vpon great paines, vnleſſe he be a paſſenger appointed by the King at the court, and bringeth his licence from thence for the ſame purpoſe.

The Pragmatices or orders of the Contractation houſe.

The ſhip muſt be well appointed with ordinance of braſſe, and yron, according to The orders of their houſe, of that there muſt want nothing, and euery ſhip is appointed according to her burthen in all kinde of artillerie, as peeces of braſſe and yron, hand-guns, croſbowes, pikes, ſwords, daggers, targets, and for all ordinance double ſhot, with powder, with new cables and ankers ſufficient for the voyage. And moreouer it is ordeined, that the ſhippes haue double ſailes, that is, that they bee thorowly ſayled, and moreouer all newe ſayles of fore-ſayle, and maine-ſayle, of coarſe, and bonnet newe made, and kept in ſome drieſat or cheſt in the ſame ſhip; that if the weather take the one from them, the other may be in readines.

Euery ſhip muſt haue their maſter ſworne before the ſayd Iudge of the Contratacion, that all this is in a readineſſe in the ſhippe, as alſo ſo many newe pipes of freſh water, ſo many buttes of good rackt wine, ſo many kintals of bread, ſo many iarres of oyle, ſo many iarres or Botijas of vineger, ſo much fleſh, ſo much fiſh, and ſuch quantitie of euery kinde of victuall, as the burthen of the ſhippe requireth, wherein euery ſhippe according to her greatneſſe is appointed by The ordinances of the houſe: Alſo ſo many gunners, ſo many mariners, ſo many gromettes, ſo many pages, and ſo many ſouldiers. Then all theſe aforeſaide matters being vnder Regiſter by the notarie and all things prepared for the voyage, the Iudge doeth command the maſters to hoyſe vp the yards acroſſe vnto the howndes of the maſtes; and many times, if they perceiue the ſhippe to be walty and ouerladen, as many couetous maſters doe, then hee hangeth the boates in the fore and maine tackle, to ſee whether the ſayd ſhippe will make any helde downewarde, in laying downe her ſide: if ſhe doe helde, he commandeth barkes abourd, to diſcharge her of ſuch lading, as is thought to be too much in her: and there can no ſhip depart before they cary the Regiſter of the ſaid Iudges, howe that ſhee goeth by their order: and euery ſhippe carieth her owne Regiſter, and in the Regiſter the quantitie of al the goods that are laden in her, and if there be any more goods, they be forfayted in the Indies, both ſhippe and goods.

Prouiſion of victuals vpon othe.

The Regiſter of euery ſhip.

The maſters are bound to keepe the courſe that the Admiral doeth leade, and euery ſhippe to follow her, and ſhee muſt goe alwayes in the Sea before all the reſt of the fleete, and by night cary light that all may knowe where ſhe goeth. The viceadmirall muſt come behinde all, and ſo euery ſhippe in the fleete before her: if any be ill of ſayle, all are bounde to fit their ſayles in ſuch order, that they goe no faſter then ſhe doeth.

The two ſhips of warre to waft the fleet in time of peace.

The Admiral and the viceadmirall goe neuer but halfe laden, but very well armed of men, and artillery, three times double and more then any of the other haue: becauſe they may help to defend all the reſt, if neede doe require: and the dead freight of theſe two ſhippes is alwayes borne vpon the whole goods that are laden in the fleete, as alſo at the leaſt there be two hundred ſouldiers in euery of theſe two ſhippes beſides the mariners, great gunners, gromettes, and other officers.

The voyages bee ſo appointed, that alwayes they goe and come in the beſt of Summer, and bee there all the winter in the ports to diſcharge their lading and recharge backe againe.

Note.

The ſhips that are Admirall and viceadmirall be neither the greateſt nor the ſmalleſt ſhippes, but of 3 hundreth or 4 hundreth tunnes at the moſt: but they be very good ſaylers, and ſtrong, choſen for the purpoſe, to ſayle well and to beare good ſtore of ordinance. In theſe two ſhippes are alwayes going and comming, two good knights men of warre, and Captaines and ſouldiers expert in the warres.

And in euery other ſhip is a Captaine, which ruleth in all cauſes of controuerſie, or fights in the ſeas; the Pilot directeth onely in gouerment and leading the ſhippe to her port.

A Captaine in euery ſhip.

All the Captaines, Maſters, Pilots, Maryners, and paſſengers, and all others bee obedient to the two ſhippes, ſo appoynted to paſſe: they doe, as in all other commandements what is by them appoynted, hauing power to hang, or doe any iuſtice vpon any man, as to them ſeemeth good at ſea, and this is the laſt commandement vpon payne of death, if the General pleaſe.

Concerning the Contractation houſe, there are therein ſixe Iudges of the higheſt ſort.

Sixe Iudges.

There are viſitours of ſhippes, as it is ſayd before, to ſee whether the ſhips goe in order well, and ſufficient in al things: and what manner of men the Maſters of the ſhips and Pilots are, whether they be able to anſwere to all ſuch articles, as the reader is able to obiecte vnto them, in matters of Nauigation: if they be not found ſufficient, they are not admitted to take charge.

Foure viſitours.

The reader of the arte of Nauigation.

The maſter muſt knowe whether the ſhip be ſufficiently talked, tackled, and furniſhed in all things accordingly, as with maſtes, ſayles, cables, ankers, and all other neceſſary furniture: that at ſuch time as any of the high iudges with their ordinary viſitours appointed for ſuch cauſes doe come, there be nothing found out of order or lacking, according to The booke of orders, which euery ſhippe proportionable to her burthen ought to haue, which is not vnknowen to any of the maſters, being in writing common among them: and all the charge giuen to the Maſter and Pilot ſerueth onely to conduct the ſhip from port to port.

The booke of orders, called in Spaniſh Pragmatica, common in writing among the maſters.

The counter Maſter, or maſters mate is obedient in all things whereunto hee ſhall bee commanded by the maſter and Pilote, and at his commandement are all the maryners of the ſhip.

The ſhippes commonly goe deeper laden from Spaine, then our ſhippes doe in any voyage.

The

The order of the *Carena* giuen to the ſhips that go out of *Spaine*, to the *Indies*.

The ſhippe of what burthen ſoeuer ſhee bee muſt giue a Carena, as they call it in the Spaniſh tongue, which is in Engliſh, ſhee muſt be throughly calked, and fortified, as well with carpenters to ſet knees into her, and any other tymbers appertaining to the ſtrengthening of a ſhippe, as with calking: which is to put occam into her ſides; and that kinde of calking is not vſed, as ours is here in England: but firſt before they put in any threede of occam, they with certaine crooked yrons, with an hammer in one hande, and the crooked yron in the other, doe forcibly pull out all the olde threede that hath bene in the ſhippe the voyage before, and ſo driue in new.

Calking with thinne plates of lead.

If the ſeame of the ſhippe be worne to any bredth, as many olde ſhippes be, by reaſon of often raking them, vpon that ſeame there is clapt a piece of caſte leade, nayled vpon the calking, and ſeame with ſpeciall nayles, which leade is caſt a handes bredth, and as thinne as may bee for the ſame purpoſe, and at euery voyage it is taken off and renued, and by that meanes their ſhippes are very ſtanch a yeere or two.

The Calker or Carenero.

The Carenero or the Calker doeth giue in ſuerties, that if the ſhippe ſo caſt ouer, as they doe commonly vſe to caſt them, in ſuch ſort as any man may goe drie vpon the keele, as I haue done, and without any butte, pipe, or any other kinde of timber vnder her ſides, more then with counter-poyze of ſtones in her, made within certaine timber as though it were a cheſte; and with the ſtones the Carenero doeth bring her as hee will, high and low, leaning, or ryſing: and if ſhee miſcarrie in her Carena, then is the Carenero bound, if it bee either by fire, water, or ſinking, or any other miſfortune to pay for the valew of the ſhip.

The Carena of a ſhippe of one hundred tunnes being done ſo ſubſtantially as they vſe to doe it, will coſt two hundred Duckets, of two hundred tunnes, foure hundred Duckets, of three hundred tunnes, ſixe hundred Duckets, and ſo according to the greatneſſe of the ſhippe.

It would be done here in England for one third part of the money, by reaſon that the neceſſaries that goe to it are better cheape here by much, and the calkers farre better cheape by two parts.

This Carena may not be giuen at any hand but in a riuer where no tempeſt can ariſe, as in this riuer of London in ſuch a place, where at al times the ſayd ſhip may ride aflote: it may not be done in any dangerous harbour, where the winde may bring vp the waues of the Sea, neither where the Sea may heaue and ſet.

The calking of Siuill is ſo ſubſtantially done, that in one day one calker doeth not throughly calke paſt one yarde and an halfe in one ſeame, or two yardes at the moſt, and to that he doeth, the maſter calker is at hand to ouerſee him, and this done, the Carenero doeth with his ballaſt ſet her vpright, and ſo ſhee beginneth to lade.

Examen de los maeſtros y Pilotos, que nauegan en las flotas de *Eſpanna* para las *Indias* del mar oceano, eſcrito por *Pedro Dias* Piloto, natural de la Iſla de la *Palma*. 1586.

Alonſo de Chiauez Piloto mayor.

PRimeramente pide al Piloto mayor, que es al preſente Alonſo de Chiauez, que lo admita al examen, por quanto es natural y ſufficiente para ello.

Manda el Piloto mayor, que haga enformacion, de como es marinero, y platico de aquella parte, de que ſe quiere examinar. Luego preſenta cinco o ſeis teſtigos de los Pilotos examinados, de como es buen marinero, y ſufficiente para ſer Piloto, y como es natural de los Reynos De Eſpanna; y que no es de caſta de Moro, ni Iudeo, ni Negro.

Rodrigo Zamorano Cathedratico,

Y hecha la enformacion, preſenta la al Piloto mayor. Y viſto el Piloto maior la enformacion ſer buena, manda que el Cathedratico Rodrigo Zamorano lo admita a la Cathedra. Y alli ſe juntan a vezes quatorze o quinze que pretendē examinarſe, y acuden alli a vna caſa, que El Cathedratico tiene para aquello efeto, a las ocho de la mannana, y eſtan dos oras, y otras dos a la tarde. El Cathedratico tiene por coſtumbre de leer en la Cathedra vna ora, y otra ora ocupan en preguntarſe los vnos a los otros muchas coſas conuenientes a la arte de nauegar en preſencia del Cathedratico. Y el que no reſponde a propoſito, El Cathedratico le emienda, y le dize de la manera que es cada coſa. Y eſte eſtudio dura dos meſes, en los quales no ha de faltar de ir dos vezes al dia, como tengo dicho.

La Sala del examen.

Y deſpues de auer oido la Cathedra eſtos dos meſes, van a la Sala del Examen, que es en la Contratacion. Y alli eſta el Piloto mayor, y los de mas pilotos, qui ſon por lo menos veinte cinco: y alli eſtando todos aſſentados por ſu orden, manda el Piloto mayor, que lean las enformaciones; y deſpues de auer leidas las enformaciones o teſtimonios, pregunta el piloto maior al piloto y maeſtro, que ſe quiere examinar, de que parte de las Indias ſe quiere examinar? Y luego el piloto reſponde, que de Nueua Eſpanna, o de Nombre de Dios. Y otros, que no ſon platicos de eſtas tierras, dizen, que de Santo Domingo, y Puerto rico, y Cuba. Y luego demanda el Piloto maiot, que tienda la carta en la meſa, y en preſencia de los demas pilotos parta de la barra de San Lucar para las Iſlas de Canaria, y de alli para las Indias, haſta llegar a aquella parte de donde ſe examina, y buelue para Eſpanna, a tornar a la Barra de San Lucar, de donde partio.

Y el Piloto mayor le pregunta, Que ſi yendo nauegando por la mar le dieſe vn viento contrario, que remedio haria para que ſu nao no trabajaſſe tanto en la mar? Y el le reſponde lo mejor que entiende. Luego le pregunta vno de los pilotos por las reglas del Sol, y de la Eſtrella del norte, y que cuenta le haia en todo tiempo del anno? A lo qual ha de reſponder el piloto que ſe examina a todo aquello que le preguntaren. Y luego le pregunta otro por las ſennas de las tierras que eſtuuieren en el camino, haſta llegar al puerto de donde ſe examina. Y luego pregunta otro, que ſi con tormenta ſe le quebraſſe los arboles, Que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan, Que ſi la nao abrieſſe vn agua, a donde peligraſſen las vidas, que remedio haria para tomarla con menos rieſgo? Y otros le preguntan, que ſi le faltaſſe el timon, que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan por la cuenta de la Luna, y de las mareas? Y otros le preguntan, Que ſi lo tomaſſe vn corſario, y lo dexaſſe ſin carta y ſin aſtrolabio, y otros inſtrumentos para tomar la altura del Sol y de la Eſtrella del norte, que orden tendria para hazer los? Otros le preguntan otras preguntas neceſſarias a vn marinero, que quiere ſer piloto. A todo eſto eſta attento, reſpondiendo a todo. Y deſpues que todos le an preguntado todo lo neceſſario, le mandan, que ſalga fuera de la ſala, paraque a ſolas dé cada vno ſu boto debaxo de iuramento en vn libro, que prometen de dezir verdad. Y luego ponen dentro de vn vaſo de plata, que alli eſta para aquel efeto, tantas hauas, y tantos garuanços, como ai pilotos dentro de la ſala: y va cada vno por ſu orden; y el que le parece que es ſufficiente, ſaca vna haua, y el que le parece, que no lo es, ſaca vn garuanço. Y deſpues que todos an ſacado, mira el piloto mayor los botos que tiene; y ſi halla que tiene tantos botos en ſu fauor como en contrario, manda que haga otro viaje: y ſi tiene mas botos en ſu fauor, que en contrario, luego le dan vna carta del examen firmada del piloto mayor, y del Cathedratico, y del Eſcriuano, y ſellada con el ſello de la Contratacion. Y teniendo eſta carta, luego da de preſente al piloto mayor, y al Cathedratico, para guantes y gallinas, cóforme que cada vno puede, que es de ordinario dos o tres ducados. Y luego ſe puede concertar por piloto en qualquier nauio que quiſiere, para aquella parte de donde ſe examino. Y ſi hallare en las Indias algun nauio que tenga piloto no examinado, lo puede botar fuera, y venir el piloto examinado en el nauio por el miſmo concierte, que el otro piloto tenia hecho.

La manera de celecion de los maeſtros, y pilotos.

Carta del examen.

Sueldo de los pilotos.

Suelen lleuar los pilotos de partido y concierte por vn viaje de yr y boluer, conforme que es el nauio. Si es de ciento tonelladas, dozientos ducados, y dozientos y cinquenta; y ſi es de quatrocientas o de quinientas, lleua de partido quinientos o quinientos, y cinquenta ducados: y ſi es mayor, lleua mas partido: y mas, todos los dias que eſtuuiere en tierra, quatro reales para ſu comida. Y las naos grandes ſiempre lleuan los pilotos mas viejos, porque ſon mas experimentados y mejores pilotos que los mançebos, que comiençan a nauegar, y a ſer pilotos.

Maeſtros, y ſus officios.

El piloto no tiene mas trabajo ni mas cuidado que en la nauegacion: porque los maeſtros de los nauios tienen cuidado de fretar, y adereçar ſus naos, y pagar a los marineros, y hazer todo lo que es meneſter para ſu nao: porque el piloto no viene a la nao, ſi no es quando los viſitadores vienen a viſitarla, ſi tiene todo lo neceſſario para el viage.

Los quatro viſitadores, y ſu officio.

Prematica.

Los viſitadores ſon quatro hombres qui eſtan pueſtos por el rey, y eſtos ſon hombres muy entendidos, y vienen a viſitar los nauios, antes que tomen carga, por ver ſi eſtan bien adereçados para hazer el viage. Y deſpues que eſtan los nauios cargados, bueluen otra vez a viſitarlos, por ver ſi tienen todas las coſas neceſſarias, conforme a la *Prematica*; y ſi tienen todos los marineros, y baſtimentos, y poluere, y artilleria, y balas, y todo lo de mas neceſſario para el viaje. Y ſi alguna coſa les falta, les mandan con graues penas que lo compren, antes que ſalgan del puerto.

Eſcriuano, y ſu officio.

Suelen lleuar los nauios que van a las Indias vn eſcriuano que tiene cargo de tomar por memoria todas las mercaderias que ſe cargan en la nao, y tomar las marcas, para por ellas entregar la carga a ſus duennos, deſpues de auer acabado ſu viaje: y ſirue tanbien, ſi vn hombre caeſſe enfermo, para hazer teſtamiento y otros recaudos que ſe ſuelen hazer delante vn eſcriuano: y gana por ſu ſueldo en vn viaje tanto como dos marineros.

Primero nauio de auiſo.

Tiene el general de las flotas por coſtumbre, deſpues que llega a las Indias, de embiar vn nauio de auiſo, para dar relacion al rey, de como ha llegado. Y deſpues que eſtan preſtas para partir, deſpacha otro nauio de auiſo, para hazer relacion, de como eſtan ya preſtas para partir, con otras particularidades.

Segundo nauio de auiſo.

Dos naos de guerra.

Van en las flotas dos naos grandes, la vna por Capitana, y la otra por Almiranta, cada vna de ſeiſcientas y de ſietecientas tonelladas, que no lleuan mas que baſtimentos y ſoldados para defenſa de la demas flota: y lleua cada vna como docientos ſoldados: y eſtas ſe pagan de las mercaderias que vienen en la flota a vno por ciento, y algunas vezes a vno y medio por ciento.

Ay en la caſa de la Contratacion de Seuilla vna tabla que ſirue de Arançel, *eſcrita con letras de oro; en que ſtan analiadas todas las mercaderias que ſe embarcan para las Indias.*

EN eſta tabla ſe puede ſaber quantas botijas hazen vna tonellada de vino y quantos quintales y quantos bariles, y quantos coffres ſea vna tonellada.

Y todas mercaderias eſtan alli taxadas, para pagar los derechos al rey, y el flete al maeſtro.

Y alli eſta pueſto, que ningun maeſtro puede lleuar a las Indias ningun paſſagero, ni frayle, ni clerigo, ni otras perſonas, ni eſtranieros de los reynos de Eſpanna, ſin licencia del Rey.

Y mas, que no puede lleuar mercaderias fuera de la Prematica, y todo lo que lleuaren, lo lleuen regiſtrado, ſo pena de la vida.

Y mas, que ningun maeſtro ni piloto puede lleuar inſtrumentos que no ſean firmados por el piloto mayor *Alonço* de Chiaues, y el coſmografo Cathedratico Roderigo Zamorano: como ſon la carta, el aſtrolabio, la baleſtilla, y el regimiento.

Y mas, que yendo en la compannia de la flota, obedeſcan al General, y no hagan mas de lo que el mandare, ſo pena de la vida.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The examination of the Maſters and Pilots which ſaile in the Fleetes of *Spaine* to the *Weſt Indies*: Written in the Spaniſh tongue by *Pedro Dias* a Spaniſh pilot taken by Sir *Richard Grinuile* 1585.

FIrſt they make ſuit vnto the Pilot maior (who at this preſent is called Alonço de Chiauez) that he would admit them to examination, becauſe they are naturall Spaniards, and ſufficient for the ſame.

The witneſſe of fiue or ſixe pilots.

Hereupon the Pilot maior commandeth the party to be examined, to giue information that he is a mariner, and well practized in thoſe parts, about which hee deſireth to be examined. And then immediatly he bringeth fiue or ſixe pilots before examined to giue teſtimonie that he is a good mariner, and ſufficient to become a pilot, that he is a Spaniard borne, and that he is not of the race of the Moores, Iewes, or Negros.

The pilots admiſſion to the lectures of the kings reader.

They heare the kings readers lectures two houres a day for two moneths.

Their diſputations of the art of nauigation before the kings reader who is their moderatour.

Hauing made this information, hee preſenteth it vnto the Pilot maior. And the Pilot maior ſeeing the information to be good, willeth the kings publique reader of nauigation (who is now Roderigo Zamorano) to admit him to his lectures. Whither there doe reſort fouretеene or fifteene perſons that deſire to be examined: and they come to a certaine houſe which the kings reader hath appointed vnto him for the ſame purpoſe, at eight of the clocke in the morning: and then they ſtay two houres, and two houres likewiſe in the afternoone: in one of which houres Zamorano readeth vnto them, and in the other they aſke one another many particulars concerning the art of nauigation in the preſence of the ſaid kings reader: and him that anſwereth not to the purpoſe the ſayd reader inſtructeth more perfectly, and telleth him how euery thing is. And this exerciſe continueth two moneths, during which time the examinates muſt not faile to bee preſent twiſe in a day, as is aforeſaid.

The hall of examination.

And hauing heard the kings reader thoſe two moneths, they reſort then vnto The hall of examination which is in the Contractation houſe, where there are aſſembled the Pilot maior and diuers other pilots, to the number of 25 at the leaſt; who all ſitting there in order, the Pilot maior

demandeth of him that would be examined, of what part of the Indies he deſireth to be examined? Whereto the examinate anſwereth, that he would bee examined concerning Nueua Eſpanna, or of Nombre de Dios and Tierra firma. And others that are not experienced in thoſe partes, craue to be examined of Santo Domingo, Puerto rico, and Cuba.

The maner of the yong pilots examination.

Then the Pilot maior commandeth the examinate to ſpread a ſea-chart vpon the table, and in the preſence of the other pilots to depart or ſhewe the courſe from the barre of Sant Lucar to the Canarie-Iſlands, and from thence to the Indies, till he come to that place whereof he is to bee examined, and then alſo to returne backe to the barre of Sant Lucar in Spaine, from whence he departed. Alſo the Pilot maior aſketh him, if when he ſaileth vpon the ſea, hee be taken with a contrary winde, what remedie he is to vſe, that his ſhip be not too much turmoiled vpon the ſea? And the examinate anſwereth him aſwell as he can.

Then one of the other pilotes oppoſeth him about the rules of the Sunne and of the North-ſtarre, and how hee ought to vſe the declination of the Sunne at all times of the yeere? whom the examinate is bound to anſwere in euery thing that hee demandeth. Then another aſketh him of the ſignes and markes of thoſe lands which lye in his way to that hauen whereof he is examined. And then another demandeth, that if his maſtes ſhould be broken by tempeſt, what remedy hee would vſe? Others aſke him, if his ſhip ſhould take a leake, to the hazarding of the liues of himſelfe and his company, what remedy he would finde to ſtoppe the ſame with leaſt danger? Others aſke him, what remedy, if his rudder ſhould chance to faile? Others oppoſe him about the account of the Moone and of the tides? Others aſke him, if a Pirate ſhould take him and leaue him deſtitute of his Chart, his Aſtrolabe, and his other inſtruments ſeruing to take the height of the Sunne and of the ſtarre, what courſe hee would take in that extremitie? Others demand other queſtions needfull for a mariner to know, which deſireth to be a pilot. Vnto all which the examinate is very attentiue, and anſwereth to euery particular.

After they haue all aſked him ſo much as they thinke expedient, they bid him depart out of the hall, to the ende that euery one of them may ſeuerally bee ſworne vpon a booke, that they will ſpeake the trueth. Then they put into a certaine veſſell of ſiluer ſtanding there for the ſame purpoſe ſo many beanes, and ſo many peaſon as there are pilots within the hall: and euery one putting his hand into the veſſell in order, he that thinketh the partie examined to be ſufficient, taketh vp a beane, and he that thinketh him not ſufficient, taketh vp a peaſe. And after that all haue taken out what they pleaſe, the Pilot maior looketh what voyces the examinate hath: and if he finde him to haue as many voyces for him as againſt him, he commandeth him to make another voyage: but if he hath more voyces for him then againſt him, then they giue him letters teſtimoniall of his examination ſigned by the Pilot maior, by the kings reader, and the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeale of the Contractation houſe. And vpon the receipt of theſe letters teſtimoniall, the new pilot giueth a preſent vnto the Pilot maior, and the kings reader, for their gloues and hennes, euery one according to his abilitie, which is ordinarily ſome two or three ducats.

The maner of their election.

Letters teſtimoniall of euery new pilots examination and approbation, vnder the hands of the Pilot maior, the kings reader, and the ſecretary, and ſeale of the Contractation houſe.

And then he may take vpon him to be pilot in any ſhip whatſoeuer, vnto that place for which he was examined: and if he finde in the Indies any ſhip vnder the charge of a pilot not before examined, he may put him out of his office, and may himſelfe take charge of that ſhip for the ſame wages that the other pilot agreed for.

The pilots wages for making a voyage outward and homeward is according to the burthen of the ſhip. If ſhe be of 100 tunnes, hee hath 200 or 250 ducats: and if ſhee be of 400 or 500 tunnes, he taketh for his wages 500 or 550 ducates: and if ſhe be bigger, he hath a greater allowance: ouer and beſides all which, he hath euery day while he remaineth on land, foure reals for his diet. And the greater ſhippes are alwayes committed vnto the more ancient pilots, becauſe they are of greater experience and better ſkill, then the yonger ſort which newly take vpon them to be pilots.

The pilot vndertaketh no farther trauell nor care, but in directing the courſe or nauigation: for the maſters of the ſhips take charge of the freighting and preparing their ſhips, and to pay the mariners, and to doe all things needefull for the ſhip. For the pilot commeth not vnto the ſhippe, vntill the viſitours come to viſite the ſame, to ſee whether hee hath all things neceſſary for the voyage.

The viſitours are foure men which are appoynted by the king, and theſe are men of great vnderſtanding: and they come to viſite the ſhippes before they take in their lading, to ſee whether they be well prepared to make the voyage. And after the ſhips bee laden, they returne againe to viſite them the ſecond time, to ſee whether they haue all things neceſſary, according to The orders of the Contractation houſe: and whether they haue all their mariners, victuals, pouder, ſhot, and

Foure viſitours.

The orders of the Contractation houſe.

ordinance, and all other things neceſſary for the voyage. And if they want any thing, they charge them vpon grieuous penalties, to prouide the ſame before they ſet out of the hauen.

The ſhips that goe to the Indies are wont eche of them to haue with them a Notarie, whoſe charge is to keepe a note of remembrance of all the marchandize which is laden in the ſhip, and to take the marks thereof, therby to deliuer the commodities in the ſhip to their particular owners, after they haue finiſhed their voyage, and he ſerueth likewiſe to make willes, and other inſtruments, which are wont to be made by a Notarie, if any man chanceth to fall ſicke. And his wages in eche voyage is as much as the wages of two mariners.

The firſt barke of Auiſo.
The ſecond barke of Auiſo.

The Generall of the fleetes vſeth continually, after hee is arriued in the Indies, to ſend into Spaine a barke of Auiſo, to aduertiſe the king of the ſtate of his arriuall: And after the fleetes be ready to come home, hee diſpatcheth another pinneſſe of Auiſo to certifie them how the fleetes are now ready to ſet ſaile, with other particularities. There go with the fleetes two great ſhips, the one as Admirall, the other as Viceadmirall, of the burthen of 400 or 500 tunnes, which carry nothing but victuals and ſouldiers for the wafting of the reſt of the fleete, and theſe are payd out of the marchandize, which come in the fleete, after the rate of one in the hundred, and ſometime at one and an halfe in the hundred.

There is in the Contractation houſe of *Siuil* a table which ſerueth for an *Arançel*, or table of rate or taxation, written in letters of gold, wherein the values of all kind of marchandize, which are embarqued for the *Indies*, are ſet downe.

A table of rates &c. ſet vp in the Contractation houſe.

By this table a man may know how many Botijas or iarres make a tunne of wine, or how many packes, or how many quintals, or how many barrels, or how many cheſts make a tunne.

And all marchandize haue their rates ſet downe, to pay the king his cuſtomes, and the Maſter his due fraight.

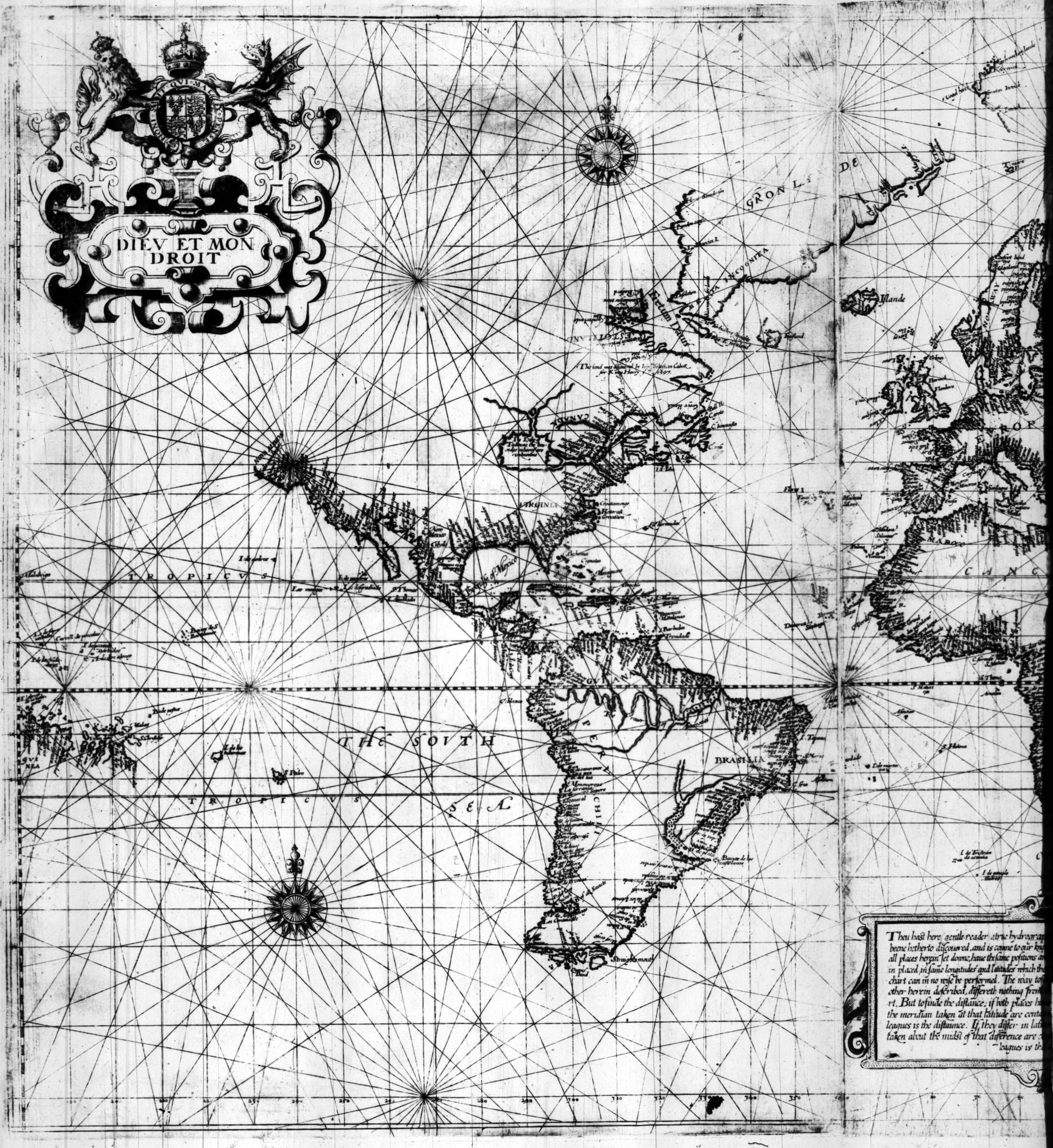
And therein is ſet vp in writing that no Maſter may carry any paſſenger to the Indies, without licence, eſpecially no learned men, nor any fryer, or clergyman, nor any body elſe without licence of the king: nor any ſtrangers not borne in the kingdomes of Spaine.

Moreouer, that they may not carry away any marchandize not comprized in the foreſaid orders, vnder paine of death: and that all goods which they carry with them, they ought to carry the ſame regiſtred; vnder paine of death.

Furthermore, that no Maſter nor Pilot may carry any Chart, nor Aſtrolabe, nor Croſſeſtaffe, nor regiment, without they bee ſigned and ſealed by the Pilot maior Alonço de Chiauez, and the Coſmographer the kings reader Rodrigo Zamorano.

Moreouer, that going in company with the fleete, they doe and obey all ſuch things, as their Generall ſhall command them, vnder paine of death.

Written by me *Pedro Dias* borne in the Iſle of *Palma*
one of the *Canaries*, vpon the requeſt and gratifica-
tion of M. *Richard Hakluyt*, in February 1586.


DIEV ET MON DROIT
GRONLANDE
INCOGNITA
Fretum Dauis
ESTOTILAND
Islande
The land was discovered by Iohn Sebastian Cabot for King Henry y 7. 1497
CANADA
VIRGINIA
Croatamonge
Bermudas
TROPICVS
Bahama
GVIANA
PERV
BRASILIA
CHILI
THE SOUTH SEA
TROPICVS
EVROP
MAROCO
CANC
S. Helena
I. de Tristan de acunha
I. de gonçalo Aluarez

Thou hast here gentle reader a true hydrograp
beene hitherto discouered, and is come to our kn
all places herein set downe, haue the same positions a
in placed in same longitudes and latitudes which th
chart can in no wise be performed. The way to
other herein described, differeth nothing from
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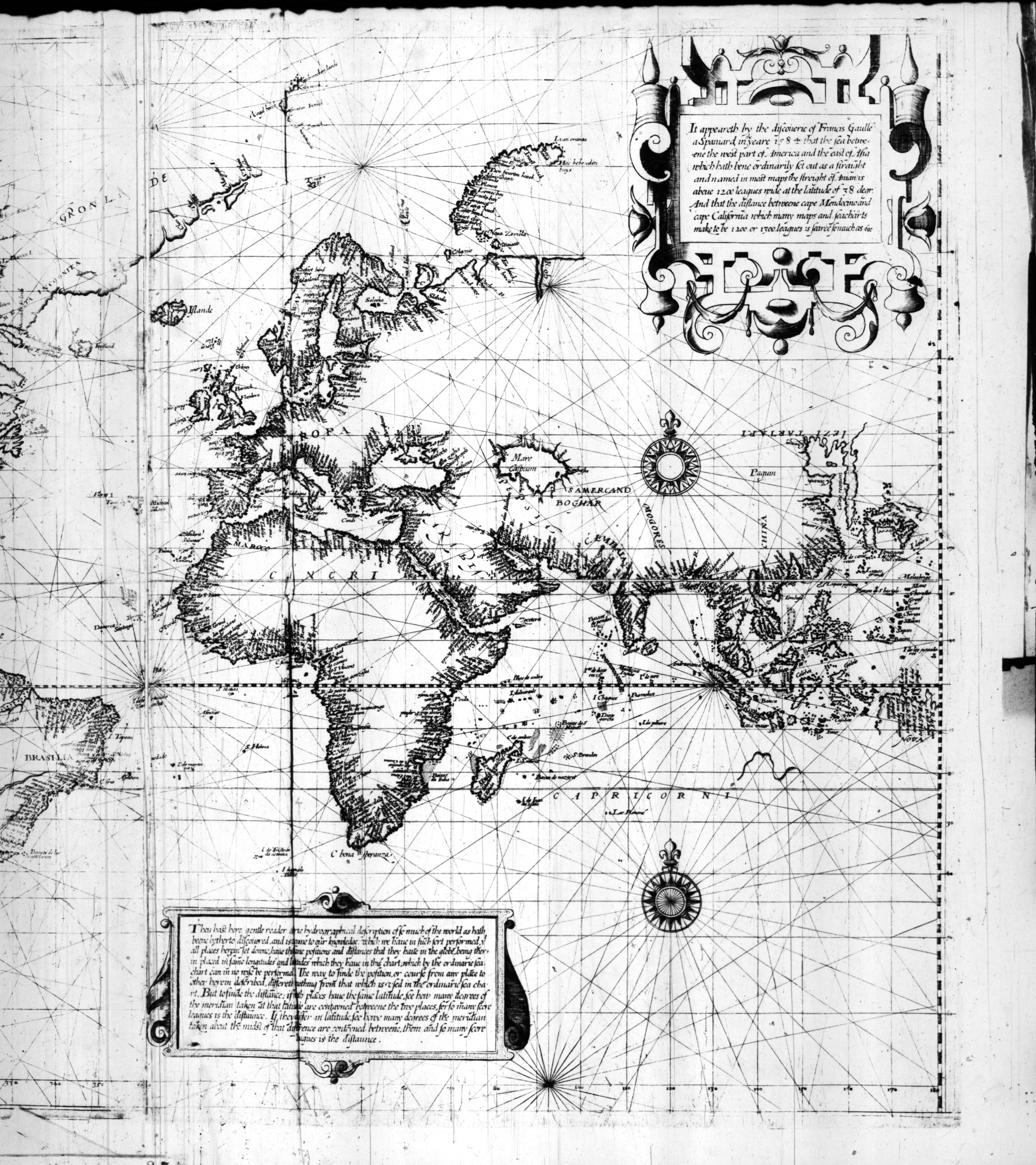
leagues is the distaunce. If they differ in lat
taken about the midst of that difference are c
leagues is th



GRONLANDE
Iſlande
Noua Zembla
EUROPA
Mare Caſpium
SAMERCAND
BOGHAR
MOGORES
CAMBAIA
IEZI TARTARI
Paquin
CHINA
MAROCO
CANCRI
ARABIA
Candia
Cyprus
Zocotora
BRASILIA
S. Helena
C bona ſperanza
CAPRICORNI
NOVA

It appeareth by the diſcouerie of Francis Gaulle a Spaniard in the yeare 1584 that the ſea betweene the west part of America and the east of Aſia which hath bene ordinarily ſet out as a ſtraight and named in most maps the ſtreight of Anian is aboue 1200 leagues wide at the latitude of 38 degr. And that the diſtance betweene cape Mendocino and cape California which many maps and ſeacharts make to be 1200 or 1300 leagues is ſcarce ſo much as 600

Thou haſt here gentle reader a true hydrographical deſcription of ſo much of the world as hath beene hitherto diſcouered, and is come to our knowledge: which we haue in ſuch ſort performed, yͭ all places herein ſet downe, haue the ſame poſitions and diſtances that they haue in the globe, being therin placed in ſame longitudes and latitudes which they haue in this chart, which by the ordinarie ſea chart can in no wiſe be performed. The way to finde the poſition, or courſe from any place to other herein deſcribed, differeth nothing from that which is uſed in the ordinarie ſea chart. But to finde the diſtance: if both places haue the ſame latitude, ſee how many degrees of the meridian taken at that latitude are contayned betweene the two places, for ſo many ſcore leagues is the diſtaunce. If they differ in latitude, ſee howe many degrees of the meridian taken about the midſt of that difference are contayned betweene them and ſo many ſcore leagues is the diſtaunce.

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